CHAPTER 2

Status, Role and Variations of Indian English in India

2.1 The Review of the Literature

Before I set out to investigate how acceptable IE is to people directly related to the variety in use, I would like to examine the connected issues. I will take up aspects such as the status, past and present, of IE, the roles played by it and the resultant variations before considering it for standardization.

2.1.1 English in Modern India

Since the British left India, we have seen a gradual decline in the popularity of British literature serving as a tool of teaching English. The society has witnessed gradual erosion of status previously enjoyed by English literature as more and more undergraduates and postgraduates discover that it provides fewer job opportunities compared to earlier times. On the other hand, we have witnessed a proliferation in the growth of English medium schools and coaching institutes. In fact, there is an unprecedented demand for tutors of ‘Spoken English’, an area which has been tactfully woven together with ‘Personality Development’ courses. Smitten with the desire to educate their wards in English medium schools, the masses are ever willing to brush aside the availability of free education in government-run schools, as they generally lag behind the private schools in imparting education in English. While ancient British literature has come to stand as a symbol of the British ideology, a reminder of the colonial past, the English language has become a vehicle of progress. The boundaries, which divide the world into nations, may be
regarded as administrative conveniences as the world gets converted into a global village, thanks to the English language, which unites it through technology, economy and social sciences. English has emancipated itself from the colonial bonds which stand for imperialism, as the masses adopt it in every lane and by-lane of the urban and semi-urban India. What more, we have now indigenized it and have begun to nurture it as our very own. The incorporation of linguistic elements is not just one way. Hindi and vernaculars borrow heavily from English—the attempt sometimes referred to as the ‘vernacularization’ of English.

It is observed that attitudinal changes occur as a language variety transforms its form and identity to play different sets of roles with changing times. The ecology of a language is influenced by the local conditions. In the same light the status of the English language in India has undergone changes given the political, economic, aesthetic, educational and religious environment. English like most other languages is much more than just a vehicle of communication. It structures our thoughts our philosophy of life and in the long run affects generations of humanity in this part of Southeast Asia.

It is observed that if not adequately developed, a language can delimit the structure of thoughts (Wittgenstein in Agnihotri 1997). According to Agnihotri, it is through language that we acquire the greater part of our knowledge. The conceptual structures that inhabit our minds often have linguistic correlates associated with them. So language has biological, structural, social and psychological aspects to it and contributes towards the advancement, as well as the degeneration of our mind, our personality and our life and society. It is in this light that one needs to constantly re-examine the status as well as the state of a language in use and develop it. The same is true of the English language in the
present India. The status a language occupies and the role it plays promote its growth or trigger its decay. English in India has been constantly growing since the times it was brought to India by a set of British businessman.

2.1.2 Officially Recognized Status of English in India

The British established their sovereignty in India (1765-1947) ensuring that the language of administration remained English. English also became the medium of instruction. Lord Bentick accepted a minute written by Thomas Babington Macaulay, a member of the Supreme Council of India in 1835 which proposed to develop:

... a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern-- a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect (in Khubchandani 1991).

In the recent years, English has stretched out beyond Macaulay’s instructions and imagination. Having established itself as a SL in the post-independence India, English performs active roles in the academic, professional and social life of the nation. It is common knowledge that language grows on its own to meet the demands of a community, so has English in India; in the form of several varieties. The varieties have evolved from the demands made on English. We need to consider their standardization since to some extent the nation’s progress depends on English.

The status of English in India can be best described under three classifications:

* Associate official language (Hindi is the official language)

* National Language, with Hindi, Bengali, Gujrati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, etc and State language of Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Tripura
* Official language of eight union territories: the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Arunachal Pradesh, Chandigarh, Dadar and Nagar Haveli, Delhi, Lakshwadip, Mizoram and Pondicherry (Mc Arthur 1998:51). English, as an associate official language, is used in the government, education, media, tourism, legal systems, business, international relations, etc. Hindi as the official language in the centre and certain states, other vernaculars as official language in certain states, the language(s) of political communication, social and religious domains, as well as in inter-personal relationships.

In the field of entertainment, Hindi continues to reign supreme.

2.1.3 English: A Social Reality

Considering the importance shown to it in the Indian ‘Language Policy’, English can be called Indian even if genealogically it is remote from the Indian languages. IE enjoys the status of being called ‘IntraType’, a pan-regional link language, as it is used here by people as a language of day to day use. English is not learnt by people with a desire to integrating with the Anglo-Saxon community and their culture, whatever the variety in question may be, ie AE, BE, AsE, etc. In fact, most Indians learn English governed by the instrumental motivation (Lukmani 1972, Kachru 1976). Every society is dynamic, always subject to change. Since language co-habits with society, it is inherently dynamic. English is said to enjoy a love/ hate relationship with the society in India vis-à-vis other local languages. In political circles, people who matter try to impose one or more of the vernacular languages, ie Hindi/ Punjabi/ Tamil, etc on the population whereas, they send their own wards to English medium schools (Khubchandani 1983). Hindi and other vernacular languages stand for nationalism; Hindi is seen as the language
of national integration, while English of opportunities; of progress. Almost always, education received through instruction in English medium ensures upward mobility. In Khubchandani’s words (1991:3), such people then act as “the gate keepers who define the reality for the rest of the society” like was done in the colonial times. To that extent English perpetuates a segregationist system, creating a ghetto of the educated elite, alienating the masses, needs to be examined at length. Usually proficiency in English, power and money are observed to go together. Competence in English places itself right on the top of the Indian cast structure (around five percent of India’s one billion population, ie 40 million (Crystal 1996: 41) speak English making it the fourth largest population of English speakers in the world after the US, UK and Nigeria. It can be called the third largest if we overlook the Nigerian pidgin English speakers. More and more people are joining the swelling tribe of English speakers because it gives a certain refinement to the personality and is seen as a language of modernization, a language that can bring about major political, social and economic changes much more rapidly than any other language. It is understood that English is committed to the ideals of democracy and socialism. It has promoted democracy not only in India but in various parts of the world. It is also the language of women’s liberation, for instance, and one that has questioned age-old beliefs and dogmas. Indian social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy stood by the anglicized form of education, as they felt it helped to remove ignorance; dogma.

In India, English serves as a label for status, prestige and fashion and due to some of these factors, it is striking roots rapidly among the Indian masses. As mentioned above, English in India has undergone change in status from time to time, as of now, by catering to the masses instead of staying confined to a small elite. Such changes in status and
functions have changed its composition. We need to interrogate those dealing closely with it to explore if they accept its changing complexion.

2.1.4 English in Education

Raja Ram Mehrotra (1998) says that in the area of academics, there are ninety-seven universities at the BA level and one hundred and six at the MA level of which twenty are exclusively English at the BA level and fifty-one only English at the MA level.

Post-independence, the government of India took a pluralistic stand vis-a-vis languages for instructional and administrative purposes. India is a multi-lingual society with several languages in contact and it has formed a system network where each language has been allocated a cluster of roles or has acquired them gradually on its own. Some of these roles are socio-politically determined, for eg, English, which will continue as an associate official language; further, the dominant state language will function as the medium of instruction up to the highest level in the states; Central Schools will have a bilingual medium of instruction – Hindi and/ or English for humanities and Social Science, and English for Science and Technology. India fascinates linguists who call it “a linguistic giant” and “a language laboratory” (Verma in Agnihotri 1994). Our bouquet of languages helps us with “national cohesion” and “cultural integration”.

In this multilingual nation, languages exist in complementary status with territorial division in terms of tasks. Khuchandani refers to this phenomenon as dyadic behavior of languages where no single language can fulfill all the requirements of a member. So even if English is a constant reminder of colonial exploitation regularly condemned by certain political leaders, it will continue to prosper by taking more and more in its folds.
In the sphere of education, the federal government of India observes a pluralistic approach and has implemented the ‘three language formula’ in school education. The present policy has been through its own share of turmoil in the past fifty years.

In 1964-66, the Kothari Commission was set up to modify the three language formula which reallocated roles to the chief languages; the interests of group identity (served by mother tongues and regional languages), national pride and unity (served by Hindi) and administrative efficiency and technological progress (served by English) were redefined. It was decided that the north Indian states would promote at least one or the other south Indian language but they chose Sanskrit as their third language with Hindi as the regional language as the medium of instruction and English as the second language. In reaction, the south considering Hindi as an imposition preferred to enhance the importance of English. Some states adopted English as the sole official language in reaction to what they called was the “Aryanization” of India, says Sridhar (1989:22).

After the British left India, a number of well-placed political leaders, sociologists and educationists upheld the view that MT-based education needed to replace English medium instruction. UNESCO’s recommendation (1955:11) validated the cause of MT instruction as psychologically, socially and educationally much better for the child. This point of view gained favour in planning language in education and students were made to learn one language by class IV, ie their MT, two languages between classes V-VII, and three languages in classes VIII-X with MT as the medium of instruction. However, in the context of higher education, the Kunzru Committee in 1955 emphasized the importance of the study of English by all university students as a desirable practice. In 1948, the education ministers recommended the use of mother tongue, in this context the state
language, as the medium of instruction at the primary and secondary level and the vice-chancellors recommended the same at the university level in place of English.

In 1949, the University Education Commission took the first decisive step towards the evolution of the three-language formula. Their recommendation that the students at the secondary and university levels should study three languages, i.e., the language of the state, the link language, which is Hindi or any other language in a Hindi language state, and also English. All these recommendations were endorsed by the Central Advisory Board of Education (1957) and adopted by the Conference of State Chief Ministers in 1961.

A majority of the population accepted it even though the educational planning agencies like the University Grants Commission (UGC) and the central and state governments modified it and have been doing so from time to time. At the university level, there are very few takers for education in regional media. Those who do are normally those students who do not entertain high aspirations through academic courses, says Sridhar (1989). Most of the professional/specialized institutes such as the IITs, IIMs and deemed universities follow English as the medium of instruction. Students opting to go to the UK, USA, Australia, etc., for further studies, need to study in English medium schools by way of preparation.

Selection of a language as a medium of instruction, selection of other languages to be taught is generally the prerogative of the institution and its governing body—of course within the formula. Such selections are made keeping in mind factors like educational needs, interests of the students, availability of funds and staff, regional language background/MT of students, etc. However, a lot of planning regarding languages is required to be done by the schools in terms of availability of funds, time, human energy,
etc, in a heavily populated country such as ours. Expenditures can be mammoth. Also, they may have undercurrents, which could trigger off “political” repercussions. A case that can be quoted here from the days of militancy in Punjab is that of certain militant organizations demanding a compulsory inclusion of Punjabi as a third language in certain schools in Chandigarh. Chandigarh may be the capital of Punjab but it does not fall within its administrative jurisdiction. The best examples of how language dynamics work with political considerations are as recent as the current year press releases (TOI June 14, 2003:14):

Quietly but powerfully, English is capturing schools from where it was once banished --or never taught. In state after state, the public clamour is so strong, reluctant politicians don’t dare stand in the way...

Shortage of equipment and staff does not deter state governments from announcing the introduction of English right from class 1. In Mumbai, of the “953 new primary schools approved in 2000-01, 478 were English- medium. By 02-03 the number was 307 of 333 new schools that were sanctioned”. The story is the same in WBengal, Punjab, Gujrat, etc. English is now taught right from standard II instead of standard VI, as was the old practice.

2.1.5 Formulation of a New Pedagogic Model

Through the account presented above, one can safely conclude that there is no doubting the supremacy of English in India. Also that English has largely cast its elitist cloak to become the layperson’s speech. These statements are made to prove the argument that when teaching of English becomes as widespread as this, it has to dilute its difficulty
level by simplifying its intricacies. Therefore, it has to be tailored to meet the commoner’s needs, taste and style. We cannot expect children from the slums and far-flung tribal belts to link easily with the words of Wordsworth, all strung in poetic form. What can increase the output of a paddy field, where all has water harvesting yielded results, and what can be done to save the pundits in Jammu & Kashmir, told in simple English will be more relevant for them. If the roles English plays can get transformed from time to time, surely we need to be sensitive to the modifications it undergoes to meet the demands of such roles. British literature needs to make place for materials related to the learner’s life around. The whole tradition of promoting European literature (Sharp 1920 Document 30 in Sridhar 1989), declared by Gov Gen Lord William Benedict, has to make way for courses on modern IE discourses to teach the new generations communication skills.

2.1.6 English in an English-Educated Indian’s Life

With an over two-century long presence in India, English can be found to be in use in several settings among a cross-section of society. It is quite common to find products of public schools (English medium schools) communicate in English in not only their professional and social settings but in situations of personal engagements as well. People from certain sections of the press and media, hotel industry, tourism, education and academics, often use English. Government and non-government organizations, all India bodies conducting competition exams for recruitment, entrance tests to professional courses, etc, find it easier to connect with their candidates in English. Many professionals, top level industrialists, traders, film personnel and writers of English
belong to the English using elite community. Those from the communications and transport industry lean upon it heavily. While English is the choice of the press, Hindi is a favourite with the electronic media (Sridhar 1989). In the recent times, the Internet has emerged as the fastest instrument for circulating information around the globe and as per one estimate, 80 percent of it is in English. (Span 2000). In the context of English, the Secretary of Industry, Arunachal Pradesh, N Diwakar (in a newspaper report 2000), appealed to the public:

We missed the Industrial Revolution and are a hundred years behind the developed world today. If we again miss the information and the computer revolution we will lag behind by another hundred years. English is absolutely necessary to keep pace with the rapidly changing world.

Keeping such statements in mind, we need to ask ourselves: What kind of English do our English Compulsory course students need, considering the fact that they would be using the Internet to communicate on several aspects and functions of life and not just to engage in literary criticism? It is vital to invite the attention of the English literature teaching fraternity to change age-old mindsets on such issues.

2.1.7 English and the Indian Economy

While on one side globalization of economy is building up consensus towards an international model of English, on the other side rapid and extensive localization and nativization of English is taking place. English is not an international language, in the mould of Spanish or Russian but a world language, a consequence of the economic and cultural strength of the Anglo-saxon world (Mc Arthur 1998: 31). English has established
itself as a second language in the lives of masses of humanity. These masses will not necessarily have to communicate with those abroad. They can be quite intelligible to one another using the nativized IE. Do we have to check the growth of the local varieties just for the sake of preserving a hypothetical situation where every SL speaker will need to meet international mutual intelligibility standards? What happens to the local needs then?

Strong connections between the economy and English are quite evident. As we teach English to the millions, we have to be asking ourselves: how will the entire policy benefit the nation economically?

Grin (2001) talks of ten issues presented here in my own words where economy is heavily influenced by the English language:

* In the context of production, distribution and consumption of products and services. A good example is that of Hollywood films, works of fiction in English, English newspapers.

* If we invest in people by distributing English among them, we are building the human capital, which can be used for greater benefits. For instance, to some extent the USA has sold its consumerist culture through English. Democracy has been sold very well through the English-educated elite of India.

* Teaching English is a social investment. Helps us to build group bonding, group solidarity. Such groups can later sell ideas.

* Language policies involving English have economic implications. Agencies will invest on the development of English.

* It is a well-established fact that often those who know English get better-paid jobs than others; a case of language-based income inequality.
* Knowledge of use of English can help get various jobs, eg, translation, interpretation, teaching, etc.

Then there are others like:

* English gives us a distinct identity wherever we travel.

* English has led to diversification of migration trends. Indians prefer the UK to France for migration.

* Knowledge of use of English helps us acquire supranational identities. We think of ourselves as global citizens.

* English has led to international integration, which has activated exchange of goods and services, capital and labour (Amin 1993).

The IT sector in India is flush with business from multi-national companies abroad and English has played in favour of Indian professionals. The recently arrived industry of call-centres and medical transcription is once again a benefit that has come our way thanks to English. The latest business to be launched here is that of providing medical facilities to the British nationals to ease the burden on the UK hospitals.

2.1.8 English & Globalization

English dominates the world of industry, commerce, technology and banking in the present times. It connects various NGOs and professionals of human sciences. Fishman (1996:628 in Bangbose 2001) refers to this phenomenon as one loaded with economic ramifications. Mazrui & Mazrui (1996: 284 in Bangbose 2001) call the spread of English with all consumer items as “cocolonization” and Phillipson (1999:27-28 in Bangbose 2001) calls it “Mac Donaldization” of the world. It frightens many, though, the thought of
homogenization of the world (Friedman 1999). It amounts to a monocultural, monolingual growth. But this does not mean that the localization factor is not going strong enough. We need to aid it; we need to make sure that the English-knowing elite does not curb it. Yano (2001) says that it is because of English that Korea has become a rich country, ie by opening its market. Just as it happened in the case of India. We attracted IT related international business corporations from all over the world with the attraction of our English-knowing IT engineers. Similarly, international businesses such as that of Call Centres where employees answer customer services calls of clients/consumers on behalf of the Company, Medical Transcription, and such others have been attracted by India due to its English-knowing human resources. Yano elaborates on it:

A general rule of thumb in international trade is that selling must be carried out in the customer’s language. This is precisely what India, Korea, China and other countries are doing. This is why they need to learn English.

2.1.9 English in the World

Though English has been distributed across the world by Britain, English cannot be considered its personal property. In the same light, the BE model cannot and should not be imposed on anybody as the only ‘model’ (since it is the original one) to be followed. Nations connect with one another in English, irrespective of whether or not their national language is English. They use English for diplomatic and commercial purposes and for human upliftment programmes. The primary working language of the United Nations, World Bank, UNESCO, etc among others like French, Spanish, Arabic, Mandarin and Russian is English (Mc Arthur 1998:35). Different countries use English under different
categories depending on why they use it. To those in the USA, UK, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, English comes as MT and is referred to as English as a Native language (ENL). For many in South Asia it is ESL (for 400,000,000 people, Nash 1992:175). Because Pakistan, Bangla Desh, etc have been British colonies, they also use English extensively. Countries like Japan, Iran, France use it for limited purposes, and in such nations it is accorded the status of English as a Foreign Language (EFL). Needless to say that these varieties undergo as many changes as the purposes they serve. In places such as India, varieties of English develop at an accelerated pace, if they are used a lot. On account of this, they need the attention of those in the business of teaching and distributing it.

As per the British Council newsletter CONNECTING 2001, there are more than 1.5 billion users of English in the world, ie 25 percent of the humanity. Nearly 85 percent of the world’s business uses English and more than a quarter of the world’s publications appear in English. Three quarters of the world mail is in English (Crystal 1997). In 1995, the British Council conducted a major survey of global consultation eliciting opinions of professionals from across the world. 93 percent of them responded that English will remain the dominant language and is a must for progress. When we drive through Greece and Germany, Israel and France, we can read bilingual/trilingual signs with English as a lingua franca (Mc Arthur 1998). English is the language of computers, networking, emails and cyberspace.
2.1.10 The Question of an Indigenous Non-Literary Model

Coursing through the information on the status enjoyed by English and the roles played by it, and on studying its influences on education and economy and on the political, social and cultural life of nearly the entire humanity, we should have formed some opinions. We need to ask ourselves whether the kind of English we are giving our learners of English Compulsory courses should be of the communicative variety or the literary variety, as is the practice now? That too of the British literary style, set in a bygone era? If people consider all these arguments they should be able to arrive at the conclusion that it is the changing face of English in India that we need to standardize for our students not the model offered by Austen or Keats. The most convincing part of the argument is that it is happening all over the world.

2.1.11 Recognition of Englishes

Due to colonization and wide scale migration across the world, English spread at a pace, which could not be matched with the availability of human resource and infrastructure to teach people SBE. The local conditions inter-played with English giving it a native complexion. Also, it is a fact that it is in the nature of language, and in the nature of society, that dialects always keep changing, says Trudgill in his book, *The Dialects of English* (1990:128). In the early 80’s, IE, a variety, which originated from the BE, was considered a myth and dismissed though some scholars attempted to define it. By the mid-80’s, similar varieties had begun to demand recognition having become indispensable in use in the local regions and having produced enough literature.
Commenting on the literatures in English produced in Nigeria, India, Malaysia, etc, Keith Jones of the British Council says in *English in the World* (a collection of papers, p50):

The main feature of the global context of English Literature seems to me to be a healthy pluralism—a plurality of Literatures in Englishes, ...a plurality of teaching purpose and procedures...

While the 80’s saw the affirmation of pluralism in English, the language got elevated as Englishes, in the plural form, in the early 90’s.

Recognizing this need-based phenomenon, Abbott observes that there must be provision for each English to have a distinctive lexical set that will express local cultural content (Abbott 1991).

### 2.1.12 What is a Variety

With so much discussion on Englishes, it is worth it to interpret the word variety or varieties. Ferguson and Gumperz (1960:30,32 in Platt et al 1984) define ‘variety’ in the following way:

A variety is any body of human speech patterns which is sufficiently homogenous to be analyzed by available techniques of synchronic description, and which has a sufficiently large repertory of elements and their arrangements or processes with broad enough semantic scope to function in all normal contexts of communication.

It is worthwhile to distinguish it from language at this stage. The following definition of language by the same linguists:
A language consists of all varieties (whether only a single variety or an indefinitely large number of them) which share a single superposed variety (such as a literary standard) having substantial similarity in phonology and grammar with the included varieties or which are either mutually intelligible or are connected by a series of mutually intelligible varieties.

In the light of these definitions to call any system of communication a language variety, the following aspects need to be considered:

(i) A linguistic system must consist of homogenous grammatical patterns and substantial number of lexical items to enable its speakers to operate with it in all everyday situations of life.

(ii) A variety may differ from other varieties of a given language in respect to lexis and discourse as long as it shares common grammatical and phonological features.

(iii) A variety should offer mutual intelligibility with other varieties of the same language.

In reference to the first two points, one can call the English used in India a ‘variety’ of English as it shares most of the grammatical patterns of SBE. A ‘variety’ is basically a descriptive term and offers scope for flexibility in describing features of language. Fishman (1983) calls it a non-judgmental term in comparison to the term ‘language’ which is judgmental. Little wonder that the word is loosely used to label almost any linguistic system.
Varieties can be categorized by keeping in mind three different criteria: they can be

(i) user-oriented

(ii) use-oriented


IE can be labeled as a non-native variety in a SL situation, judging it by the first two
criteria. Under the same criteria BE can be called a native variety.

Since all varieties of English have their origin in BE, it can indeed be called the “single
superposed variety (… a literary standard)”. The concept of superposed variety is given
by Trudgill (1974). A point to note is that BE within Britain itself has several varieties.

Surely, IE cannot share mutual intelligibility with all of them. But the fact that BE has
been learnt in several SL, FL situations in various countries entails the existence of a
superposed/standard variety of BE which should have served as a model. The concept of
Standard English (SE) in reference to BE follows.

2.1.13 Standard English

It has been described by Trudgill (1974) as:

... that variety of English which is usually used in print, and which
is normally taught in schools to non-native speakers learning the
language... It is also the variety which is spoken by educated
people and used in news broadcasts....

It was never formally standardized. It gradually evolved. Used by the educated class all
over the UK and patronized by the aristocracy—it became the most widely accepted form
of the English language. It has a world-recognized codified grammar and vocabulary. No
doubt it has its own regional differences in the form of standard AE and various others but there is:

A general consensus among educated people, and in particular among those who hold powerful and influential positions, as to what is SE and what is non-standard English (NSE), as it were imposed from over the range of regional dialects, and for this reason can be called a superposed variety of language (Trudgill 1974).

While SE can be spoken with any regional accent, the English accent, known as RP (Received Pronunciation), is associated only with SE. It is a ‘non-localized’ accent which developed mainly in the English public schools and was the prescriptive model for all BBC announcers until recently. It is of some interest to note here that RP is spoken by only three percent of the English population. It is prescribed to foreign learners because it is the most widely understood accent and the best described and recorded, therefore good as a pedagogic instrument.

2.1.14 Native and Non-Native Varieties of English

The globalization of English has stimulated the birth of a number of variations of English all over the world. There is a tendency to dub all non-native varieties of English as “wrong”, “ugly”, “corrupt” or “degenerate” (Quirk 1990).

As Ferguson (1982) explains it:

... and according a special place to the native speakers as the only truly valid and reliable source of language data whether those data are the elicited texts of the descriptivists or the intuitions the theorist works with.
Quirk reflects a very conservative attitude regarding the term “institutionalized” used for varieties of English. According to him only the varieties which are “fully described” and are governed by “defined standards observed by the institutions of the state” can be called institutionalized (1988). In this light he accords this status to only BE and AE and to some extent AsE among the native varieties. He is categorical in labeling all non-native varieties as “non-institutionalized”, disqualifying them as teaching models for subsequent reasons. As he puts it, they are “performance varieties”...“inherently unstable, ranged along a qualitative cline”, differing so much from speaker to speaker that they hardly share many common characteristics to show they belong to the same variety. He feels that “native-teacher support” is a must in a SL/ FL situation. In the name of “liberation linguistics”, meaning allowing democratization of language, letting people take some amount of liberty with language use, “deficit linguistics” cannot be allowed to thrive.

“Deficit linguistics” refers to the lack of competence in using the vocabulary, grammar, and phonology of a language (Williams 1970; Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1986). It includes deficit shown in discoursal organization, strategies in style and code variations, too (Bernstein 1964). The concept of “liberation linguistics” is close to the principles underlying “liberation theology”. Founded on a pluralistic approach the concept realizes users’ needs to vary their language for different professional requirements and also as a consequence of belonging to different social, regional, cultural backgrounds. It also takes into consideration the inherent desire and ability present among human beings to experiment with any medium of expression. All this according to Quirk (1990) sounds very “humanitarian” and “democratic”. But in fact, it is intentionally used as a cover for linguistic inadequacies. People’s view on “notions of correct and incorrect use of
language” being “an affront on the personal liberty” is actually a defence mechanism to justify their own lack of competence as English language teachers, remarks Quirk (1990). These views oppose the opinions expressed earlier on non-native varieties by Quirk et al (1985:27-28 in Quirk 1990) that they (non-native varieties): ... are so widespread in a community and of such long standing that they may be thought stable and adequate enough to be institutionalized and hence to be regarded as varieties of English in their own right rather than stages on the way to a more native-like English. (The reference here is to English in South Asia, West Africa and Southeast Asia) (Kachru 1991).

Since then Quirk has changed his opinion about non-native varieties as mentioned before the quote above. Governed by the ideology of democracy a user is misusing the concept of freedom by taking liberty with language. It could perhaps be considered justified if it were done due to “underlying linguistic motivations” (Kachru 1991). Here, Quirk overlooks the socio-cultural and stylistic motivations that have led to such variations. Besides, he does not accept the existence of sub-varieties within a variety if it is non-native. While “institutionalization” to Quirk is an exclusive privilege of only the native varieties, Kachru includes all the varieties in ESL situations as institutionalized. Quirk’s present thinking (1991) to linguistic changes is in line with Prator’s (1968) who considered ESL variations as “heresy in TESL (Teaching English as a Second Language)” but this was more than a quarter of a century ago.

Since then several non-native varieties have developed in linguistic and social contexts. IE has to its credit a whole new world of literature of its own and numerous English newspapers and magazines with a wide circulation. More books are published in English
than any other language (Parashar 1991). The point to focus upon here is its near indispensable role in day-to-day functioning. Every language/variety grows adequately to meet the needs of its users. In this context their diversification should not be attributed to “linguistic deficit”, because not all deviations are “errors”. Moreover, every variety has its own cline of proficiency. Usually, “judgement concerning the correctness and purity of linguistic varieties are social rather than linguistic” (Trudgill 1974). Crystal’s (1985:9-10) comment on Quirk’s statements on non-native varieties adds to the concern expressed by Kachru, “what concerns me, however, is the way in which all discussion of standards ceases very quickly to be a linguistic discussion, and becomes instead an issue of social identity”. He further supports Trudgill’s (1974) view.

Non-Native varieties like IE, then, are not “interlanguages” striving to achieve “native like” character (Kachru 1991). And this view of referring to them as “interlanguages” was expressed decades ago (in 1927). Since then English in India has come a long way claiming recognition as IE on the same plane as AE and BE.

Just as in the area of pronunciation, in the case of grammar too, the British model has enjoyed a distinct pedagogical advantage over others as it has been well defined and laid out, visited and revisited, with the latest changes incorporated in books on it. However, like the British pronunciation, the British grammar is no longer taken as the gospel truth.

Jean D Souza (1988), while examining strategies of interaction in South Asian languages and their implications for teaching English internationally, comments on the “acculturation” of grammar. According to her in cultures where English has been institutionalized one cannot have as “exonormative standard” because “this will result in a mismatch between language and grammar of culture”.

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Similarly, one cannot aim for just one level of communicative competence but must accommodate several layers of it. This will help teachers understand concepts like deviations, errors, mistakes, author-specific liberties, etc better. As proved by her, in SL situations speakers have adapted English to suit the grammar of their culture. They possess sufficient competence in their variety to communicate for their requirements. It is pointless to expect them to develop native-like competence since they do not need to interact with the natives. On a similar line of thought the past few decades have witnessed a favourable attitude growing towards indigenous varieties of English. In Kachru’s (1976) words:

...although the prescriptive norms still exert their force, understandably,

there is a sizeable and growing segment of teachers and learners

who believe that the model of instruction should be an Indian Variety of English.

2.1.15 Indian English Documented

We have come a long way since the days of Hobson-Jobson, an edition brought out by Yule and Burnell (1903, 1968), carrying words like jodhpurs, challan, bandh, gherao. A recent edition of Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary by AS Hornby, OUP (1996), finally brought out an Indian English Supplement of words of Indian origin which have found their way into English in India. Words like curry, samosa and garam masala figuring there are already popular in English and American homes. It is common knowledge that English has always been receptive to such inflows. As Agnihotri (1994) puts it:

English is the most mongrel of all language and, if this has any meaning, so
'poor' that the constitution of the USA will cease to exist if all the French and Latin words were to be withdrawn from its English.

An Englishman, Nigel Hankin, who has stayed on in India since his visit here during World War II, has now made a contribution to documenting IE variants. His compilation in the form of a dictionary, Hanklyn-Janklin, includes words such as booth capturing, cow belt, kaam chor, khalasi, etc. A publication of Tara Press (2003), it is almost a spoof on Hobson-Jobson.

2.1.16 Indian English vis-à-vis Standard British English

Most people, both within and outside India, tend to regard indigenized variations of English as NS varieties in reference to standard native varieties. All this has obviously led to instilling the faith in users that SBE is the model to conform to. Often, books available refer to variants as errors, recommending “successful acquisition”, the BE way. All this makes it self evident that the norm is the native standard variety. Even linguists like Tom Mc Arthur, otherwise open to the development of new Englishes, put native variety Englishes in the centre and look at others as non-standard or substandard. Blend names like Hinglish, etc, are used to ridicule them.

2.1.17 Kachru's Circles of Englishes

Kachru (1985) divided English speakers into three groups. His model of three concentric circles is the standard framework of world English studies. The “inner circle” consists of those who speak English as a first (native) language; the “outer circle”, where they speak it as a second or additional language; and the “expanding circle”, where they use it as a
foreign language. Kachru has defined them with reference to "historical, sociolinguistic and literary contexts" (Yano 2001). Kachru later (1999) modified the circles slightly. This has been done so on account of English having established itself more firmly and extensively in the outer circles as ESL varieties, which he renames as "outer circle" (functional ENL) and the inner circle redefined as (genetic ENL). "Catherine Lim, Anne Pakir, Mary Tay, and many other Singaporeans (Personal Communications, 1999-2000 in Pakir 2001), for example, feel they are native speakers of English and they do have the "native speaker's intuition". The "intuition" factor is what most linguists from native varieties have distinguished native speakers with. Kachru asserts that for all functional purposes such non-native speakers are also as intuitive as the native speakers are. Like Khushwant Singh, the famous Indian writer, states in an interview, "English is my MT though my mother did not know the language. I am completely at ease with it much more than I am with Punjabi, Hindi or Urdu. I have a much larger vocabulary in it (English) and I can express all my thoughts in it." Khushwant Singh's books written in English can be found in the Library of Congress in Washington. He is credited with one hundred and six books to date (August 15, 2003).

Going back to Kachru's statement on genetic nativeness and functional nativeness, he adds that the number of people with functional nativeness has become larger than the number of those with genetic nativeness. As the ESL speakers keep increasing in number, the boundary between the two will begin to fade. And "ESL speakers will establish their varieties firmly enough, not too eagerly and necessarily seeking correct models in British, North American and other varieties of English, spoken by the genetically native speakers in the inner circle", says Yano (2001).
Vikram Chandra, a well-known contemporary writer of literature from India, can endorse this belief with the following words:

English comes naturally to the post-independence generation. We speak it, we use it, we change it. Today, we feel it belongs to us and are proprietorial about it.

The Classification of the Circles:

Inner circle (ENL): USA, UK, Australia, New Zealand, Canada.

Outer circle (ESL): India, Bangladesh, Ghana, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, etc.

Expanding Circle (EFL): Japan, Egypt, Israel, USSR, etc.

Figure (Fig)1 and Fig 2 show the classification as it existed initially when Kachru first defined these varieties (1992 in Mc Arthur 1998: 100). Fig 3 shows the revised model where the terms genetic ENL and functional ENL have been used, the latter replacing ESL of the outer circle (Yano 2001:123,24).

Kachru’s Circles of Varieties

![Kachru’s Circles of Varieties Diagram]
The new Englishes (of the outer circle) are struggling hard to establish themselves as legitimate independent national varieties in their own right rather than as deviant versions of a certain variety of native speaker English. Some may like to call IE as an “acrolang” now.

The non-native varieties can be called institutionalized varieties only if they:

(i) have a long history of acculturation in new cultural and geographical contexts,
(ii) perform a large range of functions and therefore,
(iii) have developed nativized discourse and style types and functionally determined sub languages (registers), and
(iv) are used as a linguistic vehicle for creative writing in various genres.

As per Kachru, these are the four features, which establish them in their own right (in Agnihotri 1991). They can be distinguished from “performance varieties” which are used mainly as foreign languages.
Earlier, in chapter 1, I have presented a proposal that we need to standardize IE as we cannot teach our learners BE. I would like to present some more arguments in favour of IE as to why it has emerged as the obvious choice. Learners in the Indian educational setting:

(i) cannot aspire for the British model of proficiency which includes styles, pronunciation, grammatical norms, as they have no access to the BE environment.

(ii) may have different needs and functions, which will influence their motivation to learn IE not BE. Moreover, they do not get “the full range of styles, structures, etc, as those aspects do not exist in BE”. If such learners are not creative enough in their environment and if IE is not productive enough, they will end up with pidgins.

(iii) get a very open-ended linguistic environment for learning English. Multi-lingual setting provides space for various languages, each maintaining its own utility, growth and identity. Therefore they will encounter IE, a variety, that is subject to growth and they will be susceptible to its influences rather than chase BE, by shutting out IE.

However, the whole scenario of English teaching can baffle an average teacher and learner. Several kinds of clines of IE exist. We need to standardize IE as one variety for educational purposes.

I would like to consider the varieties of IE at this point.
2.1.18 Variation of English in India

If we understand the process a variety passes through before it can be considered for adoption for standardization, we will be able to see the case of IE more dispassionately.

Linguistic growth results in variations which occur due to changing times, changing needs, changing generations, changing places, etc. Under variation fall pidginizing, creolizing and hybridizing. They pass through a continuum of development till they expand enough to be recognized as an established variety. Some of these stages can be:

(i) a stable pidgin, limited in its need and development, it exists between people for years, as between masters and servants. English in India did exist in this manner but for very limited purposes. Besides, simultaneously English existed in India even at the highest level among Indians all along.

(ii) an expanded or extended pidgin, a more developed system, gets developed by children. This stage, as such, did not exist in the case of Indians.

(iii) a creole as in the case of French intermingling with Bhojpuri in Mauritius. The pidgin with the two languages coming together found a second generation and the variety became a creole.

(iv) an independent language, which has developed as a standard form as has Krio in Sierra Leone. A number of new Englishes have reached that stage, but lack standardization as in the case of IE.

English as it exists in today’s India can be considered under five classifications:

Regional Spread, Socio-economic Cline, Linguistic Growth and Glocalization, Cline of Proficiency, Situational Demands.
IE can be studied by observing the distinction between IE as a means of international communication and IE as an instrument in domestic daily life. The two varieties can be represented in terms of the social dialectal vertical concept of “acrolect” and “basilect”.

In the acrolectal use of English, the variety is formal and generally does not have local and indigenous linguistic and socio-cultural aspects. Where as in the variety used in domestic communication IE is basilectal as it is informal, even colloquial, and indigenous in terms of both linguistic forms and socio-cultural aspects.

This concept of acrolectal and basilectal variations of a variety of a language is discussed by Yano (2001) in reference to all Englishes. The varieties are presented in equal-sized cylinders. On the top there is no distinction made between ENL, ESL, EFL. They all serve in the classification of English as a Global Language (EGL). But the lower parts of the cylinders show local variations and therefore they are all distinct from one another.

Pakir (1999 in Yano 01) refers to English as developing into a GLOCAL language elaborating upon Okushima’s (1995:2) idea of “glocal” languages.

Fig 4 depicts the looseness of boundaries that exist between varieties as also dissolving the hierarchical categorization of varieties (Yano 2001: 125).

**Fig 4**

Yano’s Depiction of Varieties (2001)
The same can be applied to IE, which is GLOCAL. Globally comprehensible on the top but distinct within itself, region to region, even within the country.

Some of the factors, which influence the global/local standard of a variety, are knowledge of the code, knowledge of the genre and sensitivity to the cognitive structure of a language variety. It depends on how much genre mixing, vocabulary mixing (of English and the local vernacular/s) the individual is indulging in. Expert users of language manipulate generic conventions to achieve a variety of complex goals associated with their specialist disciplines of focuses and the same is true with IE.

The concept of describing a variety along a spectrum (or cline) of proficiency using acrolect/mesolect and basilect exists in reference to competence displayed by users. The highest level performers are said to use the acrolect variety and the lowest level, the basilect variety of English. Mesolect users come somewhere in the middle (Honey 1985, 1989 in Tikoo 1991). The term ‘edulect’ is associated with educatedness of a user just as sociolect is by social class and dialect is determined by region. The terms “interlanguage” and “fossilization” have come under attack but they have been used by generations of linguists to describe SL users’ competence. Many learners of SL arrive at a certain plateau of learning. They are said to have developed interlanguage features, ie simplification features like reduction, substitution, restructuring, omission and overgeneralization (Wong 1983:147-48 in Tikoo 1991).

Signs of interlanguage are visible often in the case of many Indian learners as they progress in their command over English. Interlanguage has to be distinguished as a learning deficit, linguistic deficit, and not accepted for standardization of IE. Yet another
problem that can be observed among SL learners is “fossilization” (Selinker 1972, in Rinett and Schachter 1983:177 as quoted in Agninotri 1994).

Certain rules and sub-systems get stuck in the interlanguage relative to a particular target language, in this case English, and no instructions can help such learners. Fossilization is the end product of the process of learning, visible in many learners of English in India.

Such deficiencies should not be accepted as a variation of English, ie as IE. For instance, Amit ‘is coming’ next week by train in place of Amit ‘will be coming’ next week by train.

Above the fossilization and interlanguage categories, up the cline, are Rudimentary, Basic, Intermediate, Adept and Advance to grade a learner’s proficiency—the five grader from Rudimentary to Advance, proposed by Tikoo (1991). Each grade at the meeting points as well as within the grades offers varieties of IE. What is to be accepted for standardization and what is not to be accepted will call for debating along such graders.

Yet another old construct, that of semilingualism, can be brought here resurrected by Cummins. It refers to the language (dis)ability of a child bilingually proficient in Target language (TL) and MT but showing only “surface” level competence.

**Regional and Social Variations**

The cline of bilingualism, a scale measuring linguistic competence at three levels, ie the higher variety, the lower variety and the intermediate variety, presented by Kachru (1965:393-96), bears a close resemblance to Labov’s triangles of regional and social variations in English dialects and accents in England. He talks about a series of similar not-standard dialects spread over different regions merging into each other. This is called
a ‘dialect continuum’ which at the two ends of the chain are quite different from each other. But on the vertical scale, the social class becomes the determining factor. The higher the people are on the social ladder possessing a sound economic and educational background, the closer they are to SBE and RP regardless of what region they belong to. The two figures, Fig 5 and Fig 6, illustrate this point in reference to the UK.

Similarly, in India too, a multi-cultural, multi-linguistic country, it is easy to find several regional variations of English. These variations exhibit characteristic influences of regional languages and so we have the labels: Tamlish for Tamil English, Punjlish for Punjabi English, Hinglish for Hindi English, etc. Although regional influences on English
are more pronounced in the spoken form, they are not uncommon in the written form either.

On the social scale most users overcome regional features in different degrees. As Quirk (1990) puts forth: “the features marking an individual as being a speaker of Yorkshire English or New York English tend to disappear the higher up the socio-economic scale he or she happens to be.”

Although some linguists do not club proficiency with social hierarchy and educational background when commenting on English in India, they recognize the existence of different levels in it, ie “a continuum of language types” [referred to as speech continuum, lectal range by Platt (1975), cline of bilingualism by Kachru (1969)].

At this stage it would be appropriate to further categorize variations of English in India on the lines followed by Mehrotra (1982), ie the Lower Variety, the Higher Variety and the Intermediate Variety.

The Lower Variety

At the lower end there are different kinds of pidgins (referred to as Indian Pidgin English) used for professional purposes by porters, tourists, guides, taxi-drivers, etc. Highly stigmatized, they are acquired rather than learnt formally. They exhibit weaknesses in the form of a limited range of grammar and vocabulary, resulting in excessive manipulation in meaning. These varieties betray gaps, which are improvised by gestures, oversimplifications and borrowings.


The Higher Variety

At the other end of the cline are people using the highest varieties, which are learnt through instruction and acquired from environment targeted at native-like or near-native ability of expression. (Its closeness to native-like speech among non-native learners is, in fact, looked at as an “affected” style, reflecting a “put on” accent). People at this level show an excellent command over the language with no ‘regional’ features. They operate at nearly 100 percent intelligibility among native speakers of English. They possess a “native like control” of the language (Bloomfield 1935:56). Commenting on their astonishing competence, Quirk (1972:49) praises Nehru on his spoken English and Pride appreciates Deshmukh’s native like command on its written aspect in the latter’s essay entitled, *Hundred years of the University of Calcutta* (Pride, mimeo 1982:29). In the sphere of creative writing in English, writers like R.K Narayan and Raja Rao, Vikram Seth and Arundhati Roy have won much acclaim even outside the national boundaries.

The Intermediate Variety

In the intermediate level, occupying the major portion of the cline, is English learnt largely in a formal way through instruction. Used by a majority of people having received university education, this variety may be called ‘Educated Indian English’ (EIE).

It is spoken and written by millions of Indians. This variety prominently exhibits a distinct flavour of its own, referred to as ‘Indianism’, which is chiefly reflected in its lexicon. This does not mean that phonological and discoursal levels demonstrate any less ‘Indianism’. It is just that the lexicon has a lot to convey by way of linguistic and extra linguistic interpretations, typical of a culture.
Situational Variations

English in India has emerged in the form of different variations in its effort to meet demands of different “settings”. It has interacted with regional language of the country to serve as a vehicle of India’s socio-cultural “setting”. “It is this setting which gives a language its distinctive colour and flavour” (Verma 1984:19). The origin of non-native terms like ‘co-brother’ and ‘thread-ceremony’ can be explained in this light. English plays important roles in domains covering family life, friendships and neighbourhood relations. Sridhar (1989:45) throws some light on it:

English is nevertheless used about 25% of the time in conversing with various members of the family...English is the preferred choice of language in corresponding with children, siblings, and friends.

Many variations of English are found in domains where it is used as a lingua franca. These domains include academics, administration, media, law, medicine and commerce. The field of literary creativity, in the form of Indian English Literature has given a wide span to its writers to invent variants often referred to as author-specific variants.

A similar observation can be made in terms of language proficiency. It is easier for children of upper classes to find admission in high-fee paying schools as compared to their peer from the lower socio-economic classes. Most high fee-paying schools like the convents and public schools succeed in making learners achieve a higher level of proficiency in English as compared to those from vernacular medium schools, which have a lower-fee structure. Most convents and public schools have English as the medium of instruction.
Affluent parents send their children to top-level schools, which impart good coaching in English. English is the choice because, “English functions like the high variety in a diaglossic situation of domains in a multi-lingual setting” (Sahgal 1991 in Agnihotri 1994)

Situational Demands and the resultant variations also occur due to the medium chosen, eg spoken/ written/ Internet/ TV/ Radio/ Telegraphic, etc. The situation/ audience/ topic/ purpose, etc can also affect variations.

In oral communication, while thanking, complimenting, requesting, urging, consoling and so on, users “reflect the distinctive cultural experiences and conventions of the country”.

2.1.19 Introducing Indian Variants of English

Generally, Indian Variants of English (IVEs) are said to carry a formal air as their origin lies in their use in formal domains such as law, administration and they continue to wear the colonial hangover of formal English. However, most of the print media, ie national level newspapers have more or less got rid of the hangover. As a matter of fact, the IVEs in newspapers come across as a good choice for pedagogic purposes. On average, they carry debates/ opinion on varied subjects within a language standard that any class X student can follow. Normally, the style is semi-formal to formal. They carry contemporary language, which can serve as model material for teaching purposes.

So which are the elements that have been incorporated into the Indian varieties of English, formally or informally? At this stage it is in place to examine them. In an article in Span, What Global (May/June 2001:53), Barbara Wallraff under the heading ‘Several Languages Called English’ samples variations in English. She says:
Browsing some English language web-sites from India... time and again (I) came across unfamiliar words borrowed from Hindi or another indigenous Indian language... information were labeled “samachar”: Personalized News “dhan: Investigating in India,” “Khoj: Search India” “Khel: Indian Cricket”...

In Indian literature in English such examples are common (Agnihotri 1994:95,96):

* Stop your tain, tain.

* ...lickers of your feet.

Even though people want to believe that every language is capable of handling all the needs of any society it is used in, it is hardly ever true.

It is quite common to note that “the same basic sets (of scientific vocabulary are used) across the languages in Europe with phonological reshaping” says Agnihotri 1994:113.

So why do we ridicule those who pronounce ‘government’ as gorman (sic) ‘O’ as in ‘pork’?

Agnihotri insists on his viewpoint:

At any rate, in the case of conscious language planning, there is need for adopting all these devices: borrowing, coinage, and active language use rather than its postponement.

We find plenty of instances where borrowing and blending is indulged in for effect rather than out of dependence. They are instances of “code switching” (Gumperz 1982), “code mixing” (Kachru 1979), and “Hinglish” (Verma. 1976). Such a mix and match indulgence follows its own structural patterns (Sridhar 1989). The lexicon of the ‘guest’ language is mixed with the ‘host’ language in the form of borrowings, eg. curry, calques,
eg cousin-brother, hybrid words, eg babu-mentality, compounds, eg class strength, novel collocations, eg illicit distillery, neologism, eg prepone.

It is sensible to examine such differences from SBE as variations rather than as deviations. For instance the undifferentiated tag questions. IE tag questions are found by a rule which inserts a pronominal copy of the subject after an appropriate modal auxiliary. Besides, they also express certain attitudes of the speaker. (Kachru 1983:79).

The tag also signals important social meaning in it, ie politeness, non-imposition, deference, etc.

‘Only’ found at the end of a sentence, for eg, “We go to the temple on Sundays only” in IE has a specific role to play. In IE contrastive stress is rare. In its absence IE uses the pragmatic particle ‘only’, immediately following the constituent that needs to be emphasized.

The patterns of variations are dealt with more systematically here:

**Syntactic Variants**

Parashar (in Agnihotri 1994:147-163) discusses the variations in IE in syntactic structures under the following classifications:

(i) Determiners and Modifiers

A comparative study of SBE and IE reveals that the maximum number of differences are found in this sphere. We find an indiscriminate use of the article ‘the’; for instance, ‘In the autumn of life’ he began writing poetry. IE could insert a ‘the’ between ‘of’ and ‘life’.

(ii) Tenses and Aspects
The most prominent difference is the use of the present perfect instead of simple past. For instance, 'I have given them a warning this morning' instead of 'I gave them a warning this morning'.

The use of present progressive instead of simple present in the context of possession. As in 'I am having a good job here' instead of 'I have a good job here'.

(iii) Prepositions

Prepositions are used indiscriminately. For instance, 'I called him to discuss about his travel plans' in place of 'I called him to discuss his travel plans'.

(iv) Word Order

IE tends to take great liberty while placing adverbs and adverbial which is only moderately flexible in BE. For eg,

You may take up the issue with the 'concerned authority' in place of 'authority concerned'.

(v) Verb Patterns

Transitive verbs used as intransitive verbs become unacceptable to the native speakers, eg in verbs such as inform, suggest using may + be + infinitive in the clause following the verb instead of the subjunctive with the base form of the verb, eg 'We recommend that the 'enquiry may be transferred', in place of the 'enquiry be transferred'.

(vi) Auxiliaries

Modals pose problems for a lot of IE speakers as in,

I 'hope you would appreciate' instead of I 'hope you will appreciate'.
(vii) Clause connectors and clause structures

These are just minor differences but worth considering, eg

The best part of ‘the trip is that you’ get to see the snow.

Here ‘that’ is avoided by a native speaker.

(viii) Constituent structure and categorical structure

Very few instances of acceptability are experienced in such cases. Redundant words are underlined which IE speakers may continue to use. For instance, ‘Please find the documents duly signed’. ‘duly’ will not be used in SBE. Besides there are certain other syntactic structures different in IE.

(ix) Complex sentence structure

Such examples abound even in the language of the press. In certain instances, a sentence or a number of sentences are subordinated to function as a constituent of a matrix sentence. This is where we get a complex sentence, says Verma (1980:79). For eg,

‘Surinder wants that he should be sent to France so that his parents can accompany him because that is the only way that he and his parents can see France.’

(x) Number restriction on nouns

‘I got these furnitures made last year’. In SBE furniture is never pluralized.

(xi) Collocation creativity

A native speaker will not accept it. Although some may call the example given below, ‘This coffee is light’ acceptable, it is ‘This coffee is weak’ which is used.

(xii) Piling up images.
When a writer tries to condense information in a few words, it becomes a case of difficult/ confusing English, which a native speaker may not accept. In the example that follows:

‘Like a gossamer-this web brushed aside by a careless hand, the fragile balance of relations in South Asia has dissolved with frightening suddenness...’

(India Today 15.10.83:30)

Lexical Variants

The Lexis of IE has shown a consistent growth ever since the 17th century to meet the functional needs of the society at all levels— grammatical, lexical, semantic, discoursal, phonetic, and graphological (Dissanayke 1985). I will briefly examine the differences between SBE and IE in some of the areas mentioned.

Lexical growth in this aspect of English got a tremendous boost after the British left India as English percolated deeper and spread wider in the society. This happened in the form of (a) borrowings from regional languages, (b) calques, (c) hybrid words, (d) compound words, (e) novel collocations, (f) neologism. All these formations have been taken up below:

Borrowings:

This had become crucial for effective administration during the Raj period. Kachru (1993) has quoted words like these: Administration: batta (1632), chit (1608), crore, dawk (1623), fireman (1614), kotwal (1623); Agriculture: bigha (1763), jowar(1636), zamindari (1757). According to him, the extent of South
Asian items in English varies from 188 to 26,000 words (Kachru 1983:151). Many of the words mentioned earlier have now become irrelevant or have found their English equivalents but words like sahib, memsahib, sepoys, coolie, pundit, guru, yoga, and Brahmin still retain a whiff of nostalgia of the Raj. As a matter of fact, some of them like Brahmin, yoga and guru are actually to be found in foreign publication dictionaries.

Otto Jesperson (in Kachru 1983) has listed baboo, thug, durbar, pariah, etc. among English words of Indian origin. The Encyclopaedia Britannica adds some more: nabob, mahatma, juggernaut, jungle, dungarees, gymkhana besides the Indian words of middle-Eastern origin like bazaar, purdah, caravan, chess, and shawl. While words like ratyatra (journey by chariot), rasta roko, (road blocking), karsewa (voluntary service), bandh (a kind of strike), challan (citation), goonda (hoogan), (personal sources) mainly belong to the newspaper register, words like hazaar (umpteen), bindass (couldn’t care less type) and chamcha (sycophant) are of the informal register. The last one, as almost all Indian speakers would admit, cannot have an English replacement without losing the impact the word is meant to create.

Calques:

They are the literal translations of Indian words like cousin-brother (chacherabhai), eve-teasing (ladkion se chhed-chhdad), bride-burning (bahu-daah), etc. This device is mainly employed by creative writers referred to as an author-specific device, which may or may not become part of popular usage.
Hybrid words:
This term stands for words, which are made up of two or more elements and in
which at least one morpheme is of Indian origin and one of English. Elements in
this category normally follow the word-formation rules of English, eg lathi-
charged (cane beating administered by Police), goondaism (hooliganism), babu-
mentality (clerical attitude), high-typewaalahs (the elite kinds), etc (Hindustan
Times 10 June 1959).

Compounding:
In IE there is a tendency to reduce a syntactic unit to create a compound word.
This practice is quite prevalent in both informal and formal registers. This kind of
'reduction' normally requires a change in the order of occurrence of such words,
eg:

an address of welcome is welcome address (Indian Express 14
August 1959), a box of matches match box, lady from mission
mission lady, strength of class rollstrength, the basis of the caste
caste-basis (The Hindu 25 November 1963 in Kachru 1983)

Words like 'fact-finding committee', 'zero industries', 'rumour-mongering film
magazines' (Pandharipande 1987) are quite common in use.

Novel Collocations:
It refers to the way in which these formations have come to occur in typically
Indian settings where certain words are found in the company of certain words.
An example quoted from an Indian newspaper: “It was alleged that the police had
been ‘awarded bribes’ by the gamblers’. ‘Awarded bribe’ would not occur in
SBE. The phrase ‘illicit distillery’ would be unlikely in SBE “illegal again being preferred” (Nihalani et al 1979).

Neologism:

There has been a spate in coining new English words in India Examples like ‘freeship, delink, batch mate, desert cooler, playback singer, cycle-lifter, age-barred, eve-teasing’, etc are found to exist in abundance. It would be worthwhile to comment here that words like, ‘match-box’ (Ref: compounding), ‘illicit distillery’ (Ref: novel collocation) are found to occur in BE as well. Quoted by Indian academics as IE features, they represent a hyper-corrective attitude.

Discoursal Differences

These differences too surface mainly due to transferring of conventions of some Indian languages. To cite some examples from Kachru (1985):

(i) The position has belonged to ‘such’ actresses ‘who’ come to personify, at any given moment, the popular ideal of physical beauty... (India Today 3 Sept. 1983:39).

(ii) ... they are brought up in ‘such’ an atmosphere ‘where’ they are not encouraged to express themselves upon such subjection in front of others... (KA HLI 194-198).

(iii) ‘Other than’ at Hardwar, our family records are kept at Kurukshetra,... and at Metan...(P T:PC:9).

...‘such’ has been used as a correlative of who and where, and ‘other than’
has been used in a positive context in the sense of 'in addition to'.

According to Selinker (1972) this kind of usage is an example of "fossilization" or "lack of competence". But according to Kachru this is the result of the "extensive use of correlatives constructions" in "Indic language" which is influencing the English construction.

Another feature that marks English in India as distinct from others in Firth’s (1964:176) words is "they have not learnt the habitual economy" of the native in social situations, and their sentences are often much too long, too complete, sometimes too grammatical. The situation has not really changed much even till this day. Quite often the length of a sentence with its complex structures makes the meaning abstract or even distorts it.

Indian languages in their nominal style reduce clauses to short nominal phrases. But this cannot always be done in English. Indians, however, transfer this logic to English due to which complex embeddings occur in sentences, eg:

The open revolt by the two parties and the declaration by their leaders that they were no longer prepared to have things imposed on them not only took away a lot from the front’s hitherto cohesive image— which stood in sharp contrast to the splintered congress— but also indicated that in the days to come chief minister Jyoti Basu will face opposition, not only from the other side in the Vidhan Sabha, but also from these allies of this party (India Today 30 June 1982:42).

Language normally shows one’s socio-cultural traits. Indians follow the traditions of displaying excessive humility and subservience. This is obviously reflected in Indian
languages which have terms in plenty, meant to express such feelings. Mehrotra (1982) illustrates this with an excerpt from an Indian student's PhD thesis:

I consider it to be my deepest primordial obligation to humbly offer
my deepest sense of gratitude to my most revered Guruji and untiring
and illustrious guide. Professor … for the magnitude of his benevolence
and eternal guidance.

Modesty shown excessively is evident in letters, which inevitably seem to end with a ‘Thank You’ phrase despite its irrelevance there. Similarly, the word ‘kindly’ too gets used a lot more than required in official correspondence.

Dialectologists regard non-native varieties as marginal and do not allow them entry in the mainstream occupied by native varieties. They dub them as “localisms”, and “errors” caused by indolence or ignorance (Prator 1968, Newmark 1966). Their approach is “corrective” and “prescriptive” and they consider non-native variants “corrupt” and “degenerate” (Sridhar 1989).

2.1.20 Hinglish

Even as the term Hinglish gets popular in describing the concoction prepared with English and Hindi languages, many will protest against the usage on the plea that it has a pejorative connotation. Referring to such an English, Vikram Chandra continues…

Hinglish (IE) first emerged as the lingua-franca of the Midnight Children (independent India) and stormed the world with its pungent chutnified aroma. So it began with the birth of Salman Rushdie on the literary firmament … purity is hardly the buzzword in popular culture. In a youth-oriented
market ... How many young people consult the thesaurus and dictionaries.

They have become dinosaurs and Wren and Martin is unheard of. Purity has been sacrificed at the altar of Attitude...

As *The Times of India* quoted recently, in the context of the new generation’s use of English (of course, mainly spoken) “they have *taporified* (made it of commoner’s use)” the language (English), buddy…”

Vikram Seth makes a similar point, “Crackling innovations, homegrown prefixes and suffixes, the order of the day…”

Some linguists like Krishnaswami (2000:156) would rather refer to IE as a modulect, “a variety that is controlled by the command modulect but one that is at the same time used independently. Indian life is multi-modular, and we use English in every other domain, like personal, official, social.

The names by which such varieties can be referred to are endless. What is important is to provide them international acknowledgement, essentially from linguists who write about them in a condescending manner. These varieties, localized in nature, along with their acquisition peculiarities, have become stabilized and institutionalized within the region of use—and serve as a vehicle of communication for the community around. Interactions have patterns of usage and these norms though not prescriptive are popular (Jay and Gupta 1981; Choo 1982). The variety can get codified repeatedly. The process will pave the way for it to further develop complexities to meet the needs of its users, if it has not done so already. Codification aids stability. It is for this reason that we need to work on IE. IE does not exist as a single, homogeneous, monolithic variety but as a whole range sub-varieties, which need to be standardized.

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