

Acceptability of Standard Indian English Morpho-Syntactic Features: An Empirical Study

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ABSTRACT

The emergence of varieties of English over the years has been the outcome of some prolonged and sustained struggles for their acceptance and linguistic legitimacy. These varieties which include not only Indian, Pakistani, Singaporean English but also American, Australian, New Zealand, Welsh, Scottish and Irish English among others have had to struggle against the perceived superiority of British English to assert their legitimacy even among their people (Choudhury, 2018). We have well documented record of the struggles for linguistic independence of American English. Studies conducted among the users of different varieties of English have, in recent times, shown a greater acceptability of their own varieties of English. However, the acceptability is not universal and a large number of users of the language still regard their own varieties to be “low” in comparison to the native varieties. Although Indian English has gained legitimacy as a variety with its distinct lexical, morpho-syntactic and discourse features, its acceptability among the users of the language needs to be ascertained. The purpose of the study is to examine the acceptability of Standard Indian English usage among the people very closely associated with the English language through an analysis of subject response to a questionnaire comprising Standard Indian English morpho-syntactic. The findings from the study are a pointer to the fact that Standard Indian English usage has not only gained acceptability among the English users in India, but also has emerged as the suitable alternative to Standard British English so far as norm setting in the formal domains of the Indian socio-linguistic landscape is concerned.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Although the English language initially was the native language of England, its evolution as a global language over the years has led to the emergence of various transplanted varieties of the language. These include not only Indian, Pakistani, Singaporean English but also American, Australian, New Zealand, Welsh, Scottish and Irish English. This evolution has been the outcome of some prolonged and sustained struggles for their acceptance and linguistic

legitimacy (Choudhury, 2018, p. 67). All these varieties have had to struggle against the perceived superiority of British English to assert their legitimacy even among their people. “The struggle for the linguistic independence of American English has been well documented [...] Recent studies, furthermore, have also shown a greater, though by no means universal, acceptance by speakers of the so-called Newer or non-native Englishes of their own varieties of English. Had such studies been done among speakers of American English in the late nineteenth century, a similar disparity of views would have been found” (Baumgardner, 1996, p. 262).

When the sociolinguistic status of English in its transplanted context in India is taken into consideration, it is found that the number of English users and those familiar with the language is far higher than the English users of the Inner Circle nations. A report in the magazine *India Today* states that contrary to the Indian census myth that English is the language of a microscopic minority, almost one in every three Indians claims to understand English although less than 20 percent are confident of speaking it (*India Today*, 18 August 1997). Since the population of India in 1997 was more than one billion, these figures relate to a vast human population and have immense linguistic, ideological, cultural and ethical implications. Moreover, English is the main medium in demand for acquisition of bilingualism/multilingualism in India. Spanning across a wide variety of literary genres, we find extensive creativity in English. As is evident from the study of the status of English in multilingual contexts of India, Kachru’s definition of functional nativeness (Kachru, 2005) definitely fits the bill in the case of the English language. English in India is used across all important domains establishing the “range” of the language whereas it is used not only by the elites but percolates down to the general people who use it to serve various inter/intra regional purposes and needs. Its importance is equal to (if not more) any other language in the region establishing the fact that the depth of penetration of the language is certainly at par with any other indigenised language of the region.

“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 a multilingual scenario to suit the local socio-cultural-linguistic contexts of India have led to the evolution of a distinct nativised variety of English which is known as Indian English (IE). Just as there are no monolithic varieties of British English (BrE) or American English (AE), Indian English too have different varieties. However, what differentiates Indian English from British and American English is the fact that the different varieties of Indian English are not fixed in terms of their features (Pingali, 2009, p.14). Kachru (1985) places the varieties of Indian English on a cline of bilingualism with three measuring points. The uneducated speakers of English occupy the zero point or the basilect. They comprise mostly vendors, guides or labourers. Clerks and notaries who can be categorized as less than well educated occupy the central point or the mesolect and the ambilingual point or the acrolect consists of the educated speakers including the educationists, civil servants, creative writers, etc. It is this acrolect which has been termed as Standard Indian English by Pingali (2009), General Indian English by Balasubramaniam (1981), while Parasher (1991) and Hosali (1999) call it the educated Indian English. This standard Indian English 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 a higher stature than the others. Majority of the Indians do not speak this variety. They tend to have regional accents and the speech tends to be influenced by the native tongue or “the most influential language in the repertoire of the speaker” (Pingali, 2009, p.14).

Balasubramaniam (1981) has enumerated the following pronunciation differences between the Standard British English (RP) and Indian English (IE):

Vowels:

1. IE has the phoneme /ɒ/ against the RP phonemes /ɔ/ and /ɔ:/
2. Two pure vowels /e:/ and /o:/ are used in IE instead of the RP diphthongs /ei/ and /əu/ respectively.
3. IE has only one phoneme /ə/ against the three RP phonemes /ʌ/, /ə/ and /ɜ/
4. The /i/ and /u/ are closer and less centralized in IE than in RP
5. The phoneme /e/ in RP as used in words like bet, get etc. is replaced by the IE symbol /ɛ/ since the vowel is more open in IE.
6. /ɑ:/ is the IE counterpart for the RP /ɑ:/ as used in words like car, far etc. and it is more fronted in IE than in RP.

Consonants:

There are 23 consonants in IE as against 24 consonants in RP. The differences between the RP and IE consonant systems are enumerated below:

1. Instead of the RP dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ the dental plosives /t̪/ and /d̪/ are used in IE.
2. The retroflex plosives /t̠/ and /d̠/ are used in IE instead of the RP alveolar plosives /t/ and /d/.
3. Instead of the RP phonemes /w/ and /v/ IE has only one phoneme /v/.

Moreover, there are some other phonetic differences between IE and RP. Some of them are stated below:

1. The voiceless plosives are unaspirated in all positions in IE whereas they are aspirated in initial positions of stressed syllables in RP.
2. In IE, the phoneme /ŋ/ is always followed by /g/ and is never pronounced singly. Therefore, /sɪŋə/ in RP is /sɪŋgə/ in IE.
3. In IE, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are palatal affricates whereas they are palato-alveolar affricates in RP.
4. In RP /r/ is a post-alveolar approximant whereas in IE it is either a rolled ⟨r⟩ or a tapped [ɾ].

These are variations so far as the segmental features are concerned. There are also some suprasegmental variations in relation to the accent, stress, rhythm and intonation. Stress in IE varies according to words and is learnt separately for each word. For example, if some words have stress on the penultimate syllables, the same logic is not carried to other similar words where the ante-penultimate syllable is stressed. There are different regional variations of stress mechanism in Indian English. However, some pan-Indian features also exist. As pointed out by Pingali (2009), Chaudhary (1989), Gargesh (2004) and Wiltshire and Moon (2003), stress placement in IE depends upon the weight of the syllable. If a syllable contains only one short vowel, it is said to be a light syllable whereas it is said to be heavy if it contains either a long vowel followed by a consonant or at least two consonants after a short vowel. Moreover, “when confronted with a new word, speakers of IE fall back on the stress pattern of their native languages” (Pingali, 2009). In the case of abbreviations, the first syllable is stressed whereas in RP the stress is on the last syllable. In compound words, the stress is on the first item and not on the second, unlike the RP. There is no distinction in IE stress patterns on the basis of the usage of a particular word either as a noun or adjective on one hand and as a verb on the other. In RP, however, stress pattern depends upon the grammatical role of a word in a sentence. While rhythm in RP is stress timed, most of the researchers on IE rhythm have maintained that it is syllable timed. But Prabhakar Babu’s (1971) and Pingali’s (2009) works assert that IE rhythm is neither syllable timed nor stress timed. So far as intonation is concerned, statements

are indicated by the falling tone, questions by the rising tone and incompleteness and reservation is indicated by the fall-rise tone (Pingali 2009).

Morphosyntax

While Indian English varies a great deal from RP so far as phonology and lexis are concerned, in morphology and syntax many aspects of both the varieties are quite similar. However, there are significant differences as well (Pingali 2009).

There is a distinct variation in the types of verb complements used in RP (RP refers to pronunciation only) and IE. In Indian English, some transitive verbs tend to be used as intransitive verbs also. This aspect is highlighted in a study conducted by Olavarria de Ersson and Shaw (2003) where they cite the example of the verb *pel*. In their study, it has been shown that the structure preferred in BrE is, verb + noun phrase (goal) + with noun phrase (They are pelting him with can). In IE, the most commonly used structure is verb + noun phrase + at noun phrase (goal) (They are pelting cans at him). In a study conducted by Mukherjee and Hoffmann (2006), it was found that in the case of the ditransitive verbs ‘give’ and ‘send’, the structure verb + noun phrase (indirect object) + noun phrase (direct object) was mostly preferred in Standard British English. However, in IE, the structure verb + noun phrase (direct object) + null indirect object is preferred the most.

Moreover, some verbs like *advise*, *gift*, *present*, *provide* and *supply* occur as ditransitive verbs in SIE but are never used as ditransitive verbs in SBrE (Pingali 2007). For example, sentence constructs like “Adhyayan Suman gifted co-star Sara Loren a four lakh watch” are seen in SIE usage.

Another aspect of Standard Indian English is the use of the particle ‘off’ with any verb in order to intensify it. Although the verb ‘*marry off*’ is used commonly in Standard British English, in SIE it is also used with all transitive verbs, thereby giving legitimacy to sentences like ‘I’ll eat it off’, ‘Fees will be waived off’ etc. Such indigenous usage of particle can be seen in the case of ‘out’. Sentences like ‘I cannot make out what you have written’ are quite acceptable in SIE usage. Here ‘make out’ means ‘to understand’ (Pingali, 2009, p. 48). The progressive form of verbs is also used in SIE and sentence constructs like ‘I am enclosing the necessary documents’ instead of the BrE ‘I enclose the necessary documents’ are a part of Standard Indian English usage.

In the case of articles, the definite article ‘the’ is used in cases where a collective noun with a generic meaning occurs (Choudhury, 2018, p. 545). Moreover, in Indian English, the use of the article ‘the’ before ordinal numbers is not seen in most of the cases (Choudhury, 2018, p. 545).

Certain uncountable nouns are used as plurals in Standard Indian English which in British English are regarded as uncountables and therefore not pluralised at all. For example, ‘aircrafts’ is used to denote more than one aircraft.

Affixation is a very common phenomenon in Indian English. Suffixes like ‘ese’ (from English) and ‘i’ (from Hindi) are used to denote a person’s geographical and linguistic roots (Pingali, 2009, p. 50). For example, ‘Assamese’ refers to the people and society of the state of Assam.

Although Indian English has gained legitimacy as a variety with its distinct lexical, morpho-syntactic and discourse features, its acceptability among the users of the language needs to be ascertained. As Bamgbose rightly states, “Innovations in non-native Englishes are often not judged for what they are or their function within the varieties in which they occur, but rather according to how they stand in relation to the norms of native Englishes” (Bamgbose,

1998, p.1). In the case of Indian English, the comparison has always been with Standard British English. According to Bamgbose, English in non-native countries has evolved through known processes of evolution. However, one should be able to differentiate between an innovation and an error. We can decide on the status of an innovation through five major internal factors, namely demographic, geographical, authoritative, codification and acceptability factors (Bamgbose, 1998, p. 3). While considering the demographic factor, one needs to focus on the number of users of a form in the acrolectal variety. The spread of an innovation is the focus of the geographical feature. Wider the spread of the innovation, greater is the chance of its acceptance as a standard form (Bamgbose, 1998, p. 3). The actual use or approval of use of an innovation by writers, teachers, medical practitioners, examination bodies, publishing houses and influential opinion leaders are considered under the authoritative factor. The force of the authoritative factor is that the more knowledgeable the people who use an innovation, the less likelihood of it being considered an error (Bamgbose, 1998, p. 6). Bamgbose defines codification as the act of putting the innovation into a written form in grammar, a lexical or pronouncing dictionary, course books or any other type of reference manual. Harping on the importance of codification, Bamgbose states that the problem in the emergence of endonormative standards in non-native or ESL Englishes is the dearth of codification (Bamgbose, 1998, p. 4). “Once a usage or innovation enters the dictionary as correct and acceptable usage, its status as a regular form is assured” (Bamgbose, 1998, p. 6). The acceptability factor is the ultimate test of acceptance of an innovation (Choudhury, 2018, p. 546). “Once accepted, an innovation can have a reasonable life span, subject to the normal processes of language change” (Bamgbose, 1998, p.6). Of the five features, Bamgbose regards codification and acceptability as most important because without them, innovations will continue to be regarded as errors (Bamgbose, 1998, p.7). The purpose of the study is to examine the acceptability of Standard Indian English usage among the people very closely associated with the English language. Therefore Bamgbose’s observations form a strong platform for the study since by confirming the acceptability of Standard Indian English items; the intention is to contribute towards the acceptance of Standard Indian English as an indigenous nativised variety.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

In tracing the history of the English language in India and its continued presence in spite of the independence of India from British Rule, the evolution of an indigenized variety of English which has emerged out of a prolonged multilingual socio-linguistic and socio-cultural coexistence with other indigenous languages and the issues related to the growth of a hybridized linguistic scenario in India, related literature has been extensively reviewed.

The evolution of English in post-independence India has been studied from varied perspectives by the linguists. Kachru in *English education in India: a sociolinguistic profile of Indian English*, Schneider in *Post Colonial Englishes*, Agnihotri and Singh in *Indian English: Towards a New Paradigm*, Bayer in *Multilingualism in India* and authors like Goswami, Mahapatra, Hohenthal and Bhatia have not only traced the process of nativization of Indian English but also analysed the emerging multilingualism in India and the role(s) played by English in this multilingual scenario. Over the years, books dealing with the phonology, lexicon and style, grammar, various regional, ethnic and social aspects of Indian English have justified the authenticity of Indian English and its close contact with the native languages. Pingali’s book titled *Indian English (Dialects of English)* for instance deals with many of the pan-Indian features of English. Pingali’s work has been instrumental in codification of the Indian variety of

English which, along with works by Schilk, Kachru, Kachru and Nelson have, to some extent succeeded in establishing the structural, lexical and phonological identity of Indian English. Linguists have identified three different levels of Indian English: i) High (Acrolect) that is spoken only by usually English educated Indians comprising a very tiny percentage of the population. It comes closest to the English used on the British shores. ii) Intermediate (Mesolect) which can also be called the General Educated Indian English, used by the majority of the English speaking educated Indians and iii) Lower (Basilect), used by uneducated masses to somehow put across their thoughts. Kaushik, in *Teaching English in the Indian Context*, strongly advocates the idea of introducing Indian variety of English as the pedagogical model in India because of its usage in the socio-cultural contexts of India. Bamgbose has shown how, besides codification, Indian English needs to gain acceptability among the users of the language for it to be able to replace British English in the formal domains like education, administration etc. Dornyei's *Questionnaire in Second Language Research* (Dornyei, 2003) provided necessary insight for the preparation of the questionnaire which was the sole data collection tool employed during the study. The archives of national English dailies, namely *The Times of India*, *The Statesman*, *The Hindu*, *The Telegraph* and *The Indian Express* were the sources of the samples collected for the questionnaire used for the study. An attitudinal survey conducted by Choudhury (2018) has shown that most of the users of the English language in India prefer contextually more viable features of the language and therefore they prefer Indian English usage over British English.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this work is to add more data to quantitative attitude studies of Indian English. The linguistic attitude of 100 Indians closely related with the English language towards their own variety of English has been examined through their responses to a questionnaire, which is the only data collection tool employed for the study. Three variables of sex, occupation and age have been used and the respondents include journalists of national newspapers in English, university and college teachers of English and university students of English.

Indian newspaper English is the source from which the Indian English elements have been selected for the questionnaire since it offers stability even amidst the welcome fluidity in language. For centuries, the printed word has served as the touchstone of standardisation. Also, it is easy to obtain samples of interest and value from it. Besides, media generally has multiple originators who pass through certain standards of quality control. Media represents all kinds of discourse and offers a variety of styles. Moreover, they can also be compared worldwide in respect to events they deal with. Moreover, Dubey (1991, p.19) states that “as the lexical structures of Indian newspaper English extensively share structures with normal Indian English communication, their in-depth study seems to be well pointed to suggesting what really typifies the Indian English lexical structures in general. More precisely, it suggests how their distinctive choice pattern, through their efficacious reflection of the modern Indian socio cultural reality, saliently features Indian English as a nativized language”.

Parameters of the Study

In this study, the researcher has tried to examine the acceptability of Standard Indian English morpho-syntactic items among the people who are closely associated with the language in India. By confirming the acceptability of Standard Indian English morpho-syntactic items, the intention is to contribute towards the acceptance of standard Indian English as the norm to be adopted in all formal domains including the pedagogy in India. Three variables of sex,

occupation and age have been used and the participants include journalists of national newspapers in English, linguists, university and college teachers of English and university students of English.

The data collected through the responses has been organised, analysed and interpreted in an effort to arriving at the findings of the study. The findings have been used to ascertain the acceptability or otherwise of standard Indian English morpho-syntactic items among the users of the language.

III. METHODOLOGY

The Questionnaire

The Research Tool employed for the study was a questionnaire which was administered to the respondents. For the questionnaire, the researcher selected 50 Indian variants (items) from well recognised national dailies namely The Times of India, The Indian Express, The Hindustan Times, The Hindu and The Statesman and it was then administered to the chosen subjects. The questionnaire was divided into two categories. The first category, Group A (items 01-18) contained Indian English and British English/American English alternatives to various forms of compounding, items featuring stative progressive verbs, affixation, mass nouns, suffixes 'ese', and 'i', use of ditransitive verbs etc. Group B (items 19-50) comprised newspaper items bearing distinct Standard Indian English morpho-syntactic features. Through this, the researcher has tried to examine the acceptability of Indian English morpho-syntactic features among the users of the language in India.

Validity of the Findings

Validity is important in all research methods. An important question with quantitative data is about the trustworthiness of the recorded accounts. It has been suggested that reliance on one method of data collection may bias or distort the whole picture of the reality that the researcher is probing (Burns, 2000, p. 419; Cohen et al., 2007, p.41). Since the entire study was based on the subject responses to the items of the questionnaire, certain steps were taken to ensure the validity of the findings. They included:

- a. Preparing a questionnaire that was not excessively long so that the respondents could complete it on a single sitting.
- c. In most of the items, subjects could simply put a tick against their preferred sample. Before administering the questionnaire to the respondents, its efficacy for the study was tested through a pilot study. This enabled the researcher to make certain modifications, thereby enhancing its validity. It was then handed over to the respondents.

Sampling

For sampling, 100 subjects were selected. They comprised 20 English language journalists from the Print and Television media. The journalists from the Print media included the editors of three national dailies as well as correspondents of primarily three English newspapers that have a pan-Indian circulation, namely The Times of India, The Statesman and The Telegraph. A few regional correspondents of two national English news channels represented the electronic media. The subjects also included 20 linguists working on Indian English, 30 English teachers working in two state universities and three central universities in India and 30 students enrolled in MA English programmes of two state universities and two central universities and one of them was a research scholar working on Indian English. Purposive sampling technique was used while selecting the respondents. The subjects represented the following demographic groups: 18-29 years, 30-45 years and 46-60 years with

a proportionate mix of male and female respondents. Communication and exchange of the questionnaire with the respondents were carried out mainly through emails. But for a few respondents, hard copies of the questionnaire were also used. This method of collecting data worked smoothly since email was a fast way to correspond with the informants.

Data Analysis

The raw data collected through the questionnaire acted as the data items from which draft analytical statements were framed through creative and reflective thinking. The draft analytical statements were then tested against the data items and amended or discarded according to the needs. The final analytical statements were interpreted as empirical findings. In the research, quantitative analysis was employed in analysing the data collected through the questionnaire.

The responses to the questions in the questionnaires were accumulated option-wise or preference-wise, as was the case. The total responses against each of the options for every question was counted and then converted into percentage to judge the acceptability or otherwise of that Standard Indian English morpho-syntactic item. Finally, the results were tabulated and represented.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The 50 morpho-syntactic items selected for the questionnaire were taken from the following national newspapers: The Times of India, The Hindustan Times, The Telegraph and The Indian Express. They were broken up into two groups, 'A' and 'B'. Group A comprised 18 items bearing distinct Indian English syntactic features along with their British English/American English counterparts. The respondents were asked to choose their options. Group B comprised 32 items bearing distinct Indian English morpho syntactic features. Respondents were asked to put a tick against the ones they deemed suitable for formal usage. The following tables show the preferences of the respondents. In the tables, IE, BrE and AmE stand for the standard forms of Indian English, British English and American English respectively.

Group A: Response to Syntactic Items

Table 1 Response as per Profession

PROFESSION	IE	BrE/AmE
Journalists	52.5%	47.5%
Linguists	59.15%	40.85%
Teachers	57.5%	42.5%
Students	51%	49%

As shown in table 1, in the case of syntactic items, the journalists, linguists, teachers and students preferred 52.5%, 59.15%, 57.5% and 51% of the Indian English items respectively.

Table 2. Male/Female Together

OVERALL		18-29 years		30-45 years		46-60 years	
IE	BrE/AmE	IE	BrE/AmE	IE	BrE/AmE	IE	BrE/AmE
51.8%	48.2%	46.92%	53.08%	58%	42%	52.5%	47.5%

When all the respondents irrespective of their profession, gender and age were considered (Table 2), it was found that 51.8% of the Indian English items were preferred. But

in the age-group of 18-29 years, the preference for Indian English items was 46.92%. On the other hand, respondents in the age-group of 30-45 showed inclination towards 58% Indian English morpho syntactic items while the respondents in the age group of 46-60 years opted for 52.5% of Indian English.

Table 3. *Male/Female*

	Overall		18-29 years		30-45 years		46-60 years	
	IE	BrE/AmE	IE	BrE/AmE	IE	BrE/AmE	IE	BrE/AmE
Male	53.08%	46.02%	49.17%	50.83%	57.5%	42.5%	50 %	50%
Female	50.42%	49.58%	46.67%	53.33%	58.75%	41.25%	55%	45%

When the respondents were grouped according to their sex (Table 3), the male, irrespective of their age, opted for 53.08% of the Indian English items while the female respondents preferred 50.42% of the same. Male respondents in the age group of 18-29 years approved the usage of 49.17% Indian English items while the female counterparts approved 46.67% of the Indian English items. Male respondents in the age group of 30-45 years approved the usage of 57.5% items while the female respondents in that age group approved 58.75% of Indian English items. In the age group of 45-60 years the preference for Indian English items among the male and female respondents were 50% and 55% respectively.

Group B: Distinct Indian English Morpho-Syntactic Features

Table 4. Response as per Profession

OVERALL	JOURNALISTS	LINGUISTS	TEACHERS	STUDENTS
80%	82.48%	75%	78%	84.52%

When all the responses were taken into consideration, it was found that 80% of the items were deemed suitable for formal usage by the respondents. The journalists approved 82.48% of the items while the linguists, teachers and students approved 75%, 78% and 84.52% of the items respectively.

Table 5. Age-wise Breakup

18-29 YEARS	30-45 YEARS	46-60 YEARS
85.12%	74.88%	80%

As evident from Table 5, respondents in the age group of 18-29 years approved 85.12% of Indian English morpho-syntactic items for formal usage. Those in the age group of 30-45 years regarded 74.88% items suitable whereas the respondents in the age group of 46-60 years regarded 80% of the Indian English morpho-syntactic items suitable for formal usage.

Table 6. *Male/Female Response*

GENDER	OVERALL	18-29 YEARS	30-45 YEARS	46-60 YEARS
Male	82%	86%	78%	82%
Female	78%	84%	75%	75%

All the male respondents irrespective of their age approved 82% of the Indian English Morpho-Syntactic items for formal usage while the female respondents preferred 78% of the items. In the age group of 18-29 years, 86% and 84% of the items were approved by the male and female respondents respectively. In the age group of 30-45 years, the male respondents approved 78% and the female respondents 75% of the items. 82% of the items were deemed suitable for formal usage by the male respondents in the age group of 46-60 years while the

female counterparts approved 75% of the Indian English Morpho-Syntactic items for formal usage.

Implications of the findings

The study was carried out with the primary objective of assessing the acceptability or otherwise of distinct Standard Indian English Morpho-Syntactic features. The findings from the study have the following implications:

1. Most of the people who are closely associated with the English language actually prefer using those morpho-syntactic features of English that are contextually more suitable especially in the sociolinguistic landscape of a multilingual nation like India. Hence most of them prefer Indian English.

2. The users of English no longer have a conservative approach towards its usage when it comes to more formal aspects of the language. The high percentage of acceptability of Indian English morpho-syntactic features is an indicator of this implication.

V. SUGGESTION AND CONCLUSION

The findings from the study are a pointer to the fact that Standard Indian English usage has not only gained acceptability among the English users in India, but also has emerged as the suitable alternative to Standard British English so far as norm setting in the formal domains of the Indian socio-linguistic landscape is concerned. Moreover, from the perspective of Schneider's Dynamic Model of Nativisation, the findings more or less justify Schneider's contention that Indian English has reached the phase of endonormative stabilisation in which the indigenous norms are widely accepted and it is no longer necessary or desirable to remain oriented towards Standard British English (Schneider, 2007). However, the findings also imply that a large number of users of English are still sceptical about the usage of Indian English morpho-syntactic items. Therefore it is imperative to expedite the codification process of Standard Indian English through dictionaries and grammar books because an external standard sets the norms for English usage in India through reference to its grammar, dictionary or pronunciation manual (Bamgbose, 1998, p. 2).

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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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STRATEGIES FOR SUCCESS IN LEARNING ENGLISH: THE INDIAN PEDAGOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

This paper looks into an important problem regarding English pedagogy in Indian context. That is, the incongruities relating to the stated goals of English teaching, the teaching and testing practices and the end result. The study also highlights the fact that the existing strategies of English Language Teaching have not been able to ensure better acquisition of English on the part of a majority of the learners in India. The paper tries to examine whether introducing an Indigenised variety of English as the norm in Indian Pedagogy and more use of local sample texts can be a viable option in ensuring better success in learning English. Moreover, the paper advocates that using an Indian variety of English as the norm in Indian pedagogy can be the solution to the problem relating to English pedagogy in Indian context.

Keywords: Pedagogy, Indian English, English Language Teaching, Norm

INTRODUCTION

In the context of India's heterogeneous and complex cultural reality, the English language's presence in the country's social, cultural, and economic life is undeniable and is growing rapidly. Every year, more and more people, especially from the younger age groups, acquire proficiency in the language, which guarantees them better opportunities in a job market that is steadily becoming more demanding and competitive. Like the English game of cricket, the English language has found a ready home in India. By 1978, there were about 3,000 English newspapers in India, second in number only to Hindi newspapers, in a country with at least five indigenous languages with over 50 million speakers for each of the five languages (McCrum et al., 1992). English is an "associate" official language in India spoken by about 4% i.e. 37 million of the Indian population (Crystal, 1999). However, a survey conducted by the

Indian magazine *India Today* in 1997 put forward the fact that although almost one third of Indians understood English, only 20% of them could speak it with confidence (Graddol, 1999). Therefore, English is also giving rise to an economic and cultural chasm by acting as a divider between those proficient in the language and those who struggle to communicate in English. It is an accepted norm that English in India exists mainly for communicative purposes. Therefore those who can communicate better in English have a better chance of getting opportunities career wise. As is evident from the figure stated earlier, only 20% of the people who know English can verbally communicate in English with a certain amount of confidence. For the rest, career opportunities are few in this era of globalization and market oriented economy. Although English is a compulsory subject in almost all the undergraduate colleges in India, most of the graduates passing out from these colleges every year lack proficiency in English. This dismal scenario has necessitated the scrutiny of the present English teaching norms and methods of the Indian pedagogy. Even the National Knowledge Commission, 2006-2009 has focused on the need to reform the pedagogy of English language teaching and the use of all available media to supplement traditional teaching methods.

CURRENT MODEL OF UNDERGRADUATE GENERAL ENGLISH COURSES IN INDIA

The *Report of the Education Commission of India* gives us an idea of the general thinking on the issue of *English in Education* (1966:15): For a successful completion of the first degree course, a student should possess an adequate command of English, be able to express himself with reasonable ease and felicity, understand lectures in it, and avail himself of its literature. Therefore adequate emphasis will have to be laid on its study as a language right from the school stage. English should be the most useful 'library language' in higher education and our most significant window on the world.

The objectives, therefore, are aimed at all the graduates and it is assumed that the undergraduate courses will enable them:

- 1) To possess a reasonable competence in comprehension and expression of English;
- 2) To develop sharp listening skills;
- 3) To use the literature available in English to acquire knowledge of the world.

Although English in India exists mainly for communicative purposes, English is taught through the literature and thought of England, introduced by Thomas Babington Macaulay, Member, Supreme Council of India, instead of a home-grown model. When the British administration decided to spread education in India, the British Parliament passed Macaulay's Minute in 1835. As announced by the then Governor General Lord William Bentick, the great object of the British Government was the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India and all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education was best employed on English education alone (Sharp 1920: Document 30).

It is an accepted fact that the study of any literature assumes proficiency in the given language. But we teach the target language through traditional literary texts, generally British, giving students a dated foreign model in the belief that it will result in the acquisition of communicative English for current times (Kaushik,2011). In the name of norm setting, the British R.P. is still treated as the standard although the teachers are non-native speakers of English. As stated by the British Council, around 375 million speakers speak English as the first language, another 375 million speakers speak it as their second language and a staggering 750 million speakers speak English as a foreign language. Such a huge number of second and foreign language users could only be taught by indigenous non-native English speaking teachers. India belongs to the group of nations where English is used as the second language. Norm orientation in countries like India regarding the use of English in formal contexts is vital. In teaching English in India, norm has to be set regarding which linguistic form can be regarded as acceptable or should be the target in education and speech production. The notion of 'Standard English' is commonly taken to refer to such a norm, usually understood to designate a non-regional vocabulary core and the grammar of the written language (Schneider, 2007). In pronunciation, although no international norm has been set, the standard British variety (RP) acts as the norm since British English in particular still serves as a reference point and is generally more prestigious than the nativised variety (Bamgbose, 1995). Whether RP is what the majority of a population really speak, is not taken into consideration here. In Indian pedagogy, although the standard we try to achieve is British English, in practice, British English is neither taught nor learnt. In the name of British English, we are only using a variety of Indian English.

Indian English (IE) is a cover term for that variety of English used by a large number of educated Indians as an additional language in communication at the intra-national level in day-to-day dealings. It has absorbed the predominant local culture as well as the subcultures in the approximately 300 years of its existence. In a study conducted by Kaushik among students of BAIII English (Compulsory) under Punjab University, it was found that the model used for teaching English in the year 2004 did not include the skill of speaking both in the teaching materials and the tests as if it were not a part of linguistic expression mentioned as an objective in the Education Commission of India (1966). The listening and speaking skills of students are never tested and anything that is not tested is never paid much attention by both the teachers and the students. The prescribed texts are full of alien contexts and unusual usages and together they cover 50 per cent marks of the final examination paper. For students grappling with elementary English, the model of the language the books offer has little relevance. Of the remaining 50 percent marks, essay and précis writing are allotted 25 percent but here too, the topics are quite predictable resulting in crammed answers. Although around 15 percent of the total marks are earmarked for modelling of samples of modern usages, the settings are decontextualized and hence cannot inspire much learning. The paradigms of grammatical structures carried by the grammar books along with the idioms prescribed do not relate to real life contexts (Kaushik, 2011). These findings hold true for almost all the undergraduate colleges in our country. The prime objective of most of the students is to somehow score the 'pass marks' in English. Therefore, the real purpose of developing the communication skills is never achieved in the case of a majority of the learners. This lends credibility to the argument favouring a more effective model of English Language Teaching in India.

INDIAN ENGLISH AS A PEDAGOGIC MODEL

A pedagogic model of a language nowadays does not cater to only the orthography, lexis, morphology and syntax of the language. There is the necessity of providing the teachers and learners with ideal or near ideal speaking and writing formats covering various genres and styles, represented through relevant contents. Adoption of an Indian variety of English as the model will definitely serve the purpose and will enable the teachers and the learners to relate better to a language carrying an indigenous flavour in content along with familiar contexts and

language usage in the prescribed texts. Hence, the English used in the pedagogy will serve local needs and the learners will find themselves in familiar footings since the contents will be steeped in the sociolinguistic, socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-economic environment of the learners.

In spite of the consensus on the viability of Indian English as a Pedagogic model, there are issues that still remain unsettled. These include, as stated by Ayo Bamgbose (1998), the adequacy of pedagogical models, the overriding need for codification and also the constant pull between native and non-native English norms. The basic fact that we have to keep in mind here is, English is taught and learnt by users for whom English is the second language. They are not the traditional natives unaffected by the language contact situation in the country. Therefore in the name of setting a norm for the pedagogy, we are trying to achieve a target which is neither achievable nor is desirable. Even the most educated and elite class in India use only a type of Indian English which has been termed the acrolect variety (Silke, 2002).

CONCLUSION

Linguists in recent times have come up with comprehensive and authentic documents on the basic differences between Indian English and British/American English. 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 have also clearly marked out the differences between Indian and British English in respect to Phonology, Stress and Rhythm, Sounds and Grammar (Kachru & Nelson, 2006). In his analysis of Indian English, Schneider, applying the Dynamic Model of nativization, shows how Indian English over the years has evolved and grown to reach the fourth and penultimate phase of nativization (Schneider, 2007). Moreover, people closely associated with English teaching/learning/writing will favour the move of formulating a contemporary indigenous model for pedagogic purposes (Kaushik, 2011). Therefore, using an Indian English variety as the norm in Indian context and pedagogy is definitely a viable idea that needs to be looked into in order to ensure a successful English language learning scenario in India.

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