# A uniformitarian approach to the Kachruvian concentric model of World Englishes

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Traditionally, the Kachruvian concentric tripartite conception of World Englishes presupposes the following:

- The evolution of the Inner Circle varieties has been driven primarily by internally motivated changes, with contact accounting especially for exceptions to rules;
- The evolution of the Outer and Expanding Circles' varieties has been externally driven and heavily influenced by the substrate languages of their users;
- The Outer Circle's varieties are more focused than their Expanding Circle's counterparts because they function as intra-national lingua francas for their users, especially as official languages, whereas their counterparts in the Expanding Circle are used especially for communication with extra-national interlocutors; and
- The Inner Circle's varieties are the outcomes of normal and default language transmission, whereas the Outer and Expanding Circles' varieties are the outcomes of transmission through school and very few of their speakers use them as vernaculars.

Although Kachru (2017) uses the term *World Englishes* in an inclusive way that applies to all three circles, a question that has not been addressed, is whether the restructuring mechanisms that account for the emergence of the Outer and Expanding Circles' varieties are qualitatively different from those that produced the Inner Circle's varieties. Aren't the latter also outcomes of (population movements and) language contact? Hasn't their emergence been externally motivated too? Don't they also reflect substrate and adstrate influence from the alloglots that shifted languages in favor of English? What are the ecological factors that account for variation among the Inner Circle's varieties and for their presumably less extensive divergences from British English(es)? By the way, how static have British English varieties been? I plan to address these questions and more, arguing that from an evolutionary perspective all World Englishes evolved according to the same algebraic-style equation of change, subject to differing values of the variables under varying local ecological factors.