UNIT 2 : INDIANISATION OF ENGLISH

Structure

2.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit is designed to help you to

- Understand the uses, roles and functions of English in India;

- get an insight into the ways in which English has been affected by Indian languages;

- see how and in what ways the Indian context determines the learning and use of English;

- get an idea of what is now known as "Indian English".

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Unit 1 has already introduced you to the notion of language variation and varieties of English, both native and non-native. We have also outlined how English functions as a second language rather than a foreign language in some parts of the world including India. A large number of people learn English in India and use it for a variety of functions and purposes, and English constantly co-exists and interacts with Indian languages in Indian socio-cultural contexts. This fact, coupled with the processes of transfer and interference, has had the interesting and inevitable consequence that the forms and structures of English have been affected by Indian languages and a new variety of English (known now as "Indian English") has come into being. In this unit we shall recapitulate first the roles and functions of English in India and, second, the way the sounds, lexis and syntax of English have been influenced by Indian languages. Indian languages too have been affected by English, but that is a phenomenon we shall not go into as it is beyond the scope of this unit.

2.2 ENGLISH IN INDIA - ITS HISTORY, STATUS AND FUNCTIONS

2.2.1 A Historical Overview

In order to understand the present status and functions of English, it is necessary to go back in time and take a quick look at the history of English in India. This has already been discussed in Course 1, but it is necessary to recapitulate it here. Beginning with the establishment in India of the East India Company, the British came to India as traders in the second half of the eighteenth century, and stayed on as rulers for nearly two centuries. During this period the British gradually introduced the English language and western education in order to create a class of Indians who could serve the imperial rulers as officials or functionaries, as well as, function as a communicative link between the rulers and the masses. The earliest attempts to introduce English in India were made by the missionaries who came primarily for the purpose of religious and moral preaching rather than for spreading English. Though the laudable goal with which the missionaries came to this sub- continent was "the introduction of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement", these efforts can be seen as the first exposure that people in India (and South Asia in general) had to the English people and their language. The missionary effort culminated in the setting up of Christian institutions in different parts of the Indian sub-continent.

The second phase of the presence and spread of English in India is identified with two names, Raja Rammohan Roy and T.B. Macaulay. Raja Rammohan Roy led a group of Indians in demanding English education for Indians. This group was convinced that English would be more useful for Indians than Indian languages for academic, socio-economic, scientific and international purposes. The efforts of this group considerably strengthened the hands of Lord Macaulay whose famous Minute was passed in 1835. The clearly stated aim of the Minute was to form "a class who may be interpreters between us and. the millions we govern -- a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect."*(Selections from Educational Records.* 1781-1839:116). The official approval of the Minute began a process that was to produce an ever-increasing number of English-knowing bilingual Indians. As English developed stronger roots in the educational system in India, the whole sub-continent witnessed more and more Indians being taken in by the lure of English, native Indian languages suffering a great setback in the process. By the end of the nineteenth century five universities had been set up (Madras, Calcutta, Bombay, Allahabad and Lahore). With the spread of English and increase in the number of English-knowing Indians, this language came to be established as the official and academic language of India. It also acquired great prestige and replaced Persian and the Indian languages from several areas of education, administration, trade and business.

The twentieth century witnessed further strengthening of the roots of English in India as an influential English press grew. As Kachru states "after World War I, there was a significant increase in educational institutions, and schools and colleges spread to the interior of India. This naturally helped in spreading bilingualism in India further among the middle and lower classes of Indian society" (Kachru, 1983:23). The period since then has seen tremendous increase in English-knowing Indians and, even after the British formally left India in 1947, English has continued to gain ground and has become more and more firmly entrenched in the Indian soil. As a matter of fact, since independence, several committees and commissions have, on different occasions, stressed the need to learn English. The government, on its own part, has consistently lent support to English and encouraged the teaching and learning of English. Government policies have also given official recognition to English as associate official language. The situation, as it obtains today, is that English is recognised "officially as the Associate National Official Language, and as inter-regional link-language; educationally it is recognised as an essential component of education and as the preferred medium of learning, with specialised education in science and technology available through the medium of English only; socially it is recognised and upheld as a mark of education, culture and prestige." (Gupta and Kapoor, 1991:19). A stage has now been reached where English is considered an integral part of the socio-cultural, educational and administrative domains of Indian life. This spread of English has been accompanied by a general perception that English is the language of opportunity, social advancement, prestige and power.

2.2.2 Uses and Functions of English

The spread of English outlined above has been accompanied by its increased functionality and use in different domains and spheres of Indian life. What began in the early days as a foreign language learnt and used by a handful of Indians, has now become a wide-spread and powerful presence in India. We shall now take a brief look at some of the domains of life and see how English has come to occupy an important place in these domains.

a) **Education** : Even a casual glance at the way our education system is organised and structured will show that English plays a crucial, central role in education. Whether a child goes to an English medium school or an Indian language medium school, s/he has to learn English for a period ranging from six to twelve years. The Three Language Formula despite its uneven implementation in different parts of India, ensures that no student can pass out of school and go on to vocational or higher education without having learnt English as a subject. The English medium schools not only impart training in English from class I, but also teach all subjects through the medium of English. At the level of higher education, the functional load of English gradually increases with English being the preferred medium of instruction and examination. Specialised education in pure and applied sciences, technology, medicine, law, business management, etc. is available only through the medium of English. What this means in effect is that education, especially higher and technical education, means knowing English, using English and being proficient in English.

b) **Business and administration** : Business and administration which are the "receiving systems" that provide gainful employment to educated young men and women, insist on formal training and proficiency in English. Most of the competitive examinations require the candidates to pass a compulsory or qualifying paper in English; big and middle-level business establishments require aspiring candidates to be fluent in spoken English and proficient in written English; multinational companies insist on qualifications which can only be acquired by those who are proficient in English. This means that, as far as employment opportunities are concerned, most white-collar jobs in the government and industry (both production industry and services industry) are available to those who know English. So if one wants to become an official in the government of India, a manager in some industry, an officer in the armed forces, a doctor or surgeon, an air-hostess or a sales executive, one has to be proficient in English. This, in turn, puts greater pressure on the education system to teach English to more and more pupils.

c) **The judiciary** : The way our judiciary is structured, it is possible to use local Indian languages at the lowest level of panchayats and local courts. However, the moment we move on to the high court and supreme court, we find that English has to be used by the lawyers and the judges.In the high courts and the supreme court all litigations are in English, all briefs are in English, representation and arguments are in English and the judgements are in English. To this one must add the fact that most law books and journals are available in English.

d) **Media and publishing** : The media in India, both print media and electronic media, gives pride of place to English. Music programmes, interviews, talks, discussions, news bulletins are regularly telecast or broadcast in English. The English press, with a large number of dailies and periodicals caters to the needs of the people for news, information and entertainment. The publishing world devotes considerable resources to the production of books in English -- books on a variety of subjects, both specialised subjects, as well as, subjects of general day-to-day interest. As a matter of fact, one gets the impression that among the educated English-knowing Indians, there is a marked preference for printed material in English.

e) **Inter-regional communication** : The fact that India is a multilingual country with a large number of mutually unintelligible, prestigious and developed languages, tends to encourage people to use English in inter-regional communicative contexts. This is true not only of government and business where all inter-regional communication is in English, but also of personal interactions wherein people from different regions prefer to use English since they perceive it as a common link language shared by educated persons all over India. In typical official and informal personal interactions, people from Bengal and Tamil Nadu, from Mizoram and Punjab, from Karnataka and Bihar, etc. tend to make use of English. This is done not because of animosity or hostility

towards any language or region but simply because English has come to be viewed as the common linguistic bond between linguistically diverse people.

f) **Intra-regional communication** : The use of English in education, administration, business, media and in inter-regional contexts, as well as, the fact that English has come to be associated with "educatedness", sophistication, culture and prestige, encourages people to use English even in situations where a common Indian language is available. One Hindi speaker uses English with another Hindi speaker in several formal and informal situations, for talking about a variety of topics; one Bangla speaker writes a personal letter to another Bangla speaker in English; children who share a common Indian language, often use English with one another as well as with their parents; neighbours who share a common Indian language, often use English with each other. For approaching or negotiating with officials, businessmen, traders and others we often use English, not because we belong to different linguistic backgrounds, but because of other social and psychological reasons.

To round off this part of the unit, we can say that English has become such a pervasive presence in the social matrix of India, that an increasing number of educated, English-knowing Indians use it in almost all domains of life, in all kinds of situations and for any number of topics. Sometimes they feel constrained to use it because of linguistic barriers or demands of a particular situation. On other occasions they use it as a matter of personal choice. All in all, what it means is that in the present-day context in India the use and functions of English are on the increase, and that English has become an integral part of English-knowing Indians' socio-cultural reality.

Check Your Progress 1

1. What were the reasons that prompted Indians to make demands for English education?

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2. Briefly discuss the role of English in education in India.

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3. In what way is English in India a language of prestige and power?

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4. Did the perpetuation of English in India do any damage to Indian Languages and culture?

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2.3 INDIANISATION OF ENGLISH - I

The foregoing section outlines one dimension of the Indianisation of English i.e. the coming of English to India, its spread and consolidation in India and the acceptance, use and functionality of English in India. All these stages of the arrival, spread, consolidation and widespread use are, however, only one part of the story. The other dimension of the Indianisation of English refers to 'what' has happened to the English language as a consequence. When a language is learnt and used by a large number of people in non-native contexts (as is the case with English in India) it is inevitable that certain very obvious and other not too obvious changes take place in the structure of that language. These changes in the form and structure of the language occur primarily because of three factors:

1   The structural impact of the other (indigenous) languages present in the given context;

2   The learning-teaching situations that obtain in that context, and

3   The socio-cultural context in which the language is used in the new setting.

2.3.1 Structural Pressure of Indian Languages on English

In the previous unit we have already pointed out that when English is learnt and used by non-native communities of speakers, their own native language or first language (L1) often leaves traces on the English (L2) that they acquire. In the Indian context too this phenomenon of interference and transfer leaves its traces on the structure of English -- on the sounds, vocabulary and syntax of English. In the Indian context, the picture is not at all simple because the Indian learners and users of English hail from different regions and have different mother-tongues. When we talk about the Indianisation of English, we first have to recognise the fact that this Indianization takes place in different parts of India where different languages are spoken and used. A Bengali's English carries influences of Bangla, a Tamilian's English has several features of Tamil and a Panjabi's English has several features of Panjabi. So much so that at one level it is possible to talk about Banglaisation or Tamilisation or Panjabisation of English. These influences (interference or transfer) operate at all levels on the structure of English but are most noticeable at the level of sounds. This is the level at which most of us are able to recognise Bengali English, Tamil English, Panjabi English and so on. The different Indian languages, also have a considerable impact on the grammar and lexicon (vocabulary) of English and one can find certain typically Bangla or Tamil or Panjabi grammatical features that have crept into English. However, it is not within the scope of this unit to go into features of interference and transfer from different Indian languages. What is more important is the fact that as Indians belonging to different linguistic backgrounds move up on the educational ladder, and as they interact more and more with other Indians belonging to different linguistic backgrounds, they tend to drop certain regional features which mark their English, and move towards a form of English which is acceptable as standard, educated Indian English. We shall go into the whole issue of Standard Indian English in the next unit. At this point, suffice it to say, that a sort of double denativisation of English takes place. First an English is learnt which is denativised in the sense that it is not really British or American or any other native English, but a regionally marked Indian English. Then certain regional features are consciously dropped in order to move closer to some form of educated, pan-Indian English that is understood, used and accepted universally. We shall give below just one example to illustrate our point. Let us take the English word "mother". In Standard British English it would be pronounced as /mʌð ə:/. A Bangla speaker would perhaps first learn it as /mad ər/ wherein the first vowel is changed due to the influence of the Bangla vowel-system. Later on, through training and interaction with other educated Indians, s/he might change it to /məd ər/. The third form would represent educated Indian English or Indianised English. What happens in most cases, however, is that Indian users of English tend to move towards a pan-Indian English in terms of grammar but continue to retain, to a greater or lesser degree, the phonetic features of their respective mother tongues or dominant regional Indian languages.

2.3.2 The Teaching-learning Situation

What is perhaps equally important to remember while discussing the Indianisation of English is that the millions of Indians who learn and use English do so in the typical Indian school system or classroom situation. The teachers who teach English are Indians (Bengalis,

Tamilians, Panjabis, Kashmiris, etc.) just as the students are. In addition, the other subject teachers are also Indians (Bengalis, Tamilians, Panjabis, Kashmiris, etc.). The students are thus exposed to models (teachers) who themselves use some form of Indian English. The learners find themselves in a situation where most of the exposure they get is to Indian English (except in cases where they have to read or consult books or articles written by native British or American writers or when they get exposure to native British or American speakers of English on the T.V. or the radio). The other students use Indian English, their parents at home use Indian English, people in the market place or government offices use Indian English. The Indian learners of English get rare, if any, exposure to models of native standard English. As a matter of fact, even the written texts (most of them, in any case) are by Indian authors. All this has the inevitable effect that the learners have access to and opportunity for learning Indian forms of English.

2.3.3 Socio-cultural Contexts of Use of English

What is true of the learning and the teaching situation, is equally true of the various contexts in which English is used in India. The Indian users of English have to live, interact and communicate in the Indian socio-cultural settings. They have to communicate with other Indian users of English, and they have to deal with aspects of Indian reality. Thus a trader has to sell ''sarees, shirtings and suitings'', a garment manufacturer has to market ''exquisite Lucknavi kurta-pajama suits'', a caterer has to set up ''shamianas'' and ''multi-coloured pandals'' and provide ''vegetarian, non-vegetarian, mughlai and tandoori cuisine''; a journalist has to report on what transpires in the ''Lok Sabha'' or about ''dharnas, walk-outs, bandhs'' and ''atrocities on Dalits''; an art critic has to discuss ''vigorous jugalbandi'' and ''thekas'' and ''thumris'' or ''styles of gayaki'' and ''gharanas'' or renderings of the ''mahabharata in Odissi''. The Indian police has ''hawaldars and thanedars'' who maintain ''panchnamas'' and ''sipahis'' who have to report for duty at the ''chowki'' or ''thana''; the rich English-speaking businessman goes on ''Vaishno Devi yatra'' or offers ''prasadam'', throws lavish parties on the occasion of the ''mundan sanskar'' of his grandson or advertises for a ''very fair, homely convented girl, expert in household affairs'' for his ''foreign-returned, tall, handsome son earning six figures annually''. The politicians have to reminisce about the teachings of ''bapu'' or invoke the principles of ''panchsheel'' or exhort the masses to vote for their party through ''rathyatras'' or ''padyatras''. These are only a few instances of English Language being used to talk about, describe and cope with the Indian reality. Little children refer to the man from the neighbourhood as ''Sharma uncle'' and his wife as ''Sumi auntie'' or report on the antics of a visiting ''cousin-sister''. A surgeon has to be addressed as ''Doctor Saheb'', a professor as ''Professor Saheb'' and a superior in office as ''saab'' or ''Saheb''. The point is that the Indian reality, Indian subjects and Indian contexts and norms of behaviour reshape and reform English in India. It is this reshaping and reforming of English that leads to what we call the Indianisation of English. As pointed out earlier, it manifests itself at all levels of the structure of English -- sounds, words, word-combinations and grammatical constructions. In the section that follows we shall give examples of each of these. To end this section we give below a quote from Raja Rao who, in his inimitable style, is talking about the Indianisation of English.

> ...One has to convey in a language that is not one's own the spirit that is one's own. One has to convey various shades and omissions of a certain thought-movement that looks maltreated in an alien language. I use the word ''alien'', yet English is not really an alien language to us. It is the language of our intellectual make-up... but not of our emotional make-up. We are instinctively bilingual, many of us writing in our own language and in English. We cannot write like the English. We should not... . Our method of expression therefore, has to be a dialect which will some day prove to be as distinctive and colourful as the Irish or the American. Time alone will justify it... the tempo of Indian life must be infused into our English expression, even as the tempo of American or Irish life has gone into theirs.

Check Your Progress - 2

1   What are the factors that lead to the process of Indianization of English?

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2   Observe the children in your class. Give 10 instances of the structural features of their language that influence their English. These features could be phonetic, syntactic or lexical.

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3   Open a newspaper or a magazine and pick out 10 examples of the Indianisation of English due to socio-cultural factors.

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2.4   INDIANISATION OF ENGLISH - II

So far we have tried to outline for you the history of English in India, the uses and functions of English in India and the factors that lead to the Indianisation of English. In this section we shall give a brief account of the ways in which the forms and structures of English have changed and how the resultant variety is a distinctively Indianised variety of English. By now it must have become quite clear that two kinds of pressures are at work in this process of Indianisation: first the structural pressure of Indian languages which are L1 for the Indian users of English, and second, the typical Indian socio-cultural contexts and behavioural norms that lead to forms that appear different, deviant or even odd when one compares them to native standard varieties of English.

2.4.1   Sound System of "Indian English": Vowels and Consonants

As stated earlier, the most easily noticeable features of a language variety are phonetic features. As a result of the fact that English in India is used by speakers of a large number of Indian languages, the sound-patterns of Indian English are markedly different from those of native varieties of English. Phonetic features can be considered under two heads: (a) features of stress-placement (b) sounds of English i.e. consonants and vowels.

As you go through this part of the unit, you will come across certain technical terms. Please refer to Block 4 of this course to understand these terms.

Stress Pattern

Indianisation of English has led to the emergence of a variety that is easily recognisable due to its stress-patterns which are distinct from the stress-patterns of native varieties of English. The reason given for this phenomenon is that most of the Indian languages are syllable-timed, whereas English is a stress-timed language, with a rather complex system of primary stress, secondary stress and absence of stress. Native varieties of English also have a system of distinguishing grammatical categories to which words belong (e.g. nouns and verbs) through different stress placement. Moreover, vowels in unstressed syllables are reduced or weakened. In Indianised English, however, what we find is

i) a general tendency not to distinguish between primary and secondary stress;

ii) an even stress-pattern for words with analogous syllable-structures, irrespective of the grammatical category to which they belong e.g. nouns, adjectives, verbs;

iii) a tendency to place stress on the suffix itself;

iv) non-reduction or full realisation of vowels in unstressed syllables or syllables with a weak stress.

v) a tendency to break up grammatical units within sentences arbitrarily, leading to the placement of stress on words other than those that should carry "sense-stress".

We give below a few examples to illustrate the points given above. NE stands for native standard English and IE for Indianised English. We shall use these abbreviations throughout this section.

The word "conduct" for instance, is used both as noun and verb in English. In NE the first syllable is stressed when it is used as noun ['kɔndʌkt] while the second syllable is stressed when it is a verb thus giving us [kən'dʌkt]. You will also notice that in the second instance, the vowel in the first syllable is reduced from [ɔ] to [ə]. In IE, the general tendency is to pronounce the word without any shift of stress, as well as the consequent reduction of the vowel. Consider another example "gentleman" where the primary stress is on "gentle" and the secondary or weak stress on "man". Thus in NE we get /'dʒentlmən/ with a reduction of vowel in "man". In IE, on the other hand we get /dʒentl'mæn/

Finally, the sequence of stressed and unstressed syllables which is marked by a rising -falling rhythm in NE, is generally absent in IE, giving it what has been called a "monotone" or "sing-song" quality.

Sounds of "Indian English": Vowels and Consonants

Regional features apart, "Indian English" shows quite a few divergences from standard native varieties. It is well-known that even highly educated Indian users of English often have regional peculiarities in their pronunciation e.g. many Bengalis or Oriyas fail to maintain the distinction between /s/ and /sh/ in such words as 'sip' and 'ship', the Bengalis tending to pronounce both as "ship" or even "sheep". However, there are certain pan-Indian features which characterise Indian English. We give below a list of the vowels and consonants of IE.

Vowels (Pure)

/i:/ as in "teak"

/i/ as in "tick"

/e/ as in "take"

/ɛ/ as in "trek"

/æ/ as in "tack"

/a/ as in "task"

/ɒ/ as in "talk"

/o:/ as in "told"

/u / as in "took"

/u:/ as in "tool"

/ə / as in "tuck"

Vowel glides (diphthongs)

/ai/ as in "sky"

/au/ as in "cow"

/ɔi/ as in "boil"

/eə/ as in "hair"

/iə/ as in "here"

/uə/ as in "cruel"

As compared to standard British English pronuncation (RP), the following features characterise "Indian English" : Whereas RP has 12 pure vowels and 9 diphthongs glides, IE has 11 pure vowels and 6 glides. Whereas RP has [ɒ] and [ɔ] as two distinct sounds, IE uses only "ɒ" with its own way of distinguishing such words as "caught" and "cot" by vowel length or such words as "shot" and "short" by the presence or absence of "r". Further, IE has pure vowels 'e' 'o' in place of RP diphthongs "ei", "əu" in such words as "day" and "go". Finally weak forms of vowels are not used in unstressed syllables in IE.

The consonants of IE may be represented as follows:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato Alv.	Palatal	Velar
Stops/plosives	p,b		th,d	t,d,			k.g
				(t,d)	ʧ dʒ		
Affricates							
Fricatives		f	s,z		ʃ		h
Nasals	m		n				n
Lateral			L				
Semi-vowels		U	r			j	

Again comparing the consonant system of 'IE' with that of RP, the following remarks are in order. In 'IE'

i)   The voiceless stops /p/ /t/ and /k/ are not aspirated in stressed initial position;

ii) /t/ and /d/ (which are retroflex in articulation) are generally used in place of the RP alveolar /t/ and /d/;

iii) RP sounds / θ/ and /ӡ/ represented in the written form by the letters "th", are generally realised as /th/ and /d/.

iv) (r) is often fully realised in medial and final position e.g. in such words as sharp, short, car and bar.

v)   no distinction is generally maintained between [v] and [w], the latter being used almost invariably.

vi) consonant clusters like 'sp', 'st' and 'sk', occuring at the beginning of words, are often preceded by the vowel (I), so that one gets such a forms as /Iskul/ for 'school'or separated by an epenthetic vowel as in /SəKul/.

2.4.2 Lexis of Indian English

While phonetic features are the most easily noticeable characteristics of Indianised English (as, in fact, they are of all native and non-native varieties), lexis which includes words, word-formations and word-combinations, is not less a distinguishing feature of 'IE'. We shall discuss lexis of IE under two broad categories (a) preference for certain kinds of words in IE, and (b) presence of words of Indian origin in English. We shall also add a note on the use of certain words to denote meanings other than those associated with them in NE varieties.

Preferred words (lexical items) in 'IE': While discussing these we have to remember that most Indians learn their English in formal, classroom settings. This has, in effect, given 'IE' a formal and bookish quality which several scholars have noticed. Moreover, Indian learners also have mostly been exposed to formal discourse on different subjects as well as to classics of English literature written in earlier times. This perhaps accounts for a marked presence of words and phrases in 'IE', which may appear outdated, obsolete or archaic to many. Formal learning, dependence on books and lack of emphasis on spoken English has

also tended to make 'IE' formal rather than spontaneous, colloquial and conversational. In addition, there is also the fact that English is used in India more in formal administrative, commercial, judicial and educational contexts, whereas the more informal interactions are taken care of by some Indian language (L1) or by a mixture of IE and L1. It is not surprising therefore to find scholars listing the following features of IE:

a) **Latinity:** preference for such words as "demise" over "death", "bosom" over "chest" "extend" over "give", etc.

b) **Polite diction:** a marked feature of IE is a preponderance of polite forms. This is partly due to the politeness code that operates in Indian society, and partly due to the fact that English, as mentioned earlier, is used mostly in formal contexts such as administration and law, which places a premium on polite forms. As a result one gets such forms as "Respected Sir", "Thanking you", and an abundance of words and phrases for expressing respect, politeness and gratitude.

c) **Excessive use of cliches and phrases:** 'IE' is marked by the presence of phrases such as "Himalayan blunder", "nation-building", "change of heart", "teeming millions", etc. as well as, such cliches as "at your earliest convenience", "receipt gratefully acknowledged", "do the needful", "better imagined than described", "leave severely alone", "each and every", etc.

d) **Certain nominal groups of** NE such as "bunch of keys", "address of welcome", "member of the family", etc. are changed in 'IE' to "key bunch", "welcome address" and "family member". Another common example of such IE usage is "box of matches" being realised as "match-box".

Words of Indian origin in 'IE' : Right from the time when the English first came to India, a large number of words from Indian languages gradually found their way into the English language. Even in the early days of the British Raj, the native English speakers found it useful to employ certain Indian words in dealing with Indians in matters pertaining to law, administration and agriculture, etc. Words such as "rajah" "rani", "pankhawalla", "diwan", "cot", "sepoy", "taluka" are legacies of that period. As the contact between English and Indian languages continued, more and more Indian words found their way into English. 'IE' today has a large body of lexical items from different Indian languages. We can only give a few examples here: "almirah", "bandh", "satyagrah", "tiffin", "hartal", "Harijan", "dak", "panchayat", "mullah", "khud", "chaprassi", etc. The phenomenon is so salient that we have dictionaries of Indian words in English (for reference see list of books at the end of this unit).

Quite a few lexical items of Indian English find place in 'IE' through their co-occurrence with certain English words. In several nominal compounds, we have an Indian word occurring as the first or second member along with an English word. Consider for example, the following:

masala+movies, khadi+clad,

panchayat+office, kumkum+mark, lathi+charge,

steel+almirah, taxi+wala, doctor+sahib, etc.

The incidence of words from Indian languages in IE is on the increase. At present the tendency is to feel free to use any word from Indian languages in 'IE' discourse. These words need not necessarily have to deal with administration, law, commerce, or sports. They could very well refer to dance and music, food and cuisine, dress and fashion, or any other topic. Users of English, in fact, feel that it makes their English more colourful; gives it an Indian flavour and, at the same time, enables them to talk about Indian reality more effectively. Creative writers, art critics, journalists and those associated with the electronic media are now increasingly using Indian words in 'IE'.

At this point we would like to make a mention of certain usages in 'IE' where the lexical items do not exactly mean the same thing as they do in NE varieities. An interesting example is the word "uncle" which is used only as a kinship term in NE, both as term of address as well as term of reference. In 'IE', on the other hand, though "uncle" is used as a term of reference while signalling kinship, as a term of address it is almost invariably used as a non-kinship, polite term. Thus we have children addressing elders (neighbours, shopkeepers, friends of the family, busdrivers as "uncle". The same is true of the word "aunt" which in IE becomes "auntie". The following examples illustrate the point:

Sharma+uncle, Ram+uncle, uncle+ji

Veena+auntie, Verma+auntie, auntie+ji, etc.

Where terms of address are to be used in situations where actual kinship is involved, IE users tend to use the terms that their L1 has. Several other examples of this type of usage can be cited, not only from the domain of kinship, but from several other areas.

2.4.3 Syntactic and Stylistic Features of Indian English

'IE' has syntactic features that distinguish it from NE varieites. In this unit we shall not go into the question whether these features are "mistakes", "deviations" or "differences". Our concern here, primarily, is to list certain features which are said to characterise IE.

The Indian languages, as a rule, do not have a system of articles parallel to that of English. The three English articles: 'a', 'an' and 'the' perform functions which in Indian languages are performed by the numeral "one" or the demonstrative "that" or pronoun "he". As a consequence, a marked feature of IE is a rather unpredictable use of the articles. Typical manifestations of the unpredictability are in the use of no article where NE typically uses 'the'. The other, less frequent manifestation is the use of the definite article where NE has "no article" and the use of 'a' where 'an' is to be used as per NE usage.

Certain other syntactic features, as listed by Kachru (1983) are as follows:

a) The reflexive verbs (e.g. enjoy, exert) are sometimes not followed by the reflexive pronoun. Thus instead of "he enjoyed himself", "exerted myself" we have simply "he enjoyed" and "I exerted".

b) In constructions such as verb+particle (e.g. dispose of), the particle is often added even to verbs that do not normally take the particle (e.g. comprises of, eat off).

c) Use of constructions like "I am doing" and "I was doing" for "I do" and "I did".

d) Use of simple past tense (I did) for the perfective (I have done).

e) Use of present continuous (I am doing) for repetitive or durative (I have been doing).

f) "When I will come" and "If I will come" instead of "When I come" and "If I come".

g) "For doing" instead of "to do" expressing purpose or object (e.g. award punishment to improve his character).

There are several stylistic features that have become the distingushing characteristic of IE. We briefly list some of these below:

i) **Tag questions:** IE generally uses only one form of tag question "isn't it" whereas in NE one finds different manifestations of the tag question depending on the form of the verb in the main sentence.

ii) **Contracted forms:** IE generally does not have as many contracted forms, especially such forms as didn't, shan't, aren't, mightn't, etc.

iii) **Complex and Compound sentences:** IE is marked by a general preference for complex and compound sentences where one would find simple sentences in NE varieties. The use of several coordinate and subordinate clauses often makes the sentences rather lengthy and difficult to process for meaning.

iv) **Passive constructions:** Another feature of IE is an excessive use of passive constructions. This is perhaps a legacy of the earlier days when civil servants used to write reports/summaries for their officers. It has also been suggested that it is due to the typical Indian attitude of detachment.

v) **Indirect expressions:** 'IE' users generally prefer to use indirect and roundabout expressions rather than direct or specific ones, especially when asking for a favour. It has been suggested that this is due to the cultural differences between Indians and native speakers of English in Britain or the USA. Indians generally do not like to ask for favours in direct terms, whereas "in English speaking countries...most polite is usually most specific".

vi) **Expressions of politeness:** 'IE' users, as remarked earlier also, show a marked preference for overt markers of politeness. Words and phrases, such as "kind attention", "kind notice", "respectfully submit", "with due respect", "have the honour to...." are frequently found in 'IE'.

Several other features, lexical, syntactic and stylistic, may be listed. It is not within the scope of this unit to give an exhaustive description of Indianised English. We hope, however, that we have been able to provide a useful description of the process of Indianisation as well as its effects on the form of IE.

Check Your Progress 3

1   List five phonetic features which you think are characteristic of the English spoken in your region.

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2   In the light of the description of IE given in this unit do you think IE is a "badly learnt variety" or only a different variety of English?

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3   Collect some specimens of written IE and list some of the features that you think are Indian.

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2.5   LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we give you an insight into the process of Indianization of English. In its sojourn of three hundred years in India, English has interacted with the Indian languages, influencing them and being influenced by them in turn. This mutual influence has been at the level of sounds, words, grammar and style. Moreover, the unique socio-cultural setup of India has also transformed English, making it closer to the Indian soil.

An awareness of this process of Indianization of English will perhaps help revise your attitudes towards the so-called 'errors' that your students may make.

2.6   KEY WORDS

variation	differences in pronunciation, grammar, or word choice within a language
native variety of English	countries where English is spoken as the mother tongue
non-native varieties of English	varieties of English used in countries where English is a second language, such as Singapore English, Nigerian English, Indian English.
transfer	the carrying over of learned behaviour from one situation to another
interference	the effect of one language on the learning of another
domain	an area of human activity in which one particular speech variety is generally used. A domain can be considered as a group of related speech situations.
intra-regional communication	communication within the same region
inter-regional communication	communication between different states
Indianization of English	adaptations a language may undergo when it is used in a different cultural and social situations. English in India, for example, is said to have undergone a process of Indianization because changes have occurred in aspects of its phonology, vocabulary, grammar, etc., so that it is now recognised as a distinct variety of English--Indian English.
pan-Indian English	concerning the entire country
phonetic	pertaining to sounds
syntactic	pertaining to grammar
lexical	pertaining to words
syllable-timed rhythm	a speech rhythm in which all syllables are said to recur at regular intervals, as in most Indian languages
stress-timed rhythm	a speech rhythm in which stressed syllables are said to recur at equal intervals of time. English follows a stress-timed rhythm.
cliché	an expression which has been used so much that it is no longer original or effective
nominal group	a term for a linguistic unit which has some, but not all the characteristics of a noun.

2.7   SOME USEFUL BOOKS

1.   Agnihotri, R.K. and A.L. Khanna, *(ed) Second Language Acquisition,, Social and Linguistic Aspects of English in India.* New Delhi, Sage publications, 1994

2.   Kachru, Braj B, *The Indianisation of English.* Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1993.

3.   Gupta, R.S. and Kapil Kapoor, *(ed.) English in India: Issues and problems.* Delhi, Academic Foundation, 1991

4.   Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson.. London, William Crooke 1903*

5.   Whitworth, George C., *An Anglo Indian Dictionary London, Kegan Paul:* 1885

6.   Hawkins R.E., *Common Indian Words in English.* Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1984.

2.8 ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

1. See 2.2.1 for the answer.

2. See 2.2.2 (a) for the answer.

3. Pick out points from the entire section 2.2.

4. See 2.2.1 as well as give your own points.

Check Your Progress 2

1. See 2.3 for the answer.

Check Your Progress 3

2. It is a different variety of English. We give you some points which you could include in writing your answer.

i) used in an Indian socio-cultural context

ii) has to interact with other Indian languages

iii) has different functions than in native contexts -- more restrictive functions

iv) learning - teaching situation is different.