

THE EMERGENCE OF INDIAN ENGLISH AS A NATIVISED VARIETY AND ITS ACCEPTABILITY IN THE INDIAN SOCIOLINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

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ABSTRACT

When the British left the Indian shore after India's independence on the 15th of August, 1947, they left behind the English language. With the subsequent growth in the number of its users; the language has witnessed a subsequent growth in stature and power in the Indian socio linguistic and cultural domains. Moreover, its prolonged coexistence in a multilingual landscape has led to the emergence of an indigenized variety of English. In all major domains of India's sociolinguistic landscape, English has emerged as the primary language. Like any other native languages in India, English too has been intrinsically connected to the Indian Cultural landscape. In other words, through acculturation, English has been nativized in the Indian socio-linguistic atmosphere (Choudhury, 2018, p.549). However, an external standard still sets the norms for English usage in countries like India through reference to its grammar, dictionaries, or pronunciation manuals. As such, the pedagogical paradigms are still based on Standard British English. The author has tried to argue for the recognition of Indian English as a nativised variety like BrE or AmE with its own variations including a standardized form. Moreover, the viability and challenges in setting pedagogical norms based on Standard Indian English have also been examined.

Key Words: variety; culture; standard; Indian English; pedagogy

INTRODUCTION

When the British left the Indian shores after India's independence on the 15th of August, 1947, they left behind the English language. Although the government adopted the policy of retaining English as the transitional language only till 1965, due to various socio-political issues and complications, it was retained and now functions as the Associate Official Language to be used in all major domains including, education, law, and government offices. With the subsequent growth in the number of its users; the language has witnessed a rapid growth in stature and power in the Indian socio-linguistic and cultural domains. Moreover, its prolonged coexistence in a multilingual landscape has led to the emergence of an indigenized variety of English. The language has been moulded with borrowings of words and phrases from the native languages of India to make it contextually more meaningful and intelligible to the users in India. The identity of Indian English through its differences in Phonetics & Phonology, Morphosyntax, Lexis, and Discourse from British English has been clearly shown by Pingali (2009), Kachru and Nelson (2006). Although the existence of Indian English (IE) is accepted by most of the users of the language in India and its usage at the informal domains of conversation and verbal discourse is deemed more suitable for the local context, till the recent past, it was not regarded as a variety at par with the so-called native varieties of English namely British English (BrE) and American English (AmE). What are the features that characterize IE and how can it be regarded as a variety as distinct as the so-called native varieties? In this paper, efforts have been made to encapsulate the various aspects of Indianness associated with IE and how it is inextricably linked with the Indian sociolinguistic and cultural domains. Moreover, the paper tries to examine the viability of the use of Indian English at the pedagogical level.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF INDIAN ENGLISH

VARIETIES OF INDIAN ENGLISH

If we take into consideration the sociolinguistic status of English as a transplanted language in India, we find that the number of users of the language here is far higher than those of the so-called native English speaking nations. As stated in a report published in the magazine India

Today, one in every three Indians can understand English although the number of confident speakers of the language is less than 20 percent (India Today, 18 August 1997). In a country comprising of more than 1.3 billion people, these figures relate to a vast human population and have immense linguistic, ideological, cultural, and ethical implications. In India, English has coexisted with several other languages in a multilingual scenario. According to the 2011 language census of the government of India, 22 languages are recognized under the eighth schedule of the Constitution of India. On the other hand, 99 languages have more than 10000 speakers each and are not included in the eighth schedule. Moreover, there are 270 identifiable mother tongues in India which have returned 10000 or more speakers. Out of these, 123 mother tongues are grouped under the languages included in the eighth schedule and the remaining 147 are grouped under those languages that do not fall under the eighth schedule of the constitution of India (Census of India, 2018). In this heterogeneous linguistic landscape, English has emerged as the main medium in demand for acquisition in India. English is used across all formal domains and from the study of its status in the multilingual scenario it suits Kachru's definition of Functional Nativeness (2005). The 'Range' of the language can be understood from the fact that it is used across all important domains and its usage is not simply limited to an elite minority but seeps into the general public who use it to serve various purposes and needs. The depth of penetration of the language is at par (if not more) with any other language of a particular region. However, the prolonged coexistence with indigenized languages in a multilingual context has led to various innovations in the language. "There have been innovations in the medium and simultaneous acculturation of the messages that the medium conveys resulting in a cross-over of the language."(Goswami, 2006, p.34). These innovations and acculturation of English in the Indian heterogeneous linguistic context have led to the emergence of an indigenized variety of English known as Indian English. It is universally understood and accepted by the linguists that the so-called native varieties of English namely British English and American English are not monolithic varieties. Similarly, Indian English also has different varieties. However, unlike the former varieties, the different varieties of Indian English are not fixed in terms of their features (Pingali, 2009. p.14). **The Indian varieties can be placed** on a cline of bilingualism with three measuring points (Kachru 1985). The zero point or the basilect is occupied by the uneducated people comprising mostly of vendors, guides, or labourers. The central point or the mesolect is occupied by the clerks and

notaries who are less than well educated whereas the educated speakers comprising of the educationists, civil servants, creative writers, etc occupy the ambilingual point or the acrolect. The acrolect has come to be regarded as Standard Indian English (Pingali, 2009). It is also termed as General Indian English by Balasubramanian (1981) and Educated Indian English by Parasher (1991) and Hosali (1999). This Standard Indian English (SIE) has a pan Indian presence and is free of the regional markers that are prominent in most Indian English speakers. This variety is Indian but is of higher stature than the others (Pingali, 2009). The majority of the Indians does not speak this variety and tends to have regional accents. Their speeches tend to be influenced by the native tongue or "the most influential language in the repertoire of the speaker" (Pingali, 2009, p.14). Therefore, depending upon the regional markers of the speeches, we have TAMILIAN English, Punjabi English, Bengali English, and Assamese English, etc. The English of these varieties is influenced by regional languages like Tamil, Punjabi, Bengali, Assamese, etc. However, the acrolect or Standard Indian English (SIE) is free from regional influences and carries features that are common among its speakers.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SIE AND SBRE

While SIE is similar to Standard British English (SBrE) in some aspects, it is different in many ways too and is very Indian in nature. Some of these differences are enumerated below:

Phonology:

VOWELS

So far as vowels are concerned, in SIE the phoneme /ɒ/ is used against the RP phonemes /ɔ/ and /ɔ:/, /e:/ and /o:/ are the two pure vowels used in SIE instead of the RP diphthongs /ei/ and /əu/ respectively. Against the three RP phonemes /ʌ/, /ə/ and /ɜ/, SIE has only /ə/, /i/ and /u/ are closer and less centralized in SIE. In RP the phoneme /e/ is used in words like bet, get etc. However, in SIE, it gets replaced by /ɛ/ as the vowel is more open in SIE. The IE counterpart for the RP /ɑ:/ as used in words like car, far etc. is /a:/ which is more fronted in SIE than in RP (Balasubramanian, 1981, p. 129).

CONSONANTS

So far as the consonants are concerned, SIE has 23 consonants against the 24 consonants of RP. Moreover, in SIE the dental plosives /d/ and /t/ are used in place of the RP dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/. The alveolar plosives /t/ and /d/ used in RP are replaced by the retroflex plosives /ʈ/ and /ɖ/ in SIE whereas SIE has only one phoneme /v/ in place of the RP phonemes /w/ and /v/ (Balasubramanian, 1981, p. 130). SIE and RP also differ in some other aspects of sound. For instance, in SIE the voiceless plosives are unaspirated in all positions whereas in RP they are aspirated in initial positions of stressed syllables. In SIE, the phoneme /ŋ/ is never pronounced singly and is always followed by /g/. Hence /fiŋə/ in RP is /fiŋgə/ in SIE. /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ in SIE are palatal affricates whereas they are palato-alveolar affricates in RP. In RP /r/ is a Post-alveolar approximant whereas in IE it is either a rolled ⟨r⟩ or a tapped [ɾ] (Balsubranamiam, 1981, p.130). Besides these variations in segmental features, there are some suprasegmental variations too in relation to the accent, stress, rhythm, and intonation. Stress mechanism in SIE varies from one word to another. Moreover, we find a regional variation of stress mechanisms too. The weight of the syllable determines stress placement (Pingali, 2009; Chaudhary, 1989; Gargesh, 2004; Wiltshire and Moon, 2003). A light syllable comprises only one short vowel whereas a heavy syllable consists of either a long vowel followed by a consonant or at least two consonants after a short vowel. Also, "when confronted with a new word, speakers of IE fall back on the stress pattern of their native languages" (Pingali, 2009). In abbreviations, the first syllable is stressed in SIE whereas in **RP** it is on the last syllable. In the case of compound words, the stress is on the first item whereas in RP it is on the second item. While in RP, the stress pattern is determined by the grammatical role of a word in a sentence, in the case of SIE, the grammatical role plays no part in determining the stress pattern of a word in a sentence. Rhythm in RP is stress-timed while in the case of SIE, it is neither syllable-timed nor stress-timed (Prabhakar, 1971; Pingali, 2009). So far as intonation is concerned, statements are indicated by the falling tone, questions by the rising tone, while incompleteness and reservation are indicated by the fall-rise tone (Pingali, 2009).

SIE LEXIS AND DISCOURSE FEATURES

The SIE vocabulary has been built in various ways. SIE usage comprises of lexical elements that are either similar to SBrE, American English (AmE) or are completely indigenous. While there is a greater lexical affinity with SBrE, items similar to AmE usage are also substantial. As is revealed in a corpus study of British (Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus), American (Brown Corpus), and Indian English (The Kolhapur Corpus), there is a core vocabulary of more than 1000 words that is common across the varieties (Geisler, 2000). Words like snow, plough, smog, jumper, etc. are used across these varieties although, in the case of IE, these are used only by the highly educated class. Moreover, in the case of SIE, while words like jam, jelly, jug, lorry, dustbin, petrol, etc. are akin to SBrE, stove, pharmacy, hardware store, buffet are similar to AmE usage. There are also typical SIE items that have no similarity with SBrE or AmE. Brinjal, lady's finger, wine shop, dickey, metro, and torchlight are some indigenous items. "Sweater is a term for all kinds of warm clothing worn over other clothes; purse must be held in the hand; and handbag must have handles and be slung on the shoulder" (Pingali, 2009, p.68). There are also some words that have completely different meanings in the Indian context. For example, 'stir' in Indian English also means a strike, 'shift' means move (especially house or office), 'clever' means intelligent but usually has a negative connotation and means cunning, 'bearer' means waiter and a 'backbencher' is one who is generally a dull and mischievous student, a 'latrine' is a toilet, a 'mixture' is a snack and a 'convent' is a school run by the Christian missionaries (Pingali, 2009, p. 69). Britain has a long history of contact with India. In fact, for hundreds of years, words have flowed into the English vocabulary through trade and empire. Words like loot, nirvana, pyjamas, shampoo, pundit, thug, etc. have made their way into not only SBrE vocabulary, but also to the vernacular. Many words were introduced long before the acquisition of the first territory in India by the East India Company in 1615. In Hobson-Jobson: The Definitive Glossary of British India(1886), it has been stated that many words like ginger, pepper, indigo, etc. predates the British Rule and have entered into the English vocabulary through ancient routes like Greek and Latin. Moreover, words from various Indian regional languages have crept into English vocabulary over a prolonged period extending from the fourteenth century to the British Raj and even beyond (Pingali, 2009). But when we talk about SIE lexical items, we mean those words which have not made it into the SBrE dictionary but are used exclusively in the Indian sociolinguistic landscape. These can be regarded as restricted items. These words have filtered into the Indian English vocabulary from various Indian

vernacular languages. However, most of the items have been borrowed from Hindi/Urdu/Sanskrit. For example, bandh (closing all shops, business, and institutions as a part of an agitation), hartal (a strike), a lac (one million), chaat (a junk food), henna/mehndi (a herbal dye used on hair and hands), dharna (a sit-in demonstration), etc. (Pingali, 2009). Register and culture-specific words are also there. For example, raaga (notations of music), taal (rhythmic pattern in Indian music), aasana (postures related to yoga), etc. Words related to Indian religions like sadhu/sant (a Hindu ascetic), puja (Hindu prayer ritual), maulvi (an Islamic priest), bhikshu (a Buddhist ascetic), dargah (tomb of a Muslim Sufi saint), etc. Names of Indian food items include roti/chappati (Indian bread made of flour), lassi (a drink made of yoghurt), dahi-wada (a dish with yoghurt and a mashed potato fried ball), chicken do-pyaaja (chicken made with onion), chutni (Indian sauce made with different vegetables and fruits), samosa (a food item having stuffed mashed potato), paratha (Indian bread made of flour), jalebi (a sweet), etc. There are also terms associated with Indian dresses and clothing like dhoti (a cloth wrapped around the waist), kurta (Indian long shirt), sari (long cloth worn by women), pyjama (loose pants) salwar suit (a dress worn by women comprising of a kurta and pyjama), etc. Indian games like kabaddi have now gained international recognition. There are other games too like kho-kho and gilli-danda. Challan (pay-in-slip) is a very commonly used word in India; motels in India are known as Dhaba while a horse-driven vehicle is called a tanga. Many words belonging to the regional languages have also found a place in the Indian English vocabulary core. For example, roshgolla (a Bengali sweet), idli (a South Indian cake), dosa (South Indian pancake made from rice and lentil), Bihu dance (a dance form of the Assamese people), Bhangra (a dance form of Punjab), etc.

LEXICAL INNOVATIONS

Lexical innovation is a pan Indian phenomenon of Indian English. The innovations are the outcome of the need for words required in specific cultural and register contexts where the English equivalent words do not exist. Growth of SIE vocabulary is also the outcome of such needs. Lexical innovations are carried out in SIE predominantly through two processes-compounding and affixation (Pingali, 2009). Indian English, like all other languages in India, has a preference for compounding. Phrases used in SBrE are also replaced by compounds in

SIE. Compounding can be of the following types: Noun/Noun compounding and Adjective/Noun compounding. Through Noun/Noun compounding, we have words like black money (money hoarded without paying taxes), auto-rickshaw (motorized three-wheeler), table fan (a tabletop electric fan), ceiling fan (a fan fixed on a ceiling), pass percentage (the percentage of students who have cleared the exams), hill station (a place on a hilly location having cool and comfortable climate), etc. Adjective/Noun compounds include joining report (a report given by an employee on joining a service), creamy layer (financially sound class of the underprivileged castes of the society), gazette officer (a government officer), etc (Pingali, 2009). There are also some compounds in SIE where the 'of' or 'for' used in SBrE to combine the two words is missing. For example, in SIE, a matchbox is used instead of a box of matches (Pingali, 2009, p.78). Pingali (2009) also notes that in SIE usage, we have Noun/Noun compounds that have a verbal derivative. For example, playback singer (a singer who records songs to be enacted by actors in films), a 'car lifter' means a car thief, 'eve-teasing' means teasing a girl, 'speed breaker' is the hump created on the road to check the speed of a vehicle. Some compounds are also used as adjectives. For example, 'solar-powered' means to be powered by solar energy (Pingali, 2009, p.78).

AFFIXATION

Affixation is the other process through which innovation occurs in SIE. Prefixes like mega- and super- are used in combinations like megastar, mega weekend, superstar, supermarket, super singer, etc. to signify something as great and extraordinary. The suffix -ite is used to denote the region a person belongs to. Therefore, Puneite means a person who is from Pune, hostelite means a person who stays in a hostel, and Carmelite means a current student or an alumnus of Carmel school. Moreover, English suffixes like -ese, -ian, -an are also used to denote the people or society of certain regions of India. For example, 'Assamese' refers to the people, culture, language and society of the state of Assam, Tamilian denotes the people and the language spoken by people of Tamil Nadu.

REDUNDANCY

SIE usage comprises a good number of redundant expressions where one word is put unnecessarily. For example, in words like 'tissue paper' and 'compound word', the words paper and word are not necessary. Some other redundant words are related to newspapers and magazines. Newspapers are referred to as The Telegraph newspaper or The Times of India newspaper while magazines are mentioned as The Frontline Magazine or the India Today Magazine.

DISCOURSE FEATURES

In a study conducted by Valentine (1991) it was found that in a group of bilingual women speaking Hindi and English, the most commonly used linker was 'and'. There were also other linkers like but, so, or, then, well, now, I mean, etc. used in their conversations that lent unity and cohesiveness to their speeches.

“But that's the thing with age — You don't understand what is happening. I have changed a lot as a person — coming into showbiz and meeting a cross section of people from all walks of life, it was an amazing experience. But that's the privilege I had of being early into showbiz”, says Tamannaah Source: Times of India.

This is an extract from an interview of an actress of Indian mainstream cinema that was published in an English National Newspaper with a pan Indian circulation (Times of India). We can see the use of the linker 'but' even where it was not necessary. Commonly used discourse features in SIE include 'I mean', 'What I mean to say', 'The thing is'. All these are used for clarification and also as fillers (Pingali, 2009, p.86).

ADDRESS FORMS

Address forms provide significant sociolinguistic information not only about the relationship of the interlocutors but also about the socio-cultural contexts of their usage. Hence they form an important interface that reflects the linguistic and social relationship. Although Indian English forms of address have certain universal features with other varieties of English, they also display many culture-specific peculiarities, which are predetermined by culture and

cultural values. There are a plethora of address forms used in Indian society which reflects the fact that relationships in India are more clearly defined than in Western Societies. Therefore, simply using uncle and aunt to refer to one's parents' brothers/sisters/spouses of brothers or sisters do not exactly encapsulate the Indian relationships because there are different words to represent different relationships. Hence, one's father's younger brother and his wife are Chacha and Chachi which primarily come from Hindi. However, there are regional variations as well. For example, even SIE users in Assamese society will refer to the same as Khura and Khuri while the Bengalis will use the terms Kaku and Kakima respectively. Likewise, the father's elder brother and his wife are Tau and Tai in Hindi. Moreover, older people are not addressed by their maiden names or their surnames as it is disrespectful. Hence the words uncle and aunty are used after their names or surnames. Thus we have Vimla aunty or Choudhury uncle. The tags of uncle and aunty are used in the case of fictive relationships. (D'souza, 1988; Parasher, 1999) describe this as fictive kinship required in a society where we have to establish relationships. However, in the case of real relationships, terms used in the local languages are used in English as well. Moreover, students always add 'sir' or 'ma'am' after the names of their male and female teachers respectively. 'Sir' and 'Ma'am' are also used as marks of respect for those who occupy some position of prominence in society or are one's employers. Another very commonly used address form for prominent and elderly people (across all genders) is 'ji'. Therefore we have Rajeshji, Amitji, Surabhiji, etc. Since all these Indian address forms do not have any synonyms in English, the Indian forms are used in SIE as well.

CODE-SWITCHING WITH INDIAN LANGUAGES

In a multilingual country like India, code-switching is inevitable at the discourse level. Therefore a common speech in SIE can also be interspersed with terms and words which are parts of the Indian linguistic repertoire. This is necessitated by the lack of appropriate vocabulary or other expressions in English. For example, the following excerpts from two interviews published in an English Daily newspaper (The Times of India, 2009) having a pan India circulation, best encapsulates the point:

.... deputy CM Sushil Kumar Modi used to tell the media that the fear of a return to 'jungle raj' with RJD boss Lalu Prasad would make people vote for the Nitish government in 2010.

.... governance has been suffering and my legislators as well as 'aam aadmi' have been telling me that I should step in, I have agreed to work again.

In the first statement, the speaker uses the phrase 'jungle raj' which is borrowed from Hindi and means 'the rule of the jungle' or 'the governance of anarchy'. But no English alternative can encapsulate the impact and appropriateness that 'jungle raj' carries in the context. Similarly, in the second statement, 'aam aadmi' (borrowed from Hindi) refers to the common man (collective noun) or the ordinary voters. However, in the above context, the phrase 'aam aadmi' not only means the common man but also refers to the sentiments associated with the masses who vote the politicians to power in a democracy like India. Hence, code-switching has become an integral feature of discourse of all varieties of IE including SIE.

INDIAN CULTURAL ELEMENTS IN INDIAN ENGLISH

Culture and language are intrinsically related entities. Like any other Indian language, IE embodies elements that are exclusively Indian in nature. However, India is a land with vast diversities in culture and language. Despite these diversities, there are also pan Indian features that are intelligible to all the people of the country. These pan Indian cultural features are reflected in SIE usage. The fact that needs to be kept in mind is that Indian English reflects values that characterize Indian culture. Different cultural norms and assumptions result in the differences in the speech acts of SBrE and SIE. These differences are palpable in different aspects of language usage including complimenting. In SIE, while offering compliments to an individual, the speaker tends to maximize not only the praise of the hearer but also maximizes dispraise of him/her (Patil, 2002). Singh (1970, p.27) cites the following example: "Sardar sahib, you are a big man and we are but small radishes from an unknown garden." Such two dimensional complimenting is not found in SBrE. Address forms discussed earlier reflect

Indian courtesy norms where words like 'ji', 'sahib,' 'madam,' 'sir,' 'bade bhai,' etc. are used as marks of respect for all irrespective of their status. These compliments are used by the IE speakers because in the Indian context they make the compliments appropriate and effective (cf. Broeck, 1986).

THE DOMAINS OF USE OF ENGLISH IN INDIA

“English is used primarily in the domains of education, administration, law, mass media, science and technology” (Pingali, 2009, p.5). It is also the language of communication in trade and commerce.

“Moreover, Part XVII of the Constitution of India, while defining the roles of the different languages, states that all orders, rules and regulations and bye-laws etc. shall be in English. The courts of justice need a certain type of knowledge which can be availed only through English. Hence, the High Courts and Supreme Court use the English language. During the colonial period, indigenous education systems were either marginalized or completely wiped out and were replaced almost entirely by western education systems. Hence, medicine, engineering, technology and all the sciences are inevitably in English. When knowledge and its dissemination are determined by Western standards, English must inevitably be used” (Pingali, 2009, p.5).

The English used in the various domains bears distinct Indian cultural traits and colour which lends Indianness to the English used. Some of the domains are discussed below:

CREATIVE WRITING

Indianness of English is also noticed in the world of creative writing in English. In the realm of creative writing, India boasts of a large number of authors who write in English. The rich treasure of English literature authored by Indians bears distinct Indian cultural traits. The Indian cultural elements in Indian English have gained acceptability primarily due to their usage in

the novels, poems, drama, articles, etc. authored by Indians. Mulk raj Anand, Vikram Seth, Nirad Chaudhary, Amitabh Ghosh, Kamla Das, Anita Desai, Arundhati Roy, Raja Rao, etc. are great exponents of Indian English usage in their novels and poems. The notion of Indian English has been established through the ever-growing use of English for creative expressions by the Indian authors. "Their English is neither the King's English nor the Queen's English, but is indeed a transcreation of the native speech of the characters who inhabit their fictive world and breathe life in to it"(Shahane, 1978, p.75). Newspapers and magazines in English also lend credibility and stability to Indian English usage.

“The linguistic heterogeneity found in India and mutual unintelligibility of many languages has seen the emergence of English as the lingua franca of the region. As a result, the language has delved deep into the sociolinguistic scenario of the country and due to its contact with various languages, has developed lexical, syntactical and stylistic innovations which have marked Indian English as a distinct variety of English like the British or American Englishes. These differences can occur in a variety that has developed thousands of miles away from its origins. The variations are widely used in diverse fields like creative writing and non-fictional writings like newspaper writings so much so that in all these writings we are bound to find these Indian variants. We find variations in Indian English due to the users’ diverse linguistic, regional, racial and socio-economic backgrounds” (Goswami, 2006, p.34).

LEGAL TERMINOLOGY

English is used extensively in Law and most of the law books followed are in English. Hence, Indian English has borrowed several terms from various Indian languages and many such terms have pan Indian usage. Some Indian words in Standard Indian Legal English are: chit fund : financial arrangement in which small regular contributions are collected, invested and returned in a lump sum at a profit to the person making them; dacoit: a member of a gang of armed thieves; daroga: i) a senior officer; ii) an officer in charge of a police station; havildar: a soldier who is not an officer, lower in rank than a subahdar; hundi: a bill of credit in financial dealings that are not official; inam : a grant by government, often revenue free; jagir: (formerly) a piece

of land given permanently by a Mughal emperor or by the British Government to a person or body that would administer it; jagirdar: a person holding a jagir ; jamadar : i) (formerly) a junior officer in the army, next in rank below a subahdar; ii) An officer of the police or customs department, next in rank below a daroga; iii) used as the title of the chief peon or the chief servant in a large organization, showing respect; iv) sweeper; nazir: a supervisor; an officer employed in a judicial court; a sheriff: a bailiff; subahdar: i) (formerly) an officer in charge of a province; ii) (formerly) the chief Indian officer of a company of sepoys; tahsil: a smaller division of a district; tahsildar: a person in charge of collecting money for the government in a tahsil; zamindar : (formerly) a landlord responsible for collecting money and paying it to the government; Bengal Ghatwali Lands Act; Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Baronetcy Act; Mussalman Wakf Act; Durgah Khawaja Saheb Act; Lok Sahayak Sena Act (Govt. of India, Legal Glossary, 2001).

USE OF TERMS OF INDIAN MUSIC, DANCE FORMS, CULINARY ITEMS IN SIE

India is culturally a diverse nation with people of each region, religion, language, food habits and lifestyle boasting of many forms associated with music and dance. The terms that are associated with these forms have seeped into Indian English usage too. Therefore, we have classical dance forms like kathak, kathakali, oddisy, xotriya, kutchipuddi etc.; folk dances like bhangra, bihu, dandia, bagudumba etc.; in classical music, we have various ragas; musical instruments like tabla, sitar, tanpura, mridangam, dholak. There has also been the fusion of Indian and western dance forms, music and musical instruments. Western musical instruments like guitar, harmonica, saxophone, drums etc are also used extensively in Indian music. Names of Indian dishes and culinary items have also gained currency in Indian English usage. For example, Indian items like dosa, idli, laccha paratha, biryani, chutneys, dal makhani and gilawat ke kebab etc. are all part of the Indian English vocabulary core. Moreover, terms associated with religious festivals in India like Dussehra, Holi, Dipavali, Muharram, Eid, Guru Nanak Jayanti etc. are also used in English.

MATRIMONIAL ADS IN ENGLISH

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Matrimonial ads published in English newspapers bear distinct Indian cultural elements and a non-native who has no knowledge of Indian socio-cultural and religious aspects will find it difficult to understand the ads. Given below are a few examples of Indian matrimonial ads taken from 'The Hindustan Times' archives:

1. Matrimonial

Bride Wanted

Caste No Bar

HINDU, 33, M.E. 5.8 fair, professor, Chennai. Expect very fair girl within 29 years, rich family, caste, religion, language no bar.....

2. Delhi based MBA, MCA, CA Engg. Handsome boy for beautiful, smart, fair Bansal working only girl MCA.....from well settled family. Father AE (Civil) DDA. Caste no bar.

3. Alliance invited from a slim, beautiful, mealy-mouthed, considerate and homely girl, should be working. For a tall, dark, handsome boy, working abroad. Punjabi, non-manglik boy, well settled, income in six figures. Father retired from Indian army, mother a home maker, no dowry, early marriage.....

In the case of a majority of Indian arranged marriages, the most important aspects that are looked into are family background, religion, caste, language, job, financial position, age, height, skin colour and dowry. The three advertisements given above have been borrowed from the matrimonial pages of different issues of a leading Indian English daily Hindustan Times. In each of these ads, we find caste, religion, language, job and bride/groom's parents' jobs being mentioned because they are of utmost importance in the realm of arranged marriages. Moreover, the obsession for a fair-skinned bride is evident in the ads. In the third ad, we find the terms 'mealy-mouthed' and 'non-manglik.' In the case of a majority of the Indian households, the women are expected to be homely and mealy-mouthed who should bear every injustice meted out by the patriarchy without uttering a word. Although things are changing for the better with time, the ad itself shows that these notions are still prevalent. Manglik is a Hindu superstition associated with Vedic astrology. A person under the influence of the planet Mars is said to be a manglik and many people don't want a marriage with a manglik. The ads reflect the progress that Indian society has made by embracing more and more inter-caste marriages,

although a majority of the population still doesn't approve of such marriages. Moreover, in an Indian marriage, the families of the bride and the bridegroom metaphorically get married too. Indian culture is unique for the fact that the family remains closely attached and in most cases, the family members remain under the same roof. Even in the case of nuclear families, the roots are very important. Hence, marriages are preferred among families of more or less same social, religious and economic standings. Therefore, in the second and the third advertisements, we find the professions of the parents of the girl and the boy being mentioned.

Besides the aforementioned domains, English is also used to name business establishments across the country including rural India, more so in the Northern States. Bhatia (1987) surveyed 1200 advertisements and noted that almost 90% of the products had English names. Code-mixing was the norm in which one name was Indian while the other was an English term. Thus we have 'Choudhury and Sons', 'Vimal Fabrics', 'Ashok Industries' etc (Pingali, 2009, p.6).

The role that English plays in the Indian sociolinguistic landscape is that of a high language used for specific purposes. English occupies a higher position in relation to the other native languages. Dasgupta (1993) states that "In India, there is a diglossic situation where English occupies a higher position in relation to the other native languages."

INDIAN ENGLISH IN SCHNEIDER'S DYNAMIC MODEL OF NEW ENGLISHES

Schneider, in his Dynamic Model of nativisation of English, talks about the five stages of development that a new variety of English goes through in its developmental history of a region (Pingali, 2009, p.366). The five consecutive phases that the new variety of English goes through are: foundation, exonormative stabilization, nativisation, endonormative stabilization and differentiation. While analyzing the present status of Indian English in the context of the Dynamic model, Mukherjee (2006) and Schneider (2007) arrive at different conclusions. Mukherjee believes that Indian English has already arrived at phase 4 i.e. endonormative stabilization. Schneider, on the other hand, places Indian English at phase 3 i.e. nativisation because the acceptability of Indian English norms in India is yet to be ascertained. That Indian

English has reached the phase of nativisation is probably undisputed. Importantly, new grammatical features are emerging not only from substrate influence but also from the requirements of the culture (Pingali, 2009, p.66). "There is the emergence of a grammar culture which is evident from the various ways in which tags are used" (Bhatt, 2004). In such a scenario we find that the global and the local are both hybridized. Mukherjee, on the other hand, talks about the conflict between "progressive and conservative forces" (Mukherjee, 2006, p.170). This is the outcome of sociopolitical and sociolinguistic differences of thought. "Because of the existence of the conflicting forces, Indian English has reached a steady-state which contradicts Schneider's view that there is development. Because of this steady-state, Indian English will never become the dominant language of India and as such, it will never enter phase 5 which is differentiation" (Mukherjee, 2006, p.170). Although Mukherjee makes a strong observation regarding Indian English remaining confined to stage 4, it is not yet clear whether the 4th phase has been reached. For the 4th phase, homogeneity of the indigenous English is important. However, while we find homogeneity in Indian English, we can also locate considerable variation. Indian English today is at a stage of gradual grammaticalisation of structures, wide-spread code-switching, Indian accents and considerable use of local lexical items, but with a lack of grammar books and dictionaries. The issue of norms in Indian English is still unresolved.

INDIAN ENGLISH AND PEDAGOGICAL NORMS IN INDIA

An external standard sets the norms for English usage in countries like India through reference to its grammar, dictionary or pronunciation manual. In the case of India, it is Standard British English (SBrE). In Indian pedagogy, SBrE sets the norms, although the language is used under a typically Indian context and by Indian speakers of English. In the Indian education system, the quality of education has been directly linked with proficiency in English (Goswami, 2006, p.41). English must form a part of a person's linguistic repertoire if he/she is to be regarded as an educated Indian. In the modern socio-political and economic contexts, English is regarded as the language of progress and modernisation and the door towards socio-economic and professional benefits. In countries like India, English is used in socio-linguistically complex circumstances and therefore there exists a very high degree of variability. The variability

includes linguistic forms that are hybrid (English modified by contact with indigenous languages) or nonstandard (English not accepted as socially adequate under formal contexts). In spoken and informal contexts, we find functional variations of the language signifying the speaker's social status or the situation in which the language is being used. However, the question of norm-setting arises in the contexts which require the use of a formal linguistic norm which can be regarded as a standard variety. Schneider (2007) opines that Standard English refers to a norm that generally represents a non-regional vocabulary core and the structure of the written language. Bamgbose (1998, p.6) opines that although there is no international standard so far as pronunciation is concerned, SBrE is still regarded as the reference point in countries like India. Therefore it is generally more prestigious than the nativized variety. "Whether RP is what the majority of a population really speaks, is not taken into consideration here" (Bamgbose, 1998, p.6). Norm orientation in countries like India regarding the use of English in formal contexts is vital. In teaching English in India, a norm has to be set regarding which linguistic form can be regarded as acceptable or should be the target in education and speech production. As suggested by Kachru (1985), it would make sense to establish the careful usage of the educated members of a society as the target and as an indigenous language norm. English in India has a long history spanning more than 250 years. Because of its long coexistence with indigenous languages of India, English has undergone remarkable changes and Indian English nowadays "differs from British and American English in all subsystems, i.e. in phonology, grammar and lexicon" (Schilk, 2011, p. 23). But in issues pertaining to norm-setting in formal contexts, especially in education, we find that British English is still the target or norm because it is still regarded as superior to the Indian variety. It is believed that Standard British English is the high variety of English to be used in all formal communication activities while Indian English and its varieties constitute the 'low variety' to be used only for informal interaction. However, such an idea about 'high variety' and 'low variety' is debatable because Indian English has already been established as a variety quite different from SBrE or AmE.

“They are the speakers of ‘first language or vernacular English’ but are not native speakers in the strict sense. It is undisputed, however, that their importance in their respective cultures as linguistic models and as users and owners of Post Colonial Englishes is paramount” (Schneider, 2007, p. 21).

In the Indian context, the basic fact that needs to be kept in mind is that for the teachers and the learners alike, English is the second language and hence they cannot be treated as the traditional natives who are not at all affected by the contact situation in the country (Kachru & Nelson, 2006, p.89). Therefore, in the name of setting a norm for the pedagogy, we are trying to achieve a target that is neither achievable nor desirable. Even the most educated and elite class uses only a particular type of Indian English which is termed the acrolectal variety. However, the benchmark for correctness is always SBrE and since there is no written grammar on SIE, in case of any doubt, a BrE grammar is consulted (Pingali, 2009, p.40). Lack of a SIE dictionary also makes one reject innovations as errors because the validity of an IE usage is judged by referring to a SBrE dictionary. Focusing on the importance of codification, Bamgbose (1998, p.6) states that "emergence of Endonormative standards in non-native or ESL Englishes is the dearth of codification ... Once a usage or innovation enters the dictionary as correct and acceptable usage, its status as a regular form is assured". He also harps on the fact that if an innovation is used by more people who are knowledgeable, there is a better chance of its acceptance (Bamgbose, 1998, p. 6). For SIE to be regarded as a sufficiently suitable model for Indian pedagogy, it needs to be acceptable for the people closely associated with the language. In recent times, we find that SIE has been codified (Pingali, 2009). Moreover, an attitudinal survey conducted by Choudhury (2018) among those who are closely associated with the English language in India has revealed that a majority of the users approve the use of SIE as the norm in pedagogy. The study conducted among respondents belonging to the age groups between 18 years and sixty years reveals that the acceptability is higher in the case of the younger users of the language. Moreover, in the study, it was found that a large number of the respondents disapproved of SIE usage because of their lack of knowledge about the features of SIE and also due to the lack of any grammar book or dictionary of SIE usage. Hence greater awareness and further codification through dictionaries and grammar books will make SIE norms in pedagogy acceptable for most of the users of the language.

CONCLUSION

Thus it can be surmised that IE has emerged as an indigenous nativized variety of English with its own set of variations. It is a variety that is used extensively in formal as well as informal domains of the Indian sociolinguistic landscape. In the context of the Kachruvian model comprising of the Inner Circle, Outer and Expanding Circles it can be stated that in the case of Indian English, the native-non native divide is getting blurred. In the Indian context, SIE enjoys a status that is higher than BrE or AmE since its usage is acceptable to a majority of the users of the language in India.

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