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Models of Englishes and a New Perspective

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1 Introduction

With the growing importance and influence of English all over the world, it is impossible to ignore all the ways this language spectrum has been and continues to be shaped – be that by the countries and cultures it is used in, by the people that acquire their English skills at different points in life, or even by other languages – that have eventually led to the creation of new varieties of English, which is a phenomenon that will presumably not change in the near future, considering their progressive spread via the Internet (Flammia & Saunders 2007, 1899).

From the 1980s onwards, these varieties of English have become widely accepted under the term ‘World Englishes,’ thanks to Kachru’s (1985; 1992) “Three Concentric Circles of English” model of World Englishes (Al-Mutairi 2019, 85; Bolton 2006, 241). The pluralization from English to Englishes is necessary because of “certain linguistic, cultural and pragmatic realities” (Kachru 1992, 11) that can be found in these varieties. Onysko (2016, 199) elaborates that it “was not just a simple surface matter of language use, but it embodied an ideological shift away from a monolithic view of English towards treasuring and empowering the diverse Englishes” that are spoken around the world.

Even though Kachru’s (1985; 1992) model is not the only – and also not the first – model of World Englishes, it is generally accepted as the most fitting one (Mesthrie 2008, 30). However, it can be argued that the hierarchical structure that a great variety of models of World Englishes – including Kachru’s (1985; 1992) – share proposes the existence of one ‘correct’ English and a multitude of ‘incorrect’ Englishes. This has an observable impact on the usage and the teachings of Englishes in education and, therefore, on students of Englishes (He et al. 2014, 327).

It is for this reason that a number of models of World Englishes will be compared in this thesis. Additionally, their influences on education and students of Englishes as well as the issues that arise from them will be examined. Furthermore,

an additional, more inclusive perspective to look at World Englishes that should be taught to students will be proposed. The purpose of this perspective is to ensure that students of Englishes pursue their education knowing that there is neither one 'correct' English nor any 'incorrect' Englishes. It is the aim of this thesis to provide a simple, non-hierarchical view on the English Language Spectrum and raise awareness towards some of the less prominent varieties of English in the world.

2 Background

As Onysko (2016, 197) observes, “the building of a model relies on the mortar of already known, proven, and widely accepted insights, which can also be projected from one domain of science to another.” Thus, some of the traditional models of World Englishes as well as a few more recent models will be examined. While all of them have advantages and fit the contexts of their times (2016, 199), some issues can also be found within them. They need to be discussed as well, in order to support the hypothesis raised in the following section that the problematic aspects that can be found in a variety of models – especially the traditional ones – have an impact on education. Specifically, this thesis will focus on how it only teaches a handful of (Standard) Englishes, which is connected to the fact that acquiring the “competence of native speakers of the target language” (Espinosa 2017, 13) appears to be the goal of language learning. It will start with the traditional models, continue with more recent models, and end with non-hierarchical models of World Englishes.

2.1 The Traditional Models

While the Kachruvian Circles (1985; 1992) are considered to be the most prominent model of World Englishes and Kachru himself is referred to as “the founder of the discipline of World Englishes” (Kirkpatrick 2021, 251), one needs to keep in mind that Kachru’s (1985; 1992) model was inspired by another model of Englishes. Strevens’s (1978, 33) Family Tree of English has been created before the notion of World Englishes had become popular, but it could be considered as a model of World Englishes by today’s standards, anyway. As Figure 1 shows, the Family Tree aims to demonstrate the spread of English throughout the world. At the top, there simply is ‘English.’ This ‘English’ can be traced to ‘American’ and ‘British.’ These two Englishes then spread into their colonial territories which get more specific towards the bottom. If one takes New Guinea, for example, the path to it would be as follows: English – British – Australasia – Australia – New Guinea. While this approach is quite useful if one wants to focus on the development of Englishes or their geopolitical relations, the Family Tree of Englishes is highly hierarchical and neglects the fact that World Englishes have developed too far to be placed ‘below’ British and American English. In fact, Kirkpatrick (2021, 265) states that World Englishes have developed individualities and are unique in representing the lived experiences of their speakers, which is not something that can be represented in this kind of model.

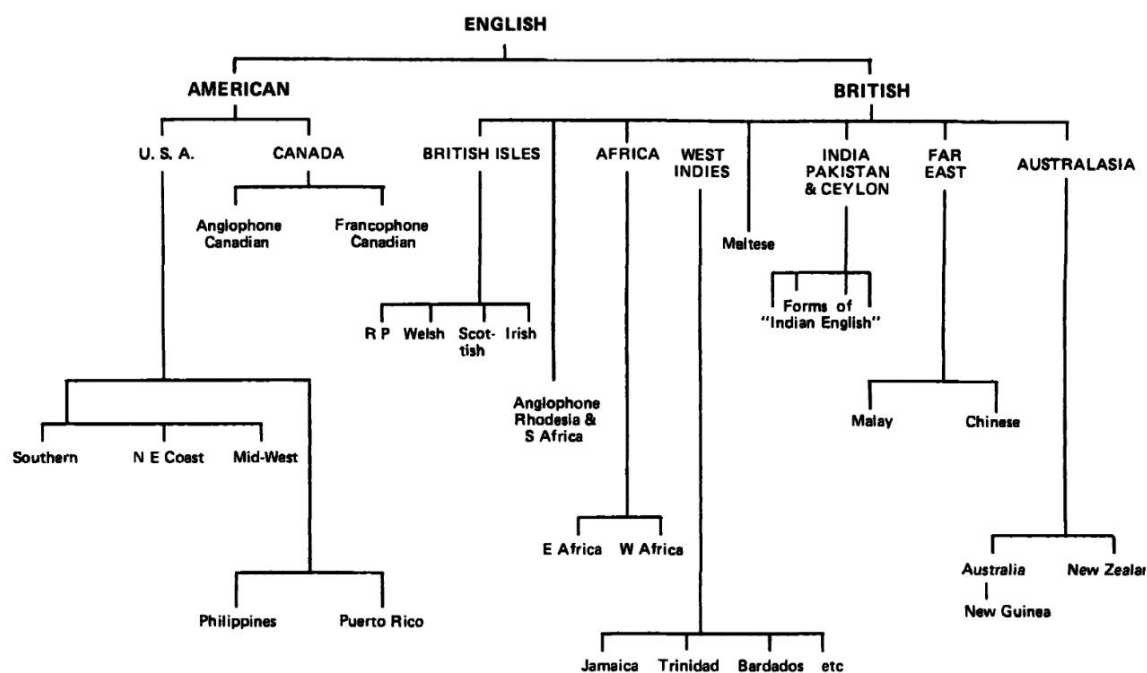


Figure 1. Peter Strevens' Family Tree of English. From "English as a suitable target for ELT purposes?" by Peter Strevens, 1977. *English as an International Language*, p.33.

A similar critique can be made about Kachru's (1985; 1992) Three Concentric Circles of English, McArthur's (1987, 11) Circle of World Englishes, and Görlach's (1988) Circle Model of English. Figure 2 demonstrates that the Kachruvian Circles (1985; 1992) consist of the Inner circle, the Outer circle, and the Expanding circle. The former describes Englishes from countries that are oftentimes deemed as 'native' countries of Englishes, such as the United States or Canada, but also the United Kingdom. They are supposed to be 'norm providing.' The Outer Circle lists Englishes with colonial background, including Indian English or Nigerian English, to name a few. They are supposed to be 'norm developing.' The outmost circle describes Englishes in an 'English as a Foreign Language' setting (Al-Mutairi 2019, 85). The examples mentioned for this circle are China and Russia. These varieties of English are supposed to be 'norm depending.'

McArthur's (1987, 11) Circle of World Englishes, on the other hand, has the idea of a 'World Standard English' as the center of all Englishes. It is supposed to be monolithic (1987, 10). Bordering on this center is another circle with eight sections, as can be seen in Figure 3. Each section has a broader idea of Standard Englishes: British and Irish Standard English, American Standard English, Canadian Standard English, Caribbean Standard English, West, East and South(ern) African Standard(izing) English, South Asian Standard(izing) English, East Asian Standardizing English, as well as Australian, New Zealand and South Pacific Standard English. Taking the firstly mentioned Standard English as an example, a handful of Englishes lie outside the circle, bordered by 'British English' and 'Irish English.' The Englishes between these two rank from most similar to British English to most similar to Irish English. In a way, McArthur's (1987, 11) model is more inclusive because, unlike the previously mentioned models, it also gives

acknowledgement to major migrant groups, certain dialects, pidgins, creoles, as well as hybrid Englishes and even Englishes from indigenous populations.

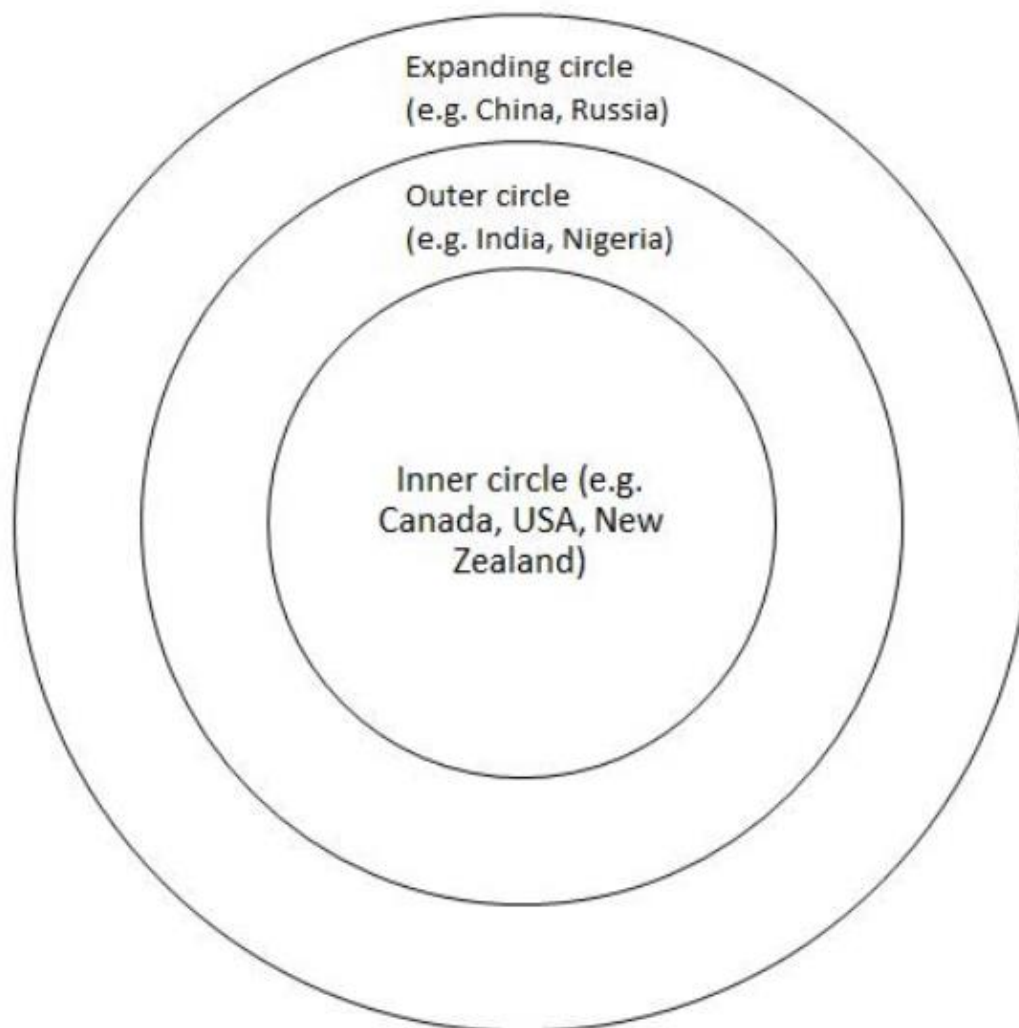


Figure 2. Kachru's Three Concentric Circles model. From "Kachru's Three Concentric Circles Model of English Language: An Overview of Criticism & the Place of Kuwait in it," by Mohammad A. Al-Mutairi. 2019. *English Language Teaching*, p.87.

Similar to McArthur's (1987, 11) model, Görlach's (1988) Circle Model of English forms around the center of an 'International English,' as Figure 4 shows. Around this center, three more circles can be found, each having specific sections. One section of the first circle around the center, for instance, would be 'British English.' Connected to this English, the section of the next circle then mentions Englishes that are often grouped together with British English, such as Irish English, whereas the connected section of the last circle mentions, for example, 'Yorkshire dialect.' Outside of the circle, Görlach (1988) also acknowledges a variety of English-based pidgins and creoles.

English at the very top is simply ‘English,’ not a specific variety of it. This kind of reasoning will be taken up again in the fourth section of this thesis.

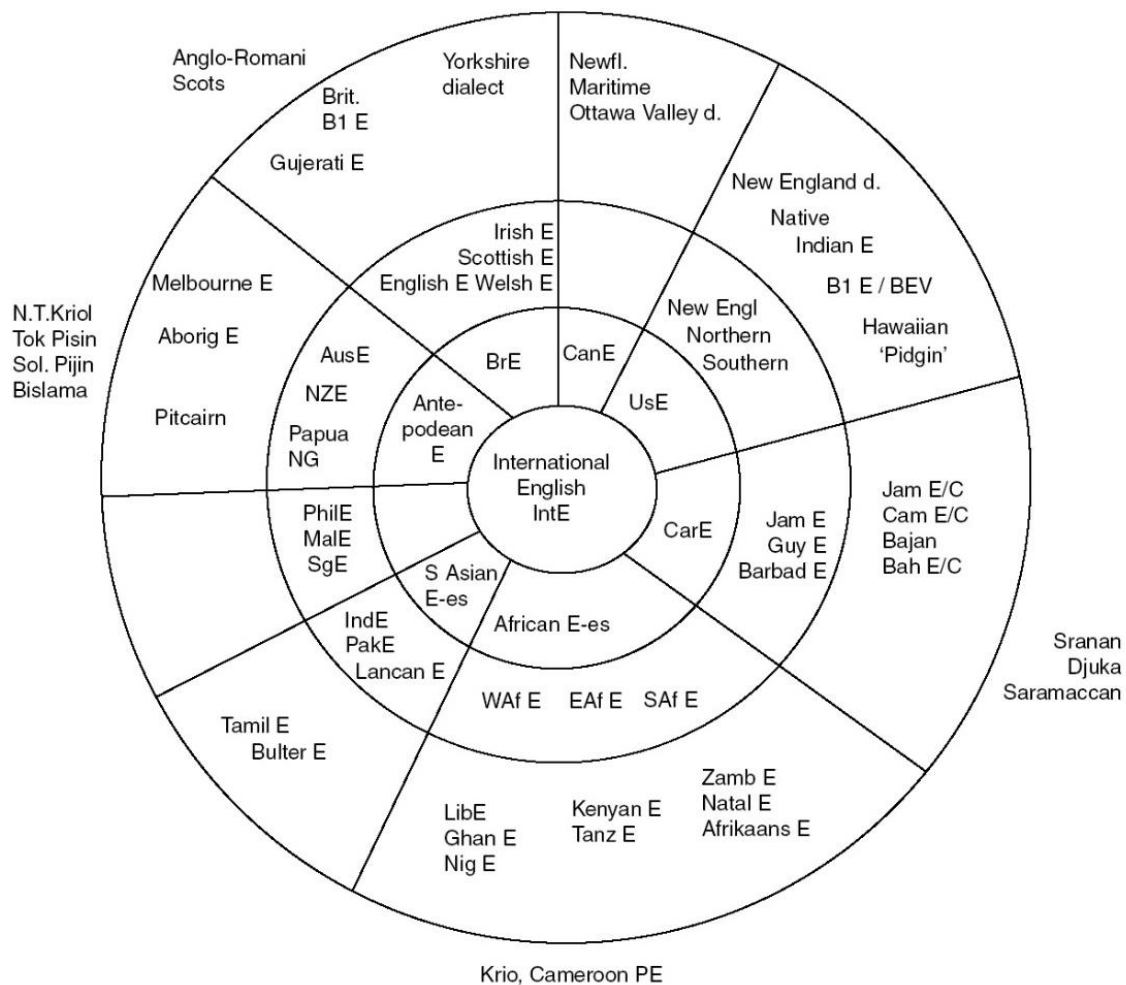


Figure 4. Manfred Görlach’s Circle Model of English. From “Models of English,” by Tom McArthur, 1998. *The English Languages*, p.101.

Returning to the centers of the formerly mentioned models, Kachru (1985; 1992) is very clear about what he considers to be the center of English. The Inner Circle shows the speakers of Englishes that are in certain areas still regarded as ‘native speakers,’ whereas the Englishes represented by the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle are considered as ‘inferior’ to the varieties found in the center. At his time, Kachru’s (1985; 1992) model may have been groundbreaking, especially because it “triggered the independent recognition of non-native varieties” (Buschfeld et al. 2018, 19); however, research on World Englishes has long developed past such a simplistic and hierarchical view, because it now raises the question of “[w]hat counts as a native speaker?” (Graddol 2003, 155). An interesting answer can be given if one takes Crystal’s (2013) view on the matter into account. It suggests that everyone can be a ‘native speaker’ of Englishes, because if someone uses them in their own country, their uses of Englishes are most likely influenced by their backgrounds, including cultural, historical, ethnic, and others. If that very same person visits

another country and makes use of this language spectrum there, they are no longer the ‘native speaker’ of Englishes in this situation, but a person from that country using them is.

Keeping Crystal’s (2013) idea in mind, one can obliterate Görlach’s (1988) notion of an ‘International English’ since it is clear that one cannot simply eradicate the variety of aspects influencing one’s languages and speaking habits just to conform to a global variety. As Grewal (in Huddart 2014, 133) states, the users of Englishes that are dominant – in this case, the people that are still considered ‘native’ speakers of a language – cannot know how difficult it is to “suppress local innovation in order to participate in a universal network.”

Moreover, one should raise the question why one variety of English should be the center or the core of the English Language Complex (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008, 3). In the same vein, McArthur’s (1987, 11) hierarchical approach to World Englishes with a ‘World Standard English’ as the core can be countered in various ways. For one, ‘Standard Englishes’ are nothing more than varieties of English (Crystal 1994, 109), just like any other variety. “[O]n a linguistic level, at least, Standard English is not ‘intrinsically superior’ to other language varieties” (Brindley & Swann 1996, 211). In fact, linguists do not consider any variety of English ‘superior or ‘inferior’ to another (Wardhaugh 2010, 356). Moreover, the idea of a ‘standard’ for English first came about in the mid-1400s, at a time when English was only spoken by approximately seven million speakers – most of them what some people would still refer to as ‘native speakers.’ This means that the term was not meant for a global use and, therefore, this idea is rather outdated (Quirk 1985, 1). Another point worth mentioning is that a global usage of Englishes is not every speaker’s goal. In some contexts, the focus of language learning is a local idea. Almost fifty years ago, Kachru (1976, 225) already observed that in certain countries, the purpose of Englishes is to preserve “the indigenous patterns of life and culture” rather than introducing “British or American culture.” Therefore, trying to create a global standard of this language would be to no avail. The fact that Kachru’s (1985; 1992) model contradicts the observations he made almost a decade earlier to some extent is a point that will be investigated further in the third section of this thesis.

2.2 More Recent Models

Since the previous sub-section presented traditional models from the last century, this sub-section wants to focus on three models from the current century, namely Schneider’s (2003; 2007) Dynamic Model of the evolution of postcolonial Englishes, Buschfeld & Kautzsch’s (2017; 2018) follow-up model – the Extra- and Intra-Territorial Forces Model – as well as Mair’s (2013, 264) World System of Standard and Non-Standard Englishes. This sub-section will explain how these three models are no less hierarchical than the previously mentioned models, despite their rather different designs. It will start with Schneider’s (2003; 2007) approach, continue with its (2017; 2018) follow-up view, and conclude with Mair’s (2013, 264) model.

Schneider's (2003; 2007) approach is rather popular. What is interesting about it is that Schneider (2007, 29) acknowledges the limits of his (2003; 2007) model and states that it is not meant to show all aspects of World Englishes, but rather a very specific view on them. He explains that "identity rewritings and associated linguistic changes" (2007, 30) follow a sequence of five stages. The foundation is the first phase. Here, English is brought to a new part of the world by settlers. Since it gets in contact with the languages of the indigenous people there, a new variety of English arises. This phase is called exonormative stabilization. It shows specific identity constructions for all the people involved. This phenomenon leads to the nativization, meaning that sociolinguistic aspects of the contact setting get manifested, or, in other words, English gets restructured through the interaction of the settler variety and the indigenous variety. In the fourth phase, the endonormative stabilization, the new variety starts to get viewed and accepted as a local norm until it gets fully established, which would be the last phase, differentiation. The new variety usually reflects local identity and culture, and other local varieties can emerge (2007, 30f).

As has been mentioned above, Schneider (2007, 29) is aware of the limits of his (2003; 2007) model. Nevertheless, one also needs to acknowledge the advantages of this kind of model, especially since its approach is rather different from the traditional models mentioned in the previous sub-section. For one, Schneider's (2003; 2007) view on World Englishes is process-oriented, which gives the opportunity to compare post-colonial Englishes and their relations to the historical and socio-political events that caused their existence. Especially when focusing on the spread of Englishes, Schneider's (2003; 2007) model is considered rather useful (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008, 35). Furthermore, its "flexible, modular conception and its aim to describe the emergence of a variety in its entirety" (Buschfeld et al. 2018, 19) is generally regarded as a positive contribution to the research on World Englishes.

Despite these positive aspects, however, one cannot ignore the limits and issues of Schneider's (2003; 2007) model, either. For one, the model can only really be used for postcolonial Englishes. Since there is a gradually growing number of non-postcolonial varieties of English, though, and there have been too many recent developments of Englishes, this is an issue. Moreover, Schneider's (2003; 2007) model can, in a way, be connected to the traditional, hierarchical models. It may not have a hierarchy in the common sense, but it does prescribe the way the formation of varieties should be considered. In other words, it prescribes the different stages one should expect in the formation of varieties. It suggests that the developments of all Englishes are linear (Onysko 2016, 201) and do not differ from one another. Schneider's (2003; 2007) model makes it seem like the stages he proposes are the exact order of sequence in which the formation of varieties needs to happen, even though it can and does also happen rather differently. Additionally, Mesthrie & Bhatt (2008, 25f) realize that Schneider's (2003; 2007) model neglects certain aspects, such as status or class, for instance. Moreover, returning to Crystal's (2013) view on 'nativeness,' one could argue that the nativization occurs immediately, rather than in

the third stage of a presumed sequence. Keeping the previously mentioned aspects in mind and given the steady growth of World Englishes, one needs to give credit to Schneider (2014, 27f) himself for concluding that “the Dynamic Model is not really, or only to a rather limited extent, a suitable framework to describe this new kind of dynamism of global Englishes.”

It is for this reason that Buschfeld & Kautzsch (2017; 2018) adapted Schneider’s (2003; 2007) model into the Extra- and Intra-Territorial Forces Model. As is demonstrated in Figure 5, this (2017; 2018) model does not prescribe any specific categories Englishes need to be part of. In fact, the bidirectional arrows signify that Englishes can switch between the different stages that can be found in Schneider’s (2003; 2007) model. This (2017; 2018) adapted approach demonstrates that the developments of the different varieties of English are not monodirectional. Furthermore, Buschfeld & Kautzsch’s (2017; 2018) view includes non-postcolonial Englishes alongside postcolonial Englishes, improving one of the major issues that can be found in Schneider’s (2003; 2007) model.

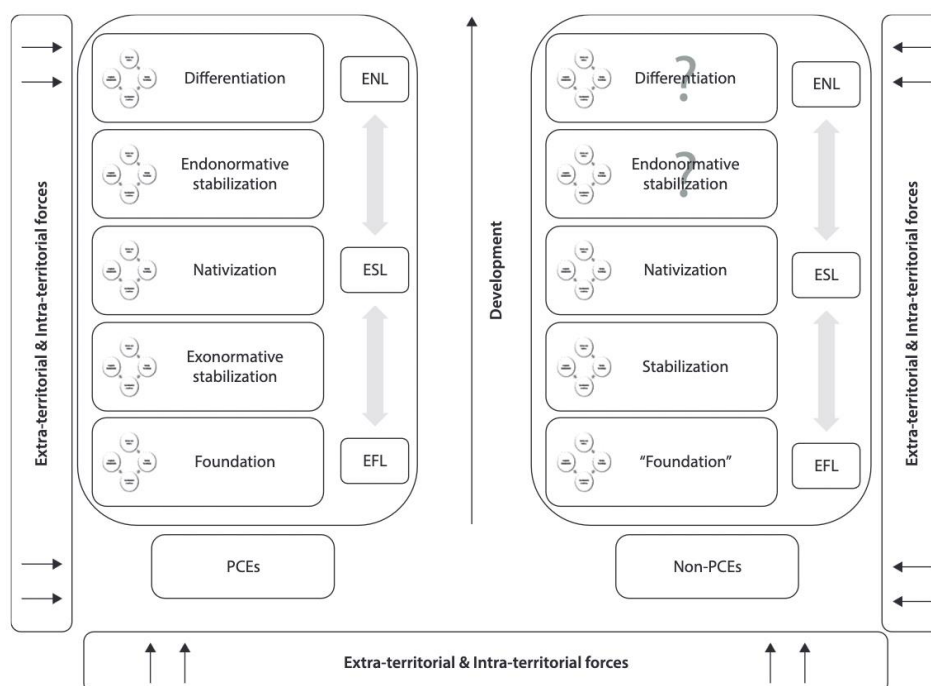


Figure 5. Sarah Buschfeld’s and Alexander Kautzsch’s Extra- and Intra-Territorial Forces Model. From “From colonial dynamism to current transnationalism” by Sarah Buschfeld, Alexander Kautzsch, and Edgar W. Schneider, 2018. *Modeling World Englishes*, p.24.

However, the issue of a hierarchy can be found in this (2017; 2018) model, as well. While Figure 5 shows that speakers can switch between ‘English as a Native Language,’ ‘English as a Second Language,’ and ‘English as a Foreign Language,’ it neglects the issue of this categorization of Englishes. As Espinosa (2017, 13) writes, “[i]nherent to this approach is the assumption that the language spoken by native speakers is unarguably the only appropriate model to be presented to learners.” Ergo, by presenting a model that makes use of this approach to World Englishes – and even puts ‘English as a Native Language’ at the top – speakers are confronted with the idea

that ‘native’ speakers undoubtedly have a higher proficiency in Englishes than ‘non-native’ speakers, even though that is not the case. In fact, the idea that ‘nativeness’ is the key to bringing one’s proficiency of this language to perfection has been debated for a significant amount of time already, especially considering the international contexts the English Language Spectrum can be found in nowadays (2017, 13).

Despite this hierarchical approach, though, Buschfeld & Kautzsch’s (2017; 2018) model has a rather interesting addition to depict the internal linguistic variability in it, as can be seen in Figure 6. It demonstrates that almost every variety has an internal heterogeneity that is influenced by certain aspects, such as “status, formality of a situation, speakers’ proficiency levels” (Buschfeld et al. 2018, 25), to name a few. However, it is clear that the abstract level only allows an approximation of, for instance, the status of English in a certain area. Moreover, the heterogeneity that can be found is strongly influenced by sociolinguistic factors, such as age, or social status, for example – the lack of which has been criticized in Schneider’s (2003; 2007) model (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008, 25f) as well as by individual speakers and their idiolects, which is an aspect that will be discussed further in the fourth section of this thesis.

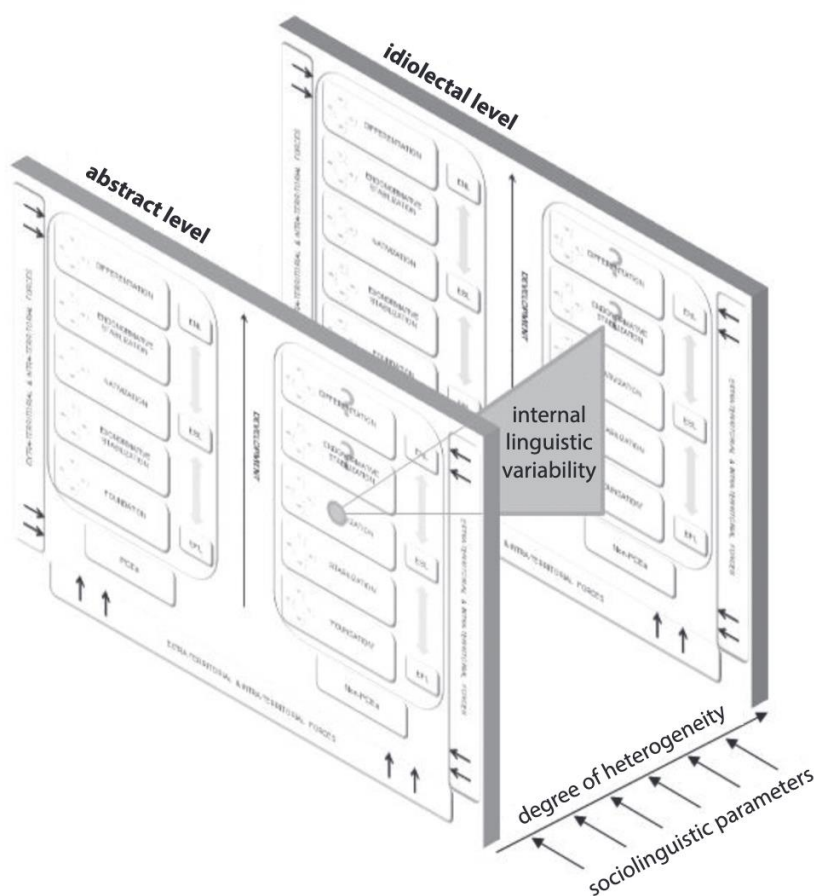


Figure 6. Sarah Buschfeld’s and Alexander Kautzsch’s Internal Linguistic Variability in the EIF Model. From “From colonial dynamism to current transnationalism” by Sarah Buschfeld, Alexander Kautzsch, and Edgar W. Schneider, 2018. *Modeling World Englishes*, p.25.

Mair's (2013, 264) World System of Standard and Non-Standard Englishes, however, takes a drastically different approach to the research on World Englishes than the other models discussed in this thesis. It is based on de Swaan's (2002) World Language System, which forms four hierarchical groups for the multitude of languages in the world. The groups are 'hyper-central language,' 'super-central languages,' 'central languages,' and 'peripheral languages.' As can be seen in Figure 7, Mair's (2013, 264) model adopts these groups and applies them to World Englishes. Furthermore, the sub-categories 'Standard' and 'Non-Standard' are added. The only variety of English that is considered to be hyper-central or the 'hub' is Standard American English. Mair (2013, 261f) explains this by claiming that this variety has the most influence on the other ones, meaning all varieties that are placed 'below' it in the (2013, 264) model. While some varieties of English, such as British English, do have an impact on Standard American English, as well, this is by far not as prominent. Speakers from 'lower' categories are expected to be familiar with the varieties 'above.' In short, the basic structure of this (2013, 264) model is from most influential (top) to least influential (bottom). Considering society's view on the matter of varieties of English, one could argue that the hierarchy is from most favorable (top) to least favorable (bottom).

Interestingly enough, however, portraying this hierarchy is the purpose of Mair's (2013, 264) model. It aims to alert users of Englishes to the "sometimes unexpected hierarchies" (2013, 276) one can find within English. It is for this reason that, for example, no specific pidgins and creoles are placed in the (2013, 264) model; they are only mentioned as 'pidgins and creoles' in the 'lowest' category, the non-standard of peripheral varieties. Another interesting observation is the inclusion of 'domain specific ELF uses' as a sub-category of super-central varieties. This is a rather important addition because it raises awareness towards the expectations connected to acquiring English language skills, such as its usefulness in business (Tan 2024, 96f), for instance.

In a way, one could differentiate Mair's (2013, 264) model from the other models mentioned in this thesis because of what connects it to them: the hierarchy within it. However, whereas the hierarchy in the other models is not abundantly obvious but rather a subconscious, underlying issue, the idea of Mair's (2013, 264) model is to raise awareness in this regard. It tries to be more inclusive by clearly demonstrating the hierarchical view society has on World Englishes (2013, 275f). In short, one could say that the one aspect that can be found in every model that has thus far been investigated in this thesis is, ironically, also the most crucial aspect that distinguishes Mair's (2013, 264) model from the others.

To sum up this sub-section of the thesis, it can be said that one needs more complex models of Englishes than the traditional models in order to do the uniqueness of the English Language Spectrum justice; however, one should also keep in mind that the hierarchical approach of some of these models is not favorable, as is demonstrated in Mair's (2013, 264) model. It is for this reason that the next sub-

section will focus on more complex models of World Englishes that are not limited by a hierarchical approach but treat all varieties of English with equal value.

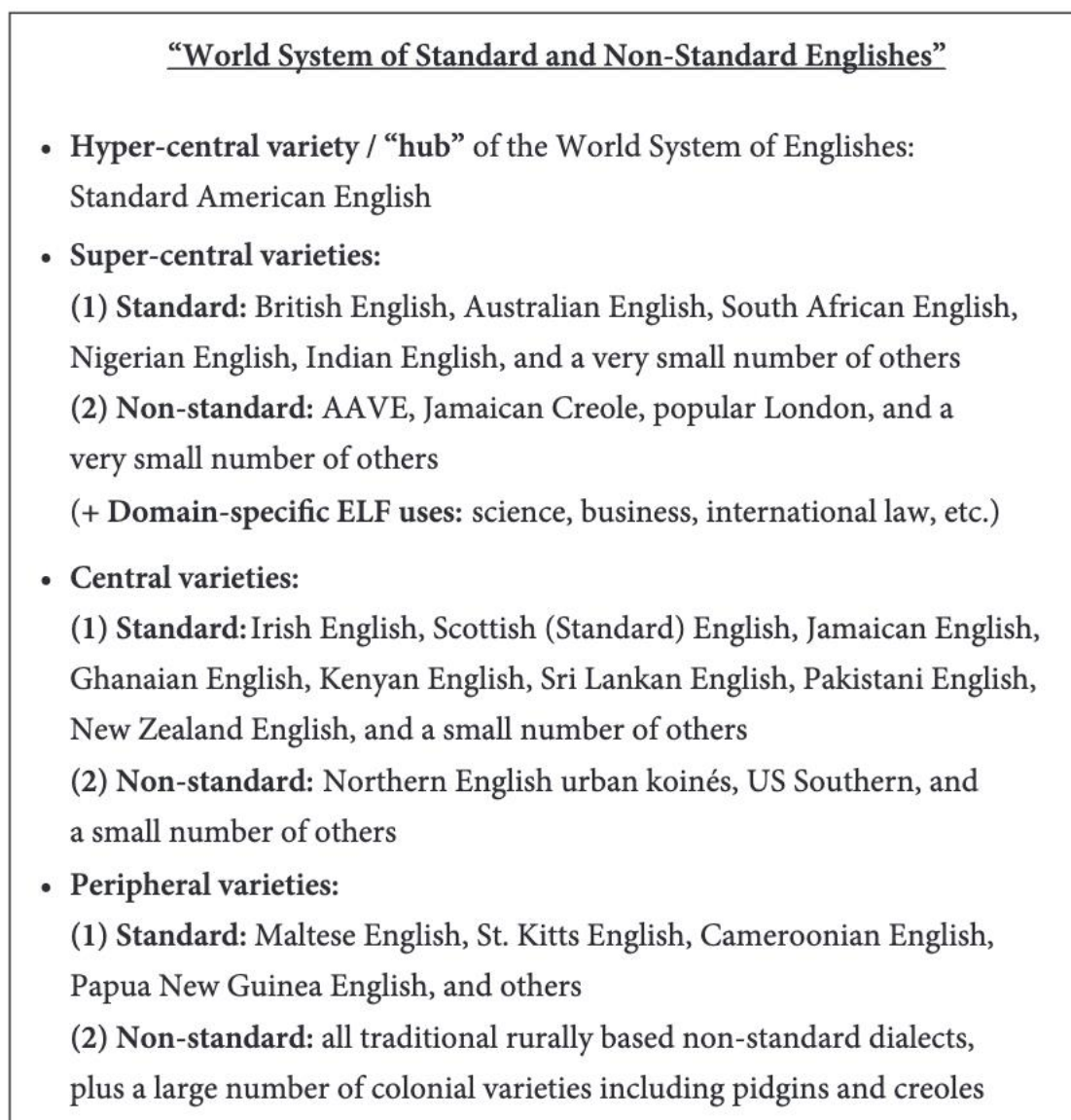


Figure 7. Christian Mair’s World System of Standard and Non-Standard Englishes. From “The World System of Englishes: Accounting for the transnational importance of mobile and mediated vernaculars” by Christian Mair, 2013. *English World-Wide*, p.264.

2.3 Non-Hierarchical Models

As has been mentioned above, this sub-section now wants to focus on non-hierarchical models of World Englishes. The first one is Onysko’s (2016, 213) Language Contact Typology of world Englishes that can be seen in Figure 8, the other is James’s (2021) Tricodal/Trimodal Approach.

Onysko’s (2016, 213) idea of modelling World Englishes is to investigate them with a focus on language contact. As Figure 8 shows, the center of the model is ‘World Englishes,’ so the plurality of it, not a handful of specific Englishes (as is the case in Kachru’s (1985; 1992) model) or the idea of a ‘World Standard English’ (McArthur 1987, 11) or an ‘International English’ (Görlach 1988). This sentiment is similar to

Stevens's (1978, 33) idea of 'English' at the top of the Family Tree. However, this seems to be the only similarity these two models share because while the Englishes in Stevens's (1978, 33) model are listed in a hierarchical manner, Onysko (2016, 213) arranges different categories in a circle around the center. The categories are 'Global Englishes,' 'Learner Englishes,' 'Englishes in multilingual constellations,' 'English-based Pidgins and Creoles,' as well as 'Koiné Englishes.' Since they are placed on the same circle and are, therefore, also connected through this circle, it is clear that they should be considered as equal, which is rather interesting, considering that a hierarchy seems to be part of the nature of language contact including English (2016, 207). Moreover, since this (2016, 213) model is devoid of a hierarchy, the notion of 'native' speakers' Englishes being the 'core' of the English Language Complex (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008, 3) is eliminated. In fact, Onysko (2016, 216) argues that taking the approach of language contact typology towards World Englishes "promotes an egalitarian conception of world Englishes, which has been at the core of the research paradigm from its beginnings."

The reasoning as to why the aforementioned contact settings should represent World Englishes is that they are supposed to do it best since they provide shared characteristics that can be found in general phenotypes. 'Global Englishes,' for example, demonstrate the influence English has on a global level. This is connected to 'Learner Englishes,' as can be seen in Figure 8, but also to the concept of English as a Lingua Franca and 'Englishes in multilingual settings.' However, whereas the purpose of Englishes in the former lies in education rather than everyday life, the same cannot be said about the latter. Thus, migrant Englishes or hybrid Englishes also fall into this category. Additionally, 'English-based Pidgins and Creoles' need to be included because they also emerge from multilingual settings. What differentiates them from the previous category, however, is that they only have restricted contact settings, resulting in different developments of Englishes. The last category is formed by 'Koiné Englishes.' They emerge from dialectal contact and include, for example, standardized varieties of British Englishes (Onysko 2016, 212-214). In this regard, Onysko's (2016, 213) model differs from most of the aforementioned models, since only few of them include these specific varieties of English. Especially the last-mentioned category is rather interesting since it supports the reasoning mentioned in sub-section 2.1 that 'Standard Englishes' are not 'superior' to other varieties of English (Brindley & Swann 1996, 211) and should, in fact, also simply be considered as varieties of English (Crystal 1994, 109). Thus, they need to be included in models of World Englishes, as Onysko's (2016, 213) does and as will be taken into consideration in the fourth section of this thesis, instead of being taken for granted.

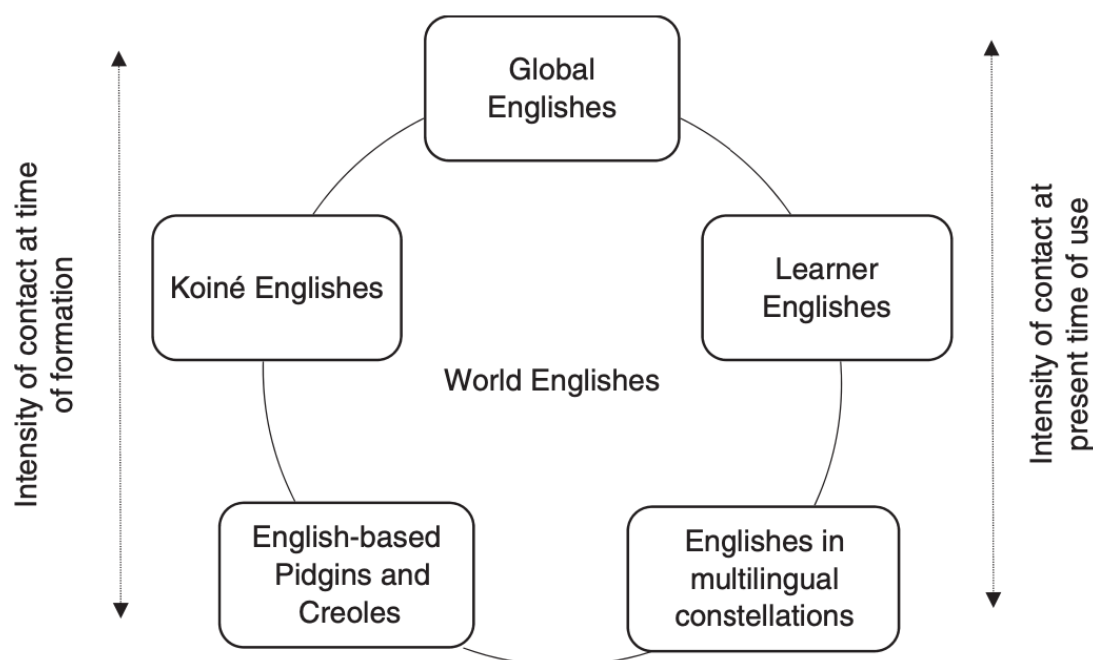


Figure 8. Alexander Onysko's Language Contact Typology of world Englishes. From "Modeling world Englishes from the perspective of language contact" by Alexander Onysko, 2016. *World Englishes*, p.213.

Another interesting observation that can be made about this (2016, 213) model is that it is framed by two arrows captioned 'Intensity of contact at time of formation' and 'Intensity of contact at present time of use.' They are intended to demonstrate that models of World Englishes need to consider historical aspects, as well (Onysko 2016, 214). This (2016, 213) model, in particular, needs to be considerate in this regard since varieties of English keep developing and can, therefore, also switch categories. In a way, one could say that language contact of Englishes can be seen as a global web with adaptable categories (2016, 214f).

However, it is clear that, as Onysko (2016, 215f) himself observes, the aforementioned categories have an internal variation, as well. Individual uses of Englishes can come from more than just one category, which will, of course, change from user to user, which generally proves rather difficult to demonstrate in models of Englishes. Nevertheless, the fourth section of this thesis will propose a perspective focusing on the importance of individual uses of Englishes, as does James (2021).

James's (2021) Tricodal/Trimodal Approach consists of the social semiotics modes of 'identification,' 'representation,' and 'action,' and the coinciding linguistic structural codes 'dialect,' 'register,' and 'genre.' This (2021) approach demonstrates that the structural codes used in social practices realize a "unity of form and function" (2021, 30). The focus of this (2021) model is to represent the uses of Englishes as social practices rather than abstract ideas, which is considered to take research on World Englishes to a more relatable level (Onysko 2021, 6).

James (2021, 32) explains that 'dialect' is connected to 'identification' because 'dialect' is the basis for user-specific communication, even leading to personal

idiolects. ‘Dialects’ give considerable insight into a person’s background and/or social environment, which can, in a way, be connected to Kachru’s (1976, 225) observation that some peoples use Englishes to express their identities, as has been mentioned in sub-section 2.1. Moreover, a link to Meierkord’s (2004, 110) hypothesis can be made. She writes that “[i]nteractions across Englishes have existed ever since regional variation arose, thus, probably ever since English was formed and its early dialects developed.” Additionally, her (2012) model demonstrates that the notion of ‘English as a lingua franca’ can be considered as a performance code. Meierkord’s (2012) approach is also supported by Tagg (2015, 207f), who states that every speaker of a language switches registers, styles, and dialects, resulting in embracing the diversity of users of languages. James (2021, 35) concludes that “speech is indeed shared, repeated and therefore routinised within the affordances and constraints of codes/modes.” Since this is the case, one can argue that, once again, a non-hierarchical view on World Englishes is countering the need for the categorization of ‘English as a Native Language,’ ‘English as a Second Language,’ and ‘English as a Foreign Language,’ because, as has been demonstrated, the borders are not as clear-cut as the traditional models make them seem to be.

The link between ‘representation’ and ‘register’ exists to express social meanings, meaning that through the ‘register,’ social meaning of representation can be expressed, whereas genre conveys the needed linguistic structures to express action (James 2021, 32f). ‘Dialect/identification’ is expressed through ‘lexicophonology,’ ‘register/representation’ through ‘lexicosemantics,’ and ‘genre/action’ through lexicogrammar. All these aspects are influenced by the individual Englishes user’s age, gender, or education (2021, 43), to name a few. Moreover, considering the aforementioned criticism Mesthrie & Bhatt (2008, 25f) bring forth regarding Schneider’s (2003; 2007) model that it does not include the aspects that are clearly influencing James’s (2021) approach, one can clearly observe why this still rather young (2021) model is considered to be a great accomplishment in the research on World Englishes (Onysko 2021, 6).

This concludes the second chapter of this thesis. To sum up, all models were rather important and impactful contributions at their times. Furthermore, without the older models, no new models with different foci and insights could be created (Onysko 2016, 197-199). However, since a multitude of the models mentioned in this chapter are rather hierarchical, the next section wants to argue that this phenomenon has an observable impact on education before proposing an additional, non-hierarchical view in the fourth section of this thesis.

3 Education – World Englishes or English?

Keeping the information gathered in the previous section in mind, the hypothesis that education is influenced by the hierarchical structure that can be found in a multitude of models will be raised now. Furthermore, it is the aim of this thesis to raise awareness towards the risks this issue brings with it. In order to do so, it will

first give insight into the experiences of learners of Englishes, compare those to the hierarchy found in some of the models afterwards, before connecting this language prejudice within English with identity loss. Before proposing a new perspective to look at the English Language Spectrum, however, this paper also wants to give credit to several ideas on how to teach Englishes without a hierarchical view on them.

3.1 Standardized Education

Understanding the role of English(es) in education is only possible if one considers the spread of English throughout the world. As Saraceni & Jacob (2021, 14) observe, the key factor here is the British empire and the injustices it has done to other countries, including land grabbing, concentration camps, mass murder, slavery, and more. In short, the beginnings of the spread of English were not natural, at all. They were forced upon the world. Nowadays, society is aware of the problematic past of English; however, most people do support the belief that colonialism is an integral part of this language. Kassim (2019) fights this idea by raising the point that any argument supporting the presence of colonialism – be that in language, culture, or any other area – is a mere excuse made up by colonial apologists. It is for reasons like this that formerly colonized countries do now embrace their varieties of English because the differences to British English – the colonizer’s language – demonstrate that the country made English belong to its citizens. Englishes have become “an instrument of decolonization” (Saraceni & Jacob 2021, 15), which can be observed by the ideas and sentiments of certain postcolonial writers, such as Raja Rao (India) or Chinua Achebe (Nigeria). The specific varieties of English show that the people from these countries are unique; it shows part of their identity. Moreover, it shows that Englishes do not only belong to the colonizers anymore. This is a rather powerful phenomenon since it is quite the opposite of what the colonizers were trying to do when they were forcing English upon the world. In fact, it is a way of fighting back. It is also referred to as “writing back,” which is an idea that has first been introduced by Rushdie (1982). One can argue that varieties of English are the result of English experiencing nativization and acculturation. Furthermore, it keeps getting re-shaped (Saraceni & Jacob 2021, 16). Thus, varieties of English have developed in individual and unique ways (Kirkpatrick 2021, 265), which means that all varieties of English should be accepted and embraced as equal and independent.

However, this is not yet the case. In fact, embracing one’s variety can have negative consequences, especially in education. British English is still the standard that is being taught. In some cases, American English is also acceptable, but the default variety is usually British English. Because of this, the assessment in education is based on British English norms. Anything deviating from it is considered to be ‘incorrect,’ even if it is ‘correct’ in another variety of English or when ‘native’ speakers of Englishes make use of these specific aspects (Lindemann 2017, 204). Thus, the hierarchy that can be found within English becomes apparent.

A clear bias against the ways ‘non-native’ speakers make use of Englishes can be observed. Focusing on spoken English, there even appears to be a hierarchy within

the hierarchy, meaning that while ‘native’ speakers are considered to use Englishes more ‘correctly’ than ‘non-native’ speakers, another hierarchy can be found within the group of ‘non-native’ speakers. It has been observed that non-white speakers’ Englishes are generally evaluated as less ‘correct’ than the ones of white ‘non-native’ speakers. Evidence taken from Lindemann (2017, 201), for instance, shows that, while a bias against both Englishes in Korea and Englishes in Italy can be observed, the bias against Korean English is stronger. What is interesting to consider, though, is that the feature investigated in this example – vowel reduction – also happens in American English. While this feature is considered to be an ‘incorrect’ usage of English for Korean English and Italian English, the same feature is easily ignored in American English and/or regarded as ‘normal.’

In this thesis, it is argued that one of the factors contributing to this hierarchy in English language learning/teaching can be traced back to the hierarchy in some of the models of Englishes. Thus, the previously mentioned example will now be applied to Kachru’s (1985; 1992) model. Since American English is at the center of the model, it becomes clear why it is considered ‘normal’ and/or ‘correct.’ Englishes in Korea and Englishes in Italy would fit into the Expanding Circle, which is the outmost circle and, therefore, furthest away from the center. Thus, these varieties of English are considered as less ‘correct’ than American English. Applying Mair’s (2013, 264) model to this example, Standard American English is the hub. It is right at the top. Learner Englishes such as Englishes in Korea and Englishes in Italy are not represented in this (2013, 264) model. However, there is the general assumption that learners of Englishes would want to get as far to the top as possible, since this is where the more ‘prestigious’ Englishes are placed. Most likely, these kinds of Englishes will be considered in international/Lingua Franca contexts. Nevertheless, it would be impossible to reach the top for Englishes that are in certain contexts perceived as ‘English as a Foreign Language.’ As has been argued in sub-section 2.2, Mair’s (2013, 264) model demonstrates society’s view on Englishes. The previously mentioned example is proof of that. The question that should be asked, however, is whether this hierarchical view stems from the models, or whether the models simply reflect society’s view on Englishes. However, there is no clear and straightforward answer to this question. Instead, it appears that society’s view on the English Language Spectrum and the hierarchy found in some models of Englishes are inherently interconnected. These two phenomena are a never-ending cycle. They keep influencing each other. Thus, if one wants to change something about it, both need to be investigated.

Now, one needs to return to a point mentioned in sub-section 2.1, which is the inconsistency of how Kachru’s (1976, 225) observations of Englishes contradict his (1985; 1992) model. As has already been mentioned, in 1976, Kachru (1976, 225) realized that the idea of Englishes in some countries is neither to introduce America nor Britain to their citizens. Rather, Englishes in these countries serve the preservation of the country’s own culture and ways of life. Still, Kachru’s (1985; 1992) model neglects this sentiment and places what is considered to be ‘English as a Native

Language' in the center, meaning that the (1985; 1992) view assumes these Englishes to be inherently more 'correct' than any other varieties of English. This can be explained by looking at a small case study conducted by Marlina (2013). It demonstrates that students taking classes on 'English as an International Language' become more aware of World Englishes and their own varieties of English, including them accepting these as appropriate. However, investigating their own ways of teaching and learning Englishes, it is apparent that 'nativeness' is still the most prevalent model of 'correctness.' Kirkpatrick (2021, 260) explains this with the discrepancy of what one knows and what one is expected to teach. Arguably, Kachru's case is similar. Even though he has been aware of the uniqueness of the different kinds of use of Englishes (Kachru 1976, 225), the core of his (1985; 1992) model reflects what is generally expected to be the 'norm' that all varieties of English should be evaluated by. Nevertheless, these expectations are the driving force of the never-ending cycle of the hierarchical view in the models and society's view on World Englishes.

The aforementioned expectations and the subsequent hierarchy in language teaching and learning has an observable impact on specific groups of users of Englishes. As an example, the situation in India will be investigated further. After American English, it has the greatest number of users of any variety of English. Nevertheless, a multitude of educated Indians would call themselves speakers of British English rather than Indian English (Sridhar 2020, 243f). This is connected to the belief that speakers of Indian English are "less sophisticated" (2020, 244) than users of other varieties of English. So-called 'Indianisms' are taught as 'incorrect,' especially in standardized education, even though the used features are a perfectly common way of expressing oneself in Indian English. The following examples will give further insight.

- (1) Where are you going?
- (2) Where you are going?
- (3) You asked them what they needed.
- (4) You asked them what did they need.

The above examples of direct and indirect questions show a discrepancy of what is taught in standardized education ((1) and (3)) and what is acceptable in Indian English ((2) and (4)). In direct questions, education teaches that an interrogative pronoun at the beginning of a sentence always precedes an auxiliary. Contrary to that, indirect questions do not make use of auxiliaries. However, Indian English does not adhere to this structure. In fact, the subject is placed after the interrogative pronoun in direct questions; in indirect questions, an auxiliary is placed after the interrogative pronoun (Bhatt 2004, 1020). Furthermore, when asking *wh*-questions, education teaches that there needs to be an inversion of the subject and the verb, as can be seen in (1). Since Indian English does not follow the structure of having the auxiliary right after the interrogative pronoun, in this case it also demonstrates the lack of an inversion of subject and verb (Sailaja 2009, 57). These examples are merely supposed to give insight into the issue of how Indian English is

being taught as ‘incorrect’ in standardized education; however, the features mentioned are not the only aspects of Indian English that are considered ‘incorrect.’ The issue reaches well beyond direct, indirect, and *wh*-questions. Discrepancies can also be found in the usage of articles, the present continuous, or tag questions (Bhatt 2004, 1022), to name a few. Especially in the case of tag questions, though, a cultural difference can be observed, as will be explained with (5) and (6).

(5) You said you’ll go, didn’t you?

(6) You said you’ll go, isn’t it?

While (5) is what is taught in standardized education, even in a university setting, (6) is taught as ‘incorrect,’ even though it is a perfectly common way of using Indian English. In fact, the usage of ‘isn’t it’ has a specific cultural and linguistic meaning. It is regarded as a function of positive politeness since it takes the responsibility off the person that is being spoken to (Bhatt 2004, 1022). To users of Indian English, it is mitigating (Nielsen 2020, 93), whereas in standardized education, it is only viewed as ‘incorrect.’ Generally, a negative attitude towards Indian English can be observed (Eriksson 2017, 6), judging by the fact that it is usually considered as a ‘non-native’ variety of English (Nelson & Kang 2015, 321), even though many people in India would consider it one of their ‘native’ languages (Jenkins 2009, 16). In a way, an educational ignorance towards other countries and cultures can be found in standardized education.

Moreover, this issue reaches well beyond Indian English, as well. Many varieties of English that are not considered to be ‘native’ or Inner Circle varieties of English are being taught as ‘incorrect.’ This leads to students who would consider English their first language being perceived as learners of Englishes because their usage of Englishes ‘sounds’ or ‘looks’ ‘incorrect,’ as Nero (2006, 504) states about Caribbean Englishes. This sentiment can be shared about any variety of English that, like Caribbean Englishes, challenges one or more of the “three fundamental assumptions” (2006, 504) made by teachers. The first one is that ‘nativeness’ is related to race and/or ethnicity. The second one is that English is monolithic. The third one is the idea that only ‘Standard’ Englishes should be considered ‘correct’ Englishes. However, these assumptions have already been countered by a multitude of scholars, including Crystal’s views on ‘nativeness’ (2013) and ‘Standard’ English (1994, 109) and Kachru’s view on English being monolithic, as is explained by Onysko (2016, 199), that have already been mentioned in this thesis. Nevertheless, “[t]here seems to be a certain hierarchy of acceptance of English, which is tied to race and ethnicity” (Nero 2006, 504). This view on the English Language Complex (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008, 3) is rather downgrading, especially if one keeps the hierarchy in some of the models of Englishes in mind. Staying with the example of Caribbean Englishes, they are placed right at the bottom of Strevens’s (1978, 33) model. Since these Englishes are at the lowest point of this (1978, 33) model, it appears as if they are the least correct ones. Comparing this to Kachru’s (1985; 1992) model, however, an obvious discrepancy can be observed. Caribbean Englishes can, to some extent, be placed in the Outer Circle, so in this case, it is not placed at the

'lowest' point. However, one also needs to keep the English-based Pidgins and Creoles in the Caribbean in mind, which would not be represented in Kachru's (1985; 1992) model. This means that the hierarchies found within the models consist of clear inconsistencies, which is only further proof that these hierarchies are not favorable. In any case, Caribbean Englishes are considered to be 'inferior' to other Englishes, which is reflected in education.

Students get penalized if they make use of these varieties of English (Nero 2006, 505), which has oftentimes also been the case in postcolonial countries, such as Australia. Delving into its history very briefly, before the colonization, more than 250 languages were spoken in this country. Due to the punishments Aboriginal Australians had to face if they were not speaking English, only 40 languages are still spoken nowadays (Meakins 2021). Of course, the situation in Australia was a lot graver than it is in other countries, but one should still raise the question if certain varieties of English are at danger to cease existing if a handful of 'Standard' varieties keep getting forced onto users – not only learners (Nero 2006, 504)! – of Englishes. As Tupas (2015) observes, at this point in time, Englishes are still perceived unequally. Whether this inequality will have a lasting effect on the amount of World Englishes existing today is up for debate; however, it cannot be denied that it has an observable effect on education. What is important to consider is that education shapes society, which means that it would have the means to form what McArthur (1987, 11) calls 'World Standard English.' As has been explained in sub-section 2.1 already, the idea of a 'World Standard English' is outdated and would, most likely, not persevere due to cultural adaptations, but it can be argued that if it did exist at this point in time, it would be heavily influenced by Standard British English. The next sub-section of this thesis will raise some of the issues that could emerge from such a monolithic core of World Englishes and the interconnected hierarchical view on them.

3.2 Identity Loss

As Kachru (1976, 225) as well as Kirkpatrick (2021, 265) observe, nowadays, the goals of most users of Englishes is not to achieve 'nativeness,' but rather to find a new, internationally comprehensive way of representing their culture, experiences, and identities. Rao (1938, np.) explains this sentiment in the context of Indian English with the words, "We cannot write like the English. We should not. We cannot write only as Indians." This means that, in the example of Indian English, users of any variety of English are on the one hand influenced by their own cultural heritage, also called "ethnocultural identity" (Young 2008, 1), which, on the other hand, results in a newly shaped identity that is expressed through the variety of English. As with most arguments about varieties of English, this one can be applied to any variety other than Indian English, too. As Young (2008, 2) explains, one's identity is not shaped by languages, per se, but rather by the ways one is performing them. If one is not allowed to express oneself through languages in a way that is natural to oneself, it can be argued that a part of one's identity will be lost.

According to Crystal (2013), new varieties of English are growing all over the world. Since they are being influenced by the country they are used in as well as its society and culture, they are rather distinct from one another in terms of grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, and more. The purpose of Englishes has changed to a need to express identity (Nielsen 2020, 92). Furthermore, Nielsen (2020, 93) argues that this identity is interconnected with culture, including flora and fauna, religion, customs and legends, as well as different fields of entertainment. In most cases, new terms and phrases are being introduced to the English variety because no existing English term or phrase could convey the culturally specific meaning. Looking at Japanese English, Iwasaki (1994, 266) argues that it is not considered as a foreign language anymore, but rather, it is seen as “an additional vehicle of Japanese Culture.”

However, as has been stated in the previous sub-section, standardized education does not cater for these varieties. It is still mostly influenced by Standard British English, even though it is argued that “English is no longer the language of the English” (Nielsen 2020, 94) and that varieties of English should be appreciated (Crystal 2003, 111). Nevertheless, there is a clear collision of what individuals want to achieve with Englishes and the societal expectations that are reflected in education. As Young (2008, 3) notes, oftentimes, a high level of English proficiency is required for specific job offers or promotions. However, as has been explained in the previous sub-section, English proficiency is only based on a handful of varieties of English, not the English language family in its entirety. This means that users of Englishes have to decide whether they want a forced change of their identity in order to be offered better opportunities or keep embracing their own identities with fewer opportunities. Metaphorically speaking, it is a question about becoming a clone or staying a unique individual. However, Slade (in McArthur 1987, 13) raises the point that “[a]n English deprived of its dialect words, local pronunciation, and regional differences, would be an English deprived of its vitality.” This statement can generally be applied to American English (Nielsen 2020, 92), as well as the other Englishes that fit Kachru’s (1985; 1992) Inner Circle or are closest to the top of Stevns’s (1978, 33) Family Tree. Due to the presumed hierarchy that is socially accepted, other Englishes are not granted the same acceptance.

As Schneider (2016, 340) observes, though, the future of Englishes consists of diversity as well as hybridity. Diversity has always been part of Englishes, whereas hybridity has not been the focus of research on Englishes for a long time. However, considering McLellan’s (2010, 427) argument that all World Englishes are a result of code-mixing, it is not surprising that the need to express oneself and share one’s identity does, of course, also lead to the emergence of hybrid Englishes. Furthermore, when Englishes get in contact with local languages, users of the local language fear that their local identity is being threatened (Young 2008, 1f), which could be another reason why self-expression through Englishes – which oftentimes leads to hybrid Englishes being formed and developed – is such a frequent and important phenomenon. As Zanuttini et al. (in Hao 2018) explain, linguistic prejudice has been

part of the development of Englishes for a rather long time, even though objectively, there is no one 'correct' way of speaking Englishes – or using them, in general. Furthermore, the view on the one 'correct' English has been changing over time because Englishes themselves, as well as all other languages, have also been changing. Nevertheless, users of non-standard Englishes are still being discriminated and seen as incompetent, and as long as there is no or only low effort to change the standardized education system of Englishes, this discrimination will remain. Some ideas how this change could be implemented will be given in the next sub-section of this thesis; the fourth section will provide a new, additional perspective or concept of looking at World Englishes that could also be used in education.

3.3 Non-Hierarchical Ways of Teaching World Englishes

Since inequality is still a major issue in the field of World Englishes (Zanuttini et al. in Hao 2018), it is of utmost importance to change the people's minds. Rather than forcing the idea of 'nativeness' onto learners of Englishes, one should help them use their varieties of English in ways that come easy and natural to them so that they are able to express themselves freely and can be understood easily (Harding 2017, 17). For achieving that 'nativeness' is not being viewed as the goal of language learning (Espinosa 2017, 13) anymore, the inequality needs to be fought, starting with the limited access to resources (Mair 2013, 256). Buschfeld et al. (2018, 40) explain that the future of World Englishes can be shaped by people with an open and accepting worldview from all over the world, which is why this thesis wants to give credit to some ideas on non-hierarchical ways of teaching World Englishes now.

As Zanuttini et al. (in Hao 2018) explain, most users of Englishes are not aware of the linguistic prejudice within World Englishes yet. However, if one wants to achieve equal views on all Englishes, teaching about linguistic prejudice and how to identify it within one's own and others' views on the English Language Spectrum is a key factor. Like this, users of Englishes would learn to "appreciate the diversity of the English language." One way of achieving this is to implement cosmopolitanism in education (He et al. 2014, 330f) since it would teach all users of Englishes that there is no issue in using Englishes differently from one another. In fact, the differences cannot prevent them from connecting to other people (Hull et al. 2010). This belief needs to be adopted for a local as well as a global view on Englishes (He et al. 2014, 331) and it does not only need to be adopted by learners but by all users of Englishes. The most important aspect is to respect the differences and be open to explain any terms and phrases of one's own variety if someone else has difficulty understanding them (Crystal 2003, 186f).

Another non-hierarchical way of teaching World Englishes is teaching English as a Lingua Franca. Davies & Patsko (2013) explain that the priority of teaching English as a Lingua Franca is not to achieve 'nativeness,' but rather to achieve intelligibility, which mirrors Kirkpatrick's (2021, 554) opinion and ties into Harding's (2017, 17) view that the goal of users of Englishes should be easy

understanding. Furthermore, Davies & Patsko (2013) observe that the different contexts in which Englishes are being used has an impact on what learners of Englishes want to learn, which is an argument that will be considered in the next section again. It is also helpful to provide learners of Englishes with material on ‘non-native’ accents to increase familiarity. Further advantages of teaching English as a Lingua Franca, as stated by Marlina (2014, 7), are that students with different backgrounds from all over the world gather knowledge of the plurality of Englishes and become aware of the plurality of communication, and that they use this knowledge to stay respectful and open-minded. According to Hülmbauer et al. (2008, 27), English as a Lingua Franca emphasizes that Englishes do not only belong to ‘native’ speakers but to all users of Englishes.

This notion is not something that is reflected in the traditional models of World Englishes. The newer, non-hierarchical models, however, do seem to share this idea, which is why it would be beneficial if they were taught in education. However, since they delve deeper into the context and history of World Englishes, they may be too complex for younger users of Englishes to comprehend. Nevertheless, it would be necessary to teach younger students about the English Language Spectrum in a non-hierarchical manner because they are the ones that will hopefully make the bigger change. Newer generations have the means to change society’s view on the English Language Complex (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008, 3) and maintain the new views. After all, they are capable of changing languages in unique ways. Taking pidgins and creoles, for example, it is for children that the simplified pidgins can turn into complex languages (Ramoo 2021, 113). If one is providing children with a non-hierarchical view on World Englishes, they grow up knowing that there should be no distinction between ‘nativeness’ and ‘non-nativeness.’ The ones that become teachers when they grow up can come up with new ideas on how to teach about the English language family – ideas that people that are still being confronted with the internalized hierarchy of World Englishes could not come up with themselves. The future of equal Englishes lies with future generations, but it is the duty of the current generation to provide the next with the needed tools. Thus, the next section of this thesis will put forth a new, additional view on World Englishes, a simple and inclusive perspective or concept that is supposed to help newer generations of users of Englishes have an equal and non-hierarchical view on the English Language Spectrum.

4 The Umbrella Perspective/Concept

Before the new perspective will be introduced, it should be stated that it is not the purpose of this approach to devalue or discredit any of the already existing models. In fact, it would not even have been created without them. As has been mentioned before, the already existing models are needed to be able to form newer models and newer perspectives. The newer ones do not mean to replace the older ones; they are supposed to be additions (Onysko 2016, 197). Moreover, as Deshors & Gilquin (2018,

281) explain, World Englishes need newer models to develop because they keep growing and spreading into new contexts. In a way, one could say that since language is ever-changing, the models representing and describing them should change with them. In fact, the models that have been introduced in the second chapter of this thesis have been inspirations for the additional concept that will be introduced in this section.

The reason why the Umbrella Perspective is called a perspective or a concept rather than a model can be explained with the connotations that come with the idea of a model. Usually, models are meant to be something one should look up to or copy; they are meant to represent something that should be achieved. Therefore, the very notion of them is, to some extent, also prescriptive. However, this is not what this new perspective is supposed to be. Its purpose is to propose an additional way of looking at the whole English Language Complex (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008, 3) or the English Language Spectrum. It acknowledges that all varieties of English should be viewed and treated equally, especially since English has developed in so many meaningful ways that the different varieties are giving it new identities (Nielsen 2020, 92). Furthermore, since this perspective does not propose a hierarchy, it should be clear that there is no one 'correct' English in the world. Thus, 'English' should be used as an umbrella term – a general, broad term covering the unity of all varieties and uses of English. If 'English' is used as an umbrella term, Kachru's (1992, 11) pluralization from 'English' to 'Englishes' is not necessarily needed anymore. By referring to 'English,' no specific variety of it should come to mind. If one wants to refer to a certain variety, one should have to specify which one. In a way, this idea can be connected to Strevens's (1978, 33) Family Tree of English and Onysko's (2016, 213) Language Contact Typology of world Englishes, since no specific variety is right at the top or in the center of them, either, but simply 'English' (Strevens 1987, 33) and 'World Englishes' (Onysko 2016, 213).

Furthermore, this perspective does not have any categories because there does not seem to be any sort of consistency with categories for World Englishes. This has already been explained with the issue of whether Indian English should be considered a 'native' variety of English (Nelson & Kang 2015, 321; Jenkins 2009, 16), or Buschfeld & Kautzsch's (2017; 2018) reasoning that Englishes can switch from one category to another or be part of several, altogether. As van Rooy & Kruger (2018, 80) observe, a person's identity is not fixed, which makes categorizing rather difficult. Depending on the different contexts and situations one is in and depending on the people one is talking to, the varieties of English change, and so do their uses. Moreover, categorizations tend to simplify complex issues, as Evans (2014, 572) explains. Also, without categorizations, there are no arguments about what does or does not belong into a specific category, because all varieties of English fall under the umbrella term 'English,' including Standard Englishes, to return to Crystal's (1994, 109) reasoning that they are also just varieties of English and thus equal to all other varieties.

However, as Onysko (2021, 5) states, researchers need to “remain critically conscious” about the models they are creating, which is why the disadvantages of the Umbrella Perspective will also be considered. The probably most apparent issue of this concept is that it does not have a specific focus. What is so interesting about the already existing models is that most of them focus on a different aspect of World Englishes. Schneider’s (2003; 2007) model, for instance, is about the development of postcolonial Englishes; Onysko’s (2016, 213) model demonstrates the language contact of Englishes. Since this new concept wants to propose a non-hierarchical view of looking at the English Language Spectrum, it does not have a specific focus in this regard. For this reason, it is only considered to be an additional perspective of looking at the English Language Complex (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008, 3). It is not meant to be seen as the final model; it merely wants to raise awareness towards the importance of individual uses of Englishes.

In this regard, the Umbrella Perspective could be an interesting addition to English as a Lingua Franca teaching, since it distances itself from the idea of ‘nativeness’ and rather focuses on inclusivity. As Kirkpatrick (2021, 253) argues, even though teachers are being introduced to the ideas of World Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca teaching, only few let those influence their ways of teaching. If the Umbrella Concept was introduced at the same time, the teachers would be provided with another reasoning as to why they should reconsider their ways of teaching. Moreover, the lack of a hierarchy within the new perspective proves of an awareness towards and respect for the plurality and diversity of Englishes, which are part of the six Global Englishes Language Teaching proposals by Rose et al. (2021, 159). The Umbrella Perspective implies that all varieties of English are equally worth being taught, not only a handful of Standard varieties. In fact, grading should be situationally appropriate. Furthermore, one should keep in mind that the culture of the language that is being taught is, in most cases, not the target culture (Kirkpatrick 2021, 554) of language learners, which ties back into the importance of individual uses of Englishes. The contexts of the individual speakers have an impact on how students want to learn (Davies & Patsko 2013), and they want to be able to communicate their cultures through Englishes (Kirkpatrick 2021, 255).

Last but not least, one should consider young students of Englishes. Since new varieties of English keep developing, it is the strong belief of this thesis that the younger generations should be allowed to learn Englishes as easily as possible. For one, this means that it is not beneficial if they grow up with hierarchical views on the English Language Spectrum. Also, as Kirkpatrick (2021, 265) realizes, the best way for children to learn how to communicate in different languages is through interactions with each other. Therefore, achieving ‘nativeness’ should not be the goal, especially not because the varieties of English that keep developing are specific to certain countries, cultures, and societies. Furthermore, the Internet is becoming increasingly important every single day. Since World Englishes keep spreading (Flammia & Saunders 2007, 1899) and developing through the Internet, Englishes on the Internet have become multidialectal (Mair 2013, 257). Thus, only focusing on

a handful of Standard varieties when teaching Englishes is not beneficial anymore. The curricula should be adapted to make them more relevant to today's circumstances. As Nielsen (2020, 94) but also already Halliday et al. (1964, 293) explain, Englishes do not only belong to one group of people anymore. They belong to everyone. Therefore, it would be favorable if young students were provided with a non-hierarchical view of looking at the English Language Spectrum, so that they can grow up knowing that there is no one 'correct' variety of English. All Englishes are English, but not one variety is *the* English. In fact, *the* English does not exist. 5

5 Concluding Thoughts

To sum up, this thesis has compared some of the already existing models of World Englishes, investigated their influences on standardized education, and proposed a novel perspective of looking at the English Language Spectrum.

First, the advantages and disadvantages of the already existing models have been explained. However, it has been made clear that even if one can find disadvantages, the older perspectives are still needed to be able to create newer models and form newer perspectives. By introducing novel ways of engaging with World Englishes, one does not want to falsify any other model, but one rather proposes additional concepts (Onysko 2016, 197). Thus, no individual model should be considered as the one 'correct' way of viewing the English Language Complex (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008, 3). In fact, as long as new varieties of English keep developing, newer models or perspectives should be introduced, too (Deshors & Gilquin 2018, 281).

Next, the impact the older models of English – especially the traditional ones – have on standardized education has been examined. A strong interdependency of what society believes and what is taught has been found. Since English itself is not the problem, though, but rather its history and the purposes with which it has been used in the past, some ideas on how to teach Englishes in a more inclusive way have been suggested, with a specific focus on teaching English as a Lingua Franca. Its goals are not to achieve 'nativeness' – which is a rather outdated view (Crystal 2013), anyway – but rather, the goals of this kind of teaching are intelligibility (Davies & Patsko 2013; Kirkpatrick 2021, 554) and easy understanding (Harding 2017, 17). The idea is that teaching World Englishes in a non-hierarchical way will result in society neglecting the hierarchy of 'native' vs. 'non-native' speakers that is also connected to white vs. non-white speakers (Lindemann 2017, 201), too.

The Umbrella Perspective/Concept that has been introduced is meant to support these ideas. It proposes a non-hierarchical view of looking at the whole English Language Complex (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008, 3) without preferring one variety of English over another. Since it is most likely that a hierarchy exists in some way or another in other languages than English, too, this concept could possibly also be applied there. In any case, research should be done in this regard, too.

Finally, Buschfeld et al. (2018, 40) wonder how the role of Englishes will change in the future. Of course, nobody can know that. However, one thing that is for sure is that no matter how World Englishes will develop, all varieties of English should be treated equally. There is no objectively ‘correct’ or ‘incorrect’ variety. There is, however, ‘English’ as an umbrella term and all its varieties that fall under it.

6 References

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