CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim of the research

The spread of English around the world and the multiplicity of functions it performs have given rise to numerous varieties of the language. The development of new varieties of English is intimately connected with social and cultural factors.

In India there are several varieties of English, because India is a multi lingual pluri cultural country. Yet there emerges one uniform variety, devoid of regionalism. This variety can be called the Educated Indian English or EIE, because it is learned and used by a large number of educated Indians. As the name suggests, it is education that disseminates this variety. In the absence of a native teacher model, students are exposed to this variety by their own local teacher models. And it is this variety that has permeated itself to the society, with of course slight changes in usage over a period of years.

EIE has national currency and intelligibility, and provides a standard for the media, education and pan-indian communication. It is therefore a variety in its own right, spoken by the Indians who
share certain marked grammatical and socio cultural features. Though more and more of this variety is being generated by the users through education and the media - newspapers, journals, magazines, radio and the television - a detailed description of this variety is not available. According to Mc Arthur (1998), the length of time that English has been in India, its importance and its range, necessitate an adequate discussion of the place of English in Indian life, and a description of this variety in its sociolinguistic context.

The research study therefore attempts to describe the variety in the sociolinguistic context of India. To be precise, the study describes the communicative competence of the EIE users from the Hymesian perspective (1970). The study also takes into account the new model of communicative competence, as offered by Canale and Swain (1983 ). In the light of this work, the research describes the communicative competence of the EIE users with respect to their linguistic, strategic, sociolinguistic and discourse competence.

As an institutionalized second language variety in India, EIE has a large range of functions to realize, both at the national and the global level. While the variety is required to establish linguistic uniformity among its multilingual users at the national level, it also needs to achieve communication intelligibility among international
audience. English is a global language and therefore it is important for people around the world and also in India to be effective communicators in English. However, there are communication problems that are faced by these users among EIE users themselves on the one hand, and with the non-EIE and native users of English, on the other. The research work therefore attempts to identify the communication problems that this variety poses. While some problems delay communication by creating a temporary confusion to the listener/reader, some others distort communication totally. The work not only identifies the communication lapses of these users, but also investigates into the reason.

Besides identifying the communication problems and studying the reasons behind them, the work also attempts to help these users overcome their problems by suggesting suitable pedagogical approaches. Since this variety is formally learnt through education, the research work suggests suitable teaching programme to enable these users overcome their communication problems and make themselves intelligible to a larger audience. This can be done by offering a two-fold teaching programme - that of remedying and that of refining.
- Areas in EIE which create communication problem even among the EIE users need immediate attention and therefore require **remedying**.

- Areas in EIE that create no communication problem for EIE users, but which distort/delay communication by creating a temporary confusion to non-EIE and native users of English, need **refining**.

The study suggests that a training programme aimed at remedying and refining the communicative competence of EIE users both at the national and the global levels, is the need of ELT in India.
1.2 English as a global language

A global language is one that develops a special role that is recognized by both its native and non-native users. Among non-native users it is made the second language to fulfill certain institutional functions, and is given a priority in a country's foreign-language teaching. The reason for giving a language this three-pronged importance - as first language, official-language, and foreign language - could be historical tradition, political expediency, and the desire for commercial, cultural or technological contact. Any language at the centre of such an explosion of international activity would have a global status. And English has achieved this status.

The spread of English around the globe, and the increase in the number of its users, have been striking examples of language expansion in history. The present day world status of English is primarily the result of two factors: the expansion of British colonial power, and the emergence of the United States (with 70 percent of all English mother-tongue speakers in the world) as the leading economic power of the twentieth century.

From a socio economic perspective, many developing countries use English for considerations of modernization and technology, because English provides a window on the world of science and technology. With the recent revolution in Information Technology and
Telecommunication, English is predominantly used in the international media. The development of space science and computing technology rely on English and 85 percent of the computers store and use information only in English. It is only English which provides the vital communicative link for e-business and e-commerce. Today, the use of English is determined by an individual's education, occupation, professional pursuits or hobby. Furthermore, English has acquired this status of an international auxiliary link language, because it is used as a second or foreign language by a significant proportion of the world's population. English is now the most common language of communication of non-native users to communicate with people speaking in a language other than their own. The Germans, the French, the Russians, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Indians, to mention a few, can all understand English. It is interesting to note that while 350 million are native speakers of English, the non-native speakers are roughly estimated at 700 to 750 million (Kachru 1996:28). Hence the diffusion of English seems to be initiated and controlled by the non-native users to such an extent that Kachru (1982) calls it their "other tongue". It follows from this that English is now significantly fostered by non-native users. Another reason for the popularity of English is the innate generative capacity of the language that enables it to accommodate many
changes through various processes of simplification, functional shifts and morphological use of affixes.

The variety of people using English and the range of purposes for which it is used, naturally give rise to a growth of indigenous non-native varieties of English.

1.3 English in India

Among the non-native varieties, "Indian English is emerging as a fully developed social dialect with favourable connotations in the group and as a distinctive trait of ethnic pride in contact with outsiders." (Bailey and Gorlach 1985:218). This is because an estimated 50 million people in India (roughly 4 percent of the world population) regularly use English, making India the third largest English-speaking country in the world. (Mc Arthur 1998: 290). The English-knowing population is distributed in practically every state of India. English newspapers are published in 27 of the 29 Indian states or union territories, and they command nearly 23 percent of the circulation in terms of the total reading public. The number of books published in English in India is more than in any other Indian language. English continues to be the language Law, the Parliament and education. It is the medium for All India competitive examinations for senior administrative, engineering and foreign service positions. In many cities in India, we find Indians interacting
among themselves in English, or perhaps frequently switching their codes from the regional languages to English. The popularity of English among Indians is evident not only in academics, technological, commercial and administrative sectors, but also in mass media, tourism and entertainment.

Kachru (1992) mentions four major functions of English in India.

- instrumental
- regulative
- interpersonal
- innovative

As the medium of instruction at various stages of education, English performs an instrumental function. It is one of the languages of the three language formula proposed in the 1960s for educational purposes namely, state language, Hindi and English. Out of the 67 languages taught in Indian schools, English is the only language taught at every level and in every state. It is again the only medium of teaching and learning at All-India level institutes providing in/service and/or pre/service training e.g. Military Academics, many institutes under the Indian Council of Medical Research, Council of Educational Research and Training, several staff training institutions run by industrial and business houses, banks, railways, airlines,
finance corporations and so on. English continues to be the only medium of all-India level seminars, symposia and academic discussions. Until recently, English alone was the medium of competitive examinations conducted by the UPSC and state service commissions. All competitive examinations conducted by business and industry have only English as the medium of written examination and interview.

The regulative function refers to the use of English as the language of the legal system and pan-Indian administration. English is the associate official language of India, the state language of Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Tripura, and the official language of eight Union territories - the Andaman and Nicobar islands, Arunachal Pradesh, Chandigarh, Dadrand Nagar Haveli, Delhi, Lakshadwip, Mizoram, and Pondicherry Both the national business and the media use English as an effective means of communication. To the linguistically and culturally diverse groups in India, the role of English is to provide a unified means of interpersonal communication, aiding regional and national mobility.

The innovative function of English in India is realized in the creative writing that is done in the language. There are a number of Indian poets, novelists, essayists and short story writers of English. The National Academy of Letters/Sahitya Academy recognizes Indian
English literature as national literature, and even gives awards to outstanding literature in English by Indian writers. This popularity of English among the Indians is evident from their transactions in academic, technological, commercial and administrative sectors and also in mass media, literature and entertainment.

Crystal (1997:133) rightly predicts: "There must now be nearly 50 million people in India who are competent in English. If current English-language learning trends continue (and with satellite television and other sources of English increasingly available, it looks as if they will increase), within the next generation there will be more speakers of English in India than there will be in Britain, considering the population growth rate in Britain which is only 0.4 percent and that of India with a population growth of 1.9 percent."

1.4 Language Variety

The term 'variety' is used in sociolinguistics to refer to a distinct form of a language. It is generally used to refer to "different manifestations" of the same language differing from one another in the linguistic items that are included. Language variation is a normal and pervasive feature of all languages. It occurs within particular geographical, socio economic and cultural groups, depending on the topic being discussed, the purpose for which the
language is being used and the characteristics of the speakers. All varieties of a language are structured and rule-governed, adequate for handling different kinds and levels of social relationships - by whom, and when these linguistic items are used.

Language variation may emerge in any or all aspects of language levels: lexis, phonology, syntax, or general communication patterns of language.

Varieties fall into two types:

- User related varieties associated with particular people and often places, such as Black English, Canadian English and so on. Such varieties are called "dialects", and these variations are generally realized in phonology.

- Use related varieties associated with functions that are called "registers".

According to Hudson (1980:49) "one's dialect shows who or what you are, while one's register shows what you are doing".

Both the users and uses of English can be characterized in terms of variation in region, society, style and medium. While regional variation is defined in terms of such characteristics as phonological, grammatical and lexical features, social variation represents differences of ethnicity, class and caste. At one end of the social
scale is the local dialect, and at the other end is the standard language, with variations in grammar, vocabulary and accent. Stylistic variation is defined in terms of situation and participants (formal vs. informal), and the functions for which the variety is used.

However remote a variety may be, a common core, by way of grammatical characteristics, dominates all the varieties of a language. Linguistically language varieties are equal and each variety is a complex system and adequate to express the ideas and feelings of the community that uses it. One of the most important functions of language variation is to enable individuals to establish their social identity. In monolingual communities a major way of marking factors such as solidarity, distance, intimacy and formality is to switch from one language variety to another. Though all languages have the potential to fulfill a range of functions, they have evolved differently through processes of variation, adaptation and selection in different socio-cultural, economic environments.

Language variety also brings out the distinctive feature of ethnicity in immigrant groups by their foreign accent that characterizes their use of the main language. Varieties in language become inevitable in modern society when there is interaction between people from different racial, regional, cultural, social or occupational backgrounds.
and when people have become more mobile and have come into contact with diverse forms of linguistic behaviour.

Of the two kinds of variation in language, that of dialect expresses the diversity of social structure, that of register expresses the diversity of social processes.

1.4.1 Dialects

Dialect is an identifiable regional or social variety of language with a systematic combination of grammatical and lexical features, applicable to all languages and to all speakers. Dialects emerge because they give identity to the groups which own them. As dialects reflect the regional and social background of their speakers, they can be broadly classified into regional dialects and social dialects. Dialect is much more specific than language in conveying geographical information about its speakers, because it has certain marked linguistic features typical of the geographical origins of the speakers. Hence, it is possible to define a particular regional dialect by referring to a small number of characteristic features that appear to be constant throughout a particular region. Sometimes, lack of communication between regions causes the dialects to become so distinct as to make them appear more like different languages.
Dialect identification these days has become difficult, also because of increased social mobility. As towns and cities grow, 'mixed' dialects are the norm. There is much more exposure to a wide range of dialects that influence the speech of listeners or viewers, through radio and television. Dialects also signify the social class to which the speaker belongs. Everyone whether belonging to upper or lower class, speaks a dialect - standard, or non-standard. Though in terms of linguistic structure no dialect is superior, from a social point of view some are considered prestigious. Particularly in the urban context, social class differences seem to be of great importance giving rise to dialectal variation. The uneducated class uses the regional dialect, while the educated uses a standard variety that cuts across dialectal boundaries. The prestige of this educated variety lies in its use in the press, the law court, the government, and in fact by any institution that addresses itself to causes beyond the dialectal limits. Differences among dialects are not uniform because of the density of population and the variety of roles people perform. Variations also begin with the individual, because no two people speak exactly the same dialect, and everyone has his/her own "idiolect" as it is called. Such variations are realized in phonology, as from a speaker's distinct stress and intonation pattern and vocabulary. These idiolects however, are subject to the constraints of intelligibility and are hence modified.
and developed to particular purposes. It is interesting to note that it is possible for the same speaker to speak many dialects of the same language.

From a linguistic point of view, in most studies, differences in vocabulary and grammar and pronunciation are seen as dialectal differences. As Donnel and Todd (1980:17) observe "a dialect is usually described in terms of three distinct, though interacting strata - the sound system the vocabulary and the grammar." While two languages are totally different from each other, two dialects of the same language are mutually intelligible, or at least each dialect is intelligible to its immediate neighbours. The degree of intelligibility may vary between dialects, but they share a common written language. Hence the varieties in which a language is spoken could be called the dialects of the same language.

1.4.2 Registers

Registers are ways of saying different things by the same people according to the activity they are engaged in. Register and dialect, are closely interconnected. Each time a person speaks or writes he not only locates himself with reference to the rest of the society, but also relates his act of communication to a scheme of communicative behaviour. Hudson (1980:49) sums up the distinction between dialect
and register by saying that "one's dialect shows who you are, while one's register shows what you are doing."

1.4.3 Diglossia

This is a sociolinguistic term introduced by Charles Ferguson to refer to a particular kind of language standardization where two distinct varieties of a language exist side by side, and where each of the two varieties is assigned a definite social function. The varieties could be sufficiently distinct to be even identified as two separate languages.

Ferguson's definition of diglossia is as follows:

"Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which in addition to the primary dialects of the language, - the standard or regional standards - there is a very divergent highly codified superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation". (Hudson 1980:54)

The most important feature of this diglossic situation is probably the specialization of function of the two varieties. One of the varieties is used in ordinary conversations, and the other for special purposes. The former variety is considered 'low' (L), while the latter 'high' (H).
While (H) is used in formal contexts as sermons, lectures, speeches, news broadcasts, press, traditional poetry, (L) is used in everyday conversations and discussions, folk literature and other informal contexts. The two varieties have overt recognition in the community, and have commonly known and used labels. In such diglossic situations, the choice of H and L becomes an index of social solidarity. But in situations where there is a need for a standard variety, there are arguments in favour of either H or L becoming the standard. The situations where each is to be used are socially fairly well-defined; and no section of the community regularly uses the high variety as the normal medium of everyday conversation.

The high variety has to be learnt as a school language. Diglossic situations are well-known in Arabic, Modern Greek and Swiss German. Linguistically speaking, the differences between the high and low varieties in the diglossic situation may be considerable. Both (H) and (L) varieties could display differences in phonology, grammar, and vocabulary. Many of the differences are vocabulary differences; where the meaning is roughly the same, but where the usage of one item rather than the other immediately indicates the high or low variety. "In Arabic the two phonologies are quite different, and in Swiss German very different." (1974:99). Although the definition of diglossia given by Ferguson seems to be specific, requiring the H and
the L varieties to belong to the same language, Fishman (1971:75) seems to have relaxed this by referring to Paraguay as an example of a diglossic community, where Spanish and Guarani, two distinctly different languages, exist as the H and L variety. In formal situations, Spanish is used, while in informal situations Guarani is used. Thus, in English while situations of this kind would produce different styles, formal and informal, in Paraguay they produce different languages.

While bilingualism is essentially a characterization of individual versatility, diglossia is a characterization of the societal allocation of functions to different varieties.

1.5 Varieties of English

1.5.1 Spread of English:

The reasons for the widespread popularity of English are (as already discussed), both geo-historical and socio-cultural. According to Crystal (1997:24). "The geo-historical account traces the movement of English around the world, beginning with the pioneering voyages to the Americas, Asia, and the Antipodes". This expansion continued in the nineteenth century with the colonial developments in Africa and the South Pacific, taking a significant step when English was adopted as the official or second language by many newly independent states - America, Africa, Malaysia, India, Singapore, Australia to mention a few. The socio-cultural explanation looks at the way people all over
the world have come to depend on English for their well-being. Hence the combination of these two factors - the geo-historical and the socio-cultural - has brought into existence a language which consists of many varieties, each distinctive in its use of sounds, grammar and vocabulary. Language policies and the linguistic attitudes they promote act as an additional factors in the complex pattern of forces that shape the development of varieties of English around the world.

1.5.2 Global varieties of English:

Kachru (1982) has presented the spread of English by three concentric circles. This has been widely regarded as a helpful approach to classify the global expansion of English:

- The inner circle referring to the traditional bases of English where it is the primary language: USA, UK, Ireland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

- The outer or extended circle referring to the spread of English in non-native settings playing an important second language role in a multilingual setting: Singapore, India, Malawi.

- The expanding circle, referring to those nations which recognize the importance of English as an international language: China, Japan, Greece, Poland. In these areas, English is taught as a foreign language.
1.5.3 Native varieties of English:

With reference to the inner circle mentioned by Kachru (1982), where English is the primary language, the emergence of English as the commonest spoken language, is due to powerful social forces. The major native speakers of English are British, American and Australian, and although these users normally do not have difficulty in communicating with one another, we do find that even among them the language is not used homogenously, and there are variations at the levels of phonology, grammar and lexis. At the phonological level the accent which is normally taught to students who are studying British English is RP. Nevertheless, RP speakers make up a very small percentage of the English population in England. According to Trudgill (1995) there is more regional variation among North American pronunciation than among Australia, New Zealand and South African English. This is because the early settlers to America were not only the British, but also the Spanish, French, Dutch and Africans. Hence the sociolinguistic situation in the United States and Canada, as far as pronunciation is concerned, is rather different from the rest of the English-speaking world. In contrast to Australia, which is influenced by American English, in New Zealand there is a clear British accent, as a result of a stronger historical relationship with Britain.
The native varieties of English, the British and the American, are not monolithic either. Perhaps the most noticeable differences between the two varieties involve vocabulary. There are many words that differ either in total meaning, or in one particular sense or usage. These differences in vocabulary arise because:

- new objects and experiences encountered in North America needed naming, either by adapting British English vocabulary or by creating new words.
- of technological and cultural developments that have occurred since the divergence of the new varieties have also been a cause of differences in vocabulary.
- of the influence of other languages. US English has borrowed many words from a variety of languages, including American Indian languages.

The differences between the two major native varieties of English, British and American, are discussed in detail in section

Wilkinson (1995:53) feels that it is more realistic, both linguistically and culturally, to accept the existence of many varieties of English and to speak in terms of native Englishes rather than native English. The rise of a local English generates controversy within the
community. While some users seize on the new variety with enthusiasm and try to make it even more distinctive, others prefer to retain strong links with the British and American. Mr. J.D. Simpson, chief editor, OED online, in his interview with the Hindu (dated 18 Feb 2001) observes: "hundred years ago, BE would have been regarded as the dominant variety of English whereas nowadays it is regarded as one among the number of significant varieties. So there is more of an equality relationship now between the different varieties than in the past." He further adds that nowadays languages are both getting closer and moving apart. Getting closer in that American English and British English (and other varieties) become more homogeneous by interaction - through the media, etc. and drawing apart in as much as each variety generates its own meanings which are specific to it and don’t necessarily pass into international use. Varieties are an inevitable consequence of the spread of English on a world scale. These national varieties thus express national identities and in a way reduce the gap between intelligibility and acceptance.

1.5.4 Non-native varieties of English:

In many parts of the world as in South and South East Asia, Africa and West Indies, English is also used by millions of people
for a wide range of local, national and international functions and exists in many different varieties. Smith (1978) finds these variations to be natural because the extent to which somebody's English should conform to native speaker norm, or international norm, or local norm will depend on the function for which the language is used. Another major factor that contributes to this variation in English is the linguistic interference of the local native languages. The social and cultural context in which English is used in that country is also an important reason for varieties of English to evolve and develop.

*English as second language (ESL) and English as foreign language (EFL):*

The non-native speakers (Kachru's *outer and expanding circles*) are of two types:

- English as Second Language (ESL) who use English as an official language, language of education, means of wider communication within the country, as in Africa, India, Singapore, Philippines. This is because English was first introduced in these places during the colonial era and was at first spoken and used mainly by native speakers of English from Britain and America. These SL varieties of
English have acquired relatively consistent, fixed local norms of usage which are adhered to by all speakers.

\begin{itemize}
\item English as Foreign Language (EFL) who learn English as a vehicle of international communication as in Germany, Japan, Brazil. These "performance varieties" do not indicate an institutionalized status. They have a highly restricted functional range in specific contexts like tourism, commerce and other international transactions.
\end{itemize}

These two non-native groups differ in their \textit{acquisitional} settings, and in their motivations for learning English and have been labeled \textit{'interference'} varieties, (Kachru 1982) since there is a clear linguistic or cultural interference from the first language and culture of the user. Native speakers of English may sometimes have difficulty understanding these non-native varieties.
1.5.5 Non-native speakers' competence:

Non-native speakers use English in order to fulfill their communicative needs. But since English is not able to fulfill all their needs, there is an inadequacy they find in the language to express culture-specific experiences, like local food, clothing, housing, festivals, kinship or status relations, or different social relationships. It may not have words or phrases which accurately express the thoughts and feelings which they are able to express adequately in their own local languages. Hence non-native speakers of English have developed and are still developing a whole range of new expressions to fulfill these specific needs. Since the language does not equip them to fulfill these specific communicative needs, they enable themselves by putting the language to use in appropriate ways in culturally defined contexts. English is thus used by these non-native users to foster both social and cultural identity.

While the native speaker's (L1) language competence is natural, the non-native speaker's (L2) is functional. Because of the utilitarian value of English, English has become a language more of choice among non-native users. This divergent role of English in the L1 and L2 conditions, has naturally given rise to many varieties of the language that "the English language has ceased to the sole possession
of the English some time ago." (Salmon Rushdie in *Imaginary Homelands*)

1.5.6 South Asian English:
Among the non-native varieties of English in the world, South Asian English is an *institutionalized* variety, distinct from the EFL which is the *performance* variety. Randolph Quirk (1990) observes that South Asian English unlike English in south Asia, suggests a parallelism with variety- oriented terms such as American English or British English. Kachru (1982) uses South Asian English to refer to several broad regional varieties such as Indian English, Lankan English, and Pakistani English. According to him there are basically two sub varieties within educated South Asian English -(a cline)- pidgin English or broken English on the one hand, to educated or standard South Asian English on the other. This institutionalized variety has a long history of acculturation in new cultural and geographical contexts and hence has become or is becoming *indigenised* in many countries. They have a large range of functions in the local educational, administrative and legal systems.

Though South Asian English refers to several broad regional varieties, Indian English is seen to be distinct from the others with formal and functional features.
1.5.7 Indian English as a distinct variety of English

Indian English is a variety in its right like any other non-native variety, and exists in its sub varieties at the levels of region, register, ethnicity and proficiency. According to Kachru (1982) among the varieties of English spread around the globe, IE belongs to the 'outer' or 'extended' circle becoming part of the country's chief institutions, and playing an important second language role in a multilingual setting. It is hence an institutionalized variety, sharing its lexis and syntax with other varieties of English. Despite its deviation from the native variety at the phonological, lexical, syntactic levels, a common core by way of grammatical characteristics relates it to the native variety.

The long period of English in India, and the great number of functions it performs has naturally resulted in a nativized variety of English typical of the Indian context. And this context contributes to the deviations that are characteristic of this variety. These deviations are discussed at length in the forthcoming chapters of the thesis. Significant differences between Indian English and native varieties of English occur in the areas of lexis and style, because IE is a product of language contact and it is used in India for certain specific purposes in the Indian socio-cultural context. Gumperz (1964:1116-7) highlights
the indianness of Indian English. "An Indian may speak English with control; he may read it, write it, or lecture in it with great success. But when he uses English in India, his speech will share some of the features of the other Indian codes with which English alternates in the daily round of activities. IE will thus deviate considerably from the norms current among the native speakers of English in the American Midwest. This kind of deviation represents not a failure to control English, but a natural consequence of the social conditions in the immediate environment in which Indian English is spoken."

Differences in religion and ritual, social hierarchy, agricultural and industrial technology account for the deviations in IE. Nevertheless, there are similarities between IE and BE because some of India's institutions such as administration, academics, the national press and the parliament are modelled on British institutions.

IE according to Peter Strevens (1977) is a set of many varieties. The Indian doctor communicating with his professional colleagues at an international conference, the Indian teacher using it in classroom with her students, the clerk communicating with other Indians in his daily life, the taxi driver using it as a lingua-franca pidgin - all these varieties are part of the same spectrum of IE. According to Kachru (1982) there are basically two sub varieties within IE - pidgin English on the one hand and educated English
on the other. Two parameters may be used to label these subvarieties - contextual and acquisitional. The contextual parameter refers to the regional ethnic or occupational categories derived from the Indian context. The acquisitional parameter refers to the linguistic performance levels acquired from school or educational set up. The indigenised variety that is available in India, is acquired from non-native teachers in contexts of restricted input. The Indian user of English is not exposed to the full range of styles, structures and speech acts to transact informal interpersonal relationships but acquires mainly academic, bureaucratic and literary usages. This is because English is not the mother tongue of the local English using community, and has to co-exist with several Indian languages. Further the many linguistic and cultural backgrounds of different groups in India favour diversity, with each linguistic group speaking a Bengali English, Tamil English, Punjabi English and so on. And these different varieties of English evolve their own distinct features in response to the needs and motivations of their users.

IE is considered a very interesting area of study because it does not have the homogeneity of other varieties spoken by first language speakers. Raja Rao (1938 V) maintains that "we are all
instinctively bilingual; many of us write in our own language and in English. We cannot write like the English. We should not... our method of expression therefore should be a variety which will some day prove to be as distinctive and colourful as the Irish or the Americans. Time alone will justify it." According to Parasher (1991: 49) "Indian English is recognized as a respectable variety of the English language."
1.6 Standard language

1.6.1 The need for a SL

It has been discussed in section 1.2. that language varieties are symbols of regional social and individual identity, and such a sense of personal identity in language is essential for every individual's development. But we realize that linguistic barriers will be built up if mutually incomprehensible dialects are encouraged to develop freely. Further, the functions of language such as establishing social relationships, and conveying information cannot be performed if these language varieties remain inaccessible to the majority of speakers of that language. So, in order to be able to communicate with groups 'more enlarged and public', to be able to understand the ways of others through language and to be able to fulfill certain functions nationally and individually, a common dialect that would be intelligible to all speakers of the language is needed. Among the varieties available, only one language variety can be used in the government, bureaucracy, education, science and technology, media, business and literature. Hence a single linguistic code is required to foster religious, cultural and geographical links between people. This situation gives rise to the need for a standard language - providing a uniform medium of
communication between speakers of different dialects. It is important to note that despite the presence of many language varieties, each with distinct linguistic features, every language has a standard variety.

Standard Language cuts across regional differences, rendering a unified means of communication. It is an institutionalized norm that can be used in mass media and in teaching the language to foreigners. It is the language of official communication, the Government, and in Law courts. It is pre-eminently the language of the printed matter, and according to Greenbaum (1996) the only variety that has an established orthography.

1.6.2 Process

SLs are 'proper' languages and have a special relation to society because their developments have not taken place in a haphazard manner as normal languages have, but are the result of direct and deliberate intervention by society through the process of standardization. Standardization involves the cultivation of a variety that can be regarded as exclusive. In other words, standardization enables a formerly diffuse variety to 'undergo focussing and take on a more fixed and stable form.' (Trudgill 1992:71) Pride and Holmes (1972:144) cite three kinds of processes related to the establishment of a standard language.
The first deals with the *selection* of a variety (Language Determination), the second with the *elaboration of the functions* to be fulfilled by the chosen variety (Codification), and the third with the *acceptance* of the variety by its users (Stabilisation).

**Language determination** refers to decisions which have to be taken concerning the selection of a particular variety of language to be developed into a SL. In order to achieve higher identity with the nation through language, there has to be a consensus as to which dialect to choose from the range of dialects available. It may be an existing variety, or an amalgam of various varieties. Though sociolinguists recognize that language variation is the norm, they also accept that particular varieties seem to have greater social prestige to be used in important political and commercial centres.

**Codification** is the process whereby the selected language variety acquires a publicly recognized and fixed form. Codification applies primarily to developing the form of the chosen language, (its linguistic structure including phonology, grammar and lexis) to provide a set of norms for standard use. Some academy writes the dictionaries and grammar books to fix the variety, and there is a consensus as to the correctness. Since a SL has to be omni-
functional, it will develop new structures and new meanings, appropriate to its use in different domains. In other words, SL cannot be monolithic but has to develop variations to suit its wide range of functions. Trudgill (1992:17) observes that the results of codification "are usually enshrined in dictionaries and grammar books". This language variety becomes more fully elaborated so that it can serve a wide variety of purposes. In particular it develops an extensive range of vocabulary and a variety of structures which can be deployed for purposes of public, formal and written communication. The standard dialect grows organically as the standard language for national and eventually international communication, and serves as a basic variety that can therefore be taught to language learners, both native and non-native.

The next most important step in standardization is stabilisation, whereby the population covertly accepts it as the variety to be widely used among the community. Government functionaries and small groups of literates, the aristocracy, and a vast majority of people start using this variety. The chosen dialect, at this stage, has an accepted printed standard and some prestigious speech forms that are being promoted consciously and unconsciously by a tiny elite. And all these are socially related
problems. Kelman (1972) rightly observes that since a policy suitable for one community may not fit another, great care, sensitivity, wisdom and knowledge are needed for success in any standardisation programme. Nevertheless, the process of standardization continues unabated. As Milroy (1992:130) observes, "Standardization is not primarily about varieties of language, but about processes. Therefore it must be treated as a process with an underlying socio-political motivation, which attempts to promote uniformity and suppress variability for reasons that are considered functional."

Wilkinson (1995) agrees that there is a need for a Standard Language to facilitate communication and understanding across boundaries.

**Dissemination**

The chosen dialect has to be *taught* and has to be accessed only through 'education'. Education usually relates to the 'nation', because nation and language are inextricably intertwined. It is important for every nation to have a language for both "internal cohesion - external distinction."

(Haugen 1966:104). Standard Language is disseminated through formal education and is therefore established as a norm. Since it has a widely accepted and codified grammar, and is particularly
popular among the educated class being propagated through education, it can rightly be called the **educated variety** of the language.

1.6.3 Features of SL

Standard language has to be characterized, not defined. In the opinion of Leith (1983:32), "the discussion of the term 'standard' often gets bogged down by misunderstanding and polemic. ... this problem is exacerbated by the habit of many influential commentators to talk about the 'standard' as an ideal of usage, restricted to the written medium, and inseparably linked to the notion of literary greatness. This invests the notion of standard with the aura of transcendence, so that like the nation, the law and the market, it supposedly operates at a level above the merely human." In order to resolve such misconceptions that exist about this particular language variety, it would be worthwhile to discuss what SL is **not**.

**What SL is not**

There could be misconceptions about the attributes of a SL, that it is a complete **language**, a superior **variety**, the correct **norm**, a distinct **accent**, a special **style**, an exclusive **register**, or that it is
static. It will be realized that a SL is not any of the above listed features.

SL is not a language by itself. In fact it is less than a language, since it is only one of the varieties of a language. However, it may be the most important variety of the language, because it is intelligible to all the speakers of the language. It should be noted that every language consists of an autonomous standardized variety together with all the non-standard varieties that are heteronomous with respect to it.

SL is not a superior variety of a language, but just one among the many varieties. Though language as a social phenomenon is closely tied up with the social structure and value systems of society, the scientific study of language has convinced scholars that all varieties of a language are equally good as linguistic systems. But the standard dialect is better than non-standard dialects in terms of efficiency and effectiveness. There is nothing inherent in standard or nonstandard varieties that make them superior or inferior. Linguistically speaking, Standard Language cannot be considered superior to other language varieties.
If the Standard Language should seem 'more correct', it is merely the outcome of a historical evolution that has placed it in ascendancy over other varieties of the same language. It is the language of the socially privileged groups, and of written documents, of law, education and the media. "Its preferred patterns of construction come to seem 'inevitably' and 'naturally' right in ways denied to those of less advantaged groups." (Montgomery 1986:74) it has been inadvertently associated with 'correct', because of its extensive use.

Standard Language is not a distinct accent. The general consensus regarding Standard Language does not apply to pronunciation, because Standard Language speakers can be found in all countries and they speak this variety with different accents, depending on where they come from. Unconsciously however, speakers are aware of the social significance of pronunciation, and it is primarily a matter of social attitude: the speech patterns of the dominant group come to be regarded as the norm for the whole society, though this normative pressure may often be rationalized. Standard Language, originally a local variety, is independent of any particular region. "Standard Language is not associated with any particular accent."

(Donnell & Todd 1980:41)
SL is not a *style*. Because styles are varieties of language ranging from very formal to very informal, depending on the social situations. Generally speakers are able to influence and change the degree of formality of a social situation by manipulation of stylistic choice. And every language has the fullest possible range of styles from the most formal to the least. The general contention is that SL is no different from any other (non-standard) variety of the language. Speakers of SL have a full range of styles open to them, just as speakers of other varieties do, and can swear and use slang just like anybody else. Stylistic switching therefore occurs *within* dialects, not *between* them.

SL is not a *register*. On the contrary, it has a range of registers to suit all occasions and professions. In any language, this is almost exclusively a matter of lexis, such as the register of maths, or the register of medicine, although some registers, notably the register of law, are known to have special syntactic characteristics.

SL is not *static*. Because language is always evolving to meet new needs and express new purposes it is more appropriate to see the process of standardization as a *continuing cycle* rather than as
something which can ever be completed. Within any language there will always be new ways of expression which are in competition with the old forms. Similarly, SL also is subject to change, if its users agree.

If SL is not any of these, what is it?

*What SL is.*

SL may be regarded as a *dialect.* We have already discussed that it is just one variety of a language among many. It is a sub variety of a language and sub varieties of languages are usually referred to as dialects. In so far as it differs grammatically and lexically from other varieties of language, it is legitimate to consider it a dialect. However, SL is an unusual dialect in many ways because it is by far the most important dialect in a language from a social, intellectual, and cultural point of view, though it does not have an associated accent.

David Crystal (1991: 366) defines SL as "a prestige variety of language used within a speech community." According to Pride and Holmes (1972: 102) a standard language is "functionally defined as a superposed norm used by speakers whose first and ordinary language may be different." Haugen (1966: 930) defines
The term "standard" with reference to language, may relate to a level of uniformity to be reached by the language users. As a uniform means of communication, it is also intelligible to all the users of the language. Therefore, in this thesis 'standard' is used to refer to a level of uniformity and intelligibility to be achieved by a language user. In a linguistically diverse society, it is SL that facilitates communication thereby enabling its users to establish uniform social and intellectual relationships. Use of standard language elevates the user to a position of status and power.

1.7 Standard English

Standard English is a distinctive variety of English, used for certain specific purposes. Historically speaking, SE developed out of the English dialects used in and around London. When printing became widespread, this was the form of English most widely used in books, and although it has undergone many changes, it has always retained its character as the form of the English language with the highest profile, and which is the least regional. Crystal (1998:262) reports that "a great deal of attention is being paid to devising standards of language use which will transcend regional differences and guarantee intelligibility when people from
different English-speaking parts of the world communicate with each other."
The role of Standard English as an international language seems all-powerful promoted by the geographical spread of English-speaking countries and more importantly the economic power and technological influence of the US. Since this is the medium of science and technology, trade and commerce, bureaucracy and administration, knowledge of Standard English is mandatory to discharge certain important functions. The empowerment of this variety is so strong that in order to gain recognition from the rest of the world, the demand for English in non-English speaking countries is ever-increasing.

In Modiano's (1999) opinion, SE is not a prescriptive model which is possessed by privileged native speakers of a 'prestige' variety. It is primarily used for certain specific institutional purposes. Knowledge of SE brings about uniformity in social status, removing traces of class, race and social position. According to Trudgill and Hannah (1982:01) Standard English refers to grammar and vocabulary (dialect) and not to pronunciation (accent). Though an absolute uniformity in pronunciation is difficult to achieve, it should nevertheless be uniformly intelligible.
Wilkinson (1995:09) sees Standard English as a form of language use from which all others (non-standard forms) deviate. For Quirk and Stein (1990:114). "The most remarkable thing about Standard English is its unobtrusiveness." The features of Standard English are so much taken for granted, that when someone uses non-standard English, it is immediately recognised. More than being aware of what Standard English is, we are immediately aware of what it is not. When English is free from ambiguity and region specific, readily reaching a wide range of audience, it is instantly recognized as Standard English. This explains for the features of uniformity and intelligibility that the term standard signifies.

Standard English is a composite of those attributes of the language which are shared by proficient educated speakers of the language. The variety disseminates only through education and hence anyone with an accredited education has access to this variety. The proficiency level of its users is judged by their communicative competence - in other words, their ability to execute certain communicative functions.
1.7.1 Varieties of SE:

Among the native varieties of English, there are two main varieties of SE that are popular in the English-speaking countries - Standard British English and Standard American English. Standard British English is that variety of English that has been traditionally taught in schools and universities in the UK, Europe, and in many other parts of the world. This refers to the English that is normally written and spoken by educated speakers in England, and with minor differences in Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, the republic of Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Standard American English is a variety that is widely taught and used by educated speakers in the United States of America and Canada. But even these two standard varieties are not similar. (Crystal 1997:131) As Dylan Thomas observes "Today, there are thousands of differences between British and American English - two cultures separated by the barrier of a common language." (Crystal 1997:131)

The two major standard varieties of English are different at the levels of phonology, lexis, grammar and syntax. In spelling there are several sets of regular differences, between the two varieties.
To mention a few:

The following are a few examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard British English</th>
<th>Standard American English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spelling:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programme</td>
<td>program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colour</td>
<td>color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre</td>
<td>center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mould</td>
<td>mold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enclose</td>
<td>inclose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acknowledgement</td>
<td>acknowledgment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>defence</td>
<td>defense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instalment</td>
<td>installment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stress</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'adult</td>
<td>'adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'research</td>
<td>'research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'secretary</td>
<td>secre'tary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dictionary</td>
<td>dictio'rary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lexis</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>maize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windshield</td>
<td>windscreen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trunk</td>
<td>boot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The modal auxiliaries are also used with a different frequency or meaning in these two varieties.

- **I shall tell you later**  
  - **I will tell you later**
- **Shall I drink this now?**  
  - **Should I drink this now?**
- **I shan't be able to come**  
  - **I won't be able to come**

(Trudgill & Hannah: 1982: 44)
In some cases of vocabulary differences, one standard variety influences the other.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>British English borrowings</th>
<th>American English borrowings from British English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Billion (a thousand million)</td>
<td>copper (cop)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brief-case</td>
<td>penny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cafeteria</td>
<td>flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teenager</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drapes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are same words which have different meanings in the two varieties:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word</th>
<th>British English</th>
<th>American English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>homely</td>
<td>down to earth, domestic</td>
<td>ugly (of people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nervy</td>
<td>nervous</td>
<td>bold, full of nerve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pants</td>
<td>underpants</td>
<td>trousers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pavement</td>
<td>footpath, sidewalk</td>
<td>road surface</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the aim of language use is native-like competence in English, such differences are not considered reprehensible. What is aimed at is **mutual intelligibility** among standard varieties. However apart from these two main standard varieties of English,
among the different dialects of English that are being used in all the English speaking countries mentioned above, there are standard varieties.

Even among the countries of Kachru's outer circle (where English is used as a second language), several varieties have grown in distinctiveness— as in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Singapore, and West Africa. These varieties are an inevitable consequence of the spread of English on a global scale. And each of these varieties has a standard variety for internal and international communication. These international standard Englishes express national identities, and therefore strike a balance between intelligibility and identity.

However, variation among the Standard Englishes in the written medium is less than in the spoken.

### 1.8. EIE as a standard variety of Indian English

#### 1.8.1 what is EIE:

It has been discussed that Standard English is the variety of English used by most educated users of the language, (whatever their nationality or profession) at a certain level of formal, written communication. Similarly, in the multilingual Indian subcontinent, EIE is the second language used by most educated Indians throughout the
country irrespective of their first languages. EIE is a unifying symbol of Indian nationality.

**Users of EIE:**

As this variety is used for interpersonal and inter-institutional communication in a wide range of contexts, the users belong to several sectors in the country.

The users of English in India are (Verma 1982:174):

- University and college students, and school students (trained at English medium schools).

- Teachers teaching at schools, colleges, and universities.

- Officers and clerks working at all-India establishments; prestigious state establishments, railway, postal, shipping, airlines, and travel offices.

- Mid-level and high-level workers working at prestigious hotels, restaurants and business establishments.

- Scholars participating in all-India seminars, workshops and conferences.

- All-India bodies conducting competitive examinations for recruitment to all-India services.
- All-India newspapers, magazines and journals.
- All-India bodies (governmental and non-governmental) communicating with state-level bodies.
- Doctors, lawyers and professionals, conducting their business.
- Members of prestigious clubs and other recreation centers.
- Creative writers writing their novels, stories, plays, poems and essays in English.

It is very clear from the list of users mentioned above that EIE is used mainly by the educated speakers of English to discharge various responsibilities, both social and professional. In fact EIE is now used even in a variety of social settings as in clubs and recreation centres, to which it was previously unadapted. This is because the members attached to these clubs and centres have received formal training in English, and hence are communicative in this variety.

The features of EIE seem to coalesce with the functions that it performs. EIE is used for a range of institutional purposes both at the individual and social levels. At the individual level EIE continues to be the language of opportunity, and the variety used in transactional interactions. Any individual seeking socio-economic advancement at the national level will find competence in EIE an asset.
At the social level, English provides us access to knowledge in science, technology, social sciences and humanities and therefore functions as the language of development and upward social mobility. EIE is an institutionalized second language variety in India, with a large range of functions both nationally and globally. The major function of EIE at the national level is socio-politically determined. The multilingual and pluricultural nature of the socio-cultural settings in India makes it clear that more than one language is needed for 'national cohesion', 'cultural integration', and 'social mobility'. Different languages have different roles to play in the Indian setting - the mother tongue, the regional language, the national language Hindi, and of course English. The roles of these several languages, we realize, are complementary. In such a multilingual society in which all the major languages are given equal status, socio-political factors have compelled the nation to accept EIE as an associate or auxiliary link language. And this is one of the major functions of EIE at the national level in India today. It must however be added that since this variety is restricted to educated urban Indians, it is rightly called the Educated Indian English. Thus, EIE satisfactorily functions as the associate official language of India, the associate medium of higher education, and also as the main link language. In the Indian education, business and
diplomacy, EIE plays such a predominant role that Kachru (1985) calls English in this setting as the "other tongue".

On the global scene, EIE is the main medium of communication in all international transactions - political, commercial, social, academic, scientific and technological. EIE has a dual function: on the one hand, EIE is a national variety which has to serve as a unifying linguistic symbol among the multilingual Indians. On the other, as an international variety it needs to fulfill the global needs of the Indians. As a national variety, it is a linguistic marker of national identity with its very distinct local flavour, typical of the Indian culture and social scenario. Hence it preserves the essence of India, remaining essentially an Indian variety. Though there are varieties of English in India, based on the user's first language, like Tamil English, Bengali English, Punjabi English and so on, EIE is a superposed variety establishing uniformity amongst these speakers. It thus preserves linguistic unity in a multilingual India. Another major function of EIE as a standard variety is to make itself intelligible throughout the English speaking community.
Thus EIE needs to fulfill two major functions of a standard language:

1. establishing **uniformity** at the national level,
2. ensuring **intelligibility** at the international level.

International intelligibility of this variety requires immediate attention because with the advent of globalization our demands on the language have been increasing. We now need English not only to communicate with the other Indians who are also EIE users, but also to communicate with other non-EIE users and native users of English. An analysis of the communicative competence of these users is necessary to investigate the extent of these users' intelligibility both nationally and globally.

The research study has therefore adapted the three circles referred to by Kachru (1982). Kachru's three concentric circles represent the expansion of English around the globe - the inner circle represents native English, the middle circle refers to English as an institutionalized second language variety, and the outer circle to English as a foreign language.
In this study however, the three circles represent the growing intelligibility of the EIE variety, as given in the figure below.

The inner circle refers to the intelligibility of the variety among other EIE users, the middle circle refers to the intelligibility of the variety among non-EIE, non-native users of English (Asians, Africans, Europeans, Chinese, Japanese and so on), and the outer circle refers to the intelligibility of EIE among the native users. Each of the circles symbolizes the competence level to be achieved by the EIE user.
Based on the principles of Hymes and Canale, the research study has therefore attempted to bring out the communicative competence of these users in the areas of linguistics, strategic, sociolinguistics and discourse.

1.9 Communicative Competence

The notion of Communicative Competence was introduced by Dell Hymes as an extension of Chomsky's notion of linguistic competence. According to Chomsky, competence is the native speaker's implicit knowledge of the language. In the words of Corder (1973:91) "the native speaker's competence can be characterized as a set of rules for producing and understanding sentences in his language." It follows that the competence of a native speaker also gives him/her the ability to recognize ambiguity in sentences, paraphrase relationships and to distinguish grammatical from ungrammatical sentences.

But a number of linguists and sociolinguists, Hymes among them, observed that a description of the speaker's competence in the Chomskyan sense is restrictive. This is because it does not take into account everything that a speaker needs to know and do in order to communicate. Hymes (1985:114) points out that "there are rules of use without which the rules of grammar are useless."
In Corder's opinion "a native speaker must not only be able to produce and understand grammatically well-formed utterances, he must also be able to produce and understand utterances which are appropriate to the context in which they are made. It is just as much a matter of 'competence' in language to be able to produce appropriate utterances as grammatical ones. It is thus that the concept of communicative competence has come into being." (1973:92)

According to Mc Kay (1996:388), "Communicative Competence extends to both knowledge and expectation of who may or may not speak in certain settings, when to speak and when to remain silent, whom one may speak to, how one may talk to persons of different statuses and roles, what non-verbal behaviours are appropriate in various contexts, what the routine for turn taking are in conversation, how to ask for and give information, how to request, how to offer or decline assistance or cooperation, how to give commands, how to enforce discipline, and the like - in short, everything involving the use of language and other communicative dimensions in particular social settings." For Widdowson (1985), if linguistic competence is an abstraction of
grammatical knowledge, Communicative Competence is an abstraction of social behaviour.

Hymes (1971) outlines Communicative Competence as the ability of the language user even to sound appropriately incompetent in the language when the situation demands it, besides being communicatively competent. The level of loudness a speaker uses may determine his/her competence. Hence Communicative Competence, according to Hymes, includes several sectors of which the grammatical is just one. As competence is dependent upon both tacit knowledge and the ability to use it, it is related to the four features listed below:

a) *whether (and to what degree) something is possible*;

This has often been interpreted as linguistic competence in Chomsky's sense. First, Hymes's criterion of possibility encompasses not only linguistic grammaticality but also non-verbal and cultural 'grammaticality' (ie conformity to meaningful rules of behaviour). There are a system of rules which governs the combination of sounds and words and which relates these to meanings. When speakers use a language, it is this system that permits a structure to be grammatically possible or rejects it as grammatically impossible.
b) Whether (and to what degree) something is feasible:
This refers to psycholinguistic factors such as 'memory limitation, perceptual device(s), effects of properties such as nesting, embedding, branching and the like'. Canale and Swain (1980:285) illustrate this with the following sentence:
the cheese the rat the cat the dog saw chased ate was green.
Therefore, what is grammatically possible is not feasible.

c) Whether (and to what degree) something is appropriate (adequate, effective, happy in relation to the context in which it is used); appropriateness concerns the relation of language to context. This concept of appropriateness, the suiting of language use to the situation, is a crucial one in improving the efficiency of communication in terms of both impact on the receiver and economy of effort. "After all, the listener has certain expectations of how the speaker will behave, and if these are not fulfilled, reception of the message may be impaired in some way." (Hartley 1982:60) This ability constitutes the speakers' control over the actual language forms for effective communication eg. 'sorry', vs 'excuse me' as well as their control over register of formality of the utterance, from most intimate to most formal language. Appropriateness
of language use depends on addressor/addressee relationship too. For example, if a clerk is invited to dinner by her boss and cannot accept the invitation, a reply like 'no chance' would probably constitute an inappropriate choice. Sociolinguistically, this phrase would be interpreted as rude and insulting, unless perhaps the clerk has an especially close relationship with the boss and the response was made in jest. A more appropriate response would be:

"I would love to, but I have another engagement that I can't get out of." The speaker here, therefore, is not appropriately communicative.

Hymes (1970:286) observes, "something may be possible, feasible, appropriate and not occur."

\[d. \text{ whether (and to what degree) something is performed} \]
\[
\text{(actually done and what the doing entails) This refers to the actual output of the language user. Native users possess such knowledge in addition to rules of possibility and appropriateness.}

The four sectors must not be treated as modular and separate. All the four sectors are equally important. The goal of the theory of Communicative Competence is 'to show the ways in which the}
systematically possible, the feasible, and the appropriate are linked to produce and interpret actually occurring speech." (Pride and Holmes 1972:286)

In an outstanding and influential paper re-examining Communicative Competence, Canale and Swain (1980) offer a critique of Hymes, giving a new model of Communicative Competence. It is as follows:

'whether (and to what degree) something is possible' of Hymes relates to the grammatical competence of a language user. GC is concerned with the knowledge and skill required to understand and express the literal meaning of utterances' and as such is the traditional concern of grammar. It is in other words, knowledge of the language code.

Strategic Competence refers to the second sector of Hymes 'whether and to what degree something is feasible'. SC is 'composed of verbal and non-verbal communicative strategies' which enable speakers to handle breakdowns in communication and their own lexico-grammatical inadequacies, and to enhance the effectiveness of their message. Canale and Swain substantially depart from Hymes in the suggestion of a strategic competence. They confine the notion of competence to
knowledge rather than ability for use, because knowledge of a strategy is related to some particular context of use. As the theory of Communicative Competence fails to specify how much of a given speaker's Communicative Competence is language-specific or culture-specific and how much is universal, Canale (1983) expands the definition of strategic competence to include 'efforts to enhance the effectiveness of communication.' This therefore takes into consideration some areas of culture specificity too. Sociolinguistic Competence is concerned with Hymes's whether and to what degree something is appropriate. In other words, it refers to appropriateness - 'both appropriateness of meaning and appropriateness of form' - and this includes not simply rules of address and questions of politeness, but also selection and formulation of topic and the social significance of indirect speech acts. It is the knowledge of the relation of language use to its non-linguistic context. It is the ability to put language to use in appropriate ways in culturally defined contexts, because the cultural contexts that define 'appropriateness' in the native situation are not necessarily the same in the new non-native situation.

Discourse Competence is whether and to what degree something is done. It is the knowledge of rules for 'the combination of
utterances and communicative functions', concerned with cohesion and coherence in the structure of texts; it includes knowledge about the organisation of different speech events and the interpretative rules for relating form to function.

It is therefore realized that a user's Communicative Competence is reflected in his/her linguistic, strategic, sociolinguistic and discourse competence.