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World Englishes: An Introduction

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The field generally labeled *World Englishes* (WEs) is rich and diverse, as research into structural, typological, and sociological aspects of varieties of English around the world has come a long way over the last forty years. The field has moved from the description of individual varieties, general modeling, and an overlap with traditional disciplines such as historical linguistics to highly dynamic topics requiring interdisciplinary approaches: transnationalism, language acquisition, identity formation, indexicality, and the role of new media and cyberspace. The complexity of the WEs paradigm (if indeed it is one single paradigm, a question that will be addressed repeatedly throughout the volume) derives from the fact that there are countless forms of English across the globe. These are difficult to classify: from informal and localized types to formal and supra-regional varieties, from internationally recognized to newly emerging local standards, from language-shift varieties to contact-derived pidgins and creoles, from second-language to learner varieties, and so on. English is now so widely spoken that it truly represents "the language on which the sun never sets." While this has given rise to processes of linguistic diversification that are unparalleled on a global scale, there are also consequences for language hegemony, the overall balance of world languages and local (applied) issues that affect the daily lives of hundreds of millions of speakers: English is the language of a global economy, substantial parts of public discourse, and, for many of its speakers, it provides access to education, wealth, and so on.

The sheer diversity of WEs poses a challenge for attempts to model forms and functions of English as a world language. Traditional (synchronic) models (Kachru 1985; Görlach 1990) have recently been complemented by more dynamic (diachronic) ones (Schneider 2007), where identity (as a postcolonial local construct) is posited as the driving force that operates in a multistep cyclical development. Indeed, the term *Englishes*, once contested but now standard usage, has been adopted to emphasize the diversity of English as a global language with various regional forms

and the decreasing influence of one prestigious variety as an internationally recognized and accepted norm.

A serious academic discussion and a growing awareness of the special challenges posed by emerging Englishes have developed since the 1980s, mainly starting with work on Singapore English (Platt and Weber 1980; Platt, Weber, and Ho 1984; Foley 1988). The exact focus of the very general term WEs (which has largely replaced the earlier term "New Englishes") is difficult to pin down, as it comprises various variety types. McArthur (2003: 56) suggested the label "English Language Complex," which was fleshed out by Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 3–6) into the following typology:

- metropolitan standard varieties (England, USA)
- "colonial" standard varieties in the former British Empire, e.g. in Australia, New Zealand, Canada (Extraterritorial Englishes; Lass 1990)
- regional dialects of metropolitan and extraterritorial Englishes (with the latter being emergent)
- social dialects of metropolitan and extraterritorial Englishes, i.e. variation across class, ethnicity, gender, etc. (e.g. Cockney, the cline from Broad via General to Cultivated accents in Australia and New Zealand, African American English, Aboriginal English, Māori English)
- pidgins (restricted linguae francae with limited lexicons and simplified morphosyntax, particularly common in, and yet not limited to, the equatorial belt, where there was extensive trade and slavery)
- creoles (further refined and elaborated contact-derived systems, often with English as a lexifier, and spoken natively)
- English as an institutionalized Second Language (ESL), spoken in bi- and multilingual nations where English has an important social or political function (in education, commerce, jurisdiction, etc.)
- English as a Foreign Language (EFL), where English is learned as an additional language in regions where English has had no historical (colonial) roots
- immigrant Englishes resulting from the migration of large numbers of people to English-speaking countries (e.g. Chicano English in the USA or Polish English in the UK)
- shift varieties of English in communities characterized by high contact, bilingualism, and multilingualism (the historical origins of Hiberno English)
- unstable jargons or pre-pidgins (with greater individual variation than what would be expected in a true pidgin)
- hybrid Englishes, i.e. varieties that emerged in urban centers such as Singapore out of code-mixing and that have the potential to develop into local markers of identity

This typology can be extended, of course, and it will be shown in this volume that new forms are constantly emerging (see, e.g., the "grassroots Englishes" described by Schneider [2016] or multicultural varieties, studied by, e.g.,

Cheshire et al. [2011]). Attempts to model such astounding heterogeneity received the first major boost by Braj B. Kachru's (1985) suggestion that English(es) can be grouped into three concentric circles: an *Inner Circle*, i.e. countries of historical continuity which in a sense represent the traditional bases of English (the UK, the USA, Australia, etc.), where the language is spoken natively by the majority of speakers (English as a Native Language, or ENL); the *Outer Circle*, which includes countries where English is important for historical reasons and where it is spoken mostly as a second language (e.g. as the legacy of political expansion or colonization by the British Empire) and where it plays a part in the nation's institutions (ESL countries include India, Nigeria, Pakistan, Kenya, Singapore, etc.); and, finally, the *Expanding Circle*, in which we find those countries where English plays no historical or governmental role but where it is widely used as a foreign language or lingua franca (EFL countries such as China, Russia, Japan, much of continental Europe). Speaker numbers are notoriously difficult to estimate for obvious reasons (lack of population statistics in many countries, especially on multilingualism and language usage; unclear definitions of proficiency levels as a yardstick), but recent estimates quote ca. 350–400 million native speakers, ca. 600–800 million ESL speakers, and between 500 million and perhaps 1.5 billion or more EFL speakers and learners (Crystal 2008; Schneider 2011: 56).

Though Kachru's model was by far the most influential approach, a number of problems have been identified and these have given rise to extensive discussions in the literature (for an overview, see Buschfeld and Kautzsch, Chapter 3, this volume, or Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008). For one, the concentric model is static rather than dynamic (not leaving much room for transition from one circle to the other); based on geography, nation-states, history, and ancestry rather than on perceptions of identity or shared linguistic features; and also struggles to account for linguistic diversity within individual varieties. The model also triggered rather emotional debates on issues of norm orientation. Kachru (1985) called the Inner Circle (UK, USA, Australia, New Zealand) "norm-providing," the Outer Circle "norm-developing," and the Expanding Circle "norm-dependent," thus relying on standards set by native speakers. Regional, social, and ethnic diversity, for example within South Africa, also contributes to blurring the lines and makes it difficult to assign many nations to specific variety types.

Schneider (2007) builds on all these criteria in his Dynamic Model of the evolution of postcolonial Englishes (PCEs). His main point is that, notwithstanding the fact that English develops in heterogeneous multilingual contexts around the world and despite all evident differences, a fundamentally uniform developmental process, shaped by consistent sociolinguistic and language-contact conditions, has operated in the individual instances of relocating and re-rooting the English language in another territory. This makes it possible to present individual histories of PCEs as manifestations of the same underlying process (Schneider

2007: 5). Each stage sees characteristic features and developments as caused by specific parameters: extralinguistic history determines identity definitions of the groups involved, which shapes their sociolinguistic conditions of interaction, and these, in turn, ultimately influence the structural properties of an emerging variety. Schneider's Dynamic Model has been widely discussed, frequently adopted, and largely accepted; for example, Seoane (in Seoane and Suárez-Gómez 2016: 4) stated that this "groundbreaking model fundamentally changed the way we approach World Englishes" (cf. Buschfeld et al. 2014; for some stocktaking and an overview of applications and discussions, see Schneider 2014). It is explicitly geared toward postcolonial varieties, however, and seems less suitable for an application to the expanding circle (cf. Schneider 2014) – though this has also been attempted (e.g. Ike 2012 on Japan).

Lately, the dynamism of the extension of WEs has reached out to new domains – a process that Schneider (2014) labeled "transnational attraction." For instance, a recent research trend has strongly questioned the strict distinction between ESL (or "Outer circle") and EFL (or "Expanding circle"), which seems much more a continuum than a dichotomy (see the papers and discussion in Mukherjee and Hundt 2011 or Davydova 2012). It has been shown that ESL countries can lose this status, as in the case of Cyprus (Buschfeld 2013), or that EFL countries can adopt properties which seem very close to ESL varieties, as in the Netherlands (Edwards 2016) or Namibia, which remarkably, at independence in 1990, established English as its sole national language despite the lack of a colonial past or much sociolinguistic backing (Buschfeld and Kautzsch 2014).

Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) reacted to this situation by proposing a new model, which is viewed as an expansion of the Dynamic Model and emphasizes the effect of "extra- and intra-territorial forces" in the emergence of both ESL and EFL varieties. Some innovative theorizing has questioned the earlier focus on English in specific nation-states, partly through the increasing importance of the Internet; Seargeant and Tagg (2011), for example, have suggested a "post-varieties approach" to the understanding of the current variability of global English. In a similar vein, Mair (2013) proposes a new hierarchy of global Englishes (with American English as the only "hypercentral" hub) and looks into the transnational dissemination of some varieties in cyberspace. Buschfeld and Schneider (2017) provide a comprehensive account of the history and current state of WEs theorizing (see also Buschfeld and Kautzsch, Chapter 3, this volume).

Early accounts of individual varieties of WEs used to be based on an author's intimate familiarity with the variety in question and tended to document and illustrate a selection of distinctive linguistic feature lists. Many broad sociohistorical accounts have followed suit, documenting the transportation of English to specific locales and the resultant sociolinguistic settings, often in multilingual communities. The majority of these studies are based on fieldwork on location, that is, systematic collections

of speech data. At the same time, a strictly sociolinguistic "language varia-tion and change" paradigm, strongly employing quantitative techniques in the post-Labovian tradition, has been growing, though it tends to mainly focus on ENL countries. For example, the 1990s and after saw a strong wave of quantitative sociolinguistic work in New Zealand (e.g. Holmes and Bell 1990); there has been some work in this tradition in Australia (notably Horvath 1985) and South Africa (Wilmot 2014) – but, generally speaking, this remains a research desideratum for most ESL countries (for a programmatic outline of such research, see Sharma 2017).

For the last two decades, the field of WEs has received a major boost by its association with corpus linguistics. A wide range of large-scale electronic text collections representing individual national varieties of English and different styles and genres is now readily available (see Hundt, Chapter 22, this volume) and can be analyzed by means of specially designed software (e.g. the free-ware program AntConc). Originally, this is to be credited to the vision of Sidney Greenbaum, who originated the *International Corpus of English* (ICE) project (Greenbaum 1996). Individual ICE corpora consist of one million words of text from a given nation, sampled along the same lines. Notably, 60 percent of the data are transcripts of speech, which gives these corpora a high degree of authenticity despite their focus on educated speech. Subsequently, the work of Mark Davies of Brigham Young University (Utah) has boosted the magnitude of corpora which represent WEs. He has culled huge corpora automatically from the Internet, tremendous in size though more restricted in representativeness as far as text types are concerned. Cases in point are the *Global Web-Based English* (GloWbE) corpus with 1.9 billion words and the *News on the Web* (NOW) corpus, which is a monitor corpus, that is, it keeps growing every day and by now has reached almost 7 billion words – both sampling data from twenty different nations.

For this particular handbook, we opted for a selection of what we regard as important "must-have chapters" plus several chapters that address recent developments and introduce innovative perspectives, partly touch-ing on neighboring fields. Most notably, the former include a thorough coverage of the expansion of English from its heartland in the British Isles to the "New World" and the entire globe, first within the British Isles, then across the North Atlantic into the Caribbean and North America, and, finally, into Asia, Africa, and the Southern Hemisphere, including the Pacific region. The common denominator to many (if not all) of the region-ally oriented chapters is that a diachronic approach is quintessential to retrace the historical dimension of English as a global language and to understand why the different Englishes carry the ideological weight or have a particular function in a now globalized world – or, quite simply, why WEs are the way they are and how they have come to be so. We follow the regional expansion step-by-step and use historical evolution as a baseline for further explorations in other research fields, which in our view have great potential and might develop into new hotspots or even

new subdisciplines. At the same time, we give room to important overarching questions relating to the consequences of colonization and economic globalization via population movements and language contacts (cf. language shift in favor of an economically and politically dominant language), the survival of stigmatized forms, and immigrants' varieties whose present-day migration patterns are rapidly changing social and linguistic landscapes around the world, affecting the current role of English as a global language as well. Population structure(s) may produce various kinds of boundaries between the coexistent languages, through ethnic or religious segregation for instance, although we will see that such divisions are usually far from clear-cut.

As a reflection of the evolution of a vast and quickly diversifying research area, *The Cambridge Handbook of World Englishes* has been conceived to cover the state of the art of four decades' research on various issues related to English as a world language while at the same time inviting readers to critically assess what we perceive to be some of the most topical issues and research questions for the near future. It is not our intention to integrate all traditional fields here, as there is neither scope nor space (nor indeed need) for this; instead, we focus on some selected research areas, so some important and current topics (e.g. language contact involving English and other languages) are addressed from different and complementary perspectives, simply to show how densely connected and interdisciplinary the field has become as the body of research has grown. Perhaps the principal aim of the handbook is to show how various disciplines are merging and intersecting in the broad field of WEs research, from the historical development of the language into multiple localized varieties to the relevance for linguistic disciplines such as historical linguistics, lexicography, or contact linguistics but also in terms of social applications, political thinking, media reflections, and the like.

The volume thus offers a comprehensive view of various fields, recent achievements, and current developments in the quickly expanding and highly productive area of WEs. In addition to the general introduction, it consists of twenty-eight chapters, all written by internationally acclaimed authorities, providing up-to-date discussions of timely and relevant themes. They place special focus on the analysis and contextualization of Englishes from theoretical and also methodological perspectives, thereby contributing to the appreciation and in-depth understanding of English as a global language. The handbook thus covers the major domains of contemporary research on WEs, including the history of individual varieties, the contact-based evolution of WEs, areal expansion and diffusion patterns, the formation of local extraterritorial forms, areal typology, and the function of English from a transnational perspective.

Part I, "The making of Englishes," consists of five contributions, each dealing with a general aspect of the role and function of English around the world. The expansion of English, the presentation and critical

evaluation of theoretical models, and the contribution of language contact to the emergence of WEs are central concerns, along with the impact of sociodemographics, population structures, migration and language change in the diaspora, and ethnolectalization in super-diverse urban areas.

In Chapter 2, "The Colonial and Postcolonial Expansion of English," Raymond Hickey details the most crucial process as to why English has become a world language: its spread beyond the British Isles into various "new Worlds" between the early seventeenth and the early twentieth centuries. In several settlement waves, the colonists (who were by no means a homogeneous group) took various forms of English (mainly from England, Scotland, and Ireland) to the newly established colonies on all continents. Hickey shows that dialect transportation was diachronically layered over roughly three centuries, with the northern half of the globe being settled from approximately 1600 onward and the southern half from around 1800. With reference to a framework of dialect contact and principles of koinéization, Hickey shows the linguistic consequences of regional origins and layers of colonization for the shaping of varieties of English in overseas locations, for instance that non-rhoticity in Southern Hemisphere Englishes can be accounted for by relatively late settlement and ongoing change in the British Isles. With the end of the colonial period and de facto independence of nearly all the larger English-speaking countries, new developments affected both the continuation of settler English and the emergence of new second-language varieties. Hickey concentrates on the dialect-contact origins of varieties around the world and analyzes them within a framework of emerging varieties derived (but geographically separated from) their ancestral varieties in the British Isles.

In Chapter 3, "Theoretical Models of English as a World Language," Sarah Buschfeld and Alexander Kautzsch provide a critical assessment of various models and their implications for a classification of Englishes around the world. A range of theoretical frameworks and models have been developed and proposed to understand comparable types and developments of the different Englishes that have developed in virtually every corner of the world and to grasp similarities between forms and functions of native-language, second-language, and foreign-language varieties. Adopting a perspective which respects the evolution of subsequent, perhaps increasingly sophisticated frameworks within the field and distinguishing early static models from a later "diachronic turn," the chapter sketches major developments and theoretical trends in WEs research. It provides an overview and critical account of the most influential models of English as a world language, including the ENL/ESL/EFL distinction, Kachru's (1985), McArthur's (1987), and Görlach's (1990) circles, Gupta's (1997), Mesthrie and Bhatt's (2008), and Mair's (2013) classifications, as well as the diachronic approaches proposed by Moag (1992) and Schneider (2003, 2007). Moreover, Buschfeld and Kautzsch discuss some more recent

developments, that is, they call for a more flexible handling of ostensibly clear-cut categories (e.g. ENL vs. ESL vs. EFL) and a stronger consideration of the Expanding Circle/EFL varieties; and they advocate an integrated theoretical approach to second-language and learner varieties of English. They argue that there is a need to develop more nuanced models to cope with the complex realities of speakers in a globally mobile and increasingly transnational world, notably the Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces Model (Buschfeld and Kautzsch 2017) and the notion of Transnational Attraction (Schneider 2014).

Chapter 4, "The Contribution of Language Contact to the Emergence of World Englishes," authored by Lisa Lim, focuses on contact-induced language change by discussing the contribution of language contact between English and other languages on local processes of transformation, transfer, and change. Lim shows that the emergence of WEs is a direct consequence of contact between communities and their language varieties, as the earlier spread of English, in the exploitation colonies of Asia and Africa in particular, entailed contact with numerous, typologically diverse, languages over some four centuries of British/American colonization. The local populations adopted English historically as a second language through education or via lingua franca use in trade situations, so this is presented as a major criterion in ongoing diversification processes. The Englishes that have evolved in all these locales thus reveal the social history of communities in contact alongside the structural peculiarities of linguistic systems that contributed to their emergence, which means that researchers need to focus on contact linguistic mechanisms by combining external and internal foci. With special focus on the Asian century, Lim highlights newly emerging dynamics in the era of globalization, such as computer-mediated communication, the global new economy, and popular culture, which, in turn, involve new roles of New Englishes and their speakers.

In Chapter 5, "Population Structure and the Emergence of World Englishes," Salikoko S. Mufwene highlights the notion of "population structure" to explain the ecologies of the global diffusion of English, the spread of innovations, and the evolution of new varieties of English. He sketches the colonization of the world by the English since the seventeenth century, beginning with the colonization of Ireland, and considers sociopolitical processes like industrialization and urbanization as crucial factors. In North America and the Caribbean, he traces the unintended consequences of varying colonization styles implemented there. Economic and cultural practices explain differences in the evolutionary trajectories between African American and European American dialects in the overall evolution of varieties of American English. In a similar vein, he considers the development of Australian English, including Aboriginal English, and of Southwest Pacific as well as West African pidgins, all of which ultimately were shaped by the socioeconomic and communicative

conditions determined by their respective population structures. Exploitation colonies produced postcolonial (or "Outer Circle") varieties, with local population majorities and a significant impact of indigenous languages. Mufwene thus emphasizes that sociohistorical and language-ecological factors have been crucial in the differential evolution of Englishes around the world.

In Chapter 6, "World Englishes, Migration, and Diaspora," Lena Zipp focuses on the consequences of modern-day migration patterns for the emergence of new forms or types of WEs in the diaspora, a concept that has found renewed currency in sociological and sociolinguistic scholarship in the last two decades. Zipp advocates the addition of different analytic perspectives to WEs research, pushing the boundaries of the discipline toward a constructivist rather than an essentialist perspective, and toward foregoing static categories (such as "varieties") in favor of more fluid concepts ("diaspora as practice"). She uses third-wave variationist sociolinguistics as a baseline to address issues related to the creation and re-creation of identities through language practices: emerging forms of language mixing or hybridization with identity construction, the role of the immigrant generation in the flexible usage of ethnolinguistic repertoires, linguistic correlates of the factors of *homeland orientation* and *boundary maintenance* in secondary diaspora situations, and the overall contribution of multi-ethnic varieties of English to the WEs canon.

Part II, "World Englishes Old and New," consists of six contributions altogether, each dealing with one particular world region, highlighting sociohistorical evolution processes and current social or medial settings of WEs. Combined, these chapters offer a comprehensive outline of the history of English and provide an overview of the exportation of English within the British Isles into the New World and around the globe (North America, Caribbean, Africa, South and Southeast Asia as well as the Southern Hemisphere), thus complementing the chapters in Part I from the perspective of external language history.

In Chapter 7, "A Sociolinguistic Ecology of Colonial Britain," David Britain looks at what might be referred to as the "prehistory" of English as a world language: the sociolinguistic context of England and English society around 1600. His focus is not on the migrants or their linguistic profiles per se but on the social and linguistic ecology of Britain at the time when colonization and out-migration began as a concerted enterprise, so this chapter provides the sociohistorical backbone for an understanding of the linguistic and sociolinguistic processes that occurred in overseas settings. Britain concentrates on four aspects in particular: multilingualism and multidialectalism; social and geographical mobility and its causes; education, schooling, and literacy (including some reflections on ongoing standardization and language ideologies); and the role of social "identities" in British society at the time. The chapter characterizes the cultural and sociolinguistic baggage the migrants took with them to the New

World while also highlighting the cultural burdens, societal division, and emotional disruption from which the colonists would have wished to distance themselves during their colonial experiences.

In Chapter 8, "English in North America," Merja Kytö provides a detailed account of the evolution of US and Canadian English as well as African American English as an example of an ethnolect, drawing on previous research in dialectology, historical sociolinguistics, and corpus-based studies. Starting with a review of the sociohistorical background of North American Englishes, she critically discusses available evidence on the evolution of US, Canadian, and African American English and gives an overview of characteristic features of the varieties with respect to accent, morphosyntax, and vocabulary. Even though North American varieties of English are among the best-documented and most widely researched WEs, there is still considerable scope for further research, as Kytö points out in her conclusion.

Chapter 9, "English in the Caribbean and the Central American Rim," authored by Michael Aceto, shifts the geographical focus by discussing the emergence of "newer" (i.e. in the last 400 years or less) varieties of English spoken in the Caribbean and in Central America, focusing on a description of geographical locations and the social contexts in which they emerged and where they are now used. Aceto provides a short discussion of the sociolinguistic influences that have shaped contact-derived varieties and critically assesses some of the popular heuristics suggested for understanding the emergence of these same varieties. The chapter is complemented by a morphosyntactic profile of similarities and differences among specific varieties, which is both a description of varieties that have received less attention in the WEs canon and an illustration of the research potential for the field of contact linguistics and dialect typology.

In Chapter 10, "English in Africa," Bertus van Rooy explains how English came to Africa through the slave trade, exploitation colonization, and limited settlement colonization. After political independence, English continues to play a major role in the vast majority of former British colonies, where a majority of non-native African teachers of English are key role players in transmitting English to new users rather than native speakers. English shares its place in these linguistic ecologies with many other languages, which means that there has been a long-standing tradition of multilingualism in Africa. Van Rooy's chapter goes on to examine the history of transmission and diffusion of English in order to account for its present-day position and diversity. The chapter pays special attention to available linguistic descriptions and discusses new evidence from corpora, identifying patterns of correspondence and divergence among varieties within regions and countries. It also accounts for these patterns in terms of social history, contact, substrate languages, and processes of teaching and learning that all have contributed to the present state, exemplifying the processes at hand with in-depth discussions of various settings throughout the continent.