

**BEYOND THE THREE CIRCLES:  
A NEW MODEL FOR WORLD ENGLISHES**

**CHEE SAU PUNG**  
*(BA (HONS.), NUS)*

**A THESIS SUBMITTED  
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS  
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE  
AND LITERATURE**

**NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SINGAPORE**

**2009**



## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Anne Pakir for kindly agreeing to supervise the writing of this dissertation, and all the lecturers and fellow colleagues who have helped me along through the course of writing this dissertation.

## CONTENTS

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| <b>Summary</b>  | <b>v</b>    |
| <b>List of Tables</b>   | <b>vi</b>   |
| <b>List of Figures</b>  | <b>vi</b>   |
| <b>List of Abbreviations</b>  | <b>viii</b> |
| <b>Chapter 1 Introduction</b>   | <b>1</b>    |
| <b>Chapter 2 Kachru and the Study of English in the World</b>                               | <b>6</b>    |
| <b>2.1 The Three Circles Model</b>  | <b>6</b>    |
| 2.1.1 <i>The Circles</i>  | 7           |
| 2.1.2 <i>Speech Fellowships and Speech Communities</i>                                      | 9           |
| 2.1.3 <i>Norms and Creativity</i>   | 11          |
| 2.1.4 <i>Codification</i>   | 13          |
| 2.1.5 <i>Jenkins (2003a) and Bruthiaux (2003): Critiques of the Three Circles</i>           | 14          |
| <b>2.2 The Paradigm</b>   | <b>19</b>   |
| 2.2.1 <i>The Kachruvian Paradigm and World Englishes</i>                                    | 20          |
| 2.2.2 <i>Institutionalisation</i>   | 22          |
| 2.2.3 <i>Diversification, Acculturation and Nativization</i>                                | 23          |
| 2.2.4 <i>Bilingual's Grammar, Barriers to Intelligibility, and Hierarchies of Varieties</i> | 27          |
| 2.2.5 <i>Approaches to the Study of English in the World</i>                                | 29          |
| 2.2.6 <i>Fallacies/Myths Regarding World Englishes, and their Arms of Control</i>           | 30          |
| 2.2.7 <i>Sacred Linguistic Cows</i>   | 33          |
| <b>2.3 The Three Circles and the Kachruvian Paradigm: Examining Rifts</b>                   | <b>35</b>   |
| 2.3.1 <i>Rifts and Inadequacies</i>   | 35          |
| 2.3.2 <i>Recontextualizing the 3CM</i>  | 37          |
| <b>Chapter 3 Alternative Model for a Kachruvian Paradigm</b>                                | <b>40</b>   |
| <b>3.1 Questions about Models</b>   | <b>40</b>   |
| 3.1.1 <i>Choice of Paradigm for World Englishes</i>   | 40          |
| 3.1.2 <i>Need for a Model</i>   | 41          |
| 3.1.3 <i>Criteria for a Model</i>   | 42          |

|                  |  |            |
|------------------|--|------------|
| <b>3.2</b>       | <b>Alternative Models</b>  | <b>43</b>  |
| 3.2.1            | <i>Modification of the 3CM</i>   | 44         |
| 3.2.2            | <i>Models from Alternative Paradigms</i>                               | 47         |
| 3.2.3            | <i>Three Dimensional Sociolinguistic Models</i>                        | 55         |
| <b>Chapter 4</b> | <b>The Conical Model of English</b>                                    | <b>61</b>  |
| <b>4.1</b>       | <b>Transforming Jones' Conical Model</b>                               | <b>62</b>  |
| 4.1.1            | <i>Definition of Groupings</i>   | 62         |
| 4.1.2            | <i>Field of Coverage</i>   | 64         |
| 4.1.3            | <i>Reworking the Structure of the Conical Model</i>                    | 66         |
| <b>4.2</b>       | <b>Speech Community Dynamics</b>                                       | <b>72</b>  |
| 4.2.1            | <i>Bakhtin's Dialogic Language: Unitary Language and Heteroglossia</i> | 72         |
| 4.2.2            | <i>Centripetal I-Force</i>   | 74         |
| 4.2.3            | <i>Centrifugal D-Force</i>   | 76         |
| 4.2.4            | <i>Speech Community Dynamics —Balancing Forces</i>                     | 77         |
| <b>4.3</b>       | <b>Populating the Conical Model of English</b>                         | <b>78</b>  |
| <b>4.4</b>       | <b>Fulfilling Criteria/Answering Critiques of the 3CM</b>              | <b>84</b>  |
| <b>Chapter 5</b> | <b>Extensions to the Conical Model of English</b>                      | <b>88</b>  |
| <b>5.1</b>       | <b>Conical Model of Language</b>                                       | <b>89</b>  |
| 5.1.1            | <i>Regarding Languages Used for Wider Communication</i>                | 89         |
| 5.1.2            | <i>A Conical Model of Language</i>                                     | 93         |
| 5.1.3            | <i>The Francophonie: The French Language Speech Community</i>          | 95         |
| <b>5.2</b>       | <b>The Multi-Conal Model of a Speech Fellowship</b>                    | <b>100</b> |
| <b>5.3</b>       | <b>Vitality of the Conical Models</b>                                  | <b>106</b> |
| <b>Chapter 6</b> | <b>Conclusion</b>  | <b>108</b> |
| <b>6.1</b>       | <b>Key Points in the Dissertation</b>                                  | <b>108</b> |
| 6.1.1            | <i>A New Model for the Kachruvian Paradigm</i>                         | 108        |
| 6.1.2            | <i>Models for the Study of LWCs and of Speech Fellowships</i>          | 110        |
| <b>6.2</b>       | <b>Areas of Utility for the Models</b>                                 | <b>111</b> |
| 6.2.1            | <i>The Cohesiveness of Languages</i>                                   | 111        |
| 6.2.2            | <i>Viability of the LWCs of the World</i>                              | 113        |
| 6.2.3            | <i>Utility of the CME, CML and MCM</i>                                 | 114        |

|            |   |            |
|------------|---|------------|
| <b>6.3</b> | <b>Final Words</b>  | <b>115</b> |
|            | <b>Bibliography</b>   | <b>117</b> |
|            | <b>Index</b>  | <b>122</b> |
|            | <b>Appendices</b>   | <b>126</b> |
|            | <b>Appendix A</b>   | <b>127</b> |
|            | <i>Three Circles Model rather than Three Concentric Circles Model</i> |            |
|            | <b>Appendix B</b>   | <b>131</b> |
|            | <i>Peter Strevens' Model of English in the World (1980)</i>           |            |
|            | <b>Appendix C</b>   | <b>132</b> |
|            | <i>Tom McArthur's Circle of World English (1987)</i>                  |            |
|            | <b>Appendix D</b>   | <b>133</b> |
|            | <i>Manfred Görlach's Circle Model of English (1988)</i>               |            |
|            | <i>Key to Manfred Görlach's Circle Model of English (1988)</i>        |            |

## SUMMARY

For over two decades, Braj Kachru's (1985) *Three Circles Model* has been the dominant model in the study of World Englishes. Kachru's stated goal in the creation of his model is to illustrate the unprecedented diversity in the spread of English, and to challenge the 'traditional notions of codification, standardisation, models and methods' as well as the native speaker's 'prerogative to control its standardisation' (Kachru, 1985:29-30). And as part of a wider Kachruvian paradigm (Canagarajah, 1999:180) that has shaped the agenda for the treatment of the variation and pluricentricity that exists in the Englishes found worldwide, the Three Circles Model sets out to illustrate the typology of varieties that have arisen with the spread of English. Over time, the Three Circles Model has been critiqued regarding the effectiveness of the model in its description of the situation of English as it exists in the world. One crucial point to take note is that while the critiques are targeted at the model, many of the points raised are amply answered in the larger Kachruvian paradigm, proving the continued relevance of the ideas that represent the Kachruvian paradigm in the face of such challenges. This begs the question of how effective the Three Circles Model is in representing in graphical format the ideas behind the Kachruvian paradigm. To answer this requires a look at the Three Circles Model in detail, its graphical implications as well as its theoretical basis, and compare it to an understanding of the Kachruvian paradigm. From this study of the Three Circles Model, as well as a survey of alternatives, a new model to describe English as it exists in the world may then be suggested.

## LIST OF TABLES

|                  |  |           |
|------------------|--|-----------|
| <b>Table 2.1</b> | <b>Critique of the Three Circles Model by Jenkins (2003a)</b>  | <b>15</b> |
| <b>Table 2.2</b> | <b>Critique of the Three Circles Model by Bruthiaux (2003)</b> | <b>16</b> |

## LIST OF FIGURES

|                   |  |           |
|-------------------|--|-----------|
| <b>Figure 2.1</b> | <b>Three Circles Model of World Englishes</b><br>(Adapted from Kachru, 1990)   | <b>8</b>  |
| <b>Figure 3.1</b> | <b>David Graddol's modification to the Three Circles Model</b><br>(Adapted from Graddol, 1997)   | <b>45</b> |
| <b>Figure 3.2</b> | <b>Yano Yasukata's modification to the Three Circles Model</b><br>(Adapted from Yano, 2001)  | <b>46</b> |
| <b>Figure 3.3</b> | <b>Centripetal Circles Model of International English</b><br>(Adapted from Modiano, 1999a)   | <b>49</b> |
| <b>Figure 3.4</b> | <b>English as an International Language Model</b><br>(Adapted from Modiano, 1999b)   | <b>51</b> |
| <b>Figure 3.5</b> | <b>Dynamic Model of Postcolonial English</b><br>(Adapted from Schneider, 2007)   | <b>54</b> |
| <b>Figure 3.6</b> | <b>Three Dimensional Parallel Cylindrical Model of World Englishes</b><br>(Adapted from Yano, 2001)  | <b>57</b> |
| <b>Figure 3.7</b> | <b>Daniel Jones' Conical Model of English Phonetics</b><br>(Adapted from Ward, 1956)   | <b>59</b> |
| <b>Figure 4.1</b> | <b>Cross sectional representation of the base in Daniel Jones' Conical Model of English Phonetics</b><br>(Adapted from the original diagram in Ward, 1956 as seen in Figure 3.7) | <b>64</b> |
| <b>Figure 4.2</b> | <b>Base of the cone representing the breadth of a worldwide English speech community</b>   | <b>64</b> |
| <b>Figure 4.3</b> | <b>Conical shape describing the area of the English speech community</b>   | <b>66</b> |
| <b>Figure 4.4</b> | <b>Speech fellowships within the English speech community</b>  | <b>66</b> |
| <b>Figure 4.5</b> | <b>Acrolectal, mesolectal and basilectal space within the cone</b>   | <b>67</b> |
| <b>Figure 4.6</b> | <b>Exemplar of a Conical Model of English</b>  | <b>67</b> |



|                    |  |            |
|--------------------|--|------------|
| <b>Figure 4.7</b>  | <b>Diagrammatic representation of the I-Force and D-Force relative to a speech fellowship</b>  | <b>75</b>  |
| <b>Figure 4.8a</b> | <b>A Conical Model of English</b>  | <b>82</b>  |
| <b>Figure 4.8b</b> | <b>Base of a Conical Model of English</b>  | <b>82</b>  |
| <b>Figure 5.1</b>  | <b>Exemplar of a Conical Model of Language</b>   | <b>94</b>  |
| <b>Figure 5.2</b>  | <b>The focal cone representing the Singapore English speech fellowship as a basis for a Multi-Conal Model of the Singapore speech fellowship</b> | <b>101</b> |
| <b>Figure 5.3</b>  | <b>Multi-Conal Model of the Singapore speech fellowship</b>  | <b>103</b> |

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

|                |  |
|----------------|--|
| <b>3CM</b>     | Three Circles Model                          |
| <b>CCM</b>     | Centripetal Circles Model                    |
| <b>CLWC</b>    | Classic Language of Wider Communication      |
| <b>CME</b>     | Conical Model of English                     |
| <b>CMEP</b>    | Conical Model of English Phonetics           |
| <b>CML</b>     | Conical Model of Language                    |
| <b>CSE</b>     | Colloquial Singapore English                 |
| <b>D-Force</b> | Disintegrative Force (part of the SCD)       |
| <b>DM-PCE</b>  | Dynamic Model of Postcolonial English        |
| <b>EGL</b>     | English as a Global Language                 |
| <b>EIL</b>     | English as an International Language         |
| <b>EILM</b>    | English as an International Language Model   |
| <b>ELF</b>     | English as a Lingua Franca                   |
| <b>ESP</b>     | English for Special Purposes                 |
| <b>EC</b>      | Expanding Circle                             |
| <b>IC</b>      | Inner Circle                                 |
| <b>IE</b>      | International English                        |
| <b>I-Force</b> | Integrative Force (part of the SCD)          |
| <b>ILWC</b>    | Intralingual Language of Wider Communication |
| <b>LWC</b>     | Language of Wider Communication              |
| <b>MCM</b>     | Multi-Conal Model of a Speech Fellowship     |
| <b>NLWC</b>    | National Language of Wider Communication     |
| <b>OC</b>      | Outer Circle                                 |
| <b>PNG</b>     | Papua New Guinea                             |
| <b>PCE</b>     | Postcolonial English                         |
| <b>SCD</b>     | Speech Community Dynamics                    |
| <b>SSE</b>     | Standard Singapore English                   |

# 1 INTRODUCTION

The study of the use of English in a linguistically dynamic world is daunting. Where it comes into contact with the other languages of the world through its widespread adoption for various purposes, in locales multifarious in both linguistic and cultural make up, English has adapted and found its niche and a relevance to a wide variety of speakers. To facilitate studies into the use and users of English in the world and their relationships to one another, a suitable model could help elucidate the particular contexts of English use worldwide. And for over two decades, Braj Kachru's *Three Circles Model* (3CM) of World Englishes (Kachru, 1984; 1985) has been the dominant model in this field of study<sup>1</sup>.

In 1984, Kachru initiated his 3CM to describe the English language situation as it exists in the world (Kachru, 1984; 1985). He divides speakers of English into three circles of language users: the *Inner Circle* (IC), the *Outer Circle* (OC) and the *Expanding Circle* (EC). In the IC are the traditional speakers of English, members of whom use the language in all aspects of their lives, and who picked up the language in the home environment. In the OC are the communities that were former colonies of the IC countries and that have adopted English for use in a wide variety of ways, but which are still tied to their own original languages. The EC communities are those that use English only as a foreign language.

Kachru's stated goal in his creation of the 3CM is to illustrate the unprecedented diversity in the spread of English, and to challenge the "traditional notions of codification, standardisation, models and methods" as

---

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A for a discussion of the term *Three Circles Model* as used in this dissertation compared to the term *Three Concentric Circles Model* as normally used by Kachru.

well as the native speakers' "prerogative to control its standardisation" (Kachru, 1985:29-30). And as part of a wider set of beliefs, a *Kachruvian paradigm* (Canagarajah, 1999:180) as it were, that has shaped the agenda for the treatment of the variation and pluricentricity that exists in the Englishes found worldwide, the 3CM sets out to illustrate the typology of varieties that have arisen with the spread of English from its historical origin in England to the rest of the world.

Over time, the 3CM has picked up its share of critiques regarding the effectiveness of the model in its description of the situation of English as it exists in the world. In a notable response to a section in a book by Jennifer Jenkins (Jenkins, 2003a), Kachru gave a detailed reply to the many concerns brought up by Jenkins (Kachru, 2005). While the response by Kachru was thorough in its treatment of Jenkins' concerns, it seems to suggest a certain weakness in the 3CM's coverage of the larger Kachruvian paradigm, which was the basis of Kachru's response. And in certain areas the 3CM as it is expressed in the graphical model seems to contradict ideas that make up the Kachruvian paradigm.

While Jenkins (2003a) hinted at the deficiencies of the 3CM, a more detailed critique on the model was made by Paul Bruthiaux. In his paper, he argues that because of inconsistencies within the model and its dominant political bent, the 3CM lacks the sociolinguistic rigour necessary to afford an accurate and detailed description of English as it is used around the world (Bruthiaux, 2003). Bruthiaux thus makes a call for a new model to replace the 3CM, which he believes has "outlived its usefulness" (Bruthiaux, 2003:161).

The two critiques mentioned above address very similar points (see 2.1.5). A crucial point to take note at this juncture is that while the two critiques are targeted at the 3CM, most of the points raised are amply answered in the larger Kachruvian paradigm, as will be explored in 2.3.1. This then begs the questions of (a) how effective the 3CM is in representing in graphical format the ideas behind the Kachruvian paradigm, (b) if there are possible areas where the 3CM may be seen as contradictory to the larger paradigm, and (c) how one should contextualise/curtail the 3CM from the perspective of the paradigm as a whole.

To explore these issues, Chapter 2 will start by looking at the 3CM in detail, what is implied by its graphical structure as well as its theoretical basis. This chapter would then study the critiques brought up in Jenkins (2003a) and Bruthiaux (2003) regarding the 3CM before moving into an investigation into the various aspects of the Kachruvian paradigm. With the exploration of the 3CM, the critiques to the 3CM, as well as the Kachruvian paradigm, this chapter would then look at the possible rifts between the 3CM and the Kachruvian paradigm.

Chapter 3 follows by looking at the continued need for a model of World Englishes in the face of the critiques to the 3CM, the criteria of effectiveness for such a model, and the continued relevance of the Kachruvian paradigm as a way of viewing the World Englishes situation. It will then explore the possible suggestions for alternative models to the 3CM as proposed in previous literature. These suggested alternatives have been categorised into three types. The first type involves modifications to the 3CM. These include suggestions in Graddol (1997) and Yano (2001) on how to

modify the 3CM to improve the model's explanatory powers. Following that will be a look at models that had been suggested by those working outside the Kachruvian paradigm, but within areas of study concerning various aspects of English in the world. These include models based on Marko Modiano's ideas on English as an International Language (EIL) (Modiano, 1999a; 1999b), and Edgar Schneider's Dynamic Model of Postcolonial English (DM-PCE) (Schneider, 2007). The last area from which alternatives will be explored will be from innovative ways of looking at World Englishes from the perspective of three dimensional diagrammatic models, and these models include Yano Yasukata's three dimensional parallel cylindrical model of World Englishes (Yano, 2001), as well as Daniel Jones' *conical model of English phonetics* (CMEP) (Ward, 1956). From this survey of alternatives, a way forward for a model for World Englishes will be analysed.

In Chapter 4, a new model for World Englishes, the *Conical Model of English* (CME), will be presented. This model will take into account the exploration into the 3CM and the Kachruvian paradigm, as well as the critiques to the 3CM, as laid out in Chapter 2. Building on the survey of alternatives as explored in Chapter 3, it will also strive to fulfil the criteria of effectiveness as covered also in Chapter 3, proving that it is a viable model to take over the task, from the 3CM, of providing a fuller description of the Kachruvian paradigm, while taking into account the critiques of the 3CM expressed in Jenkins (2003a) and Bruthiaux (2003).

This exposition of a new model will then be followed in Chapter 5 by the exploration of extensions of the CME to cover two other areas in the study of sociolinguistics. The first extension, into a *Conical Model of Language*

(CML) would prove the basic utility of the CME by extending the model to cover other LWCs. This extension of the CME to cover other LWCs, along with the example utilized to demonstrate its structure, would help to illustrate the basic efficacy of the CME. The second extension, into a *Multi-Conal Model* (MCM) of a speech fellowship, would provide a model for illustrating the dynamics of language contact within a speech fellowship.

This dissertation ends in Chapter 6 with a summation of the issues covered in the previous chapters. With the introduction in this dissertation of the CME, it would be shown that a more effective model is now available to better describe World Englishes according to the Kachruvian paradigm. This chapter would then look at the challenges faced by LWCs in general and World Englishes in particular, and how studies of these issues facing LWCs might be facilitated by the employ of the CME, the CML and the MCM.

## 2 KACHRU AND THE STUDY OF ENGLISH IN THE WORLD

This chapter endeavours to explore the ideas that Kachru has expressed over the years regarding English in the world. Section 2.1 deals with the *Three Circles Model* (3CM) of World Englishes, Kachru's graphical representation of the English varieties as they exist in the world, as well as critiques to the model. The next section, 2.2, deals with the various ideas suggested by Kachru for a sociolinguistically appropriate approach to the study of English in the world, what has been termed a *Kachruvian paradigm* (Canagarajah, 1999:180). Lastly, 2.3 concludes by commenting on the critiques of the 3CM from the perspective of the Kachruvian paradigm, and explores the rifts between the model and the paradigm.

### 2.1 The Three Circles Model

With the worldwide spread of English, its spread to new contexts of situation, the differing and complex linguistic repertoire, usage patterns and motivations for acquisition by its users, English in the world has grown into a complex community of varieties. Kachru calls these manifestations of varieties *World Englishes* and describes the relationship between such communities within a graphical model which he terms the 3CM of World Englishes. This section looks at the 3CM based on the 1985 paper<sup>2</sup> Kachru had used to introduce the model. Alternative sources would be cited as necessary.

---

<sup>2</sup> Kachru had actually first mentioned the Three Circles Model in a short article, Kachru (1984), but Kachru (1985) provides a much more detailed and thorough introduction and explanation of the model.



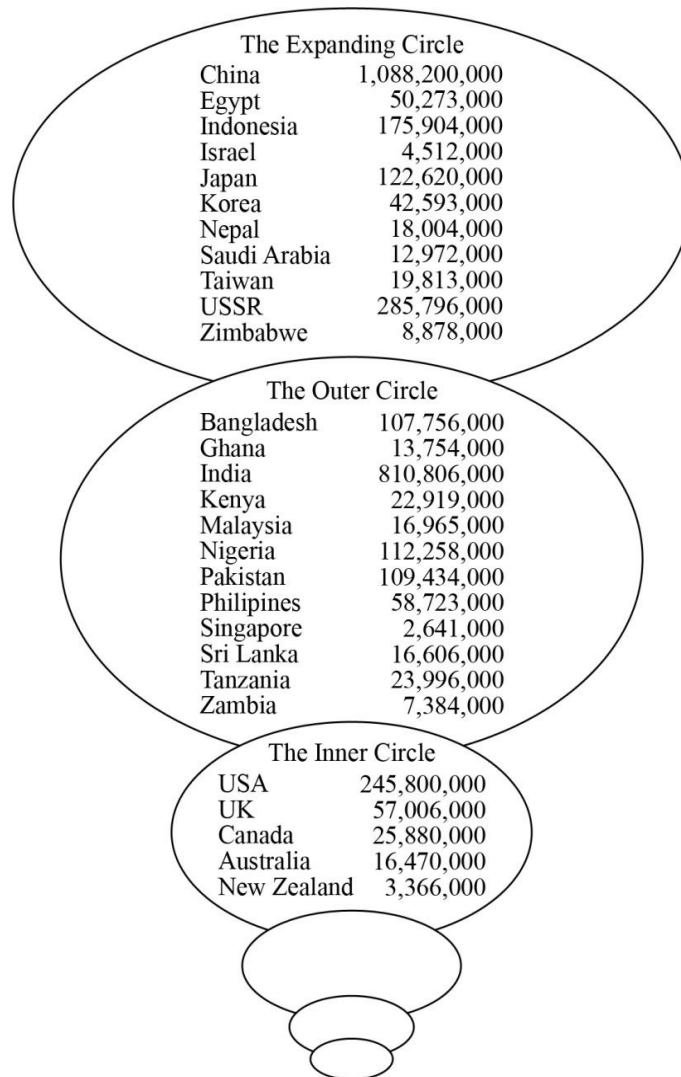
### 2.1.1 *The Circles*

In the 3CM, Kachru describes how the various communities where English had spread to may be represented in a diagrammatic form by three circles, as seen in Figure 2.1. The first of these circles would be the *Inner Circle* (IC), which consists of the traditional English speaking regions, where English had spread demographically through the immigration of English-speaking peoples to these lands, and where English is the primary language of its current populace.

The next circle would be the *Outer Circle* (OC), which consists of the regions that had undergone an extended period of colonization by some member or members of the IC, and English was introduced to the indigenous linguistic repertoire of the local population by the colonial experience, with the result that English, in demographic terms, is one additional language available to those others that were already available to the local populations, has achieved an important, institutionalized, status in the linguistic landscape of these populations, and is intrinsically tied to the colonial experience and any cultural and political baggage that may entail. For members of the OC, English functions in contexts of situation that are traditionally non-English, has achieved a certain relevance in a wide range of domains in the linguistic landscape of these contexts to members of the populations who may have differing levels of competence in the language, and has developed nativized traditions of local cultural production.

The last of the circles would be the *Expanding Circle* (EC), which consists of the regions where English is an important foreign language, and the

*performance varieties*<sup>3</sup> in use by these populations provide them with a means of international communication. In pedagogical terms, the IC, OC, and EC may be thought to represent contexts of *English as a Native Language* (ENL), *English as a Second Language* (ESL), and *English as a Foreign Language* (EFL), respectively (Kachru, 1984).



*Figure 2.1  
Three Circles Model  
of World Englishes  
(Adapted from  
Kachru, 1990)<sup>4</sup>*

<sup>3</sup> Kachru defines performance varieties as those varieties which are used as a language to communicate with foreign peoples and which thus have a restricted functional range and are not institutionalised (Kachru, 1982a:38). See also 2.2.1.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix A for a discussion of the chosen depiction of the 3CM presented in Figure 2.1.

### 2.1.2 *Speech Fellowships and Speech Communities*

The concept expressed in the 3CM, that a multitude of varieties as spoken throughout the world lies within a larger body of what is still considered one language, is attributed by Kachru to the idea of *speech fellowships* and *speech communities* proposed by J. R. Firth. According to Firth (1959),

“a close *speech fellowship* and a wider *speech community* in what may be called the *language community* comprising both written and spoken forms of the general language” (208; emphasis from source)

Kachru proposes that the idea of a narrow speech fellowship, in concert with the wider collective of the wider speech community Firth defined, best represents the reality of the diverse users of World Englishes, who employ English in diverse *situations, contexts* and *attitudes*. By situations, Kachru refers to the various linguistic, political, socio-cultural, and economic circumstances that might exist for a certain group of language users. Contexts would entail the involvement of the language users in these situations as well as the appropriateness of the use of the relevant varieties within these circumstances. And attitudes would encompass the overt and covert stances towards the language as a whole, those who use the language, as well as the particular varieties in use. Based on these ideas, the 3CM may be interpreted as representing an English speech community, with a multitude of speech fellowships forming this diverse collection of English users.

Kachru differentiates the various speech fellowships into three types, namely, the *norm-providing*, the *norm-developing*, and the *norm-dependent*. The norm-providing fellowships are those which have traditionally provided, or at least have been thought of as being competent to provide, the norms of use of the language and come from the areas where English has traditionally been spoken. The norm-developing fellowships are those populations where disagreements exist between perceived models of language usage and actual language usage, the key point being that local norms do exist but are not universally accepted and are challenged internally by the perceived superiority of external norms. The norm-dependent fellowships are those that are mainly dependent on external models of usage and do not make a case for a locally-based standard of usage and use. Bringing this back to the 3CM, the connection is made between the norm-providing fellowships and the IC, the norm-developing ones and the OC, and the norm-dependent ones and the EC.

For Kachru, the OC and the EC of the 3CM may not be clearly demarcated from one another due to possible changes over time of the local language policies and attitudes towards the languages available to the peoples involved. Thus, an OC population may become an EC one with changes in situation, context and attitudes over time and vice versa. On the other hand, no such mechanism is mentioned for the case of the IC with either of the other circles. This possibly suggests that the IC is an exclusive grouping, what Kachru calls “the *traditional* cultural and linguistic *bases* of English” (Kachru, 1984:25; emphasis added). The seemingly innocuous definition of the constituents of the OC and EC thus makes a subtle implication of a hierarchy

of circles and thus of varieties within the 3CM. This brings up the next point of control over norms and creativity.

### **2.1.3 Norms and Creativity**

Unlike the *Académie française* for French and the *Real Academia Española* for Spanish, there is no formal centralised institution governing the use of English. Only indirect conduits of control exist via such sources, mentioned by Kachru, as “dictionaries, social attitudes, educational preferences, and discrimination in professions on the basis of accent” (Kachru, 1985:17). Ultimately, what standards and norms could boil down to would be an appeal to intranational and international intelligibility, suggests Kachru. He returns to the idea of control mechanisms with his discussion of codification, which will follow in 2.1.4, but this point of lack of formal control brings up the next point of how creativity in language use is judged.

With reference to the 3CM, Kachru suggests that while innovation by members of the IC are traditionally viewed favourably by the speech community as a whole, innovation by the members of the OC have traditionally been perceived as deviations, with an associated implication of negativity. Kachru cites a more recent trend in viewing this matter of innovation by the members of OC fellowships, making a claim of the sociolinguistic appropriateness of certain creative usages within relevant contexts of situation, with a corresponding *cline of transfer or interference* with reference to localised contexts. Thus may be stated on this cline of transfer the marked varieties of an *educated* or *acrolectal* variety, a *semi-educated* or *mesolectal* variety, and a *bazaar* or *basilectal* variety, from least

to most affected. These deviations may come in the form of collocations of words based on localised needs, hybridizations of English and indigenous words, idioms derived from indigenous ones, and comparative constructions based on indigenous traditions. This cline of transfer then leads to the issue of norm selection, and how norms are to be chosen for particular regions. There is also the issue of how such transfer could lead to a “*de-Anglicisation*” of English, thus questioning the relationship between language and culture, specifically how a language with its cultural load deals with the indigenous cultures in its various non-traditional situational settings around the world where the language is adopted, and what effects these would have for the larger speech community of that language. The importance of these issues stems from the situation facing World Englishes, where English may no longer be tied to its Judeo-Christian cultural roots but is available to anyone who wishes to adopt it into their own indigenous culture. And this is where the idea of transfer or interference to a localised context comes up against the idea of prescriptivism.

The idea of prescriptivism lies in the belief that the norms of linguistic behaviour for a language are necessarily based on those of the original users of the language. This belief centres on the idea that the cultural and social make-up that exists in the original context of a language is intrinsically bound to that language and thus the spread of a language necessarily requires the spread of the relevant cultural and social norms. But the widespread acculturation and nativization of World Englishes has problematized this idea. Language spread has consistently resulted in great variation in its functional diversity and great variation in the aptitude of the speakers to the language. A language that has

taken root in new contexts of situation also becomes localised and acculturated to the local situations, and previous attempts at codifying these new varieties have been more successful, Kachru suggests, at producing psychological results for the purist than any actual results on the ground. This begs the question of what can then be done in response to the current state of diversity that English is in. Kachru addresses this by looking at codification.

#### **2.1.4 Codification**

Kachru identifies four means, or what he calls arms, of codification, and the following description is ordered in what he believes is the order of importance from greatest to least. The first is *authoritative codification*. This relies on a formalised agency which determines the norms of usage for a language. The second is *sociological* or *attitudinal codification*. This depends on the power of social control regarding language usage that exists amongst users within a grouping. The third arm is *educational codification*. This refers to sources of reference and other pedagogical resources selected for use in the teaching of language as well as the educational policy of the area in question. The fourth is *psychological codification*, which depends on the mental need or self control of individuals in a group not to deviate from a certain set of norms.

Based on the current situation of diversity in English worldwide, Kachru proposes three ways forward for responding to such diversity. The first is to recognise the current diversity as it exists between and within each circle of the 3CM and to recognise and accommodate the different needs in each case. The second is the implementation of authoritative means of control, through the use of corpus planning and status planning. The third is the

recognition of the concept of ‘speech community’ as the larger idea of an English speaking community and ‘speech fellowship’ as the localized level of grouping which produces and is governed by its own particular norms. What Kachru finally suggests is an amalgamation of the three, that the reality of the diversity of speech fellowships be recognized within the idea of the larger speech community, and that within each speech fellowship lies the space for a prescriptivist pedagogical approach with the flexibility to recognise the individuality of each speech fellowship.

### ***2.1.5 Jenkins (2003a) and Bruthiaux (2003): Critiques of the Three Circles***

With the ideas suggested by the 3CM in mind, this section moves on to look at the critique of the 3CM<sup>5</sup> in Jenkins (2003a) and Bruthiaux (2003). Jenkins acknowledges the great influence of the 3CM to the understanding of the situation of English in the world but cites eight problems that affect the model (Jenkins, 2003a), enumerated in Table 2.1. Bruthiaux also recognizes the influence of the 3CM but suggests certain limitations to the model (Bruthiaux, 2003), and these are listed in Table 2.2. Kachru, on his part, answered Jenkins’ critiques in a section within Kachru (2005).

From these two critiques, five salient points may be concluded, namely, that (1) varieties in the 3CM are based on politico-historical rather than sociolinguistic definitions, (2) there is a seeming centrality of the IC within the model, (3) variation within varieties is not expressed, (4) proficiency of speakers is not taken into account, and (5) there is an inability

---

<sup>5</sup> Note this dissertation’s distinction of the 3CM as being a model within the Kachruvian paradigm but not necessarily a representation of the whole Kachruvian paradigm, as explored in 2.3.1.



of the model to account for language situations of other *languages of wider communication* (LWCs). One point from Jenkins (2003a:17) that is not included in this condensation of critiques is that of the inability of the model to account for *English for Special Purposes* (ESP). Bruthiaux addresses the issue of ESPs specifically *English as a Lingua Franca* (ELF), by stating that the domains for use and the number of users of such language are limited and thus do not constitute what he calls ‘varietal-creating conditions’ (Bruthiaux, 2003:168). Kachru likewise questions the degree of similarity amongst users of each particular ESP across cultural and sociolinguistic contexts, believing that ESPs operate on the basis of shared ‘context of situation’ existing within a shared ‘context of culture’ rather than that of shared proficiency across sociocultural backgrounds of the speakers (Kachru, 2005:216). This may be taken as Kachru’s view towards ESP and why he did not seek for the 3CM to cover ESPs.

The salient points harvested from the two critiques will now be looked at in turn.

|    |   |
|----|---|
| 1. | ... based on geography and genetics rather than on the way speakers identify with and use English.  |
| 2. | There is... a grey area between the Inner and Outer Circles.  |
| 3. | There is... an increasingly grey area between the Outer and Expanding Circles.  |
| 4. | Many World English speakers grow up bilingual or multilingual, using different languages to fulfil different functions in their daily lives.              |
| 5. | There is a difficulty in using the model to define speakers in terms of their proficiency in English.   |
| 6. | The model cannot account for English for Special Purposes.  |
| 7. | The model implies that the situation is uniform for all countries within a particular circle whereas this is not so.                                      |
| 8. | The term ‘Inner Circle’ implies that speakers from the ENL countries are central to the effort, whereas their world-wide influence is in fact in decline. |

*Table 2.1 Critique of the Three Circles Model in Jenkins (2003a:17-18)*

|    |   |
|----|---|
| 1. | Does not take into account dialectal variation each variety.  |
| 2. | Does not take into account varieties that meet criteria for Inner Circle membership except for the fact that it is spoken by a minority within a country. |
| 3. | No indication of proficiency of speakers.   |
| 4. | Focus on politico-historical categorization obscures sociolinguistic patterns within each circle.   |
| 5. | No clear definition of what constitutes an Expanding Circle variety.  |
| 6. | Inability to function as a model for other languages of wider communication.  |

*Table 2.2 Critique of the Three Circles Model in Bruthiaux (2003:161-171)*

The first salient point deals with the constituents of each circle. Jenkins (2003a) and Bruthiaux (2003) suggest two issues, firstly, that the 3CM bases its categorisation of varieties on politico-historically defined populations rather than sociolinguistically defined ones, and, secondly, that the demarcation between the circles are not clear-cut. In his reply regarding the first issue, Kachru agrees that the varieties are geopolitically and historically defined and necessarily so as the model illustrates the historical spread of English (Kachru, 2005). This of course begs the point, which Bruthiaux (2003) brings up, that sociolinguistic situations, in terms of the number of languages in use in a particular grouping, the cultural complexity, and other possible differences in the particular contexts of situation, may create significant sociolinguistic differences between varieties within a particular circle, problematizing the cohesiveness within each circle and the descriptive usefulness of the model at a sociolinguistic level.

Regarding the second issue of the first salient point, Kachru mentions (Kachru, 2005), that in his 1985 paper introducing the 3CM, it is clearly stated that there is no clear divide between the OC and the EC, and that one may become another over time due to sociolinguistic factors. On the other hand,

Kachru has not mentioned if this were possible in the case between the IC, which he had called “the *traditional* cultural and linguistic *bases* of English” (Kachru, 1984:25; emphasis added), and the OC and EC. This brings up the next point concerning the seemingly special status of the IC.

The second salient point, brought up in Jenkins (2003a), concerns the term ‘Inner Circle’ and how it has the connotation of being a select group that is in control of the larger speech community. Jenkins does comment that an implication of superiority was not suggested by Kachru’s description of the model, but it certainly exists through the use of the term. In his reply, Kachru again illustrates the model’s historical make-up, and that the incontrovertible reality of its spread from IC to OC and EC should not be cast aside, but on the other hand, asserts that all three circles, with all their difference intact, are equally part of the larger complex that is World Englishes (Kachru, 2005). This however does not address the inherent implication of the item ‘Inner’, especially with the understanding carried over from the previous paragraph concerning the seemingly different relationship between the IC and the OC and EC.

The third salient point, suggested in Jenkins (2003a) and Bruthiaux (2003) is that the 3CM assumes a level of varietal consistency across the population that does not really exist, and that the 3CM does not take into account the amount of variation within each variety even among IC members. Kachru’s reply (Kachru, 2005), referencing the IC, states that diversity most certainly may exist within a variety but this does not change what Kachru calls the “earlier histories” (Kachru, 2005:217) of the varieties. Again, this suggests a politico-historical inclination for the model rather than a sociolinguistic one.

Actually, in his paper introducing the 3CM (Kachru, 1985), Kachru suggests the idea of the existence of a cline of transfer, which in turn suggests variation of affectation of non-English influence in language production, but this does not present itself in the graphical realisation of the 3CM. And this variation within a variant brings on the next point of the range of proficiency within members of a group.

The fourth salient point from Jenkins (2003a) and Bruthiaux (2003) deals with the inability of the 3CM to account for varying proficiency of the speakers within any varietal grouping. This may surface due to the varying needs of the members, to the varying degrees of achievement in learning, or to some other socio-cultural factor. In Kachru's reply (Kachru, 2005), he states that in his previous writings<sup>6</sup>, he had suggested the concept of a cline of proficiency in language skills. This idea of a cline of proficiency unfortunately does not suggest itself graphically in the 3CM. The last salient point, suggested by Bruthiaux (2003) deals with the fact that the 3CM, as a model for English as an LWC, does not seem to have the same illustrative ability when dealing with other languages of wider communication like French or Spanish. This is due to the division of the language community in the 3CM into the IC, the OC and the EC, which Bruthiaux suggests is not particularly compatible with other LWCs. A more convincing model for English would be one, Bruthiaux suggests, if it were universally applicable to other LWCs as well.

These salient points thus suggest the limitations of the 3CM in describing World Englishes as a whole. But are these limitations due to the

---

<sup>6</sup> Kachru cites Kachru (1983) but this point is also made in other papers like Kachru (1992).

3CM's grounding within the larger Kachruvian paradigm, or are the limitations due to the 3CM being unable to cover the ideas suggested in the Kachruvian paradigm? One major hint may be taken in Kachru's reply to what this dissertation calls the fourth salient point, as seen in the previous paragraph, where Kachru mentions an idea, of a cline of proficiency, that suggests itself in the Kachruvian paradigm but is not represented in the 3CM. This alludes to the possibility that the limitations to the 3CM might lie with the model itself rather than with the Kachruvian paradigm. To explore this possibility of a rift between the 3CM and the Kachruvian paradigm, this chapter progresses in the next section to look into the ideas that make up the larger Kachruvian paradigm, before, in the section following the next, comparing the model with the paradigm.

## **2.2 The Paradigm**

This chapter now moves on to look at the larger set of ideas about World Englishes that Kachru have propounded, what have been called the Kachruvian paradigm (Canagarajah, 1999:180)<sup>7</sup>. Basically the formulation of this paradigm in the study of English in the world is in response to what Kachru calls the paradigms of marginality (Kachru, 1996b), which seek to restrict the scope of linguistic and cultural expression available to English users and to maintain long held beliefs about English that are not current to the language. The idea of paradigms of marginality would be looked into further in 2.2.5, but first, this chapter would start with the conceptualisation of World Englishes from the perspective Kachruvian paradigm.

---

<sup>7</sup> Much has been said about what the Kachruvian paradigm is or is not about. Section 2.2 uncritically explores the paradigm as a whole.

### 2.2.1 *The Kachruvian Paradigm and World Englishes*

For Kachru, the term World Englishes indicates a diversity in the use and users of English (Kachru, 1996a). This diversity manifests itself in the unique expressions of culture that have been imbued into the function of the language within each particular context of situation as well as in the form of the language that is used itself. More importantly, Kachru stresses that out of this diversity, there is a solidarity that exists and that bonds all the varieties, what he calls a *WE-ness* among the users of World Englishes, as opposed to an idea of an *us* versus *them* dichotomy (Kachru, 1996a). And this unity of users may be considered an English *diaspora*, a term which Kachru defines in this case as the spread of a language to “enormously diverse socio-cultural environments” (Kachru, 1992:230).

For Kachru, this diasporic spread of English came about in three phases (Kachru, 1992). The first phase consisted of the spread of English within the British Isles, and among peoples of similar socio-cultural backgrounds. In the second phase, English began to spread away from the British Isles, transplanted via the emigration of English speaking peoples from the British Isles to the other parts of the world. These first two phases of the spread of English entailed minimal changes to the linguistic behaviour of the speakers of the language and did not spread the language to significant numbers of people who were of dissimilar socio-cultural backgrounds. Kachru terms the groups involved in these first two phases the *first diaspora* of English.

In the third phase of the spread of English, the language was mainly spread due to the political and economic influence of the speakers of English.

Initially mostly in the colonies of the members of the first diaspora and later to other parts which were not under direct dominion of the first diaspora members, this third phase brought English into contexts of situation where the language was not numerically significantly represented. English also was brought into direct contact with other languages which it was not genetically nor culturally related to, and into contexts of situation that were not culturally related to English's north-western European origin. In most cases, the transfer of the English language to these new groups was not based on one solitary norm from the people of one particular member of the first diaspora but by members from different parts of the first diaspora at the same time. These groups where English had spread, and continues to spread, in this third phase, are members of what Kachru calls the *second diaspora* of English (Kachru, 1992:231-232).

In terms of the varieties of English that may be used in the various contexts where English is spoken, Kachru makes the differentiation between *performance varieties* and *institutionalised varieties* (Kachru 1982a). The performance varieties consist basically of the varieties which are employed chiefly as languages with which to communicate to foreign peoples. These varieties do not have particular relevance in the socio-cultural contexts of the people who speak them and any nominal modification to the name of the variety represents the performance characteristics of a geopolitical group rather than any status of it being linguistically institutionalised.

Institutionalised varieties (Kachru 1982a) on the other hand have a relevance of usage among members within a particular geopolitical group. These varieties have a wide range of registers and styles, and have effectively

been nativized into the particular socio-cultural contexts of situation of the particular groups. There is also a body of nativized literature that reflects the unique characteristics of these institutionalised varieties as compared to other varieties, although on the other hand these nativized literatures are still to be considered part of the larger body of English literature. These varieties attain their institutionalised status from their origin as performance varieties through a process of institutionalisation.

### **2.2.2 Institutionalisation**

According to Kachru, institutionalised varieties start-off as performance varieties, and with the realisation of certain characteristics over time take up the status of being institutionalised (Kachru, 1982a). These characteristics include having adopted the language over a long period of time, an increasingly wide functional load for the language, an increasingly important functional role for the language, a psychological importance to the members of the group, and a sociolinguistically important status for the language. Institutionalisation works in two processes, an *attitudinal process* and a *linguistic process*. Attitudinally, most of the speakers in a group should affiliate themselves with the nominal label that has been attached to the variety. Linguistically, a model that can express the formal characteristics of a *generally acceptable* expression of the variety should be feasible.

The consequences of the institutionalisation of a group's variety of English may be viewed in three ways (Kachru 1992). In the first way, the institutionalised variety may be seen to have expanded its *functional load* within various domains for the group, which could include the *instrumental*



*function* as a tool for learning and research, the *regulative function* as a language of administration and the judiciary, the *interpersonal function* as the language of communication within the group, and the *imaginative/innovative function* as the language for cultural production. Another way is to appreciate the *creative potential* of the variety as part of the national literatures of the group. This may be seen through its government's recognition of the role of the variety as a factor in the integration for the group, in the stance of its literati regarding the variety, and in the historical progression of literature for the group. One other way to look at the consequence of institutionalisation is that of the creation of a separate *socio-cultural identity* and the contextualization of the group's language production may result in the issue of lesser intelligibility with speakers of other varieties of English. And it is with this in mind that the topic moves to the diversification of English.

### **2.2.3 *Diversification, Acculturation and Nativization***

According to Kachru, the *diversification* of English into the different varieties as spoken worldwide happens through the two processes of *acculturation* and *nativization* (Kachru, 1992). Acculturation refers to the process of transference of the socio-cultural identity of a group to their particular variety of English. This may be in the form of the linguistic realization of the substratal thought process for a bilingual (Kachru, 1987a). Nativization (Kachru, 1992) refers to the process whereby a language that is appropriated by a group is tuned to the particular requirements of that group so that it fits their socio-cultural needs. This process involves their adaptation of English with respect to the linguistic and discoursal features of the traditional

language or languages that are available to the members of that particular group. And according to Kachru, nativization may be seen in the areas of *context, cohesion and cohesiveness*, and of *rhetorical strategies* (Kachru, 1987a).

In the nativization of context (Kachru, 1987a), the cultural presumptions of a group may not be fully addressed by previous understandings of English and thus require a reinterpretation through the lens of the local socio-cultural premise. In the nativization of cohesion and cohesiveness (Kachru, 1987a), patterns of collocation and combination of words, and the frequencies of particular lexical forms of a nativized English are affected by the patterns of language use for stylistic and attitudinal reasons. The results from these changes in cohesion and cohesiveness patterns then present not only the surface meaning as may be read directly from the lexical meanings of the localised constructs but also the contextualized meanings that might exist for that particular variety. And in the nativization of rhetorical strategies (Kachru, 1987a), a move to approximate the dominant code for a bilingual may cause a shift in the style and production of the nativized variety of English so as to create a feel of authenticity respecting the particular context of situation. This nativization of rhetorical strategies may be in the use of local similes and metaphors, rhetorical devices, translation or trans-creation of proverbs and idioms, use of culturally dependent speech styles, and the use of locally relevant syntactic devices.

It would be pertinent at this point to add a short digression to convey Kachru's ideas on *nativeness* of a language. For Kachru, the idea of nativeness may be looked at from the perspective of *genetic nativeness* and of *functional*

*nativeness* (Kachru, 2005). Genetic nativeness refers to the historical relationships of contact and convergence between languages with a substratum of cultural affiliation, forming clear familial relationships based on the realisations of shared distinctive features. Functional nativeness on the other hand is based on the *range*, of domains of function, and *depth*, or degree of penetration, of a language in a particular context of situation. Some factors that could affect this functional nativeness have been identified by Kachru to include, within a particular context of situation, the status of a variety, the range of functional domains the variety is employed, the richness of the expressions of distinctiveness, the linguistic realisations of acculturation and nativization, the richness of new literature contributions, and the tags used to express attitudes towards the variety.

It is through the two processes of nativization and acculturation that a variety develops its characteristic identity both linguistically and socio-culturally. And Kachru posits three contexts for this move to diversification (Kachru, 1987b). The first context is in relation to the need for *distance*, or the need for a group to set itself away from others in socio-cultural terms. The second is as an illustration of *creative potential*, where a group tries to show its uniqueness vis-à-vis the rest of the world. The third is as an expression of what Kachru calls the '*Caliban syndrome*', or the desire to neutralize the colonial nature of the language by appropriating and indigenising it. The processes that cause a shift towards multi-identities of English come about in three main areas, namely, the shift in the traditional interlocutors, the expansion of the canon, and changes in discursal organisation (Kachru, 1996a). But as was mentioned at the end of 2.2.2, this diversification of

English has the potential consequence of making diversified English less intelligible internationally.

The idea of increased diversity has resulted in the call to manage this diversification of English, and this call may be broken down into three concerns (Kachru, 1987b), namely, the decay in proficiency in English, the decay in international intelligibility, and an indifference to the 'native speaker' role as the guardian of English.

The first concern deals with the perception that with diversification has come a decay (sic) (Kachru, 1987b) in the proficiency of English among the speakers of the new varieties. Kachru points out that there is no empirical evidence that this has in fact taken place, and suggests that with the increasing numbers of learners of English, there is inadvertently an increase in those who have not become fully proficient in English as well as an increase in organisations that are not well equipped to teach the language (Kachru, 1987b).

The second concern deals with the idea that a diversified language makes international intelligibility potentially more difficult. Kachru suggests four ways of looking at this concern (Kachru, 1987b). Firstly, intranational communication is the main purpose of use of an institutionalised variety, and there are very few domains of international communications and these involve only a small number of people. In the past two decades, the internet revolution and the increase in international travel, amongst other reasons, has increased the number of people involved in international communication. This would seem to reduce the utility of this first view suggested by Kachru. Secondly, the responsibility for international intelligibility is a mutual or multilateral

endeavour of the parties in communication, and an acceptance of variation needs to be inculcated. Thirdly, there is no major current issue with intelligibility in actual international communications and any fear for the breakdown of intelligibility is greatly overstated. And fourthly, the international use of a language is tied to the internationalization of a language, which results inevitably in the nativization and acculturation of the language.

The third concern deals with the move away from the norms of the native speaker. A discussion of the concept of 'native speaker' would be avoided here as it will be addressed in 2.2.7. Suffice to say at this point that Kachru questions the necessity of native speaker language production as a model for language use and propounds the use of regional norms (Kachru, 1987b). This preference for the regionalisation of norms, especially in contexts where English is an introduced language, is linked to his observations on the bilingual's grammar.

#### ***2.2.4 Bilingual's Grammar, Barriers to Intelligibility, and Hierarchies of Varieties***

Due to a bilingual's code repertoire and capacity to switch and mix code, Kachru made four observations on a bilingual's grammar (Kachru, 1987a). Firstly, the creative production of a bilingual is based on the multiplex norms of style and form that exist in their repertoire and cannot thus be judged from the perspective of any one tradition, whether indigenous or introduced. Secondly, the nativization and acculturation of a variety assumes that the relevant variety exists in a sociolinguistic context of situation that is unique and thus requires the particular variation in language. Thirdly, the creative

production of a bilingual is a result of the negotiation of two or more codes and thus this new code has to be contextualized within the aspects of this particular linguistic landscape. And fourthly, the creative production of a bilingual should not be seen as merely a formal blend of the underlying linguistic codes but rather as a negotiated product from various available choices which, on the one hand restricts the direct relevance of such a creative product to the local context of situation while, on the other hand, widens the cumulative potential of English as a whole.

Thus, to understand the socio-culturally specific realisations of a particular variety of English, the sociolinguistic underpinnings of the particular grouping have to be understood. There is thus a need to base the understanding of creative production of a particular variety on the relevant local norm and not from some idealised international or native speaker norm. Going back to the point of intelligibility, Kachru points out that the barriers to intelligibility lie at two levels (Kachru, 1987a). Firstly, at the surface level structures of culturally specific forms of textual realisation. Secondly, at the deeper level of the linguistic realization of the substratal thought process. To not have a realisation of how these barriers exist would be a clash of an assumption of a *nativist monomodel idealization* and the *functional polymodel reality* that exists (Kachru, 1990).

In the nativist monomodel approach (Kachru, 1982a), a presumption is made that language learners, wherever English is an introduced language, have a uniformity in language usage as well as more or less identical functional roles for English. Further, it assumes that the reason for the learning of the language throughout those areas is the same. These two suppositions thus

imply that the contexts of situation for all these varied groups are the same. This, as Kachru states, is obviously not the case. Whereas in the case of the functional polymodel approach, the basis for understanding in this model is centred on a pragmatic consideration of the functional actuality in each case, where variability may exist in acquisition, function, and the context of situation.

In such a functional polymodel approach, there is a recognition of the clines of bilingualism and a hierarchy of *varieties within a variety* of a group (Kachru, 1992), where variation within a group manifests itself in a *cline of education* as well as in a *cline of social prestige*, with a continuum from the acrolectal to the mesolectal and to the basilectal. But within the clines, each lectal variety has its defined domains of use, and in this *cline of appropriateness*, those speakers who have competence in the various lectal varieties may move from one to another for functional as well as contextual requirements. Furthermore, although the acrolectal variety is regarded as the most esteemed socially, it does not necessarily follow that it is the most widely used.

This discussion of different approaches to variation in English brings up the next point of the approaches to the understanding of English as a whole.

### ***2.2.5 Approaches to the Study of English in the World***

Kachru mentions the possibility of two approaches to looking at the rapid and diverse spread of English in the world (Kachru, 1996b). Firstly, there is the option of viewing this situation as a continuing process of language change and adaptation to the varying socio-cultural conditions that a

language faces. This is what Kachru calls the *paradigms of creativity*, where the varieties of English and the diversity of functional and formal realisation reflect the diversity of contexts of situation that users of the language would face. And this approach would entail the questioning of previously held beliefs regarding English in the world if they were to contradict sociolinguistic evidence.

Secondly (Kachru, 1996b), there is the option to ignore the sociolinguistic realities of the situation, and to marginalize theoretical, methodological, and ideological questions which seek to problematize earlier beliefs about language acquisition, function, contact and creativity. Kachru calls this the *paradigms of marginality*. The paradigms of marginality perpetuate a *discourse of marginality*, which seeks to disempower any challenges to the status quo ante through the collective tactics of *derationalization* of any challenges, of *normalization* of evident differences, and that of behaving like a *sociolinguistic ostrich* ignoring the reality that is readily apparent (Kachru 1996b). And this discourse of marginality helps to maintain what Kachru calls the ‘fallacies about the forms and functions of World Englishes (Kachru, 1996a:148).

### ***2.2.6 Fallacies/Myths Regarding World Englishes, and their Arms of Control***

Kachru lists six fallacies (Kachru, 1996a), or what he later calls myths (Kachru, 2005), that exist regarding the understanding of World Englishes. The first two fallacies involve a perceived *hierarchy* of varieties, the third and fourth involve *canonicity* and the restrictions on the *message* and *medium*, or



what Kachru might call *mantra* and *madhyama* (Kachru, 2005), respectively, and the last two involve *iconicity* or the control over what may or may not be considered creative production.

The first fallacy deals with the interlocutors in English. It is focused on the assumption that English is introduced primarily to communicate with native speakers of the language. But Kachru mentions that recent studies have shown this is not the case, and that most uses of English take place in nativized contexts between members of the same grouping or with other such speakers of different groupings (Kachru, 1996a). The second fallacy deals with the idea that English is primarily learnt as a conduit into Western, Judeo-Christian culture and tradition. In reality, the nativization and acculturation of English as mentioned in 2.2.3 suggests that this is plainly not the case, and that English is learnt mainly for the pragmatic reason of its utility in communication and cultural exchange.

The third fallacy claims that there is an intrinsic need to employ exocentric native speaker norms. This runs against the idea of the bilingual's grammar as covered in 2.2.4, which suggests a relation between local usage patterns and localized contexts of situation. The fourth is an assumption that the ultimate goal of a learner of English is to achieve 'native-like' performance. Again, as covered in 2.2.4, the bilingual's grammar is formed through a negotiation of the various codes available and is an amalgamation of these various codes. And a learner picks up as much as is necessary for the learner to function and there is no intrinsic need to achieve 'native-like' performance.

The fifth fallacy deals with the need for the contribution of native speakers in the spread and administration of English across the world. Kachru mentions that on the contrary, the spread of English and the motivation to learn and to teach English lies very much in the hands of the various groups in their own countries (Kachru, 1996a). And the last fallacy suggests that diversity and variation in English is an indicator of the decay (sic) in English. As mentioned in 2.2.3 and 2.2.4, while diversity and variation may mean the localization of contexts, a greater variability in proficiency and a possible reduction in international intelligibility, on the flip side, more people are able to use English in a greater variety of contexts in a richer array of linguistic expressions.

These fallacies or myths exert their influence on language varieties by influencing the process of language control which Kachru calls the *linguistic arms of control* (Kachru, 2005). These include the *control of production* referencing ideas of perceived standards, the *control of functions* referencing models of specific language production (such as English for Special Purposes) or of schemas for genres of production or of ideas of achieving communicative competence, the *control of channels of authentication and authority* referencing the status of nativeness, the *control of criteria for legitimization of creative production for a variety*, and a *control of definitions of acceptability*.

With the identification of these fallacies or myths and how they exert control over varieties, Kachru suggests an elimination of these ‘sacred linguistic cows’ that hinder the study of World Englishes.

### 2.2.7 *Sacred Linguistic Cows*

Kachru mentions four types of *sacred linguistic cows* that need to be dealt with that currently hinder efforts to further the understanding of World Englishes (Kachru, 1987b). These are the *acquisitional*, *sociolinguistic*, *pedagogical* and *theoretical*. The acquisitional sacred cow refers to how, with the existence of a paradigm lag and the idea of ‘interference’ as an unwanted intrusion to language production, institutionalised non-native varieties will always be conceptualised as being ‘deviant’, ‘fossilised’ and an ‘interlanguage’, among other derogative descriptors. Kachru calls this a *conceptual trap* that will always prevent non-native varieties of English from achieving parity with the native varieties by default.

The sociolinguistic sacred cow centres on the idea that English is learnt and employed in an integrative role respecting the Western, Judeo-Christian tradition. Again, as mentioned in 2.2.6 regarding the first and second fallacies regarding World Englishes, this is plainly not the case. The pedagogical sacred cow focuses on how the specific diverse needs for learners of English have not been recognized in the areas of models of English, teaching methods, motivations in learning the language, and teaching materials, where the sociolinguistic contexts of learners are not taken into account.

The theoretical sacred cow may be broken down into three concepts, namely the *speech community of English*, the ‘*ideal speaker-hearer*’, and the ‘*native speaker*’. In the case of the speech community of English, the great complexity and diversity of institutionalised varieties that exists now of speakers of English needs to be taken into account in the conceptualization of an English language speech community. For Kachru, the concept of the ‘ideal

speaker-hearer' is a romanticized idea at worst and at best a simplification of the archetypical North-Western speaker of the language with a certain set of socio-cultural baggage, and thus this concept has to be questioned in the face of great diversity which has made the assumption of a typical speaker just about impossible (Kachru, 1987b).

The last part of the theoretical sacred cow deals with the idea of the 'native speaker', which faces three possible complications. Firstly, non-traditional speakers of institutionalised English introduce the possibility of bilingual language users being perfectly competent in English and thus bringing into question the utility of this monolingual concept of 'native speaker'. Secondly, cultural production from these non-traditional speakers of English is a significant and growing contribution to English literature as a whole and this brings into question the idea of the sole canonicity of native speaker production. And thirdly, Kachru suggests that the idea of native 'speaker-hood' is increasingly attitudinal, of those who consider themselves 'native' and those who prefer to think themselves non-native, rather than linguistic (Kachru, 2005). As pointed out in 2.2.3, Kachru believes that the idea of nativeness should be looked at not only from the traditional point of view of what he calls genetic nativeness but also the point of view of what he terms functional nativeness which deals with the range and depth of language use for a particular grouping (Kachru, 2005).

Kachru believes that, with the understanding that these sacred linguistic cows are not really dealing with linguistic beliefs but rather with attitudinal and ethnocentric beliefs, the elimination of these sacred cows can

clear the way to a better understanding of World Englishes from a pragmatic, sociolinguistic perspective (Kachru, 1987b).

## **2.3 The Three Circles and the Kachruvian Paradigm: Examining Rifts**

### **2.3.1 *Rifts and Inadequacies***

With the study of the Kachruvian paradigm covered in the previous section, this chapter returns to the idea of a possible rift between the 3CM and the Kachruvian paradigm as suggested in 2.1.5. Looking at the Kachruvian paradigm as a whole, and referencing the ideas suggested by the 3CM as well as the two critiques of that model, three areas of concern regarding rifts between the 3CM and the Kachruvian paradigm have been identified for further discussion here.

The first area concerns the very conceptualisation of World Englishes. As pointed out in 2.2.1, Kachru stresses the importance of a unity in diversity as opposed to an *us* versus *them* dichotomy in the study of World Englishes (Kachru, 1996a). This is a crucial point which underlies the belief that institutionalised varieties everywhere are as legitimate for their particular contexts of situation as any other no matter the origin, cultural heritage or history. Looking at the 3CM, this point might seem to be missing. The structure of the 3CM divides the varieties worldwide into three realms of existence, with the gulf between the institutionalised IC and OC seemingly unbreachable. This impenetrability may be implied by, as pointed out in 2.1.2, Kachru's belief that while membership in the OC and EC may change between one and the other over time (Kachru 1985), the IC remains composed of the

“the *traditional* cultural and linguistic *bases* of English” (Kachru, 1984:25; emphasis added). This suggests an idea of an exclusive group, which is very much reflected in the name ‘Inner Circle’, and could be construed to reflect the notion of the ‘native speaker’, with the other circles representing the ‘non-native’. This appears to be a major rift between the 3CM and the Kachruvian paradigm, the latter of which crucially runs on the basis that there should not be an *us* versus *them* dichotomy in the study of World Englishes. The idea of inequity was brought up as the second salient point of the critiques of the 3CM in 2.1.5, and as evidenced here, is thus a failure of the 3CM but not of the Kachruvian paradigm.

The second area of concern regards, as expressed in 2.2.4, the point made by Kachru that there is a hierarchy of varieties within a variety, structured within lectal continua based on education and prestige (Kachru, 1992). While not contradicting this point, the 3CM fails to fully describe this situation within its graphical structure as it attempts to represent varietal differentiation without making clear whether the differences are between standard varieties or non-standard ones, institutionalized or performance varieties. This directly addresses the third and fourth salient points regarding diversity within a speech fellowship brought up by the critiques covered in 2.1.5, and again, it is the 3CM that is found lacking rather than the Kachruvian paradigm.

An additional issue to make at this point, especially within the larger Kachruvian paradigm, about varieties is the possible confusion of the terms variety and varieties within a variety which are varieties in their own right. This possible fount of confusion could lead to misunderstandings at a very

basic level, for example in the frequent employ of basilectal varieties as representative of national varieties in the OC in comparison with Standard Englishes from IC groups as the justification for exonormative standards in education.

These conflicts suggest a possible retreat into a discourse of marginality, in what Kachru might call the sociolinguistic ostrich behaviour (Kachru, 1996b)<sup>8</sup>, in the case of the 3CM on the evidence that the model fails to take into account the changing and changeable nature of varieties of World Englishes as well as failing to show the intricacies of varietal realisations as they exist within the model. But this need not relegate the 3CM to obsolescence if the 3CM were set to an appropriate context. And this recontextualization may be through the lens of a historical study of the spread of English. Before moving on, this dissertation would reiterate that the Kachruvian paradigm amply answers the critiques to the 3CM suggested in 2.1.5, and the paradigm thus remains vital in its description of the World Englishes situation.

### **2.3.2 *Recontextualizing the 3CM***

The first area of concern regarding the apparent *us* versus *them* dichotomy may be seen from a historical context. English had spread differently in the IC, the OC and the EC, and Kachru mentions as much in his discussions on the first and second diasporas (Kachru, 1992)<sup>9</sup>. But this differentiation in spread, according to the Kachruvian paradigm, need not imply any differentiation in the usage of the language among speakers

---

<sup>8</sup> See 2.2.5.

<sup>9</sup> See 2.2.1.

worldwide. To contextualize the model to reflect this, the 3CM should thus be seen as a historical representation of the spread of English across the world, without the allusion of differentiation of use or status between circles. Thus, the IC groups may be seen as part of the first diaspora, the OC groups as members of the second diaspora where English had spread through direct colonial influence from an English speaking entity, and EC groups as members of the second diaspora where English had not spread through direct colonial influence. Movement between circles would thus not be a point of contention as the circles would just describe phases in the spread of English and not varietal typology.

The second area of concern deals with the ambiguity in the groups represented in the 3CM, whether they are standard or non-standard, institutionalized or performance, varieties. This point may be addressed with the understanding that the 3CM is a model illustrating the historical spread of English, and that the groups appearing in the model represent the peoples who use the language and are located within the model according to the historical spread of the language to these varied peoples.

On the other hand, the Kachruvian paradigm as well as the 3CM could benefit from a clarification of terms, as raised in the fourth area of concern. As pointed out in 2.1.2, Kachru's idea, as stated in Kachru (1985), of utilizing the definition of a narrow speech fellowship in concert with the wider collective of speech community based on Firth's initial suggestion of the concepts (Firth, 1959), could clarify the idea of varieties and varieties within varieties. From this perspective, the particular groupings may be seen as speech fellowships and each of the speech fellowships would have a range of varieties as part of



their lectal repertoire. The collective of speech fellowships would then form the larger speech community. This clarification could stand to benefit the 3CM, the Kachruvian paradigm as a whole, as well as any possible model that seeks to embody a graphical representation of the Kachruvian paradigm.

With these caveats in place, the 3CM may still be seen as a valuable model to facilitate studies mainly concerned with groups of speakers as defined by how language had spread to their particular groupings from a historical perspective, not concerning itself with the idea of varieties. But as brought into evidence in this chapter, there remains a need for a model that can represent the sociolinguistic structure of World Englishes at any point in time. To address this, and with the salient points brought up in the two critiques of the 3CM, Jenkins' (2003a) and Bruthiaux's (2003), the next chapter looks at alternative models for World Englishes.

### 3 ALTERNATIVE MODEL FOR A KACHRUVIAN PARADIGM

The previous chapter looked at the *Three Circles Model* (3CM) of World Englishes and found it wanting as a model for the larger Kachruvian paradigm. In this chapter, alternative models would be looked at to explore the options that might be available to better illustrate the nuances of the Kachruvian paradigm. But before looking for an alternative model that could better represent the wider Kachruvian paradigm, there remains three questions that need to be answered: (1) Why the emphasis of the Kachruvian paradigm for the study of English in the world? (2) Is there a need for a model at all to address a paradigm? (3) What are the criteria for such a model? Only after these questions have been addressed to some certain extent can the search for an alternative continue.

#### 3.1 Questions about Models

##### 3.1.1 *Choice of Paradigm for World Englishes*

The first question posed at the beginning of this chapter concerns the very important point of why the emphasis on the Kachruvian paradigm in the study of English in the world. There are certainly other paradigms which allow for alternative approaches to the study. Pakir (2008) suggests that the Kachruvian World Englishes paradigm is but one of three paradigms that are available in this area of study, the others being the *International English* (IE) and the *English as a Lingua Franca* (ELF) paradigms<sup>10</sup>. To these may be added Edgar Schneider's *Postcolonial English* (PCE) paradigm (Schneider,

---

<sup>10</sup> Refer to Pakir (2008) for a discussion of these paradigms.

2007), which approaches the study of English in the world from a diachronic perspective. And Bolton (2006) suggests numerous other approaches to the study of World Englishes.

While this question of paradigm choice is an important one to keep in mind when working in any field of study, to answer the question in its entirety would be beyond the scope of this dissertation, and would require an entire paper on its own to cover all aspects of the discussion<sup>11</sup>. Suffice it to say that the Kachruvian paradigm has been, and continues to be, an influential model in the study of English in the world, as evidenced by the amount of academic work devoted to this topic over the years, and to its influence in informing both academic researchers as well as those involved in language policy on aspects of English as it exists in the world. And with this continued relevance, there follows the question of whether there is a continued need to represent the paradigm diagrammatically for those who have a stake in the understanding of English in the world.

### ***3.1.2 Need for a Model***

The second question posed at the beginning of this chapter asks the pertinent question of why there is a need for a model at all. The Kachruvian paradigm, as seen in Chapter 2, covers a wide swath of sociolinguistic ground. Thus, any model of the paradigm could at best be an extreme abstraction of the paradigm. On the other hand, a model could also lead to misunderstandings and misrepresentations of the paradigm if it were to be ill-formed, mis-contextualised, or, worst of all, contradicts the paradigm itself.

---

<sup>11</sup> A discussion of the merits of various approaches is available in Bolton (2006).

In his critique of the 3CM, Bruthiaux addressed this issue in three ways (Bruthiaux, 2003). Firstly, he states that any process of analytic abstraction is a process of modelling and this in and of itself should not diminish the utility of a model. He goes on to mention that there is an inherent need in research to move from the collection and processing of raw facts and patterns to the presentation of the processed data in an instructive format. And this processed format, with its distilled clarity, is necessary to clearly represent trends, patterns, and recommendations to societal and governmental language policymakers in order that people of different levels of academic background may develop informed opinions on the matters at hand.

### ***3.1.3 Criteria for a Model***

The last of the three questions proposed at the start of this chapter deals with the criteria by which a model may be judged as to its efficacy. This, again, was addressed in Bruthiaux (2003), which suggests three criteria.

Firstly, there needs to be a balance between sociolinguistic descriptive accuracy and clarity of presentation. A model should on the one hand present a sociolinguistically accurate depiction of the events in question, thus necessitating a detailed representation of the factors involved. On the other hand, if too much detail is presented in the model, it could potentially reduce the explanatory clarity of a model and this defeats the purpose of having a model, as discussed in 3.1.2, in the first place. A balance need thus be struck between these two competing requirements.

The second criterion deals with categorisations to be used by a model of sociolinguistic behaviour. These categorisations, according to Bruthiaux,

should avoid non-linguistically determined labels, such as political boundaries, but rather embrace sociolinguistically determined ones, such as ‘coherent communities of speakers’ and what makes them ‘coherent’. Boundaries of the first type are liable to oversimplify the sociolinguistic contexts of situation, and this oversimplification could gloss over the richness in diversity and potential of the varieties that exist.

The third criterion suggests a need for parsimony. A model should thus be prudent in its descriptiveness, illustrating only the areas of sociolinguistic dissonance, as well as the context, relevant to the topic at hand. One last criterion that this dissertation would add to this list of four would be that the model necessarily needs to accurately represent the paradigm that it is supposed to illustrate, provided obviously that the paradigm is not flawed. This last criterion of course is the reason why this search for an alternative model is being done, and is probably the most basic criterion in this dissertation.

### **3.2 Alternative Models**

With questions of choice and relevance explored, and with the criteria of efficacy in mind, this chapter moves on to explore the models that have been suggested in the literature on Englishes in the world as modifications or alternatives to the 3CM, or from which may be modified to illustrate the global disposition of World Englishes according to the Kachruvian paradigm. These alternatives may be divided into three types: modifications to the 3CM (3.2.1); models from alternative paradigms (3.2.2); and previously suggested three dimensional sociolinguistic models (3.2.3).

One point to note here is that the taxonomical models<sup>12</sup> of the Englishes in the world, as suggested in Strevens (1992), McArthur (1987) and Görlach (1988), have not been included in this survey of alternatives. These models seek to illustrate the genetic relationship between models by arranging varieties according to their closest linguistic kin, appealing to both the historical relationship between varieties as well as the geographical proximity of these varieties as guides to classification. As taxonomical models of World Englishes, they prove themselves immensely useful in describing the historical and genetic relationship between varieties. On the other hand, they have limited explanatory powers in the description of the sociolinguistic variation of these varieties of World Englishes<sup>13</sup>.

### **3.2.1 *Modification of the 3CM***

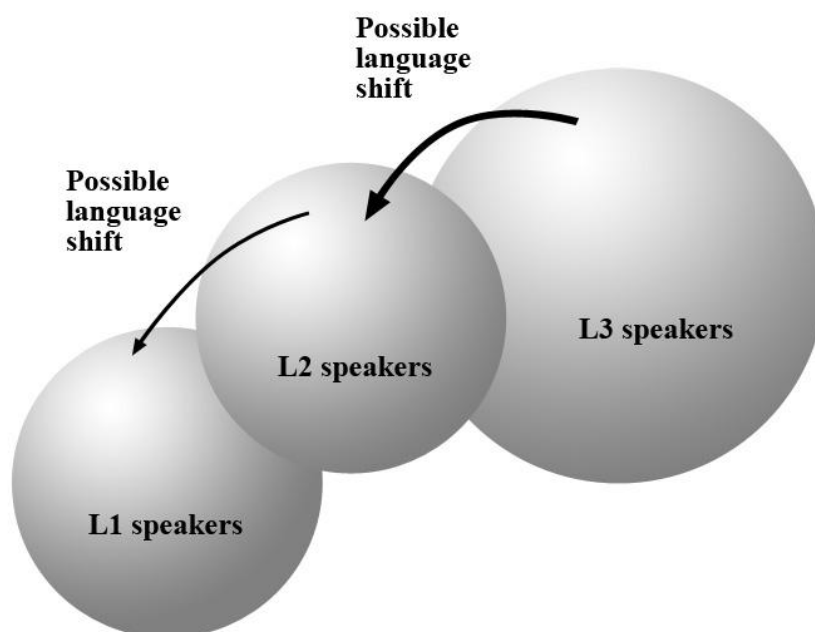
Two notable attempts have been made in modifying the 3CM with the aim of improving its sociolinguistic explanatory capacity by the alteration of the relationships between the constituents of the circles. The first instance of modification to be highlighted here, illustrated in Figure 3.1, was proposed in Graddol (1997). David Graddol changed the labels from *Inner Circle* (IC), *Outer Circle* (OC) and *Expanding Circle* (EC) to L1 speakers, L2 speakers and L3 speakers, but these are but minor modifications of the 3CM. The major modification that Graddol proposed was the idea of having the three circles actually overlap in their coverage, with explicit directions of shifts between circles, from the EC to the OC and from the OC to the IC. However, there is

---

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix B -D for the diagrams of the three taxonomical models described in this section.

<sup>13</sup> For more information about these, as well as previous, taxonomical models, refer to McArthur (1998).

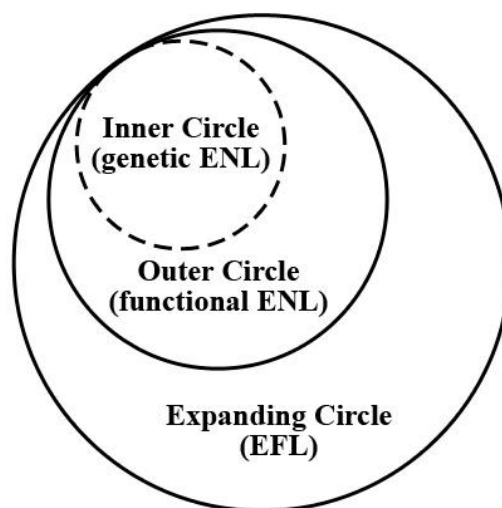
no explanation of how the overlaps operate, nor, as Bruthiaux (2003) points out, at what level of abstraction, whether as countries, speakers or varieties, these overlaps exist. Additionally, the direction of shifts, as illustrated in Graddol's modified model, suggest a unidirectional travel from EC to OC to IC, which ignores the possibility of a shift in the opposite direction, from the OC to the EC, a phenomenon Kachru had mentioned, and as covered in 2.1.2, could happen in the event of changes in the context of situation. Graddol's modification thus fails to improve on the explanatory powers of the 3CM and even manages to contradict the Kachruvian paradigm regarding the shifts of speakers.



*Figure 3.1*  
*David Graddol's modification to the Three Circles Model*  
*(Adapted from Graddol, 1997)*

The second instance of modification, illustrated in Figure 3.2, comes from Yano (2001). Yano Yasukata suggests that as members of the OC develop more 'established' (sic) varieties, they may consider themselves

‘native’ speakers of English as well. This, as Yano points out, could be described in the Kachruvian paradigm in terms of functional nativeness, as mentioned in 2.2.3, as compared to the genetic nativeness of the IC members. And with the continuing inflow of immigrants into IC members, there would be more people and entire communities within the IC countries where English would function similarly to how it does in the OC. Due to these reasons, Yano states that the border between the IC and the OC would become less and less significant with time. He suggests then to use dotted lines to signify the border between the IC and OC to signify this change.



*Figure 3.2*  
*Yano Yasukata's modification to the Three Circles Model*  
*(Adapted from Yano, 2001)*

Commenting on Yano's modification, Bruthiaux (2003) states that the use of the loaded idea 'genetic' could lead to accidental or deliberate misunderstandings as to definitions of nativeness and race, although, as pointed out in 2.2.3, Kachru had clearly defined the usage of the term 'genetic'. There could also be a wide gap in proficiency within OC countries



that would make any assumption of nativeness on the part of OC countries problematic. But in the same paper where this modification was proposed (Yano, 2001), Yano goes on to suggest a more radically different model for World Englishes, and this would be covered in 3.2.2.

Looking at these modifications to the 3CM, it may be noted that due possibly to the restrictions owing to their being tied to the 3CM structure, the models are still deficient in forming better descriptions of the Kachruvian paradigm. The following sections make a clean break from the 3CM to study sociolinguistic models that address World Englishes in alternative ways.

### ***3.2.2 Models from Alternative Paradigms***

As mentioned in 3.1.1, some of the other paradigms that have provided an approach into the understanding of English in the world include the IE, ELF and the PCE. The IE paradigm, which presupposes the idea of a monomodel English, would obviously not be a good place to search for a model that graphically represents the Kachruvian paradigm. Of the others, the ELF paradigm, or rather a precursor of the ELF paradigm, provides some alternative ideas for models of English in the world. The PCE on the other hand does not provide a graphical model in the same sense as that provided by the 'proto-ELF' model or the 3CM itself, but does provide a basis for a model and this would be looked at. Notwithstanding the difference in paradigms, it would be interesting to see if these models could provide at least an impetus for a new model for the Kachruvian paradigm.

In his article on the form of English that should be taught for international communication, Marko Modiano identified two shortcomings he perceived in the 3CM model of World Englishes, namely, that the model

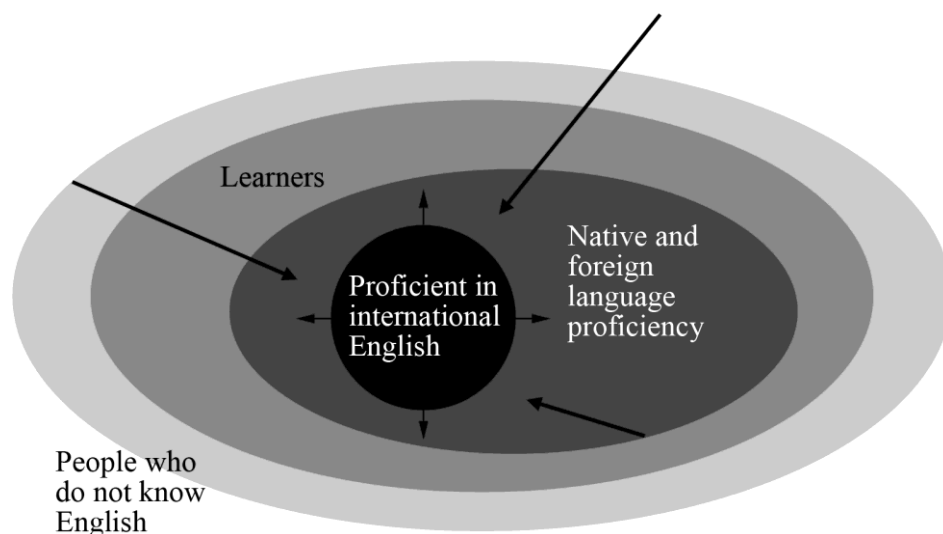
implies a central importance for the IC, as well as the fact that not all members of IC groups speak internationally intelligible forms of English (Modiano, 1999a). These shortcomings identified are of course consonant with the salient critiques discussed in 2.1.5, mainly the second and a combination of the third and fourth salient points. As a response, Modiano suggests an alternative take to English in the world, from a pedagogical perspective, and in the form of his *Centripetal Circles Model* (CCM) of International English. One caveat at this point: the ‘International English’ suggested in this model does not correspond to the IE paradigm as mentioned in 3.1.1. In fact, the form of English advocated by the CCM, what Modiano calls *English as an International Language* (EIL), is diametrically opposite to the Standard English that is advocated by IE in that it calls for an amalgamated code of English for the purpose of international communication, and this code may be seen as a precursor to the lingua franca English that is advocated in the ELF paradigm.

Modiano’s CCM is shown in Figure 3.3. Central to this model is the idea of EIL. This is the form of English that Modiano believes is internationally intelligible to all educated speakers of English wherever they may originate. The two criteria to qualify for this is that the speaker must be proficient in the norms of EIL and the speaker must not speak with a strong accent. And contrary to the idea of Standard English that is advocated by the IE paradigm which is based on ‘native’<sup>14</sup> speaker norms, EIL is based on the idea of an English that is minimally complex yet maximally expressive, and whose norms are defined from the usage patterns of competent ‘non-native speakers’ of English on the assumption that these speakers would possess a

---

<sup>14</sup> See 2.2.7 for a discussion of the problematic nature of the term ‘native’.

form of English that is more neutral and less culturally specific than that of ‘native speakers’ and would thus be more accessible to a wider range of audiences (Modiano, 2000). In the CCM, the core is made up of the people who are proficient in EIL. These people may belong to the ‘native speaker’ groups or to ‘non-native speaker’ groups. The only criterion for inclusion in this group is that the speakers must possess a form of English that is readily intelligible internationally, as mentioned above. In judging intelligibility, Modiano makes the important assumption that good communication, and thus intelligibility, is self evident to language users, and that the point where communication is hindered by the language employed by the locutors would be obvious due to continually broken down exchanges.



*Figure 3.3*  
*Centripetal Circles Model of International English*  
*(Adapted from Modiano, 1999a)*

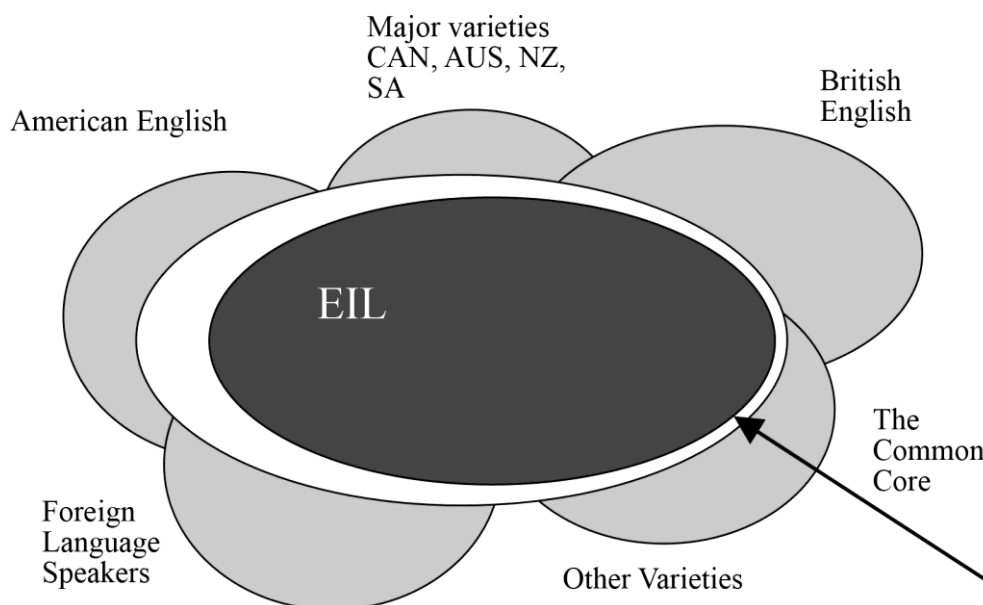
The second circle, the circle immediately outside of the core as seen in Figure 3.3, consists of competent speakers of locally viable but internationally impenetrable varieties. These, again, could involve both ‘native speakers’ and ‘non-native speakers’. The third circle includes learners in the process of

acquiring English of some form, and the outer most fourth circle would include people who do not speak any English at all.

One central idea in the CCM is that there is a desire by the speakers to attain a variety of English that is viable in international communication. Thus learners of English would strive to acquire such a variety. Additionally, 'native' and 'non-native' speakers of English would also strive to be able to at least code-switch to an internationally intelligible variety of English when the need arises for its employ. This is the centripetal force that informs the name of the model, and is represented in the model by the arrows pointing towards the core of the model. And the arrows emanating from the core EIL portion suggests that the number of constituents, and thus the size, of the core would increase as a result of this centripetal pressure.

In a later paper, Modiano proposes another model specifically targeted at the EIL, what can be called the *EIL Model* (EILM) (Modiano, 1999b), as opposed to the CCM shown above. As seen in Figure 3.4, the EILM breaks down the community of English speakers into five, namely, speakers of American English, of British English, of major varieties of English like Canadian, Australian, New Zealander or South African Englishes, of other localised varieties of English like Indian or Singaporean English, and foreign language speakers of English. These various groups are represented by the lobes that may be seen on the periphery of the model. These lobes are said to extend below the other visible components of the model, and into the core of the model. The common features of the various Englishes, where the lobes intersect, would form the basis of the shared common core of EIL that is intelligible to "a majority of native and competent non-native speakers of

English” (Modiano, 1999b:11). Just outside of this core is another circle which contains features of the various underlying, and unseen, lobes that are either on the way to being universally understood, or on the way to international obscurity. And the visible lobes at the periphery represent the idiosyncratic features which would not be readily intelligible to speakers of other varieties of English.



*Figure 3.4*  
*English as an International Language Model*  
*(Adapted from Modiano, 1999b)*

While it is not in the scope of this dissertation to question the relative merits of the EIL/ELF paradigm, it is pertinent here to look at the efficacy of these two models from the Kachruvian paradigm that underlies the search for a new model. One particular difficulty in the CCM, as mentioned in Jenkins (2003a), would lie in differentiating intelligibility in the model. On the one hand, there is the question of how strong an accent would lie the cut-off for being unintelligible, and who the judge of this would be. On the other hand, while proficiency is taken into account, due to the as yet amorphous nature of

the EIL, it is rather difficult to form any basis for defining proficiency. Respecting the Kachruvian paradigm, while this model could potentially form a basis for looking at varieties from the basis of proficiency rather than genetics, its non-differentiation of varieties as used around the world makes it difficult to express sociolinguistic relationships such as functional range of varieties employed around the world and their varietal stability.

Regarding the EILM, Jenkins (2003a) suggests that the difficulty of differentiating intelligibility and proficiency remains to be answered. Additionally, Jenkins (2003a) questions the idea of the core being representative of features intelligible to “a majority of native and competent non-native speakers” (Modiano, 1999b:11), which suggests an implication that all native speakers are competent in English, which Jenkins states is clearly not the case. Jenkins (2003a) also mentions the possibility of a suggestion of inequality in naming ‘native’ varieties as ‘Major’ while all the other ‘non-native’ varieties are lumped under the heading of ‘Other varieties’. While the EILM seems to present more problems than the CCM, in the case of applying the model to the Kachruvian paradigm, it has the admittedly minor advantage, over the CCM, of being more finely differentiated in terms of the users of English, minor as there is no systematic mechanism available to suggest differences in functional range of the varieties nor their varietal stability. But on the whole, with the shortcomings mentioned above, both models prove not to be suitable as a replacement of the 3CM as a fuller model of World Englishes.

The next model to be looked at comes from the PCE paradigm. While Schneider, who advocates the concept of PCE, does not present a graphical

model for Englishes in the world, it would not be difficult to derive one from his very systematic approach, what is called a *Dynamic Model of Postcolonial English* (DM-PCE), which is a diachronic study of English varieties (Schneider, 2007). The PCE paradigm looks at English in each community through its life cycle from the foundation of the community through some form of colonial presence through to its development as a stable, differentiated variety. While this may seem to apply only to OC varieties that have undergone colonial domination, Schneider expands it to include IC experiences as well, including even that of England itself.

In the description of DM-PCE in Schneider (2007), Englishes may be seen to go through a five stage process of evolution: (1) *foundation*, (2) *exonormative stabilisation*, (3) *nativization*, (4) *endonormative stabilisation*, and (5) *differentiation*. In the foundation stage, communities start out through some form of colonial action<sup>15</sup>, which brings speakers of English into contact with speakers of other languages, which results in some minimal cross cultural linguistic exchange. As the colonial presence establishes itself, the community moves into the exonormative stabilisation stage, where English becomes instituted as the language of colonial control, resulting in a greater presence of the language, under exonormative norms, among the speakers of other languages in that community. As ties within a colonial community grow stronger and that with its 'home' country weakens, the community moves on to the stage of nativization, where widespread language contact and evolving cultural identity affects the use of English within the particular community. This process of change carries on to the point where a colony achieves a

---

<sup>15</sup> Schneider (2007:24-25, 65-68) recognizes four types of colonial action: trade colonization, exploitation colonization, settlement colonization, and plantation colonization. These he derived from the three fundamental types suggested by Mufwene (2001:8-9, 204-206).

formal break with the ‘home’ country, whereupon the community looks to establish its own unique identity respecting the rest of the world and especially the former ‘home’ country. This results in the move to the endonormative stabilisation stage, where local norms grow to become the preferred norm as a result of the need to see itself as separate from other countries, and where the functional range and depth of the language increases greatly. As members within the country become more comfortable with independence and there is less of an integrative urge, the country moves on to the stage of differentiation, where there starts to develop differentiation of the English as used within the country respecting the different sociolinguistic requirements of the members. Figure 3.5 illustrates the five stages in a simple flow chart.



*Figure 3.5  
Dynamic Model of Postcolonial English  
(Adapted from Schneider, 2007)*

The DM-PCE presents an interesting perspective of looking at English. By making the point of differentiating varieties by their stage of development, the various sociolinguistic aspects of the language as used in various communities may be investigated with reference to their particular contemporary requirements in the stages of development. But three difficulties present themselves immediately. Firstly, and unintentionally, there is the idea of evolution, which has the implication that some varieties are more evolved than, and thus superior to, other varieties. Secondly, the model works on the basis of the colonial experience. While this applies to most groups in the IC



and OC, those in the EC might not be covered by this model. One could possibly extend the idea of colonisation to include ideas of neo-colonialism, where dominance of ideas and of the economic domain replaces political and military dominance, but that could still leave problematic cases like that of Russia/USSR or many of the continental and Scandinavian European countries, which had neither been the subject of colonialism nor arguably of neo-colonialism from an English speaking country, but which have significant numbers of English speakers.

One other difficulty that presents itself is in the DM-PCE model's inability to graphically express variation within varieties and proficiency in the particular varieties. This is due to the unidimensional nature of the model, where one may evolve, devolve or stay the same, but where lateral branching out is not possible. And this brings up the fact that all the models that have been covered so far, including the 3CM itself, are either one dimensional (the DM-PCE model) or two dimensional (the 3CM, modifications to the 3CM, as well as Modiano's two models), and within these two options, these models seem to have difficulty illustrating more complex relationships in a clear manner. This might seem to suggest the possibility that a three dimensional approach to a model might be profitable. The next section thus explores such possibilities.

### ***3.2.3 Three Dimensional Sociolinguistic Models***

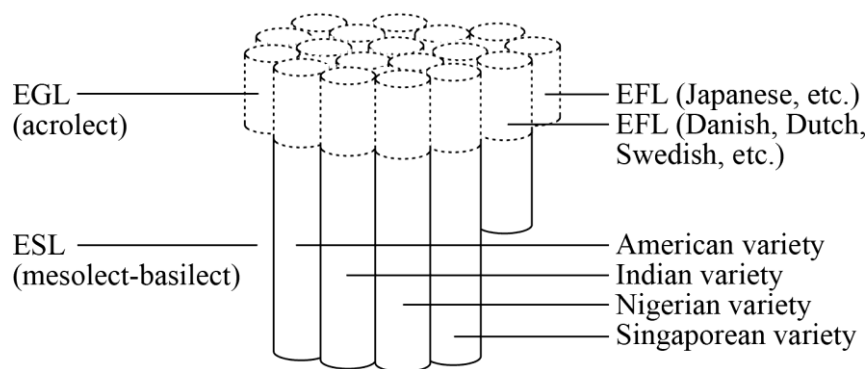
After looking at modifications of the 3CM as well as models from other paradigms that look at English in the world, the focus now shifts to three dimensional sociolinguistic models that might help to break away from the

dimensional restrictions that seem to be limiting the models that have been covered up to this point.

The first three dimensional model that is presented here, as illustrated in Figure 3.6, is suggested in Yano (2001) actually as a further development of Yano's ideas on World Englishes as covered in 3.2.1. Understanding the limitations of the two dimensional nature of the 3CM, Yano suggests a three dimensional model that allows for greater sociolinguistic coverage. In his three dimensional parallel cylindrical model of World Englishes, Yano posits that in each variety, there is a possible realisation of an acrolectal and a basilectal form that is utilized on the one hand for international communication and formal usage, and on the other hand in intranational communication and casual usage, respectively. Thus, he proposes that each variety be represented as a cylinder. In the top portion of the cylinder is the acrolectal form, and at the bottom is the basilectal form, with a mesolectal area that stretches from the border of the acrolectal area to the basilectal area. Thus speakers of each variety may shift their production between forms to suit their particular communicative needs. The conglomeration of these 'varietal cylinders' thus forms the depiction of English in the world.

As shown in Figure 3.6, the acrolectal portion of the cylinders is represented as having dotted outlines. Yano (2001) explains that this is due to the fact that at the acrolectal level, differences between varieties are minimal, and this top space is what Yano calls *English as a Global Language* (EGL). Additionally, the border between acrolectal and basilectal/mesolectal forms is also represented by dotted lines to suggest the free movement within a variety. The solid lines dividing basilectal and mesolectal forms of one variety from

another represent the stronger forms of differentiation between varieties at this level. The varying length of the basilectal/mesolectal form also informs the functional range of a variety, where varieties with a greater functional penetration would have longer cylinders in the basilectal/mesolectal area, those with lesser functional penetration would have a shorter one, and those for whom the language only have international communicative value would not have basilectal/mesolectal areas.



*Figure 3.6  
Three Dimensional Parallel Cylindrical Model of World Englishes  
(Adapted from Yano, 2001)*

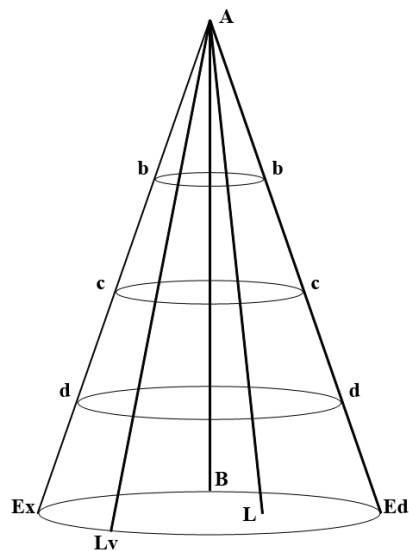
There two main issues with this second model from Yano have been raised. Jenkins (2003b) questions the assumption made in this model that international communication utilizes acrolectal forms and intranational communication utilizes basilectal forms when it is very possible to use acrolectal forms in intranational and basilectal forms in international communications. There is also a certain arbitrariness in the placement of varieties within the model which might make one assume relationships of proximity that might not exist and miss relationships that do exist. Due to the girth of the cylinders, it might be difficult to clearly represent large numbers of varieties that have full length cylinders. There is also an assumption that the

point at which the acrolect transitions into the mesolect exists at a unitary level in all varieties while in reality this does not seem particularly possible due to variation in contexts of situations. Nevertheless, this graphical representation of clines within a variety brings a high degree of descriptiveness to the model, hinting at the possibilities in the effectiveness of three dimensional alternative sociolinguistic models. And this brings the current discussion to the next three dimensional model this time from the field of phonetics.

The noted phonetician Daniel Jones had proposed a model for British English phonetics that involved a conical shape. Described in Ward (1956), this *conical model of English phonetics* (CMEP), as illustrated in Figure 3.7, consists of a cone with an apex at A and a base represented by the plane Ex-Ed. The base represents an abstract representation of Britain, or rather the broadest, most regionalised forms of pronunciation of English, and the apex represents a form of pronunciation that is completely region neutral. The planes along the cone represent different levels of regional variation, from a mostly standard pronunciation from *b* on up, to forms with both standard and accented production around *c*, to forms with increasingly broad accents from *d* to the base. Varieties as may exist in England are thus represented by clines within the cone, and with increasing formality of the language produced, that is, as the clines near the apex, the divergences become so small that the differences are negligible.

Jones' conical model, while targeted at capturing and describing the phonetic landscape of England, provides an interesting basis that can be extended to represent English as it exists in the world. On the one hand, it represents the converging, yet distinctive norms of the various standard forms

of English as could exist in Kachru's idea of individual speech fellowships, and on the other hand it can also represent the diverging speech forms of the broadest basilectal varieties. In the space between the acrolectal and the basilectal forms lies a continuum of possible variation that could illustrate the concept of clines of differences that are suggested in the Kachruvian paradigm. This model thus satisfies the need to accurately represent the paradigm that it is supposed to illustrate, a criterion for an effective model suggested in 3.1.3.



*Figure 3.7  
Daniel Jones' Conical  
Model of English Phonetics  
(Adapted from Ward, 1956)*

Looking at this model from the other criteria for an effective model as discussed in 3.1.3, it may be seen that this model satisfies these as well. With its ability to illustrate varieties within a speech fellowship as well as speech fellowships within a larger speech community, the model could potentially provide a sociolinguistic descriptive and clear representation of English in the world. Additionally, with its three dimensional structure, this model can illustrate the situation of English in the world without undue complexity in its construction. This model could thus form the basis for a more descriptive model for the Kachruvian paradigm. The next chapter would cover the

adaptation of the CMEP to create a model that would enable a more sociolinguistically descriptive model of the Kachruvian paradigm.

#### 4 THE CONICAL MODEL OF ENGLISH

The survey of models in Chapter 3 concludes on the point that a three dimensional model for the description of English in the world allow a greater descriptive potential over previous two dimensional ones. From the basis of Daniel Jones' *conical model of English phonetics* (CMEP) (Ward, 1956), as discussed in 3.2.3, this chapter proposes a *Conical Model of English* (CME) as a sociolinguistically descriptive model for English in the world.

The CMEP, as illustrated in Figure 3.7, deals specifically with the phonetic diversity that exists in Britain. It is but a small leap to view this model instead as a descriptive model that represents English in the world, and the first step in this transformation concerns the recontextualizing of the model from the field of phonetics within Britain to the study of World Englishes. Key areas in the transformation would include characterizing the groupings within the model, translating the field of coverage of the model, and redefining the structural elements of the graphical representation of the model as well as the organisation of relationships between groupings. This first step will be covered in 4.1 and will be illustrated through a series of diagrams that gradually add more detail to the conical model.

A following step would involve an exploration of the dynamics of the model, allowing the model to illustrate changing sociolinguistic realities and trends in these changes. This second step will be covered in 4.2. It is through a combination of these two steps that a fully formed description of the CME, as proposed in this chapter, can be realised. The next section, 4.3, goes on to suggest a starting point for the populating of this new model of World Englishes, and this chapter ends with 4.4, which examines the CME from the

basis of the suitability criteria for models as suggested in 3.1.3 as well as the critiques of the *Three Circles Model* (3CM) mentioned in 2.1.5, in an effort to justify the appropriateness of the CME as a model for World Englishes from the perspective of the Kachruvian paradigm.

#### **4.1 Transforming Jones' Conical Model**

##### ***4.1.1 Definition of Groupings***

The CMEP describes the richness in diversity in the realisation of English phonetics as exists in Britain (Ward, 1956). It organises the participants within this linguistic realm by the geographical disposition of the various speakers. Thus would we have speakers from Edinburgh, from Leeds, and from Truro, as suggested in Ward (1956), amongst the many possibilities, represented variously within this model. While such a finely nuanced differentiation would be useful in a discussion of English phonetics in Britain, it is obviously too finely divided for a global model of English such as the CME. In the face of objections by Bruthiaux<sup>16</sup>, amongst others, this dissertation proposes the use of political states as the basis for defining the basic groupings for the CME. These groups would function as speech fellowships in the Kachruvian sense, as illustrated in 2.1.2. Thus we would have a British speech fellowship, an Indian speech fellowship, a Japanese speech fellowship, and so on for each country whose populace utilizes English to some extent.

---

<sup>16</sup> See 2.1.5 for a discussion of Bruthiaux's objections.

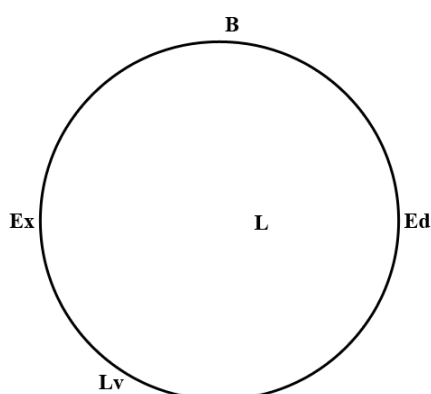


The reasons for choosing the political entity of a country as a defining element centres on the expediency of such a categorisation. Membership to the groups are clear cut. There are people who are members to more than one political entity but these are in the minority, and even then can be clearly defined in the various memberships. The idea of a country also sets up the possibility of a national government language policy in both language use and language teaching within that polity which could set the course in patterns of language use. There is also the possibility of socially motivated differentiation within a country, whether as a result of political affiliation to the nation or through the selection and rejection of linguistic traits through common preferred usage within a particular speech fellowship.

Regardless of whether, and to what extent, the ideas of policy factors or social differentiation do affect language use, the geopolitical landscape provides a convenient and sociolinguistically useful means to set up the basic groupings for the CME. But note that these groupings of speech fellowships are not an acknowledgement of unique varieties of a language. Rather, these speech fellowships represent the membership of speakers within a group who would use a language. It is merely a collective of people, and does not presuppose competence levels in a language, development of unique patterns of usage, nor the range and depth of employment in that language. The CME thus starts off with the idea of these speech fellowships. And a conglomeration of these speech fellowships, as users of the same language, forms a larger group which according to the Kachruvian paradigm would be the speech community. This collective of speech fellowships as a speech community brings on the next point of the field of coverage of the model.

### 4.1.2 *Field of Coverage*

Jones' CMEP describes the richness in diversity in the realisation of English phonetics as exists in Britain. Referring to Figure 3.7, the base of the model is described in Ward (1956) as being an abstract representation of the British Isles, and with the apex of the cone representing the shared standard pronunciation<sup>17</sup>. To translate the contextualisation of Jones' model to that of a CME representing World Englishes, this obviously needs to be changed. The field to be represented needs thus to be shifted from Britain, as seen in Figure 4.1, to the breadth of a larger worldwide speech community, as suggested in Figure 4.2.



*Figure 4.1*  
*Cross sectional representation of the base in Daniel Jones' Conical Model of English Phonetics*  
*(Adapted from the original diagram in Ward, 1956 as seen in Figure 3.7)*



*Figure 4.2*  
*Base of the cone representing the breadth of a worldwide English speech community*

On the other hand, a direct translation of the model, changing the base from an abstract representation of the British Isles to that of an abstract representation the world of English speakers, as well as the idea of the apex of the cone being the shared Standard English, would fall into the trap of

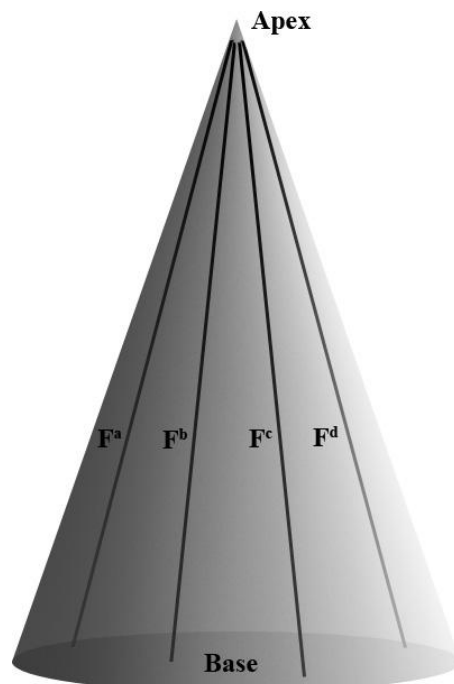
<sup>17</sup> Refer to 3.2.3 for a full description of Jones' model.

assuming that every speech fellowship necessarily employs English to a similarly wide range of uses. While the potential for a wide range of use within a speech fellowship has to be graphical possible within the model, the model should also allow for the graphical expression of those speech fellowships with a more limited range of use where such fellowships exist. This would be similar to how Yano's three dimensional parallel cylindrical model, as illustrated in Figure 3.6, allows for the representation of varying usage patterns for each grouping (Yano, 2001). A further problem with a direct translation of the base from representing the British Isles to representing the world of English speakers is the idea of geographical relation. While it is highly possible that geographically close proximal relations between speech fellowships facilitates linguistic exchange and thus allows speech fellowships to possibly influence each other's language use, this need not necessarily be the case and sociolinguistic research should be the arbiter of relationships within a sociolinguistically driven model.

This dissertation thus proposes instead to start off with the idea of a cone whose volume represents a speech community, as illustrated in Figure 4.3. Within this conical space lies the possible realisation of speech fellowships, as shown in Figure 4.4, where each speech fellowship extends as an axis from the apex to the base. And the proximal relationships between the axial representations of speech fellowships within this model are governed by the linguistic relations that they have with other speech fellowships. How these linguistic relations affect the representation in the model would be covered in 4.1.3 and 4.2.



*Figure 4.3*  
*Conical shape describing the area of*  
*the English speech community*



*Figure 4.4*  
*Speech fellowships within the*  
*English speech community*

Figure 4.4 thus illustrates the idea of the relationship between the larger speech community and the individual speech fellowships. With this idea of the field of coverage that the model would cover, this dissertation moves on to define the structure of the CME from its CMEP basis.

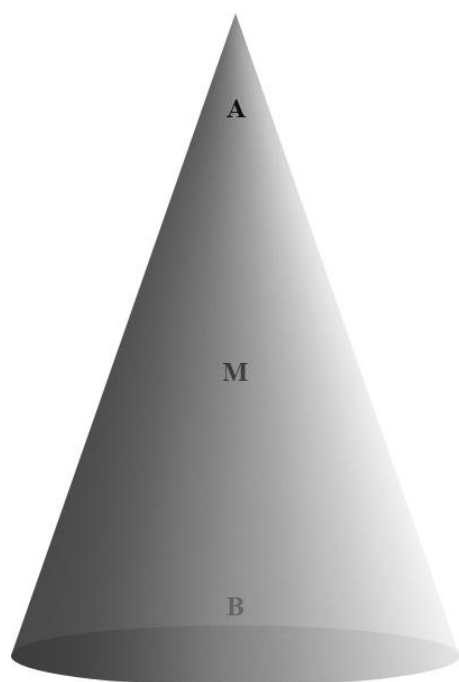
#### ***4.1.3 Reworking the Structure of the Conical Model***

Before situating the speech fellowships within the structure of the conical model, this subsection would take a step back and start by looking at the basic structure of the three dimensional geometric shape that is a cone and the implications suggested in such a geometric structure. A right circular cone<sup>18</sup>, with its base tapering up uniformly towards an apex, suggests a convergence from a broad diversity. Axes drawn from any point within the

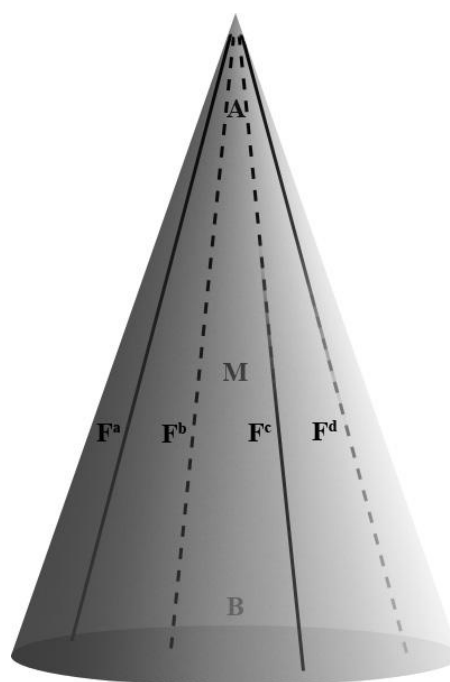
---

<sup>18</sup> A right circular cone is a cone with a circular base and an apex that is directly over the centre of the base.

wide base would thus converge at the point of the apex. In the CMEP, this convergence suggests the idea of a standard pronunciation at the apex that extrapolates from the diversity of localised accents at the base.



*Figure 4.5*  
*Acrolectal, mesolectal and basilectal*  
*space within the cone.*



*Figure 4.6*  
*Exemplar of a Conical Model of*  
*English*

In the case of the CME, it is not the pronunciations of English that is at variance but the variety of Englishes as they are seen to diverge from some nominal global Standard English that is at variance. Thus, near the base of the cone would be represented the basilectal varieties of English such as may exist in the world. And conversely, near the top of the cone would be the acrolectal varieties. And in between the two extremes would be the mesolectal varieties which involve negotiations between acrolectal and basilectal influences. This may be seen in Figure 4.5, where the acrolectal space of the cone is marked by A, the mesolectal space by M, and the basilectal space by B. At this point, a

short aside regarding how this dissertation considers the idea of the three lectal varieties would be timely.

William Stewart (1965:15) introduced the idea of the acrolect as the “apex” or standard dialect and the basilect as the “bottom” dialect or the form that deviates from the standard to such an extent that the two forms “almost cease to be mutually intelligible”. Stewart (1965:16) notes that a stable basilect can be “structurally quite complex” and not merely a simplified form of the acrolect. And in between the two extremes lie, as Stewart suggests, the main body of usage. Derek Bickerton terms this main body the mesolect (Bickerton, 1975). Bickerton (1975:24) expands on the idea of the lectal varieties by stating that these three points stand for various sections of a continuum “named solely for convenience of reference”, that they should not be “reified as discrete objects”, and that the areas merge smoothly such that there is no real discrete demarcation.

This dissertation builds on these ideas by viewing the acrolectal space in the CME as depicting the area where the varieties are sufficiently similar to a nominal global Standard English that the difference between such varieties would reduce to the point where differences are marginal if at all discernable. And this dissertation argues that although differences may exist between acrolectal varieties, all the various forms that may be produced in these varieties may all be regarded as standard forms. This idea of multifarious standard forms produced by competent speakers of acrolectal varieties follows Samuel Ahulu’s definition of *General English*<sup>19</sup>, in which he identifies disparities in English production among assorted acrolectal varieties as “grey

---

<sup>19</sup> The term *General English* was first suggested by Robert Craig (1996) but picked up and explored by Ahulu (1997) as he saw the concept as being a suitable representation of ideas he had been researching at that time.

areas' in English grammar" where differences in forms produced are due to stylistic variation rather than errors in usage (Ahulu, 1997:21).

The basilectal space depicts the area where the varieties are at the extreme of variance from a nominal global Standard English and speakers of acrolectal Englishes without access to such basilectal varieties would have difficulty understanding production from such varieties. The mesolectal space would consist of the area between the other two areas. This dissertation subscribes to the view that speakers may choose to utilize any variety they have access to along the continuum of possible varieties available to their fellowship for reasons of appropriateness to particular contexts of usage. The Kachruvian paradigm's views on lectal continua may be seen in 2.1.3 and 2.2.4.

Following the depiction of speech fellowships within the English speech community as illustrated in Figure 4.4 and the idea of the three lectal spaces from Figure 4.5, this dissertation combines these two figures to create Figure 4.6, an exemplar of a CME. This combination allows the portrayal of possible speech fellowships with varieties of different lectal types existing within the larger speech community represented by the cone. Furthermore, Figure 4.6 utilises the idea of dotted lines as opposed to solid lines to illustrate the ideas of institutionalised varieties and performance varieties, as suggested in the Kachruvian paradigm<sup>20</sup>.  $F^a$ , an axis that is a full solid line, represents speech fellowships where acrolectal and basilectal varieties, as well as the middle mesolectal, exist as institutionalised varieties. In the case of  $F^b$ , the entire axis is made up of a dotted line. This use of a dotted line denotes that

---

<sup>20</sup> For a discussion on institutionalised and performance varieties, see 2.2.1.

the varieties of English as used by the particular speech fellowship are performance varieties and not institutionalised ones, which as in the case of  $F^a$ , would be represented by a solid line axis. In the case of  $F^c$ , the speech fellowship includes an institutionalised basilectal variety but a performance acrolectal variety. The axis thus is presented by a solid line from the bottom to the middle, whereupon the solid line gradually becomes a dotted line to illustrate the fact that acrolectal use in the particular fellowship, if any, would be in a performance rather than an institutionalised variety. And  $F^d$  represents speech fellowships in which institutionalised acrolectal usage exist but a performance variety exists respecting basilectal usage. The dotted line in the corresponding area would again illustrate the sociolinguistic structure of the particular fellowship. This idea of the dotted line allows the model to show the structure of a speech fellowship even in the case where there are no institutionalised varieties associated with a particular fellowship. In addition, this differentiation between dotted and solid lines allows for the illustration of speech fellowships made up variously of institutionalised or performance varieties in different parts of the lectal continuum.

In Figure 4.6, all the axes, taking into account both solid and dotted portions, start at the same height of the cone and terminate also at the same height. But this need not be the case. If the case may be made that some speech fellowships do not utilize some variety of English at some level, a reduction in the width of the lectal continuum may certainly be expressed in the CME as a shorter line with the particular area where some form of English is not in use omitted from the axis. Another factor to be looked at would be the proximal relationship between speech fellowships. Speech fellowships that are



located close to each other may be said to be more closely related in the speech forms than those that are further apart. From Figure 4.6, because  $F^a$  and  $F^b$  are closer to each other than either to  $F^d$ , it may be implied that  $F^a$  and  $F^b$  are more closely related to each other than either is to  $F^d$ . These relations may be seen in terms of similar patterns of pronunciation, grammatical preferences, shared borrowings, or some other forms of linguistic realisations.

As noted in 4.1.2, the axes do not terminate at the very apex or at the very bottom. For the case of the apex, the idea behind not terminating all the axes at the apex is to denote the fact that, as of contemporary research, there is still no viable definition of a standard variety that is not coloured one way or another by local affectations, no matter how high on the acrolectal scale it might be. As a matter of descriptive convenience for the model, and thereby skirting the issue of a requirement of one universal standard, the choice is thus made not to terminate the axes at the very apex. In the case of the bottom of the cone, the choice was made to not terminate the axes at the very bottom to allow for the fact that this model is not based on any definite scale from top to bottom.

This section thus presents Figure 4.6 as a *Conical Model of English* (CME), with the illustrated axes being exemplar representations of possible speech fellowships that may be represented by the CME. These do not represent actual examples of speech fellowships in the world but rather provide the possible types of speech fellowships that may exist. There thus remains a need to look at how actual speech fellowships should be situated within the structure of the CME at any single point in time, and this task of populating such a synchronic model with actual examples will be initiated in

4.3. But before looking at locational distribution within the graphical model, there is a need to look at how relationship between speech fellowships may be described within the CME. The next section thus introduces the concept of *Speech Community Dynamics* (SCD), which not only allows for such relationships to be described but also allows for diachronic trends relative to the disposition of speech fellowships within a speech community to be described.

## **4.2 Speech Community Dynamics (SCD)**

As a social construct, speech communities, the people who choose to have a particular language in their speech repertoire, are evolving structures. As social conditions change, accent patterns, speech forms, grammatical choices, even orthographic representations might change. These changes could affect the proximal relationships between speech fellowships within the CME over time, or as some commentators fear, could cause a language to break apart into different languages as Vulgar Latin had broken into the Romance languages. To look at how speech fellowships may come together or move apart, this dissertation first makes a short detour, looking to the Russian scholar, Mikhail Bakhtin, and his idea of *dialogic language* and *heteroglossia*, before proposing a mechanism for describing how sociolinguistic forces act within the CME.

### **4.2.1 Bakhtin's Dialogic Language: Unitary Language and Heteroglossia**

For Bakhtin, meaning in language exists at the level of the exchange or dialogue, whether external between two parties or internal to a person's mental

processes (Bakhtin, 1981). The exchanges involved in this concept of a dialogic language are not restricted to the common idea of exchanges as in conversations but also includes the concept of a received tradition of ideas that is transmitted through a person's particular, and continuing, indoctrination to a language, that person's socialisation within a culture, and that person's particular response to the learning process. These ideas include not just what is learnt when a person picks up a language, whether formally or informally, but also the ideas and experiences expressed in that language that a particular person has been exposed to, and that the person chooses to internalise.

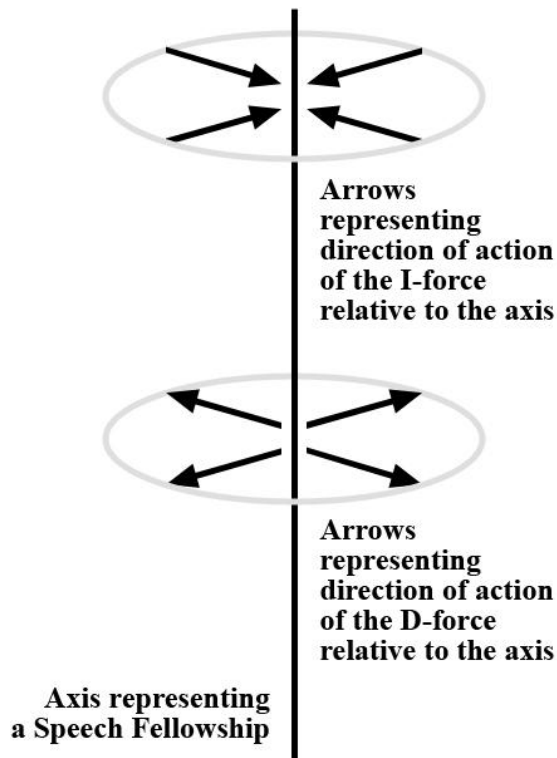
At this level of idea formation, Bakhtin (1981) proposes that two competing forces work at the individual's negotiation of meaning. The first of these is the *centripetal force* exerted by the *unitary language*, what for sociolinguistics may be thought of as an expression of the centralizing force of a desire for a standard language. This force thus acts to maintain the integrity of a standardised language. This first force is opposed by the *centrifugal force* of *heteroglossia*, the diversified experience of creative language use in its habitat. This decentralising force is realized in the expression of individuality and creativity in language production particular to the social and historical context of the usage. And it is this constant negotiation of these two forces that ensures, on the one hand, the continued vitality and adaptability of a language and its meaning potential, while, on the other hand, maintaining the structural integrity of the language. And it is in this negotiation of a centralising force and a decentralising force that informs this dissertation's proposal of the idea of *Speech Community Dynamics* (SCD).

The SCD describes how sociolinguistic forces may cause speech fellowships to change their proximal relationships within a speech community as represented in the CME. These forces consist of the opposing pair of the centripetal *I-Force* and the centrifugal *D-Force*. But whereas the Bakhtinian idea functions at the level of the individual's language, and by extrapolation, the progress of the language as a sum of its individual participants, the I- and D-Forces function at the level of the speech fellowship within the speech community, and its negotiation of an individual speech fellowships identity versus the idea of its unity as part of the larger speech community. The SCD describes the direction of the force and the trends of movement over time, but it is not a representation of the actual sociolinguistic factors changing the speech community landscape. As such, it should be looked at as a way of describing the diachronic proximal trends within the CME but should not be used to explain why these trends exist. The latter concern can only be answered through sociolinguistic investigations into the underlying factors. The next two subsections, 4.2.2 and 4.2.3, will address the I- and D- Forces as well as some of the sociolinguistic factors that may affect these forces.

#### **4.2.2 Centripetal I-Force**

The *I-Force*, or *integrative force*, describes a centripetal force acting around the axis of a speech fellowship in the CME, as illustrated in Figure 4.7. It is an attractive force, emanating from and acting uniformly around the particular speech fellowship, causing other speech fellowships to trend towards it. An I-Force is a cohesive force which maintains the bonds between speech fellowships and holds them within a speech community. And changes

in the strength of speech fellowships' I-Force can affect the core structure of a speech community, with the ones having the strongest I-Forces being centralised within the CME as they would attract more of the other speech fellowships into holding patterns around them.



*Figure 4.7*  
*Diagrammatic representation of the I-Force and D-Force relative to a speech fellowship*

In sociolinguistic terms, the I-Force could arise from different sources. These could include political or economic strength, cultural prestige or even geographical proximity. These factors affect the sociolinguistic landscape of the people within a speech community, affecting their patterns of language use of each speech community. Relative dominance in *these* sociolinguistic factors would allow a speech fellowship to have a powerful I-Force, whereas relative weakness in these sociolinguistic factors would cause the I-Force for such a speech fellowship to be weaker. And changes in the relative influence of these factors over time in each speech fellowship would cause changing trends in the language use both in each speech fellowships as well as in the proximal

relationships of the speech fellowships within the larger speech community as described by the CME. But the I-Force is only one half of the SCD, and it is complemented by the opposing D-Force.

#### **4.2.3 Centrifugal D-Force**

The *D-Force*, or *disintegrative force*, describes the centrifugal force acting around the axis of a speech fellowship in the CME, as illustrated in Figure 4.7. It is a repulsive force, emanating from and acting uniformly around the particular speech fellowship, causing the particular speech fellowships to trend away from other speech fellowships. These forces work at maintaining the uniqueness of the language forms as used by a particular speech fellowships within the larger speech community, and in extreme cases might even drive speech fellowships to separate itself from the speech community and cause the varieties used in the particular speech fellowships to become languages in their own right.

In sociolinguistic terms, the D-Force could arise from sources such as nationalism, cultural elitism, political competition, or some other sociolinguistic factor which favours standing apart from other parties. These factors heighten the urge to separate members of a speech fellowship from another and this urge, if allowed to manifest linguistically, shows itself as the D-Force within the CME structure. A stronger D-Force would cause a greater separation between the particular speech fellowship in question in relation to other speech fellowships whereas speech fellowships with a weaker D-Force would not push itself away to as great an extent.

#### ***4.2.4 Speech Community Dynamics —Balancing Forces***

By its very name, SCD refers to the constantly evolving nature of the relationships between speech fellowships within the concept of the speech community, and in the context of this dissertation, within the CME. The location of each axis representing a particular speech fellowship within the structure of the CME is thus a representation of the interaction of the I-Force and the D-Force. Acting diametrically, the force pairs determine the proximal relations between speech fellowships, and in turn, the organisation of the speech community as a whole.

From a synchronic perspective, the I- and D- Forces affects the locational position of each speech fellowship within the structure of the CME for that language. A speech fellowship with a strong I-Force would be attractive to other speech fellowships. In conjunction with the various D-Forces of the attracted speech fellowships, which maintains a separation between these attracted fellowships, the sum effect of this interaction, of a speech fellowship with a strong I-Force and the D-Forces of the attracted fellowships, would be a trend in which a speech fellowship with a strong I-Force moves towards the core of the CME structure. A speech fellowship with a strong D-Force would tend to be separated from other speech fellowships. The more it separates itself from other fellowships, the further into the periphery of the CME structure it locates itself.

The interaction of the I- and D- Forces not only affects the proximal relationship within the CME structure synchronically, changes in the relative strength of the two forces can also be used to describe trends in the proximal relationship within the CME structure between speech fellowships over time.

A speech fellowship which was initially at the core of the structure could be pushed away from the core if it were to have a weakened I-Force and if the D-Force between the speech fellowships maintains its strength or were strengthened. If a speech fellowship's I-Force strengthens, it could replace other speech fellowships at the core of the structure. Additionally, if a speech fellowship's D-Force were to strengthen, it could trend away from other speech relationships. If the D-Force of a speech fellowship is sufficiently strengthened, and if there is a lack of I-Force to keep the speech fellowship within the structure of the CME for that particular language, than the varieties as utilised within that speech fellowship could become uniquely different enough to be considered a separate language, breaking away from the CME entirely.

The concept of SCD thus provides a useful way to describe the ways in which sociolinguistic forces affect the proximal relationship between speech fellowships within a speech community as described by the CME. It can be used to express the proximal layout of speech fellowships within the CME from a synchronic perspective. And it can also be used to describe the trends in proximal shifts within the CME diachronically.

### **4.3 Populating the Conical Model of English**

With the exposition of the CME as a model for the worldwide English speech community in 4.1 and 4.2, the task remains of populating this model with the English speech fellowships of the world. This is a daunting task as the sheer number of fellowships as well as the diversity of relationships between the fellowships would suggest. This dissertation proposes a method combining



previous models from two perspectives of looking at World Englishes to aid in populating the CME in this population exercise. But it must be noted that due to the number of fellowships involved, an all encompassing model would be unnecessarily cumbersome and it would be far better to either have a representative sample populate the CME in the case of a general analysis of the English speech community or a select sample relevant to a particular study should be chosen to be expressed. A representative selection would be attempted here as an example of how this method works, although other methods for populating the model are not ruled out by this dissertation. To understand how this method works, the structure of the CME needs to be understood in terms of previous models.

The CME as a model looks at the sociolinguistic relationships between and within English speech fellowships. On the one hand, language patterns and use within a fellowship is reflected in the structure of the axis of the fellowship within the model, on the other hand, the proximal relationship between speech fellowships is reflective of the relationship between speech fellowships. It seems appropriate then to appeal to previous models which have informed World English research in these two areas.

The first type of model to be looked at would be the taxonomical models of World Englishes. Although dismissed in Chapter 3 as alternatives for a more comprehensive sociolinguistic model for World Englishes due to their limited sociolinguistic value and their concentration mainly on genetic relationships, it is precisely in their illustration of genetic relationships that provides their utility in helping to populating the CME. In particular, Strevens'

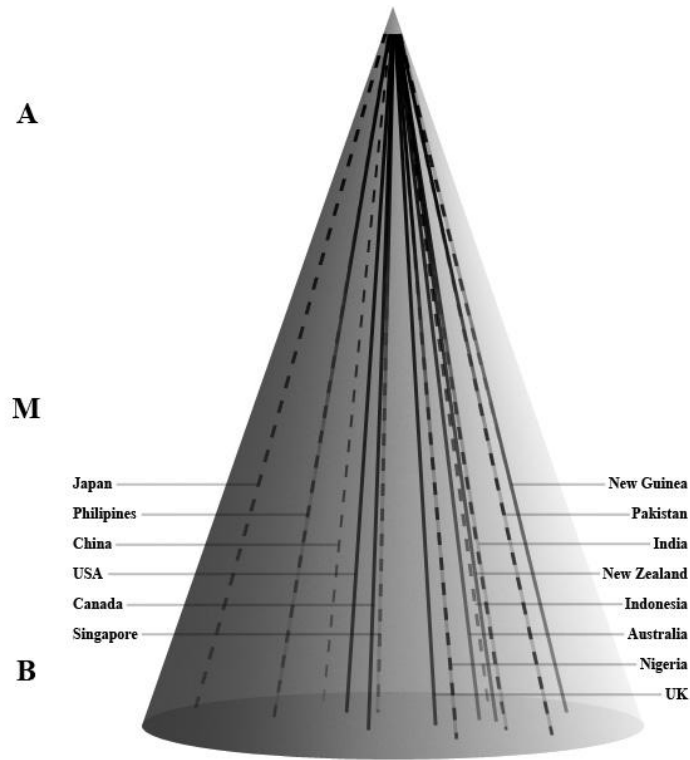
model<sup>21</sup> based on a branch model overlaid on a world map (Strevens, 1980) shows a simplified but clear diagram of the genetic relationship of the language used by various groups, as well as the relative geographical proximity of the various fellowships. One issue this dissertation has with this model vis-à-vis the CME is the different levels of groupings employed by the Strevens model, with some being countries and others being regional groups. For the purpose of populating the CME, only the country level groupings in Strevens' model would be used. Of course, the genetic relationship illustrated in Strevens' model merely touches the surface of possible relationships between speech fellowships, and only a few groupings are suggested in the model out of the many English using speech fellowships in the world, but Strevens' model provides a suitable starting point from which may be added input from further research in the future.

The second type of model to be looked at would be those which illustrate the developmental and sociolinguistic structure of each speech fellowship. A good starting point could be the 3CM, which hints at the structure of the axes of each particular speech fellowship. To simplify this initial model population exercise, certain assumptions are made. The first is that *Inner Circle* (IC) fellowships, which are mainly monolingual English speakers and would thus use English in their various communicative needs, would have entirely a solid line for their axes, representing fellowships with institutionalised varieties throughout its lectal continuum. Secondly, the *Expanding Circle* (EC) fellowships, due to their use of performance varieties of English, would have a dotted line for their axes. Thirdly, for *Outer Circle*

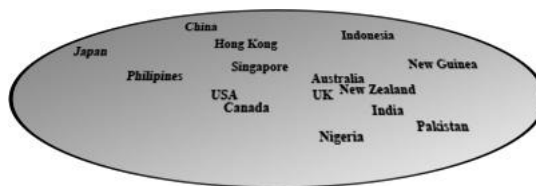
---

<sup>21</sup> Refer to Appendix B for an illustration of Strevens' model.

(OC) fellowships, an institutionalised variety is assumed to be used by members of these fellowships at the acrolectal end while at the basilectal end, a performance variety would predominate. Thus the assumed form of the axes for OC fellowships would be a solid line at the top, turning into a dotted line near the bottom. These are assumptions used to facilitate the initial population exercise of the CME for this dissertation and are utilized on the basis of convenience of categorisation and not absolute accuracy. As such, from this starting point, further effort needs to be made to look at the sociolinguistic situations in each speech fellowship and to ascertain the actual conditions, and to look at how these conditions are changing, so as to be able to have an accurate representation on the CME of English speech fellowships from around the world. Thus, taking the caveats as they have been stated here, a CME for World Englishes is illustrated in Figures 4.8a and 4.8b.



*Figure 4.8a  
A Conical Model of English*



*Figure 4.8b  
Base of a Conical Model of English*

As may be seen in Figure 4.8a, the speech fellowships traditionally categorised as IC varieties are modelled as solid lines, with the speech fellowships traditionally categorised as OC varieties modelled as lines which are solid at the apex which transition into a dotted line. And the speech fellowships traditionally categorised as EC varieties are modelled as dotted lines. This then begs the question of which are the fellowships that would have an axis starting with a dotted line at the apex and transitioning to a solid line near the bottom. One possible fellowship that may be described thus could be

the Papua New Guinea (PNG) speech fellowship. In this fellowship, the axis may be described to consist of a cline stretching from an acrolectal Standard English to a basilectal variety particular to PNG known as Tok Pisin, a pidginized English. Tryon and Charpentier (2004) propose that the complementary relationship between Tok Pisin and English<sup>22</sup> is one of continued relevance for PNG, with Standard English as “the language of the elite, of government, of the central administration and the university” (Tryon and Charpentier, 2004:462) and in the media, but it is a variety that is not accessible to most of the population, who only have a limited achievement, if at all, in it. In this way, this dissertation suggests that Standard English is a performance variety within the PNG context. Tok Pisin serves as the language of national integration, allowing for communication between the diverse linguistic groups within the country, and it is commonly used in lower education, religion, local commercial activity and even in some administrative usage. And as a language of national integration, it has gone through a certain amount of standardisation, in both its oral form and in its orthography, with the earliest grammar and lexicon guides dating from the 1930’s, and with a definitive dictionary introduced in 1957 by Francis Mihalic (Tryon and Charpentier, 2004). This allows Tok Pisin a standard of consistency, both orally and in writing, not available to its two close cognates, *Bislama* in Vanuatu and *Solomon’s Pijin* in the Solomon Islands. Tok Pisin may thus be said to have achieved a certain standard of institutionalisation. An axis representing the PNG speech fellowship could thus be represented with an axis that starts with a dotted line representing the acrolectal performance

---

<sup>22</sup> When ‘English’ is mentioned in Tryon and Charpentier (2004), in the contexts that it is used, it would be safe to assume that it is Standard English that is meant.

variety of Standard English, progressing to a solid line which represents the institutionalised variety that is Tok Pisin.

This population exercise attempts to make a start at showing the descriptive ability of the CME. As stated earlier, this is just a starting point, with broad brushed assumptions made on the structure of the speech fellowships represented, and further research by the World Englishes community would help to clarify the structure of the axes in the model for the particular speech fellowships. Even with this small selection of fellowships, the illustration of the relative displacement of the fellowships may be further enhanced with a diagram of the base of the model, showing the relative basal distribution of the fellowships, as seen in Figure 4.8b. And as mentioned in the opening paragraph of this section, the complexity of the World Englishes speech community precludes the possibility of a definitively populated model as that would needlessly encumber the clarity and thus usability of the model. With the example of the population exercise shown here, this dissertation proposes again that a model consisting of a representative selection of fellowships, or a selective sample of fellowships in the case of studies of a more specific nature, would allow a clear and descriptive model that could profitably be used in studies of World Englishes.

#### **4.4 Fulfilling Criteria/Answering Critiques of the 3CM**

In 3.1.3, mention was made of Bruthiaux's (2003) criteria for a sociolinguistically effective model for World Englishes. This section will look at each criterion in turn referencing how the CME addresses these criteria. Along with the criteria for a suitable model, 2.1.5 brought up five salient

points of criticism condensed from the two critiques, Jenkins (2003a) and Bruthiaux (2003), of the 3CM. These would also be addressed alongside the criteria for an effective model.

In the first criterion, the need for a balance between accuracy and clarity was suggested. This dissertation would like to argue that as an exemplar of select speech fellowships, the CME accurately shows the sociolinguistic relationship between fellowships in a layout that is graphically and methodologically clear. The types of fellowships, whether the varieties present in a fellowship are institutionalised or performance varieties, the closeness between fellowships, and the lectal continuum of each fellowship representing usage patterns of English, may all be clearly represented within the CME.

In the case of the second criterion, as had been covered in 4.1.1, the use of the geopolitical notion of countries is useful in differentiating groups of people in the world who may collectively be affected by their particular government's policies as well as the political boundaries of travel and interaction. This dissertation asserts that due to these factors, which certainly affect language use in a sociolinguistic manner, the geopolitical boundaries set up as countries allow for an operationally convenient and relevant set of groupings of the users of English as speech fellowships. In answering the first salient point of the critiques, this dissertation would suggest the utility and relevance of geopolitical boundaries as a grouping condition for the CME, sociolinguistically suitable for the collectivisation of speakers.

The third criterion deals with parsimony, or of having an economy of explanation to cover a particular situation. This dissertation would like to state

that with the very simple structure of the cone, with the axes running from bottom to top, and with the option of solid or dotted line, the model manages to cover quite a diverse number of variable aspects in the expression of Englishes in the world despite its seemingly simple constitution. In the CME's three dimensional structure, the relationships between the various fellowships within the community, the types of varieties within each fellowship, as well as the depiction of centralising and decentralising trends via the idea of the SCD, allows for an informative and yet clear illustration of the variety of relational patterns and structural make up of the constituents within the model, and of the model as a whole. And this complexity of structure was done implicitly and without overwhelming the model with invariable and unimportant details, thus satisfying the need for parsimony.

The fourth, crucial, criterion deals with the consistency between the model and the paradigm it represents. This would require looking at the CME from the perspective of the Kachruvian paradigm. In terms of the selection of the groupings, as mentioned in 4.1.1, the idea of speech fellowships within a larger speech community is derived from the Kachruvian paradigm, as covered in 2.1.2, and helps in the visualisation of the relationships within the model. The structure of the cone allows for the idea of a cline of variable usage within each speech fellowship, allowing for an illustration of the idea of variation, as suggested by the Kachruvian paradigm and as covered in 2.1.3 and 2.2.4, in competence and usage within each fellowship. The solid/dotted line duality allows for the concepts of institutionalised and performance varieties, as covered in 2.2.1, to be expressed within a fellowship. And this ability to display the potential for variation within varieties through CME's



ability to show clines of variability within each speech fellowship, answers the third and fourth salient points of the critiques, which deal with variation within a variety and levels of proficiency respectively.

With the mechanisms of SCD and solid/dotted line axes depicting performance and institutionalised varieties, ideas important in the Kachruvian paradigm and covered in 2.2.1, a variety of speech fellowship types may be illustrated without appealing to the problematic idea of ‘native speaker’<sup>23</sup> or having the implication of core and periphery as it allows the opportunity for any speech fellowship to move freely within the model as well as provide a method to describe this movement within the model. This last part truly allows for speech fellowships to be compared from an equal footing, illustrating that there are no implicitly central fellowships, and thus answers the second salient point of the critiques regarding the implicit centrality of the IC in the 3CM .

It is by satisfying the four criteria for a model that this chapter would propose the CME as a suitable model for the study of World Englishes. In addition, this chapter has demonstrated that the CME suitably addresses the first four of the salient points of the critiques, brought up by Jenkins (2003a) and Bruthiaux (2003), levelled at the weaknesses of the 3CM. But there remains the fifth salient point of the critiques, brought up specifically by Bruthiaux (2003), that the 3CM may not usefully be employed for other LWCs. This last point would be addressed in the next chapter, which proposes extensions to the CME to address other areas in sociolinguistics.

---

<sup>23</sup> See 2.2.7 for a discussion of why the concept of ‘native speaker’ is problematic.

## 5 EXTENSIONS TO THE CONICAL MODEL OF ENGLISH

The previous chapter, Chapter 4, proposed a *Conical Model of English* (CME) that allows for a sociolinguistically effective description of the Kachruvian paradigm. This chapter will build on this model by extending the CME in two different directions.

Firstly, 5.1 will propose an extension to the CME that expands the use of the model to cover other languages of wider communication. As Bruthiaux mentions in his critique of Kachru's *Three Circles Model* (3CM), a model that helps express the complexity of English in the world would gain in creditability if it was also able to account for other *languages of wider communication* (LWCs) like French or Spanish (Bruthiaux, 2003). Thus, 5.1 will demonstrate the effectiveness of this extension of the CME in covering other LWCs in part to facilitate the description of these other LWCs but also to prove the efficacy of the original CME. The next section, 5.2, will cover an extension based on the CME that will allow the coverage of language situations within a particular speech fellowship, providing a tool to look at language contact respecting a speech fellowship within its linguistic environment. This extension of the original CME in the direction of individual language fellowships is suggested in this chapter as an attempt to push the original conical concept of the CME to its logical micro sociolinguistic extreme, as opposed to the macro view embodied in the CME or CML<sup>24</sup>.

---

<sup>24</sup> It may be suggested that the logical extreme lies in the individual rather than the speech fellowship, but this dissertation believes that the study of the individual's language process as a complex in and of itself would be better served in a cognitive linguistic study, and thus the current sociolinguistic study attempted in this dissertation would restrict itself to viewing the individual only in the context of the individual's location within a group.

## 5.1 Conical Model of Language

### 5.1.1 *Regarding Languages Used for Wider Communication*

In adapting the CME from its original design as a model of World Englishes to that of representing any LWC, this dissertation will first study the concept of LWC. This term is often used in sociolinguistic study but not often is it explicitly defined. LWC is often used interchangeably with *lingua franca*, and indeed the term LWC in *A Dictionary of Sociolinguistics* (Swann *et al*, 2004) is referenced to the term *lingua franca*. It may thus be profitable to begin looking at the idea of the LWC from the starting point of *lingua franca*.

In Swann *et al* (2004), *lingua franca* is described as

“any form of language serving as a means of communication between speakers of different languages. *Lingua francas*... may be ‘natural languages’..., pidgins... or an artificial language like Esperanto.”(184)

While this amply describes the idea of *lingua franca*, it lacks in descriptive completeness when dealing with the idea of an LWC. Firstly, it does not deal with the idea of diversity of usage for a language, and just as possibly could mean that the speakers could be of one ethnic identity or from diverse origins. Swann *et al* (2004:151) provides another term, *international language*, which they define as a *lingua franca* used “across national boundaries”, but this would still subscribe to the idea of *lingua franca* as its basis, and would be subject to the next point. Secondly, the idea of “communication between speakers of different languages” as mentioned in the quote above seems to add

an unnecessary precondition premised on monolingualism as a norm, where a language interposes as a linguistic link between two sets of speakers. This need not be the case, as may be illustrated in the example of English, where multilingual speech fellowships with the English language as part of its repertoire profitably utilize English to communicate with others who have resource in this same language. These two areas would have to be taken into account in a definition of LWC.

One way to move beyond the restriction of a definition tied to *lingua franca* would be to appeal to a term international language, as suggested by Swann *et al* (2004), but to base the idea of international language on a concept different from *lingua franca*. The basic idea of wider communication would have to be described in a way where on the one hand, it must be said that an LWC provides a conduit for communication between groups, yet on the other hand, there must be the idea of whether and how far these groups are linguistically distinct. Ulrich Ammon introduces an idea which might be profitably exploited in this case, an *international standing of a language* (Ammon, 2003).

Ammon describes the international standing of a language as the “extent to which the language is actually used for international communication” (Ammon, 2003:231). His use of ‘international’ is premised on the idea of nations based on the political entity of countries rather than in the sense of ethnicity. He goes on to introduce the concept of *interlingual* versus *intra lingual* communication, which helps to determine the international standing of a language. Interlingual communication is described as communication between speakers who are ‘native speakers’ of different

languages, whereas intralingual communication is that between speakers who are ‘native speakers’ of the same language, within the context of international communication. This distinction helps to differentiate between languages shared across national borders but which are not otherwise used to surmount linguistic obstacles to communication and those that are. Ammon (2003) gives the example of German in Europe, where communication in the German language between a German national and a Swiss ‘native speaker’ of German is considered to be *international intralingual* use of German, whereas communication in the German language between a German national and a Swiss ‘native speaker’ of French who happens to be able to speak German as well would be considered *international interlingual* use of German, or what Ammon (2003:232) calls “internationally in the narrow sense”.

Additionally, Ammon proposes the idea of a distinction between *asymmetric* and *symmetric* use of a language. An asymmetric use would involve one party in a linguistic interaction being a ‘native speaker’ of a language and the other being a ‘non-native speaker’. A symmetric use on the other hand would involve both parties being ‘non-native speakers’. Ammon (2003) states that it is in the symmetric use of a language in international communication that is the domain of a lingua franca.

Ammon (2003) proposes that a language has greater international standing if it were international in the ‘narrow sense’ than if it were international intralingually as the former would denote that such a language were used by diverse groups for intergroup communication rather than being used merely by large numbers of ‘native speakers’ of the language. A language would also have greater international standing if symmetric use is

higher than asymmetric use as it would denote that the language is being used by speakers for whom the language were not a ‘native’ language. This dissertation agrees with Ammon on these two points, and proposes the following differentiations: *classic languages of wider communication* (CLWCs), the sense of the idea subscribing to the idea of ‘international’ in the ‘narrow sense’, where speakers are from many different countries and consist of ‘native’ as well as ‘non-native’ ones, some examples of which are English, French and Spanish; *national languages of wider communication* (NLWCs), intranational interlingual languages of communication for use in linguistically diverse countries such as Tok Pisin for Papua New Guinea or Bahasa Indonesia in the case of Indonesia; and *intralingual languages of wider communication* (ILWCs), international intralingual languages like Mandarin Chinese among people of Chinese origin worldwide, or German among the central European countries of Germany, German-speaking Switzerland and Austria, where the speakers are mainly ‘native speakers’ of the language even if they come from different countries. The examples given in each case of an LWC type are not exhaustive but serve to give an idea of the types of languages that may provide the particular roles in each case of LWC. But an important caveat needs to be addressed.

That one caveat in Ammon’s proposal (Ammon, 2003) that has to be addressed from the perspective of the Kachruvian paradigm is the idea of ‘native speakers’. The Kachruvian paradigm’s reservations regarding that term had already been covered in this dissertation in 2.2.7. Kachru (2005) posits the idea of a genetic nativeness and a functional nativeness. To deal with the idea of the ‘nativeness’ of a speaker in this particular aspect, this dissertation

suggests that it is only genetic nativeness that is of concern when determining the degree of international standing as proposed by Ammon, and that functional nativeness, although an important aspect of nativeness in the Kachruvian paradigm, would not be appropriate here as the differentiation sought respecting Ammon's proposal is to conveniently demarcate cultural differences<sup>25</sup>. This might seem like a retreat from the Kachruvian position regarding 'nativeness', but in this case it allows for a simple method to describe the diversity of the linguistic background of a speech community.

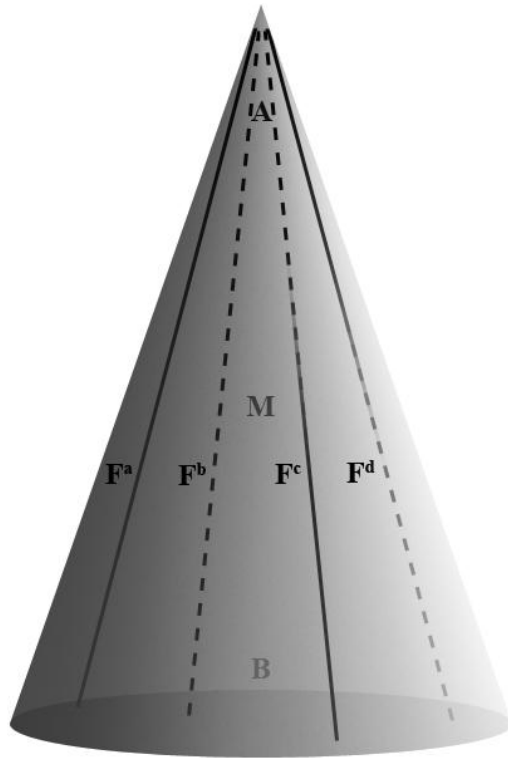
In the interest of clarity and simplicity of operation, this dissertation would restrict its reference of LWCs to that of the CLWCs. This is the sense of LWCs that has been used to describe languages that have traditionally served as languages of communication on a global scale, and thus, for the purpose of this dissertation, the use of the term LWC would be limited only to the sense as expressed in the case of CLWCs. With the definition of an LWC settled, the next subsection moves on to adapt the CME to this idea of other languages that are utilized as LWCs.

### ***5.1.2 A Conical Model of Language***

In the previous chapter, the CME was proposed as a model to cover the diversity that exists within the English language speech community. This section proposes that the CME model may be extended from its original concept as a model of World Englishes and utilized as a model for other LWCs. This dissertation thus proposes, as this extension, a *Conical Model of Language* (CML).

---

<sup>25</sup> For a discussion on the two aspects of nativeness, refer to 2.2.3.



*Figure 5.1  
Exemplar of a Conical  
Model of Language*

A CML for an LWC would follow the structure of the CME and this is represented graphically in Figure 5.1. Translated from the CME's<sup>26</sup> concept as a descriptor for World Englishes into a model for describing a generalised idea for any LWC, the CML would consist of a conical structure which describes the field of the LWC's speech community in question. The area A would show the converging acrolectal standard varieties of the language, the area B showing the diversified basilectal varieties of the language, and M, the mesolectal varieties<sup>27</sup>. The axes represent particular speech fellowships within the larger speech community of the language, and the various points on each axis, corresponding to the particular areas of the cone, represent the particular acrolectal, mesolectal, or basilectal varieties as they exist within the speech community for that LWC.

<sup>26</sup> For a more detailed description of the CME, refer to 4.1 and 4.2.

<sup>27</sup> For a discussion on lectal varieties, see 4.1.3.



As the viability of the CME as a descriptor of the World Englishes situation is not based on any concept that is intrinsically tied to the study of World Englishes or the English language, its translation into a CML that is valid for other LWCs should not present a problem. In the limited scope and space of this dissertation, one example of an LWC will be taken to illustrate the practicability of the CML model. The example chosen is that of the global French language speech community. Like English, French is also a language that has a diverse community of speakers around the world. It is used interlingually among a wide variety of countries, both symmetrically and asymmetrically (Battye & Hintze, 1992; Aub-Buscher, 1993; Blanc, 1993; Lafage, 1993). But unlike English, and as mentioned in 2.1.3, French has a formal centralised institution, the *Académie française*, governing the norms of standard French. With the influence of such an institution, one could assume that the structure of the French speech community would be more regimented than that of English in terms of usage and forms. Thus, taking French as an example of another LWC besides English, and as language whose speech community could be structurally different from English, this dissertation would use the situation of the global French speech community to test the viability of the CML as a model for other LWCs besides English.

### ***5.1.3 The Francophonie: The French Language Speech Community***

The spread of the French language, similar to that of the English language, resulted from the demographic spread of French-speakers worldwide, as well as the spread of the political, economic and cultural influence of the French-speakers, forming a worldwide community of speakers

of the French language known as the *francophonie*<sup>28</sup>. This situation may be expected of any global LWC. What is different from the case of English, as mentioned earlier in 5.1.2, is that there exists a formal language institution governing the norms of standard French.

The norms for the language are governed, as mentioned in 5.1.2, by the *Académie française*. Set up in 1635 by Cardinal Richelieu (Battye & Hintze, 1992), its purview is to distil a grammar and lexicon as a basis for a standard variety of French. This matter of happenstance thus provides a suitable candidate, a global standard French, to be placed at the apex of the model as a representation of a standard variety, something that for the moment eludes the case of English. One does have to note that this is an idealised standard variety. It is debateable whether even the most competent speakers of French would be able to function in this variety consistently and without variation, or whether such a person if he or she exists would even want to do that. And within this idea of a standard variety, there would still exist multiple ways to express the same idea without running afoul of the rules of the standard variety. Thus, the idea as expressed in 4.1.3, of the acrolectal area of the cone representing variation in preferences of standard forms rather than alternative language rules still holds possible, where variation in production is a matter of choosing to exercise various stylistic options rather than deviating usage.

The speech fellowships that may be represented by solid axes, F<sup>a</sup> in Figure 5.1, in the CML for French would include the French, the French-

---

<sup>28</sup> According to Parker (2003), '*francophonie*' with a small 'f' refers to the countries and people who use the French language at least occasionally, whereas '*Francophonie*' with a capital 'F' refers to the international organisation, the *Organisation internationale de la Francophonie* (OIF), that brings together representatives of the countries that use French, including countries like Bulgaria and Greece (according to membership information on the OIF website, <http://www.francophonie.org/oif/membres.cfm>) which have only a marginal population of French users.

speaking Belgian, and the French-speaking Swiss speech fellowships<sup>29</sup>. These would be the fellowships where the French language is used in a wide variety of domains and to different levels of conformance to the standard variety. Despite the best efforts of a formal centralised institution governing the norms of a language, even in the case of French in France, there is still variation away from the standard variety, and Battye & Hintze (1992) describes three distinct registers of French in France, the *français soigné*, the *français familier*, and the *français non-standard*, which corresponds to different levels of formality, respectively from most to least formal, as well as different patterns of use. And these registers, according to Battye & Hintze (1992), are realised in terms of differences in pronunciation, grammatical forms and lexical choice. The axes that are represented entirely by dotted lines, such as is depicted in Figure 5.1 as F<sup>b</sup>, are those fellowships where the use of French has not resulted in institutionalised varieties for the particular fellowships, whether acrolectal or basilectal. These could include those fellowships where French is an important foreign language like Albania and Romania<sup>30</sup>.

In the case of the axes that are solid lines near the top which change into dotted lines near the bottom, such as is depicted in Figure 5.1 as F<sup>d</sup>, as in the case of the CME these would represent fellowships where the acrolectal varieties are institutionalised ones whereas the basilectal ones are performance varieties. Possible examples of such fellowships could include the Ivory Coast

---

<sup>29</sup> In the cases of Belgium and Switzerland, different parts of these countries have populations that speak predominantly a different main language. In the case of Belgium, French-speakers are found mainly in the southern region of Wallonia whereas Flemish-speakers are found mainly in the northern region of Flanders. In the case of Switzerland, there are various cantons which variously speak French, German, Italian and Romansh. In the interest of clarity and categorial simplicity for the sake of brevity, this chapter deals in this particular context with only the French-speaking populations of the respective countries and thus sidesteps the issue of language choice vis-à-vis communication with countrymen who predominantly speak other languages.

<sup>30</sup> According to a page on the OIF website, <http://www.francophonie.org/oif/pays/statut.cfm>.

and Cameroon, where there exist standard varieties of French that vary to the standard variety from France due not to improper learning but to local variations in use, pronunciation and lexicon (Battye & Hintze, 1992). And these standard varieties of French exist in linguistic environments alongside the vernacular languages of the people, and this language contact of French and the vernaculars, in conjunction with variation in ability in French, would provide for the performance variety forms that populate the lower part of the respective axes. For the case of the axes where the line is solid near the bottom and dotted near the top, such as is depicted in Figure 5.1 as  $F^c$ , the case of Haiti might present itself as a candidate. Having been independent for more than two centuries, since 1804, from French rule, the position of French on the fellowship is weak although it is still the official language. The elite in Haiti are still strongly influenced by French language and culture (Battye & Hintze, 1992), but *Haitian Creole*, a contact variety of French, is the language for normal communication among even the elite of the population, lower education in Haiti is in Haitian Creole, and there is also a developing literary culture in Haitian Creole (Aub-Buscher, 1993). This could mean that while there may be some form of a non-institutionalised, performance variety that looks to the Standard French of the *Académie française* as a guide for its acrolectal variety, its basilectal variety seems to have become institutionalised through its wide range of use and its developing body of literature.

As an extension of CME, the CML would also be subject to the idea of *Speech Community Dynamics* (SCD). As discussed in 4.2.2 and 4.2.3, the interplay of the I-Force and D-Force provides a means to describe the influence of integrative and disintegrative sociolinguistic forces on the

distribution of the various speech fellowships within the CML representation of the speech community as well as the cohesiveness or divisiveness among members of the speech community. The SCD thus provides the tool to describe the trends and relationships between speech fellowships within the larger speech community.

With this quick survey of the *francophonie*, this dissertation would like to make a preliminary recommendation that the CML seems to function effectively as a model of what may be called a *français mondial*<sup>31</sup> or World Frenches. In the limited space available in this dissertation, this survey could only ever take a glance at the larger situation of yet another LWC. With this cursory view of the French speech community, and combined with what was covered in Chapter 4, where the original proposal was made for an English specific CML, the CME, that describes the English language community in the world, this dissertation believes that the CML can work for at least these two LWCs. And this dissertation hopes that by extrapolation, other LWCs of the world, even those that are subject to the regulations of a formal centralised institution, would also be able to use the CML as a tool in the study of those other LWCs. Going back to the discussion in 4.3, where this dissertation was addressing how the CME is able satisfy the critiques levelled against the 3CM, the last salient point that was not covered in 4.3 can now be addressed here. This point, brought up in Bruthiaux (2003), argues that a model for English as an LWC would be stronger if it could also be used to deal with other LWCs. This dissertation suggests that with the successful discussion, in this

---

<sup>31</sup> In the Third Ministerial Conference on Culture in Benin, a suggestion was made to create a number of *Académie régionales*, besides the main *Académie française*, whose main purpose is the creation of *Dictionnaire du français mondial* that would describe regional varieties of Standard French around the world (Parker, 2003). This dissertation has taken the term *français mondial* from this suggestion.

subsection, of the CML in addressing other LWCs, it has been shown that the CME can effectively address this last salient critique.

## 5.2 The Multi-Conal Model of a Speech Fellowship

Having proposed an extension of the CME model from its basis as a descriptor of the World Englishes to a CML as a model for other LWCs, this chapter moves in the opposite direction for an extension, or maybe more appropriately called a contraction, of the CME to cover individual speech fellowships<sup>32</sup>. There is certainly much complexity within each speech fellowship, with not only a continuum of varieties for a particular language but also the influence of other languages that might be present within the same linguistic environment of a particular country. This dissertation proposes the *Multi-Conal Model* (MCM) of a speech fellowship as an attempt to graphically express this complexity, of how a speech fellowship in its natural habitat may be influenced by the other languages that exist in that same habitat, utilising an interaction of cones, with a view of aiding the description of language diversity within the structure of a speech fellowship.

This dissertation will take as an example, to facilitate the description of an MCM, the Singapore English speech fellowship. Singapore is a multilingual society<sup>33</sup>, with its most important languages being English, Mandarin<sup>34</sup>, Tamil, Malay and Hokkien, with a host of languages of varying

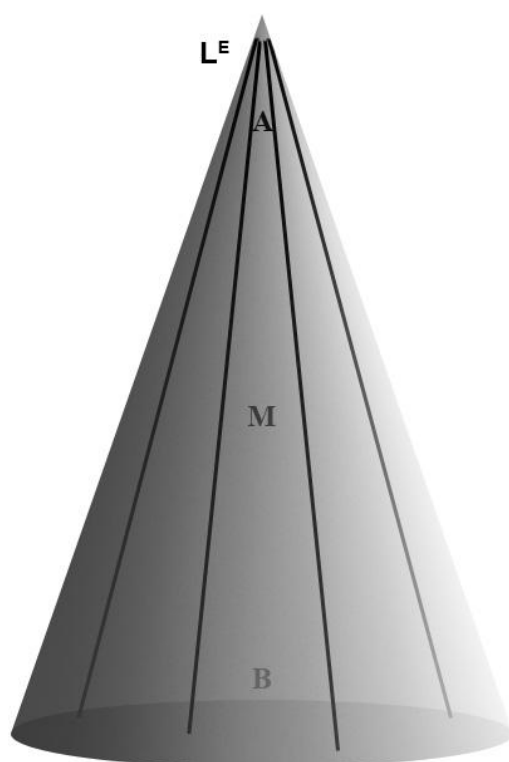
---

<sup>32</sup> See the opening introduction of this chapter for the reasoning behind this extension.

<sup>33</sup> For a detailed study of the multilingual environment in Singapore, refer to Ho & Alsagoff (1998).

<sup>34</sup> The 'Mandarin' referred to here is the standard Chinese lectal form derived from the dialect of Beijing and was believed to be the form of language used by the court mandarins of the formal imperial courts of Beijing, hence its name. It may also be known as *Pǔtōnghuà* or 'ordinary speech' and *Bǎihuà* or 'plain speech', mainly in China, or *Guóyǔ* or 'national language', mainly in Taiwan.

degrees of importance including other Indian languages, like Hindi, Gujarati, and Malayalee, and other Chinese languages, like Cantonese, Teochew and Hakka. Of these languages, English, Mandarin, Tamil and Malay are the four official languages, with English as the main working language of commerce and administration, both internally and internationally, as well as the link language among the various ethnic groups present in Singapore.



*Figure 5.2  
The focal cone  
representing  
the Singapore English  
speech fellowship as a  
basis for a Multi-Conal  
Model of the  
Singapore speech  
fellowship*

The English speaking speech fellowship in Singapore ranges in its repertoire from an acrolectal *Standard Singapore English* (SSE) to a basilectal *Colloquial Singapore English* (CSE) (Pakir, 1991). The SSE may be regarded in the Kachruvian paradigm as an institutionalised variety due to its wide range of registers and styles, its nativization into the particular context of situation of its users, and its growing body of nativized local literature. The CSE on the other hand is a contact variety that is influenced by the other languages in the linguistic environment of Singapore, chiefly Malay and

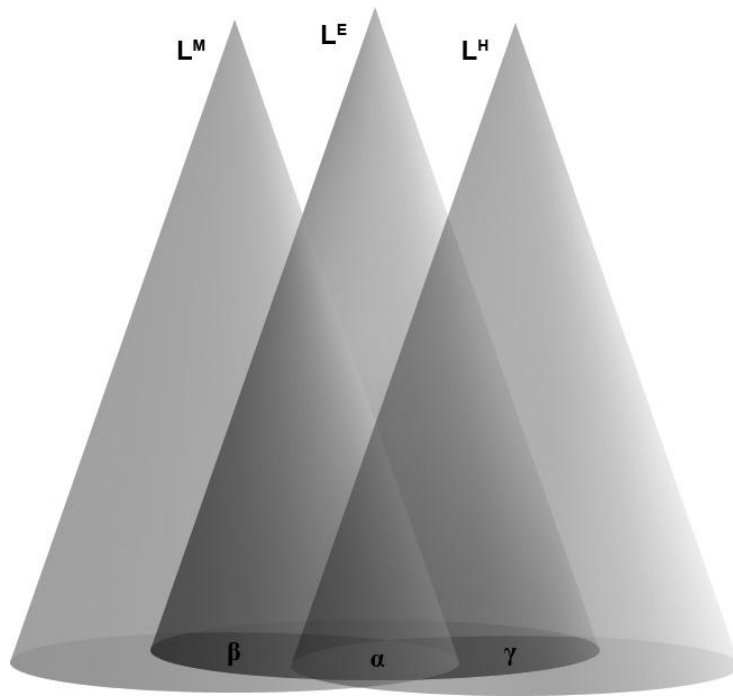
Hokkien (Gupta, 1998). This dissertation would concentrate on the Singapore English speech fellowship, as well as the influence it receives from Malay and Hokkien, to explore the proposal of an MCM.

The description of an MCM starts out with the *focal cone*, which represents the speech fellowship that is the being analysed. In the current example the focal cone would represent the Singapore English speech fellowship. Extrapolating from the CME model, the Singapore English speech fellowship may be described, as seen in Figure 5.2, as fitting the shape of the cone  $L^E$  in the diagram, with the acrolectal, basilectal, and mesolectal varieties<sup>35</sup> occupying the areas near the top, A, near the bottom, B, and in the middle of the cone, C, respectively. But in the case of the focal cone in the MCM, it is a single speech fellowship that is being described rather than an entire speech community in the case of the CME or CML. Similar to the CME, axes may be drawn from near the apex of the cone towards the base of the cone. But instead of representing speech fellowships like in the case of the CME or the CML, each of these axes in the focal cone in an MCM would represent individual speakers who are members of that particular speech fellowship. And in the case of an MCM, axes in the focal cone will not be differentiated between solid and dotted lines as each person's idiolect is personal and it would be pointless to say whether an idiolect is institutionalised or not as it is but the language repertoire of the individual. In diagrams of the MCM which depict multiple cones, for the sake of visual clarity, the axes and the labelling of the acrolectal, basilectal and mesolectal areas would not be represented but are assumed to still exist in the model.

---

<sup>35</sup> For a discussion on lectal varieties, see 4.1.3.





*Figure 5.3  
Multi-  
Conal  
Model of  
the  
Singapore  
English  
speech  
fellowship*

Figure 5.3 represents a situation of language contact in the linguistic environment of a grouping, in this case that of Singapore's, with multiple cones representing individual speech fellowships intersecting each other's conal representations. Language contact, and thus the overlapping of cones, comes about due to the speakers of different languages finding a need to interact with each other. In this particular example, the cone  $L^E$  represents the Singapore English speech fellowship, the focal cone of this example. The auxiliary cone  $L^M$  represents the Singapore Malay speech fellowship, and auxiliary cone  $L^H$  the Singapore Hokkien speech fellowship. These two auxiliary cones represent the languages that the speech fellowship in focus comes into contact with. And this contact between languages is represented by the overlapping of the cones near the bottom of the cones. In Figure 5.3, the intersection of the focal cone  $L^E$  and the two auxiliary cones  $L^M$  and  $L^H$

represents the code mixing and borrowing that exist in the Singapore English speech fellowship within the Singapore linguistic environment<sup>36</sup>.

The cones representing the speech fellowships need not overlap to the same extent. In Figure 5.3 it may be seen that  $L^H$  and  $L^M$  overlap  $L^E$  to about the same extent (areas  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , and areas  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$  respectively in Figure 5.3). On the other hand,  $L^H$  overlaps  $L^M$  to a much lesser extent (area  $\alpha$  in Figure 5.3) than either one's overlap with  $L^E$ . This allows for different levels of contact between speech fellowships to be represented in the MCM. And it is possible to have areas where more than two speech fellowships intersect. This may be seen in Figure 5.3, where there is an area,  $\alpha$ , where all three cones intersect. This allows for the description of highly multiplexed linguistic environments where mixed codes with affectations from more than two languages may be present. In the case of Singapore, Gupta (1998) in fact argues that the forms of Malay that have the greatest import to CSE are actually *Bazaar Malay* and *Baba Malay*, the Malay spoken by the Straits Chinese<sup>37</sup>, both of which are colloquial Malay dialects that have been influenced by Hokkien.

In an MCM, with the possible multiplicity of cones, a speaker is positioned as an axis within the focal cone. The auxiliary cones are present as a representation of influence from other languages and are not meant to be repositories of axes except in so far as the axes intersect them in their progress within the focal cone. It is certainly possible for a speaker within a linguistic

---

<sup>36</sup> Regarding the Singapore context, examples of code mixing may be found in Alsagoff & Ho (1998) and Platt & Weber (1980), and examples of borrowing in Platt & Weber (1980) and Wee (1998).

<sup>37</sup> Straits Chinese, or Peranakans, are members of the Chinese community, mainly in Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia, descended from 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Chinese settlers to South East Asia. They are differentiated from the later Chinese immigrants to this region by their localized, syncretic culture and language.

environment to be represented in other focal cones when analysis is shifted to other speech fellowships within the particular linguistic environment. This is the case when a speaker within a linguistic environment is multilingual. But within the context of any single particular study, speakers will only be represented within the focal cone.

The example here illustrates that members of the Singapore English speech fellowship may accept the linguistic influence of Malay and Hokkien to some extent, and members of the Singapore English speech fellowship would be affected to different degrees by this mixing. But within the overall structure, with the focus set on the Singapore English speech fellowship, the contact of the different languages form part of the English language structure of English, represented by the focal cone, as it is used in the Singaporean speech fellowship.  $L^H$  and  $L^M$  are representations of the languages in contact with  $L^E$ , the language that is the focus of the study, and speakers of Singapore English would be represented as axes within  $L^E$ .

Similar to the CME and CML, the idea of SCD allows for trends in language use to be described in the MCM. In this case, the interplay of the I-Force and D-Force describes the influence of integrative and disintegrative sociolinguistic forces acting on the individual speaker rather than a speech fellowship, as discussed in 4.2.2, 4.2.3 and 5.1.3. And unlike in the cases of the CME and CML, the I- and D-Forces exert their influence both from the auxiliary cones and around the individual axes. These forces describe the push and pull factors attracting and repelling the individual speakers from the linguistic influence of the languages described in the auxiliary cones as well as the individual's attraction to and repulsion from the other languages.

Through this example, the MCM is shown to account for how a particular speech fellowship is affected by contact within its linguistic environment. It allows for the description of contact coming from other languages in the linguistic environment and how it would affect speakers of the particular language in focus, and how such contact may be expressed graphically in the model. The focus of a particular language available to the speech fellowship can be changed to see how another language may also be affected within the linguistic environment by the other languages available in the environment and there lies the flexibility and effectiveness of the MCM. The MCM can thus be said to allow the depiction of contact situations within a linguistic environment from the perspective of each individual language fellowship in turn.

And to tie the MCM back to the CME or CML, the MCM may be used as a platform to describe the underlying conditions that are realised when sociolinguistic forces act on the speech fellowships depicted in the MCM, how certain forces are attracting or repelling language users from a particular form of production over other options. These conditions can then be mapped on the higher level model that is the CME or CML as possible I- or D-Force, amongst other possible causes of I- or D-Forces as discussed in 4.2, which affects the relative relationships of the various speech fellowships within the structure of the CME or CML.

### **5.3 Vitality of the Conical Models**

Chapter 5 aims to illustrate the ways in which the CME as described in Chapter 4 may be extended to other areas of linguistic research. The CML is

an illustration of how the CME may be extended to describe other LWCs, which reflects in turn the descriptive power that underlies the CME. The MCM on the other hand extends the CME into the linguistic environment of an individual country, and the model allows for an effective description of language contact from the perspective of a speech fellowship within the linguistic environment of a particular country. These two additional models thus extend the CME to its logical extremes, utilizing the structural basis of the CME to derive models for other sociolinguistic situations. Due to the limitations of space and scope of this dissertation, the explorations of the concepts of the CML and the MCM are necessarily brief. But with studies focused on a particular LWC or a particular linguistic environment, the ideas introduced in this chapter may be further developed to allow for better representations of the concepts in question, and the two models represented in this chapter would allow for a graphical description of the complex nature of language as it is used in multitudes of situations around the world.

## **6 CONCLUSION**

The situation of World Englishes, how English is used in its various guises and forms around the world, is a highly complex story. A model for English as it is used around the world would be able to facilitate the study of this complexity, and the dominant model for more than two decades, since its introduction in 1984, has been Kachru's *Three Circles Model* (3CM). As part of the larger Kachravian paradigm, the 3CM attempts to describe the users and uses of English as they exist in the world. Over time, critiques over the sociolinguistic effectiveness of the 3CM in describing the world English community had been suggested, and it is the aim of this dissertation to look into the 3CM, the Kachravian paradigm, as well as the critiques of the 3CM suggested in Jenkins (2003a) and Bruthiaux (2003), and to suggest, a model of World Englishes that may provide a way forward in the study of English as it exists in the world.

### **6.1 Key Points in the Dissertation**

#### ***6.1.1 A New Model for the Kachravian Paradigm***

Chapter 2 showed how Kachru's 3CM and the larger Kachravian paradigm attempt to look at this situation from a clear and systematic approach. Unfortunately, as shown in that chapter, there seems to be a disconnect between the 3CM and the larger Kachravian paradigm. This dissertation thus took up the challenge of looking for an alternative model to better illustrate the key structures of how the Kachravian paradigm depicts a world of Englishes.

Chapter 3 started off this search by looking at previous literature, where modifications to the 3CM as well as alternative models to describe English in the world had been attempted. With a list of requirements for a replacement of the 3CM in mind, that chapter looked at the possible contributions of those models to a better idea of World Englishes as well as their shortfalls, and through that survey deduced that a three dimensional approach to model construction, rather than a unidimensional or two dimensional approach, would be of benefit to the construction of a more descriptive model for world Englishes. The decision to employ a three dimensional conical model as a starting point for a model of World Englishes was inspired by Daniel Jones *conical model of English phonetics* (CMEP).

Thus was proposed, in Chapter 4, the *Conical Model of English* (CME) as a new model to illustrate the diversity of the English language as it is used around the world. The CME attempts to marry a flexible model, able to express the complexity of the situation in World Englishes, while at the same time affording a clear graphical picture of the relationships of the various Englishes of the world. Within the confines of this dissertation, an effort at populating the CME was attempted to illustrate the model. This attempt at population should be seen only as a meagre starting point and Chapter 4 called for further attempts to provide revisions to the expression of speech fellowships around the world for a better general model of World Englishes as a whole. And in Chapter 4, this dissertation called for possible regional models, or some other selective models within the structural elements of the basic CME that may be able to show greater detail, in studies that are focused on particular aspects or regions of World Englishes, at levels of detail which

would otherwise have swamped a global CME. These would allow in-depth analyses of regional language interactions or language interactions regarding a particular aspect of sociolinguistic study, like in the effect of trade relations in language contact, which would otherwise be hidden by a global model that represents the larger language community.

### **6.1.2 Models for the Study of LWCs and of Speech Fellowships**

In Chapter 5, the ideas of the *Conical Model of Language* (CML) and the *Multi-Conal Model* (MCM) of a speech fellowship were proposed as extensions of the CME. The CML was suggested as an extension of the CME structure as a model for use in other *languages of wider communication* (LWCs)<sup>38</sup>, to facilitate the study of other LWCs as well as to prove the further utility of the original CME. With a study of what exactly constitutes an LWC, that chapter goes on to show the utility of the CML as a model for the description of a *français mondial* or World Frenches. This in turn suggests the viability of the CML as a model for other LWCs besides English and French. Chapter 5 then adapted the original structure of the CME in another direction, to describe language as it is structured within the linguistic environment of a single country. With the given example of the Singapore English speech fellowship, Chapter 5 proposed the MCM as a model that allows the expression in graphical form language contact as it affects a speech fellowship within its linguistic environment. In the case of the example covered in Chapter 5, the MCM was used to illustrate the impact of the Malay and Hokkien languages on the Singapore English speech fellowship. The graphical

---

<sup>38</sup> See 5.1.1 for a discussion on the idea of LWCs.



representation provided by the MCM facilitates the description and visualisation of language contact situations, thus assisting in the study of language contact especially in situations where multiple languages are involved.

The short introductions to the CML and the MCM in Chapter 5 show just a hint of the possibilities that may be brought forth in these two particular ideas. Again, further research into the potential of these two ideas could allow difficult language situations to be expressed more clearly in a graphical manner. This dissertation thus provides the CME, the CML and the MCM as a starting point for not only the study of World Englishes but also of other languages of the world and language fellowships as they exist in the world.

## **6.2 Areas of Utility for the Models**

With the CME, the CML and the MCM in mind, which areas of study can these three models be of relevance? Two areas come to mind.

### **6.2.1 *The Cohesiveness of Languages***

The first area that may be looked into with the benefit of these models would obviously be the continued viability and structure of English in the world, both as a world language and as a language used dynamically within particular linguistic environments.

Despite David Graddol's assurances (Graddol, 1997) that

“There is no reason to believe that any other language will appear within the next 50 years to replace English as the global lingua franca.” (58)

English does face the continuing challenge, as Bakhtin (1981) suggests all living languages will always face, of centralisation and decentralisation. As broached in 4.2.1, these twin forces, acting diametrically against each other in the face of creativity and of changing social conditions, makes the suggestion that languages are ever evolving, becoming more homogenised or more differentiated over time. This would directly affect not only English's continued viability as an LWC but possibly also its future as one single language community. There is certainly a possibility, however slim that might be, that English may fracture into distinct, mutually non-intelligible languages, as happened in the case of the fracturing of the Latin speech community into the various Romance languages that are present today.

In the case of Latin, the various Latin speech fellowships, after the collapse of the Roman empire, seem to have fractured into various different languages that are based on the various localised basilectal Vulgar Latins, which may be seen as either a failure to maintain a standard, as a diversification of the language, or as a result of natural linguistic evolution (McArthur, 1998). And from the Bakhtinian perspective, the situation of Latin may also be seen as not only that of a large speech community fracturing into smaller ones due to the centrifugal force of heteroglossia but also of groups of speech fellowships within a speech community breaking off into smaller speech communities centred around new focal regions, such as, in this case, the Parisian dialect for French and the Castilian dialect for Spanish, due to the centripetal force of these dialects.

Whatever the position taken regarding Latin, it is certainly the case now that there is a group of Romance languages, including French, Italian,

Spanish, Romanian, Catalan and Portuguese, as well as a host of others of greater or lesser demographic representation. Whether this fate would befall English in the future is certainly something which nobody can definitively predict. And this is certainly also the case for other LWCs, where regional usage, acting under the ever present and diametrical forces of centralisation and decentralisation, would continuously test the structure of the speech communities of the various LWCs. But it is not just the structure of LWCs that are at stake in an ever changing world but also any language's viability as an LWC, and this brings up the second area where the models suggested in this dissertation can come of use.

### ***6.2.2 Viability of the LWCs of the World***

The second area to be touched on here would be the continued, or evolving, relevance of languages as LWCs. As patterns of trade and interaction, as well as how these are carried out, evolve with time, patterns of language use also evolve. Graddol (1997) suggests the growing importance of regional languages in the world which function at a lower level than “world languages” (Graddol, 1997:36), in a global language hierarchy operating on the basis of differential communicative requirements. These would grow or wane in importance as their various functional loads, as well as the political, economic and cultural influence of the dominant members of the speech community change. There is certainly no assurance that an important LWC of today would maintain its standing in the future, nor is there no possibility that new LWCs might arise.

There is also of course the possible case where the information technology industry, with its continuing search for the next ‘killer application’ to fully utilise the ever increasing processing power of the latest computing hardware, make a case for effective, real-time translation between combinations of languages. Armed with ever improving computational linguistic algorithms as well as ever improving spoken and written corpora of various languages, these efforts at real-time translation could on the one hand eventually remove the requirement for LWCs entirely, or on the other hand affect the choice of languages in the global linguistic marketplace by restricting the languages where such translation services are available at any point in time. This second area of utility mentioned here thus suggests that the fate of LWCs is certainly not assured.

### ***6.2.3 Utility of the CME, CML and MCM***

The models suggested by this dissertation, the CML (or the CME in the case of World Englishes) as well as the MCM, provide a basis for graphically illustrating the processes at work in such situations as mentioned in the above two subsections. With the model’s abilities to present the structure of a language community and its constituent fellowships, the dynamics between the various fellowships, and of the centralising and decentralising forces at work, the CME and CML allow the linguistic tussles for the future of each LWC as well as the continued viability of LWCs in general to be effectively illustrated to facilitate research into these areas. And the MCM allows for the graphical illustration of sociolinguistic interactions of centralising and decentralising forces at the level of particular speech fellowships, which, as

mentioned in 5.2, may then be tied to the higher level model of the CME or CML.

And as extensions of the CME, the CML and the MCM provide not only the basis for the graphical representation of language situations as they exist in the world, but also suggests the possibility of utilising the knowledge base provided by the academic study of the Kachruvian paradigm for the benefit of research into other languages, affording a basis for further insight into these other languages from the Kachruvian paradigm's point of view, and also a basis for the comparison and further understanding of the structures and trends of these other languages.

### **6.3 Final Words**

The aim of this dissertation is to propose a new model for World Englishes according to the Kachruvian paradigm, one that would provide a fuller representation of the paradigm over the previous models that had been proposed before.

As Chapters 2 and 3 suggest, previous models, including the 3CM, had various inadequacies that limited their treatment of the ideas represented in the Kachruvian paradigm. This dissertation would like to note at this point, as was suggested in 2.3.2, that the 3CM remains a valuable model for studies dealing with groups that are defined by the historical spread of English and does not require the greater granularity of sociolinguistic description that the CME provides.

But with the continuing need for a model that better describes the World Englishes community from a sociolinguistic perspective, better

correlates with the Kachruvian paradigm, and one that continues to be relevant in the study of World Englishes<sup>39</sup>, this dissertation proposes the CME as a new model that better describes World Englishes according to the ideas intrinsic to the Kachruvian paradigm.

The CME achieves these goals by fulfilling the requirements, as discussed in 3.1, for a model of World Englishes according to the Kachruvian paradigm, as well as providing answers to the critiques levelled at the 3CM by Jenkins (2003a) and Bruthiaux (2003). The fulfilment of these criteria and the answering of the critiques, as discussed in detail in 4.4 and in 5.1 regarding the extensibility of the CME to other LWCs, establishes the viability of the CME as an effective model for the description of World Englishes according to the Kachruvian paradigm.

This dissertation moves on to propose the CML and the MCM, extensions to the CME, which would be of use in the study, respectively, of LWCs in general and of language contact at the level of speech fellowships.

In conclusion, this dissertation would like to propose the utility of the CME as a tool for describing the world English-using community, and of the CML and MCM as facilitators for the expression of the structures of the LWCs and speech fellowships, respectively, of the world.

---

<sup>39</sup> See 2.3 for a discussion of the continued relevance of the Kachruvian paradigm.

## Bibliography

- Ahulu, S. (1997). General English. *English Today*, 13 (1), 17-23.
- Alsagoff, L. & Ho, C. L. (1998) The grammar of Singapore English. In J. A. Foley, *et al.*, *English in New Cultural Contexts: Reflections from Singapore* (pp. 106-126). Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Ammon, U. (2003). The international standing of the German language. In J. Maurais, & M. A. Morris (Eds.), *Languages in a Globalising World* (pp. 231-249). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Aub-Buscher, G. (1993). French and French-based creoles: the case of the French Carribean. In C. Sanders (Ed.), *French Today* (pp. 199-214). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The Dialogic Imagination: four essays*. (M. Holquist, Ed., C. Emerson, & M. Holquist, Trans.) Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Battye, A., & Hintze, M.-A. (1992). *The French Language Today*. London: Routledge.
- Bickerton, D. (1975). *Dynamics of a Creole System*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Blanc, M. (1993). French in Canada. In C. Sanders (Ed.), *French Today* (pp. 239-255). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bolton, K. (2006). World Englishes today. In B. Kachru, Y. Kachru, C. L. Nelson (Eds.), *The Handbook of World Englishes* (240-269). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Bruthiaux, P. (2003). Squaring the circles: issues in modeling English Worldwide. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 13 (2), 159-178.
- Canagarajah, A. S. (1999). *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crystal, D. (1997). *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Firth, J. R. (1959). The treatment of language in general linguistics. In F. R. Palmer (Ed.), *Selected Papers of J. R. Firth, 1952-59* (pp. 206-209). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Foley, J. A. *et al.* (1998). *English in New Cultural Contexts: Reflections from Singapore*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.

- Forsdick, C., & Murphy, D. (Eds.). (2003). *Francophone Postcolonial Studies*. London: Arnold.
- Görlach, M. (1988). The development of Standard English. In M. Görlach (Ed.), *Studies in the History of the English Language* (pp. 9-64). Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Görlach, M. (Ed.). (1990). *Studies in the History of the English Language*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Graddol, D. (1997). *The Future of English?* London: The British Council.
- Gupta, A. F. (1998). The situation of English in Singapore. In J. A. Foley, *et al.*, *English in New Cultural Contexts: Reflections from Singapore* (pp. 106-126). Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Ho, C. L., & Alsagoff, L. (1998). English as the Common Language in Multicultural Singapore. In J. A. Foley (Ed.), *English in New Cultural Contexts: Reflections from Singapore* (pp. 201-217). Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Jenkins, J. (2003a). Who speaks English today? In J. Jenkins, *World Englishes: A Resource Book for Students* (pp. 14-21). London: Routledge.
- Jenkins, J. (2003b). *World Englishes: A Resource Book for Students*. London: Routledge.
- Kachru, B. B. (Ed.). (1982). *The Other Tongue*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Kachru, B. B. (1982a). Models for non-native Englishes. In B. B. Kachru (Ed.), *The Other Tongue* (pp. 31-57). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Kachru, B. B. (1982b). Meaning in deviation: toward understanding non-native English texts. In B. B. Kachru (Ed.), *The Other Tongue* (pp. 325-350). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Kachru, B. B. (1983). *The Indianization of English: The English Language in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Kachru, B. B. (1984). World Englishes and the teaching of English to non-native speakers: contexts, attitudes, and concerns. *TESOL Newsletter*, 18 (5), 25-26.
- Kachru, B. B. (1985). Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: the English language in the outer circle. In R. Quirk, & H. G. Widdowson



- (Eds.), *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures* (pp. 11-30). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kachru, B. B. (1986). *The Alchemy of English*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Kachru, B. B. (1987a). The bilingual's creativity. In L. E. Smith (Ed.), *Discourse Across Cultures: Strategies in World Englishes* (pp. 125-140). London: Prentice-Hall.
- Kachru, B. B. (1987b). The spread of English and sacred linguistic cows. In P. H. Lowenberg (Ed.), *Language Spread and Language Policy: Issues, Implications, and Case Studies* (pp. 207-228). Washington D.C.: Georgetown Press.
- Kachru, B. B. (1990). World Englishes and applied linguistics. *World Englishes*, 9 (1), 3-20.
- Kachru, B. B. (Ed.). (1991). *The Other Tongue*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Kachru, B. B. (1992). The second diaspora of English. In T. W. Machon, & C. T. Scott (Eds.), *English in its Social Contexts: Essays in Historical Sociolinguistics* (pp. 230-252). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kachru, B. B. (1996a). World Englishes: agony and ecstasy. *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 30 (2), 135-155.
- Kachru, B. B. (1996b). The paradigms of marginality. *World Englishes*, 15 (3), 241-255.
- Kachru, B. B. (2005). *Asian Englishes: Beyond the Canon*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Lafage, S. (1993). French in Africa. In C. Sanders (Ed.), *French Today* (pp. 215-238). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lowenberg, P. H. (Ed.). (1987). *Language Spread and Language Policy: Issues, Implications, and Case Studies*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Maurais, J., & Morris, M. A. (Eds.). (2003). *Languages in a Globalising World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- McArthur, T. (1987). The English Languages? *English Today*, 11 (2), 9-13.
- McArthur, T. (1998). *The English Languages*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Modiano, M. (1999a). International English in the global village. *English Today*, 15 (2), 22-27.
- Modiano, M. (1999b). Standard English(es) and educational practices for the world's lingua franca. *English Today*, 15 (4), 3-13.
- Modiano, M. (2000). Rethinking ELT. *English Today*, 16 (2), 28-34.
- Mufwene, S. S. (2001). *The Ecology of Language Evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pakir, A. (1991). The range and depth of English-knowing bilinguals in Singapore. *World Englishes*, 10 (2), 167-179.
- Pakir, A. (2008). English as a Lingua Franca: negotiating Singapore's English language education. In S. M. Wu (Ed.), *The English Language Teaching and Learning Landscape: Continuity, Innovation and Diversity* (pp. 21-32) Singapore: Centre for English Language Communication, National University of Singapore.
- Palmer, F. R. (Ed.). (1968). *Selected Papers of J. R. Firth, 1952-59*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Parker, G. (2003). 'Francophonie' and 'universalité': evolution of two notions conjoined. In C. Forsdick, & D. Murphy (Eds.), *Francophone Postcolonial Studies* (pp. 91-101). London: Arnold.
- Platt, J., & Weber, H. (1980). *English in Singapore and Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Quirk, R., & Widdowson, H. G. (Eds.). (1985). *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sanders, C. (Ed.). (1993). *French Today*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schneider, E. W. (2007). *Postcolonial English: Varieties Around the World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Stewart, W. A. (1965). Urban Negro speech: sociolinguistic factors affecting English teaching. In R. W. Shuy (Ed.), *Social Dialects and Language Learning* (pp. 10-19). Bloomington, Indiana: National Council of Teachers of English.
- Stevens, P. (1980). *Teaching English as an International Language: from Practice to Principle*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

- Stevens, P. (1992). English as an international language: directions in the 1990s. In B. B. Kachru (Ed.), *The Other Tongue* (pp. 27-47). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Swann, J., Deumert, A., Lillis, T., & Mesthrie, R. (2004). *A Dictionary of Sociolinguistics*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Tryon, D. T., & Charpentier, J.-M. (2004). *Pacific Pidgins and Creoles: Origins, Growth and Development*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ward, I. C. (1956). *The Phonetics of English*. Cambridge: Heffer.
- Wee, L. (1998). The lexicon of Singapore English. In J. A. Foley, *et al.*, *English in New Cultural Contexts: Reflections from Singapore* (pp. 106-126). Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Wu, S. M. (Ed.). (2008). *The English Language Teaching and Learning Landscape: Continuity, Innovation and Diversity*. Singapore: Centre for English Language Communication, National University of Singapore.
- Yano, Y. (2001). World Englishes in 2000 and beyond. *World Englishes* , 20 (2), 119-131.

## Index

- Académie française*, 11, 95-6, 98-9  
*Académie régionales*, 99  
acculturation, 12, 23, 25, 27, 31  
acrolect, 11, 29, 56-9, 67-71, 81, 83, 94, 96-8, 101-02  
Ahulu, Samuel, 68-9  
Ammon, Ulrich, 90-3  
approaches to the study of English, 29  
arms of control, 32  
asymmetric use of language, 91-2, 95
- Bakhtin, Mikhail, 72-3, 112  
basilect, 11, 29, 37, 56-7, 59, 67-70, 81, 83, 94, 97-8, 101-02, 112  
Bickerton, Derek, 68  
bilingual, 15, 23-4, 27-8, 31, 34  
bilingual's grammar, 27, 31  
Bislama, 83  
Bruthiaux, Paul, 2-4, 14-8, 39, 42, 45-6, 62, 84-5, 87-8, 99, 116
- Caliban syndrome, 25  
canon, 25  
    canonicity, 30, 34  
Cardinal Richelieu, 96  
centralisation, 112-13  
centrifugal force, 73, 76, 112  
Centripetal Circles Model (CCM), 48-52  
centripetal force, 50, 73-4, 112  
classic languages of wider communication (CLWC), 92-3  
cline, 29, 58-9, 83, 86  
    cline of appropriateness, 29  
    cline of education, 29  
    cline of interference, 11  
    cline of proficiency, 18-9  
    cline of social prestige, 29  
    cline of transfer, 11-2, 18  
    clines of bilingualism, 29  
cohesion, 16, 24, 99  
Colloquial Singapore English (CSE), 101, 104  
conceptual trap, 33  
Conical Model of English (CME), 4-5, 61-4, 66-72, 74-81, 84-9, 93-5, 97-100, 102, 105-07, 109-11, 114-16  
conical model of English phonetics (CMEP), 4, 58, 60-2, 64, 66-7, 109  
Conical Model of Language (CML), 4-5, 88, 93-6, 98-100, 102, 105-07, 110-11, 114-16  
contact situation, 106, 111  
context, 24-5  
    context of situation, 6-7, 9, 11, 13, 16, 20-2, 24-5, 27, 29-31, 35, 43, 45, 101  
    contextualization, 23, 37  
    contextualize, 24, 28
- control  
    control of channels of authentication and authority, 32  
    control of criteria for legitimization, 32  
    control of definitions of acceptability, 32  
    control of functions, 32  
    control of production, 32  
creative potential, 23, 25  
creative production, 28, 31-2  
criteria for a model, 3-4, 40, 42-3, 48, 59, 62, 84-5, 87, 116
- decay, 26, 32  
    decay in international intelligibility, 26  
    decay in proficiency, 26  
decentralisation, 112-13  
depth, 25, 34, 54, 63, 110  
derationalization, 30  
deviant, 33  
deviation, 11-2  
D-Force, 74-8, 98, 105-06  
diachronic, 41, 53, 72, 74, 78  
dialect, 16, 68, 100, 112  
dialogic language, 72-3  
diaspora, 20-1, 37-8  
discourse of marginality, 30, 37  
disintegrative force, 76, 98, 105  
distance, 25

- diversification, 23, 25-6, 112
- Dynamic Model of Post Colonial English (DM-PCE), 4, 53-5
- endonormative, 53, 54
- English as a Foreign Language (EFL), 8
- English as a Global Language (EGL), 56
- English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), 40, 47-8, 51
- English as a Native Language (ENL), 8, 15
- English as a Second Language (ESL), 8
- English as an International Language (EIL), 4, 48-52
- English as an International Language Model (EILM), 50-2
- error, 69
- exonormative, 37, 53
- Expanding Circle, 1, 7-8, 10, 15-8, 35, 37-8, 44-5, 55, 80, 82
- fallacy, 30-3
- Firth, J. R., 9, 38
- focal cone, 101-05
- fossilised, 33
- français familier*, 97
- français mondial*, 99, 110
- français non-standard*, 97
- français soigné*, 97
- francophonie*, 96, 99
- Francophonie*, 95, 96
- functional load, 22
- functional nativeness, 25, 34, 46, 92-3
- functional polymodel, 28-9
- General English, 68
- genetic nativeness, 24-5, 34, 46, 92-3
- Görlach, Manfred, 44
- Graddol, David, 3, 44-5, 111, 113
- Gupta, Anthea Fraser, 102, 104
- Haiti, 98
  - Haitian Creole, 98
- heteroglossia, 72-3, 112
- hierarchy, 10, 29-30, 36, 113
- iconicity, 31
- ideal speaker-hearer, 33-4
- idiolect, 102
- I-Force, 74-8, 98, 105-06
- imaginative/innovative function, 23
- Inner Circle, 1, 7-8, 10-1, 14-8, 35-8, 44-6, 48, 53-4, 80, 82, 87
- innovation, 11
- institutionalisation, 22, 83
- institutionalised variety, 8, 21-2, 26, 33-6, 69-70, 80-1, 84-7, 97-8, 101-02
- instrumental function, 23
- integrative, 54
  - integrative force, 74, 98, 105
- intelligibility, 11, 23, 26-8, 32, 48-52, 68, 112
- interference, 12, 33
- interlanguage, 33
- interlingual communication, 90-2, 95
- international communication, 8, 26, 47, 50, 56-7, 90-1
- International English (IE), 40, 47-8
- international language, 89-90
- international standing of a language, 90
- interpersonal function, 23
- intralingual communication, 90-2
- intralingual language of wider communication (ILWC), 92
- intranational communication, 26, 56, 57
- Jenkins, Jennifer, 2- 4, 14-8, 39, 51-2, 85, 87, 116
- Jones, Daniel, 4, 58-9, 61-2, 64, 109
- Judeo-Christian, 12, 31, 33
- Kachru, Braj B., 1-2, 6-11, 13-4, 16-38, 45-6, 59, 88, 92, 108, 128-30
  - Kachravian paradigm, 2-6, 19, 35-6, 38, 40-1, 43, 45-7, 51-2, 59, 62-3, 69, 86, 88, 92, 101, 108, 115-16
- killer application, 114

language community, 9, 18, 99, 110, 112, 114  
 language contact, 5, 53, 88, 98, 103, 107, 110-11, 116  
 language of wider communication (LWC), 5, 15-6, 18, 87-90, 92-6, 99, 100, 107, 110, 112-14, 116  
 Latin, 112  
 lectal continuum, 36, 69-70, 80, 85  
 lectal space, 69  
 lectal variety, 29, 39, 68-9, 94, 100, 102  
 lingua franca, 48, 89-91, 111  
 linguistic environment, 88, 98, 100-01, 103-07, 110-11  
  
 madhyama, 31  
 mantra, 31  
 McArthur, Tom, 44, 112  
 medium, 30  
 mesolect, 11, 29, 56-8, 67-9, 94, 102  
 message, 30  
 Mihalic, Francis, 83  
 Modiano, Marko, 4, 47-52, 55  
 Mufwene, Salikoko S., 53  
 Multi-Conal Model (MCM), 5, 100, 102, 104-07, 110-11, 114-16  
 multi-identities, 25  
 myths, 30, 32  
  
 national language of wider communication (NLWC), 92  
 native speaker, 2, 26-8, 31-4, 46, 48-50, 52, 87, 90-92  
     nativeness, 24, 32, 34, 46-7, 93  
     nativist monomodel, 28  
     nativization, 12, 23-5, 27, 31, 53, 101  
 need for a model, 3, 40-1, 115  
 norms, 10-4, 21, 27-8, 31, 48, 53-4, 58, 90, 95-7  
     normalization, 30  
     norm-dependent speech fellowship, 10  
     norm-developing speech fellowship, 10  
     norm-providing speech fellowship, 10  
  
 Outer Circle, 1, 7-8, 10-1, 15-8, 35, 37-8, 44-7, 53, 55, 80-2  
  
 Pakir, Anne, 40, 101  
 Papua New Guinea (PNG), 83, 92  
 paradigm lag, 33  
 paradigms of creativity, 30  
 paradigms of marginality, 19, 30  
 Parker, Gabrielle, 96, 99  
 performance variety, 8, 21-2, 36, 69-70, 80-1, 83-6, 97-8  
 Post-Colonial English (PCE), 40, 47, 52-3  
 prescriptivism, 12  
 proficiency, 14-6, 18, 26, 32, 46, 51-2, 55  
  
 range, 7, 21, 25, 34, 52, 54, 57, 63, 65, 98, 101  
*Real Academia Española*, 11  
 regulative function, 23  
 rhetorical strategies, 24  
 Romance language, 72, 112  
  
 Schneider, Edgar, 4, 40, 52-4  
 socio-cultural identity, 23  
 sociolinguistic ostrich, 30, 37  
 Solomon Islands, 83  
     Solomon's Pijin, 83  
 speech community, 9, 11, 14, 17, 33, 38, 59, 63-6, 69, 72, 74-8, 84, 86, 93-5, 99, 102, 112-13  
 Speech Community Dynamics (SCD), 72-4, 76-8, 86-7, 98-9, 105  
 speech fellowship, 5, 9-10, 14, 38-9, 59, 62-3, 65-6, 69-72, 74-88, 90, 94, 96-7, 99-07, 109-10, 112, 114-16  
 Standard English, 37, 48, 58, 64, 67-9, 83  
 Standard Singapore English (SSE), 101  
 standard variety, 71, 96-8  
 Stewart, William, 68  
 Strevens, Peter, 44, 79-80  
 stylistic variation, 69

symmetric use of language, 91, 95  
synchronic, 71, 77, 78

Three Circles Model (3CM), 1-4,  
6-7, 9-11, 13-4, 16-9, 35-40, 42-  
5, 47, 52, 55-6, 62, 80, 85, 87-8,  
99, 108-09, 115-16, 127

three dimensional parallel  
cylindrical model of World  
Englishes, 4, 56

Three Dimensional Parallel  
Cylindrical Model of World  
Englishes, 57

Tok Pisin, 83, 84, 92

unitary language, 72-3

Vanuatu, 83

variation within varieties, 14, 55

Vulgar Latin, 72, 112

World Englishes, 1, 3-6, 8-9, 12,  
17-20, 30, 32-3, 35-7, 39-40, 43-  
4, 47, 52, 56, 61-2, 64, 79, 81,  
84, 87, 89, 93-5, 100, 108-09,  
111, 114-16, 128-30

Yano, Yasukata, 3-4, 45-7, 56-7,  
65

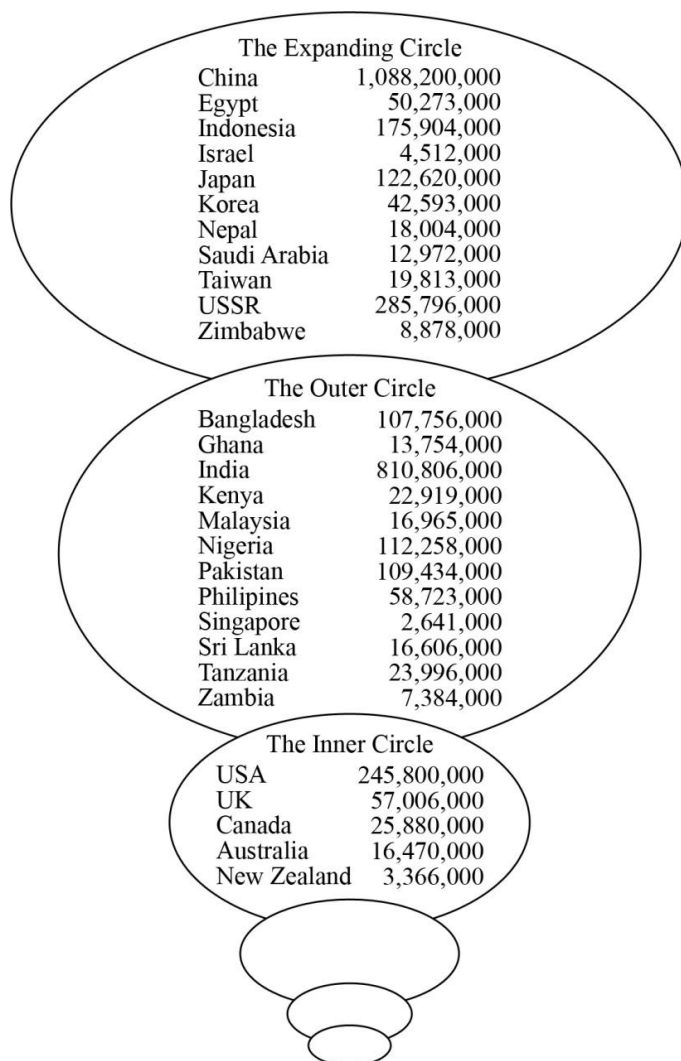
## **APPENDICES**



**Appendix A** *Three Circles Model rather than Three Concentric Circles Model*

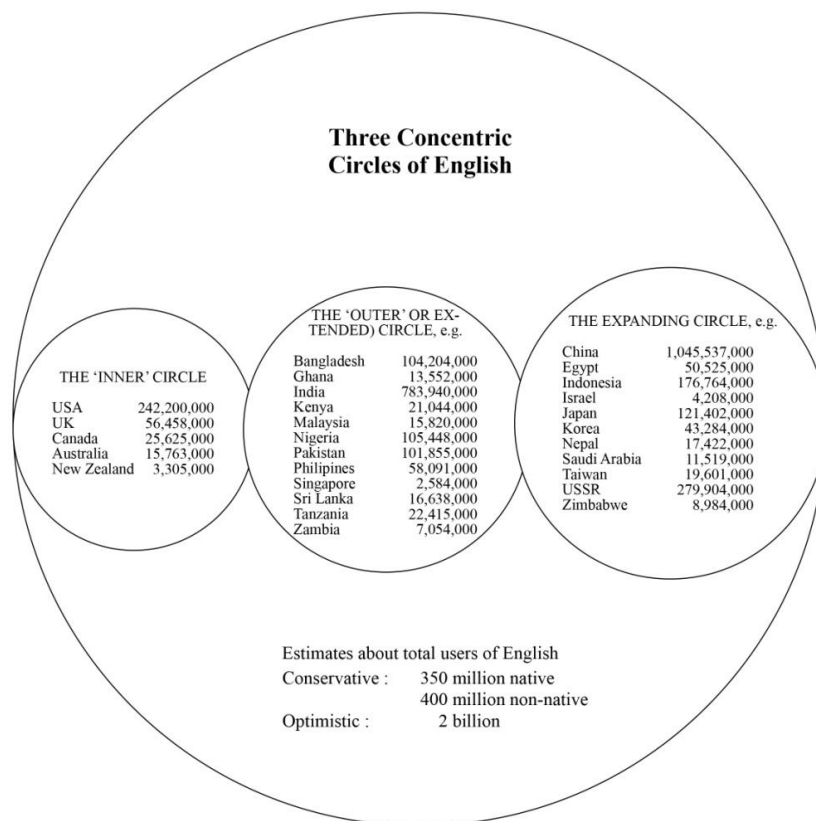
This dissertation chooses to use the term *Three Circles Model* rather than *Three Concentric Circles Model*, as employed by Kachru himself, due to the depiction of the model by Kachru. This will be explored in this appendix.

Figure 2.1, which is repeated here as A.1, depicts the model as a series of seemingly overlapping ovals. This is how Kachru himself depicts the model, as illustrated, with possible minor differences, in his many articles, including Kachru (1990), (1991), (1992), (1996a), (2005). Arguments may be made over whether these are really overlapping concentric circles seen from an angle or two dimensional overlapping ovals.



*A.1*  
*Three Circles Model of*  
*World Englishes*  
*(Adapted from Kachru,*  
*1990)*

A different depiction is given in an earlier work, Kachru (1989), in which three slightly overlapping circles are arrayed horizontally and encased in a larger single circle. This earlier depiction, as shown in A.2, does not reappear in latter articles and may be seen as being replaced by that of the kind seen in A.1.

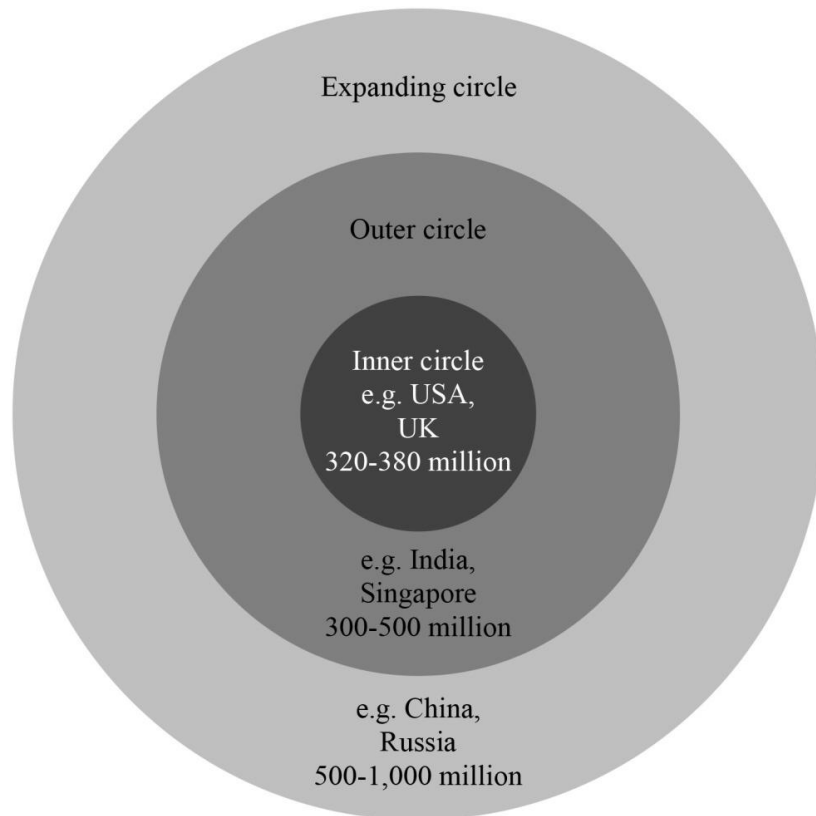


A.2  
*Three  
Circles  
Model of  
World  
Englishes  
(Adapted  
from  
Kachru,  
1989)*

Arguments may be made over whether the shapes seen in A.1 and A.2 are really overlapping concentric circles seen from an angle or two dimensional overlapping ovals, or whether there is any concentricity at all. David Crystal, on his part, provides a simple two dimensional depiction with three concentric circle, as may be seen in A.3

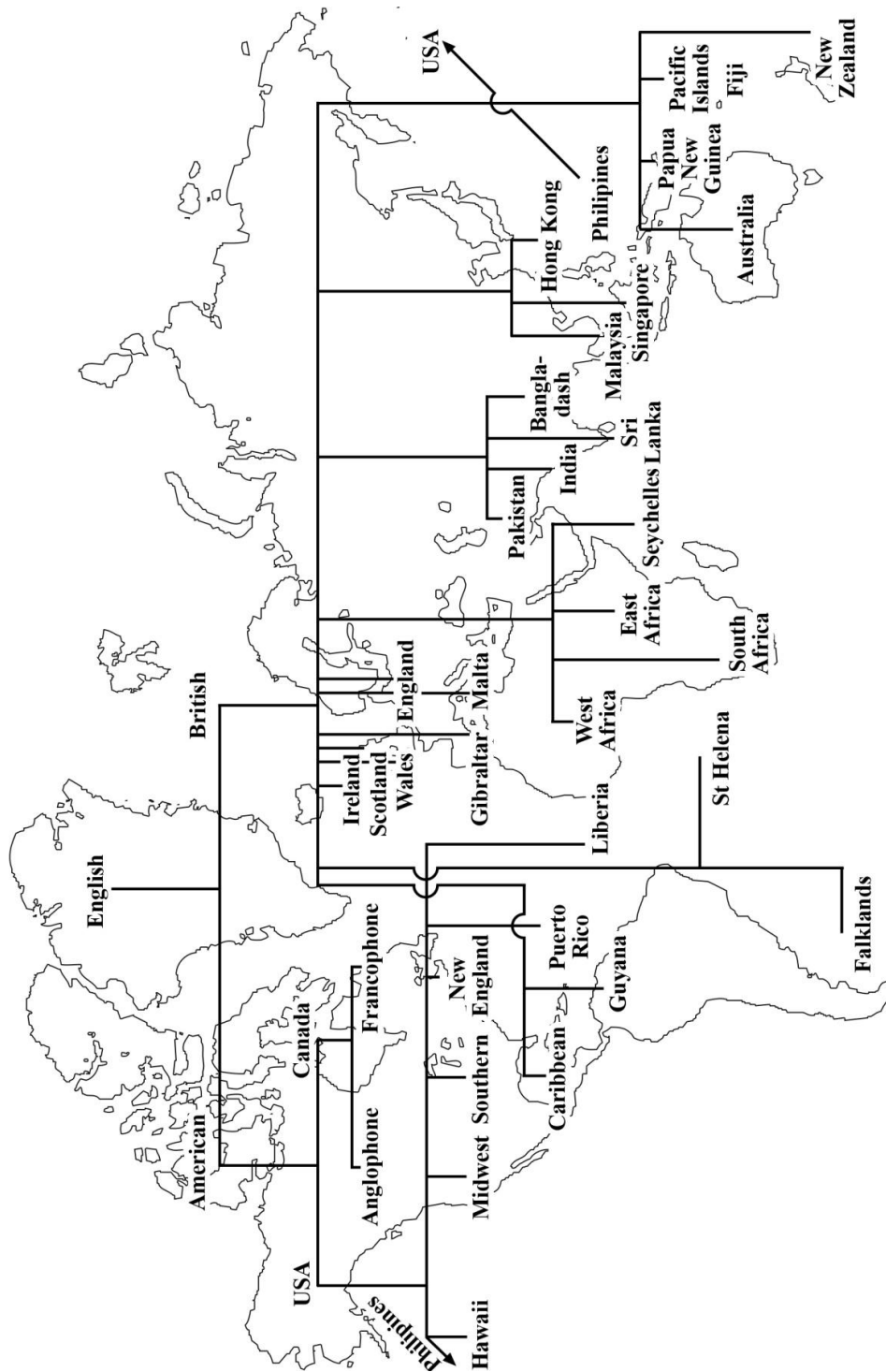
This dissertation prefers to skirt this issue, which is of little real importance regarding the discussions that are made throughout the chapters included here, concentrating on the central idea of there being three circles of English users, and thus employs the term *Three Circles Model* for the model. The model as depicted in Figure 2.1 and in A.1 is chosen as the representation of the 3CM because, as it was mentioned earlier, its basic shape is that which is most commonly used by Kachru himself in his representations. No attempt is made to update the populations given in A.1 (and in Figure 2.1) as the actual numerical

values are of no major concern in the discussions that are made in this dissertation. The populations quoted in the original publication of the diagram are thus maintained.



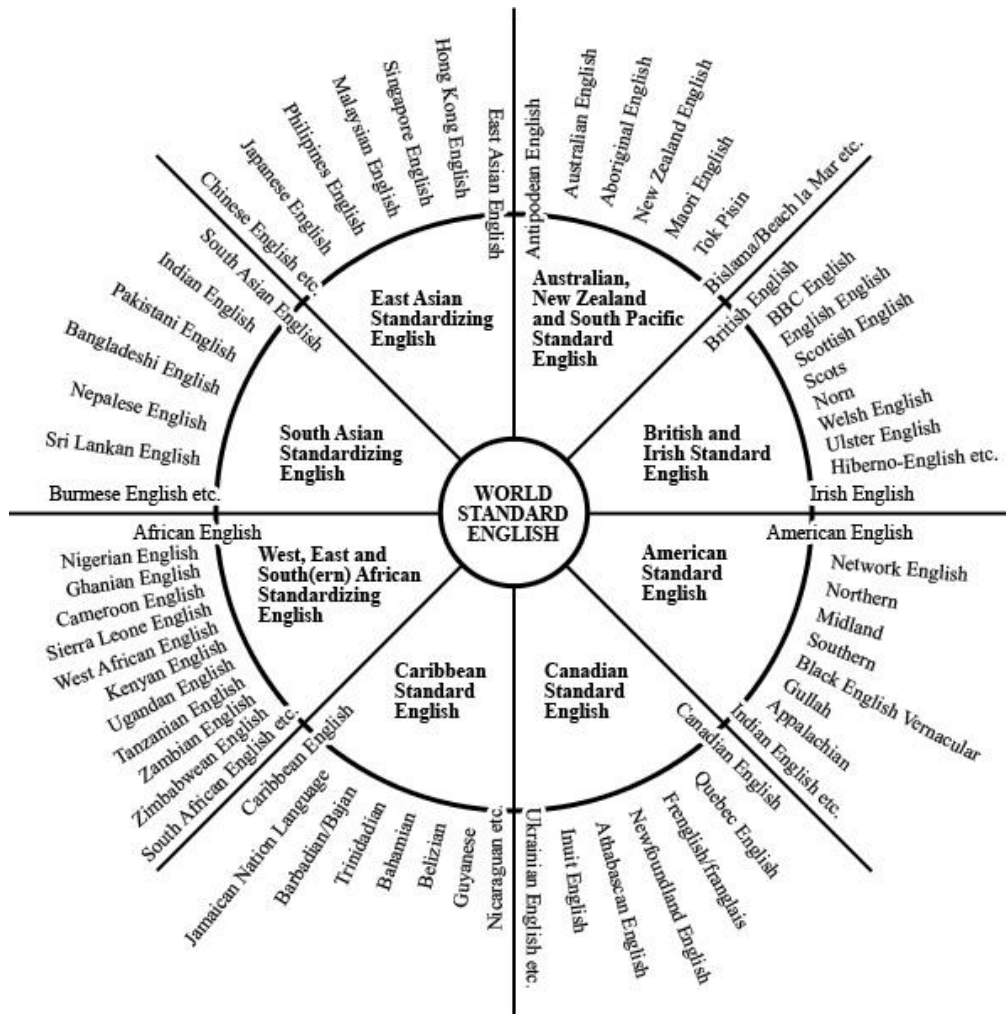
*A.3  
Three  
Circles  
Model of  
English  
(Adapted  
from  
Crystal,  
1997)*

Appendix B



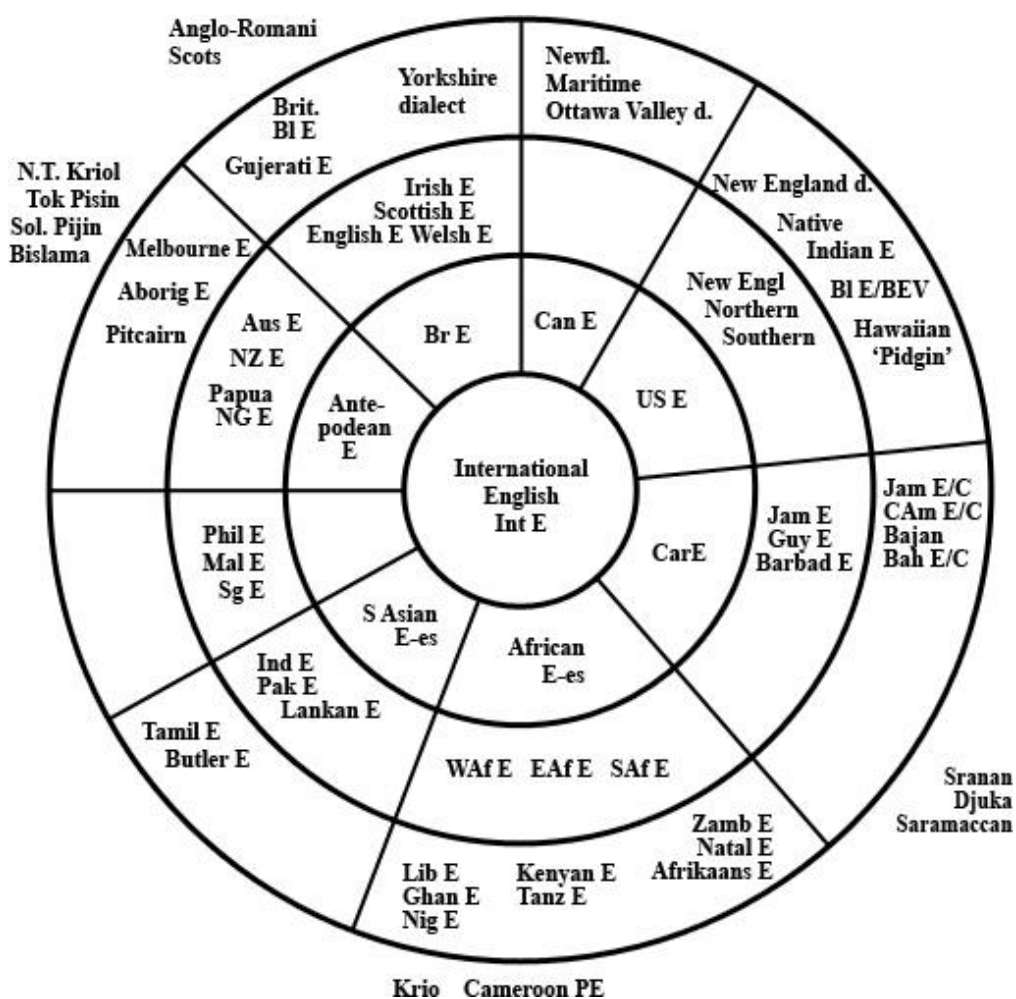
*Peter Strevens' Model of English in the World (1980)*

## Appendix C

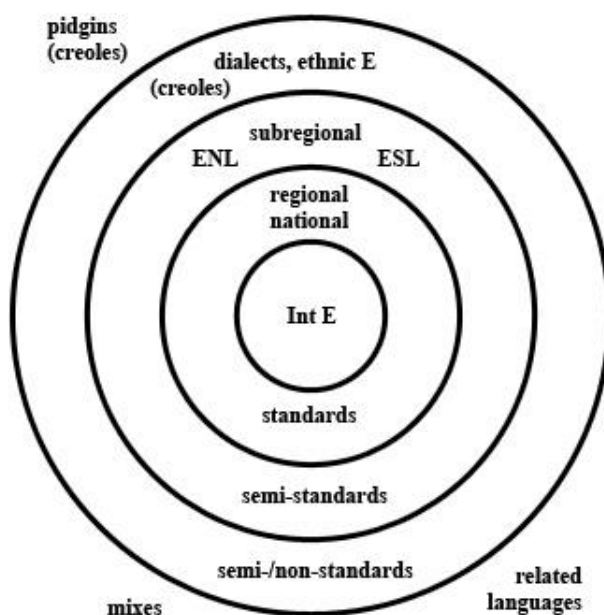


*Tom McArthur's Circle of World English (1987)*

## Appendix D



*Manfred Görlach's Circle Model of English (1988)*



*Key to Manfred Görlach's Circle Model of English (1988)*

