Chapter Two: Nativization

2.1. Preliminaries

Languages have never remained the same. They are in a constant state of flux. They have changed in their own native lands and outside. Many factors have influenced this change. The need to express new concepts, ideas and thoughts, inventions in science and imaginative use of language are some among them.

The main reason for the changes and developments in language has been the result of multicultural interactions within the borders and among the nations. When a language encounters another culture, it adapts in order to suit the new culture. This process of ‘acculturation’ is known as indigenization or nativization of language. This indigenization, in turn, has given birth to varieties of English and has raised serious questions about the ownership of English and the right models to be followed. Thus, today what is used is not English but ‘Englishes’.

The most widely spread language today is English. English is a major language in 240 nations of the world. It is used for a wide variety of purposes. As it has reached all the corners of the world and almost all the cultures, it has also been subject to a lot of indigenization. In the former British colonies, where English is a second language, it has become an integral part of the cultural life that cannot be wished away. As the language penetrates into the different strata of the society, it gets further modified and transformed. Thus, we have intra-society varieties and inter society varieties. Not all the varieties enjoy the same status. The ones used by the elite and the educated sections of the societies are considered standard varieties and are taken as models.
This chapter looks at the various aspects of this process with a greater focus on South East Asia. The English used in this part of the world differs from the English used in the other parts because it has been nativized in a unique way. It will explore the stages in the nativization process, the need for nativization and the different aspects of the language in which major notable changes have taken place because of the process of nativization.

2.2. The Process of Nativization

A language is not nativized overnight. It undergoes various stages of evolution and development in a long process. It gets nativized and localized as its use reaches more sections of the community. Thus, it is an ongoing process, and in this process of language change, the new variety becomes distinct from its parent language and the other indigenized varieties. Talking of the nativization of English, Phillipson (1992) comments that it is the process by which English has indigenized in different parts of the world, and developed distinct and secure local forms determined by local norms as opposed to those of the native speaker in the centre (p.198). The process of nativization can be viewed in two ways. The first is the process through which it institutionalizes itself and becomes a recognized and accepted variety. The second is related to the changes in the attitude of its speakers towards the localized variety.

There are many stages in the nativizing process. Moag (1996) talks of four such stages in the life cycle of a nativized language. In the first stage, a language is brought to an alien land where it is a new language altogether. There can be various reasons for the arrival of this new language. In the case of India, English came along with the British but refused to go back with them. English being the language of the master, the locals were expected to learn it. It was an acknowledgement of the superiority of the master. Those who learned English could
masquerade as associates of those in power. The British also trained a class of clerks to assist them in the colonial rule and to translate from local languages to English. (p.234).

The second stage in the process is that of indigenization. Once a language is transplanted to a new culture, it starts nativizing. This brings in changes in the language and makes it distinct from the parent variety and the other indigenized or nativized varieties. The longer the language stays in the new soil, the more acculturated it becomes. As Kachru (1986) observes all the institutionalized second language (L2) varieties have a long history of acculturation in the new cultural and geographical contexts. They establish their roles in various domains of a nation’s life such as educational, administrative and legal systems. As a result of such uses, they develop nativized discourse and style types and functionally determined sublanguages and they are used as a linguistic vehicle for creative writing in various genres (p.19). The variation from the parent language becomes enormous as it takes deeper roots in the new land. Thus, in the Indian context, English becomes one of the Indian languages to represent Indian cultural values in a distinctive way. People bend and twist the language as per their needs. They keep aside the native variety not only because they find it deficient of representing their identity but also because they find it usurping their identity. That is why Soyinka (1993) regards native English as a linguistic blade in the hands of the traditional cultural castrator, which black people have twisted to carve new concepts into the white flesh of supremacy (p.88).

In the initial stage of nativization, English is a medium of communication between the colonizer and the local indigenous learners. In this situation, lexical borrowings are permitted only when English fails to find a suitable equivalent for the correct expressions of local
nuances. Native English is the model, and any deviation from the native norms is rejected as incorrect English. The colonial master is intolerant of deviations and the culturally necessitated adoptions of discourse features. To him, they are the proclamations of the existence of the “other”, the other indigenous individuality and a reminder of resistance to complete subjugation. Adherence to the cultural and linguistic norms of the colonial ruler is appreciated as loyalty and gratitude. As Henry Kahane (1996) comments, “Loyalty to the British tradition means, linguistically, purism” (p.212).

In the second phase of indigenization, English becomes a medium of communication among the local elites and sometimes the menial servants. In matters related to the colonizers, English becomes the preferred medium. The absence of the master renders these conversations more freedom and confidence and thus the speakers tend to bring in more local lexis, grammatical features and communicative norms in their conversation. In case of the existence of a common local language between them, there can be a lot of code mixing and code switching. In Moag’s (1996) observation, this phase tends to have a longer longevity as long as English medium education remains an elitist phenomenon (p.237). The seeds of deviation and “the prevalence of the vernacular in evolving new standard” (Kahane, 1996, p.212) are sown here. Again, as Kahane comments, these winds of change and these forces of linguistic emancipation, spell loss of norm and loss of standard to the conservative mind (p.212).

The third stage in the process of nativization is that of extension in use and function. Initially, it spreads as the lingua franca of the people and as the medium of instruction in schools. As we have discussed earlier, in the process of nativization English slowly begins to become the
medium of communication among the colonized especially if they belong to two different linguistic backgrounds. In the case of India, it was the main medium of communication especially between the people of the North and the South. The former with Hindi as their language could not communicate with the Dravidian language speakers of the South. Moreover, there were also political and ethnic issues that marred the use of Hindi in the South. The gap was suitably filled by English. The same was the case with the tribal states of the North East. Most of these tribal communities did not have alphabets for their languages. Thus, English easily became the suitable language for the medium of education in these states. Nagaland and Meghalaya have English as their state language. The medium of instruction at all levels of teaching in these states and in Mizoram is also English. In the initial years after independence, English was the sole language of higher education in all the states. However, English medium education at school level at this stage was a privilege of the elite and the affluent. It was often labelled as convent education and was closely associated with Christian missionaries and organizations. However, in the later years, the country witnessed an enormous spread of English medium schools all over the country. The craze for English went to such an extent that anyone could start an English medium school irrespective of his/her academic credentials. Most of such schools were given Christian names as a marketing strategy as people associated English education with Christian nuns and priests. AS Varghese and Johnston (2007) observe, there has long been a strong connection between Christian missionary work and English language teaching worldwide (p.5). However, these are tales of the past. In India, English medium schools have successfully managed to shake the shackles of religious hallows. They are now run by Muslim madrasa committees, temple trusts and organizations of different nature.
The national government of India follows a three-language formula in education. The government believes that this formula would foster bilingualism and multilingualism, traits that improve “cognitive growth, social tolerance, divergent thinking and scholastic achievement” (National Curriculum Framework, 2005, p.24). Researches have proved that concepts and ideas are better understood in the mother tongue. The UNESCO advises the use of mother tongues in education at least in the early years. However, the aspirations of the Indian parents about their children are very much associated with their mastery over English. The governments try to kindle linguistic pride in the people. Nevertheless, parents look at English as the language that could help their wards find jobs. This contradiction, if properly looked at, is also a result of the choice of English as medium of instruction for their wards by the elite and the representatives of the government. Teachers teaching in government-run regional medium schools mostly send their children to private English medium schools causing a disparaging sense of doubt and confusion among parents. To avoid this, teachers associations such as The Kerala School Teachers Association (KSTA) urge all its members to educate their children in regional medium government or government aided schools (Madhavan, former KSTA state committee member, personal communication, July 10, 2010). The fact is English has widely been extended in the field of education.

The extension in use and function is not limited only to the field of education. The use of English in education paves the ground and prepares the locals to use English in a variety of domains. It prepares them for various communicative activities in English. Thus, it is a prerequisite for the complete expansion of the variety (Moag, 1996, p.237). From the clutches of the elite, English extricates itself to reach the wide strata of the society and absorb characteristics of their speech and use of the language. After the expansion process is fully
run, the role of English shifts from that of a foreign language to that of a second language (ibid. p.238). As in the case of India, it begins to be used in domains such as judiciary, parliament, media, conferences, seminars, protests, demonstrations, traffic signals, advertisements, etc. Above all, English becomes also the medium for creative writings, a means to express one’s own innermost thoughts and feelings. It also helps in establishing a different identity for the variety in question. As Kachru (2005) observes, the recognition of nativized creativity in English has become a marker for establishing such identities in various genres of English. It is no more “a colonial linguistic remnant to be discarded with” (p.1).

In the fourth stage of the process, the nativized variety is institutionalized. Several factors play key roles in the process of institutionalization. Firstly, the adoption of English for literary writing exposes the variety to the world in general and strengthens its existence. Signs of nativization become more explicit as creative writing moves from the native English educated locals to the second generation of locally educated writers. More deviations from the native variety are manifest in their works. As these works become regenerative and find a place in the English curriculum of schools and colleges, they become more institutionalized. They encourage more people to pick up their pens and provide a model for accepted norms. Another factor is the localization of teachers. As native speaker teachers recede from the scene giving way to teachers of the same locality, students are more exposed to the nativized variety. The use of the nativized variety in the media also strengthens and accelerates the process of institutionalization. For example, the use of General Indian English (GIE) both in the radio and on the television provides models of spoken English for the Indian users of the language.
How long will the institutionalized variety grow and expand? Will it grow to such an extent that it will replace the other indigenous languages of the region? Moag (1996) opines that in the final stage of nativization there will be restriction of the use and function of English by state regulated policies. This will gradually result in the reversal of English to the initial status of a foreign language (p.246). However, this situation is not imminent in any of the Asian countries. The craving for English, despite various attempts from the state to use the regional languages in all the levels, has not gone down at all. Native speakers of English are becoming aware of the disadvantages of remaining as monolinguals. At the same time, the non-native speakers have come to realize the need to keep their indigenous languages alive. The situation promotes bilingualism. Linguists envisage a future world of bilingualism. All the indexes, as pointed out by linguists such as Jenkins (2003), Phillipson (1992), Crystal (1994) Graddol (2006) etc. support the development of bilingualism especially if the English knowing bilinguals “are made aware of the value of maintaining within their linguistic repertoires their indigenous language(s) for local identity functions alongside their English” (Jenkins, 2003, p.141). The final stage in the process of nativization is to be waited and seen.

As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, the ultimate providers of life and status to a variety are the users of the variety itself. Hence, the attitude of its speakers toward the nativized variety is of paramount importance. “A variety may exist, but unless it is recognized and accepted as a model it does not acquire a status” (Kachru, 1996, p.56). As Kachru elaborates again, a non-native model of English may be linguistically identifiable, geographically definable and functionally valuable. Nevertheless, it may not be attitudinally acceptable. The ‘accent bar’ segregates the non-native users. If the model is to be accepted, the users themselves must demonstrate a solidarity, identity and loyalty toward a language
variety. In the past, the Americans demonstrated it (though not unanimously), and the result is a vigorously dynamic American English (p.67). In a highly politicized world of English Language Teaching, a resistance to the adoption and adaptation of nativized varieties is to be expected. The Sacred Cow Model that perpetuates the age-old mythology of linguistic purity does not exist. The linguistic Liberation Model believed to follow the Liberation Theology Model can invite such sacred cows to slaughter only with the backing of the users of the variety in question and their attitudinal acceptance (Kachru, 2005, p.2). Kahane (1996) expresses the same idea in the following words; “… the spread of the language obeys the principle that the medium is the message… a complex pattern of acceptance and rejection exists in the target cultures, with the forces of tradition battling the magnetism of change. Only all three phases together-growth, diffusion and attitudes-tell us the story” (p.217).

Having discussed the various stages in the process of nativization and the importance of acceptance by the users of the nativized variety, it is also apt to look at the reasons for nativization.

2.3. The Reasons for Nativization

Every language is intimately connected to the culture of the community that uses it. So is the case with English too. Though global and international, no variety of English is culturally neutral. For example, “when an English man says something is not cricket (fair) the allusion is also to a game that is by no means universal in the English speaking countries” (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik, 1985, p.6). Their advice is not to press the cultural neutrality of English too much. Expressions like ‘It sells like hot cake’ and ‘That is not my cup of tea’ also have strong overtones of culture.
English used around the world is not the same. There are marked differences even among the inner circle countries. As it always happens with languages, contacts with other languages influence each other. Contacts with other languages have changed and are changing English. In the process of the global diffusion, English has been transplanted to many countries. Wherever it has gained social status and existed alongside other languages, there has been a lot of give and take. The inadequacy of English to label all the phenomena or realia found in the new regions of its transplanting has compelled English to adopt words and names from the languages of the indigenous people. The lexical adoption has been an on-going process. The lexical inflow of words from the various Indian languages has reached such an extent that the Oxford Dictionary now has a very long list of those words supplemented to it. Other than the lexical features, phonological and grammatical features also have been rubbed on to English from the indigenous languages. These new embraces make one variety English different from the other. On top of this, as Fennel (2001) points out, in a multilingual society like India where the opportunity of access to English is not equal for all citizens, a variety of types of English develop in English- ‘knowers’ (p.261). As Kachru (1983) observes this difference can vary “from pidgin English on the one hand to educated (or standard) South Asian English” (as cited in Fennel, 2001, p.261) to the other.

In the outer and expanding circle countries, the imported version of English needs to be adapted and modified to enable it to express native cultures. If language is translation of thoughts, it is to be remembered that every language has a culture at its core. As Patil (2008) points out, the English language has been acquiring new formal properties and functional roles enabling it to carry the connotations of its new cultural habitats (p.10). This settling into new habitats certainly demands a reorientation in order to serve other cultures.
Sociolinguistic and pragmatic transfers work behind the nativization and the birth of varieties. This transfer is not necessarily the unintentional transfer of the mother tongue rules to the target language made by learners. Creative writers do make intentional transfers from the so-called native varieties to achieve the meaning and effect they aim at. They are creative users of the language who want the ‘unkindest cut’ to be the ‘most unkindest cut of all’. To them ‘vegetable love’ is not a wrong collocation but a very powerful way of presenting their perception of love. Their mastery is not in conformity but in intended nonconformity from the norms and dictates of the inner circle countries to make meaning and style of their own. Their proficiency comes from nonconformity. They are so proficient that their pens can dig deeper to reshape and mould the language at use and effectively convey their message. As Patil (2008) puts it, “The various reincarnations of English share the medium but use it to express native and local messages” (p.28) through a foreign tongue. They borrow the medium and cut it to their shape in order to be the vehicle of their message. This hybridization is necessitated by the inadequacy of the other tongue to convey effectively thoughts and emotions, which are not the other’s. Thus, they are compelled to make intended interventions subjugating the language to perform what they will.

Many non-native creative writers themselves have explained why they had to bend, reshape and hybridize the medium. It would be apt here to mention a few perceptions of some such writers about this kind of adoption. All of them raise the fundamental question of whether English without modification is capable of representing thoughts and experiences of people from varying backgrounds.
The African writer Achebe (1975) raises the question whether an African can ever learn English well enough to be able to use it effectively in creative writings. And his answer is ‘yes’ provided he ‘aims to use English in a way that brings out his message best without altering the language to the extent that its value as a medium of international exchange will be lost’ (p.171). His answer to the question, whether English should be used as native speakers use it, is an emphatic ‘no’. He suggests that an African writer ‘should aim at fashioning out an English language which is at once universal and able to carry his peculiar experience’ (ibid.). According to Achebe, a world language should be ready and willing to submit itself to different ways of use. To quote his words ‘I feel that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be different English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings’ (from *Morning Yet On Creation Day*, pp.169-72, reprinted in Jenkins, 2003).

Jamake Highwater (2003), a well-known native-American writer who writes in English, talks of how he had been divided between two cultures in the initial years of his learning English. He could not simply digest and appreciate certain English words whose meanings never fitted into his and his people’s understanding of the world. He was very disappointed to know that ‘meksikatsi’, his favourite bird that had a particular significance to him, was actually called a duck in English. To him, the bird neither sounded nor looked like a ‘duck’ whereas ‘meksikatsi’ meaning ‘pink coloured feet’ could be the perfect name for such an elegant bird. He also had problems with words like ‘wilderness’ and the synonyms of the word ‘earth’. He had grown up in a place that was called ‘wilderness’. But he could never understand how such an ecological park could be called a ‘wilderness’, something wild that needed to be harnessed. He could not cope with a culture that taught people to look at nature as some sort
of adversary, a foe who is to be conquered and tamed to be of use to man. The concept of man placed above nature as its master was alien to him. His was a culture that treated humans as part of nature. He says that “Indians did not need Darwin to find out that man was part of nature”. In fact, he saw his first wilderness when he got out of a bus in a city called New York. He was greatly distressed to find that the synonyms for the word earth-dirt and soil-were used to describe uncleanness and obscenity. He could not understand how something that is dirty could have negative connotations. To him, it sounded like saying someone is saintly so do not go near him. (One is reminded of the accusation against Mark Antony as being in a queue with those who smell sweat). He speaks of his later realization “that languages are not just different words for the same things but totally different concepts, totally different ways of experiencing and looking at the world” (pp.4-6).

Many Indians writing in English also have aired their views on the same line. In his forward to his magnum opus Kanthapura, Raja Rao (1938) explicitly talks about the way English should be used by non-native writers. He admits that the story telling had not been easy, as he had to express his own spirit in a language that was not his own. English, he says, “is the language of our intellectual make up like Sanskrit or Persian was before but not of our emotional make up”. Therefore, he opines, “We cannot write like the English. We should not. We cannot write only as Indians. We have grown to look at the large world as part of us. Our method of expression therefore has to be a dialect, which will someday prove to be as distinctive and colourful as the Irish or the American. Time alone will justify it” (Preface to Kanthapura). He is strongly advocating acculturation of the English through indigenization and the creation of a new technique hybridizing the English and the Indian.
Rao experiments his theory of nativization by employing the intellectual character of English and the emotional of the other (Kannada in this case). In order to bring in the tempo of Indian life into his English, he adopts various strategies like colourful figures of speech, Kannada sentence structures, local rhythms and cultural expressions. He also uses Kannada equivalents of English proverbs without crossing the boundaries of comprehensibility. His conscious employment of such strategies infuses a native spirit into an alien language. He shows how he nativizes the language in order to make it suitable to carry his message.

Every literature is a product of time and place. As Thakur (2008) observes, ‘No literature develops in a vacuum. Images, themes, forms, assumptions, attitudes and discursive modes are determined and given direction to by the socio-cultural forces that shape the world in which the writer lives and to which he or she responds’ (p.2). It is true that the intellectual make of the educated Indians has been very much influenced by the English and the English education. With all his opposition and anger against the colonizers, Narayan’s protagonist in the English Teacher could not stop his appreciation of Shakespeare’s sonnets or Keats’ Ode to the Nightingale. However, to look at the English literature produced in India as a direct inheritance from the British will be much farther from the truth. It may be true in the case of railways, cricket and post offices but not with the English literary works of the Indians. All the various factors like Indian philosophy, aesthetics, economics, politics, religion and the very rich indigenous literature including the Puranas and the epics have found their way into their works, and they have expressed their messages in their words symphonizing both but at the same time with a distinction of their own. Macaulay wanted to create an elite group who would be the interpreters of the English values to the millions whom they ruled. Nevertheless, in the wake of time that group has turned out to be the interpreters of the indigenous values.
and cultures to the rest of the world. Like the fallen angels, they serve different gods now. To quote Phillipson (1992):

There are writers from many parts of the periphery-English world who have refashioned the English language so as to meet their own cultural and linguistic needs. It appears that their capacity to draw on English and other local languages and to blend their own culture with the canons of certain genres has not resulted in attempts to reassert a global standard, meaning one that conformed to British or American expectations (p.26).

The culture specific requirements along with the contact with the indigenous languages have given birth to varieties of English around the world. As Jenkins (2003) points out, this has happened mainly in two diasporas or dispersals of English. The first diaspora is that of the initial migration from England mainly to America and Australia. American English and Australian English have become varieties, as they are different from the English of the early settlers. In the altered sociolinguistic contexts, the migrants had to adapt and change. They did not have words to refer to all that they came across in the new alien land. On the other hand, not all the settlers, though from Britain, were of the same linguistic background. For example, those from the east of England did not have the rhotic /r/ and the voiced /s/ of those from the west of England. In the later stages of migration, slave trade took English to the southern parts of America and to the Caribbean islands where pidgins, which developed into creoles, were born. New Zealand and South Africa are also parts of the first diaspora (p.5).

The transplantation of English to Asia and Africa took place in the second dispersal. Absorbing water and manure from the culturally rich soil of these lands and by being exposed to the native languages English has grown into varieties here also. With more than 40 million
users of English, South Asia is now the third largest English speaking area after Britain and the USA. Whatever the case may be in demography; there exists a variety of Englishes in South Asia due to historical reasons.

Yet another force that worked behind the nativization of English was the inherent desire of people to be different. As a community, they wanted to highlight their uniqueness and individuality. In the case of the Americans, there was a deliberate attempt to establish an identity different from the motherland of the migrants. Thinkers such as Emerson and Webster contributed much to this trend. They urged the settlers to throw away the yoke of European ideologies and cultural inheritance. Theirs was to be a different nation culturally, ideologically and linguistically. With the growth in the spirit of nationalism, there have been such linguistic upheavals in many parts of the world. The raised economic status and the awareness of their own cultural heritages have inspired many onetime English colonies to think differently. Thus, nativization may also be viewed as a resistance to all forms of imperialism in the post-colonial, postmodern world. This intentional ethno-centric intervention has helped and is helping in the development of home-grown varieties of English in divergent ways.

These varieties vary from each other in areas of lexis, phonology, grammar and discourse. The following section looks at how these varieties, especially the South Asian variety, uniquely differ in these domains.

2.4. Nativization at Lexical Level

The greatest degree of nativization takes place at the lexical level. This is because, as discussed earlier, in the new cultural setting English confronts a lot of new realia. They can
be either material or immaterial realia closely intertwined into the regional cultures. English may lack suitable equivalents to express or represent them. This inadequacy compels English to accept and receive the words used by the natives. As English has widely spread across the world in an unprecedented way, it also has a large treasure of loan words taken from different languages. This, in fact, is a two-way process affecting the regional languages as well. Unable to find equivalents for imports from English, the regional languages also absorb English words into their corpus.

Many attempts have been made to list all the words/lexis that found a place in South Asian English/Indian English (SAE/IE) over the centuries. The earliest of this was by Robarts (1800) and Sir Charles Wilks in 1813. They wanted to aid the British officials in India by making them familiar with indigenous words commonly used in administrative realms. The British officials needed a basic knowledge of at least some local words for the smooth functioning of the British Raj in India. This facilitated better interaction with the locals and the execution of their administrative duties. Put the other way, the adoption of Indian words into English was purely on pragmatic grounds. Thus, many words related to land, revenue and judiciary were frequently used by the British. Later, they turned out to be of frequent use in the English of the locals and now are treated and used as English words.

These lexical items were adopted from all the major Indian languages and from Arabic. Many Arabic words such as munsif and wakeel had become words of Indian languages during the reign of the Mughals. Munsif Court is used as an English word in the Indian legal system. Some other words adopted into the lexis of administration are the following: batta (travelling allowance), bigha (measure of land areas), adi (civil judge), chit (a note of letter), crore (ten
million), lakh (one hundred thousand), dawk (mail), firman (imperial order), patta (land document showing ownership), basheeb (narcotic drug), jumma (assessment for land revenue), kotwal (police officer), vahdaree (transit duty or toll), sunnud (deed of grant), zamindari (system of land tenure), zamindar (landlord) etc. (Kachru, 2005, p.52).

Travel literature has also made its own lexical contributions. When there is no suitable English equivalent for the new fauna and flora and the landscape feature, the only left option is to adopt the existing native names for them. Thus, artificially created streams flowing from the tunnels driven at the foot of mountains and carried to different destinations along artificially created channels are called falajes. This phenomenon found in the Arabian Gulf countries is unique in itself. Another such word is Wadi, which means a dry river-bed which floods and overflows in a single rain. These words do not have suitable equivalents in English. Kangaroo and boomerang, which now are English words, were originally words in the native language of the aborigines in Australia. As Crystal (1994) says, political groups and institutions, foodstuff, leisure activities and other forms of behaviour have created thousands of new words in English, as they were matters of foreign origin (p.126). Kabadi, which is a typical South Asian game, could not be named another way. This game, which became an item in Olympics of late, is known by the same name kabadi. Words like intifada, perestroika, glasnost found in English newspaper were contributions of new political developments of the 1980s. In the background of the earthquakes in Japan that coincided with the youth upheaval in the gulf countries, Zijdali (2011) came out with a new coinage 'youthquake' to denote youth upheavals. Whether it will become a part of English usage is a matter of time.
The cultural alienation of English from the many number of languages it has met has also necessitated the absorption of many words into the English lexis. Moag (1996) gives a clear example for this from Fijian English. In Fiji, it is a recognised system to gain things by begging from members of one’s own group. In Fijian English, it is known as “kerekere’ because there is no precise English translation for this system. The same is the case with the word ‘Mataqqali’, which is the primary social division in Fiji (p.235).

Similarly, there are many shops in India with the signboards ‘Pooja Materials’ or ‘Government Bhang shop”. Debut may come very close to ‘Arengetram”. However, debut fails to manifest all the nuances of Arengetram because it is more than the first performance of an artist. There is an element of divinity in the word. In many Indian cultures, Arengetrem is performed as an offering to gods and it includes the veneration of the guru. Debut is inadequate to convey all these aspects. Naturally, in most dance programme schedules very native words are used. A programme schedule with the following words may look like transliteration. All these words are taken from the programme schedule of bharatanatyam and kuchipudi Arengetrem of Heera Madhavan and Swetha Padmanabhan on Thursday 1st October 2009 at Sree Krishna Temple Hall, Darsait, Oman. The programme starts with ‘welcome speech’ and not speech of welcome. This is an example of deletion, which is another feature of IE. The next item is the lighting of the lamp by the chief guest. This may not be of much significance to people from a different culture. However, in the Indian context it is not just an act representing inauguration but a religious ceremony as well. Items in the schedule include Poorva Rangam, Varnam, Mahaganapati and Devi Stuthi, Kuchipudi tharangam, radhamadhavam, ashtapathi, Narayaneeyam, etc. All these words and many
more are part of the SAE lexis. They cannot be substituted with any other word because they are so closely knit to the local culture.

Not all the SAE lexis is used in native varieties. Most of them are used only within the boundaries of the subcontinent for intranational communication. However, South Asia has made several lexical contributions to world standard English. Crystal (1994) gives example of many such words. The following are listed in his Cambridge Encyclopaedia of the English Language: bandana, Brahmin, bungalow, calico, castle-mark, chakra, cheetah, cheroot, chintz, chit, chutney, coolie, curry, dacoit, guru, jodhpurs, juggernaut, jungle, juice, mogul, mulligatawny, nirvana, pundit, purdha, rajah, rupee, sahib, tiffin, veranda, yoga, etc. (p.360). Unlike the restricted type of lexis, the native speakers also use these words. They are also included in standard English dictionaries.

There are hundreds of lexical items unique to the SAE. They are derived either from the native Indian languages or are new combinations of English words. Yet another group consists of English words that carry new connotative meanings. Kachru (2005) classifies the SAE lexis stock into mainly three groups; words borrowed from south Asian languages as single items, hybridised lexical items and lexical items with extended or restricted semantic connotations. The examples given above by Crystal are examples of the first category of single lexical items. In addition, Kachru cites words such as ahimsa, almirah, bangle, bidi, catamaran, chota, cowrie (a small seashell of Indian Ocean), dinghy (small boat), gunny, jute, kurta, myna, pan, paria, pukka, sarvodaya, etc. as examples of the first group. Words such as satyagrahi, khaki, khaddar, sanyasin, Brahmin, idli, chutney, samosa, tilak, grudwar, ashram,
mutt, moksha, etc. are some other single lexical items without equivalents in other varieties. Brinjal, coriander and capsicum are also typical Indian usages.

The second group, as the name ‘hybridized’ suggests, consist of two parts. One part is English and the other south Asian. They are either suffixes or prefixes as in brahminic or policewallah. Some other examples are chowkidared, chutnified, challaned, cooliedom, goondaism, Gandhiism, Hinduism, Buddhism etc. There are also many hybrid collocations such as lathicharge, bindimark, pooja holidays, railwaycooler, rikshapuller, Himalayan blunder, Brahmin boy, goonda raj, desi product, sarvodaya leader, thuklakian reforms, Budhist philosophy etc.

In the third group, all the words are English, but they are nativized new expressions. A few examples are; prepone, depromote, cousin brother/sister, eve teasing, nose screw, scheduled caste, cent percent, ear tops, ladies finger, cow worship, break rest, caste proud, house proud, eating leaves, military hotel, etc. (pp. 51-4).

Creative writers also have contributed many nativized collocations. Jayaraj (2012) gives many examples of such collocations used by R. K. Narayan, Salman Rushdie and Arundhati Roy. Narayan’s English has been named ‘Bharat brand of English’ because of the large number of words found in his works. His Indianisms include words from Tamil, Sanskrit and Hindi. Some examples are dhoti, pyol, jutka, idli, sambar, etc. He has also used many translations of Tamil expressions, such as ‘worshipping room’, ‘dining leaf’, ‘sitting plank’ etc. Some of his collocations are ‘semi interest’, ‘bull calf’, ‘dung cake’, ‘betal nut spittle’, ‘nose screw’, ‘foreign returned people’, ‘red tapists’, ‘Naga raj’ etc. (p.61).
Salman Rushdie gave a fresh impetus to Indian English. According to Fletcher (1994), he ‘chutnifies’ English in an attempt to liberate English from its false Puritanism. Jayaraj (2012) quotes the following words of Fletcher:

> Rushdie has liberated Indian English from its false puritanism. It is almost as if the Queen’s English has been ‘chutnified’, fried in sizzling gee, and dipped in curry. Rushdi uses a lot of expressions in ‘Midnight’s Children’ which are rooted in Indian realities. Amina Sinai refers to the ‘Anglos’ (the Anglo Indian) as ‘cheap type females’, ‘coca-cola girls’ at whom her husband makes ‘googly eyes’ (p.62).

Post colonialists look at these as attempts to subvert the language of the onetime colonizers. Another recent example is Arundhati Roy (1997). Her booker Prize winner ‘The God of Small Things’ is an example of how English can be twisted and stretched in all directions. She coins new expressions such as, ‘noisy television silence’(p.28), ‘beautiful ugly toads’(187), listening with his eyes’(p.19), ‘mirthless smile’ (p.239), ‘jungles, rivers, rice fields, communists’ (p.35), ‘a lucky leaf that wasn’t lucky enough’ (p.73) etc. (Vinoda, 2003, pp. 134-5).

Apart from nativized expressions and collocations, sometimes words carry different meanings or shades of meanings in the nativized varieties. This has happened even among the inner circle countries. As Wrenn (1987) points out, politician has a disparaging connotation in America. Solicitor in American English means a canvasser, a visiting agent, or even a beggar. Clerk is a shop assistant and petrol is gasoline. Caucus does not carry the derogative connotation it carries in English English (p.191).
As already seen, most varieties, SAE in particular, abounds in nativized stock of lexis. True, the British conquered the people of India, but in turn, the people of India have conquered their language by making it their own and stuffing it with their words and expressions, and contributing in their own way to the development of English.

Yet another aspect of nativization to be discussed is phonology.

2.5. Nativization at Phonological Level

Written English usually has a standard form all over the world. However, it is not true of spoken English. A wide variety of spoken Englishes exist even among the inner circle countries. Similarly, the English spoken in the Indian subcontinent vary from region to region. One can notice these differences both in the segmental features (i.e., the sound system-consonants and vowels) and in the supra segmental system (i.e., word accent, rhythm and intonation). These phonological features of SAE/IE make it distinctive from other varieties of English.

As a system, the consonant system of SAE does not vary much from RP. However, there are differences. The following are some of the most notable ones. The alveolar plosives /t/ and /d/ are pronounced as retroflex consonants. Thus, words such as twenty and dance are pronounced as /tən ti/ and /dəns/ respectively. This retroflexion is more among the Dravidian speakers of English. The dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are replaced by plosives /th/ /d/ / or /dh/ /f/ is generally pronounced as aspirated /p/, at least by Indians with lower exposure to English. An example is /pʌn/ for /fʌn/. Non-rhotic pronunciation (i.e., retention of /r/ after a vowel), not differentiating between /v/ and /w/, the dark and clear
varieties of /l/, the palato-alveolar /ʃ/ and its voiced counterpart /z/, the unaspirated use of the voiceless plosives/ p /, / t / and / k /, increased curling of the tongue for the articulation of / l / and / n /, replacement of / l /, / m / and / n / with vowel consonant (vc) clusters as in button / bʌtən /, mutton/ mʌtən / and bottle / bɔtəl/ are some other phonological features of SAE. Thus / l /, / m/ and / n /are realized as /əl /, / əm / and / ən /.

Yet another feature is epenthesis. It is a term used in phonetics and phonology to refer to a type of intrusion or the insertion of an extra sound in a word. In several north Indian languages the consonant clusters / sk /, / st / and / sp / do not occur in the initial position. Therefore, they tend to put a vowel sound before the initial consonant clusters. Thus, what are pronounced as/ sku:l /, / steiʃn / and sprinʤ / become / isku:l /, / isteiʃn / and / isprinʤ / in their pronunciation. Kachru (2005) points out that in educated or High Hindi initial consonant clusters are present as in the words skandh (shoulder), spardha (competition), sthapit (established), spast (clear), etc. However, in colloquial Hindi they are pronounced with the vowel / i / in the initial position. (p.45).

There are also certain vowel related variations between the RP and the South Asian English Pronunciation (SAE). Some Indian languages do not have a separate phoneme for /æ/. This leads to the substitution of / æ / with / e /. Thus, / bæd / may be pronounced as / bed /. In some varieties, short vowels are lengthened. South Indian speakers of English, especially, Malayalam speakers add an / e / with words ending in consonants. Similarly, the diphthong / əu / is seldom articulated. Instead, it is replaced by / oː /. The other Dravidian speakers such as Kannada, Telugu and Tamil speakers do not articulate / o / instead, the vowel / a / is usually used. They pronounce / hot / as / hat / (Sailaja, 2009, p.25). There is also a tendency
among some speakers to use a monophthong in the place of a diphthong, if a vowel is followed by / r /. They usually pronounce ‘fear’ as / fir /. Another difference between RP and SAEP is the use of long vowels / e:/ and / o:/ where RP would use diphthongs. In addition, many Indian speakers of English has only one pronunciation for ‘the’ - / ði /. Whereas RP has / ðɪ / and / ðə / depending on whether it is used before a vowel or a consonant or whether it is stressed or not.

At the segmental level, differences in stress, rhythm and intonation characterise SAE. The stress pattern found in SAEP varies according to the mother tongue of the speaker. Very often it is unpredictable as in the case of word pronunciation. Speakers tend to apply one and the same rule differently according to varying situations. Thus, in the word *examination*, stress falls on the penultimate syllable, but *abolition* takes stress on the antepenultimate syllable.

It is difficult to generalize the stress pattern of SAE because of the intensity of variation. However, works of Chaudhary (1989), Gargesh (2004) and Wiltshire and Moon (2003) attempt to give a pan Indian account of SIEP (all as cited in Sailaja, 2009, pp.29-33). Their studies have shown that stress in IE depends on the weight of the syllable. Syllables are classified as light syllables, heavy syllables and extra heavy syllables. A syllable is light if it has only one short vowel irrespective of the consonants preceding it. The syllable structure is CV. It is said to be heavy if it has a long vowel (V :) or a consonant following a short vowel (VC). It is extra heavy in case of a long vowel followed by a consonant (V: C) or a vowel followed by two consonants (VCC).
The following are some of the simplified rules based on syllable weight. Stress falls on the first syllable, if the second syllable is not extra heavy as in *taboo*. Similarly, the first syllable of a trisyllabic word is stressed, if the second syllable is not a heavy one. Thus, the first syllable is stressed in *terrific* because the second one is a light syllable. But, the second syllable takes the stress in *modesty* because it is heavy (VC). Sailaja (2009) cautions not to generalize these rules, as they do not explain everything. She gives examples to show the violation of these rules. The differences in the stress patterns of Dravidian speakers of English and Aryan speakers of English are also explained in terms of syllable weight. The Dravidian speakers would syllabify the word minister as mi-ni-ster. In this way of syllabification, the second syllable is not heavy and hence the stress on the first syllable whereas the Aryan group of speakers’ syllabification would be mi-nis-ter. They would stress the second one as it is a heavy syllable (p.31).

Some other features of SAE are stress on the initial syllables of abbreviations and compound words as in *TV*, *BBC*, *ECG*, *Loudspeaker*, *headquarters*, *typewriter*, etc. In all the above abbreviations and compound words, RP stresses the second syllable. Similarly, no distinction in stress is made between noun or adjective on the one hand and verb on the other. Thus, words such as insult, abstract, conduct etc. take stress on the initial syllable irrespective of their use as nouns or verbs. Again, SAE/IE shows a tendency to stress the initial syllable of words with *teen* as a suffix.

With regard to sentence stress, IE stresses many words in a sentence. This is in high contrast with RP. The initial pronouns in sentences are stressed in IE. Another very striking characteristic is not differentiating between weak forms and strong forms. IE gives equal
importance to content words and function words. Thus, unlike in RP and other native varieties, it is difficult to hear reduced pronunciation in SAEP.

Another notable characteristic of SAE is its syllabic rhythm. Crystal (1994) considers it as the most noticeable feature of the English spoken throughout South Asia (p.249). In RP speech, stressed syllables tend to occur at regular intervals. That is to say, the time gap between stressed syllables in a sentence will be mostly the same. So, RP is said to follow a stress timed rhythm. But SIEP follows a syllable-timed rhythm. The time taken to utter each syllable is the same. This happens again because Indian languages are isochronous where the syllables occur at regular intervals of time.

As in the segmental areas, L1 transfer plays a role in the suprasegmental level also. Put the other way, language background decides the quality of a speaker’s pronunciation. Conformity to RP is never a natural phenomenon in the case of a South Asian speaker of English. Rather, it is to be viewed as a special case of acquisition. It is not possible to list all the phonological features of SAE because of its variety. The social dimensions of IE accents are too many. Some scholars such as Thundy (1976) propose that these variations can also be the result of the variety of English Indians are exposed to in the initial stages of English in India (as cited in Sailaja, 2009, pp.37-8).

It is time now to move on to a brief survey of how Grammar has been nativized in SAE.

2.6. Nativization at Grammatical Level

As in the case of the other characteristic features of IE, grammar also reflects the speaker’s own language. A lot of transfer takes place in both syntax and grammar. However, standard
IE users do have many things in common. Each and every transfer or literal translations of expressions from the native language are not considered standard. Thus, IE grammar is also viewed in a hierarchy ranging from English knowers to educated users of standard English. IE grammar is very close to the grammar of standard BE. In case of doubts, BE grammar books are referred to. Standard BE is the touchstone in grammar. An Indian accent may be considered acceptable but not poor grammar. Most of the grammar deviations in IE are considered nonstandard. However, as in all varieties including native varieties, there are standard ones and informal usages. With its own features, IE stands out among all the native varieties. It is neither British nor American. It has assimilated from both, but has also made its own contributions. The grammatical Indianness of IE is tenable.

Despite the historical affiliation to BE, SAE prefers certain American English (AE) structures to those of BE. One such preference is seen in the use of have. Most standard IE speakers would prefer the structure ‘Do you have……?’ to ‘Have you........?’ The first one is AE, and the latter one, traditional BE. But IE Grammar is mostly affiliated to BE. There are cases where only BE is preferred. An example is the use of the relative pronoun who to refer to people. AE uses that in the place of who. There are also instances where both AE and BE are equally accepted. The BE structure ‘insisted that +simple past’ and the AE structure ‘insisted that + bare infinitive’ carry equal acceptance among most educated speakers of IE. Yet another example is the use of just preceded by have as in BE and not preceded by have as in AE. The sentences ‘we have just finished dinner’ and ‘we just finished dinner’ are treated grammatically correct.
A major area of deviation in IE is in verb complement structures. Olavarria de Ersson and Shaw (2003) contrast the use of *pelt* in BE and IE. The structure in BE is verb+noun phrase (goal) + with+noun phrase as in ‘They are pelting him with stones’. But IE has the structure verb+noun phrase+at+noun phrase (goal) as in ‘they are pelting stones at him’ (as cited in Sailaja, 2009, p.43). There is also a preference to omit the indirect object in the case of ditransitive verbs such as *give* and *send*. E.g. Tom gave a book. Furthermore, transitive verbs are converted into intransitive verbs. Even educated users of IE make sentences such as

a. Ok, I’ll take for transport.

b. I didn’t except.

c. We enjoyed very much.

The objects *money, this* and *ourselves* are omitted in the sentences respectively. According to Dixon (1991), in nonstandard IE, the speaker tends to use verbs with the same meanings in the same structure. For example, the words *accept* and *agree* have similar meanings. A ‘to clause’ follows the verb *agree*. Whereas, *accept* is followed by a noun phrase. However, in IE a ‘to clause’ follows both. Thus, sentences such as ‘He agreed to go’ and ‘He accepted to go’ are commonly used (as cited in Sailaja, 2009, pp.45-6).

A desire to use high-sounding words is another feature if IE. IE speakers seem to have a fancy for romance vocabulary (words of Latin and French origin) where common word will suffice. This leads to the use of such words in syntactic frames that would suit other verbs. Dixon (1991) gives a few examples of such uses:

It inhabits in all sorts of habitats.

He discussed about the job.

They conceived about it.
They reached to Bombay.

He presented me a gift.

I require to be lent some money.

I requested you whether you would read my essay (as cited in Sailaja, 2009, p.47).

In all the above examples, the suitable verbs could have been live, talk, think, come, give, need and ask respectively.

In an attempt to highlight the variant features of emerging English varieties, Lowenberg (2000) provides several examples of the sort of English usage that is considered standard in its local context. Talking of IE and Malaysian English, he points out the use of would instead of will as in ‘We accept the verdict of the Kelantan people and we hope they would accept the verdict of the rest of the country’. He also highlights the use of uncountable nouns as countable and the use of prepositions considered to be redundant in BE. The examples given are ‘They used a digital equipment’ and the phrase ‘discuss about’ (as cited in Jenkins, 2003, pp.108-9).

The particle ‘off’ and ‘out’ are used indiscriminately with verbs. Off is used in the sense ‘actually did it’, and it adds some emphasis to the action. As in standard English, when a pronoun occurs, the particle comes after it. For example, “I’ll finish it off”, “I’ll eat it off”, etc. (adapted from Sailaja, 2009, p.47). However, not so proficient speakers use the verb and the particle together regardless of the presence of a noun/pronoun. For example, they called up him, Suresh rang up him etc. Nevertheless, such usages are considered nonstandard even in informal IE. ‘Out’ is used in the sense of an action. ‘My secretary will fair out the draft’
means my ‘secretary will make a fair copy’. “We can’t make out what is being said” means “we can’t understand” (Sailaja, 2009, pp.47-8).

Crystal (1994) makes his observations of the deviations from standard native norms in several parts of the world where English is spoken as a second language. He observes that an invariant tag construction has arisen. That is, regardless of what happens in the preceding clause, one and the same tag is used commonly. Such invariant tags are standard in many languages including French. According to Crystal, such usages are now growing in the regional varieties of English. This is advantageous as it avoids the syntactic complexity of the tag construction in standard language. The invariant tag used is ‘is it?’ alternating with “isn’t it?” He gives the following examples from many regional varieties to prove that it is not a feature only of IE.

You didn’t see him, isn’t it? (Zambia).

You are coming to the meeting, isn’t it? (South Asia).

The word ‘no’ is also used as a tag question in IE, South West USA and Pueblo (p.299).

In nonstandard IE, there is a tendency to use the progressive. In addition, stative verbs, which are not used in the progressive in standard English, are used in the progressive in IE. Some examples given by Sailaja (2009) are:

I am having three books with me.

I am taking it.

You may be knowing it.

She is not understanding anything.

I am enclosing copies of my certificates.
I am attaching a file to this letter (p.49).

There are also instances of usages where the tense across the clauses do not match. Many users of standard IE also tend not to maintain the inter-clausal tense management. Another variation in this regard is the use of the auxiliary verb ‘have’ with past time markers. Thus, one often hears sentences such as the following:

He said that he will come for the party.

I have gone there yesterday.

The preference for the use of would and could also upsets tense concord. Katikar (1984) attributes this to the high degree of politeness in IE discourse (as cited in Sailaja, 2009, p.50).

Deviations in the use of prepositions are mainly due to literal translations from Indian languages. A Supplement of Indian English in Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary gives many examples of prepositions used in typically Indian ways. In the sentence ‘I will come after ten minutes’, ‘after’ refers to a specified period of time. BE would use the preposition ‘in’ in this context (p.1433). In BE the verb avail is followed by ‘oneself+ of + sb/sth’. But in IE ‘avail’ is followed by a noun. Thus, most IE speakers would say ‘I will avail this offer’ instead of ‘I will avail myself of this offer’ (p.1345). Bauer (2002) observes that this difference in the use of prepositions is also found in native varieties. He cites the example of using different prepositions with the adjective ‘different’:

It is different to what I’d expected.

It is different than what I had expected.

It is different from what I had expected.
‘Different to’ is found in British, Australian and New Zealand English in informal contexts, ‘different than’ in American while ‘different from; is the preferred version everywhere (p.108).

Topicalization at the beginning of sentences rather than at the end is another commonly noted feature of IE. Topicalization is a way of giving old information together with a new piece of information. In IE, adverbials indicating place, time and other additional information are usually placed at the beginning of sentences. Bhatt (2004) notes that, the most frequently topicalized element is the object noun phrase. Some of his examples include:

Those people, I telephoned yesterday only.

Only fashionable girls, these boys like.

Bhutt (2004) further notes that this happens even in embedded structures such as the following:

His friends know that her parents, he doesn’t like at all.

Papa-ji only told us that their money, he will not touch (p.1023).

A predominant tendency in standard and nonstandard IE is not to invert the subject and the auxiliary in questions. Questions are constructed out of statements, e.g., Mohan is gone?, Mohan is where?, etc. The question word ‘where’ is used to suggest that the event is not happening. ‘Where does it rain?’ means it is not raining. The question ‘what to do?’ implies that nothing can be done.

Some other common features include the use of only after the element of focus as in: ‘he gave me the books only’. Only is also used in the sense of ‘at all’. ‘He did not speak only’ means
he did not speak at all. Another similar usage is the use of even at the end of a sentence as in ‘I am not getting five minutes even’.

These illustrations are not exclusive of the way English Grammar has been nativized in India in particular and South Asia in general. The attempt has only been to show, as Crystal (1994) observes, how South Asian English has developed to a more distinctive level than in other countries where English has special status (p.360).

It is befitting now to move on to a brief discussion of how English has been nativized in India at the discourse level.

2.7. Nativization at Discourse Level

Discourse is the way one interacts using language. It can be either through writing or through speech. Language is always used in a context. To interpret the spoken or the written text, one needs to know the particular context of the text and the larger cultural context in which it is embedded. Thus, as Valentine (1991) comments, the proper study of language should go beyond the sentence (p.325).

The pragmatics of language involves various speech acts such as addressing, leave taking, expressing gratitude, congratulating, blessing, cursing, apologizing etc. Though these are present in all cultures, the way they are performed is not the same. That is why there are cultural shocks. Arabs hug and rub their noses against each other’s, the Chinese bow low, Indians keep their palms together and say Namaste, the Westerners shake hands. All perform the same act of greeting and welcoming but very differently. They do so because their
differing cultures demand it. Cultural norms, values and beliefs are different, and they have a bearing on language strategies (Valentine, 1991, p.325).

As discussed earlier, when English is transplanted to another cultural context it modifies and adapts for purposes of cultural suitability. The same has happened to English in India. As Jenkins (2003) observes, in adapting to cultural norms, IE has developed its own varietal characteristics through the integration of Indian languages and social behaviours with those of English. There are adaptations of the existing features of BE and a transferring of mother tongue items where BE is deficient (p.133). Sociolinguists have observed and listed many such discourse features and communication strategies typical of IE.

The Indian culture demands its own way of addressing people. Addressing a teacher by name may be perfectly acceptable in some cultures. But, it is culturally offensive in the Indian context where a teacher is treated on par with parents and gods. Teachers are addressed either as ‘Sir’ or as ‘Miss’. To many Indian knowers of English, ‘Sir’ is a male teacher and ‘teacher’ is a female teacher. It may be a reflection of a culture characterized by male domination. Moreover, the Indian ‘Sir’ is not the same as the English English ‘Sir’. Often ‘Sir’ or ‘Miss’ is preceded by the subject they teach. Thus, a female teacher who teaches science is addressed as ‘Science Miss’. In case of a male teacher, it becomes ‘Science Sir’. Parents of friends and even elderly strangers are addressed as ‘uncles’ and ‘aunties’. According to D’souza (1998) and Parashar (1999), “this is a fictive kinship, which is required in a society where relationships need to be established and is a direct transfer of what happens when one uses Indian languages” (as cited in Sailaja, 2009, p.86). It is highly unacceptable to address friends’ parents as ‘Mr’ or ‘Mrs’. ‘Mr.’ and ‘Mrs.’ would also mean husband and
wife. Lata’s ‘Mr.’ means Lata’s husband. Unmarried girls are addressed as ‘Kumaris’. Wife is often referred to as ‘family’. ‘This is my family’ can mean ‘This is my wife’.

The cultural norms of the land do not allow addressing elders by name-be they house maids or servants. Indian words are used for real relationships because there are different words for relationships from father’s side, mother’s side, husband’s side, wife’s side etc. Indian relations stretch in many directions. *Maama* is maternal uncle and *caa-caa* is paternal uncle. Superiors are addressed as Sir or Madam. Medical doctors are ‘doctors’. The very word carries connotations of respect. Nurses are addressed as ‘sisters’ throughout the country. The suffix ‘ji’ is an honorification. The use of ‘you’ is inappropriate when talking to senior persons. It is ‘thathwam asi’. There is no alienation. Friends are commonly addressed as ‘baba’ or ‘yar’.

Welcoming and leave taking also have bearings on the culture and the indigenous languages. Some cultures do not allow leave taking if one is going on a long journey. In the south, leave taking at night is a taboo. ‘Varette’ is the Malayalam word for leave taking. It actually means ‘let me come’. Guests are welcomed in Indian languages with words equivalent to ‘come’. This feature has been absorbed into IE as well. Thus, the host welcomes the guest with ‘come’ or ‘come, come’. The repetition expresses the warmth of welcoming. Leave taking is usually a long procedure with both the parties thanking each other profusely. TV anchors, under the influence of the Internet now use the expression ‘signing off’. ‘What are you doing?’ and ‘where are you going?’ are greetings in Kerala. They are translations of similar expressions in Malayalam and not aimed at any serious enquiry. The greeting ‘Namaste’
meaning the god in me salutes the god in you reflects the pantheistic Indian philosophy. ‘Ram ram’ is another way of greeting expressing some kind of cultural fraternity.

As observed earlier, in the outer and expanding circle countries the imported version of English needs to be adapted and modified to enable it to express native cultures. As Kachru (1996) comments, this may appear to be a violation of the native speakers’ cohesive and coherence procedures. But, this is how a ‘transplanted’ language can acquire functional appropriateness. It is the price a language pays for acculturation (p.309). If language is translation of thoughts, it is to be remembered that every language has a culture at its core. As Kachru (1996) points out:

When English is adapted to other cultures-to non-western and non-English contexts- it is understandably decontextualised from its Englishness (or, for that matter, its Americanness). It acquires new identities. In the international networks of its new uses, English provides an additional, redefined communicative code. A deviation for one beholder is an appropriate communicative act for another language user (p.9).

English adapts itself to get along well with the culture of its new habitats. This settling into new habitats certainly demands a reorientation in order to serve other cultures. The native English has to deculturate before it can acculturate.

In this process, culture specific expressions and strategies creep into the new variety. These cultural nuances cannot be expressed in another way. For example, Indians cremate or bury ‘the material’ body because they have strong convictions of a ‘spiritual body’. When Indians speak of ‘brother’, it can have different shades of meaning as they pledge every morning in
schools and colleges that all Indians are their brothers and sisters. When Vivekananda addressed his audience in the Parliament of Religions as brothers and sisters of America, it was a cultural shock to them. In a culture that propagates the concept of ‘Vasudheiva Kudumbakam’ (universal family) “our families are bigger, and we are the keepers of our brothers and sisters. We are not traditionally individualistic. Our brothers are not just a few but a thousand and one” (Patil, personal communication, August 20, 2010). All who take alms are not beggars in the Indian concept. Their poverty is only a reflection of their spiritual richness. That is why people approach them with request to make them their disciples. They cannot be called beggars though they take alms. Different words such as ‘Sadhoo’ and ‘Bhikshu’ are necessary to express what one really means. Having roots in the ‘Gurukula’ system of education, ‘gurupatni’ is not simply a teacher’s wife but more than that. ‘Darling’ may very well collocate with piglets in America where children kiss and play with them. But, such an expression would be highly offensive and even punishable in a country like Saudi Arabia. Similarly, ‘Mr.’ goes well with the title in most varieties. We address people as Mr. Nayar, Mr. Chatterjee, etc. However, people in Oman take displeasure if addressed thus by their titles. Nobody there likes to be called Mr. Baluchi, though it is a title for many. The reason is it has ethnic connotations. In some varieties of English in India, especially in the south, ‘Mr.’ is used with the full name. “This is the only possible correct usage in South India, especially in Tamil Nadu where most people do not use surnames” (“Indian English”, n.d, para.13).

This point of cultural intervention in the nativized varieties has been demonstrated by, among others, Kachru (1996), Cecil L.Nelson (1996), Bhatt (2001), Sanyal (2006), Thakur (2008) and Jenkins (2003). Kachru gives many examples of newspaper titles, reviews, matrimonial
advertisements, obituaries, invitations, letters and acknowledgements to show the infusion of culture into language. Political and cultural issues such as ‘Marathwada band’, ‘bhoomiputras’, ‘shariat courts’, ‘DESU workers’, ‘subsidy for gobar gas’, etc. often appear in newspapers. Matrimonial advertisements contain words referring to caste, colour, horoscope and many other social institutions. Kachru (1996) gives two examples that would perplex people of other cultures. The first is from the Indian context and the second from a matrimonial advertisement in Thailand. ‘Mutual alliance’ in the Indian context means X’s son marries Y’s daughter and Y’s son marries X’s daughter. This is practised in many parts of India to restrict the giving or the receiving of the dowry. ‘Minor wife’ in Thai English refers to a mistress who is socially acceptable as next to (major) wife (pp. 311-12). In this regard, Patil (1999) gives another example of blessing from the novel Inside Haveli. ‘May you have many sons’ and ‘May you always wear red’. The words ‘sons’ and ‘wear red’ are sure to mar the meaning unless the reader knows their cultural significance (p. 52).

The predominance of God and religion in the Indian culture is also reflected in the discourse of IE. Informal letters, especially from elderly people, end with blessings and prayers. The opening of a letter is usually in the name of one of the gods who will bless the receiver. This characteristic feature of Indian letters made Goffin (1934) remark that IE has a moralistic tone. He comments that the Indians cannot do away with god even in their English (as cited in Kachru, 1996, p. 313).

Another very notable feature of IE discourse is the use of archaic and formal expressions. There is a preference for romance words (words of Latinate origin). Automatic expressions and cliches make it stiff, formal and pompous. Sanyal (2006) attributes this to the mantra
culture of the land, which makes people prone to using automatic expressions that cloud the message (p.6). Second and foreign language learners of English learn the language through literary works and grammar textbooks. In the Indian context, learning English always meant the study of English literature. It was language through literature. The notions of communicative language teaching dawned upon the land only recently. The formalisms in the written works naturally reflect in IE discourse—spoken and written—and makes IE sound rather bookish. As India’s first foreign minister, V. K. Krishnamenon is said to have commented, “Indians learned English from world classics and not from the ghettos of Britain”. Mathai (1951) comments on the bookishness of Indian English in the following words:

Although there were English teachers of English in many of the schools and colleges in India, inevitably the Indian learned a great part of his English from books. Indian English was therefore, always inclined to be bookish, and not adequately in touch with the living English of the day; and when we remember that the books which we re-read as models of good English were the books of Shakespeare and Milton and the other great English poets and dramatists and prose writers, it is not surprising that the more eloquent utterances of Indians (whether spoken or written) were often freely garnished with phrases and turns of expression taken from the great writers. Sometimes these phrases were used without proper recognition of their archaic or obsolescent or purely poetic character (pp.97-8).

A tendency to impress the audience urges the IE user to use high sounding and decorative words. This makes sentences long with vigorous expressions. As Sanyal (2006) observes, IE writing becomes foggy due to the use of cumbrous and obfuscating language (p.10).
Simplicity in writing is seen as unimpressive. Round about expressions are equated with elegance.

A variety of politeness strategies are used in IE. Most of these are direct transfers from the Indian languages. In the IE discourse, one finds a lot of self-effacement (from the side of the speaker) and praises for the other (the addressed). This is commonly found in formal letters and job applications. They usually address the reader as ‘respected Sir/Madam’ and conclude with ‘Yours obediently’ or ‘Yours most sincerely’. Expressions such as ‘for your kind perusal’ or ‘for you kind consideration’ are also used. Whatever associated with the speaker is referred to as matters of insignificance and of the addressed as highly esteemed. Hence the usages ‘welcome to my humble hut’, ‘what is your good name?’ etc. The latter, which was originally Indo-Aryan, is now becoming pan Indian, observes Sailaja (2009, p.88). Yet another politeness strategy is syntactic circumlocution or indirect expressions such as ‘I would be much obliged and grateful if you could kindly look into the matter and do the needful. ‘No’ and ‘just’ sometimes substitute ‘please’. Thus, ‘drink, no’ means ‘please drink’ and ‘just give me a little’ means ‘please give me a little’. ‘Just’ is also used in the sense of ‘only’. ‘Just one minute’ means ‘only one minute’. Bhatt (2004) observes that the tag ‘isn’t it?’ is also used as a politeness strategy to express unassertiveness and mitigation (p.1022).

2.8. Conclusion

That English is not and cannot be used the same way across the world is an obvious fact. There are varieties of Englishes as there are varieties of cultures. When English is made to bear the cultural nuances of a community, it changes accordingly. This naturally places the
user of another variety (both native and non-native) in a difficult situation. As Nelson (1996) observes, there is a reversal of the situation here:

The native speaker has long been on the inside looking out, and weary of admitting outsiders to the ‘fellowship’ of legitimate users of the language. As the non-native varieties of English grow in importance and productivity; the native variety user may find himself to be the outsider, the one who must resort to looking unfamiliar items up in the glossary provided by a thoughtful author such as in the American edition of Raja Rao’s *Kanthapura* or Chinua Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart* (p.329).

One reason to love the world is certainly its diversity. Advocates of homogeneity who tried to bring in cultural uniformity have always been countered and forced to recede by the propagators of heterogeneity and diversity. The freedom and the ability to express thoughts in different ways and styles are to be safeguarded as equally as clarity and intelligibility. ‘English as an International Language’ should not mean the eradication of other cultures and diversities. As Patil (2008) asserts the use of various terms such as ‘localization’, ‘diversification’, ‘decolonization’, ‘dehegemonization’, ‘liberation of the English language’, etc. in critical literature to describe the diffusion and nativization of English is a sure indication that there cannot be such a danger (p.27). The diversity of expression should continue to exist and it will.