According to Littlewood (1991:11) there are three corresponding aspects involved in effective communication:

The ability to understand linguistic structures and vocabulary

Knowledge of the potential communicative functions of linguistic forms

The ability to relate the linguistic forms to appropriate non-linguistic knowledge, in order to interpret the specific functional meaning intended by the speaker.

Since the relationship between forms and functions is variable, and cannot be definitely predicted outside specific situations, the EIE user naturally needs more than a 'fixed repertoire' of linguistic forms corresponding to communicative functions.

Naturally the EIE user develops strategies for interpreting language in actual use. The most efficient communicator in a foreign language is not always the person who is best at manipulating its structures, but the person who is most skilled at processing the complete situation involving himself and his hearer, taking account of what knowledge is already between
them, and selecting items which will communicate his/her message effectively. Accordingly the EIE user has acquired not only a repertoire of linguistic items, but also a repertoire of strategies for using them in concrete situations.

Another very important factor that determines the speaker's choice of language is his interpretation of the social situation in which communication is taking place: language carries not only functional meaning, but also social meaning.

The EIE user in so far as his linguistic repertoire permits, chooses:

- functionally appropriate speech (reflecting his strategic competence)
- socially appropriate speech (reflecting his sociolinguistic competence)
3.1. Strategic Competence:

This refers to the second sector of Hymes' "communicative competence" 'whether and to what degree something is feasible'. Canale (1983) expands the definition of strategic competence to include 'efforts to enhance the effectiveness of communication.' For Taylor(1988:158-9), there is a distinction in the strategies which all speakers have, (both native and non-native), and some strategies that are peculiar to non-native speakers. Sometimes a language user is stuck for a word that expresses the content he/she intends, and is compelled to behave creatively in finding a solution to this communicative problem. Very often users of a language handle such breakdowns in language by resorting to certain fixed expressions as part of the process of building up fluent connected speech.

EIE users too use certain typical words to manage their lexical inadequacies in English. In other words, when grammatical competence fails, learners are said to rely on strategic competence. For Bachman (1990:100) strategic competence is "an important part of all communicative language use- not
just in which language abilities are deficient, but also need to be compensated for by other means.

As Strategic Competence is the ability of the user to use language knowledge to address and execute a task, the data reveals the manner in which EIE users handle linguistic breakdown and communicate with whatever limited linguistic resource available. It would be interesting to discuss the 'compensatory strategies' used by the EIE speakers at the phonological, lexical, grammatical and syntactic levels.

At the phonological level

English being a stress-timed language, poses considerable difficulty to EIE speakers, whose first languages are to a large extent syllable-timed. Since the users seem to realize and recognize their difficulty in using proper stress, they try to overcome this difficulty by adding certain words/expressions to make their message more effective. In the following sentences 'itself' and 'only' are placed immediately after the words that need to be stressed, conveying the message as effectively as possible.

[A] At the phonological level:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Utterance intended</th>
<th>Utterance performed</th>
<th>Meaning intended</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I'm leaving on Monday</td>
<td>I'm leaving on Monday itself.</td>
<td>Not later than Monday.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Will we have the inspection committee visiting our college today?</td>
<td>He Will we have the inspection committee visiting our college today itself?</td>
<td>not any other day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Principal has asked me to bring the chief guest by car</td>
<td>The principal has asked me to bring the chief guest by car itself.</td>
<td>not by any other mode of transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. I think it would be better to have the prize distribution during the College Day</td>
<td>I think it would be better to have the prize distribution during the College Day itself.</td>
<td>seems the most suitable day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The library will be sufficient to accommodate the invitees for the Ganesha Pooja.</td>
<td>The library itself will be sufficient to accommodate the invitees for the Ganesha Pooja.</td>
<td>A bigger hall is not necessary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. It would be good to have the secretary for the mock interview</td>
<td>It would it will be good to have the secretary itself for the mock interview</td>
<td>any other guest is not required</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The weather is very bad, no wonder many students have fallen sick</td>
<td>The weather itself is very bad, no wonder many students have fallen sick.</td>
<td>weather is the main cause of the students falling sick</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8. It is good to have a campus interview itself for the BBM students

9. This project was done in college itself

10. The terrorist attack on the US is a possible danger for Pakistan itself

Use of 'only' to repair phonological inadequacy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Utterance intended</th>
<th>Utterance performed</th>
<th>Meaning intended</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11. I will complete my homework tomorrow only</td>
<td>The students want to go on a picnic this week only.</td>
<td>not today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. The students want to go on a picnic this week only</td>
<td>The principal only told me that the exams are postponed</td>
<td>not later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. The principal told me that the exams are postponed</td>
<td>Lack of interest only has failed the students.</td>
<td>the authenticity of the message</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Lack of interest has failed the students</td>
<td>The subject only is boring.</td>
<td>the main reason for failure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. The subject is boring. How can I make the class interesting?</td>
<td></td>
<td>fault on the subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. I'm really upset. You should advise me in this regard</td>
<td>I'm really upset. You only should advise me in this regard</td>
<td>awaiting advice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. I heard the secretary wants to meet me. I'm going there.</td>
<td>I heard the secretary wants to meet me. I'm going there only</td>
<td>No where else</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Mr. R doesn't much care for anything in life. He didn't attend his son's wedding.</td>
<td>Mr. R doesn't much care for anything in life. He didn't attend his son's wedding only</td>
<td>how can he be interested in anything else.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. The large size of the BCom class frightens me; how can I ever teach them?</td>
<td>The large size of the BCom class only frightens me; how can I ever teach them?</td>
<td>unnerved by the size of the class, hence impossible to teach them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Why should you ask the peon to go to the University? You can go, can't you?</td>
<td>Why should you ask the peon to go to the University? You only can go, can't you?</td>
<td>would be proper for you to go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
[B] At the lexical level

EIE users resort to certain words/expressions spontaneously because they experience difficulty with the use of precise expressions and thereby fill in their lexical gaps adequately.

Nicely- this is a very common EIE adverbial that is generally used to express both positive and negative sentiments.

21: "It rained nicely yesterday" (heavily)

22: "Mr. G explained the poem nicely" (clearly)

23. He spoke nicely to me because he wanted my help. (sweetly)

24. The vice-chancellor addressed the graduates so nicely during the convocation that the audience was spell-bound. (meaningfully)

25. This bisibelebath is very nicely prepared. (deliciously)

26. The stage was very nicely decorated for the NAAC seminar. (Tastefully)

27. While all the others were looking gaudy, Ms. H alone was very nicely dressed; she was really outstanding. (elegantly)

28. All the students like Mr. C very much, because he is a very nicely mannered person. (well)
29. Our college garden looks wonderful, because the gardener waters the plants nicely everyday. (adequately)

30. This is a very intricate job. You must learn to pull out the thread nicely so that the dress does not tear off. (carefully)

31. Students, as the exams are fast approaching, you should plan your hours of study nicely, so that you are able to have enough time for revision. (systematically)

32. When I realized that he was always irregular to classes, I scolded him nicely. (severely)

33. I agree that she has not completed the syllabus, but the Principal shouldn’t have shouted at her so nicely in the presence of the students. (badly)

34. Don’t you pity the students for being detained. They deserve it nicely. (justly)

According to Collins (1993:434) nicely is a very common word that is used to express our approval of the way something is done.

In EIE however, this word 'nicely' to convey a range of expressions - both pleasant and unpleasant. The data abounds with this very common adverbial used more often in the spoken medium. This is a direct L1 transfer.
A close analysis of the sentences reveals that this is a common feature of the EIE speakers evident of their strategic competence handling their lexical inadequacy by the use of this word. A careful study of the examples makes us realize that in each of the sentences 'nicely' conveys something different, as indicated in the parenthesis. The EIE user, however, is able to understand the diverse meanings that are conveyed through the word "nicely", taking into consideration the context of the utterance.

However, the following sentences bring out another semantic function of the word 'nicely'. The co-occurrence of the verb 'to give' and 'to get', and the adverb 'nicely' has a negative connotation only. The expression 'to give nicely' conveys the speakers' anger and the outburst of the anger, and 'to get nicely' refers to the victim of the anger. This is also a literal L1 transfer.

35. I gave the students nicely when they disobeyed me.

36. Poor Mr. D doesn't know what is in store for him when he meets the Principal. He is going to get nicely for not attending the staff meeting yesterday.
37. How I wish I could give him back nicely for what I got!

38. M: No wonder Ms. F looks very dull today. As usual, she must have got nicely from her mother-in-law.

N: Why doesn’t she give her back nicely too?

The use of the word 'nicely' as an effective substitute for a range of signification clearly brings out the ability of EIE speakers to handle their linguistic breakdown.

**reduplication**

In addition to the use of the words mentioned above, EIE users resort to repetition of certain words to give focus to their message, or to emphasize their point of view. This is an outstanding structural feature which seems quite natural that it occurs by L1 interference. The following samples from the data is evidence of this factor:

39. I would like to have hot hot coffee.

40. She wears different different sarees to college every day.

41. The other day we noticed small small children playing in the garden.

42. First first when I came to college, I saw the lovely rose plants.

43. There were tiny tiny particles of sand in the dish.
44. Bangalore is now full of tall tall buildings.
45. Bhargavi has visited many many hill stations all over India.
46. I am really amazed by the colour colour roses we have in college.
47. Students you must draw round round circles first and then colour them.
48. Delhi is full of broad broad roads now.
49. When we ask the students why they are late to class, one one day they give one one reason.

The analysis reveals that reduplication is used as a lexical gap when the EIE user finds him/herself at a loss for proper words to express the message. The repetition of the words adds vehemence to the message. Another reason for this reduplication is a strong L1 influence. In most of the Indian languages such reduplications occur for strengthening the validity of the message.
I (be) like...

This phrase is generally used among EIE speakers to make the narration really effective. With the use of this phrase, several adjectives are omitted. However, this is another strategy deployed by these users to maneuver their lexical difficulty.

50. "When the principal called me regarding the college picnic, I was like... (unconcerned)

51. "My teacher spoke to me so rudely, I was like... (upset)

52. When the secretary appreciated me for my work I was like... (delighted)

53. During the teachers’ day function, seeing the effort of the students, I was like... (overwhelmed)

54. The moment I realized that all my students secured first class in their exams, I was like... (elated)

55. When I saw all the students shouting and screaming in class, without being quiet, I was like... (furious)

56. When the police stopped my vehicle for overspeed, I was like... (nervous)

57. At last my son’s exams are over. I am like... (relieved)

In these sentences, appropriate adjectives (the ones mentioned in parenthesis) have been ignored, and have been substituted by a common phrase was like/am like. The linguistic failure of
the user is skillfully overcome by proper intonation in the use of 'was like...' The absence of a suitable adjective does not impede intelligibility of the message, as this is familiar with all EIE users.

- Simply:
58. The teachers should not scold the students simply.

(often)
59. Why do you argue in class? 'Simply.' (just like that)
60. Do not ask me questions simply simply.

(Repeatedly)
61. She is always simply dressed. (in a simple manner)
62. I realize he teases me only simply. (for fun)
63. My colleagues simply give me a lot of things to eat. (pampering)
64. I simply do not believe in these rituals.

(firmly)
65. When there is a lot of work at home I ask my children to simply read, and not disturb me.

(quietly)
66. During Diwali, my daughter was **simply bursting crackers**. (not doing anything else)

67. When she knew about her promotion she was **simply thrilled**. (very)

[C] At the grammatical and syntactic level
   - "and all"

This phrase is often used as an extension of what goes before it. Sometimes it is just used to complete a sentence, and leaves a lot to the listeners'/readers' imagination.

68. I did not attend school yesterday as I had a cold **and all**. (some other discomfort)

69. As Kumar was absent yesterday, the Principal made him **kneel down and all**. (highlights the severity of the punishment)

70. When I had been to Hyderabad for the refresher course, I bought sarees, bangles, pearls **and all**. (a lot of other things)

71. While writing an essay it is important to follow certain methods, which are called processes for writing. For example, **brain storming the class to generate ideas is a very effective**
method. Then you have planning, organizing, drafting and all which follow in a sequence.

( and other methods)

72. This strike is an important one. All are required to participate: principals, lecturers, non-teaching staff, students and all. (those associated with colleges)

73. I am not an atheist. But I don't recite prayers and all everyday.

74. There is nothing clear about this bifurcation and all.

75. Why should PhD, MPhil and all be made compulsory for lecturers?

Though "and all" is used more as a tag and may seem unnecessary in a sentence, it performs a semantic function of expressing more than what is linguistically uttered. A literal L1 transfer, this short phrase suggests a range of semantic impressions that are context-specific and audience-specific.

o Statement -like questions

Whenever the EIE user finds the construction of a question challenging, he/she handles this problem by articulating a statements with rising intonation. This syntactic inadequacy is deftly managed by intonational ability. It is intonation that
enables a statement function as a question. There is a gap between the form and the function brought about by intonation. This is a typical characteristic of an EIE user, to equip his limited resource in question formation with the help of intonation. This is also part of the EIE user's strategic competence to handle his grammatical inadequacies effectively with the help of intonation and thereby enhance the intelligibility of his message. The data abounds in such examples taken from the daily conversation of the EIE users. Syntactically they are only statements:

76. You're going to the university this Saturday?
77. The I Degree English workshop is this week, or next week?
78. If you are on leave on Monday, you are not attending the Teachers' Day function?
79. The dates for the preparatory exams have been decided?
80. The NSS volunteers are required to assemble at the quadrangle, or at the library?
81. The chief guest for the Anveshan has been invited?
82. You are following the revised time-table?
83. The IBBM students don't shout in your class?
84. The principal didn't come to your class for a briefing about the blood donation camp?
85. **As usual our sports meet is at Kanteerva stadium?**

For EIE users, it is intonation choice and not grammatical form that marks whether it is a statement or an interrogation. We therefore realize that there is organization above the utterance and the structure. Context and position in sequence are vital determinants of functional meaning, and intonation is of crucial significance. Since inferencing is an integral part of interpreting utterances, all these utterances are easily intelligible to EIE users.

- **so only-**

85. **Our B.Com students are from good schools. So only their results are good.**

86. **Bangalore is the IT capital of India. So only there are a number of software companies here.**

87. **I have had this doubt for a long time. So only I asked you.**

88. **The chief guest will be arriving any time; so only the NCC cadets are getting ready.**

89. **There is an urgent meeting of the Senate members; so only our Principal is not here.**

90. **The teachers are totally fed up with the recent order of the government; so only they are striking work.**
91. People have resorted to all sorts of actions; so only it doesn't rain regularly these days.

92. You are a good singer; so only I asked you to sing the invocation.

So is a common EIE adverb conjunct, with certain syntactic functions. The order of the two clauses in a sentence is fixed with the conjunct so in the second clause. But EIE users add only to so, and make it a unified expression 'so only'. This typical L1 transfer seems to convey more than what so would on its own. Its equivalent would be 'that is why'.

- isn't it /is it/no

These are common question tags that are used by EIE speakers to confirm approval. This is a literal L1 transfer.

93. The results have been very good this year, isn't it?

94. The recent terrorist attack on the US is similar to the earlier one on Pearl Harbour, isn't it?

95. The thematic division of the First Degree English syllabus is really interesting, isn't it?

96. The new English lecturer will be given BBM classes, is it?

97. The final degree students will be organizing the college day function, is it?
98. The NSS volunteers have beautified the college campus, no?

99. You are now taking class for the 1 PM, no?

100. The chief guest for the Anveshan is the Director of Collegiate Education, no?

**Repetitions in conversations:**

EIE users prefer to complete the full statement, instead of using proforms.

101. "I like hot chocolate fudge."

"Yes, I also like it a lot."

102. "You could have come a little earlier"

"Yes, I could have come a little earlier..." (instead of "Yes, I could have")

103. "I'm leaving on Sunday itself."

"You are leaving on Sunday itself..." (instead of "is it?")

104. "I haven't seen..."

"You haven’t seen..." (instead of "Haven't you?")
105. The principal is thoroughly happy with the negotiation that has come through regarding the notional arrears.

Oh, the principal is thoroughly happy with the negotiation (instead of "is it?")

106. Will it be possible for you to explain this poem again, madam?

107. You want me to explain this poem again? (instead of "oh sure")
SO CIOLINGUISTIC COMPETENCE:

Sociolinguistic competence is defined by Canale as "the extent to which utterances are produced and understood appropriately in different so ling contexts." (1983:7) For Canale, appropriateness involves both appropriateness of meaning and appropriateness of form. In other words, as much as the social situation determines the nature of the language, language also determines the social atmosphere of the situation. In fact an important direction of progress in communicative competence is towards greater understanding and mastery of the social significance of alternative language forms. Sociolinguistic ability therefore constitutes the speaker's control over the actual language forms to perform a range of communicative functions, taking into consideration the social and cultural background of the users.

Native and non native notions of competence in English vary. For instance the Gricean maxims of manner, quantity and relevance, do not apply to verbal interactions in EIE variety exactly in the same way as they do in the native variety. This is brought out in the analysis while studying
some of the communication functions performed by the EIE users.

- **Acknowledging compliments:**

EIE users do not readily acknowledge compliments. It is not that they refuse compliments, or downgrade them; to them acknowledging compliments willingly could be very embarrassing. The examples given below reflect the natural shyness of the Indians and seem to demonstrate their excessive modesty.

1. A: *Your saree is good.*
   
   B: *Oh, this is very old. It's my mother's.*

2. L: *Your speech was really very good, sir.*
   
   P: *Is it? In fact I didn't have enough time to prepare myself.*

   G: *You have a lovely voice. Why don't you sing again!*

   H: *Actually I've been having cold. My voice is not all that good.*

These are very natural responses to compliments. Indians have a natural difficulty acknowledging compliments.
The following are examples of the cultural frame of the Indian woman's natural hesitation to accept compliments from a man though he is her colleague. Such responses to compliments should not be considered as dampeners on conversation, but something natural and accepted by other EIE users.

4. Male Colleague: Your hair style is rather different. I like it.
Female colleague: oh god! I didn’t think you would notice these things.

5. Male colleague: this dress suits you. I know this is inappropriate, I mean to compliment you directly.
M: What liberty you people take?
MC: If I’m mistaken, I’m sorry.

- **Responding to offers:**

This is a typical feature of culture-specificity. EIE users consider it infra dig to accept any offer at the first instance. At the same time, they do not refuse the offer either. All their responses show a concern for the person making the offer, and also their own self-esteem.
6. "What would you like to have?"

"Nothing. Don’t bother."

7. Will you come along for a cup of coffee?

No, thank you. I should have lunch. Don’t you worry.

8. Kamal: Should I drop you home in the evening?

Vimal: Oh, no. Why should you unnecessarily trouble yourself?

Kamal: No, it is not. I shall drop you.

In the above exchange, the response "Why should you unnecessarily trouble yourself?" could be misinterpreted as offence by non EIE users; on the contrary, among EIE users this is most natural as is evident in Kamal’s insistence in the above exchange. In fact this is most appropriate in the Indian setting.

- **Agreeing**:

The following examples of 'agreeing' bring out a very interesting feature of EIE usage that reflects their social background. When they wish to express agreement even for a negative statement, they say 'Yes'. Negative opinions are generally not shared by EIE speakers by "Neither do I", or "Nor do I". Agreeing even in the negative always begins with an
affirmation, because these users find it necessary to express their endorsement initially perhaps to establish their solidarity with their co-participant. This is also a strong influence of their culture.

9. She is not an easy teacher to put up with.
   Yes. She is definitely not an easy teacher to put up with.

10. I don't like the B.A. students.
   Yes, even I don't like them.

11. Do you feel the seminar is really going to help us in our teaching?
   Yes, I don't think it is going to be useful.

12. With the recent bombardment on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon, the US is not going to take it easy.
   Yes, the US is not going to take it light.

13. I think this year our result may not be as good as last year, because of the strike just before the exams.
   Yes, the result may not be good.
14. I don't think it is the teachers' responsibility alone to mould the students. The parents have a major role too.

Yes, it is not the teachers’ responsibility alone to mould the students.

- **Greetings and responding to greetings:**

For a conversation to be successful the participants need to feel they are contributing something to it and are getting something out of it. These are certain general patterns of greeting that emerge in EIE. A greeting is fulfilled in a wide range of forms. Greeting is not merely a verbal signaling in EIE, but consists of culture specific extended expressions. Such exchanges are common among speakers of EIE. There is nothing personal or intrusive about such enquiries. For Indians personal enquiries reflect the speakers' concern and are part of phatic communion. The addressee may or may not answer these queries.

The length of a greeting is generally proportional to the importance of the relationship and of course to the duration of time since the last meeting. It means using certain types of utterance, such as asking where the addressee has been or how his family has been.
15. Principal: Namaste.

Guest: Namaste, how are you?

Principal: I am fine. This year our results have been really good. Our students have won quite a number of prizes in inter collegiate competitions.

16. Paul: Hello, how are you? How are your family members? Your wife had some health problems. Is she better now? Has your son got a job? What about your daughter's marriage? How do you do?

Peter: I'm fine. Going on, by the grace of God. But last week suddenly my son took ill and he had to be admitted in the hospital. Anyway thank you. How are you?

EIE speakers take such casual enquiries serious and answer in full details. They do not discriminate between "how are you?" and "How do you do?"

Indian languages display many differences in politeness expression phrases such as good morning and good evening. Salutations related to time of day are not normal: they are
substituted by namaste, namaskar. A person is generally blessed or greeted with long life.

17. A hundred years to you! We were just thinking of you.
18. You will not die soon, but live for a hundred years. I was thinking of you yesterday and wanted to meet you.

○ Greetings in Letter writing:
Letters, personal and not so personal, reflect the transferred cultural norms that exist in personal interactions. A typical EIE letter will have the following prerequisites- deferential lexical use, and abundant use of blessings in the opening and concluding paragraphs.

19. Trust this letter finds you all in good health by the grace of the Almighty.
20. My prayers are always for your family.
21. Self and wife send our regards to you.
   Self is myself.
22. We are all fine and hope to hear the same from your end.
23. Our pranaams to you, my dear father. (salutation)
24. By God's grace, everything shall be fine.

- **Making enquiries:**

An interesting aspect of communication among EIE users is that none of them say exactly what he/she thinks at all times, and directness while asking for information is something which speakers in the Indian culture tend to be very careful about. The natural hesitation of the Indians compels them to be indirect while making enquiries. At the same time they would like to know about the well-being of their friends and relatives. How they balance the two is brought out in this aspect of their sociolinguistic competence:

25. **Mala:** What do your children do?

**Kala:** I have four children, two daughters and two sons....

In the above exchange, though Kala's response is not directly related to Mala's question. Mala seems quite satisfied with the reply. This explains the sociolinguistic competence of the EIE users in making enquiries. Mala's intended question is "how many children do you have?" As an EIE user, Kala is able to interpret the question correctly, and give the desired response.
26. **Mishra:** *I presume you have a comfortable life.*

**Gupta:** Yes, my take home salary is Rs 15000. That's sufficient to run my family.

In the above exchange, Mishra refines his intended question "how much do you earn?" and deliberately makes a presumption about Gupta's comfortable lifestyle. However, this is correctly interpreted by Gupta, himself an EIE user, who gives Mishra the information needed.

27. **Sharmilee:** How did you prepare this dish?

**Deepa:** You must have some more.

The above exchange is another example of the EIE users' tendency not to be overt in their enquiries. Though Sharmilee asked for the recipe, when Deepa offered her another helping of the dish, she did not press for the recipe. This indicates that instead of asking Deepa "can I have some more?" Sharmilee has asked for the recipe. Nevertheless Deepa has interpreted Sharmilee's intention right.

28. **Kumar:** This house must have cost you quite a bit

**Ram:** It cost me nearly six lakhs in all.
Ram has been able to transfer Kumar's indirect observation to "how much did this house cost you?", and answered him correctly.

29. **Suma**: Your dress is very pretty. Is it very expensive?

**Latha**: I paid nearly two thousand rupees.

Suma means "what is the price of this dress?"

30. **Ravi**: How do you generally commute to college?

**Manjunath**: I have a scooter.

Ravi’s intended question is "do you have a vehicle?"

31. **Jayappa**: Is it possible to maintain the family with just your income?

**Solomon**: My Mrs. also works. She is with a nationalized bank.

EIE users' natural hesitation to be intrusive prevents Jayappa from asking Solomon if his wife works too. At the same time he cannot resist asking him. Circumlocution helps Jayappa to get the intended response.
32. Raghu: Will you be free on Sunday morning?

Chandrasekar: Are you planning to come home? Do come.

This reflects another trait of the EIE users' sociocultural inhibition. Instead of directly asking "Can I visit you?", Raghu wants to confirm if his friend would be free on Sunday morning so that his visit does not disturb him. The EIE users would not want to be even remotely intrusive.

Indians are perhaps cautious about the feelings of the addressees and would not want to embarrass them by direct questions. Nevertheless, it is clear from the data that the addressees have been sensitive to these indirect hints, and have responded appropriately. Communication has been effective despite indirectness of expression, because the EIE users recognize and appreciate such circumlocution.

- **polite expressions**

The most striking quality of the Indians that is reflected in this variety is politeness which is brought out in their excessive use of polite expressions in all their communication. While in native English, 'most specific is most polite' (Tongue
1974:106), such a strategy is highly inappropriate in EIE, where wordiness is an essential requisite for politeness.

33. We are extremely honoured to have the esteemed presence of the Vice-chancellor for this valedictory function.

34. I deem it a great privilege and an honour to be associating myself with this morning's function.

35. The committee should not be offended by my humble opinion regarding the modality of the course.

36. Sir, if I'm permitted to give my say in the matter....

37. We are extremely honoured to have the esteemed presence of the Vice-chancellor for this valedictory function.

38. I deem it a great privilege and an honour to be associating myself with this morning's function.

39. I, on behalf of the college, and on my own behalf, extend a warm welcome to our distinguished guest for the morning, who strode as a colossus for more than 30 years as the
principal of many colleges (a).... friend philosopher and guide to more than 6000 students -

40. It is our pride and honour to have such a distinguished guest with us this morning, a person none other than His Holiness Bhagwan Shri Shri Swami.....

- Pragmatic inferences:

In any interaction, the listener/reader has to rely on a process of inference to understand the speaker’s/writer’s intended meaning. This inference is based on socio-cultural knowledge. The data reveals a good use of such **pragmatic inferences** in this variety.

41. Madhavan: *Diwali is fast approaching*

Devaraj: *yes, I'll apply for an advance and return your money.*

In the Indian context, Diwali is a festival widely celebrated all over India, for which a festival advance is given to employees. In the above exchange, Devaraj promises to return Madhavan his money by applying for a festival advance. Madhavan’s utterance "Diwali is fast approaching" is pragmatically interpreted both as a reminder to Devaraj about the money he
owes to Madhavan, and also suggesting a means of arranging for the money.

42. You know that these people at the CIEFL close down the mess at 8.45 or 9 pm.

According to the Cambridge international dictionary of English (1997:890) 'a mess is a room or building in which men of the armed forces have their meals or spend their free time." But in the Indian setting mess also means a cafeteria. There is no scope for misunderstanding because all Indians accept mess as an eating place.

43. Asha: do you have the first hour class tomorrow?

Sudha: no, tomorrow is Friday.

Asha: oh, I forgot!

In the above exchange Sudha generally offers extended prayers on Fridays and for the Hindus Friday is an auspicious day. Hence sudha does not have a class in the first hour on Fridays to enable her come to college a little late.
Honorific terms of addressing

In the Indian languages, there are well-defined rules about how to speak to older and more important people. The English pronoun system presents no such distinctions of this kind to express their deference. Hence EIE speakers tackle this handicap by innovative lexical terms. In some academic departments respect is expressed by addressing the person by his/her first name and affixing the vocative 'sir' or 'madam'.

44. *Shanthi madam* is on study leave; so you will have another teacher for Hindi this year.

*Hari sir* is in charge of cultural activities; he is the person you need to contact

In wedding invitations it is very common to find such terms:

45. *Chiranjeevi* (symbolizing long life) *M* will be getting married to *Soubhagyavathi* (symbolizing the blessed).
A superior is generally with the respectful 'ji' suffixed to his name.

46. **Sastriji, please come in. It is our pleasure to have you with us. Bhabiji must have also accompanied you in this visit.**

Borrowed from Hindi, 'ji' is an honorific way of referring to or addressing someone.

In the case of solidarity relation, the personal name is affixed by 'bhaiya' to denote a sense of brotherhood. Among the EIE users of north India, *Bhabhiji* is a respectful term to refer to the addressee's wife. The speaker will sound disrespectful if he says "your wife", because Indian culture does not allow a man to address his friend's wife by name. Hence the term 'bhabhiji', which literally means 'brother's wife,' is used to convey respect.

- **Topics of discussion:**

  Indians being very conservative by nature, have a natural hesitation in discussing certain topics in a mixed group. There are some topics that men find embarrassing to discuss in the presence of women, and some that women find reluctant to talk about in men's presence.
Topic areas are gender specific among EIE users.

47. Mohan: There is too much of sex and violence in cinema these days.

Swami: You're right. Recently I saw "Utsav" on the television and my God!

Mohan: No wonder the small screen has contaminated our youngsters.

Swami: It is only the women who are projected thus, dressed in scanty clothes...

48. Mohan: S, I think we need not elaborate further. Some of our women colleagues may be embarrassed. After all it is not proper to discuss these things in their presence.

49. Rinu: Tara, why didn’t you come to college yesterday?

Tara: I wasn’t well.

Rinu: Why what happened?

Tara: Some problem. Things that can’t be discussed with men around.
Matrimonial Advertisements:

Matrimonial advertisements in the English-language press are equally distinctive. All involve mixing mainly with borrowed Sanskrit lexical items. Mixing of the type illustrated here is restricted to the Hindu community. The advertisements are obviously from educated families who have traditional views on social stratification and caste, and who place complete reliance on the horoscope for finalizing the alliance.

The expressions used in matrimonial advertisements in newspapers for brides are: 'artful, homely, convent-educated and wheatish complexioned.' Domesticated, domestically well-trained, joint family loving, god-fearing, talented in music.

The expressions used for bridegrooms are: well-educated, well-settled, professionally qualified, un-encumbered, foreign-returned, clean habits, US settled.

In the Indian setting, marriages arranged by parents are more common than self arranged ones. Hence parents specify their requirements and find brides/grooms accordingly. Such
advertisements are ridden with culture specific terms to suit the Indian context.

50. Wanted well-settled bridegroom for a Kerala fair graduate **Bharadwaja gotram, Astasastram** girl ... **subsect** no bar. Send horoscope and details';

51. 'Matrimonial proposals invited from educated, smart, well settled, Gujarati bachelors for good looking, decent, Gujarati **Modh Ghanchi Bania** girl (25), B.A., doing her M.A.

52. Tall, beautiful, Convent educated girl between 18 and 21 **Non Bharadwaj Vadama Brahmin** required for well placed Air Force pilot from a well-to-do and respectable family. Write with horoscope and particulars.'

53. "Wanted very beautiful, slim girl 19 - 23, South Indian **Brahmin**, who is outgoing, family oriented for Tamil **Iyer, Vadama Srivatsa** boy, and a well qualified well employed groom for his sister who is tall and beautiful, working with a nationalized bank. Correspondence invited preferably for **mutual alliance.**"

"Mutual alliance" is a culturally significant collocation; it refers to an arrangement by which X's daughter and son get married to Y's son and daughter. These matrimonial advertisements
are from prestigious English newspapers. All these have borrowed lexical items from Sanskrit.

- **Giving messages of death:**

54. "Mrs. N. Parvathi Devi attained the *lotus feet of the Lord* on 29th April, 2000. *Obsequies at Senthil Nagar, Chennai.*

*Dasaahas* on 8th May at the same place."

55. Mr. Gopalan died of massive heart attack at his residence on 14th August 2001. *Cremation at Harichandra Ghat.*

*Vaikunda Samaradhanai* on 27th August 2001 at Sankara Mutt, Malleswaram.

The 'Obituary' Column is as lexis and culture specific as the Matrimonial Column. The announcements about death, the metaphor of death, the outward manifestations at funeral are extremely culture and religion specific. Since English is a non-native language, the medium certainly must first be acculturated.

In many of these announcements, the underlying idiom is that of the native language. Once it is expressed or recreated into English (though a deviant) it immediately establishes a
cultural and emotional bond with the local reader. To another EIE reader, it is neither sentimental nor ostentatious; it is contextually proper, and in fact any other way of expressing it would be culturally inappropriate.

- **Wedding invitations:**

In wedding invitations a predominant cultural aspect is revealed. The unit of interaction is the family, not the individual. This accounts for the impersonal and vague manner in which an invitation is written:

56. Smt and shri V. Balakrishnan request the pleasure of your company with family and friends on the occasion of the marriage of their daughter....

57. Mrs. and Mr. Smiles solicit your gracious presence for the wedding of their son Sam with Leila

At St. Lourde's Church.....

- **Code-mixing:**

The pragmatic success of code-mixing is not determined by the attitude of the native speaker toward the code, but by the effectiveness of such codes within the contexts of use: stylistic
effectiveness, emotional effectiveness, and effectiveness in terms of identity.

Most Indians have some kind of spoken competence in at least two languages. English in India must therefore be viewed keeping in mind this Indian sociolinguistic reality of bi or multilingualism. The users' intentional use of code-mixing is not to expose their linguistic deficiency but to exhibit their bilingual competence.

'ki' is a link word from Hindi (to mean 'that') used by EIE speakers to convert reported speeches into direct expressions.

58. The Local Inspection committee members informed us *ki* we are satisfied with the infrastructure of your college.

59. I have made it very clear to the students *ki* if you don't write the preparatory exams, you must be prepared to face the consequence.

Words with the suffix 'fy' are common instances of code mixing, where the root or stem is a word from any one of the Indian languages sounds anglicized by adding 'fy.'
60. Sarala was on leave yesterday, because of hennu nodufying function.

This is a code-mix of Kannada and English. Hennu is girl and nodu is to see. Literally it means 'seeing a girl'. However, in the Indian setting, it connotes something more significant. As marriages are generally arranged by parents, after the agreement of the horoscopes of the 'girl' and the 'boy', there is a preliminary formal meeting when the boy goes to the girl's house to see her. This is hennu nodufying function which is typical of the Indian setting.

61. Very often I see the students chakkarfying all round the college. Chakkar is a Hindi word meaning to roam around. 'Fy' is another common code mix, where the root word is an Indian word which sounds anglicized by adding the suffix 'fy'.

62. Have you moved to your new house, Malati?

Not yet Sivagami, we only paal kaichified last week.

This is a code-mix of Tamil and English. Paal is milk and Kaichify is to boil. But in the Indian context, the
combination signifies something much more culture bound. When a person moves to a new house, milk is boiled in the new kitchen to symbolize a happy and auspicious entry. Once the milk is boiled, the house can be occupied any day thereafter.

It is interesting to note that such Indianised terms are used in the correct tenses by adding appropriate tense determiners.

- **Culture-specific expressions:**

  When EIE users realize the inadequacy of the English language to express the social and cultural features of the Indian way of life, they either retain their culture specific terms or coin their own words to fulfill their communicative functions.

63. B: Have you moved to your new house, D?

D: Not yet, the *grihapravesham* is on the 18th of this month.

B: Oh, then there is a dinner awaiting me.

64. Principal: It is at 10 am. Just a minute please. I'll give you the programme sheet. Yes, it's here. We begin with the
lighting of the lamp, followed by an invocation song. Our students will not listen to Gandhian philosophy any more. In today's world, might is right.

65. Persuading the students to enroll themselves for NCC has been a Himalayan task for me.

66. Whatever happens Mr. R goes on with his work, unmindful of anything. He is a karma yogi in the real sense.

Kinship is a very important Indian feature.

67. My cousin sister has planned to apply for this job.

68. Kumar is my cousin brother.

69. What is your co-brother?

70. Vimala and Kamala are co-daughters in law of the Rai family.

71. We are co-sons in law.

72. We generally do not have bed-coffee.

73. Nose rings and toe-rings are symbols of a married girl.

74. During lunch hour we go to the SLV hotel and have plate-meals which is quite cheap.

75. I always add ghee to my food.

76. My teacher sometimes wears dhoti to college.
77. My mother performs *pooja* every morning.

78. Her sufferings are the consequences of her *Karma*.

79. Mr. Rao is more a *sanyasi*.

80. I enjoy vegetable *pulav* very much.

81. Thanks to the lottery; Sunil is now a *lakhier*.

82. *Goondaism* is on the rise these days.

83. This carpet is made of *coir*.

84. Is the plan 'pukka'?

85. Do you have *chappatis* with *chutney*?

86. The *dowry-system* should be abolished.

87. We want a *family-oriented girl* as our daughter-in-law."

88. I am not a *Gandhiji* to practice *ahimsa*.

89. Students are always in a state of *ananda.*"

90. Do you practise your *ahsanahs* regularly?

91. We visited your *ashram* there.

92. The devotees exhibited their *bhakthi*.
93. Our **dharma** alone can save us.

94. I need to call you my **guru**.

95. Such things are bound to happen in **Kaliyuga**.

96. It is my **karma** to suffer this mishap.

97. What is your **mantra** behind your success?

98. We live in a world of **maya**.

99. What we need in life is **shanthi**.

100. You can cure this only by **yoga**.

101. He thinks he is a **maharishi**.

102. My **namaskarams** to the elders at home.

103. My **ashirvadhams** to all youngsters.

104. It's my proud privilege to offer the vote of thanks. Because this is as important as **thamboola** after a feast. It is our culture to honour our invitees and guests with **thamboola** so also we offer a word of thanks to honour our guests today.

105. I have had a wonderful time this morning judging the **English debate**: *Justice delayed is justice denied*. ...as much as **bhava** is fundamental to dance, and **shruthi** to music, so is expression to elocution.
106. A **dharna** was staged by the members of the BUCTA.

107. We would be happy and honoured if you could spend sometime with us during the **Ayush homam** of our daughter.

The meaning of these terms can be explained in English only partially because they are no exact equivalents for these items, but only near translations. Hence EIE users find the need to retain these culture specific expressions for effective communication.