



**Global English, World Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca: Usage of Terms and their Ideological Background**

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**KEYWORDS**

**World Englishes**  
**Global English**  
**English as a Lingua Franca**  
**Hegemony**  
**Ideology**

**ABSTRACT**

This paper aims at describing the usage of and ideological backgrounds behind three terms: Global English (GE), World Englishes (WE), and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). These terms may seem similar or they may even be used interchangeably. In order to analyze the domains of their usages, and find out the underlying ideologies, various studies were reviewed. Each term is described separately along with its ideological background. After that, a synthesis is put forward under the heading of which similarities and differences among the three terms have been noted. The study reveals major ideological differences among GE, WE and ELF. They also exhibit different levels of hegemony too.

## 1. Introduction

World has never known a language so mighty, so powerful, so influential and so widespread as English (Baugh & Cable, 1993; Pennycook, 2020). Even Latin cannot be compared with English. But when a language spreads on an unforeseen scale, it is bound to go through various changes. English has always been going through variation and change. However, in the previous seven to eight decades, it has spread and changed on a rapid scale and has taken many shapes (Crystal, 2003). The phenomena like colonialism, globalization and glocalization have resulted in the divergence of English. In the same decades, the field of linguistics has emerged and evolved. In the wake of this, the changes and spread of English have been extensively studied (Sadiqi, 1991; Truchot, 1994; Feng, 2012; Low & Ao, 2018; et.). In those studies, the divergence and changes have been named with different titles which seem overlapping and similar to a beginner in the field of linguistics but in reality, there are various differences among them at the level of ideology and their usage. For this paper, three terms were selected by the researcher to discuss their domains of use and their ideological backgrounds: Global English (GE), World Englishes (WE), and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). Since their terms give the impression of being global or worldwide, researchers' colleagues, students, and peers use these terms interchangeably which necessitates an analysis that may distinguish these terms based on their usage and underpinning ideologies. A study of similar fashion was carried out by McArthur (2004) to draw the parallels and differences among the usage and history of three terms: world English, international English and global English. He says that though all three terms refer to the same language but their history and usage are different. The term World English has been in use since the 1920s and refers to all of the English language and its standard version; International English has been used since the 1930s and refers to the use of English across various nations' and finally, Global English has been used since 1990s and refers to the link between globalized socioeconomic conditions and the international use of English language.

### 1.1 Global English

#### 1.1.1 The Use of Term

According to McArthur (2004), the term Global English (GE) came into use in the 1990s after the disintegration of the former Soviet Union and America becoming solely the only global power. This term came into use simultaneously with the spread of globalization.

Similarly, Pan and Block (2011) have opined that from the mid-twentieth century to the late 80's, the term GE was vague, but it came into use extensively after the publication of the book "English as a Global Language" in 1997 by David Crystal. The book discussed through empirical data the status of English in the world, its use on the internet and various domains of communication, and the possibility of English becoming a global language and a global lingua franca. Crystal (1998, 2006, cited in Gil 2011 p.53) gives a definition of a global language that it should fulfil three criteria: "it is the native language of the majority of people in some countries; it has been widely adopted as an official language; and it is a priority in foreign language teaching around the world". English successfully fulfils these criteria. Gil (2011) however says that there is a danger from China i.e. Chinese might compete with English to being a global language in near future. Crystal has also provided a number of speakers of English internationally. But Melitz (2016) calls the numbers discrepant on the basis that the list provided by Crystal does not include countries like Germany, Netherlands and Scandinavian countries. Nonetheless, for the sake of

convenience let us take the statistics given by Crystal as the base for further discussion in this section. Galloway and Rose (2015) have also used the term Global English from the perspective of the spread and use of English in various facets of global use such as communication, education, business, etc.

### **1.1.2 Ideological Background**

However, the notion of global English is also associated with its spread around the globe (Melitz, 2016). The English Effect report published by British Council in 2013 has a section on the spread of English under the heading of ‘Global Language’. In this section, English has been called a global and international language simultaneously and has been defined from the perspective of its usage in domains like the internet, research, education etc. throughout the world. It further says that there are over 1.75 billion speakers of English globally.

Nunan (2003) however takes it a step further and says despite these three criteria it is difficult to estimate and quantify the use of English in everyday use. But there are some indicators which can guide us. They are listed in Graddol’s (1997, p.8) Future of English as the working language of international organizations, scientific publications, banking, advertising, entertainment, tourism, tertiary education, international safety, international law, the language of translation, technology and internet communication. Fishman (1996) shares the same notion and takes English as a language as dominant in the aforementioned domains.

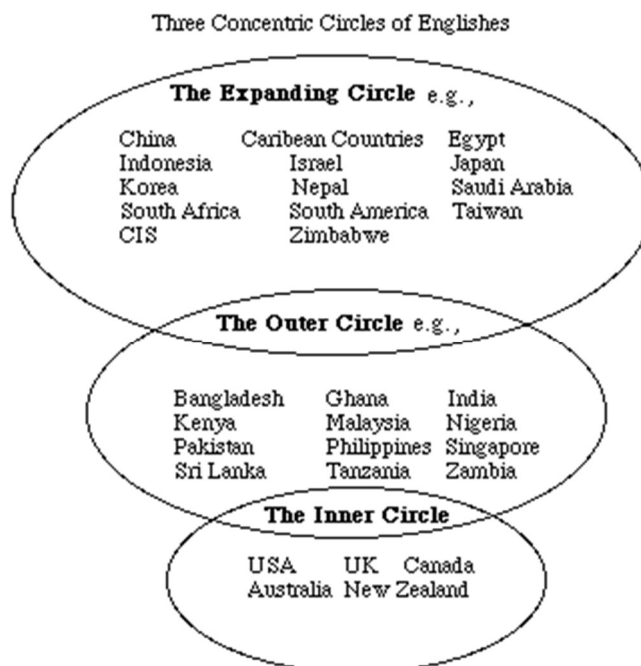
Canagarajah (2007) however, connects it with the post national scenario of the world saying that global English is now a transnational entity which has come out of the bounds of Anglo-American domains but it is not a neutral language yet. For him, global English exhibits the same transnational traits as global consumerism. Just as due to global consumerism local businesses are suffering, in the same manner, through global English, local languages are suffering.

Pan and Block (2011) have described the discourses on English as a Global Language from two perspectives. One perspective is based on De Swann’s (2001, cited in Pan and Block 2011, p. 393) world linguistic system theory. This theory basically sees English at the centre of global communication and the sole language of the globe. Other languages are shown surrounding it at different tier levels. A similar notion is expressed by Crystal (1997) and Graddol (1997), and Gil (2010, 2011) though all of them currently are sure about the global dominance of the English language but are doubtful about its future. However, Phillipson (2001) rejects any such idea and believes that global English is a myth. It is portrayed as if the entire globe speaks English but there are millions of people out there who do not know it in any capacity. The aim is the global marketing of it and depicting it as a language of success and uplift.

## **1.2 World Englishes**

### **1.2.1 Use of the term**

The concept of World Englishes was introduced in the late 1970’s. It was introduced in the ground-breaking idea of Kachru (1985) in the shape of three circles. Kachru divided various ‘World Englishes’ into three sections or circles: the inner circle consisted of those countries where English is a native language, the outer circle consists of those countries which were once colonies and where English has the status of official and second language, and the expanding circle consists of the countries where English has no internal function but serves as a foreign language.



**Figure 1 . Braj Kachru's (1985) Three Concentric Circles of Englishes**

Jenkins (2006) uses the concept of World Englishes in the same manner as Kachru (1985) which mainly focuses on the outer circle countries. She further notes that it was only after the great debate between Quirk and Kachru that the term WE became famous and further work started to be done on the subject. Bolton (2004, p. 367; cited in Jenkins, 2006, p. 159) says that three meanings can be inferred from the term WE: (1) all the varieties of English around the globe and various ways to analyze them all, (2) the new Englishes as presented in the outer circle of Kachru's model, and (3) this is overlapping with the second use, it refers to the pluricentric of the Kachruvian model and study of it by Kachru and his colleagues. Galloway and Rose (2015) use this term to refer to the codification and identification of new varieties of English. Schneider (2003) calls WE a result of different forms of colonialism because these forms of English have mostly developed in regions which were once a British colonies. Saraceni (2008) calls WE a middle ground between English as Native Language (ENL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) since it shows tendencies towards both.

### 1.2.2 Ideological Background

Apparently, the World Englishes paradigm is an antithesis of standard English ideology. It is a sharing of ownership over English language norms between native and non-native speakers. Many models have been presented to show the spread of the English language to various parts of the world. Most of these models were presented with the intention to show the spread of English, but underlying all of them is the attitude which accepts "New" Englishes. Examples of such models are Kachru's (1992) three circles, and McArthur's (1987) Circle of World English. Various models have also been presented that set criteria for the acceptance of new varieties as "New" Englishes. For example Butler (1997) five criteria for an emerging "New" English i.e. a distinct and established phonology, its peculiar vocabulary and indigenous word bank, history in relation to moulding that variety of English, a sizeable unapologetic literature, and reference works such as dictionaries etc.

Due to the historical global hegemony of English-speaking countries, and due to native-centric ELT practices, non-native speakers of English model their English language production with Received Pronunciation (RP), General American or other native varieties (Tajeddin, Alemi, & Pashmforoosh, 2018). According to the WE paradigm, the people from outer circle countries have moulded English to such a linguistic (phonemic, lexical, morphological, syntactic, grammatical, pragmatic) and social level that they can make it their own standard. It has wider implications for ELT and teacher-hiring practices. For example, according to Galloway and Rose (2015), Japan hires only native speakers of English as ELT practitioners and most of them come from America. Native-speaker is seen as the yardstick of competence. Quirk/Kachru debate is very relevant here. Quirk (1990) supporting the NS norms, presents doubts in considering New Englishes as viable models for ELT practice. He considered new varieties as flawed and away from standard English. However, in response to his arguments, Kachru (1991) criticized Quirk's non-sociolinguistic approach and pronounced new Englishes as legitimate varieties and feasible and suitable models for ELT. Saraceni (2008, p.22) calls this debate an ideological conflict between 'conservatism and liberalism.'

World Englishes is a drift away from such NS-centric norms. In the WE paradigm, deviations from NS norms are not seen as mistakes or errors. They are systematic deviations, and new emergent features of New Englishes, Now, the only yardstick is not the native speaker but the ownership shared by NS and NNS. Widdowson (1994) supported this idea and debated in detail about the ownership of the English language. He takes away the authority and ownership of native speakers and gives it to everyone who uses it. Saraceni (2008) believes that World Englishes school talks more about ideology and that too at the expense of practical matters. Moreover, he also believes that WE focus more on Outer circle countries than on Expanding circle ones. World Englishes paradigm according to Pennycook (2007) is still stuck in the national boundaries of the world. Despite its revolutionary outlook, the WE paradigm is traditional nationalistic in its essence.

### **1.3 English as Lingua Franca**

#### **1.3.1 Use of Term**

Jenkins (2012) opines that ELF is quite a recent phenomenon and it did not exist even till mid-twentieth century however research in this domain dates back only to the last decade of twentieth century (Galloway and Rose, 2015). She defines the terms as a means of communication among people having different first languages. Seidlhofer (2005) describes it as a contact language or a means of communication between non-native speakers of English most of the times. But she, of course, does not exclude the native speakers from the process. She also differentiates it from other terms like global English, World English, English as an International Language etc. by saying that when English is used as a means of communication by people having various first languages and various linguistic and cultural backgrounds then the terms used for such communication is ELF. Using Kachru's concentric circles, Kuo (2006) describes ELF as 'English for expanding circle'. The focus is again not on native speakers but the non-native speakers. Kachru's expanding circle includes countries where English is a foreign language and is not necessarily an official language. Considerably similar explanation of ELF has been presented by Kohn (2011) who states that it is the use of English in 'multilingual and multicultural contexts' by more non-native speakers than native speakers. Non-native speakers have changed it from EFL to ELF by bringing variation in the function of language from learning it to using it for interaction purposes. However, it would be an insufficient description of the term if limited to only expanding circle. It is used

widely across all circles. Just because it emerged from the non-native use of the language and in contrast with the EFL paradigm does not mean that we limit it to only one domain. This confusion might be the result of the definition of the term *lingua franca*. ELF, as Galloway and Rose (2015) define it, is a fluid English which keeps on getting various shapes and patterns. Speakers of various L1 come together and through accommodation and negotiation of meaning create ad hoc varieties of English which is not fixed and which is mutually intelligible to both the interlocutors.

### 1.3.2 Ideological Background

Phillipson (1992) calls ELF a process through which English-speaking countries are expanding their political and economic motives to other nations of the world. However, to others like Saraceni (2008), Kohn (2011) and Widdowson (1994) it is a shift of authority over language from native speakers to non-native speakers. Saraceni (2008) calls ELF liberal because it includes, for authority and use, all the speakers instead of only NS. Widdowson (1994) referring to the growing number of NNS argues that the authority over the language should now be given to every user and not to some entitled NS since the latter are not the only and predominant users of the language. Reflecting on both Jenkins and Seidlehofer, Saraceni (2008, p.25) concludes that “Three readings of ELF are therefore possible: (1) ELF refers to the function of English as used among non-native speakers as a shared common language; ELF communication does not have to exclude native speakers. (2) ELF refers to local varieties of English emerging in Expanding-Circle settings, such as China, Japan, Europe, Latin America, etc. (3) ELF refers to a variety of English, with its own phonological and lexico-grammatical features, stemming out of the types interactions involving primarily non-native speakers.

Jenkins (2000) calls it a variety that is used across the inner, outer and expanding circles. The discussion and viewpoints presented point to one common assumption, and Saraceni (2008) has put it well, ELF is just a function and not an established code yet. As far as ideology is concerned, it is a resistance against purism and the authority of NS over English. How far this authority has been moved away from the NS and near to NSS is yet to be determined but one thing is certain it is no longer with the former wholly and solely. As Galloway and Rose (2015, p.142) have asserted that there is a difference between EFL and ELF and that is of making the native speaker the ‘reference point’, in the former it is, but not in the later. They have further called ELF a ‘fluid’ and not a fixed code rather it is ‘flexible’ and ‘transient’ in nature which keeps changing from context to context and is not bound by national or geographic boundaries. In contrast with EFL, where speakers are referred to as learners, in the ELF paradigm, they are referred to as users. This is a major ideological distinction. In the former, speakers do not have ownership over the language, in the later, they do.

**Table 1 A Brief Summary of the Use of Terms and their Ideological Background**

Approach	Ideological Background	Common Attributes	Supporting Studies	Criticism	First came in use
Global English (GE)	*Globalization, *Native Speaker Centric, *Carrying Colonial Legacy	*Global language, *Common lingua franca globally; *English is the language of various global enterprises and means of communication	*McArthur (2004) *Crystal (2003) *Graddol (1997)	* Difficult to ascertain the everyday use of English and hence decide it is global. * GE is a myth	1990s
World Englishes (WE)	*Post-Colonialism, *Pluricentric,	*Shared ownership of English by countries that were once an English colony; *Despite shared ownership native speaker is seen as the yardstick of competence, *Result of different forms of colonialism	*Kachru (1985) *Butler (1997) *Widdowson (1994)	*This school of thought talks about ideology at the cost of practical issues	1970s
English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)	*Liberal; *Fluid, *Non-Native Speaker Centric	*Contact language *Means of communication between non-native speakers *Flexible, *Accommodative	*Seidlhofer (2005) *Kuo (2006) *Saraceni (2008)	*The ownership is shared but due to its fluidity, it's often difficult to locate geographically	1990s

## 2. Methodology

This is a qualitative study which uses the Research Synthesis methodology taking published literature or secondary data as its resource. This methodology is also sometimes termed a systematic literature review or research review. Hedges & Cooper (2009), while writing extensively about this methodology, claim that it is used to create generalizations from the body of published literature on a certain theme or topic. Indeed, the researcher found this methodology most useful for his current study. Besides, McArthur (2004) and Rajagopalan (2012) have carried out similar studies on the themes relevant to the focus of the current study.

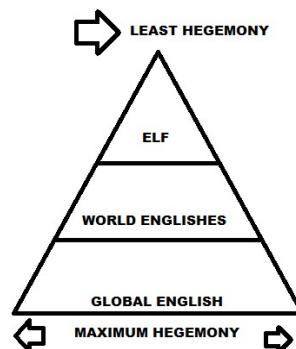
### 3. Synthesis: Results and Discussion

#### Similarities

- A parallel in all three paradigms is that they are all used for the spread of English albeit through different channels.
- All three paradigms directly or indirectly provide a model for English Language Teaching (ELT).
- They all point to the fact that ENL norms are not static. Also, ENL countries are not the only norm providers anymore as proposed by Kachru (1985).
- All three paradigms point to the fact that English is going through an unprecedented change but at various times, conditions and places. GE saw its spread after globalization and mass technological development, WE after an era of colonialism and ELF first spreading to expanding circle after globalization and then going across all three circles.

#### Differences

- Global English and ELF have a parallel i.e. both are an outcome of globalization and are quite recent. World Englishes, however, have their roots in the colonial past.
- GE is convergent, WE is divergent and ELF is fluid in nature.
- With a mild exception of GE, WE and ELF paradigms are a break-out and a shift from the Standard English ideology. They are more flexible and resistant models along with being liberating, progressive and emancipating in their nature. However, GE is still hegemonic and seems native-language-centric in its essence. It is still focused on the worldwide dominance of English. However, Phillipson (2008) notes ELF model is culturally and ideologically loaded rather than neutral.
- Whereas, WE and ELF take on the connotations and essence of being pluricentric and pluralist paradigms, the GE paradigm has an impression of being monist. Though apparently, it does not look like GE is a single variety it has embedded in itself, an impression that English is a unified, widespread variety.
- The researcher proposes after reviewing the three paradigms the following “Three-Tier Hegemonic Model” to demonstrate the whole discussion that has been done hitherto. Ideologically, the three concepts stand on different levels of hegemony. It is demonstrated in the following figure:



**Figure 2: Three-Tier Hegemonic Model**



Phillipson (2008) presenting a critique on hegemonic essence of Global Englishes notes that the picture of GE is sketched in such a way as if the entire world had only one language. It is presented as the soul language of the world which is spoken by all, however, millions around the globe cannot speak English. Cannagarajah (2007) has also called the GE paradigm as one of the hegemonic tools of the Anglo-American global consumerism drive.

WE paradigm is seen as a progressive and liberating shift away from standard English ideology. It is also a shift of the ownership away from the native speaker to non-native speakers, and to the recognition of Englishes spoken in outer and expanding circles as distinct varieties. But despite its apparent inclusive nature, criticizing the Kachruvian model, Pennycook (2007) calls it exclusionary as it makes new standards based on nationalities (e.g. Indian English, Indonesian English, Pakistani English etc.) still barring the English language from being transnational and transcultural. Along with that, by creating new monolithic varieties ('New' Englishes), it does not reject the old monolithic varieties (native varieties). This paradigm is an extension of what it aimed to destroy. Additionally, NS countries are seen as norm-providers, still giving them the central authority of setting standards, however giving away some authority to NNS countries by calling them norm developers. The same is repeated in other models of World Englishes such as Strevens' (1980), McArthur's (1987), Jenkins' (2009), etc. Only in the models like Modiano's (1999a, 1999b), the centrality has been given to the proficient user of the language regardless of ethnic and linguistic belonging.

ELF paradigm is the least hegemonic of all in the sense that it is more embracing and accepting towards the various L1 and cultures. It disseminates much of its authority over English to its users (Seidlhofer, 2006; House, 2012; Galloway and Rose, 2015). However, despite its openness to cultures and languages, its fluidity, flexibility and geographically free dynamics, it is still criticized for not being neutral culturally and ideologically (Phillipson, 2008). But, it is at least clear that in our model of hegemony, the ELF paradigm stands at the least hegemonic level.

#### **4. Conclusion**

The three concepts discussed in this paper may seem overlapping and similar to an untrained eye but underlying them are major differences and varying ideological backgrounds. GE is used mainly to statistically define the spread of English around the globe through technological means, modern forms of communication, international trade and commerce, and so on. Ideologically, the proponents of GE believe it to be a unified and singular variety of English dominant on the globe in near future. They have a convergent approach towards GE. WE paradigm is pluricentric and liberating in nature. It endeavors to codify and recognize various varieties of English as separate and independent entities albeit under certain conditions which need to be fulfilled. It is in this sense a divergent approach. ELF paradigm is fluid, transcultural and transnational in its nature. It gives authority of meaning-making and pattern-formation to its users. The norms manipulated are ad hoc, dynamic and situation-based. Through accommodation and negotiation, ELF users achieve their communicative goals. ELF belongs to all its users in the sense of ownership. It is necessary to understand the differences among these terms and the ideologies at work behind them. Researchers may inadvertently and complacently use any of them might imply meanings they never wanted to convey. As McArthur (2004) says these terms should be approached with care. The research through this paper tried to convey the same.

#### **4.1 Implications**

This study shows that the terms commonly used to describe various types of Englishes are not without ideological load. It shows that curriculum designers, content creators, researchers, and other related stakeholders should seek caution before using any term. Secondly, this synthesis reached in this study exhibits a trend towards a shift of ownership of the English language from native to non-native speakers, hence it is high time our ELT practitioners, students, researchers and curriculum planners realized the need to document the features of Pakistani English and started assessing English produced by Pakistani students from the perspective of local documented variety rather than a native variety.

#### **4.2 Limitations**

The current study was focused on three terms only, however, there are more parallel terms used in the field which ought to be studied and compared. Secondly, this study should have used more extensive literature which could clearly have intensified the understanding of the three terms in question and their relation to each other.

#### **4.3 Directions for Future Research**

A meta-review can be carried out in this direction. This will better our understanding of not only the terms analyzed in this study but other related terms as well. Researchers may also investigate the use of such terms in the field of corpus linguistics. A corpus of published research can be developed and then the frequency, concurrence, and other analyses can be run on that collected corpora.

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