

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE KACHRUVIAN PARADIGM: A  
DESCRIPTIVE STUDY**

by  
**Yiyang Li**

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**STATEMENT OF COMMITTEE APPROVAL**

Dr. Margie Berns, Chair

Department of English

Dr. Tony Silva

Department of English

Dr. Aya Matsuda

Department of English, Arizona State University

Dr. Harris Bras

Department of English

**Approved by:**

Dr. Dorsey Armstrong

Head of the Department of English

*To my mother,*

廖霞

*You are the rock of my life.*

谢谢你，老妈。

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## ABSTRACT

Author: Li, Yiyang. PhD

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Title: The Development of the Kachruvian Paradigm: A Descriptive Study

Committee Chair: Margie Berns

This dissertation presents the development of the Kachruvian paradigm of world Englishes and sheds light on key notions in each developmental stage of Braj Kachru's research. It intends to answer the question: how was the Kachruvian paradigm of world Englishes formed? This was not the initial aim of the project. Instead, its significance has two phases, a pre-project and post-project phase. The pre-project goal was an attempt to clarify various misunderstandings or misrepresentations of world Englishes as a field of study as well as a sociolinguistic phenomenon. However, when approaching the completion of this dissertation, the actual significance (the post-project) gradually shifted. It evolved into a working answer to the research question, that is what events and influences reveal the process of the development of what has come to be known as the Kachruvian paradigm of world Englishes. The beginning of the process can be dated back to Braj Kachru's graduate school years, when he hesitated to affirm the linguistic and sociolinguistic existence of Indian English; his death marked the end of his development of the paradigm, but the field of world Englishes, which had reached global interest long before then, has continued to cultivate scholars of English varieties around the world. The description of the development of the paradigm undertaken in this dissertation is a close review of Kachru's work over five decades (the 1960s to the 2000s). The primary topics covered, which are related to the development of the paradigm, are: the origin of the Kachruvian paradigm in General Linguistics; Kachru's analysis of the notion of

the nativization of English; the socially realistic approach of Firth which provided the foundation for Kachru's notions of Indian English; the pedagogical implications of world Englishes as a driving force for the institutionalization of world Englishes studies; and the construction of the notions world Englishes. These and related issues are presented chronologically and thematically in five stages: (1) the roots and influences of Kachru's early work; (2) wide-spread dissemination of his ideas; (3) the period of increased advocacy for recognition of nativized varieties; (4) the critical contributions of Yamuna Kachru and Larry E. Smith; and (5) the influence of the Kachruvian paradigm in the new millennium.

## **CHAPTER 1. 1985: A LANDMARK OF THE KACHRUVIAN PARADIGM**

### **1.1 Introduction**

As the cornerstone of world Englishes (WE) studies, the Kachruvian paradigm has provided frameworks for conceptualizing different English varieties around the world. It has enabled researchers from different places to present sociolinguistic realities that are essential components of explorations of several English varieties. However, the paradigm was not built in a day. This formulation of the paradigm was constructed over decades of research with different foci at each developmental stage. Therefore, this dissertation will offer a developmental overview that examines the field of world Englishes by documenting the evolution of the Kachruvian paradigm (KP).

### **1.2 Problem statement**

One of the most recognizable visual representations of a central model of the KP is the Three Concentric Circle Model (Kachru, 1985a). This dynamic model, and Kachru's interpretation, suggest mobility and fluidity related to its historical context in the sociolinguistic phenomenon of world Englishes (McArthur, 2001). One of the appealing attributes of the paradigm is the clarity of its conceptualization of world Englishes; the Three Concentric Circle Model has become a visualization of this clarity.

However, the interpretation of the model can be mistakenly perceived due to the chosen terminologies that might "suggest a historical priority and the attitudes that go with it" (McArthur, 1993, p. 334) including *inner* and *outer*. However, the negative connotations generated from the interpretations are not aligned with what the model characterizes; the

terminologies for describing the model have been carefully selected and explained (Kachru, 1985a) for their ability to represent the sociolinguistic realities in terms of their historical contact with native cultures, types of acquisition process, and functional manifestations within particular contextualized settings where different varieties of English have been nativized. For instance, the term *inner* was chosen due to the historical reality of the source of English, which is argued by Kachru as an essential aspect that need not be “negated but has to be confronted in contextualizing the process of the spread of English and its implications” (Kachru, 2005, p.219). A developmental overview can undoubtedly strengthen the cohesiveness between the Kachruvian notions and their historical contexts. Hence, an account of the development of this paradigm that allows a coherent understanding of its formation becomes necessary. Additionally, this dissertation will utilize a developmental perspective to consequently reveal the sophistication behind the model’s façade of simplicity, will elucidate the conceptualization of WE as a theoretical paradigm, a sociolinguistic reality and a research discipline, and will provide a historical context for the political and ideological discussions around the issue of English in the world.

The development of Kachru’s notions can also contribute to the differentiation among the nature of the conceptualizations of world Englishes as a sociolinguistic phenomenon, a theoretical paradigm, and a research discipline. The differentiation is especially crucial for understanding what world Englishes is when discussing the complexity of the pedagogical implementation of world Englishes because the intersection between world Englishes and pedagogy did not become a key focus until the late 1970s (Kachru, 1997a). This historical fact means that the essential concepts of formal and functional aspects of world Englishes that are related to the pedagogical implication of WE did not have primacy during the beginning stage of

the KP. These critical ideas were initially discussed only after a few decades of research on different English varieties and their respective sociolinguistic phenomena. Although the paradigm provides frameworks for the pedagogical implementation of world Englishes, it does not advocate that each English variety establish a unique approach to English education. That is, Kachru is not suggesting that it is necessary to build an English pedagogy for each English variety. Therefore, differentiating the nature of the conceptualizations of world Englishes is crucial because it navigates the discussions of world Englishes. It means a developmental overview of the development of the KP can undoubtedly offer an illuminated way of clarifying them.

One of the most well-known cases of mixing the conceptualizations of world Englishes with other terminological inventions and misrepresenting world Englishes in disciplinary discussions is Canagarajah's. In *The Place of World Englishes in Composition: Pluralization Continued* (Canagarajah, 2006), he claims that "since the 1980s, Kachru has persistently argued that World Englishes are rule governed (sic) with well-established norms and communicative functions suitable for their new environment" (p. 588). In this (mis-)representation of WE, Canagarajah suggests that English varieties around the world should be regarded under the same scope when considering their forms and functions for further pedagogical implication. Moreover, to achieve the revolution of liberating all English varieties in academic contexts, he also coins the term "Metropolitan Englishes" (ME) to replace the term Inner Circle varieties for his argumentation. Canagarajah states that,

[t]he use of local variants for intracommunity purposes, while metropolitan norms are used when communities interact at the institutional and/or international level. Scholars adopting this position would tolerate WE being taught in postcolonial communities for local usage; but they would insist on ME for formal, institutional, and internal usages. (p. 589)

This statement implies that the term *world Englishes* embodies all non-native English varieties while Metropolitan Englishes are distinguished from them. Admittedly, it is tempting for the audience of composition studies to see the possibility of diversifying writing courses with a strategy that has the well-established Kachruvian paradigm of world Englishes as its theoretical base, but this kind of mischaracterization only further problematizes the conception of world Englishes studies. By misrepresenting the paradigm, it compromises the legitimacy and significance of world Englishes scholarship. Therefore, this documentation of the development of the KP will work to clarify the nature of world Englishes by presenting its development from a sociolinguistic phenomenon to a research discipline. By way of initial moves, it may be informative to begin with one of Kachru's publications in particular; one that offers a unique perspective about the conceptual development in Kachru's notions of English varieties. By doing so, this dissertation will provide a better review of the evolution of the KP.

### 1.3 A review of Kachru's milestone article

*Standards, Codification, and Sociolinguistic Realism: The English Language in the Outer Circle*, first published in R. Quirk and H. G. Widdowson (eds) *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literature* in 1985, is one of Kachru's landmark publications. This article neither symbolizes the genesis of the paradigm nor is the year of 1985 necessarily the starting point for the unfolding of the Kachruvian theorization. However, this article is indeed a critical publication for understanding the development of Kachru's work for two reasons. First, the article is a milestone in that Kachru calls explicitly for "new paradigms and perspectives for linguistic and pedagogical research and for understanding the linguistic creativity in multilingual situations across cultures" (p. 30); this would be done by laying out two decades of scholarship on conceptualizing the sociolinguistic phenomena of the unprecedented

global diffusion of English and the linguistic innovations in the institutionalized non-native English varieties. And, second, the article provides a blueprint for establishing “an international institute for the study of and research on English across cultures” (p. 25). This vision of the future of world Englishes studies was later realized through collaborative and collective efforts from various world Englishes scholars around the globe. Due to these two significant points, this article offers a unique point of view for unpacking the Kachruvian notions of English varieties as well as linguistics studies both backwards (tracing back the groundwork of Kachru’s research in Indian English in linguistics and sociolinguistic studies) and forwards (a future that Kachru envisions for the field of linguistics). In this article, besides introducing the Three Concentric Circles Model, Kachru also makes two critical proposals that embody the core of his thinking from the 1960s to the 1980s: the advocacy of codifications of the institutionalized varieties and the suggestion of a paradigm with a new theoretical framework for linguistics studies.

### 1.3.1 The model

It is impossible to avoid discussing how Kachru introduces the Three Concentric Circle Model when reviewing this article. It is essential to point out that the Model was first developed to explain the spread of English and the features of the stratification that resulted from the internationalization of English. It is presented to highlight the social reality of English uses around the world. From the beginning, the Model was constructed and used to represent “the types of spread [of English], the patterns of acquisition, and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages” (Kachru, 1985a, p. 12). These characteristics were utilized to emphasize the actual uses and users of English in different regions of the world under the context of the global spread of English and to demonstrate the existence of different English varieties caused by different histories, linguistic institutionalizations, and functional variations.



The Model differentiates sociolinguistic phenomena amongst the Inner, Outer, and Expanding circles to articulate that the language realities in these three circles have brought to “English a unique cultural pluralism, and a linguistic heterogeneity and diversity which are unrecorded to this extent in human history” (p. 15).

### 1.3.2 Advocacy for the codification of institutionalized varieties

The advocacy for the codification of the institutionalized varieties is another central theme in this article. Here, Kachru (1985a) was explicitly targeting the status of native English norms by arguing that the codification of Outer Circle varieties could prescribe parameters for codifying linguistic creativities and could consequently challenge the perceived ownership of English norms by the so-called native speaker/Inner Circle user. As he argued, “English is now the language of those who use it; the users give it a distinct identity of their own in each region” (p. 20). It is worth pointing out that Kachru, at that time, was primarily concerned with the Outer Circle varieties and their codifications. Before the publication of this article, Kachru’s conceptualizations and argumentations of the institutionalizations of the Outer Circle varieties embodied the essence of his scholarship, which has led to his advocacy for the codification of Outer Circle varieties in terms of the linguistic innovations of non-native English varieties and the linguistic pragmatism of English uses by users in non-native English contexts.

### 1.3.3 A paradigm with a new theoretical framework

Kachru (1985a) also suggested renovating and adapting existing theoretical frameworks, conducting empirical studies, and “reconsidering claims for the universal applicability of particular methods and approaches for teaching and learning English” (p. 23) through the recognition and understanding of the sociolinguistic realities in all three circles. He was confident that the realities of English were indicating a shift from a paradigm where a

monolingual model constrained linguistic theoretical frameworks to a new paradigm where studies of forms and functions of English could be based on actual linguistic behaviors. He further argued that the realities also necessitated the need for new empirical research and pedagogical implementations that were rooted in language pragmatism. This socially realistic approach to conceptualizing English realities was adopted from Firth's approach to linguistic studies, which is prominent in Kachru's theorizing throughout the development of the what came to be known as the Kachruvian paradigm of world Englishes.

#### 1.3.4 Critiques of Kachru's vision

Initially, Kachru's championing of codification was not well received and, to some extent, misunderstood (see Greenbaum, 1985; Svartvik, 1985), being perceived by some as "heretical" to the status quo. Some critics were concerned about the practicality of promoting codified Outer Circle varieties. Greenbaum (1985), from University College London, for example, was among them:

If the educated varieties of the 'outer circle' assume the status of national standards without reference to the international norms of the 'inner circle', will they diverge too far to remain part of the international standard English? [...] Will the teachers have an adequate command of the language? If the emerging national standards are to remain intelligible internationally, then the countries of the 'outer circle' will have to invest heavily in the teaching of English. (p. 32)

Another critic was Jan Svartvik, a Swedish professor of English, who reacted to Kachru's challenge of the native norms by arguing that

[Swedish English speakers'] norm may be that of British or American English, but it is solidly native speaker based, in spite of the fact that very few EFL users will ever get close to [...] the rules of such a norm. I believe that ESL users in the outer circle also benefit more from a native-speaker norm. The main reason for the majority of people wanting to acquire proficiency in English as a second or foreign language is to use it for some general or specific purpose [...], [English] will remain usefully so only as long as it remains intercomprehensible. (Svartvik, 1985, p. 33)

Svartvik later questioned Kachru's advocacy more straightforwardly from an instrumental standpoint:

For non-native speakers, the acquisition of English is an investment worth the effort and the money only as long as the language functions as a means of international communication for a range of purposes [...] is it really worth having a variety of norms even for institutionalized outer circle fellowships, considering the likely long-term negative consequences for global English? (p.34)

Both Greenbaum and Svartvik perceived and reacted to Kachru's work from a monolingual perspective that regarded Kachru's advocacy as a threat to the existing English learning and teaching practices in non-native English contexts. This type of reaction was, in fact, a misunderstanding of Kachru's conceptualization of the codification of Outer Circle varieties resulting from general unawareness of the language realities in Outer Circle countries. As Kachru (1985a) clearly points out:

[W]ith the spread of English we also expect the learners to acquire norms of behavior appropriate to the users of the inner circle. The expected behavior pattern characterizes what one might call an 'educated Englishman' (or American). This hypothesis is based on the assumption that language spread entails spread of cultural and social norms, or what has been termed in pedagogical literature an 'integrative motivation' for language learning. This hypothesis certainly is not fully applicable to the users of the institutionalized varieties of English. It is also doubtful that in a serious sense such integration was the aim of introducing English in the far-flung colonies. In any case, the present uses of English have clearly shown that an initially Western code has acquired numerous non-Western cultural incarnations and messages. (p. 21)

Yet, Greenbaum's (1985) concern about the practicality of teaching institutionalized varieties was understandable given that Kachru had not elaborated on the pedagogical implementation of world Englishes to such an extent that he could lay out a set of well-planned language policies. However, Kachru did stress the importance of educational codification of Outer Circle varieties; that is, "determining codification by instruments of education - dictionaries, the media, teacher's attitudes, and indirect references to 'proper' and 'acceptable' use of language" (22). Here, it is

worth mentioning that the pedagogical aspect of Kachru's conceptualization was a significant part of his vision of the future of world Englishes studies and one of the concentrated areas in which he concentrated his advocacy of a socially pragmatic approach for English pedagogy in L2 English contexts.

The articulation of Kachru's views and the feedback it received show that the evolution of the paradigm was a cumulative process, one in which Kachru's notions of English varieties were formulated from different conceptual approaches as well as under different historical and disciplinary contexts. The Concentric Circles Model, the advocacy of the institutionalized varieties, and the promotion of a new paradigm for linguistic inquiry were bold ideas that resulted from decades of research and conceptualization. It is the interest of this dissertation to explore the developmental stages of Kachru's thinking and theorizing how his ideas gradually reached the stage of their institutionalization. The term *institutionalization* is used here to describe and characterize the developmental stage at which the Kachruvian Paradigm reaches its maturity. In this stage, the paradigm not only becomes a theoretical framework that is adopted by researchers to contribute to studies of English from multiple perspectives but also solidifies its recognition as a discipline by forming a platform that gathers diverse scholarly findings of different English varieties. Furthermore, the paradigm later developed into a disciplinary platform where social-cultural realities of English around the world were presented through varied scholarly voices.

#### 1.4 The significance of documenting the development of KP

In constructing the development of the Kachruvian paradigm of world Englishes, I examined a series of research publications as well as scholarly reviews of Kachru's publications from the 1960s to the 2000s. The primary materials include Kachru's books, journal articles and

conference presentations and addresses, and his reviews of others' work. This dissertation also documents the contributions of other scholars, with an emphasis on the two most influential figures, Yamuna Kachru and Larry E. Smith, and their indispensable roles in the institutionalization of the KP.

In addition to the review of publication materials, three classifications of evidence were important to my claims and arguments in documenting the paradigm's history. The first type was the generalized accounts of the historical contexts of such related theoretical paradigms as the Firthian approach to linguistics, European, as well as American, structuralist approaches to linguistics, and sociolinguistics, among others. This information is crucial in contextualizing the evolution of Kachru's notions because "constructing valid historical knowledge is impossible without a clear understanding of relationships among historical events" (Matsuda, 1999, p. 10). The second type of evidentiary information is the reflection of specific historical events published by those who were personally involved, namely, Braj Kachru, Larry E. Smith, and James Alatis. Their perspectives, though subjective, shed light on the situated narratives that further contextualize the formative process of the theorization and the construction of the paradigm. The third type of information is that of others who have interpreted and made arguments regarding the impacts of Kachru's thinking had on other disciplines and individual scholars (e.g., Bolton, McArthur). Using these three types of evidentiary information, I form a narrative that both documents the developmental development of the paradigm as well as presents my interpretation of such evolution.

Having now provided the significance and a brief overview of the key elements in Kachru's (1985a) introduction of the Three Concentric Circles Model, it may now be useful to provide a brief overview of the rest of the dissertation, one which previews the developmental

stages of Kachru's conceptualization of world Englishes as a theory and a framework and describes how it will be presented, contextualized, and developed.

### 1.5 Overview of the chapters

This dissertation consists of eight chapters. The present chapter has provided a discussion of the significance and key elements of Kachru's Concentric Circles Model; while Chapter Two illustrates the genesis of the paradigm during the 1960s. During this time, the paradigm was still in its infancy when the Kachruvian notions of Indian English were being constructed within the Firthian approach of General Linguistics. Chapter Three presents the dispersal stage of Kachruvian notions in the KP. It tracks the dissemination of the Kachruvian notions after the conceptualization of Indian English was first formalized in Kachru's doctoral dissertation (1962). After presenting the descriptive analysis of English in India, Kachru began to present his theories and conceptual tools to different audiences, especially in the fields of Sociolinguistics, Applied Linguistics, and English for Specific Purposes.

Chapters Four and Five present the fruitful stage of the developing paradigm. In Chapter Four, the focus is on Kachru's advocacy for institutionalized varieties of Englishes, through which Kachru was able to solidify the core idea of the paradigm. This area was based on Firth's socially realistic approach, which was used to examine the sociolinguistic realities of transplanted English in various contexts. Chapter Five depicts the institutionalization stage, which is characterized by a broader questioning of the status quo of the linguistic and sociolinguistic nature of English language, promoting a new pedagogical model for English practitioners and challenging the ideological and political attitudes of English in the Outer Circle contexts.

Chapter Six records the contributions of two influential figures: Yamuna Kachru and Larry E. Smith, whose individual scholarly expertise and joint organizational efforts were critical in the dissemination of world Englishes research and Kachru's theorization. Chapter Seven describes the KP in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, as a time when new ideas and challenges have been brought by a new language situation around the world. In this stage, up until his death in 2016, Kachru continued to apply Kairotic arguments to clarify world Englishes both as a theoretical paradigm and the sociolinguistic realities to an even broader audience.

Finally, in Chapter Eight, I will conclude this documentation of the development of the paradigm with a summative account of 50 decades of developmental stages, and I will revisit the argument of how a developmental understanding of the paradigm can be instrumental in the elucidation of the Kachru's concepts and approach and of their continued relevance for the study of world Englishes. Table 1 provides a concise view of the development:

Table 1. The development and spread of the Kachruvian paradigm

Stage	Period	Characteristics
Origins and Firthian stage (Chapter two)	1960s	descriptive analysis of the formal features of Indian English; rediscovery of Firth's socially realistic linguistics
The Dispersal stage (Chapter three)	Late 1960s – Early 1970s	dispersing key concepts to a broader audience in the field of sociolinguistics
The advocacy stage (Chapter four)	1970s	promoting a socially realistic approach to English varieties in un-English contexts.
Institutionalization - Part 1 (Chapter five)	Late 1970s – 1980s	formulation of the theoretical framework and an organizational platform for English studies.
Institutionalization – Part 2 (Chapter six)	Late 1980s – 2000s	The intellectual triangle: Braj Kachru, Yamuna Kachru, and Larry E. Smith.
6: The present and future (Chapter seven)	21 <sup>st</sup> century	The WE paradigm faces new challenges in the new millennium.

As this table suggests, the paradigm to date has gone through six stages. The rationale for six divisions will become apparent in the respective chapters devoted to each. I acknowledge that this is only one of many histories that could be written to record how what is known today as the world Englishes, or Kachruvian paradigm came about. However, in the absence of any other historical account, this is presented to readers as a first attempt at such an ambitious project.



## **CHAPTER 2. 1960s: THE ROOTS AND THE INFLUENCES**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter is dedicated to the documentation of the Kachruvian paradigm in the 1960s. This was a time when the paradigm is in its first stage: infancy, when Kachru is formulating frameworks for studying the English language in the Indian context and seeking platforms for presenting his notions of Indian English. One can also perceive Kachru's notions of English in this stage as the origin of the paradigm, which is mostly related to his learning and research in General Linguistics.

It should also be noted that his work in Indian English was begun under the context of a paradigm shift from Bloomfieldian Structuralism to the so-called Contemporary Linguistics influenced by Chomsky "generative grammar" (Chomsky, 1957). Therefore, this chapter begins with a contextualization of why and how Kachru initiated his work of Indian English and under what influences what and how he presents his work. Also, this chapter reviews the descriptive studies (Kachru, 1962, 1965, 1966a, 1966b) that are essential to the origin of the paradigm and how its construction is primarily influenced by the Firthian linguistic view. Finally, this chapter adopts another view of the Kachruvian notions of language studies during this stage by presenting Kachru's (Kachru, 1967, 1969) extension of his critiques and scholarly dispositions in reviewing other landmark studies in the disciplines of General Linguistics and Sociolinguistics.

### **2.2 Historical Context**

The historical context of Kachru's early research in General Linguistics can shed light on why and how he gradually places his research focus on the linguistic analysis of English in the Indian context. It is during this time that Kachru locates the gap in the linguistic studies of the

English language and the conceptual tools that are necessary for his theorizations and descriptions of the formal and functional features of English in India; it is also during this time when he begins to receive scholarly validation of his ideas for the legitimization of the Indianization of English. Finally, on a larger scale, Kachru's exploration of the English language takes place during a paradigm shift in General Linguistics in which he finds the appropriate audience to present his ideas.

### 2.2.1 The gap in linguistic studies: lack of recognition of Indian English

My greatest debt is to my supervisors, Mr. J. C. Catford, Director, School of Applied Linguistics, and Dr. M. A. K. Halliday, Reader in General Linguistics, Department of English language and General Linguistics. I am sure without their guidance and constant encouragement this [dissertation] would never have been completed ... The influence of Dr. Halliday's theory is apparent in the whole of this study - and sometimes even unacknowledged. I cannot adequately express my thanks to him for the personal interest he took in me and my work. (Kachru, 1962, preface)

The quote above from Kachru's doctoral dissertation entitled *An Analysis of Some Features of Indian English: A Study of Linguistic Method* (1962). This very first documentation of Kachru's work on Indian English shows his notions of the English language in their developing stage, the time when Kachru's descriptive elaboration of Indian English is presented through the established frameworks of General Linguistics. To fully appreciate the historical context of his descriptive examination of English in the Indian context, it is crucial first to understand how his learning in General Linguistics leads him to the research of Indian English.

The first reason that Kachru was motivated to explore the possibility of integrating linguistic descriptions of English with the Indian context is precisely the lack of such research in the field of General Linguistics. One critical fact regarding the nature of this stage of Kachru's work was that neither Indian English nor the concept of non-native English varieties had been

recognized by General Linguistics (Kachru, 1962). Moreover, an attempt to see English in India as a nativized English variety was heretical (see Chapter 4) because it was almost inconceivable for General Linguistics to acknowledge the existence of Indian English (Kachru, 1962).

In Kachru's early attempts to put forward what he later called his "pet hobbyhorse" (Kachru, 1992a, p. 71), about which he had strong opinions as will be shown later, he (1962) adopted several well established linguistic frameworks on which he built his approach to analyzing the formal and functional variations of Indian English. The research purposes of the analysis were, first, to examine the English language within the linguistic and sociocultural context of India where English functions as a second language; second, to establish "context" as a congruent level in linguistics via a Firthian perspective (Firth, 1957a); and, third, to offer a methodology of studying formal and functional variations in "restricted language", "register" and "speech function" under a bilingual contexts.

### 2.2.2 The necessary theoretical tools and scholarly validation

Another reason that Kachru was determined to present his notions of English in the Indian context through established linguistic frameworks to the audience in General Linguistics was chiefly related to his even earlier contacts with language studies. These can be dated back to his first encounter with Structuralist views of language during his graduate studies in India. This time was the starting point for a cumulative experience that granted him a unique point of view, one that sees linguistic research of English as a developmental progress. It is also such cumulative experience that allows Kachru to acquire the conviction regarding the theoretical validity of the Indianization process of English. As Kachru (1992a) recalls,

The real stimulation to go in the area of language and linguistics came from an outstanding teacher and scholar, P.E. Dustor. It was due to his encouragement that I was indirectly thrown into the lap of Structuralism. (But then, it was already 1955!) (p. 67)

Kachru's first encounter with Structuralism while pursuing a Master's degree in English literature at Allahabad University triggered not only his interest in linguistics but the importance of linguistic awareness for language teaching as well (Kachru, 1992a). More importantly, this is also the time when he first began to see and further examined his language background, including Indian English, through a linguistic lens:

In retrospect I can think of several things that happened at these schools. One is that for the first time I looked at my mother tongue, Kashmiri, with an entirely different language attitude. The earlier, typically Kashmiri, attitude changed to one of treating it as a [human] language which could be an area of serious academic and intellectual research. Second, I had an opportunity to think seriously about Indian English; its status, roles and academic position. (Kachru, 1992a, p. 68)

After graduation, Kachru joined the University of Edinburgh to pursue a doctorate in Linguistics. There he realized that, linguistically, he had to simultaneously adapt himself into the new paradigm (Generative Linguistics) and unlearned the old paradigm (Structuralism). It was also in Edinburgh where Kachru gets to know his two academic gurus who guided him to his later achievements: J. R. Firth and M. H. Halliday<sup>1</sup>. Kachru's affection and admiration toward Firth and Halliday were strong, and he credited both as the principal influences for his work in Indian English:

Firth loved to perform like an Indian guru, and Halliday had been seriously exposed to the mystic East in China. Therefore, he understood the limitations of a new oriental student in a [w]estern classrooms... It was [Firth's office], listening to him, that my ideas about Indian English, and the non-native varieties of English in general, began to be structured. (I guess Indians really need gurus!) (Kachru, 1992a, p. 69)

The academic experiences and research at Edinburgh were a formative period for Kachru not only because it was where the mentorships had led to the starting point of Kachru's his work

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<sup>1</sup> Halliday was credited by Kachru as an influential figure in his dissertation. However, Firth is the true Guru that guided Kachru both in early period as well as later stages.

on Indian English, but also it is the right time for his transition from a Structuralist to a “Firthian-Hallidayan” linguist. The experience at Edinburgh is fundamental to the later establishment of the Kachruvian paradigm because the experience provided him with the necessary conditions including the theoretical tools, and validating mentoring, as well as the environment for the refinement of his ideas on the nativization of English in the Indian context. Furthermore, Kachru’s years at Edinburgh were also the time when contemporary linguistics reached one of its most fruitful periods.

The last three decades have been years of intense and fruitful thinking in linguistics. There have been two main results of this period. First, the development of structuralism, associated with Bloomfield and his followers. This approach was based on what is termed behaviors and operationalism and contributed methodological precision. Second, the more recent developments, especially the transformational model, have contributed deep insights into language behavior in general and highly formalized descriptions of a large variety of language have been made available. The aim is to arrive at the universals of languages. (Kachru, 1967, p. 90)

### 2.2.3 The shift to a new linguistic paradigm

Another critical historical context is regarding the linguistic paradigm shift that happened during Kachru’s learning years in General Linguistics. In Kachru’s recalling, 1957 is the year that Kachru (1966b, 1967, 1969, 1982b, 1992e) considers significant because of two landmark publications that are introduced to the field of linguistics that year: one is J. R. Firth’s *Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951*, the other is *Syntactic Structures* by Noam Chomsky. Kachru (1982b, 1992e) finds that these two works brought innovative frameworks and ideas to language studies even though these two works are intrinsically different due to their distinct conceptualizations.

Though both the Chomskians and the Firthians were critical of the structuralist approach to language, their attitudes toward linguistic theory are diametrically opposed. On the one hand, Chomsky (1957) emphasizes the competence of a speaker-hearer which enables him or her to produce and comprehend an infinite number of sentences with a finite set of rules. Firth, on the

other hand, intends to develop what he calls a spectrum of linguistic meanings and functions to describe and analyze - in linguistic terms - the uses of a language in different sociocultural settings.

Kachru (1967) viewed that Chomskians were reconstructing a linguistic view that examines language with an emphasis on a native speaker's innate capability of acquiring his or her language, while he understood the Firthian view as "observing and describing the linguistic features of situationally or contextually determined language types" (p. 90). To be more concise, for Kachru, Chomskians are tackling linguistic competence, and Firthians are investigating linguistic performance. Kachru (1967) argued that this demarcation between the two approaches are crucially accountable for contemporary linguistics because both provide answers to the questions that the structuralists fail to answer. The failure of Bloomfieldian (American Structuralism), according to Kachru (1966b, 1967) is summarized as follows: (a) the structuralists fail to account for all the facts of linguistic structures because they are not concerned with the mental capacities and processes of speakers of natural languages; and, (b) the linguistic facts cannot be covered fully unless mental concepts are included in linguistic theories.

After Kachru had unlearned the structuralist views in linguistics, the question becomes how Kachru's description and analysis of the formal and functional characteristics of this "new" variety are based on the established theoretical framework of Firthian-Hallidyan linguistics.

#### 2.2.4 The Firthian influence

John Rupert Firth is the founder of the London School and one of the leaders of 'systemic linguistics'. From 1941 until his retirement in 1956, he became the first occupant of the Chair of General Linguistics at the University of London and was very active to develop general linguistics and phonetics in Great Britain. In addition, being an orientalist, he contributed to the beginnings of language study in India (Leon, 2006, p. 484).

As was mentioned above, Kachru credited Firth and Halliday as the two academic gurus whose theoretical framework in linguistics studies is influential to his elaboration on Indian English. Firth's framework, which in General Linguistics, is recognized as the London School or the Firthian view.

The term 'London School' was initially used by Firth in his Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951 in two contexts: first, to refer to the tradition of studies in phonetics... and second to refer to the school of linguistics that was starting to develop during the 1930s at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London (Firth, 1957, p. 141, 145). Firth worked at SOAS from 1938 until his retirement in 1956. (Rebore, 2002, p. 482)

It is the Firthian view that underlies Kachru's conceptualization of English in India. In Kachru's (1962) Ph.D. dissertation, he explicitly acknowledged the role of Firth's theory:

The basic theoretical framework for this investigation has been drawn from the theory of General Linguistics which the late Professor J. R. Firth, professor of General Linguistics at the University of London, developed from 1944. The idea of this study, in its present form, came from him in 1958, when he was lecturing at Edinburgh University as a Visiting Professor in General Linguistics. Most of this study is based on his technique of contextualization (Preface).

To better illustrate how Kachru utilizes the Firthian views, it is essential to understand the fundamental concepts of the Firthian view of linguistics which are also the keys to answer the question of what specific notions and concepts Kachru adopts to presents his analysis of the functional and formal linguistic features of English in the Indian context.

#### 2.2.4.1 Fundamental concepts of the Firthian view

The main ideas of the Firthian view were summarized as follows by Leon (2006):

- Importance of theory over procedures or methods;
- Meaning stated at any linguistic level;
- Context of situation;
- Collocation;
- Colligation;

- System and structure;
- Restricted languages;
- Prosodic analysis;
- Renewal of connection. (p. 485)

The Firthian ideas upon which Kachru built his research in Indian English were mainly the meaning stated at any linguistic level, context of situation, collocation, and restricted languages. As Leon (2006) concludes in his bio piece of the Firthian view:

Firth's attention was essentially focused on phonology, semantics, and the history of linguistics; his main contributions to the field of linguistics are prosodic analysis in phonology, following the tradition of Henry Sweet and Daniel Jones, and the contextual theory of meaning inspired by Malinowski's notion of "context of situation" (p. 484).

Firth's adoption of context of situation was theoretically developed within the realm of General Linguistics where he used it to study language as "restricted forms of speech and writing in actual use by persons in different social roles" (Kachru, 1962, p. 86). For Firth, context of situation is "an abstraction from situation and it includes context of experience and context of culture of the speech-fellowship, speech community, or a language community in which a language is functioning" (Kachru, 1962, p. 86). It is this Firthian view of context as a linguistic level that Kachru adopted for analyzing the functional variations of English in Indian sociocultural background.

Another important concept that the Firthian view contributes to linguistic studies is the construction of "meaning" in Firth's phonological analysis:

'Meaning' in its broadest sense has a central position in Firthian linguistics. By placing words, [...] phonological variation which relates to morphological categories is foregrounded: this relates to what Firth called the 'major function' of phonological categories as conveying grammatical contrast, as opposed to the 'minor function' of conveying lexical contrast. (Ogden, p. 486)



According to Kachru, Firth rejects the “dichotomy of form and meaning and suggests [...] the end product of linguistic analysis should be related to context of situation, as language is not merely a process parallel with culture’, but ‘an integral part of it” (Kachru, 1966a, p. 255). In his interpretation of Firth, Kachru (1962) argued:

The statement of meaning may be made at two levels: formal and contextual. As the meaning at different levels is stated the linguistic event “disperses” like a spectrum till at the contextual level an restricted language is related to the social process of which it forms a part. This relation of form with function gives us the context of situation in the Firthian sense. It embraces not only the speaker/hearer relationship but the whole cultural background of their coming together. In this spectrum the formal and contextual features are subject to one framework. (p. 84)

Within the scope of the Firthian understanding and perspectives of language, Kachru (1962, 1965, 1966a) presented his analysis on how English can be perceived regarding its functional and formal variations. This issue is examined more fully in the next section.

## 2.3 The functional characteristics of Indian English from the Firthian perspective

Firth’s view of language is characterized by the key role it assigned to the notion of context. He defined ‘meaning’ as ‘function in context’: not only words and sentences, but even phonetic units have meaning. (Graffi, 2006, p. 186).

To explain how English is used as a transplanted language in India, Kachru selected three Firthian linguistic concepts that are instrumental in conceptualizing the functional variations of Indian English: contextualization, restricted language, and speech function.

### 2.3.1 The construct of contextualization.

Based on Firth’s development of this linguistic theory, Kachru (1962) developed a methodology that establishes a construct for “contextualization” for linguistic studies via the case of Indian English. In analyzing its functional variations, Kachru created two types of contextualization: the contextual unit and the contextual parameter, to offer a framework for the

analysis. The first, the contextual unit, he defined as “an abstraction on the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes” (Kachru, 1965, p. 391) and the contextual parameters as

“formal and contextual variables which determine the effective operation of a text in a context unit” (p. 391). Kachru further explained that “a contextual unit can be regarded as a frame and the contextual parameters are markers of the frame which determine the formal exponents for it. A sentence may be treated as the highest unit for contextualization and as a component of a restricted language”. (Kachru, 1966a, p. 259)

Kachru (1962) came up with the following cultural factors as the contextual parameters to structure the formal and functional items in Indian English: “The general cultural factors (hierarchy of caste, political status, and economic position; religion; speaker/addressee relationship). Moreover, the individual or personal factors (sex of the participants, age of the participants, educational background of the participants, linguistic and non-linguistic characteristics which localize persons)” (p. 85).

### 2.3.2 Restricted languages.

The second Firthian concept that Kachru used for developing his methodology in Indian English is that of “restricted Languages” which Firth saw as “those sublanguages which are restricted by scientific method conforming to functions of language in life” (Cited in Kachru, 1962, p. 57). With this demarcation of sub-grouping languages and language types, Kachru proposes that Indian English can be further categorized as follows: social roles, journalism, and literature. The next step was his application of register for any sub-grouping under restricted languages. The registers that Kachru (1962) then identified for analyzing Indian English are “religion, caste and phatic communion, greetings, modes of reference, abuse/curses, flattery/persuasion for social roles; editorials legal reporting, advertisement and sports for journalism; poetry, drama, crime fiction and historical writing for literature” (p. 64).

### 2.3.3 Speech function.

Speech function is another critical step in the contextualization for understanding Indian English. For Kachru, the speech functions are those items:

which reveal the personal attitude of a speaker/writer in a particular culture; which convey social attitudes in favor of or against a person or persons; which are repetitive and socially determined; and, which mark a person as inside or outside the culture of a speech-fellowship or a speech community. (Kachru, 1966a, p. 262)

In the illustration of how the sociocultural and linguistic elements of Indian context can affect the formal and functional features of English in India, context, as a “congruent level for such as language contact situation is not only more powerful, but it also helps in the classification of those formations [of Indianism]” (Kachru, 1962, p. 71). Also, through the demonstration of his findings in Indian English, Kachru eventually argued that:

...the phonological and grammatical deviations in Indian English are resulted from the process of Indianization of English. The Indianization, according Kachru, has legitimize Indian English by culturally contextualizing it in the sociocultural context of India, which case can also be found “true of the other South Asian varieties of English” (Kachru, 1962, p. 410).

## 2.4 The formal characteristics of Indian English

To select the source material for the analysis, Kachru chose the written English influenced by Indian language and culture to draw attention to some of those formal features of Indian English and thus mark it as distinct from the “Englishness of British English or from the Americanness in American English” (Kachru, 1966a, p. 255). In other words, it is the English writing about India written by Indian English writers (Kachru, 1962) through which Kachru intended to explore and illustrate the so-called “Indianness” that he defined as the ramifications of Indian English in Indian culture “which is used in India toward maintaining appropriate Indian patterns of life, culture and education” (p. 294).

#### 2.4.1 The cline of bilingualism.

To better conceptualize the analysis in his findings, Kachru first clarified sociocultural realities regarding the users of Indian English. In his view, the users of Indian English are the bilinguals who use English as a second language. Additionally, he extended Bloomfield's definition of bilingualism, which is "native-like control of two languages" (cited in Kachru, 1962, p. 16), by deemphasizing the "native-like" since the functional and communicative aspects of using a language is a more determining factor for bilinguals. Accurately, Kachru categorized bilinguals into two types: the first are those who learn a second language through its use with users of the targeted language; the second type are those whose learn the second language through reading, classroom education or other means without communicating with native users of the targeted language. The cause for this demarcation of two different types of bilinguals is the different purposes of using the second language, and more importantly, it emphasizes the varying proficiency levels amongst bilinguals in the target language community. This observation also points out a fundamental challenge in the studies of bilingualism: selecting the approach to measure proficiency.

To resolve this difficulty, Kachru (1962) deployed the concept "the cline of bilingualism", which is borrowed from Halliday (1961, 1966), to render a scale on which the proficiency levels can be measured "according to competence in speaking and/or writing a language as an L2" (p. 20). Kachru then pinpoints three tentative points on the scale to coordinate the measurement, which are "the zero point, the central point, and the ambilingual point" (p. 20).

#### 2.4.2 Transfer.

Under the context of English use and users in India, Kachru displayed his analysis of variation that shows how English is nativized in the Indian culture by undergoing two types of formal transfer: lexical grammatical transfer and Indian English collocation. The lexical-grammatical transfer can be further categorized into four types of transfer: lexical transfer, translation, shift, and calques. Lexical transfer, also known as lexical borrowing, is the adoption of the lexical items from L1 in L2 not necessarily with particular linguistic variation. In the case of India, the best example are “loan words” used in Indian English. Translations and shifts are two different types of linguistic transfer of linguistic items from L1 to L2 with formal equivalents. Translation is the transfer that maintains equivalent or partially equivalent during the transformation process, whereas shift makes no intention in establishing equivalence from L1 to L2. Kachru (1966a) elaborated that translations can be further categorized into (a) rank bound translation and (b) rank changed translation to differentiate the translations with different levels of formal change. More complicated than other types of formal transfer are calques, which are defined as “those items which have L2 phonology and grammar, but involve transfer of the contextual meaning from the culture, in addition to the transfer of the collocation from L1 (p. 264). In other words, a calque, according to Kachru, can also be seen as a rank-bound translation which “may be parallel in terms of the units of L1 and L2, but may also be items-bound” (p. 265).

Indian English collocations are the linguistic deviations with grammatical compounding in English and those contextual units that are exclusive to Indian culture. For Kachru, Indian English collocations reveal the process of Indianization of the English language in its formal manner; these can be termed “Indianisms.” In short, Indian English collocations are those linguistic formations that are “contextually Indian and collocationally uncommon in British

English” (Kachru, 1966a, p. 266). It is essential to mention here that the term “Indianisms,” at least at that time, was used in a derogatory sense by many linguistic scholars who rejected them for being “sub-standard” (p. 283) regardless that these uniquely Indian English formulations were frequently functioning among educated Indian English users.

This section briefly presented how Kachru based his notions of English variation in India on the Firthian view of linguistic studies. Additionally, the section documented Kachru’s analysis of the functional and formal analysis of Indian English through the Firthian view. The functional and formal features of Indian English, the foundation of the Kachruvian notions of English variations, the nuts and bolts of the Kachruvian views of English, provide a sound basis for Kachru’s later advocacy of the legitimacy of all non-native English varieties.

However, it is essential to point out again that because of the lack of recognition and acceptance of Indian English and its sociolinguistic value, Kachru’s work was not yet widely accepted. Kachru did not intend to hide the research as his pet hobbyhorse and later set forth the study of Indian English by extending its notions to relevant disciplines. In two book reviews published in the 1960s of *Language Teaching: A Scientific Approach* by Lado (1960) and *Studies in Sociolinguistics* by Capell (1966), Kachru unflinchingly presented his critiques regarding the lack of advancement and the ambiguity in these two works. At the same time, Kachru offered his grasp of the current state of applied linguistics and sociolinguistics through which he displayed his profound thinking and scholarly dispositions. Although his works on Indian English were not yet extensively published at this point, his framework and the theoretical influences that he adopted were rigorously utilized to justify his critiques.

## 2.5 The extension of Kachruvian notions

### 2.5.1 The review of Lado (1967)

In his critical take on Lado's book, Kachru's (1967) critiques are two-fold: he points out the Lado's book does not include any significant findings in post-Bloomfieldian linguistics, by claiming that:

It does not, however, take long to discover that Lado has failed to show "the significance of linguistic advances to language teaching." In theory, Lado does not show any advance from the forties when Bloomfield published his monograph which set the tone for 'linguistically oriented' research in language teaching and learning. (Kachru, 1967, p.88)

Here Kachru emphasized a confusion between linguistically and pedagogically relevant statements, his second point, that are not only observable in Lado's book, but also the Structuralist view of applied linguistics. Added to that, Kachru took Lado's book as an opportunity to express his Firthian-Hallidayan views. More importantly, Kachru's critiques against Bloomfieldian linguistics are followed by clear explanations of how contemporary linguistics is different than what Structuralists, such as Lado, represent. From the following quote, Kachru exhibited his understanding and interpretation of the current trend of linguistics studies from his research at Edinburgh:

In contemporary linguistics, that is, in post-Bloomfieldian linguistics on the whole, we find that a linguistic investigation may be undertaken either to account for the underlying ability of a native speaker of a language which enables him to produce and comprehend the sentences of his language; or (2) to analyze and describe in linguistic terms the USES of a language in different socio-cultural settings. (Kachru, 1967, p. 95)

Kachru (1967) also argued that Lado does not consider the varied contexts in which language teaching is done and points out that Lado "religiously" (p. 97) supports what he calls a linguistic approach. Kachru (1967) claims that

"[a]ny teacher with some knowledge of language teaching knows very well that a linguist cannot supply ready-made methods for the complex operation of language teaching. One

wishes that language teaching could be as simple as Lado makes it and could be fixed in well-cut areas of different disciplines.” (p. 97)

Kachru’s review of Lado’s book is an indicator of Kachru extending his linguistic dispositions that are in the paradigm of post-structuralism. In another publication during the 1960s, Kachru (1967) robustly offered his critical examination of structuralism in an assessment of an internal defect that makes structuralism incapable of generating effective language pedagogy:

It is argued that (a) the structuralists fail to account for all the facts of linguistic structures, because their theories are not concerned with the mental capacities and processes of speakers of natural languages; (b) the linguistic facts cannot be covered fully unless mental concepts are included in linguistic theories. The claim is made that mentalistic theories account for all those facts which are counted for in taxonomic theories and in addition account for many more facts where taxonomy theories fail. (p. 96)

#### 2.5.2 The review of Capell (1966)

A review of Capell’s (1966) book *Studies in Sociolinguistics* provided Kachru another opportunity to extend his linguistic views to the discipline of sociolinguistics, which he saw as compatible with his view. According to Kachru (1969), sociolinguistics is presumably the research in which linguistic performance is perceived with definable formal features in different linguistic levels within the framework of general linguistics. He defined sociolinguistics narrowly as “the study of language behavior of a speech-community, in linguistically definable social roles. In this sense, then, the function of sociolinguistics is one of linking two types of entities, i.e., formal and non-formal” (p. 143).

More significantly, this review is one of the earliest documents in which Kachru used the notion of “contextual units” (p. 145) in his work on Indian English (1965) to justify his critique of Capell’s attribution of social phenomena to linguistic events without relating them to their respective contextual units. As a consequence, Kachru questioned whether Capell intends to present the work in this book through a sociolinguistic lens. One can infer from this review that



Kachru's view is now being formulated through the attachment to sociolinguistics. This becomes especially clear when he redefines sociolinguistic studies more broadly to include the "study of language varieties, dialectology and bilingualism" (Kachru, 1969, p. 143).

## 2.6 Conclusion

The origin of the Kachruvian paradigm was fostered during the 1960s when Kachru was pursuing his doctorate at the University of Edinburgh. His work of conceptualizing Indian English is accomplished under different influences, historically, academically and personally. When Kachru begins to conceptualize the notion of Indian English, his learning and training in General Linguistics are undergoing a paradigm-shifting stage from the structuralist approach to Generative Linguistics. Such disciplinary change opens the opportunity for Kachru to develop a way of viewing the English language with an emphasis on its functionality. Also, the necessary conceptual tools for the Kachruvian notion of Indian English are developed under the influences among which the Firthian view of linguistics is adopted as the primary conceptual tool. However, during this stage, the idea of pluralistically viewing English varieties is still not conceived. What Kachru focuses on during this stage of his research is utilizing the Firthian view of linguistics to justify his observation, studies, and argument regarding the Indianness of English in India. What comes after that is how Kachru presents and disseminates his research and arguments to a wider and diverse audience, the stage which is discussed in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER 3. LATE 1960s – EARLY 1970s: THE DISPERSAL STAGE**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter is dedicated to the characteristics of the next stage of the Kachruvian paradigm after Kachru introduced his notions of Indian English through the Firthian view of linguistics. This dispersal period is generally characterized by the dissemination of the Kachruvian notions regarding the studies of Indian English. This stage took place during the late 1960s and early 1970s during which Kachru's work on Indian English continues; however, the platforms for the presentation of his work change from General Linguistics to primarily Applied Linguistics and Sociolinguistics. Here Kachru not only introduced his work on Indian English to another readership, but he also developed a sociolinguistic approach to address new issues regarding the language situation in India, including, but not limited to (1) code-mixing in the South Asian context (Kachru, 1970, 1976b, 1977a, 1978a, 1978c), (2) analysis of socio-cultural aspects of the linguistic status in India in terms of the language uses, users, and policies (Kachru, 1971, 1977a, 1977b, 1978b) and (3) a sociolinguistic profile of languages in India (Kachru, 1973, 1976c). In this stage, Kachru offers his own opinions on and arguments for the use of a sociolinguistic lens to deliver how the socio-cultural realities can lead to a better understanding of these issues.

The dissemination of Kachru's notions are not restricted to linguistics. He also takes opportunities to bring a sophisticated discussion of the socio-cultural phenomena of English in India, one that further constructs his approach beyond the analysis of the formal and functional features of Indian English. This evolution indicates that the paradigm is entering into a dispersal stage, one in which Kachru begins to challenge the ideological attitudes towards non-native English varieties. This challenge of a long-existing ideological bias begins with a reaction to a

troubling linguistic attitude against non-native English varieties and results in a significant proportion of studies that essentially define the future of the paradigm's trajectory. To carefully elaborate the detailed developmental accounts of the dispersal stage, this chapter provides the historical context explaining why and how the transitions of Kachru's research foci occur as they do.

### 3.2 Historical context

Two crucial threads within the historical context explain how Kachru's approach transitioned, from building on his notion on the Firthian approach to the dispersal state of Kachruvian notions, is characterized by the tackling of attitudinal issues with a focus on the socio-cultural dimensions of Indian English. The first thread is Kachru professional transitions from the University of Edinburgh to the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign (UIUC), and the shift to a new linguistic paradigm that was characterized as "neo-transformationalist" or "neo-Firthian." Kachru (1992a) describes this period as his third reincarnation, which again required an unlearning and learning process:

...and in 1963 I went to Urbana, right in the middle of a new culture, new linguistics, and a new phase of my life. The process of learning and unlearning linguistics started again. It was like trying to move from one caste to another caste and being conscious of it all the time. I guess intellectual (or religious, for that matter) conversions can be painful. (p. 72)

It is under this liberating historical background that Kachru initiates one of the most critical areas of professional emphasis — concentrating on launching an applied linguistics program at UIUC that would stress the nature of the application and the socio-cultural elements of linguistics to the development of curriculum design. As Kachru (1992a) remembers:

In my teaching, my primary thrust was toward developing the applied linguistics program, using their term “applied” in a wider sense. In developing such as program, one was fighting against several problems. In America, APPLIED linguistics had been reduced to some uninteresting aspects of language pedagogy. A person interested in APPLICATION of linguistics was suspect in the new paradigm — and there were good reasons for this suspicion. [...] In this background, therefore, it was challenging to initiate and teach courses such as Introduction to Applied Linguistics, Sociolinguistics, Stylistics, and South Asian English. (p. 72)

This professional shift is almost simultaneously aligned with the paradigm shift in the field of linguistics. In the course of these two professional and intellectual transitions, Kachru finds it evident that the players in the field have changed and it thus becomes necessary for him to present his work to a different readership with a different academic disposition.

It did not take linguistics too long to enter the phase of neo-transformation and neo-Firthianism. The actors on the stage changed, and so did the focus of interest. We now have the [purists] and [non-purist]. We have lexicalists and non-lexicalists on this side of the Atlantic, and on the other side, we have, among others, the “Firthian” and “neo-Firthian.” Membership in a group is not given without challenge, and this has added more interest to the polemic controversies. (p. 73)

The second context is that the timing is appropriate for Kachru to spread his studies of Indian English without the ambiguity of the sociolinguistic existence of Indian English as a non-native English variety. One can argue that, for Kachru, the scholarly and non-scholarly discussions regarding Indian English had reached a critical mass. In the meantime, Indian literature English had provided the soapbox to give voice to his findings of the linguistic realities of English in India, realities which better depict the language situation of English in India:

The credit for this changed attitude toward Indian English literature, research on English India, and reorientation of the curriculum in English goes to, among others, P. E. Dustoor, v. [K. Gokak, K.R.], Srinivasan Iyengar, Ramesh Mohan, C. D. Narasimbaiah, and the young and energetic group of Indian English writers. (Kachru, 1983a, pp. xi-xii)

Another important Kairotic factor is the historical status of English in the linguistic repertoire of a multilingual and multicultural India. In Kachru's view, English had reached its level of most significant importance in post-Independence India, the sociolinguistic implications of which are of great interest to researchers. It is in this historical thread of professional opportunities as well as the appropriate Kairotic factors that allowed Kachru to see the needs and benefits of publishing his work on Indian English, therefore, the dispersal stage of the paradigm is that in which he "presents some aspects of that language contact and linguistic acculturation with the hope that this will encourage more extensive research and discussion on the facet of English in India" (Kachru, 1983a, p. xii). It is in this historical context of change in his professional career and in the field of linguistics that is the background for Kachru's careful selection of a new platform - the field of sociolinguistics.

### 3.3 The transition to the field of sociolinguistics

The label sociolinguistic was firstly used in 1952 by the American Haver C. Currie, but it became widespread from about the late 1960s. Between the 1960s and the 1970s, however, a sociolinguistic trend presented itself as an alternative approach to generative grammar. (Graffi, 2006, p. 193)

In *On the Dimension, Methodology and Applications of Sociolinguistics* (Kachru, 1972), Kachru directly credits Firth (1957a, 1957b, 1957c), along with Halliday (1961, 1966) and Ellis (1966) for their theoretical influence on his notions of English in India. Furthermore, Kachru (1972) argues that one way of intersecting the studies of linguistics and sociolinguistics is demonstrating the relationship between linguistic features and language attitude. He proposes the following terms to serve as markers effectively:

*developed/underdeveloped* (English vs. Indian languages, or Bengali and Tamil vs. Hindi and Punjabi); *vigorous/non-vigorous* (attitude toward the literary forms of a language say, e.g. Urdu poetry vs. Hindi poetry); *effective/ineffective* (attitude toward say, English in

South Asia or Africa in terms of the ‘register-range’) *sacred/non-sacred* (e.g. the uses of Arabic, Sanskrit and Latin) (Kachru, 1972, p. 142)

These marking terms are consistently presented in Kachru’s works of socio-cultural analysis of English in India. Through the marking terms, Kachru (1969) asserts that the linguistic implications become obvious because different kinds of language attitudes can result in several important language phenomena – among them are language planning, standardization, language loyalty, and language dependency – in such multilingual contexts as South Asia. On the issue of the language dependency, Kachru (1969) argues explicitly that “[t]he formal and pragmatic aspects of Language Dependency in pluralistic linguistic societies have yet to be seriously studied by linguists” (p. 141). The occurrence of increasing interest in and attempts to explore the socio-cultural aspects of English in South Asian contexts shows that Kachru is developing his approach of studying non-native English varieties by bringing his work to the field of sociolinguistics. This exploration continues with his presentation of Indian English through an analysis of the language situation from the Indian census.

### 3.4 The Indian census and the sociolinguistic profile

In 1977, Kachru (1977b) utilized the Indian census to highlight the users' underlying attitudes towards the English language speech community that is the linguistic and culturally diverse context of India. In Kachru’s interpretation, the census data provided essential insights into the language situation. First, his analysis reveals that from 1940s to 1970s two language controversies, one at the national level (mainly the conflicts between Hindi and Hindustani) and the other at the regional level (more languages are involved in this level namely the “Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan, the speakers of Maithili, Bhojpuri, and Rajasthani, respectively, have changed their positions” (p. 20)). Second, he found that the census data shed light on the

sociolinguistic situation of bilingualism or bidialectism with a focus on the issue of diffusion. However, Kachru (1977b, 1978c) points out that the statistic results from the census can only be partially suggestive because no linguistic or sociolinguistic criteria are applied to mark the distinction of a person being bilingual or bidialectal. Kachru's argument that the census is lacking conceptual basis is particularly valid for the so-called high prestige languages such as English. Kachru also raises the question of "what information-eliciting methodology can be evolved which would help in the ranking bilinguals on the cline of bilingualism" (Kachru, 1978c p. 108).

Furthermore, the issues of language attitudes and language loyalty in a speech community cannot be essentially demonstrated through quantitative approaches, and the language census can only provide only suggestive indicators in the findings regarding the attitudes; thus, interpretations of the data must be adequately conducted with a great deal of caution. Regardless of the insufficiencies of the validity of the census, Kachru (1977b) comes to two important linguistic and socio-cultural conclusions:

On the one hand, the supporters of English are trying to extend the functions of English in various roles at different levels of administration and education. On the other hand, the supporters of Hindi and the regional languages are trying to extend the roles of their languages. (p. 18)

It is worthwhile noting that Kachru (1987b) thinks that attachment to the local languages is related to language loyalty. Also, the reasons for such loyalty vary because of different geographical and cultural factors. Kachru (1977b) claims that "[i]n India, religion determines the loyalty to Arabic and Sanskrit, prestige and job consideration to English, and, in certain areas, national and regional feeling to Hindi or the regional language" (p. 21). Moreover, in the same document, Kachru argues that a positive correlation can be found between the linguistic choices

in a speech community and the vitality of the issue of language loyalty. Hence, the conflicts caused by language loyalty further highlight the gap between the two trends above. The type of conflicts is characterized by Kachru (1977b, 1984a, 1986b, 1987b) as “linguistic schizophrenia.”

### 3.4.1 Causes for linguistic schizophrenia

Kachru (1977b) argues that one of the reasons for the development of linguistic schizophrenia is the lack of rigorous or consistent language planning in India; this leads to ambiguity regarding the status of the various languages, an ambiguity that facilitates language conflicts. The nature of this schizophrenia of the Indian language situation is detailed in the census, which Kachru suggests well documents the language conflicts in this multilingual context in which the additional languages (second or third) are acquired mainly because of the language hierarchy on the national and regional levels. According to Kachru (1977b),

“First, the Indian language situation is unique in the sense that practically every state of the union has a number of language census respondents who tend toward language isolationism. This tendency is demonstrated by naming as one’s mother tongue a language or a dialect which uniquely marks a respondent as separate from the speakers of other languages or dialect tongues with one speaker only.” (p. 24)

### 3.4.2 The framework of the sociolinguistic profile

In exploring the sociolinguistic realities of India during the 1970s, Kachru adopts the framework of a sociolinguistic profile, adapted from Charles A. Ferguson (1959), to systematically capture the socio-cultural manifestations of a language situation within its context. Kachru (1971) makes his first observation by citing Ferguson (1959).

“The paper by Charles A. Ferguson, ‘National sociolinguistic formulas (309-24) attempts an answer to the question: ‘can a condensed, algebraic formula present a sociolinguistic profile of a nation adequately for comparative purpose?’ (309). Ferguson further wants ‘... to know how to describe a nation in a way that would be useful for comparative purposes within linguistic or sociolinguistics, and also for correlation with economics, political science, and so on’ (315-16).” (Kachru, 1971, pp. 257-258)



Although the attempt of formulaically depicting the language situation of a nation as Ferguson proposed is not picked up by Kachru in his sociolinguistic approach of describing the linguistic issues in his studies, he does take the notion of providing a sociolinguistic profile of English to present the language realities from a socio-cultural perspective systematically. Through his discoveries of the sociolinguistic realities in South Asian contexts, in which he focuses on the “functional domains” (Kachru, 1977a; Kachru, 1978b), Kachru (1982a, 1983a) eventually proposes a sociolinguistic profile of English in India. This adaptation of Ferguson’s framework further influenced the later development of the Kachruvian paradigm. It was also adopted by other scholars to systematically, consistently, and comparatively describe the socio-cultural phenomena of English around the world. On some level, Kachru’s version of the framework for the sociolinguistic profile of English in India accomplishes Ferguson’s original intended goals, that is, descriptively document the functional domains of English uses in a particular context and “provide a means of answering questions critical for establishing a pragmatically-based description of language use” (Berns, 1988, p. 40).

In the work of drawing up a sociolinguistic profile of the transplanted language in India (Kachru, 1977b), Kachru concludes that:

“In linguistic terms the modifier Indian refers to the linguistic processes used by the Indians toward the Indianization of Persian and English which then resulted in the Indianness of these two languages. [...] The problem of interference in Indian English becomes more complex, since the interference is caused by a large number of mother tongues. [...] [t]herefore, consider linguistic interference and the Indian cultural context as essential for the understanding and description of the Indianness in this variety of English”. (pp. 17-18)

### 3.5 Code-mixing and the functional manifestations

#### 3.5.1 Code-mixing in the Firthian perspective

During this stage, Kachru also pays attention to the concept of code-mixing, which was one of the topics in the field of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics that was related to the Kachruvian notions of Indian English. During the mid-1970s, Kachru has four publications (1976b, 1977v, 1978a, 1978c) which join the discussions on the conceptualization and the motivations or functions of code-mixing. He makes two significant contributions: first, he puts code-switching under the telescope of the Firthian perspective; second, he uses his studies of English in India (or South Asian contexts) to illustrate the functional manifestations of code-mixing used as a communication strategy.

In Kachru's discussion of code-mixing within the framework of Firth's (1957a, 1957b) "context of situation," he sees code-mixing as a linguistic phenomenon that is dependent on its role and function. One reason why he sees the connection between the research of code-mixing and the Firthian view is that code-mixing, as a linguistic phenomenon, should be recognized not only as the application of language but also as tightly associated with users because code-mixing involves both the registers of language and the attitudes toward the users of code-mixing (Kachru, 1976b).

In order to adequately conceptualize the linguistic and contextual aspects of code-mixing, Kachru (1978a) proposes his notion of "contextual unit", which he defines as a specific function which assigns features of a text; Kachru terms these features as "contextual parameters" (Kachru, 1962; 1965) (see Chapter 2). As for the users or code-mixers, Kachru (1976b, 1978a) claims that a bilingual or multilingual speaker, within specific contextual units (e.g., greetings and blessings), is likely able to decide the language uses, code-mixed or non-code-mixed. This reality is demonstrated with linguistics cases of code-mixing in the Indian context. More importantly,

Kachru (1978a) continues by arguing that it is the attitude that determines the selection of a particular code. The attitude is projected by the user toward a respective language (or the application of code-mixing) or the status (prestigious or non-prestigious) of that language within a speech community (or the application of code-mixing).

In joining the discussions of code-mixing, Kachru intends to bring the Firthian view to a new readership in the fields of applied linguistics and sociolinguistics. However, that is not to say that Kachru tries to adapt his work to pander to a new audience. The reality is that Firth's context of situation is internally related to the nature of the sociolinguistic research in its role of conceptualizing the connection between the form and function of a language and bringing about a better understanding of language interaction in multilingual contexts. Applying the Firthian context of situation in an analysis of code-mixing in the Indian context is not a diversion, but a continuation of Kachru's examination of the language situation in Indian and other South Asian contexts. To use his own words: "After all, it may be recalled that what is termed 'sociolinguistics' on this side of the Atlantic has always been part of 'general linguistics' on the other side of the ocean" (Kachru, 1978a, p. 27). He amplifies this by citing Labov:

In recent years, there has developed an approach to linguistic research which focuses upon language in use within the speech community, aiming at a linguistic theory adequate to account for this data. This type of research has sometimes been labeled as "sociolinguistics", although it is somewhat misleading use of an oddly redundant term. Children raised in isolation do not use language; it is used by human beings in a social context, communicating their needs, ideas, and emotions to one another. The egocentric monologues of children appear to be secondary developments derived from the social use of language and very few people spend much time talking to themselves. It is questionable whether sentences that communicate nothing to anyone are a part of language. In what way, then, can "sociolinguistics" be considered as something apart from "linguistics"? (Labov, 1971, as cited in Kachru, 1978a, p. 27)

### 3.5.2 The functional manifestations of code-mixing in South Asian context

In another publication examining code-mixing and its functions, *English in South Asia* (1978a), Kachru offers a more detailed descriptive account of code-mixing in India to reveal the

socio-cultural realities of the language situation. He does this through an analysis of the functional and pragmatic aspects of linguistic phenomena in India. In this paper, Kachru mainly stresses the necessity of researching code-mixing as a communicative device or strategy and of regarding it as a feature of linguistic realities, especially in multilingual or multi-dialectal contexts. More specifically, Kachru (1978a) argues that:

“the linguistic, socio-linguistic, or psycholinguistic implications of code-mixing or code-switching have not yet been fully investigated in a specific speech community nor across various speech communities. Therefore, any generalizations, whether language-specific or comparative, toward developing typologies in code-mixing are as-yet premature” (39).

To support his argument, Kachru first contextualizes the linguistic device of code-mixing as the manifestation of a language situation within the scope of sociolinguistics and then, further clarifies code-mixing in a multilingual or multi-dialect context. There he (1978a) differentiates code-mixing from code-switching. This move is to emphasize the socio-linguistic realities of both in South Asian contexts. Kachru (1978a) distinguishes the two from one another thus: he refers to code-switching as the “categorization of one’s verbal repertoire in terms of function and roles” (p. 42) and code-mixing as the communicative strategy that “entail[s] transferring linguistic units from one code into another” (p. 43). Furthermore, he perceives code-switching as a communicative process that can develop into a variety of code-mixed linguistic cases. As Kachru asserts:

“[w]e notice these manifestations in the way a multilingual or a multi-dialect user of a language assigns areas of function to each code and in the development of new mixed codes of communication. We might then say that code-switching and code-mixing mark communicative strategies of two distinct types.” (Kachru, 1978a, p. 42)

The contribution Kachru (1978a) provides to elaborate on the functions of code-mixing as a linguistic device is work on the language situation in India. He describes how different types of code-mixing cases confirm “that in India and in other multilingual areas the devices of code-

mixing and some-switching are being used as essential communicative strategies with clear functional and stylistic goals in view” (p. 45). Moreover, Kachru (1978a) concludes that the communicative functions and linguistic manifestations of code-mixing revealed in research conducted in South Asia are paralleled in studies of code-mixing in Western speech communities.

“It is only now that the linguistic and educational ostriches are slowly raising their heads and facing these communicative devices as linguistic realities. After all, this phenomenon has existed in Europe since the Middle Ages, and in Africa and South Asia, to mention two non-Western areas, for centuries. It is, therefore, reassuring that now code-mixing and code-switching are being studied in a functional context, both cross-linguistically and cross-culturally. The Indian subcontinent provides substantial data for the study of code-mixing both diachronically and synchronically.” (45)

### 3.6 The canonization of Indianization

The dissemination of Kachru’s innovative ideas are eventually canonized in the book of *Indianization of English*, a collection of Kachru’s studies of Indian English over two decades (1962-1983). The main reason for publishing this collection is because Kachru intends to make his work accessible to the South Asian audience, for whom the individual papers had been relatively inaccessible. Kachru (1983a) further explains the appropriateness and necessity for the monograph.

“South Asian teachers and researchers, in the departments of both English and linguists, have paid considerable attention to the linguistic and literary aspects of the steadily growing body of Indian English literature. This interest is evident in the large number of scholarly and popular works on this topic, in journals devoted to Indian English literature, and in the dissertation and these written at various institutions in South Asia and other parts of the world.” (p. xi)

This surging interest in the institutionalization of Indian English is of historical significance for and the development of the Kachruvian paradigm. Through the publication of *Indianization of English*, Kachru can broadcast his claim that Indian English is a part of the linguistic resources

of the post-Independence India where English is used in a linguistically and culturally diverse situation.

With the field of sociolinguistics as the main stage for the dispersion of Kachru's conceptualizations of Indian English, the field provides not only a suitable audience for his innovative views, but also the paradigmatic transition of the field allows him to fill the gap in research on non-native English through a sociolinguistic lens. The concept of code-mixing, the examination of the language situation in India, including, the sociolinguistic profile of English in India is carefully chosen and related to Indian English. These works in the dispersal stage laid down a solid foundation for the institutionalization of the Kachruvian paradigm of world Englishes studies. However, Kachru's efforts to disseminate his notions of Indian English are not limited to conceptualization. Almost simultaneously, Kachru decides that his notions of Indian English can be applied to a more liberal language ideology that challenges the prevailing linguistic attitudes which view non-native English varieties as problematic.

### 3.7 Another storyline: third world Englishes

A storyline parallel to the dispersal stage of the development also advances during the mid-1970s. This story is of Kachru's seizure of another opportunity to further extend his work on Indian English. However, this storyline deals with such real-world issues as the teaching of English and linguistic attitudes toward non-native English varieties or "third world Englishes" as he called them at that time. This evolution of the Kachruvian paradigm begins with Kachru's epic response to Prator's 1968 paper "The British Heresy in TEFL." Kachru responds to what he identifies in this paper as seven attitudinal sins, which he contends bluntly reveal Prator's linguistic bigotry (see chapter 4).

Additionally, Kachru also takes this occasion to introduce two premises to the discussions of conceptualizing non-native English varieties.

...first, the users of Indian English form a distinct speech community who use a variety of English which is by and large formally distinct because it performs functions which are different from the other varieties of English. Second, Indian English function in the Indian sociocultural context in order to perform those roles which are relevant and appropriate to the social, educational and administrative network of India. (Kachru, 1976a, pp. 21-22)

In other words, the two premises concern “the use and user of the English variety” and “functional domains in which the variety is used.” This storyline is not just a part of the dispersal stage of the development, but also the beginning of another trajectory that extends the Kachruvian view of non-native English varieties. This new line is due primarily to Kachru’s observation of a change that is “desirable for various cultural, linguistic, educational and what is more important, pragmatic reasons [...]” (Kachru, 1976a, p. 224). This narrative later becomes the focus of the next stage of the elaboration of the Kachruvian paradigm, which is primarily about advocacy for recognition and acceptance of non-native English varieties. One might argue that advocacy, which in many respects is the essence of the Kachruvian paradigm of world Englishes, set forth the momentum of a more socially realistic understanding of the English language around the world.

## **CHAPTER 4. 1970s – EARLY 1980s: THE KACHRUVIAN ADVOCACY**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The circulation through publication of Kachru's perspective on the sociocultural aspects of Indian English leads him to advocacy for non-native English (NNE) varieties. This advocacy is embedded within Kachru's illustrations of the pragmatics of NNE varieties in the historical context of the evaluation of social and functional aspects of languages in linguistic studies. Consequently, Kachru begins to characterize the institutionalized varieties of NNE varieties through several sociolinguistic approaches; this he does to document the socially pragmatic realities of English in the NNE varieties. The description of the pragmatics of NNE varieties paves the way for the development of his proposal for a poly-model for these varieties. This move to advocacy has two phases: 1) rectifying the bias and misunderstanding toward NNE varieties by revealing their pragmatics to achieve the "linguistic, attitudinal and functional realism" (Kachru, 1977a, p. 30) regarding the uses of NNE varieties and 2) affirming the status of NNE varieties by conceptualizing and distinguishing among the institutionalized varieties.

This chapter begins with a highlight on the debate between Kachru and Clifford Prator regarding the progressing recognition of NNE varieties in the Third World context (Kachru, 1976a); then a historical context is followed under which Kachru is able to describe the social pragmatics of NNE varieties; finally, this chapter explains a critical Kachruvian proposal which is a poly-model for TESOL that Kachru derives from the mapping of the pragmatics of sociolinguistic realities in NNE varieties.



#### 4.2 Prator's seven sins

“After 20 years of testing the English of hundreds of incoming foreign students semester after semester at the University of California, I am firmly convinced that for the rest of the English speaking world the most unintelligible educated variety is Indian English.” (Prator, 1968, p. 473)

This statement comes from Prator's article *The British Heresy in TESL* (1968), which embodies a certain type of puritanical view on the English language then (and even today) in the field of Teaching English as Foreign Language (TEFL) or Second Language (TESL). This view is a reaction to the gradually manifesting trend of recognizing the NNE varieties of English by sociolinguists and especially by TESL professionals. As a prominent member in language teaching and research, Prator seems to be taking a particular interest in this growing valuing of NNE varieties and deems it a challenge to the legitimacy and effectiveness of the conventional approaches of English teaching and learning, as the following quote suggests:

In a nutshell, the heretical tenet I feel I must take exception to is the idea that it is best, in a country where English is not spoken natively but is widely used as the medium of instruction, to set up the local variety of English as ultimate model to be imitated by those learning the language. (Prator, 1968, p. 459)

As an accomplished scholar in the field of TEFL, Prator's view is an almost unavoidable representative of the disagreements against Kachru and his views on NNE. This is mainly because, first, Prator's puritanical views are influential especially to a particular group of educated English users and English educators; second, Prator's views expose the non-pragmatic attitudes toward non-native English varieties held by specialists in the operation in TESL and that such attitudes are not derived from a socially realistic or pragmatic perspective; third, Prator's views are not in the best interest of the practice of TESL in “the third world” Englishes contexts (later interpreted as the outer circle); fourth, Prator's views are echoed by others and it is thus necessary for Kachru as an Indian English user to respond to such linguistic purism and

intolerance. Moreover, one may see that Prator's rejection of recognizing NNE varieties of English is, in many senses, fanatically adamant. Not only does he hold that NNE varieties of English are not compatible with TESL realities, but he also regards continual concession to the increasing tolerance of L2 varieties of English as doctrinal heresy. As Prator (1968) claims:

It is not easy to understand how men who have always been counted among the faithful can have fallen into so ill-buttressed a heresy. The fallacies in their strange doctrine seem to cry out for enumeration and denunciation. (p. 463)

In his disapproval of the acknowledgment of NNE varieties in TESL, Prator attempts to raise cautious advice for English educators in the developing world. For instance, he argues that L1 varieties of English are more stable than L2 varieties of English and that such linguistic stability gives L1 varieties an advantage that is beneficial for learners of English. For Prator, L2 varieties are "a tongue caught up in a process that tends to transform it swiftly and quite predictably into an utterly dissimilar tongue" (1968, p. 464). Furthermore, Prator (1968) believes that second language learning is mostly accomplished by imitating a native-language model and that the NNE varieties are "generally quite imperfect, for reasons that are obvious" (p. 465). For him, deviations in NNE varieties are the leading cause for unintelligibility, and he advises language teachers to regard the deviations as a "cumulative effect of many little departures from the phonetic norms" (466). As an instructional guide for mapping his rejections, Prator (1968) lists nine attitudinal standpoints to advocate for the legitimacy of L2 varieties of English to which he objects. These objectionable standpoints are:

- Second-language varieties of English can legitimately be equated with mother-tongue varieties.
- Second-language varieties of English really exist as coherent, homogeneous linguistic systems, describable in the usual way as the speech of an identifiable social group. (464)

- The few minor concessions in the type of English taught in schools would tend to or suffice to stabilize the language
- Intelligibility could serve as a practical guideline in setting up limits beyond which no concessions would be allowed.
- A second-language variety of English is necessarily more intelligible to a native of the country where that variety is spoken than is a mother-tongue type of English.
- One level of a language, its phonology, can be allowed to change without entailing corresponding changes at the other levels.
- It would be a simple matter to establish a second-language variety of English as a useful instructional model once it had been clearly identified and described.
- Students would long be content to study English in a situation in which, as a matter of policy, they were denied access to a mother-tongue model.
- Granting a second-language variety of English official status in a country's schools would lead to its widespread adoption as a mother tongue. (pp. 463 - 468)

In his response titled *Models of English for The Third World White Man's Linguistic Burden or Language Pragmatics?*, Kachru (1976) initially points out that Prator's arguments are against the socio-cultural realities in the third world contexts including that of India. For instance, Kachru thinks that Prator's position is radically opposite to the recognition of English varieties. In Kachru's arguments, Prator is under the misunderstanding that English users in India use English primarily for international communication with other native English users. Prator's position is deemed by Kachru (1976) as "partly true" (p. 22) only for the English users in India who are motivated to perform such language behavior in related international contexts like business meetings or scholarly communities. However, this condition of using English for

international purposes does not apply to the majority of English uses in India. More importantly, Kachru (1976a) characterizes Prator's views as "seven attitudinal sins" (p. 223).

1. The sin of ethnocentrism: Prator adopts an attitude of "homogeneity and linguistic conformity" (p. 224) when regarding non-native English varieties.
2. The sin of wrong perception about the language attitudes on the two sides of the Atlantic: Kachru points out that Prator's perception of British and American having different attitudes toward the NNE varieties due to American's greater immigrant population is ... "counter intuitive and with no empirical basis" (225).
3. The sin of not recognizing the non-native varieties of English as culture-bound codes of communication: Kachru argues that the process of acculturation of English in the Third World countries including India is inevitable and Prator's paper shows his ignorance of this fact.
4. The sin of ignoring the systematicness of the non-native varieties of English: Prator claims that NNE varieties users have individual linguistics aberrance in terms of their idiosyncratic linguistic features resulting from different cultural, educational and linguistic backgrounds. Kachru repudiates this claim by referencing the concept of the cline of bilingualism in NNE context.
5. The sin of ignoring linguistic interference and language dynamics: Kachru cites his work on the Indianization of English, specifically the notion of "Indian English" to demonstrate the causes for linguistic interference as well as the functional variations in the context of India.
6. The sin of overlooking the cline of Englishness in language intelligibility: One example for this sin is the quote mentioned above, at the beginning of this section, regarding

Indian English as being highly unintelligible for Prator. Kachru emphasizes that the key to understanding the uses and users of L2 varieties of English is an acknowledgment of the cline of intelligibility that represents the spectrum of variation within an NNE variety for an individual speech community.

7. The sin of exhibiting language colonialism: Kachru argues that Prator's emphasis on the function of integrative motivation in NNE variety contexts amounts to cultural colonization because it assumes that NNE variety users would like to be accepted by the native English communities.

To Kachru, these sins are evidence for an unrealistic, unverified, and baseless bias against NNE varieties in the field of TESL. Kachru's critiques of Prator's represents the key feature of this stage of development of the Kachruvian paradigm. Now the focus is advocacy for the legitimacy of NNE varieties in general linguistic and sociolinguistic studies as well as language practice and policy research.

#### 4.3 Historical context

The past two decades have been a period of search for socially realistic paradigms applicable to linguistic research and methodology (Labov, 1972, p. xiii). This activity is much more intense in North America than elsewhere, and there is an understandable reason for it. In the US the 1950s and 1960s were essentially the decades of one dominant paradigm. [...] This domination continued up to the end of the last decade. (Kachru, 1981, p. 65)

When interpreting the status quo (1970s) of the field of linguistics, Kachru (1981a) states that theoretical discussions and applications of linguistic models have focused on the accentuation of the social aspects from a functional perspective. This trend of highlighting the functional perspective in understanding languages proceeds and one of the purposes for such

emphasis is to formulate a socially or functionally oriented approach for conceptualizing the nature of language in linguistics during the 1970s. As Kachru (1981a) stipulates:

Some socially oriented or functionally oriented models are presented and enumerated, for example, in the work of Bernstein (1958, 1959, 1971), Fishman (1965, 1971), Gumperz (1964, 1967), Hymes (1962, 1964, 1969, 1971b, 1974) and Labov (1963, 1966, 1970, 1972). It is clear that not all these models draw upon linguistic theories per se, but their concern with language and its function in society is clearly evident. (p. 66)

Additionally, this trend of paradigmatic development also opens the opportunity for re-examining another established linguistic approach that has been traditionally giving prominence to the social elements of languages - the London school of linguistics also known as the Firthian approach. The revitalization of the Firthian approach during the 1970s (see Chapter 3) is the most important of historical context for Kachru's advocacy of NNE varieties.

For Firth, as for Labov, the most important fact about language is its social function: the act that it serves to establish and maintain socially prescribed patterns of behavior. The whole of Firth's theory of meaning, and his rejection of what he took to be facile and misguided dichotomy between the twin bogies of mechanism and mentalism, is based upon his commitment to the primacy of the social function of language. (Kachru, 1981a, p. 82)

However, as a student of the Firthian approach, Kachru (1981) points out that the approach had been lost in plain sight for several decades in the field of linguistics and the revitalization is not due to its sudden pertinence to the current linguistic studies. Kachru (1981) explains that the Firth's approach had been neglected before and is rediscovered at this time by the contemporary linguistic field because it was once perceived as "obscure and vague." As Halliday explains:

Firth is often said to be obscure; my own experience as a teacher suggests not so much that he is obscure as that his writing provokes hostility in some readers - essentially I think because they find his relativism distasteful, although the reaction often manifests itself as a dislike of Firth's style ( can the two really be separated?) - who find it difficult

then to read with the sympathy and care that all scholarly work demands. (Halliday, 1971, p. 666)

However, according to Halliday (1971), the poor reception of the approach could be its incompatibility to the then-dominant linguistic paradigm. The reconsideration of the Firthian approach is relevant to the current theoretical debates in linguistics, which indicate the paradigmatic change (1981a, p. 82).

In recent literature both by linguists and scholars involved in TESL and TEFL, one notices an increasing tendency toward the attitude present in Firth and Lloyd (see, e.g., Gleason, 1960, Halliday, et al. ,1964; Richards, 1972) This tendency is encouraging, but as yet this attitude has not been accepted by the practicing TESL specialists, in general either in Britain or in the United States. (Kachru, 1976a, p. 27)

Understanding the newly gained interest in the Firthian approach is the key to understanding how Kachru's advocacy of NNE varieties came about in the development of this stage of the paradigm. This advocacy is mostly unfolded in his descriptions of the sociolinguistic and socio-cultural realities of NNE varieties. In other words, it is due to the recognition of the Firthian socially realistic approach and its prioritization of language functions that enable Kachru to reach this stage.

#### 4.4 Describing the pragmatics of NNE varieties

To provide a framework of describing the pragmatics of NNE varieties, Kachru (1981b) maps out five guiding factors by which the socially realistic uses of English in non-native contexts:

1. the factors which introduced English in new non-native roles in Asia and independence of the colonies
2. the reasons which contributed toward retention of English after the uses;

3. the linguistic and contextual parameters which contributed to the nativization and development of so-called interference varieties;
4. the sociolinguistic context which contributed to the development of varieties within a variety;
5. and the current linguistic interaction between the users of the new Englishes and native speakers of English. (p. 68)

These five aspects point to how to credibly describe the practical uses of NNE varieties that have developed in their respective new context. To answer this question, Kachru presents the sociolinguistic evidence of two aspects concerning the pragmatics: the uses and the users of the NNE varieties in the case of Indian English.

The uses of Indian English are also a matter of the functional nativization of English in India. In order to comprehensively describe the realistic uses of English in this context, Kachru categorizes four functional domains of use, the sociolinguistic situations of which are diametrically opposed to the contexts of NE varieties: the instrumental, regulatory, interpersonal and imaginative/innovative functions. They provide a framework that generates consistency in the situations of functional nativization across the NNE varieties.

The instrumental function “implies the status given to English in the educational system, in which it functions as an instrument of learning at various stages” (Kachru, 1981b, p. 69). Kachru (1981b) states that, for this function, educational materials in India are produced and adopted locally to better suit the pedagogical agendas in Indian schools. More importantly, in the humanities, it has gradually become a norm to include English texts written by Indian English writers. Additionally, English in textbooks is not only deployed as a tool for culturally and linguistically diverse Indian students, it is also, as Kachru characterizes, used to “impart what



Indians call *all-Indian awareness* (italics original), and consciousness of the underlying cultural unity of the country” (Kachru, 1983a, p. 216).

The regulatory function “entails the use of English in, for example, the legal system and administration” (Kachru, 1981b, p. 56). The regulative function of English in India primarily involves language use in the legal systems. Although no policy or consensus promotes English as the official or designated language for Indian legal and administrative systems, English, according to Kachru, is in a more advantageous status because the publications released by the government favor English as the medium.

Imaginative/innovative function (Kachru, 1981a, 1983a) is the use of English that is distinctively Indian because it can induce the Englishness of English in India. It is also the function that has resulted in “the development of a large body of writing in English in different genres in various parts of the world. It is the use of English in creative contexts that has now resulted in a fast-growing body of, among others, Indian English literature, West African literature, and Caribbean literature. Furthermore, the creative use of English in an NNE context further demonstrates that the native English speaker point of view does not necessarily apply in another context, as Kachru (1983a) argues:

...from a native speaker’s point of view, certain Indian English uses are not only contextually deviant, but the lexical selection also is odd and unintelligible. On the other hand, from the point of view of the non-native speakers of English [...], the native-speaker’s view is not necessarily relevant because [the linguistic formations] do form part of the *communicative repertoire* (italics original) of specific non-native varieties. (p. 222)

The interpersonal function “provides a clue to how a non-native language is used as a link language for effective communication between speakers of various languages, dialects, ethnic groups, and religions, thus providing a code of communication for diverse linguistic and cultural groups” (Kachru, 1981b, p.56). In the spectrum of communication, English serves as the

medium for both an international and intranational language amongst its users. In the media domain, English also dominates in both publications and broadcasting along with Hindi. Plenty of statistics indicates that English is a predominant language in Indian communication. At the same time, the interpersonal function, “English may also symbolize elitism, prestige, and modernity” (Kachru, 1983a, p. 218) other than providing a code for communication.

The goal of framing these four functions to gather sociolinguistic evidence in order to demonstrate the systematicness and uniqueness of NNE varieties is to argue that the bias against NNE varieties as inferior or less legitimate than native varieties is attitudinally incorrect and functionally impractical especially when it comes to language planning, which topic will be further discussed in later section of this chapter.

Another strategy of realistically illustrating the pragmatics of NNE varieties is looking at the users of the NNE varieties. Kachru (1980b, 1980c) clarifies that, for NNE varieties, there is also no homogeneity within a variety. In other words, it is not practical to assume that all users of an NNE variety are intelligible to other users of this variety. As Kachru (1983a) thinks, “linguistic homogeneity is the dream of an analyst, and a myth created by language pedagogues. In reality, linguistic variation is the fact which realists have accepted, though slowly, and with rewarding results” (p. 224). For the demonstration of the multi-varieties or sub-varieties within one NNE variety, Kachru adopts three parameters of clines:

- Cline of participants in a speech event. The cline of participants raises a specified a sociolinguistic concept of “speech-fellowships” (Kachru, 1980a, 1981a, 1985a) instead of using “speech community,” Kachru explains that a speech-fellowship is embedded “within the larger speech community”; this concept “provides a framework for understanding the role of sub-varieties.”

- Cline of intelligibility. Kachru (1980a, 1980b, 1980d, Kachru et al., 1996b) emphasizes intelligibility as the key to the conceptualization of the cline of bilingualism in the context of NNE varieties. He also argues that “in intelligibility too there is a cline, and this concept cannot be used exclusively from a native speaker’s point of view.”
- Cline of roles. “The use of sub-varieties is role-dependent, and each sub-variety of English performs a specific role or roles in a given context.”
- The discussion of the pragmatics of NNE varieties (Kachru, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1981c, 1982a, 1982c, 1981e, 1983b, 1984, 1985b, 1988c) goes beyond pointing at biased linguistic attitudes; it also serves as a strong indication for language planning for the local government in terms of the concerns of interest to language specialists and teachers, namely, “language loyalty, language maintenance, and a deliberate and not-so-deliberate language death” (Kachru, 1981e, p. 3). When compared to the contexts of NE varieties, the language situations in NNE varieties contexts are more complicated considering their multilingual and multicultural realities.

#### 4.5 Institutionalizations of NNE

The characterization of NNE varieties as institutionalized varieties marks a critical conceptual step in the advocacy of NNE varieties and the development of the Kachruvian paradigm because it symbolizes a recognition of the NNE varieties from a socially realistic perspective. This recognition necessarily has gone through three stages to finally reach a point where the NNE varieties are accepted as intrinsically different from NE varieties with regards to their histories, acquisitional processes, and functions. As Kachru (1980a) concludes:

At the initial stage there is a non-recognition of the local variety, and conscious identification with the native speakers [...] The second stage is related to extensive diffusion of bilingualism in English, which slowly leads to the development of varieties which a variety [...] The third stage starts when the non-native variety is slowly accepted as the norm, and the division between the linguistic norm and behavior is reduced. The final stage seems to be that of recognition. (pp. 17-18)

In iterating the sociolinguistic and linguistic significance of the institutionalized varieties, Kachru (1980c) distinctively differentiates them from the performance varieties which, at this stage, he describes as follows:

Performance varieties include essentially those varieties which are used as a? foreign language. Identificational modifiers, such as Japanese English or Iranian English are indicative of geographical or national performance characteristics. These do not indicate an institutionalized status. The performance varieties of English have a highly restricted functional range in specific context (tourism, commerce, and other international transactions). (p. 81)

Kachru (1980c) points out that “It is the institutionalized varieties which have some ontological status” (p. 80). He then offers the characteristics of institutionalized varieties:

- (a) they have an extended range of uses in the sociolinguistic context of the nation;
- (b) they have an extended register and style range;
- (c) a process of nativization of the registers and styles has taken place, both in formal and in contextual terms; and
- (d) a body of nativized English literature has developed which has formal and contextual characteristics which mark it localized. On the other hand, such a body of writing is considered a part of the larger body of writing labeled English literature. (80)

However, Kachru (1980c) also explains that “an institutionalized variety always starts as a performance variety, with various characteristics slowly giving it a different status” (p. 80) and

the different characteristics in comparing to the performance varieties that distinguish an institutionalized variety s are that, first, the length of the histories of the variety being functional in a context; second, the functional domains; third, the “emotional attachment” (p. 81) of the variety to its users; fourth, “functional importance” (p. 81); and fifth, the sociolinguistic status. (pp. 80-81) These differences matter in the degree of nativization of a variety of English. According to Kachru, the processes of nativization are related to two factors: “the range and depth of the functions of English in a non-native context, and the period for which the society has been exposed to bilingualism in English” (90).

#### 4.6 Proposing a polymodel approach

Kachru argues that “if one adopts a functional view of the institutionalized varieties, it might help to abandon earlier views about two fundamental questions concerning intelligibility and the applicability of a monomodel approach to all the non-native varieties of English” (Kachru, 1983b, p. 145).

Kachru’s (1983b) critique is that a mono model approach “presupposes that there is a homogeneous English L2 speech community and that the functional roles assigned to English in each area are more or less identical” (p. 146), moreover, a mono model “assumes that the goals for the study of English in various parts of the world are more or less similar” (p. 147). His proposal is for a non-native model whose origin is related to the Firthian concept of “context of situation” in terms of the historical context and educational setting in which the model is applied.

A non-native model may be treated as a competitive model for teaching English as L2 if it fulfills certain conditions. In attitudinal terms, a majority of L2 speakers should identify themselves with the modifying label which marks the non-nativeness of a model. (Kachru, 1983b, p. 157)

The primary rationale for proposing a non-native model is that if English is adopted in a “culturally and linguistically pluralistic context” (Kachru 1981c, p. 3). Kachru characterizes this model as a “polymodel.” The pedagogical and other practical approaches resulting from the application of this model “are diametrically opposed to the mono model approach” (p. 142). On the one hand, the poly model is established upon “pragmatism and functional realism” (p. 142). On the other hand, as Kachru argues, the poly model presupposes three kinds of “variability in teaching English for cross-cultural communications: namely, variability related to acquisition, variability related to function, and variability related to the context of situation” (p. 142).

#### 4.7 Conclusion

In many senses, the advocacy of NNE varieties is the most appropriate channel in which Kachru can present his previous research in the pragmatics of Englishes realities in NNE contexts. More importantly, the advocacy opens the opportunity for Kachru to introduce the field of English language teaching practice to a new perspective that views NNE varieties in a paradigm-shifting way. One can argue that the attempt of defending the uses of institutionalized varieties gives momentum for Kachru to highlight and clarified his notions of English pragmatisms derived from his linguistic research through the Firthian view. Moreover, bringing out the notion of a polymodel of English teaching and learning is subsequently echoed by like-minded scholars who not only share this vision but also carry with more socially and conceptually views that broadens the scope of the advocacy of NNE varieties. This kind of ripple effect causes the next stage of the Kachruvian paradigm which focuses on challenging the status quo of the then understanding of English language in several frontiers, which eventually leads to the maturity stage of the Kachruvian paradigm.

## **CHAPTER 5.      LATE 1970s – 1980s: THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE KACHRUVIAN PARADIGM**

### **5.1    Introduction**

Kachru's advocacy for recognition of the third world varieties underlines an increasingly accepted realization of English that sees it in a pluralistic view. Plus, the advocacy for English varieties projects a challenge against the conventional perception toward the English language both theoretically and attitudinally. Building on the Firthian approach of a socially realistic linguistics, Kachru has gathered the empirical mass of sociolinguistic realities that consequently contribute to the institutionalization of the Kachruvian paradigm of world Englishes studies. Historically, the attitudinal, theoretical, ideological and social changes towards English are caused mainly by happenings in the so-called developing or the third world countries, which also cause controversy with inevitable push-backs from the adherents to the old paradigm (Kachru, 1988b). "The world Englishes are the results of these diverse sociocultural contexts and diverse uses of the language in culturally distinct international contexts" (Kachru, 1989, p. 178).

The impact of world Englishes research has led to the questioning of the status quo of the sociolinguistic nature of English, the pedagogical model of ELT, the pragmatic aspects of the institutionalized varieties of English, the power and politics of English (Kachru, 1987b) as well as challenging the previous paradigm with related social revelations that resulted from the newly recognized realities (Quirk and Widdowson, 1985; Kachru, 1992b, 1992c). This chapter illustrates the key notions and developments that lead to the institutionalization of the Kachruvian paradigm in three frontiers of conceptualization: the theoretical (Kachru, 1989, 1990, 1991, Kachru & Smith, 1988), pragmatic (Kachru, 1985b, 1986a, 1987a, 1988a, 1988c, 1992b, 1992c, 1995), and attitudinal (1992d, 1994a, 1994a, 1994b, 1996a, 1996b).

## 5.2 The Theoretical frontier

The first frontier that the Kachruvian paradigm reaches is the theoretical front of linguistic and sociolinguistic disciplines. In 1985, Kachru first published the milestone article “*Standards, Codification, and Sociolinguistic Realism: The English Language in the Outer Circle*,” which debuts the renowned model of the Three Concentric Circles Model. This model is constructed and used to represent “the types of spread [of English], the patterns of acquisition, and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages” (p. 12). These characteristics were utilized to emphasize the actual uses and users of English in different regions of the world under the context of the global spread of English and demonstrate the existence of different English varieties caused by different histories, linguistic institutionalizations, and functional variations.

### 5.2.1 The Three Concentric Circles of Englishes

The model differentiates the sociolinguistic phenomena amongst the Inner, Outer and Expanding circles to articulate that the language realities in these contexts have brought to “English a unique cultural pluralism, and a linguistic heterogeneity and diversity which are unrecorded to this extent in human history” (p. 15). At the same time, Kachru (1985a) further suggests a necessity for renovating and adapting existing theoretical frameworks for conducting empirical studies in linguistics and “reconsidering claims for the universal applicability of particular methods and approaches for teaching and learning English” (p. 23) through the recognition and understanding of the sociolinguistic realities in all three circles. Kachru (1985a) asserted that the realities of English were indicating a shift from a paradigm in which the constrained theoretical linguistic frameworks were the result of a monolingual model to a new



paradigm with its polymodel approach allowing studies of forms and functions of English based on actual linguistic behaviors.

### 5.2.2 Shifting the paradigm of SLA

Kachru further argues that the realities also necessitated the need for new empirical research and pedagogical implementations rooted in language pragmatism. Moreover, in the 1980s, Kachru applies the fruitfulness of his research and theorization of the Concentric Circle to challenge the presuppositions of non-native Englishes, particularly the institutionalized varieties, of several disciplines including Second Language Acquisition, Applied Linguistics and General, or Theoretical Linguistic, all three of which were responding negatively to the Kachruvian paradigm. The adverse reactions were coming from the perspective of the old paradigm (as represented by Lowenberg, 1988; Quirk, 1989), see below). Kachru's challenges are compelling because they are supported by the sociolinguistic realities that have been described in Kachru's and other world Englishes researchers' previous research. The articulation of the realities became the accumulative force that sets the foundation for the institutionalization of the Kachruvian paradigm.

Fundamental notions from these challenges have changed people's views on the English language. These notions deal with the sociolinguistic and linguistic existence of L2 English varieties, the model of English in language teaching, the functional and formal features of English, the attitudinal changes toward L2 English varieties and the challenges toward the existing linguistic frameworks of understanding L2 English uses and users. In general, the paradigm shift toward acceptance and acknowledgment of English varieties concerns the following six developments:

1. Changing perceptions towards the validity of the nature of Englishes and the acquisitional process of different English varieties
2. Theory-driven models applied in multilingual and multicultural contexts for ESL or EFL learning and teaching purposes.
3. Pragmatic revelations about the uses of Englishes around the world, especially in Outer Circle contexts, and the matters related to the effectiveness of communication amongst non-native English speakers.
4. Challenging the dominant conventional assumptions of the cultural backgrounds of Englishes.
5. Challenging the view of the societal change caused by the newly discovered realities regarding Englishes
6. Challenging the dominant view of the concept of communicative competence, specifically in English and the users and the relevant communicative strategies in various communicative contexts.

For Kachru, these challenges are primarily related to the “leaking paradigm” (Kachru, 1990, p. 9) that guided the field of Second Language Acquisition. Kachru characterizes SLA as “leaking” because it represents a significant amount of misunderstanding, misinterpretation as well as ignorance towards the creative domain of the function of institutionalized varieties of English. Kachru identifies two concepts that are responsible for the leak - interlanguage (a native speaker-oriented perspective) and fossilization and points out three essential problematic aspects of them:

1. Acceptance of a unimodel approach to creativity: The creative use of language is seen concerning the model provided by the target language, and the goal of acquisition is determined by the acquisition of an exo-normative model

2. Rejection of the contact features as undesirable interference: This has failed to even recognize subtle creative processes due to the influence of the contexts of contact. The effects of contact have only been viewed in a negative sense.
3. Emphasis on a unidimensional view of functions: The unidimensional view provides a misleading picture of the functions of English, and about the innovations in English. (Kachru, 1990, p. 11)

Kachru's (1990) critiques point directly at the first of these two concepts, *interlanguage*, which he sees as the heart of the problem in SLA. This concept regards the "interference" of non-native languages and cultures as "intruding" forces to the nature of English using and learning. The theory of interlanguage, essential to the field of SLA, influenced SLA theory, and it created critical issues in SLA research. According to Elaine Tarone (2006), a key figure in the field, "The term interlanguage (IL) was introduced by the American linguist Larry Selinker to refer to the linguistic system evidenced when an adult second language learner attempts to express meanings in the language being learned" (p. 747). The interlanguage system is viewed as separate and distinct from both the learner's 'native language' (NL) and the 'target language' (TL) being learned but linked to both the NL and the TL by "interlingual identifications" in the perception of the learner. (Tarone, 2006, p. 748.); Tarone characterizes the importance of this hypothesis as having "provided the initial spark that ignited a field of research on second-language acquisition/learning, and it continues to provide what some feel to be the most productive framework for research" (p. 752).

The second concept that Kachru (1990) identifies as problematic is fossilization, an integral feature in the process of interlanguage. This concept captures the hypothesis that second

language acquisition ceases to develop, that the forms fossilize at a particular stage in the learning of the target language. Moreover, the fossilization implies that L2 learners who begin the second language acquisition process during puberty cannot develop the linguistic capability of the target language as do the learners who learn the language natively. That is, the native-speaker has predominance in SLA studies.

Kachru's critiques are compelling because they are based on the social realities of the institutionalized contexts of English, especially in the interpersonal and in the creative functions that had been neglected or ignored by the then-dominant paradigm. "The insightful dimensions of creativity in English such as non-native literatures in English, and intranational registers seem to have escaped the attention of second language acquisition researchers in English" (Kachru, 1990, pp. 9-10).

### 5.2.3 Resistance to the Kachruvian paradigm

The arguably most influential resistance against the Kachruvian shift in Englishes studies came from Randolph Quirk (1988, 1990). Quirk raised several concerns that are related to the shifting paradigm, including the ideological motivation for the advocacy of English varieties, the inappropriateness of the institutionalized varieties, and the "desirability of the non-native English varieties" (Quirk, 1988, p. 237). Quirk characterizes the changing paradigm as "an active encouragement of the anti-standard ethos" (Quirk, 1985, p. 3). Kachru (1991) replied to Quirk by arguing that the changing paradigm is "the recognition of institutionalization of a language in language policies is only partly an attitudinal matter...[it is also] the recognition of the linguistic processes, history and acculturation of the language in a region, and functional allocation of a variety" (p. 7). Put simply, the Kachruvian paradigm is the recognition and realization of the sociolinguistic realities.

The most prevalent attitude can be seen in Quirk's adoption of the terms of "liberation linguistics" and "deficit linguistics." According to Kachru (1991), Quirk chooses these two terms to characterize the advocacy of English varieties as a movement that has gone out of touch with reality and begins to mislead English practitioners with problematic ideology. Kachru (1991) responds to the adoption of these terms with a straightforward interpretation of Quirk's concerns and an explanation of what "liberation linguistics" and "deficit linguistics" entails. In a 1995 paper, Kachru describes Quirk's response as a rejection of six central features of the new paradigm:

1. Rejection of the underlying linguistic motivations for the range of variation and suggesting that such variational models are motivated by an urge for linguistic emancipation or liberation linguistics.
2. Rejection of the sociolinguistic, cultural, and stylistic motivations for innovations and their institutionalization.
3. Rejection of the institutionalization of language if used as a second language.
4. Rejection of the cline of varieties within a non-native variety
5. Rejection of the endocentric norms for English in the Outer Circle.
6. Rejection of the distinction between the users of the Outer Circle (ESL) of English (Kachru, 1985), and the Expanding Circle. Quirk settles for a dichotomy between native speakers vs. non-native speakers. (p. 5)

At this stage of the paradigm's development, the Three Concentric Circles Model has reached the theoretical frontier of sociolinguistic and linguistic research, where it has left an everlasting mark. From that point on, views guiding studies of English changed, and use of the

plural form “Englishes” is no longer regarded as an irregularity, but a reality-capturing notion of undeniable sociolinguistic and linguistic existence. What is more important is that the Kachruvian paradigm opens the door for research opportunities that can later enrich the world of language studies. It becomes a vehicle that empowers researchers from different places to present how English is spread around the world and the integrations of English with other cultures. Moreover, finally, one of the most critical impacts of this new perspective is that its notions of the institutionalization of non-native English varieties have been instilled into the fields that concern the practice and pragmatism of English. In the next section of this chapter, I shall illuminate how the world Englishes paradigm is reaching the frontier of pragmatic studies.

### 5.3 The pragmatic frontier

The phenomenal spread of English, the diverse users of the language in world cultures, and the development of world Englishes make it imperative to view concepts like communicative competence, pragmatic success, and pragmatic failure and ESP from a realistic perspective of current world uses of English. (Kachru, 1988c, pp. 210-211)

One can argue that the Kachruvian description of the sociolinguistic realities of NNE English varieties has led to the paradigm shift in other fields, especially in those that deal with the pragmatism of the functions of English specifically ESP (English for specific purpose) or LSP (Language for specific purpose) and ELT (English language Teaching). The core of the shift is that the Kachruvian paradigm is advocating for the emphasis on the incorporation of ELT practice and the nativization of English in the Outer Circle context. More importantly, Kachru does not use this as an opportunity to overextend the world Englishes studies beyond its growing influences into ESP but firmly holds that the practice of ELT in the Outer Circle context can become more socially realistic to the users of English.

### 5.3.1 Shifting the paradigm of ESP and ELT

Generally, the field of ESP focuses on the needs of language learning. One of the principal tenets that guide the ESP research is the specificity of learner's needs, which is that "each pedagogical situation and each group of learners is considered to be new and different" (Johns, 2006, p. 684). According to Johns, ESP practitioners argue that individuality is the key for ESP because focusing on individual learners' needs could contribute to the resolution of such practical language learning and teaching issues as "anxieties and differences in learning styles and emphasizing the pedagogical appropriateness of activities for specified learners" (p. 684). Another emphasis that ESP professionals have been advocating is the learners' communicative competence in the academic context, which can be cultivated and trained through specifically designed pedagogical approaches and techniques.

These two disciplinary significances are also integral notions in ESP research. ESP researchers intend to map out detailed curriculums or lesson plans uniquely made for targeted language learning students and instructors in a related context. For ESL or EFL contexts, ESP studies primarily emphasize academic settings and international communication due to the growing needs of international trade and English uses in professional domains (Johns, 2006). The nature of specificity in ESP research determines the constant reexamination of the teaching approaches in ESP practice, which consequently shapes a wide range of ESP curriculum varieties in terms of the functional domains, pedagogical objectives, and other specified language situational factors. However, "no approach can be isolated from other language teaching or second language acquisition research. It must be acknowledged that there are trends in LSP teaching, influenced principally by 'general' teaching methodologies, by technology, and by language processing and learning theories" (Tarone, 2006, p. 686).

According to Kachru (1986a), when it comes to issues of uses of English, there are two incorrect presuppositions in interpretation of sociolinguistic pragmatism for the Outer Circle context, and thus for ESP and ELT: first, it mistakenly assumes non-native English varieties function mainly for international communication; two, a native speaker is mostly likely to be a necessary interlocutor when English is used for international communications. Kachru (1990) further claims that:

[r]esearch on the pragmatics of English, that is, on the variables of pragmatic success and failure in world Englishes, is basically determined in terms of: a) the formal characteristics of the code or its varieties, b) the participants in an interaction, and c) the effective results of verbal communication (pp. 10-11).

### 5.3.2 World Englishes and ESP

Due to these mistaken presuppositions, world Englishes research within the Kachruvian paradigm sheds light on the areas of realistic language situations and language behaviors of the non-native English varieties that were overlooked by researchers and ESL or ESP professionals, namely the users and uses of institutionalized (Outer Circle) varieties of English. One of the undeniable realities that has been the foundation for shifting the paradigm in ESP, applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, is that the majority of the population of English users in Outer Circle contexts use localized varieties of English and do so regardless of the attitudes projected upon the institutionalized varieties or what terms are used to characterize them (e.g., fossilized, deficient, etc.) (Kachru, 1986a).

The shift towards the recognition of authentic linguistic behavior can be observed in various ways (Kachru, 1986a):

1. Identifying with the local varieties of the Institutionalized English varieties with localized variations without negative stigmatization.



2. Rationalizing the identification with those varieties via “national identity, educational realism, and localized functions of English” (p. 207);
3. Realizing the function of English as link language intranationally in language policy making.

Swales (1985) promotes the shift in paradigm and argues “for renewal of connection with the textual environment, and for greater attention to the tasks that specialized environments require of their occupants” (223). For Kachru (1987b, 1988c) it is critical for ESP research to consider the functional and practical aspects of English uses (international and intra-national) around the world, which is consequential to the ESP or ELT professionals who should reevaluate the conventional methodology in the previous paradigm where a polymodel is not available for diverse English language behavior. At the same time, they should also reconsider the applications of ESP methodologies in Outer Circle contexts where institutionalized varieties of English are more appropriate than Inner Circle and Expanding Circle varieties.

Nonetheless, a paradigm shift in ESP and English language teaching practice is taking place. Kachru (1988c, pp. 216-217) summarizes the shift in four ideological and social changes:

1. Recognition of the functional usefulness of the concept of verbal repertoire and a description of such a repertoire concerning its societal meaning;
2. Recognition of the levels of pragmatic failure due to the inappropriate selection of the code. The nonrecognition of localized lectal range, in terms of the prestige of the varieties (from a basilectal to an acrolectal), has already resulted in various types of problems in English-using countries such as Singapore, Nigeria, and India;
3. Acceptance of localized innovations in ESP and the within domains of ESP (e.g., legal, administrative, advertising) as part of the pragmatic needs of the users; and

4. Recognition of the creativity in regional literatures in English as an extension of the local literatures and literatures in English. Such recognition will make it easier to select local texts for instructional purposes.

The representative literary resource Kachru selected to introduce, illustrate and contextualize literary creativity is the work of Indian writer Raja Rao, whose writing embodies textual Indianness. This Indianness shows the strong influence of the thematic complexity, which derives from his Sanskrit and Kannada linguistic repertoire. Moreover, the Indianness is predicated on an intentional attempt to express a form of Indian identity. Similarly, it is observable that in comparing the writing of another Indian author, R.K. Narayan, to Rao's, Kachru (1980b, 1980c, 1986b, 1987a, 1988a, 1988b) finds that Rao's work contains more markers of Indianness. This difference in the degrees of Indianization is an indicator of a cline of Indianness in these creative texts.

Such understanding of the cline of Indianness is critical for ELT professional if they are to "determine the suitability and proportion of doses for each class" (1980b, p. 4). In this argument, Kachru is suggesting that the teaching materials should be carefully selected in terms of their contents and appropriate quantity proportion considering the students and students' linguistic and cultural background. Regarding the assessment and selection of texts for Indianness, teachers and other professionals should take proficiency level and writing strategies into consideration: Students' uses of English in the English classrooms of India and their proficiency levels provide a reference for the teachers to determine the desired level of the target language; the writing strategies refer to the methods or the writing tools adopted to enhance the comprehensibility of the texts produced by learners, both culturally and contextually. Kachru (1988b) argues that there are four specific characteristics in creative texts that need to be

contextualized by English practitioners: variety of English (the specific nativized English, i.e. Indian English or Hong Kong English), register (such as domains of English uses, i.e. religious, political, etc.), author's style (i.e. the writing styles in the literature by NNE writers), textual style (i.e. the linguistic creativities by the NNE writers).

The nativization process in creative writing is that of “a non-native writer of English who uses various linguistic devices to contextualize a non-native language in his own “un-English” culture” (p. 201); this process can be achieved via several nativization devices:

- Linguistic creativities (lexical and syntactical): e.g., lexical borrowing from the local language into English lexical source.
- Translation: English equivalence of Indian expressions used in an Indian English speech community.
- “Contextual redefinition of lexical items of English in new contexts, especially the use of kinship terms, attitudinal terms, etc” (Kachru, 1988a, p. 203).
- Rhetorical styles that showcase the Indianness of writer's texts and functional nativeness of the writing in terms of its intelligibility and comprehensibility to its target audience.

It would be fair to claim that there has been a giant leap from the earliest days of Kachru's thinking when he had not yet plainly related the existence of Indian English to the state of ESP and ELT as it was entering a new paradigm of teaching models and awareness. It is also fair to claim that the paradigm shift would not have been possible if Kachru had not laid the strong foundation established by his work on the Indianization of English and the linguistic variation of the Indian English variety; this descriptive and theoretical work made it possible for ESP professionals to realize and validate what they had known for years from their ELT practices of

in the Outer Circle. Furthermore, the validation of the realities is also concerned with a new development of the Kachruvian paradigm, that of ideological change towards the English language, which is. In the next section, I present how Kachru views English and the power related to it.

#### 5.4 The ideological and attitudinal frontier

##### 5.4.1 Language and politics

The ideological and attitudinal shift of the paradigm is a more complex frontier for Kachru to confront because it deals with the ideological and associated aspects of English. In terms of power and politics, English is entangled with many issues related to the Kachruvian paradigm. These include the historical context of English contact with local culture, the functions of English in a non-native context and the language policies made, for example, to either elevate or suppress a language.

Kachru, during this period from the late 1970s to 1980s, makes three important observations of the language situation of English in terms of its relations with power: the changing development of the language's status in a nation, the post-colonial attitudes towards it and the advantages of the language in the post-colonial period. For Kachru, the close connection between language and power can be observed and analyzed through different perspectives of societal power. He sees three dimensions of power in which language can be related to politics: first, the speech communities that are enlarged and empowered by the spread of a language; second, the functions of language that influence users in such personal spheres as the cultural, political, spiritual and religious; three, the motives of using a language "to deculturalize people from their own tradition; to gain economic advantage; to control various domains of knowledge

and information; to use the language for deception; and to create a circle of dependency on a country, nation, culture, and so forth” (Kachru, 1986b, p. 173).

#### 5.4.2 Language attitudes and linguistic power

Kachru (1986b) generalizes two approaches through which linguistic power can be obtained. This first is the codification of a new linguistic resource into the speech community; the second is the promotion or decommission of a specific language or a variety of a language. Each approach has an impact on the status of English in the social and cultural context, which in turn determines the nature of the impact, that is in a given Outer Circle context. Kachru identifies four trends in the development of the status of English: first, English gradually becomes a primary language of a nation because of its increasingly expanded functional domains; Singapore exemplifies this trend; second, English is recognized as an additional language through a political or legal approach; India, where English is recognized by the nation’s constitution as an official language, represents this trend; third, English is acquired as a second language by the users, which is the case in the Outer Circle; fourth, English is learned and used as a foreign language, a trend that is sometimes difficult to differentiate from the third due to the overlapping sociolinguistic phenomenon of such Outer Circle contexts as Malaysia) and an Expanding Circle context like Japan).

What needs to be pointed out here is that the Kachruvian paradigm neither designates all English varieties as equal in terms of their norms and functions nor does it suggest it would be possible for all Englishes to be used and learned equally. The notion of changing the ideological views on the English language is not about debasing certain native English varieties and elevating some institutionalized varieties. What is at the core of the Kachruvian paradigm is to raise the awareness of the diversity of English language and consequently to encourage the

analysis of English in a contextualized perspective so that the pragmatism of English, which is more realistically related to the actual users of English, can be better implemented in Outer Circle contexts.

## 5.5 Conclusion

The paradigm reaches maturity after almost three decades of conceptualizing notions of English varieties, advocating a socially realistic view toward NNE English varieties, and formulating applicable models for English language inclusive teaching approaches that do not overlook the sociolinguistic realities of NNE English varieties. This first page of the stage of maturity undertakes provides a disciplinary platform in which research of socially realistic understanding of NNE English varieties can be displayed and further enhance the awareness of the pluralistic view of English. The paradigm's acceptance also strengthens the advocacy of NNE English varieties in Outer Circle contexts by contributing to changes in language attitudes toward NNE English varieties, which consequently impacts language policy and ideological perspectives regarding language situations. Although the maturity stage is based on Kachru's conceptualization of English varieties, one must contribute for others who contributed to the elaboration of the paradigm. Their research on various areas within world Englishes studies from a range of disciplinary perspective and their indispensable role in expanding knowledge of world Englishes is the subject of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 6. LATE 1980s – 2000s: LARRY E. SMITH AND YAMUNA KACHRU

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on two key contributors to the evolution of the Kachruvian paradigm—Yamuna Kachru (Braj Kachru's wife) and Larry E. Smith. Along with Braj Kachru's work, these two crucial figures are collaboratively responsible for its institutionalization with their indispensable contributions. Smith, although the number of pages of documenting his research achievement is not as abundant as those of B. Kachru or Y. Kachru, it would be a gross understatement to claim that Kachru's ideas and insights could not be widely spread and received by other disciplines, especially the fields of English language practice, without Smith's contributions.

One of the central contributions is Smith's work in establishing and serving as the first Executive Director of the International Association for World Englishes (IAWE). The formation of IAWE is a critical stage in the institutionalization of the Kachruvian paradigm and dissemination of the World Englishes approach. Another is his theorization of *intelligibility*, which is a central concept in WE studies. Y. Kachru's contributions to world Englishes are, in no sense, mere supplements to the World Englishes framework. Her insightful analyses in relating the Kachruvian approach of world English studies with second language acquisition and contrastive rhetoric are vital both in challenging the then mainstream views on the nature of second language learning as well as the implementation of the Kachruvian approach for English language teaching practitioners.

## 6.2 Larry E. Smith and world Englishes

Smith, in collaboration with Braj B. Kachru of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, founded the field of English as an International Language (EIL) and developed it into the concept of World Englishes, which became a major area of academic inquiry both in its own right and in related fields, including English as a Global Language, English as a Lingua Franca and Developmental World Englishes (Yano, 2015, p. 88)

Larry E. Smith, then at the East-West Center of the University of Hawaii, began his professional career in theorizing English as an International Auxiliary Language (EIAL, which he (1976) defines as “an international language which is used by people of different nations to communicate with one another” (p. 38). This functionally-based approach demonstrates Smith’s recognition that English had transcended national boundaries and had acquired increasing international uses among users around the world; he argued that “English is the most frequently used international language, [...] which is used by nationals of a country for internal communication” (p. 38). However, it is Smith’s collaboration with B. Kachru, particularly on the establishment of the IAWEL organization, that “crystallized into the paradigm-shifting movement to establish world Englishes as a sub-discipline of linguistics, of direct relevance to both applied linguistics and sociolinguistics” (Bolton & Davis, 2018, p. 447).

The establishment of the International Association for World Englishes (IAWE) symbolizes a moment of significance in the development of the Kachruvian paradigm. Over the years, IAWEL has become the primary organization that promotes the recognition of the nativization of English varieties around the world in terms of their functional and formal variations. It meant that the institutionalization of the paradigm was then realized through a platform. On this platform, the Kachruvian approach of researching the English language is actualized through a collaborative manner; that is, researchers of English from various geographical and disciplinary contexts could present sociolinguistic realities of different English



varieties, strengthening the validity of the plurality of English language. Smith's advocacy of the Kachruvian paradigm and its associated framework through the founding of IAWWE is notably recognized and praised by English practitioners. In recognizing Smith's contributions to ELT, James Alatis, one of the founding members of the TESOL International Association, wrote:

Larry Smith and Braj Kachru have done seminal research to demonstrate that neither British nor American English can be used as a "standard," and they came up with the concept of not just English but Englishes: that is to say, a large number of varieties of English. Kachru and Smith also came up with the notion of the neutrality of English as opposed to association with British, or American, or Australian, or Canadian, English, and Kachru developed his theory of the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle, and the Expanding Circle, roughly equivalent to ENL, EFL, and ESL. (Alatis, 2005, p. 32)

Smith's organizational talent is the key to the success of IAWWE. One can sense that IAWWE was nourished through Smith's continually tireless efforts, most notably for bringing various scholarly voices together to speak for English uses around the world. These efforts, fundamental to the formulation of the Kachruvian paradigm of world Englishes, helped in inspiring and sustaining the legacy of the Kachruvian paradigm. As Yano (2015) says:

Wherever the site of each year's IAWWE Conference, and as Braj and the late Yamuna Kachru became less able to travel, Smith was the key adviser whom local hosts relied on to ensure that the conference would run smoothly. He also helped to develop scholarship funds within the IAWWE, to help young scholars from developing countries be able to attend the conference and created the Braj B. Kachru award for the best paper given at the conference by a young Ph.D. candidate. (p. 88)

It is fair to say that the founding of IAWWE could not have taken place and could not have flourished without Smith's efforts. Admittedly, IAWWE was built upon Kachru's ideas; yet, the organization's success in large part depended on Smith's groundwork in organizing panels and other program elements as well as conference administration. Today, IAWWE serves as one of the leading organizations in conceptualizing and presenting the understanding of English varieties

around the world in terms of the international and intranational uses. Again, Yano (2015) offers insights:

With Braj Kachru and Larry Smith as founding fathers and leading theorists, the IAWWE has developed into an academic organization of over 300 members from all over the world. [...] The annual conferences have been held in North America, Asia, Africa, Europe and Australia and its quarterly journal, *World Englishes*, issued its 33rd volume in 2014. (p. 90)

The founding of a separate organization was not Kachru and Smith's original idea for disseminating research based on Kachru's *World Englishes* framework. Before the founding of IAWWE in 1978, Kachru and Smith approached TESOL about establishing a WE interest group within the organization. Its annual conferences on the learning and teaching of English in both ESL and EFL contexts, they believed, would be an appropriate venue. Such a group would provide a platform for scholars and researchers to present the latest findings that would be of particular interest to English language teaching specialists, who were members of this organization and who would most be interested in and gain from insights into the sociolinguistic realities of *Englishes* worldwide. However, their bid for becoming an interest group was rejected by the organization. This experience was recorded by James Alatis, the Executive Director of TESOL at the time:

It was in 1984 at the TESOL conference in Houston that Kachru and Smith presented a proposal to the affiliate assembly of TESOL to create an interest group dedicated to English and all its varieties as a world language. Unfortunately, the assembled group rejected the proposal out of hand. Hence, Kachru and Smith decided to create their own organization which came to be known as the International Association for world *Englishes*. (Alatis, 2005, p. 32)

One reason for rejection was the affiliated assembly members' view that the interests Kachru and Smith wanted to represent overlapped with an existing interest section for dialects of English (Alatis, 2005). Those assembled did not accept Kachru and Smith's argument that

viewing English varieties as dialects of English was no longer sufficient to serve the needs of users in non-native contexts. It is not difficult to imagine the frustration of researchers like Kachru and Smith. Lack of appropriate platform remained for inviting like-minded researchers to gather and present their research to a broader audience, one that could not only be informed by the findings but also apply and actualize them in respective professional domains. The rejection, in many senses, triggered the initiation of IAWWE. Twenty plus years later, Alatis recalled:

I think that now is an opportune time for TESOL to acknowledge what IAWWE has known from the beginning: that there are many varieties of English, and Western varieties are no more legitimate than the others and no more worthy to be taught. English is a language to be used by different cultures in the world; it potentially belongs to all cultures. Western users of the language are in the minority, and it is time that notions of linguistic imperialism be put to rest. (Alatis, 2005, p. 34)

#### 6.2.1 1978: Two foundational conferences

The acknowledged beginning of IAWWE is two conferences, one held in 1978 at the East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii and the other at the University of Illinois, Champaign, Illinois. More importantly, the success of these two conferences in conceptualization of world Englishes lead to the birth of IAWWE, “which aims to promote research and teaching of World Englishes, focusing on the study of the forms and functions of varieties of English in diverse cultural and sociolinguistic contexts” (Yano, 2015, p. 89):

“The first conference was organized by Larry E. Smith (April 11-15) at the East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii, USA to probe issues opened up in Smith (1976). The second was organized by Braj B. Kachru (June 30-July 2), at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA. The conferences were held because of increasing demands of further understanding of non-native English uses around the world”. (About IAWWE)

The proceedings of these two conferences primarily presented new models and frameworks for investigating the socio-cultural phenomenon of Englishes. The topics varied from the pragmatics of English to the theoretical frameworks of viewing Englishes. One of the most attention-grabbing topics at those two conferences was the discussion of the international

and intranational uses of English in non-native English contexts. The Honolulu conference resulted in a statement signed by participants to numerate and articulate future research regarding English varieties. The report on the statement concludes thus:

"There were almost as many varieties of English--native and non-native, Western and non-Western--as there were participants, including voices from Bangladesh, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, India, the Philippines, New Zealand, Britain, Germany, and the USA. Numerous cultural, linguistic, ideological and other differences could be found among the participants, but they all had this one thing in common: all of them used the English language to debate, discuss, and argue questions which concern both native and non-native users of English, as well as global uses of English in various sociolinguistic contexts in different parts of the world." (Smith ed. 1981, p. xiii)

The Hawaii conference was of tremendous significance to Smith because of its success in gathering a diverse group of scholars of English varieties of multiple races, ethnicities, cultures, religions, and languages. This conference is the literal initialization of the IAWWE's mission of disseminating the pluralistic view of the English language that Kachru wanted to promote. Yano attributes the following to Kachru:

In these islands of internationality, multiculturalism and harmony, he developed the concepts of English as an international language, World Englishes, cross-cultural communication and intelligibility in English across cultures – where English is no longer the sole property of native speakers. (Yano, 2015, p. 89)

And, in Kachru's (1982) own words from that year's IAWWE conference, this:

...broke the traditional pattern of such deliberations: no inconvenient question was swept under the rug. The professionals, both linguists and literary scholars and native and non-native users of English, had frank and stimulating discussions. The English-using community in various continents was for the first time viewed in its totality. Several cross-cultural perspectives were brought to bear upon our understanding of English in a global context, of language variation, of language acquisition, and of the bilinguals' - or a multilinguals' - use of English. (Kachru, 1982b, p. xiii- xiv)

This conference serves an equally important historical meaning to that of the Hawaii conference. Although each was organized independently by Smith and Kachru, both emphasized

the key topic of cross-cultural and cross-linguistic application of English. Both conferences attracted and cultivated numerous conceptual breakthroughs among like-minded participants. In reflecting on their significance, Kachru's wrote:

The English-using community in various continents was for the first time viewed in its totality. A number of cross-cultural perspectives were brought to bear upon our understanding of English in a global context, of language variation, of language acquisition, and of the bilinguals' – or the multilinguals' – use of English. (Kachru, 1982a/1992e, pp. xiii–xiv)

The two conferences successfully got the attention of mainstream ELT, as it was known in Britain and Europe, and mainstream ESL teaching, as it was known elsewhere. As a guest speaker at both conferences, TESOL Executive Director Alatis was impressed with the research that had been presented, particularly the research about the pragmatism of non-native English varieties:

Braj Kachru's intuition could not have been more accurate. As aspiring linguists and educators, my wife and I have benefited immeasurably from the fascinating new theories and methodologies of language analysis to which we have been exposed here through the provocative papers presented by our new colleagues from anthropology, history, philosophy, and studies in cinema and the written and visual mass media. (Alatis, 1986, p. 274)

One primary concern that Alatis singled out was the issue of intelligibility of non-native English varieties. For him, it was of the most relevant concern for the teaching and learning of English in a classroom setting. By the end of the conference, Alatis (1986) was convinced that the Kachruvian model was the answer to this concern and expressed confidence that the Kachru's notions would be continually discussed within the TESOL community:

Another problem that arose in this conference concerned intelligibility and interpretability. We, as language teachers, have the responsibility to grasp every opportunity to promote the language profession, for if not we—who then? Finally, we must make sure that the ideas represented in this conference and its predecessors,

including the 50th anniversary of the British Council, are represented in these deliberations. (p. 279)

### 6.2.2 Smith and the issue of intelligibility

Addressing the issue of intelligibility was another contribution that Larry Smith brought to world Englishes studies. He and Cecil Nelson crafted a compelling conceptual model that categorized parameters of intelligibility into three levels: *intelligibility*, *comprehensibility*, and *interpretability*. They applied it to writing samples from Outer Circle contexts to demonstrate the model's viability. This investigation showed that the exchanges of textual meaning expressed in the samples contained intricate cultural and social components that proved necessary for understanding and differentiating among the utterance (or intelligibility), utterance meaning (comprehensibility) and the meaning behind utterance (interpretability) (Smith and Nelson, 1985). They summarized the critical notions of their model of intelligibility as the following:

1. The phenomenon and issue of intelligibility of L2 English varieties have lasted for over 200 years and will continue to be a sociolinguistic phenomenon that can be perceived as natural.
2. The native speaker-oriented norm for intelligibility in English no longer applies to the current development of English uses around the world. The L2 English users' varieties are growing significant in formulating the meaning of English in international and intranational communication.
3. "Native speakers are not always more intelligible than non-native speakers" (p. 333)
4. Intelligibility is not determined by individual speaker or listener but by interactional negotiations in communication;
5. "The greater the involvement of [sic] a listener has with a variety of English and its speakers, the greater the likelihood that he/she will find that person or variety intelligible,

and the greater the familiarity a speaker has with a variety of English, the more likely it is that he/she will be intelligible to members of that speech community” (p. 333);

6. The listeners’ expectation is positively correlated with the likelihood of understanding the speakers’ meaning. The more the listener expects to comprehend, the more likely the speaker becomes intelligible to the listeners.

The model of intelligibility is Smith’s major conceptual contribution to the understanding of English uses in international and intranational communications. The model is consistent with Smith’s long-time research of raising awareness of L2 English varieties throughout his career. It is important to note that Smith was a strong voice up until his death in 20xx in advocating the socially realistic understanding of L2 English varieties, which he did from the beginning of his research and professional practice of English teaching. Smith (1976) claimed that functional, formal, and structural features of English varieties should be realized by English language research and practice, which echoes Kachru’s advocacy of L2 varieties. Moreover, almost simultaneous with Kachru’s promotion of L2 English varieties awareness in English practice, Smith gave special attention to the teaching of English by promoting the development of a crucial understanding of English varieties around the world. Even before he adopted the term English as an international language, Smith (1976) argued, even pleaded, for everyone to:

“stop calling the English we teach a foreign or second language or even ESOL and begin to call it an international auxiliary English [...] it is to extend the ability of our students to communicate their ideas and their culture. It is to help them learn about all other cultures, and to be better able to participate in the world community which includes their hometown as well as their country’s capital” (p. 42)

Also, Smith challenged the concept of the native speaker’s ownership of English. In 1981 he made his argument thus:

Native speakers must realize that there are many valid varieties of English and that non-native speakers need not sound like or act like Americans, the British, or any other group of native speakers in order to be effective English users. English is being used as an international language in diplomacy, international trade, and tourism. Native speakers need as much help as non-natives when using English to interact internationally. (p. 11)

In forming the model of intelligibility, Smith presented a viable conceptualization for promoting a more inclusive attitude toward L2 English varieties. From Smith and Nelson's findings, they argue that:

It is argued that in future research it would be desirable to make distinctions between three key concepts: intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability. This indicates that intelligibility can be approached from a variety of points of view and interests. Since intelligibility depends upon so many factors of different types involved in a given speech event, it is difficult to find ways of integrating approaches and parameters. (Smith and Nelson, 1985, p. 333)

Given his contributions to the theoretical and practical dimensions of the World Englishes paradigm, Bolton and Davis (2018) correctly characterized them as s “multifaceted and multi-talented” (p. 448). Smith's position as one of the pillars that solidifies the Kachruvian paradigm of world Englishes is strong due not only to the early construction of IAWWE and World Englishes studies but also to the nurturing of generations of WE researchers who continually strengthen the disciplinarity of World Englishes by bringing innovative works regarding Englishes around the world. Yamuna Kachru is an equal force, and it is to her contributions that I now turn.

### 6.3 Yamuna Kachru and world Englishes

“The teaching and learning of the world's Englishes is a primary concern in WE studies and is one that figures prominently in the work of a number of WE scholars. A leader in this area of research was Yamuna Kachru.” (Berns, 2015, p. 22)



Yamuna Kachru was another essential contributor to the establishment and development of the Kachruvian paradigm. Being a partner to B. Kachru and Smith's founding of IAWEL, Y. Kachru's unique contributions are of great importance in extending the Kachruvian notions of English varieties into other disciplines, which enabled it to be conceptualized through multiple lenses of theoretical and empirical understanding.

Another area of research in which Yamuna was a leading international scholar is WE, a field in which she was a prominent voice since its establishment in the mid-1980s. Yamuna published numerous articles on WE, and was a guest editor of several symposia and special issues of the journal *World Englishes* (WE). A member of the International Association for World Englishes (IAWE) since its founding in 1992, Yamuna served the field in various capacities over the years, including as a member of the WE Editorial Board and the IAWEL Executive Board. (Lim, 2013, p. 387).

As another founding and influential member of the organization of IAWEL, Y. Kachru "had committed to playing a particularly active role in the association, serving as IAWEL Vice-President/President-Elect and on the International Organizing Committee for the 2013 and 2014 conferences" (Hilgendorf, 2014, p. 75). Y. Kachru was actively involved in the world of theorization of English varieties through different disciplinary approaches. In her scholarship, she stressed the empirical significance of world Englishes research in terms of its manifestations of "cross-cultural elements (Y. Kachru, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c) and linguistic and sociolinguistic creativities (Y. Kachru, 1989)" (Pandey, 2015, p. 11). Moreover, one of Y. Kachru's most significant contributions to world Englishes studies was the demonstration of cultural discrepancies of politeness in the discourse of Indian English and cultural transformations stimulated by code-mixing language strategies in Hinglish lyrical texts. She has taken the work of defining culture in linguistic terms "from the realm of abstraction to center stage" (Pandey, 2015, p. 11). As Hilgendorf has written, Y. Kachru was a fruitful researcher in world Englishes studies:

[Y. Kachru] co-authored two key monographs: *World Englishes in Asian Contexts* (2006, Hong Kong University Press), written with Cecil L. Nelson; and *Cultures, Contexts, and World Englishes* (2008, Routledge), written with Larry E. Smith and published recently also in Japanese translation. In 2009, she co-edited *The Handbook of World Englishes* with Braj B. Kachru and Cecil L. Nelson, published by Blackwell Press. (Hilgendorf, 2014, p. 75)

Through her diverse publications, the Kachruvian paradigm of world Englishes was enriched with multiple layers of understanding in which the nativization of English can be perceived through various disciplinary lenses.

### 6.3.1 Yamuna Kachru and second language acquisition

One of Y. Kachru's most prevalent criticisms of Selinker's (1992) Interlanguage concept is his characterization of Indian English as a dialect "where fossilized IL competences may be normal situation" (p. 23). In this characterization of Selinker uses types of syntactical features to illustrate and argues that the acquisitional process of English for Indian users is fossilizing the learning of the target language. This view means that if the learned knowledge of the target language is not used or practiced, then the learned knowledge will be lost, especially when it is applied in a new intellectual arena. Y. Kachru's arguments against Selinker's claims are targeting their validity; she uses empirical data to examine the implications and assumptions of the so-called Interlanguage Hypothesis, which is addressed and constructed in her review of Glass and Selinker (1982). There she paid particular attention to the role of communicative needs in multilingual contexts, where it seems linguistically implausible to impose native-speaker communicative motivations to L2 English users.

Another of her critiques against the Interlanguage Hypothesis is its claim that Inner Circle English varieties are the only English varieties that can reach the state of stabilization. Thus, non-native English varieties are not able to reach this status but are caught in an endless

process of fossilization; that is, Indian English, due to its acquisitional process and linguistic features cannot reach nativeness. Reacting to this insistence, Y. Kachru (1993) argues that Selinker failed to differentiate the processes between stabilizing and fossilizing in a way that showcase the internal discrepancies between Inner Circle varieties and Outer Circle varieties. She wittily states, “that which is fossilized is surely unchanging, therefore stable!” (p. 266)

Furthermore, Y. Kachru (1994a) does not extend her patience to Selinker when she points out the lack of research supporting him and his followers’ claims even though numerous studies have unmasked the multilingual contexts are readily available. Due to the lack of attempts and efforts in exploring the possibilities of English acquisition in multilingual contexts, it is uncertain and even confusing to the understanding the actual learning and acquiring of English as a second language in Selinker’s IL. Framework.

Y. Kachru’s critiques of Selinker reflect her research into the importance of a socially realistic approach in investigating English variety within its social and cultural parameters of function. The enormity of her contributions to the Kachruvian paradigm is demonstrated in her ground-breaking cultural analyses of discourse studies and the sociolinguistic profile of English users and uses.

Another problem in SLA research or second language pragmatics on Y. Kachru’s radar was neglect of communicative strategies and more attention on solely L2 speaker’s utterances. This observation underscores the lack of the L2 users’ perspective and SLA’s privileging of native-users. Berns (2015) sums up Yamuna Kachru’s critique thus:

A conclusion to be drawn from Yamuna’s critique is that, in the absence of a sound theoretical basis for the teaching of pragmatics via rules of use that apply in the production of speech acts, any description of communicative competence in English and prescriptions for appropriate use are compromised. The question then that researchers have yet to grapple with is how to judge the social correctives of a response without knowledge of why particular phonetic, syntactic, lexical, or semantic choices are made to

realize a speech act and what the speaker intended by realizing here particular choices (p. 26)

### 6.3.2 Yamuna Kachru and contrastive rhetoric

Y. Kachru's most significant contributions to the Kachruvian paradigm is her research on the pedagogical implication of world English studies. It is her leadership in the editorial efforts of an issue of the *World Englishes* entitled *Pedagogical grammars of English: Approaches and resources* (1987) that initiated the discussion of pedagogy in a world Englishes perspective. By connecting world Englishes studies to the intricate practice of ELT, she placed the awareness and controversy of English diversity in the English teaching classroom.

In her pursuit of reshaping the contrastive rhetoric framework, Y. Kachru (1999) defined culture as "the pattern of meanings embodied in symbolic forms, including actions, utterances, and meaningful objects of various kinds, by virtue of which individuals communicate with one another and share their experiences, conceptions and beliefs" (p. 77). This definition builds the foundation for the continuation of her critiques of contrastive rhetoric up to that point. In her view, the limits of conventional contrastive rhetoric lie in the adoption of a "deficit approach in analyzing literacy and discourse in the Outer and Expanding Circles" (Berns, 2015, p. 51).

In many senses, Y. Kachru's contributions to developing the Kachruvian paradigm are influenced by her early research experience. Like B. Kachru, Y. Kachru's early research background is shaped by vigorous training in transformationalist linguistics. Her foci were Hindi linguistics and the English language in the Indian context. "Her unique contribution in this field may be found not least in her work on discourse analysis and rhetoric, where her advocacy of an expanded vision for English studies highlighted the meaning potential of world varieties of English" (Bolton & Davis, 2015, p. 37).

When adopting the contrastive rhetoric framework in analyzing Indian English texts, Y. Kachru emphasizes the cultural elements that affect the discourse. In one study, she lays out stylistic differences between American academic writing and that of Indian English academic writing from a corpus-based analysis of Indian college students' essays and texts of new articles from Indian media.

Y. Kachru's critique is directed at Kaplan's representation of the organization structure of academic argumentation of Asian and western writers. The former is described as "circular" and the latter as "linear". In *Contrastive rhetoric in world Englishes* (1995), she turned up the volume of the criticism against Kaplan's characterization by arguing that he, amongst other like-minded researchers, places much emphasis on guiding educators to acculturate ESL/EFL writers to the norm of western academic writing; however, as Y. Kachru (1995) argued, ELT practitioners should also become increasingly conscious about the sociolinguistic reality of the majority of Outer and Expanding circle writers whose rhetorical patterns should not be regarded as deviations from the western norm.

Y. Kachru gave a great deal of effort to demonstrate that the unacceptability of attempts to alter the "fossilized" linguistic behaviors of L2 English users because such attempts ignore sociocultural realities and the actual educational needs. A relentless force, her multi-disciplinary contributions in presenting the Kachruvian notions are of great significance in the institutionalization of the Kachruvian paradigm. Her intellect, brilliance, and tenacity in dispersing and educating through world Englishes research remain exemplary to the field.

#### 6.4 Conclusion

In a joint publication, Y. Kachru and Nelson (2006) pointedly commented that even though recent years had seen world Englishes develop into a sub-discipline of linguistics, "[t]hat does

not mean, however, that the research on world Englishes, in the past several decades has progressed to such an extent that we can claim to have reached an adequate level of understanding” (p. 319). In the same vein, they argued later that “English studies have a long way to go before all the areas of research have been explored to a level where our knowledge and understanding are significantly enhanced” (p. 320). She noted, “an urgent need for reasonably comprehensive grammatical descriptions and dictionaries of various Englishes, codified as well as colloquial ones” (p. 320).

Together, Braj Kachru, Larry Smith, Yamuna Kachru, formed a formidable triangle of forces in presenting, developing, and promoting the Kachruvian paradigm of world Englishes. Braj’s research and vision served as the cornerstone, while Yamuna brought multiple voices into dispersing the Kachruvian notions to a wide range of disciplines, and Larry, with the like-minded understanding of the sociolinguistic phenomena of Englishes, brought his vision of the pragmatics of the world’s Englishes as being socially realistic. Indeed, World Englishes today, as a theoretical paradigm is a dynamic disciplinary field constituted of researchers and practitioners of Englishes around the world; yet, the diversity in its inter-disciplinarity is built upon the groundbreaking and foundational work of the triangle of forces comprised of Braj Kachru, Larry E. Smith and Yamuna Kachru.

## **CHAPTER 7. THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY: THE KP IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM**

### **7.1 Introduction**

Since the early days of Kachru's conceptualizations of his paradigm of world Englishes, it has been nurturing many advocacy and informative voices of pluralistic understanding of English varieties around the world. With scholarly contributions from researchers and English practitioners, the paradigm of world Englishes has solidified its theoretical validity in conceptualizing formal and functional characteristics of English varieties, nativization of English in localized contexts, and the users' attitudes toward English and its uses. As paradigm reaches into the new millennia, Kachru begins a new round of elucidating his notions with newly crafted approaches toward introducing his scholarly work over the past decades. One of the most attention-grabbing approaches that Kachru uses is the adoption of the concept of the diaspora of the English language. At the same time, under the context of ever surging globalization, Kachru gives more prominence to the discussions of the Expanding Circle varieties of English. This chapter depicts the details of these two characteristics – attention to the talking point of the diaspora of English and Expanding Circle Englishes - in the new millennium. Also, this chapter sheds light on two controversial debates over the interpretation of the Kachruvian notions in order to exemplify the challenges that the Kachruvian paradigm is facing in the new age.

### **7.2 The continuation of the dispersion of Kachruvian notions**

In Chapter 1 and 5, Kachru's model of the three concentric circles was described, that is, the Inner Circle, which represents the traditional historical and sociolinguistic bases of English in the regions where it is used as a native or first language; the Outer Circle, which represents the

regions of the world formerly colonized by Britain and the United States where English was the language of empire-building; the Expanding Circle, represents the rest of the world where English has traditionally been taught and perceived as primarily a foreign language. (Kachru, 1985a)

In the new millennium, the Kachruvian paradigm has become the embodiment of collective efforts in researching English varieties through multiple disciplinary lenses. Many research is informed by three major concepts: the conceptualization of world Englishes (Kachru & Nelson, 1996, Kachru et al, 1996), the localization of the language in traditionally un-English contexts (Kachru, 1996d, 1996e, 2001, 2006, Kachru, et al, 2006, Kachru, 2012), and the pragmatics and the form and functional variations of English in the Asian context (Kachru 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 2000, 2005). It is important to note that in the Asian context, both Expanding Circle varieties and Outer Circle varieties are included, yet what Kachru emphasizes is the context of Asian countries where these two types of English varieties are co-existing. Aside from the fact that the discipline of world Englishes has gradually gained its theoretical validity through the contributions from scholars with various disciplinary insights, Kachru takes a particular interest in elucidating those aforementioned critical concepts to a broader range of readership that is new to the world Englishes phenomenon and Kachru's approach to world Englishes studies. For better understanding Kachru's reiterations of these key concepts, it is essential to answer the questions about how Kachru adopts different and new conceptual construct to unfold his ideas over the past four decades; that is, the 1960s – 2000s.

### 7.2.1 The Kachruvian approach to world Englishes

In explaining the concept of world Englishes, Kachru first acknowledges that J.R. Firth is the first linguist who, indirectly, is responsible for the genesis of the conceptualization of “world



Englishes” through a socially realistic approach in linguistics. As Kachru (2017) carefully clarifies:

The term “world Englishes” is not intended to indicate any divisiveness in the English-using communities but to recognize the functions of the language in diverse pluralistic contexts. There are underlying theoretical, functional, pragmatic, and pedagogical considerations for this pluralization of the term (p. 224).

He (2017) then emphasizes that before the invention of the term “world Englishes,” the term “New Englishes” was primarily used for the varieties of English which have developed in the Outer Circle.” (p. 244) However, the term “new” does not capture the realities of these diaspora varieties as they were not newly created; historically, they had been institutionalized for some time. Instead of referring to their “newness,” Kachru proposed that could the institutionalized varieties be interpreted through such various factors as “acquisitional, linguistic, sociocultural, interactional, and educational” (Kachru, 2017, p. 32).

Kachru (2005) also clarifies that, in the 1970s, the concept of world Englishes as including its stratification and functional diversification was extended, theoretically and methodologically, within a framework of the socially realistic approach. The understanding of world Englishes also had gradually become a form of activism for the consideration of the linguistic diversity of for the English language as a multicultural and multilingual reality.

To further emphasize the plurality of world Englishes, Kachru (2005) generalizes six parameters within which the variations of English should be framed:

- the history of English spread and the cause for its transplantation in the targeted place.
- “the patterns of acquisition” (196),
- the depth of the language users in different societal levels

- the range of functional domains in which English services as a medium for intra-national and inter-national communication.
- the acculturation of the English language in the localized context;
- the recognition of English's nativization in terms of its linguistic and cultural innovations.

### 7.3 The second diaspora of English

One of the foci in reiterating what world Englishes is as a concept for Kachru is concern about generalizing the process of nativization in a localized world. This unusually complex topic is presented through the conceptual construct of the second diaspora of English, which is related to the historical phenomenon of the spread of this language. Kachru (1996a) argues that the main characteristic of the spread of English.

“is that it has taken place in what one might call diaspora, that is, in sociocultural and historical contexts traditionally not associated with the language. [...] The second diaspora brought English to Asia, to Africa, to Latin America, and to the Philippines.” (p. 140)

In the second diaspora of English, illustrated in the Kachruvian paradigm as the Outer Circle, three issues are highlighted as the critical components of understanding the transformation of English in various cultures.

The first issue to emerge in the second diaspora of English is “pluricentricity of English” (Kachru, 1992d, p. 7), which means that the norm for the literary or creative function of English is no longer singular, but plural, that is, Englishes. As nativization and acculturation have enhanced the institutionalization of English in many contexts, “English has been used as a tool to present distinct traditions and literary canons unrelated to the traditional ones of English, though this has not always been done consciously” (Kachru, 1992d, p. 5). English has gradually been adopted as an additional language with tremendous importance in numerous bilingual and

multilingual contexts. The dispersion of English and its sociolinguistic phenomena have indicated that as a language, it has developed newly created linguistic, literary, and cultural conventions in which the Western forms and functions are no longer necessary. In response to these realities, Kachru asserts (1992d) that "What is needed is a perspective that is integrative and that consider function as crucial to our understanding of language dynamics" (p. 9).

The second issue of relevance to the second diaspora is the sociolinguistic implications of English, including the issues of "intelligibility, pragmatics and cross-cultural discourse" (Kachru, 2017, p. 43) in a multicultural context. These are illustrated by various sociolinguistic profiles which demonstrate that linguistic and cultural interactions are a vital characteristic at this time. The most salient manifestation is the emergence of the localized contexts of nativization of English as an additional language with increasing functionality in different domains (e.g., interpersonal, instrumental, regulative, and creative/innovative). In these domains, English was initially introduced as a transplanted language. Therefore, variations of language forms and use resulting from English language acquisition in these contexts were unavoidable.

The final issue concerning the spread of English regards language attitudes. The second diaspora of English has provided the environmental condition that generates the challenge to the conventional attitudes that view non-native English varieties as deviations from the norm. One of the reasons for this challenge is primarily due to the increasing functionality of English in various domains in the non-native environment. In discussing language attitudes, two crucial concepts are emphasized — nativization and acculturation. These two linguistic processes are natural outcomes of the linguistic and sociolinguistic diversification in this diaspora. As Kachru explains, "Nativization is the linguistic readjustment a language undergoes when it is used by members of another speech community in distinctive sociocultural contexts and language-contact

situations” (Kachru, 2017, p. 23). Acculturation, on the other hand, “refers to the reflection of their sociocultural identities in a nativized language” (p. 22). Here we see Kachru’s focus on the people, the new users, responding to the learning and acquiring of the language.

Through the conceptual construct of the diaspora of English, the Kachruvian approach of perceiving the transplantation of English in an un-English context is collectively and exhaustively unfolded. The salient topics in the conceptualization include the historical context of the diffusion of English, the linguistic and sociocultural variations of English, the uses and users of English in a conventionally un-English context, and the social and ideological controversy of language attitudes regarding the powers and politics. More importantly, the second diaspora of English in the history sheds light on the continuation of the Kachruvian paradigm, which is continuation is about foreseeing the future of English and the development of its varieties. As Kachru (2005) explains that “all sociolinguistic indicators suggest that, in their nativized forms, the diaspora varieties of English will continue to be major contact languages and that creativity in English, especially in its role as a part of national literatures in Asia and Africa, will continue for the foreseeable future” (p. 29). As I discuss in the next section, which focuses on the Expanding Circle, the sociolinguistic indications of the diaspora varieties of English are related to the pragmatics of each variety in its respective context.

#### 7.4 The pragmatics of Expanding Circle varieties of English

It is imperative that teachers and students be aware of the sort of presence that English has in the world today, in order to keep the divergences among the extant varieties in a reasonable context. That is, that there are differences does not automatically imply that someone is wrong. The concept of a monolithic English as the exponent of culture and communication in all English-using countries has been a convenient working fiction that is now becoming harder and harder to maintain. What we now have in reality is English languages and English literatures—a much more insightful posture for research... To understand the pluralism of English, it is therefore vital to see its spread, uses, and users in sociolinguistic contexts. (Kachru & Nelson, 1996, p. 81)

Another essential point is the pragmatics of the Expanding Circle English varieties, which mostly delivered within the discussion of the classroom implications of the Kachruvian paradigm. Although these aspects of world Englishes were not encoded in the genesis of the paradigm, it gradually becomes the driving force for its development and extending influences. The pedagogical implications of world Englishes are mainly derived from Firth's socially realistic approach, which primarily concerns the pragmatics of the diaspora varieties of English.

Kachru raises five important points for English practitioners, giving special attention to high-level educated students. The first point concerns the sociolinguistic profiles, which are seen as a resource on the forms and functions of English; the second point is the view that the key to effective teaching is exposure to the targeted variety and development of sensitivity to it ; the third point raised is needed for understanding of the reality of the cline of bilingualism of users; the fourth point is recognition of the range and depth of English nativization in the society; the fifth and final point raised is realization of the nature of the linguistic and cultural creativity in multicultural context.

Aligned with the introduction of the pragmatics of World Englishes to the field of English language teaching, Kachru also pays attention to what he calls the mythologies of English in the Asian contexts. These mythologies have motivated his call for a socially realistic approach to research and practice regarding the pragmatics of world Englishes in ESP. The mythologies are related to the following five issues:

- standards for language behaviors;
- the instrumental function of language pragmatics;
- the language identity of English in terms of its ownership and nativeness;

- standards for legitimizing linguistic creativity in the English literary canon;
- criteria for assessing language competence and the validity of communicative concepts such as intelligibility.

These issues are informative justification for challenging the conventions of teaching English for Special Purposes. Kachru (1995) suggests that ESP should take into consideration crucial parameters by asking such questions as the following:

- What is the functional range of the ESP types concerning international and international uses?
- Who are the participants in the situations? Users of one variety and users of several varieties?
- What is the language competence of the users on the cline of bilingualism?
- What are the distinctive characteristics of the verbal repertoire for participation in the interaction?
- How are the codes used in the interaction viewed by those who are ‘outside’ the speech fellowship, and by those who are ‘within’ the speech fellowship?
- What formal features of ESP must be learned by the members of the speech fellowships who are essentially ‘outsiders’?
- What are the implications of the formal innovations on material production and curriculum? (p. 12)

As a guide for the development of ESP teaching materials, Kachru (2017) outlines three steps they can take for investigating the application of world Englishes pedagogy. The first step is to resolve the primary and foremost issue relating to the practice of ESP in the Asian context — the selection of a model, that is, “choosing a linguistic approach that is relevant to various dimensions of world Englishes. It has to be one of the models that provide a framework of socially realistic linguistics” (p. 119). The second step is about identification of the functional domains in which literary canons (literature written in English by Asian writers as a teaching resource for identifying the features of the individual Asian varieties) for ESP could be appropriately chosen, that is “demarcating the domains in which the distinctiveness of a canon is articulated and characterizing the innovations within a linguistic framework” (p.120). Moreover,

the final step is “developing pedagogical and resource materials for the functions identified in the above two steps” (p. 121).

#### 7.4.1 Genetic nativeness and functional nativeness

One principal Kachruvian notion concerning Expanding Circle varieties of English is that of functional nativeness. This, Kachru (2005) argues is different from the genetic acquisition of a language, for example, the acquisition of English through its uses as a home language. The parameters of functional nativeness are the range of a language across a society and its depth into the strata of that society. These two parameters can indicate functions of a language and processes of acculturation in the transplanted language. In order to identify the functional nativeness, Kachru argues that the following features need to be taken into consideration:

- The sociolinguistic status of a variety in its transplanted context;
- The functional domains in which the language is used;
- The creative processes used at various levels to articulate local identities;
- The types of cultural ‘cross-over’ contributing to a new canon; and
- The attitudes-specifying labels used for the variety.

One fact about English in the Asian context is that its users have distinctive features: first, the population of native English users is significantly more than the Inner Circle varieties; second, Indian English has more users in comparison to American and British Englishes; third, English is the primary language for facilitating bilingualism or multilingualism in Asia; fourth, in several regions “such as Singapore and Malaysia, English is becoming the first (dominant) language” (Kachru, 2005, p. 14).

Another fact regarding English as an Asian language is its functions as a form of sociocultural penetration in different levels of society in Asian nations. Due to the sociocultural

penetration of English, an ideology has been formed that inevitably causes controversy. This type of controversy is related to the issues of linguistic and cultural identities, the localization and Westernization, and other types of issues of power and politics. The major sociolinguistics characteristics of the Asian region are:

- English is transplanted in most regions, and it functions not as an indigenous language;
- the characteristics of the diaspora varieties are distinctive in various levels of nativization of English.
- English has been regarded with mystified perceptions in all Asian contexts. (pp. 14-15)

Although the conceptualization of the Expanding Circle varieties is not the initial concern in the Kachruvian paradigm, Kachru nevertheless provides theoretical considerations of illustrating the sociolinguistic realities of English in this context. It is also clear to the readers that Expanding Circle varieties of English are intrinsically and functionally different from Outer Circle varieties; therefore, viewing the Expanding Circle varieties through a Kachruvian lens is of critical importance. However, there have been several cases of interpretations of Kachru's approach to Expanding Circle varieties that have consequently led to controversy and debate. I shall present two cases in order to display the challenge of elucidating its ideas with a contextual understanding that the Kachruvian paradigm is facing in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

## 7.5 Jenkins' concerns with the Three Concentric Circles Model

Despite its major influence, with many scholars including Kachru himself still citing this model as the standard framework in the early twenty-first century, it is not without its problems. Some of these relate to recent changes in the use of English while others relate to any attempt at a three-way categorization of English uses and users. (Jenkins, 2003, p. 17)

The Kachruvian paradigm, over the years, has been a force in illustrating the language situation of English varieties around the world. One of its most iconic visuals is the model of the Three Concentric Circle (see chapters 1 and chapter 4). Also, "a system for classifying varieties



of English [...] intended to capture the nature of the diffusion of English” (Berns, 2019, p. 8). It is essential to point out that the context in which Kachru first introduces this model is at the 50<sup>th</sup>-anniversary celebration of the founding of the British Council in 1984. In Kachru’s (1985a) explanation, published a year later in 1985, each of the three circles represents “types of the spread of English, its patterns of acquisition and the functional domains in which the language is used across cultures and languages” (p. 12). In the interpretation of the model, British linguist and teacher trainer Jennifer Jenkins’ is probably the most widely known as well as one of the more controversial critics of the model. In 2003, Jenkins book *World Englishes: A Resource Book for Teachers*, was published. The book’s emphasis was on the European context. In her critical take on the Three Concentric Circles Model, she stated that it is not tightly relevant to the global spread of English and identified seven concerns related to the model’s loose connection. Characteristically, Kachru (2005) responded to Jenkins’ critique point by point.

Both Jenkins’ criticisms and Kachru’s response to them are carefully presented in Kachru’s (2005) book, *Asian Englishes: Beyond the canon* (pp. 213-220). The following takes Kachru’s lead by stating each of Jenkin’s concerns one by one and then presenting his response in turn.

- Jenkins (2003) first concern:

The model is based on geography and history rather than on the way speakers currently identify with and use English. Yet some English users in the Outer Circle speak it as their first language (occasionally as their *only* language). Meanwhile an increasing number of speakers in the Expanding Circle use English for a very wide range of purposes including social with native speakers, and even more frequently with other non-native speakers from both their own and different L1s, and both in their home country and abroad. (p. 17)

- Kachru’s (2005) response:

The spread of English indeed has a geography and the language did ‘travel’ with the colonizers into regions which had physical realities, with living people, who had names and social cultural and linguistic identities. That there is, as Jenkins seems to interpret it,

a ‘genetic’ implication in terms of characteristics that pass from one generation to another in this context is not clear to me. (p. 213)

- Jenkins (2003) seventh concern:

The term ‘Inner Circle’ implies that speakers from the ENL countries are central to the effort, whereas their worldwide influence is in fact in decline. Note, though, that Kachru did not intend the term ‘Inner’ to be taken to imply any sense of superiority. (p. 18)

- Kachru’s (2005) response:

English has an extended functional range in a variety of social educational, administrative and literary domains. It also has acquired great depth in terms of users at different levels of society. As a result, there is significant variation within such institutionalized varieties. (p. 219)

Jenkins points out that Kachru’s model lacks considerations of the English functions in Expanding Circle contexts due to his emphasis on the institutionalized varieties of English; she also criticizes Kachru’s choice of inner, outer, and expanding to label the circles. To her, these terms indicate a hegemonic order among the English varieties. These critiques are appealing to some readers based on their face validity. However, as Kachru explained, the arguments she uses in these critiques are taken out of context, that is, the publications in which Kachru formulates the Three Concentric Circle model. With a clear understanding of the historical context of the Kachruvian notions, Berns (2019) points out the pointlessness of such concern with the wording of the terminologies:

The basis for this allegation is unclear as the purpose of *inner* with respect to the Concentric Circle Model is the identification of the physical center of the model, both literally and figuratively. Literally, any set of concentric circles, independent of its number of rings, will have one circle at its center... Quibbling with the word choice only distracts from the broader issues that the model was designed to address as well as from my aim to relate Expanding Circle studies’ affirmation of the model’s value as a tool for legitimating performance varieties just as it has for second language varieties. (p. 13)

Jenkins is not alone in nit-picking about the Kachruvian paradigm of world Englishes. Many have attempted to bring their critical takes with their interpretations (e.g., Pennycook, 1994; Seidlhofer, 2001; Mesthrie and Bhatt, 2008). However, as Berns (2019) claims:

Although the gravity of the issues raised varies, I think consideration of each underscores how descriptions and analyses of the features, functions, attitudes, or histories of English in the Expanding Circle demonstrate the durability and viability of the model despite these claims. (p. 13)

Kachru's pointed and detailed response to Jenkins's indicates how troubling to him were her misleading and erroneous claims and statements about the model. He did not make a habit of responding to every published idiosyncratic interpretation of his work (which are numerous), but at times found it imperative that the record is set straight when the distortions were egregious enough. Jenkins book is an example of the challenges the Kachruvian paradigm has faced and continues to face.

## 7.6 The China English movement

Another case exemplifying a terminological controversy regarding what English varieties are named is that associated with the China English movement. This movement is also similar to another challenge that the Kachruvian paradigm faces: how it is being utilized for problematic socio-linguistic agendas. According to Xu (2017), the China English movement can be dated back to the 1970s. However, it has been expanded and developed since then. Substantially, the project grew when Chinese scholars (Ge, 1980; Wang, 1993; Li, 1993;) initiated a proposal of replacing Chinese English, the term that has been commonly used in world Englishes studies and elsewhere but is considered a derogatory term for many Chinese, with China English. This term, they believed, would eliminate the negative connotations associated with Chinese English. The

following table (adapted from Yiyang, 2019) is a summary of the development of this movement.

Table 2: The development of the China English movement.

	Time	Characterization	Description
First period	1980 - 1997	The Enlightenment Period (p. 235)	Ge's (1980) initiation and Wang's (1991) definition instigate the debate over China English.
Second period	1998 - 2001	The Great Leap Forward Period (p. 235)	There is noticeably more interest in researching China English and its definitions.
Third period	Early 2000s	The Renaissance Period (p. 236)	The range of the research into China English is broadened, especially by research examining the incorporation of Chinese culture into ELT.
Fourth period	2010s	The Open Door Period (p. 236)	The world Englishes approach becomes the primary theoretical paradigm for conceptualizing China English.

Although the China English movement claims to be “a reaction to long term linguistic stigmatization brought about by the old terms” (Yiyang, 2019, p. 8), in a close examination, it turns out that:

If the conceptualizations of China English discussed so far represent a movement to establish this term as the best label to represent and symbolize the socio-cultural elements of nativization of English in China, this movement is likely to fail because of five critical flaws. First, it fails to completely and unambiguously differentiate China English from Chinese English; second, it does not identify the actual functional domains in which China English is used; third, it disregards the differences between users and learners of English; fourth, it ignores the variations within Chinese English varieties; and, fifth, it intends to establish this variety under the ideology that views English varieties in a hegemonic order. (Yiyang, 2019, p. 5)

The China English movement is another case of interpreting central Kachruvian notions with a disposition of viewing English varieties and their terminology without a contextualized understanding. It is even more problematic because the movement gradually develops into propaganda that strives to codify the linguistic repertoire of the Chinese English variety, which has been identified as “English with Chinese characteristics.” For researchers of world Englishes working within the Kachruvian paradigm, it has been suggested that, “instead of intensifying and heightening the mistaken interpretations and references of these terms, it would be more constructive to put effort into enhancing the intelligibility of the abstruse terminological conceptualizations” (Yiyang, 2019, p. 10).

## 7.7 Conclusion

In one of his last publications, Kachru (2005) reiterated that “[t]he conceptualization of the term ‘world Englishes’ is within a ‘socially realistic’ approach to language study” (p. 195). This statement captures the essence of the Kachruvian paradigm of world Englishes. In the new millennium and with an emphasis on the Expanding Circle varieties, the Kachruvian paradigm continues to serve as a theoretical framework of understanding English varieties with an apparent prominence in the pragmatics of the English language. Through new talking points, Kachru can bring his decades-long conceptualization and research to a broader readership. Kachru’s contributions “in the first and wider sense [are] profound, challenging the discipline to come to terms with a wide range of issues, descriptive and theoretical, linked to the unprecedented impact of English throughout the world” (Bolton, 2006, p. 260). In order to strengthen the validity of the theoretical foundation of Kachru’s thinking on world Englishes, it is paramount for the Kachruvian paradigm to be viewed through a contextualized understanding especially in this new

age when the Kachruvian notions are being adopted continuously and interpreted in various disciplinary inquiries.

## CHAPTER 8. THE KACHRUVIAN PARADIGM IN THREE ACTS

### 8.1 Introduction

Ballyhough railway station has two clocks which disagree by some six minutes. When one helpful Englishman pointed the fact out to a porter, his reply was ‘Faith, sir, if they was to tell the same time, why would we be having two of them?’ (Joos, 1962, p. 108)

The above quote is from *The Five Clocks: A Linguistic Excursion into the Five Styles of English Usage* by Martin Joos (1962). The book whimsically presents a series of interactions that illustrates five different registers of English use. This book was required reading in the sociolinguistics course taught in the Linguistics Department of the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign during the 1980s when Braj Kachru was the instructor. According to Margie Berns, who was a student in Kachru’s class, he chose the book to illustrate his interest in the sociolinguistic realities of English because Joos’ message aligned with his ideas of a pluralistic view of English through a socially realistic approach.

From the beginning of Kachru’s initial attempt at conceptualizing the notion of Indian English and subsequent efforts to bring it to the current state of multi-disciplinarily of world Englishes studies, the establishment of his paradigm of world Englishes was built upon this core concept of using a socially realistic lens to analyze the plurality of Englishes. Through the developmental account of the Kachruvian paradigm presented in this dissertation, we can see that the evolution of Kachru’s views and, more importantly, the contextual factors that fostered the evolving process in terms of the historical context, were the result of Kachru’s professional development and the collaborative efforts of others. As presented herein, the evolution of the Kachruvian paradigm is seen as having gone through six stages; each stage characterizes a developmental focus with regards to the prominent research and argumentation represented in

Kachru's conceptualization of world Englishes. The following table is a timeline is designed to capture the developmental trajectory of the Kachruvian paradigm:

Table 3: The timeline of the Kachruvian paradigm

Time	The Kachruvian paradigm of world Englishes
1962	The beginning of the Kachruvian paradigm: Kachru's doctoral thesis of descriptive analysis of English in India.
1965-1969	The dispersal stage: Kachru disseminates his notions of Indian English to a broader audience ( <i>Applied Linguistics and Sociolinguistics</i> ).
1970 – 1984 (Part I)	The advocacy of NNE varieties: Kachru, at this stage, champions a socially realistic approach of viewing the NNE varieties with an emphasis on their sociolinguistic realities and the practical implications of understanding these varieties.
1970 – 1984 (Part II)	The institutionalization of the Kachruvian paradigm: Kachru formulates and promotes theoretical frameworks and organizational platforms that are appropriate and inclusive to the studies of English varieties.
1985 – 2000s	The establishment of IAWWE, the intellectual triangle of Braj Kachru, Yamuna Kachru and Larry E. Smith, and the continuation of institutionalization of the Kachruvian paradigm.
2000s	The Kachruvian paradigm in the 21 <sup>st</sup> century with new talking points and reiteration of its key concepts.

## 8.2 The three-act structure for the Kachruvian paradigm

To shape my summary of the development of the Kachruvian paradigm, I adopted the three-act structure commonly used by playwrights and screenwriters. I have chosen this structure because it can bring out the developmental features of the six stages outlined in chapter 1 and articulated in chapters 2-7. The particular characterization of the elements of each act is adopted from David Trottier, well-known screenwriter, author, and educator who has written the widely used guide *The Screenwriter's Bible* (1995), now in its 6<sup>th</sup> edition.

In Trottier's characterization of the three-acts, seven key plot points are seen as critically important in signifying the story development:



## Act One

- The backstory. The backstory is about the setting up of the characters and the context of the story.
- The catalyst. A catalyst is an event that offers momentum to set the story forward and brings the protagonist into a new world.
- The big event. The big event is a plot that ends the first act with a resounding note.

## Act Two

- The midpoint: The midpoint signifies the middle of the story in which the main characters are often experiencing a substantial defeat or victory.
- The crisis: The crisis depicts the significant obstacles that prevent the protagonist from achieving his or her intentionality.

## Act Three

- The showdown. The showdown illustrates the confrontation between the intentionality and the obstacles.
- The realization. The showdown is followed by a realization which serves as the epilogue of the story.

In this final chapter, I shall present the Kachruvian paradigm in this format of three-act structure and their elements as my last attempt of interpreting the Kachruvian paradigm in this project.

### 8.3 Act One: The origin and the intentionality

#### 8.3.1 Backstory: the set-up

The set-up of the Kachruvian paradigm starts with his Ph.D. thesis, which conceptualizes Indian English using the general linguistic approaches common at the University of Edinburgh

where he studied under the supervision of J.R. Firth and M.A.K. Halliday. These two figures were essential players in this critical historical context, one which is so crucial to understanding Kachru's conceptualization of Indian English. First, Kachru's analyses of linguistic features of the Indianness of English uses in India is based on the Firthian approach in general linguistics studies; second, at this time, neither the field of general linguistics nor Kachru, to some extent, recognize the validity of Indian English.

After Kachru initially brings out his conceptualization of Indian English, he begins to disperse his notions through various disciplinary topics that include applied linguistics, bilingualism, and sociolinguistics as well as through his reviews of other scholarly publications. In the process of making his views more widely known, Kachru gradually displays his research in his studies of Indian English to different audiences. Additionally, the dissemination of his perspectives on Indian English takes place under the historical context of a paradigm shift in general linguistics in which the Structuralist approach is replaced by the neo-Firthian approach (see Chapter 3). Therefore, the Firthian influence and the dispersions of Kachruvian notions are central aspects of the backstory of the Kachruvian paradigm.

### 8.3.2 Catalyst (ACT one): the momentum

The catalyst that offers momentum for the paradigm to move forward is Kachru's advocacy for the non-native English varieties. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, the resistance (e.g., Prator) against the advocacy of non-native English varieties prompts Kachru to rectify such misunderstanding by illustrating the pragmatics of "linguistic, attitudinal and functional realism" (Kachru, 1976A, p. 57) for L2 English varieties. His advocacy consequently leads to a proposal for a paradigm-shifting polymodel for English pedagogy as well as theoretical approaches in linguistics studies.

### 8.3.3 Big event (ACT one): the launch of the Three Concentric Circles Model

The big event is the inauguration of the Three Concentric Circles model. Kachru's advocacy paves the way for a significant moment in the paradigm, which is the debut of the model of English varieties (Kachru, 1985a). Simultaneously, Kachru (1985a), in this publication, lays out his arguments for a new theoretical approach to a socially realistic analysis of English varieties. The Kachruvian paradigm at this moment enters the next act.

## 8.4 Act two: The crisis and the big event

### 8.4.1 Midpoint (ACT two): the fruitfulness of the Kachruvian paradigm

The midpoint of the development of the Kachruvian paradigm can be perceived as a series of montages of successful events including the establishment of the International Association of World Englishes (IAWE), the publication of the journal of *World Englishes*, and the success of academic conferences that provided platforms for scholars around the world to gather, enlighten, and inspire. The paradigm reaches the most fruitful stage and continues for the next decades. This accomplishment cannot be separated from its two key contributors, Yamuna Kachru and Larry E. Smith.

### 8.4.2 Crisis: disagreements and critiques

The characterization "crisis" is neither accurate nor appropriate for describing this stage of the development of the Kachruvian paradigm. Therefore, it calls for a more pertinent characterization which in this case would be "disagreements" and "challenges." After world Englishes studies had become a significant voice on conceptualizing English varieties in terms of formulating theoretical approaches of the understanding of English variations, providing practical methods for English teaching practitioners and advancing arguments for ideological attitudes

towards English, many critics targeted the Kachruvian paradigm of world Englishes (see Chapter 7). The Kachruvian paradigm of world Englishes was now facing the challenge of elucidating and defending its notions and positions.

## 8.5 Act three: The clarification and realization

### 8.5.1 Showdown: Kachru's clarification

While “showdown” may also be a bit of an over-dramatic characterization of this developmental stage of the paradigm, Kachru does energetically respond to critiques of the model and his advocacy for a polymodel approach with a careful review of his publications as well as a thoughtful clarification (see chapter 7). These clarifications are relatively exhaustive and forceful. An especially vigorous response is found in *English as an Asian Language* (2005), where Kachru clarifies what he identifies as factual inaccuracies in the work of one of his many vocal critics.

### 8.5.2 Realization: Kachru's reiteration of his notions

The final event of the last act of the development of the paradigm ends with Kachru's final attempt at reiterating which takes place during the early 2000s, (see Kachru, 2005; 2006) his views, concepts, and theoretical framework underlying his notion of world Englishes. Kachru offers an epilogue with a thorough recapitulation of his articulation of world Englishes. In his reiteration of critical principles, he selects the topic of “the second diaspora of English” as a talking point to depict the formal, functional and acquisitional evolutions of Englishes that were first illustrated in the Three Concentric Circles Model. Thus, the Kachruvian paradigm comes full circle in its development.

## 8.6 The significance of this developmental overview

This developmental account of the Kachruvian paradigm offers an overview of the development with a focus on the contextual factors that enhance the understanding of the evolving process of Braj B. Kachru's conceptualization of world Englishes. Additionally, this dissertation also reveals the sophistication of the misleadingly simple constructs and models that are fundamental to what proved to be not only provocative but also radical notions about the nature of English in its various social and cultural contexts.

For instance, the concept of Indian English is the most explicit example of such an evolving process. When Kachru (1962) first introduces this concept to the realm of general linguistics, he did not intend to claim the sociolinguistic and linguistic validity for such a concept due to its initial limited acceptance. Afterward, Kachru did gradually present his formal and functional analyses of the Indianization of English due to the shifting paradigm in general linguistics in which the Firthian approach was favored and the understandings of what the English language was required a new theoretical approach. Later, Kachru's research on Indian English became the foundation for his advocacy of L2 English varieties by providing pragmatic views of English varieties, which consequently developed into the discipline of world Englishes. From the introduction of Indian English to the establishment of world Englishes, the evolution of Kachru's innovative approach and notions became embedded in a conceptualizing development with rich historical and theoretical complexity.

Another illustrative example of the significance of an account of the historical development of what has become the dominant paradigm in world Englishes studies is the notion of the pedagogical implications of world Englishes. Today, in world Englishes studies, pedagogy has become a major research focus. However, through this developmental overview, it becomes evident that it is during the 1980s that the pedagogical implications become a research area in the

Kachruvian paradigm. It begs the question of why such an essential area of focus emerges after two decades of the origin of the Kachruvian paradigm. Through the developmental overview, we can better understand that the pedagogical implications of world Englishes can be conceptualized after the Kachruvian paradigm has formed theoretical approaches for analyzing the formal, functional and ideological aspects of English varieties.

### 8.7 A concluding note

It is an understatement to claim that the field of world Englishes was built upon the Kachruvian notions of English varieties. For this reason, the preceding documentation of the KP of the Kachruvian paradigm is dedicated to Professor Braj B. Kachru, whose work has challenged, stimulated, advanced, and changed the world of English studies for the better. Because he more eloquently captures than I could the monumental significance of Kachru's body of work, I end with a passage from Professor Kachru's obituary written by Professor S. N. Sridhar (2016):

Professor Braj B. Kachru successfully challenged the orthodoxies of the English Studies establishment on both sides of the Atlantic (the British Council, TESOL) which looked upon Indian English and other non-native varieties as erroneous approximations of standard or native speaker English. Through half a century of meticulous scholarship and energetic advocacy, he demonstrated their systematic structure, natural evolution, and functional vigor, earning them respect as vibrant expressions of distinct cultural identities. In the process, he emerged as the world's leading authority on all aspects of the use of English around the world. Today, world Englishes, the field of study he pioneered and dominated, is a burgeoning discipline with a world-wide following. (Sridhar, 2016, p. 489)

## APPENDIX A. OBITURARY OF PROFESSOR BRAJ KACHRU

Linguistics, English, and India Studies have lost one of their most charismatic leaders. Professor Braj B. Kachru successfully challenged the orthodoxies of the English Studies establishment on both sides of the Atlantic (the British Council, TESOL) which looked upon Indian English and other non-native varieties as erroneous approximations of standard or native speaker English. Through half a century of meticulous scholarship and energetic advocacy, he demonstrated their systematic structure, natural evolution, and functional vigor, earning them respect as vibrant expressions of distinct cultural identities. In the process, he emerged as the world's leading authority on all aspects of the use of English around the world. Today, world Englishes, the field of study he pioneered and dominated, is a burgeoning discipline with a world-wide following. Kachru was also a most respected and influential scholar on the languages of India, especially, sociolinguistics and multilingualism. He also wrote a grammar of Kashmiri, and a history Kashmiri literature. He worked closely with many Indian writers and intellectuals, such as Raja Rao.

Braj Behari Kachru was born in Srinagar, Kashmir, India, on May 15, 1932. He was educated at the University of Allahabad, Deccan College, Pune, and the University of Edinburgh. He was Professor of Linguistics, Jubilee Professor of Liberal Arts and Sciences, and Center for Advanced Study Professor at the University of Illinois at Urbana- Champaign. He died on 29 July 2016 at Urbana. He was married to Yamuna Kachru, herself an authority on Hindi grammar and English discourse, honored by the President of India, who passed away in 2013. They have a daughter, Amita, a physician in Santa Rosa, California, and son, Shamit, Professor of Physics at Stanford University, and two granddaughters, Sasha and Ila.

Professor Kachru authored and edited over 25 books and numerous research papers. He was author of *The Indianization of English*, *The alchemy of English*, *Asian Englishes: Beyond the canon*, *A reference grammar of spoken Kashmiri*, *A history of Kashmiri literature*, and co-author of other important works. He edited or co-edited *The other tongue*, *The handbook of world Englishes*, *World Englishes: Critical concepts*, *Asian Englishes*, *Language in South Asia*, *Dimensions of sociolinguistics in South Asia*, *Issues in linguistics, cultures, ideologies, and the dictionary*, among other titles, which have become standard reference works. He was associate editor of the *Oxford companion to the English language* and contributor to the *Cambridge history*

of the English language, and other volumes. *The collected works of Braj B. Kachru* have been published by Bloomsbury, London, in three volumes so far. With Larry E. Smith of the East-West Center, Honolulu he co-founded and edited the journal *World Englishes* (now in its 36th year) and co-founded the professional organization, International Association of World Englishes (IAWE), serving as its President from 1997–99. In all his vast and influential research, publication, advocacy, and institution-building enterprises, he worked closely with his brilliant wife and colleague, Professor Yamuna Kachru. His other major collaborators were Professor Kingsley Bolton of Singapore, as well as many students, who have made their names as distinguished scholars around the world.

Kachru was a gifted administrator. In a distinguished career spanning nearly half a century at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, one of the leading public universities in the U.S., he served as head of three academic units. Under his leadership (1968–79), the Department of Linguistics blossomed into a vibrant, multi-faceted research center, and came to be ranked as the third leading department in the nation. His pluralistic vision ensured that its faculty comprised cutting edge Chomskyan theorists as well as Classical scholars, experts on non-Western languages, Asian and African, and applied linguists. He insisted that linguists should address not only the structural and theoretical aspects of language but also their social and cultural dimensions. He encouraged the study of linguistic theory with its applications to areas, such as, second language teaching, discourse structure, and analysis of literature. He championed the teaching and scientific study of non-Western (Asian and African) languages, and the dynamics of multilingualism. Subsequently, he transformed the Division of English as an International Language from a service unit into an innovative research entity during his time as Director (1985–91). Finally, as Director of the university's prestigious Center for Advanced Study comprising many Nobel laureates, he redefined the center's mission and gave it expanded visibility and influence (1996–2000).

Kachru held many influential offices and received many prestigious honors. He directed the Linguistic Institute of the Linguistic Society of America in 1978; he was Sir Edward Youde Memorial Fund Visiting Professor at Hong Kong University (1998) and a Visiting Professor at National University of Singapore; an Honorary Fellow of English and Foreign Languages University, Hyderabad, and President of the American Association of Applied Linguistics (1984) and the International Association for World Englishes (1997–99). His book, *The alchemy of English: The spread, functions and models of non-native Englishes*, was conferred the English



Speaking Union of the Commonwealth prize for the best book on English. He was a sought after keynote speaker at universities and professional conferences all over the U.S, India, and Asia. Professor Kachru was a larger than life figure who left an indelible impression on everyone he met, from students to luminaries of the field. He was an encyclopedic and meticulous scholar, passionate and inspiring teacher and public speaker, a charismatic and witty raconteur with an outrageous sense of humor, a kind and caring mentor, a warm and supporting colleague, a critical but respectful admirer of tradition, an open-minded integrator of scholarship from every culture, Asian, African, European, and American, an imaginative institution builder, and a confident, fearless, visionary intellectual. At Urbana, he and Yamunaji were an institution. They trained generations of well-rounded linguists. They will be missed by his world-wide extended family of scholars and students.

## APPENDIX B. PHOTOS

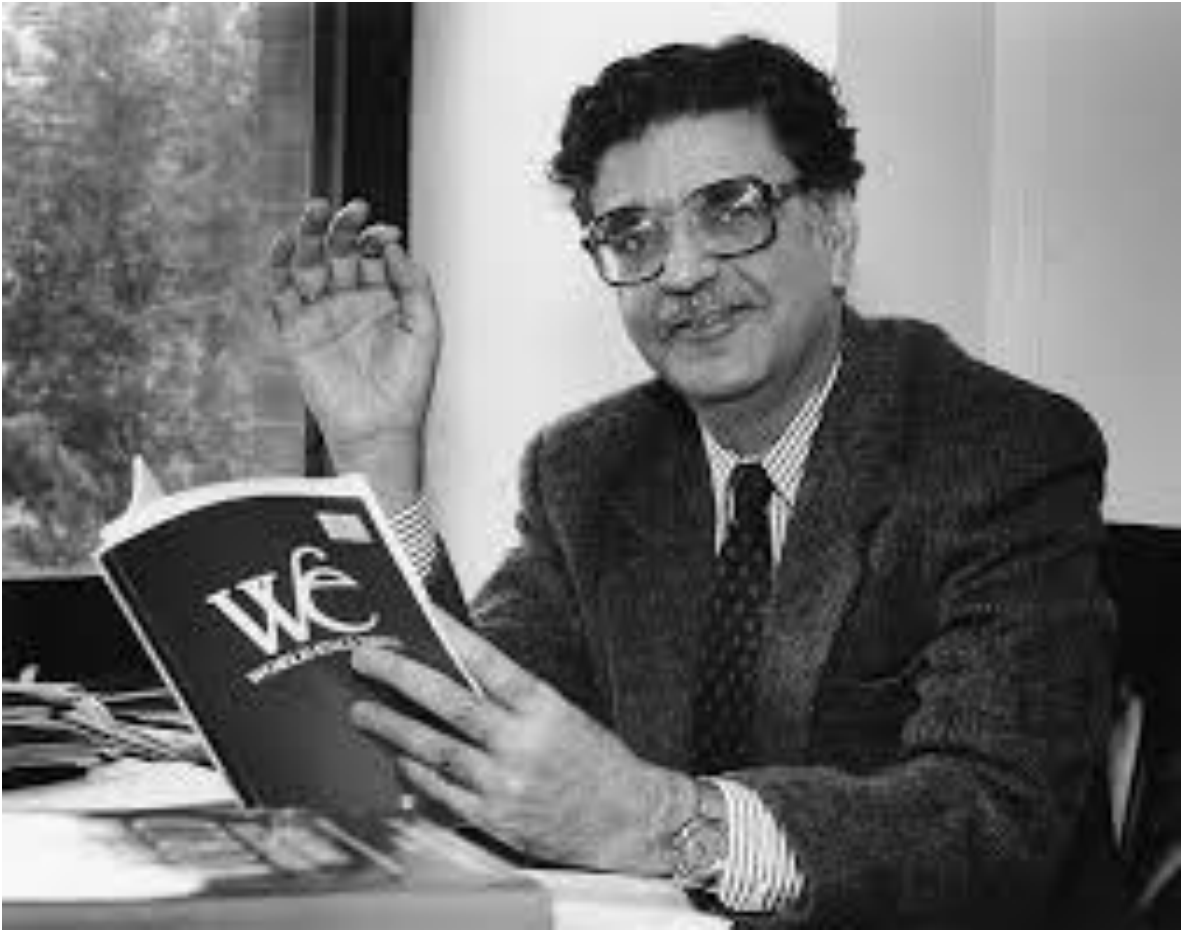


Figure 1 Photo of Braj Kachru



Figure 2 Photo of J.R Firth



Figure 3 Photo of Michael Halliday

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<sup>2</sup> The most updated version of the Braj Kachru's publications.

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