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Trabajo Fin de Grado

Indian English versus British English. The issue of language standardization

Diferencias entre Inglés Indio e Inglés Británico. La cuestión de la estandarización lingüística

Autor

Rodrigo Ogalde Solís

Directora

Dra. Beatriz Penas Ibáñez

Facultad de Filosofía y Letras
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Table of Contents

Abstract

This study aims to overview the English Language in India. The relationships that the British Empire held with its colonies were mainly commercial and economic in nature. But in India the case was different. India was regarded as the “Jewel of the Crown”. India was and is a multicultural and multilingual society. When the British colonizers arrived, they brought their language with them. Therefore, this study intends to point out the different stages in the introduction and spread of the English language in India. By following a sociolinguistic approach, the question of standardization will be discussed as to how a language becomes standardized. And furthermore, a corpus containing different written and audio-visual data sources will be used in order to analyse the main characteristics of Indian English in terms of phonology, grammar, and lexis.

I. Introduction

The aim of the present research is to bring to the fore the issue of language standardness by comparing two different national varieties of English: 'Indian English' versus 'British English'. The number of English language users in India is approximately between 300 million and 400 million speakers (Crystal, 2010): therefore, it is necessary to overview what makes the Indian English variety different from the rest of varieties in the English speaking world. Consequently, in order to provide a solid foundation for this applied research I have elaborated a corpus that contains a selection of relevant data. This is an independent corpus consisting of different oral and written texts in which to analyse a series of differential linguistic features perceptible in Indian English versus British English. In relation to the structure of the present research, it is divided into two main sections: the first section will be dealing with the theoretical aspects relevant to the research and the second section will be devoted to the analysis of the data according to the relevant linguistic methodology.

To begin with, in the theoretical part I will be dealing with the meaning of the theoretical labels used: 'Indian English', 'British English' and 'South Asian English'. The first two are relevant concepts for the purposes of the present study. Furthermore, I will be exploring two theoretical frameworks that will provide me with adequate sociolinguistic research tools. One will be the theory of language standardization as posited by sociolinguist Einar Haugen (1972*)*. In it, I will define what is a standard language, from a sociolinguistic vantage point, mentioning the four different stages in a process of language standardization and taking the British English variety as an example of one of the most prestigious standards in the English-speaking world, which is also the norm-providing English variety for Indian English.

The second theoretical framework I will be using is Braj Kachru's theory of the three circles of English as well as his thought on the indianization of English. Kachru's three-circle theory divides the English speakers into three different kinds according to the status of English within their linguistic repertoire. I will also comment on the historical and social conditionants that have shaped the way the Indian English variety is spoken and written nowadays in India. Thirdly, I will raise the question if a standard variety of Indian English can be postulated to exist at the present time.

The comparatist linguistic methodological dimension of the present research will be developed in section III and the methodology will be applied to the analysis of the linguistic data in the corpus in the following sections. The corpus here selected includes a collection of texts of mixed-mode: oral & written; and mixed status: fictional & non-fictional, providing the relevant data; the oral data derives from two recorded video extracts edited by myself with a view to collect significant cases for my research. In the first video-recording extract there are several T.V interviews showing different Indian subjects in the act of giving answers in English. These subjects are associated either to the Bollywood cinema industry and the field of arts or to politics. The second video-recording includes a movie dialogue scene taken from a Bollywood comedy film called *Obama Phas Gaye Re* (2010). The clip exhibits a humorous tone and takes place in an English coaching class where the instructor scolds two students.

The written data examples will be taken from Salman Rushdie's fiction *Shalimar the Clown* (2005), which will be also used to exemplify the specificities of Indian English vs. British English and how they are represented discursively in the novel. On that account, I shall be commenting on Rushdie's phonetic literary representation of speech as it identifies various characters. More specifically, I shall focus on characters portrayed as speaking Indian English and also comment on the use of Indianisms in the novel and how specifically their Indian words or expressions contribute to depicting Indian characters' voice in contrast to the speech manner of the European or American characters in the novel. As for the analysis of the elements presented in the corpus I will be using a linguistic comparatist approach in which an analysis of a series of differential linguistic features of Indian English will be conducted in contrast to British English. The first component analysed will be the phonetic and phonological one, whereby attention will be paid to consonantal and vocalic sounds that exhibit differential characteristics from British English. This is the component that provides more contrasted cases. In the case of the morphosyntatic components of Indian English I will be analysing a series of examples taken from the corpus in order to comment on its differential features. Regarding the lexical component, I will be dealing with Indianisms and how oral discourse is represented in the written form. Finally, I shall proceed to draw out the main conclusions of this dissertation.

II. Theoretical Considerations

1. Definition of the relevant theoretical concepts

Indian English and South Asian English

According to linguist Braj Kachru, before the independence of India there was not a specific term to refer to English as spoken in India. The terms or expressions used on that account generally had a negative connotation, for instance; Butler English and Babu English were familiar derogatory expressions in colonial India. After the independence and partition of India in 1947 into two separate countries: Pakistan and Bangladesh, the new Indian authorities had to deal with the issue whether to continue using the English language for official purposes. This is the starting point of a new awareness of a change in the status of English in India.

J.C. Wells (1982) and other authorities like Crystal (2010) and Trudgill (2002) explain that the expression 'Indian English' is generally used to describe the variety of English used not just in India but in 'Pan-India', which includes also Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal. These countries were once part of colonial India and now are independent countries that still share with India a similar cultural background and linguistic features. Consequently, in a strict sense the term 'Indian English' encompasses those Indian speakers who have English as their second language (L2) and, as their first language (L1), either Hindi or one of the other seventeen official languages of India. It is also necessary to explain that 'Indian English' has another sense that will not be relevant to the present research but which is worth mentioning as it applies to a different segment of the English speaking population in India: the descendants of the British in India who have English as their first language and show linguistic features that make their speech variety –Anglo-Indian- close to British English. I will not be dealing here with the Anglo-Indian variety

spoken by 200,000 people approximately (Wells, 1982). There is another label: South Asian English that has been proposed by Kachru (1983, 1994) as an umbrella term to define the varieties of English used specifically in the Indian Subcontinent (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka). But for the sake of the present research I shall follow Wells' terminology and maintain the term 'Indian English' for its focus on India and its people. As it will be shown in the analysis of the corpus data, the Indian English variety is spoken throughout India in the large urban areas where the main industrial and economic centres are found. In cities like New Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai and Kolkata, but also elsewhere in India, people interact in English in their everyday lives. This is mainly the reason for my preferential selection of the label 'Indian English' over Kachru's alternative label 'South Asian English'.

British English.

For the purpose of this study, the label British English refers to English as spoken in the British Isles and more specifically in the United Kingdom. The British colonization in the 18th century gave occasion to the spread of English internationally thus promoting the British variety English to a global scenario in relation to other varieties of English. This resulted in British English being norm-providing for other varieties and becoming considered a "prestige" variety (Nordquist, 2016).

2. The question of standardness: What is a Standard language?

Language standardization is the process by which established forms of a language are recognized and conserved. Standardization may arise as a natural process for a language in a speech group or as a conscious effort by members of a community to enforce one dialect or variety as the standard. (Nordquist, 2016). According to Einar Haugen (1972), when dealing with the subject of standardization it has to be said that traditionally in structuralist linguistics there was a confusion between the terms *language* (langue) and *dialect* (parole). Both terms were used as hierarchical terms where language was viewed as higher or educated and dialect as excluded from polite society. Nevertheless, this concept changed in 20th and 21th-century sociolinguistics and it is pointed out by Gregory (1981) that a standard language is considered to be just another variety available in the subject's linguistic repertoire, the educated one. The way in which a language becomes standardized varies according to Haugen due to different political and social causes. Now the question arises as to what are the criteria to consider a language standard or not?

There is no absolutely precise answer to this question but there are some key points that, in following Haugen's view point, may shed light on the subject and they have to do with the different stages that a language goes through in order to become standardized. These stages coincide with different historical and social moments. In the case of the English language the first stage is the *selection of a variety*: the origins of Standard English are found in a mixture of two dialects: The Midlands and Southern dialects spoken in London during the middle ages. The selection of the London variety was conditioned by the introduction of the printing press in England by William Caxton who "was faced with an enormous task of deciding what words, spelling, grammar, and even dialect would be used for his publications" (Crawford, 2004).

The second stage in the process of standardization is *codification* (minimal variation in form) a phase in which a language becomes standardized by producing dictionaries, phrasebooks, traditional grammar books and usage and style guides. The codification of the English language in Britain was accomplished in the 18th century when a large number of grammar books, usage and style guides were published. The absence of an Academy to regulate the English language resulted in its rather free development. Despite the absence of any regulatory academic authority Britain saw the early attempt at the creation of a dictionary carried out by Samuel Johnson in his *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) and later the Oxford and Cambridge dictionaries. The third step in the standardization of a language is its *implementation*: this step requires the promotion of the standard that needs to be used in public life. This is usually done by one or several institutions, in most the cases governmental, that encourage its use in formal instruction. Codification does not only affect the written form. In the early 20th century 'Received pronunciation' saw its codification especially through its use in the education system, public schools, cinema, radio and BBC (Nordquist, 2016). The spread of colonialism and globalization gave way to the spread of the English language throughout the world and then English had different roles to play in the world as a lingua franca, an international language and a foreign language. This brought to existence new varieties of English apart from RP British English, which can be considered a "Supra-Standard", in many different parts of the world. In the case of the British Raj in India, there took place the adoption of RP English as the proving norm for different historical and political reasons that will be explained in the following section.

3. The status of English in India: Is there a standard variety of Indian English?

The history of India can be divided into two phases in its relation to the British Empire and the status of the English language in India. The first phase is the pre-independence or colonial phase and the second phase is the post-independence or post-colonial period. Similarly to Einar Haugen's previously mentioned four stages of language standardization, Kachru (1994) brings to the fore the process of introduction of the English language in India, which was carried out in four stages that are: *exploration, implementation, institutionalization* and *diffusion* of the English language in India. These stages broadly capture from a historical and sociolinguistic view the process that led to the introduction of English in India and its particular status in the country.

During the exploration colonial phase the English language arrived in India hand in hand with the East India Company[1]. And from this point onwards the Indian Sub-continent went through a process of colonization by different European powers (French, Dutch, Danish, etc.). In the British case, colonization began as a commercial enterprise with the India East Company and developed towards a political venture where the company members now were representatives of the British Crown and not just merchants. The process of settlement in India had already begun and during the implementation phase of the English language, the British opened the first schools and universities in English. This was made possible by Macaulay's minute of 1835 that secured English as the main language to be taught and used for all purposes in the Indian Raj. One factor to bear in mind is the type of colony that India became. According to Mufwene (2001) there are different types of colony and India was not just a trade colony but a settlement colony that

[1]It is said in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that the first English-speaking person to ever set foot in India may have been and emissary of Alfred the Great that was sent to pay offerings at St. Thomas' tomb. After this event there are no historical records until the year 1600 when Queen Elisabeth granted to a few London merchants a charter for the monopoly of trade in the East. (Kachru, 1994).

required the presence of civil servants and high rank army officials. The diffusion of English in the subcontinent was made possible thanks to the British schooling system that was transplanted to India and was a source of power for the British and Indian subordinate elites that spoke the educated variety and exerted control on society and discourse.

Through colonization the English language in India conveyed a process of linguistic acculturation for the Indian users. Kachru describes the status of English in India in postcolonial times in terms of his theory of the three-concentric circles of the English language that is presented as follows:

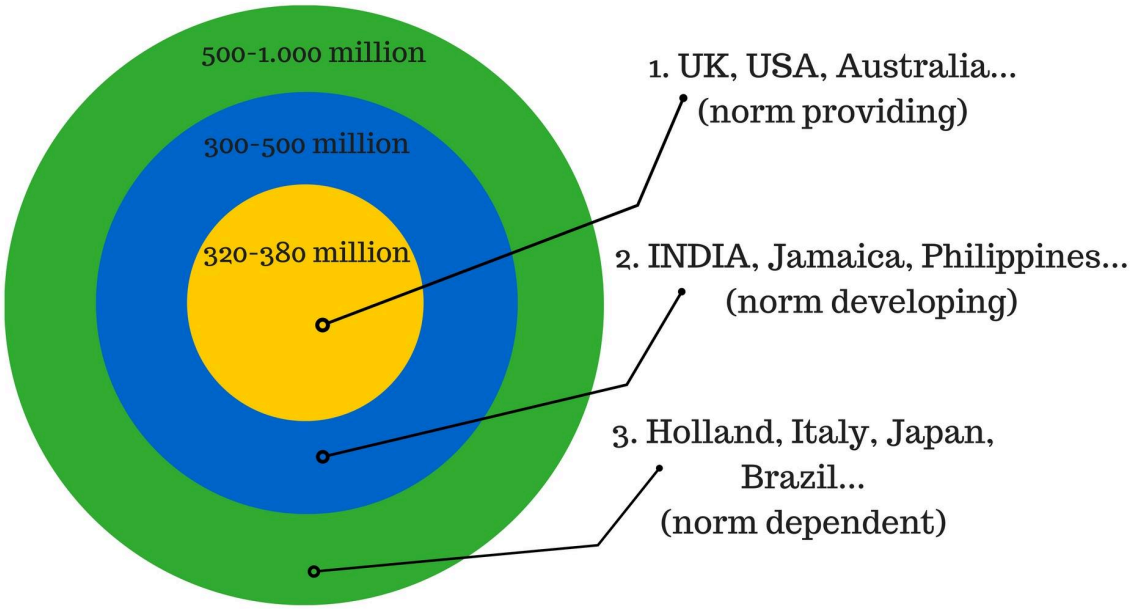

Figure n°1 Showing the three-concentric circles of English (adapted from Seidlhofer, 2014 and White, 1998).

According to White (1998) Kachru's theory divides the English speakers into three circles according to the status of English within the user's language repertoire. The first circle is called the inner circle, integrated by the linguistic communities that are traditionally associated with the English language as a native language. The countries in this circle have English as their mother tongue and a higher degree of standardization has been reached in them as (previously discussed in section II.2). In this circle we find national standard varieties like Standard British English, (RP: 'Supra-standard'), General American, South African English, Irish English, Scottish English, etc. These national varieties would be considered the norm providing variety per se, meaning by this that other varieties of English feed from the standards used in this circle. For instance, the speakers from these countries are hired as educators elsewhere in Europe or China to teach the English language to foreign students in the context of formal instruction. This is one instance of how these standard national varieties are norm providing.

The second circle is the outer circle where we can find the so called *New Englishes* in post-colonial settings: countries that belonged to, or were influenced by, the British crown have adopted English for a matter of convenience. This is the case of India which is the main focus for the present study. Other countries also present in this circle show similarities with the Indian case, for instance: Singapore, Nigeria, Kenya, etc. One particular trait of the status of English in this circle is that it is a second language, English is the second official language spoken by language users in the mentioned countries. The Indian case will be later discussed. As for the main characteristic of English as a second language in the second circle, we must say that it is *norm developing*, which means that there is a linguistic dependence from one of the national standard varieties from the inner circle, although English as used in India for example has undergone a process of standardization and the Indian English variety is more and more often taught and used in

formal settings. The third circle would be the most expanding one. The status of English in the third circle is that of a foreign language. In countries such as Spain, Holland, China or Japan, English is used as a world-important language to be taught in schools from early levels and is regarded as a language for technology and science. This circle is norm-depending from other varieties especially from the ones that have reached the highest degree of standardization in the first circle.

As it has been previously said Indian English is found in the second circle where English has a co-official status with the other Indian languages. On the question whether a standard variety of English exists in India there are different authors who think it can be postulated to exist. The following quotations are of great relevance to support this claim:

- "There is a distinctive Indian English emerging mainly in vocabulary also in phonology, pronunciation and to some extent in grammar too" (Crystal, 2010, *On Indian English*)
- Pingali (2009) confirms the existence of a Standard variety by saying "There is a standard variety of Indian English both in terms of phonology and syntax" (p. 28)
- Indian English is claimed to be an "interference variety", meaning that the Indian variety has become institutionalized and is considered a variety of English on its own. (Kachru, 1983, p. 2)
- In words of Indian linguist D'Souza (2001): "English has been Indianized by being borrowed, transcreated, recreated, stretched, extended contorted perhaps" (p.150)

These quotations agree on the basic aspects that were previously discussed on the issue of standardness. First of all, the selection of a variety already took place when the RP-speaking British took the English language to India but RP was mixed with the vernacular components of the Indian languages. This mixture became institutionalized and

therefore used in public life, so there are recognizable differential language features in terms of phonology, pronunciation, grammar, syntax and lexis that qualify the resulting English variety as Indian, reinforcing its 'Indianess'. A suitable definition in my opinion would classify Indian English as a 'semi-autonomous norm developing variety of English'. (Kachru 1983, 1994)

III Analysis of the relevant data

1. Methodological considerations:

The methodology that has been used in this research is contrastive/comparatist. My analysis of different data-sources is encompassed in a corpus elaborated from written and audio-visual material. The data to be analysed in the corpus has been divided into the main linguistic components of language.

First of all, in the phonetic and phonological component the method used will consist of the selection of different cases where British English phonemes, both consonants and vowels, are contrasted against its Indian English allophonic variations, which will be explained as to understand why these deviations develop and are used by speakers of English in India. On the grammatical-morphosyntactic component the method used will involve a selection of various Indian English grammatical cases that deviate from British English, and which will be analysed and commented on. On the lexico-semantic component the methodology used will involve the selection of different extracts from *Shalimar the Clown* (2005) where the use of Indianisms and the representation of oral discourse in written texts will be dealt with.

2. Definition and description of the Corpus

As said before the mixed-mode corpus includes a selection of oral & written texts in Indian English which will provide my research with the relevant data:

I. My selection of *oral* data (real and fictional cases) includes:

1. A series of examples taken from a fictional conversation between Indian English speakers as it appears in a specific scene from a Bollywood film called *Phas Gaye Re Obama* (2010): the scene shows an interaction between two students and their teacher humorously depicting the contrast between standard and non-standard Indian English. (found in Annex I.1)
2. A series of samplings of Indian English accents retrieved from a YouTube recording (edited by myself personally), with a selection of relevant examples taken from several T.V interviews showing different Indian subjects giving answers in English. The interviews are numbered from one to eighteen and will be used to exemplify the theory throughout the practical analysis. (found in Annex I.2)

II. My selection of the written (fictional) data includes:

1. Data from Salman Rushdie's *Shalimar the Clown* (2005) where there are numerous written examples of Indianisms used throughout the novel, we find representations of oral discourse in the written text. Accent representation in written discourse is used in the present research as evidence of the Indian speaker's (Rushdie's) intuition of the existence of variation in the English language as used in India.

3. Contrastive data analysis: differential features of Standard Indian English versus British English.

The data analysis will encompass the different linguistic components of a language. It will be divided into three main categories. The first one will deal with the phonetics and phonology of Indian English versus British English. In this section attention has been drawn to the allophonic deviations that take place in Indian English by looking at the consonantal, vocalic and other sounds in Indian English versus British English. The second component is the grammatical one in which a series of examples have been selected to show different grammatical characteristics that in the British standard are not present and therefore are exclusive to Standard Indian English. The third component, which is lexical, will be devoted to the analysis of lexical introduction of Indianisms in *Shalimar the Clown* (2005).

3.1. The Phonetic and Phonological component in Indian English.

The most significant idiosyncrasy in Indian English (IE) can be found in the phonological component of the language. Indian educators have traditionally preferred RP (Received Pronunciation) as the accent to be used as a reference along the different stages of education. During the British reign in India the number of British citizens with an RP accent in Britain was low (in comparison to the speakers of English having Irish, Scottish or British regional accents), but they occupied the most influential positions in that society. Since then onwards RP pronunciation is what many teachers and educators implement in their classes. Schools in India, and particularly those founded by the British, pay special attention to proper RP pronunciation in the process of teaching English, with a view to erasing a heavy Indian accent. This variety could be labelled Educated Indian English (EIE), a term coined by Hosali (1989).

In all these Indian cases RP is the norm providing variety. But as it was pointed out there is a standard Indian English. The variation in accent in Indian English mainly comes from the substrate language of the native speaker "the pronunciation of Indian English varies quite considerably depending on the speaker's native language." (Trudgill& Hannah 2002, p.129). (L1) in India is mainly of Indo-European origin: Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, and Gujarati, all originate from a common ancestor *Sanskrit*, but there are also Dravidian languages which comprise an entirely different language family: Tamil, Telugu, and Malayalam (Kachru, 1983).

3.1.a Consonantal sounds in Indian English and British English.

Case 1. British English /r/ phoneme with its allophonic realization in Indian English: retroflex [ɽ] and flapped [ɾ]:

[...]Great pleasure […] /gɽeːt̪ pledʒəɾ/

(Transcription found in Annex I.2, interview 1, min-0:14)

In case 1 the two words contain the /r/ (in bold) sound. In the word 'great' the first /r/ sound is uttered in a retroflexed [ɽ] manner. Retroflex consonants are pronounced with the tongue-tip curled up towards the hard palate (Kachru, 1994), therefore making it a sound that is not used in British English. And in the word 'pleasure' there is a flapped [ɾ] consonantal sound. Both words here presented are evidence that the subject uses two different allophonic variations in two different words in initial-sentence position. This establishes the basis for future analysis of the /r/ sound in Indian English.

Case 2. British English /r/ phoneme with its allophonic realization in Indian English: flapped [ɾ]

*[…] so**rr**y* [ɾ] *Sir […]*

(Transcription in Annex I.1, *Obama Phas Gaye Re* (2010), min-0:35)

Case 2 is extracted from the comedy film clip previously mentioned in the data analysis section and this part of the clip shows the word 'sorry' being pronounced with a flapped [ɾ] sound with a slight amount of retroflexion. There seems to be a tendency to use both retroflex and flapped sounds. But in the case of this clip the general speech manner is exaggerated for humorous reasons.

Case 3. British English /r/ phoneme with its allophonic deviation in Indian English: retroflex [ɽ]

*[…] **r**ed-**r**ed [ɽ] cheek […]*

(Transcription in Annex I.1, *Obama Phas Gaye Re* (2010), min-01:05)

Case 3 is also extracted from the film and the clip and displays a subject, the teacher of the English coaching centre, threatening their students if they don't speak English. The use of reduplication will be further discussed as a feature of Indian English but, in consonance with the analysis of the consonantal sounds, the less educated or standard a speaker's accent is the greater amount of retroflexion will be attained in the pronunciation of the 'r' sound. In this case, a heavy retroflexed sound is produced. The clip depicts the way English is spoken in rural Indian areas, and this scene is essentially a satire of English 'coaching' classes in those areas, whereas most urban Indians speak Standard Indian English.

Case 4. British English /w/ phoneme with its allophonic deviation in Indian English: labio-dental approximant [ʋ]

*[…] ¨This is **one** [van]community **we** [ʋi:] can align to [...]*

(Transcription in Annex section I.2, interview 4, min-01:03)

Case 4 clearly shows that in Indian English there is a confusion between /w/ and /v/ which are Indian English allophones of a labio-dental approximant [ʋ] sound. This is asserted by Pingali (2009) who points out that Indian speakers of English make no distinction between the two phonemes in most of the cases. As a consequence of this there are potential spelling problems, for instance (example taken from Pingali's *Dialects of English. Indian English* 2009, p.20): An Indian student wrote the following answer to a question: "They are playing *wolly*ball," his misspelling is clearly due to the student never having heard the word and never having seen it in writing.

Case 5. British English /t/ phoneme with its allophonic deviation in Indian English: retroflex [ʈ]

*[…] make crucial decisions on the spur of the moment**[ʈ]** […]*

(Transcription in Annex Section I.2, interview 12, min-03:13)

In case 5 the alveolar set is replaced by the retroflex consonant. This also occurs in words like, *tree* where /ʈ/ would be used. This allophonic deviation from British English is also one of the most evident features of the Indian English accent.

Case 6. British English /ʃ/ phoneme with its allophonic deviation in Indian English: alveolar /s/

*[…] Speak in Englis**h*** [ʃ]*, this Englis**h***[s] *coaching […]*

(Transcription in Annex II, *Obama Phas Gaye Re* (2010), min-0:27)

In case 6 an interesting phenomenon happens and that is the neutralization the alveo-palatal fricative [ʃ]and alveolar [s]. In this case the final /ʃ/ is substituted for the /s/ and vice versa. The main reason behind this is that this may occur to some speakers due to the fact that they transfer phonetic elements from their first-language background into English. In Indian English this characteristic is considered to be almost sub-standard.

3.1.b Vocalic sounds in Indian English and British English.

The differential vocalic features of Indian English are few in comparison to those previously analysed in the consonant set. Indian English generally speaking maintains similar vocalic characteristics to RP English. However, there are certain differential elements that are worth pointing out by looking at the following examples.

Case 1. British English /eɪ/ diphthong is reduced to /ɛ/ in Indian English:

*[...]*Gr**ea**t [ɛ] pleasure *[…]*

(Transcription found in Annex section I.2, interview 1, min-0:14)

Case 1 shows a very frequent vocalic reduction in which the subject transfers his phonetic L1 language vocalic system, which, in most Indian languages does not possess or use diphthongs. Therefore, British English diphthong /eɪ/ is brought to an [ɛ] sound. In Indian English diphthongs are very infrequent and the reason for this is that of the transfer of phonetic elements from L1 to L2. Indian languages in general have a very simple vowel system therefore the tendency is towards reducing diphthongs into monophthongs. Trudgill and Hannah (2002) argue that there is an abundant use of monophthongs instead of diphthongs in Indian English. RP diphthong /eɪ/ tends to be monophthongal /ɛ/.

Case 1.1

*[...]Relations at the **pe**ople to people level are of gr**ea**t significance[...]*

(Transcription found in Annex section I.2, interview 6, min-01:30)

This case similarly contains the same word 'great' /ɛ/ and the same phenomenon takes place, which is diphthong neutralization. But there is another aspect worth commenting that is the absence of aspiration in initial plosive sounds in words 'people'.

Case 1.2

*[...]since I'm a novelist I read a gr**ea**t deal of fiction[...]*

(transcription found in Annex section I.2, interview 13, min-03:30)

Here the word 'great' /ɛ/ is also found it also follows the diphthong neutralization that was previously recognizable in the previous examples. The full Indian vocalic chart is found on Annex section III.

3.2. The grammatical/morphosyntactic component in Indian English.

The next aspect to be considered regarding the general characteristics of Indian English is grammar. There are various aspects to be explored here. A sample of the main characteristics, which, make this variety of English unique, will be explored. But let us first point out something that is crucial in linguistic terms in order to understand the uniqueness of Indian English, its deviations (Kachru, 1983) in relation to the grammatical production of Indian speakers. Deviation involves a difference from the norm but keeps grammatical correctness so, in order to fully comprehend its function, the cultural and linguistic contexts have to be taken into account. Here are some cases to be analysed from the data selection.

Case 1.

[…] *I feel really good, really good […]*

(Transcription in annex section I.2, interview 5, min-01:22)

Case 2.

[…] *He did a very very small part […]*

(Transcription in annex section I.2, interview 14, min-03:56)

In cases 1 & 2 a very interesting and frequent grammatical feature of Indian English takes place and that is the use of adjective reduplication; for instance, *hot hot coffee* (very hot coffee), *small small things* (many small things) (Kachru, 1994). This is used mainly to emphasise statements and is a recurrent lexical usage in many South Asian languages this is currently being transferred to English.

Case 3. *[…] No notice, full insulting? […]*

(Transcription in Annex section I.1, *Obama Phas Gaye Re* (2010), min-0:18)

In case 3 we find a characteristically Indian use of the progressive -ing form of the verb. Speakers of English in India tend to use the progressive rather freely (Pingali, 2009) Some illustrative examples: *I am having three books with me, I am liking it, they may be knowing it.* In this case, this is made evident to the viewer through exaggerated comedy. This is also a sub-standard feature in both British and Indian English.

3.3. The lexico-semantic component in Indian English: Indianisms.

The last aspect to be considered regarding the general characteristics of Indian English is the lexico-semantic component. In this section two related elements will be analysed. First, a definition of *Indianism* will be provided together with a list of cases. Secondly, it will be observed how oral Indian English discourse is conveyed in the written text by means of different techniques of speech or accent representation. As mentioned earlier this section will have as its main data source Salman Rushdie's *Shalimar the Clown* (2005).

The term lexis is often used in the sense of vocabulary. Here Indian vocabulary will be divided into two different types. Type 1 is that part of Indian English vocabulary that is used solely in Indian contexts and is not shared with the rest of varieties of English. Therefore, in strict sense, words deriving from different Indian languages which are used in English can be labelled as *Indianisms*, for example:

Lok Sabha: lower house of central parliament

Paneer: cheese

Jawan: soldier

(Enokizono, 2000)

Type 2- includes those words which are not context-bound and that are shared with other varieties of English from the inner circle (British, American, Australian English, etc.). Consequently, for the analysis in this section only the first type of words will be taken into consideration. The second aspect in dealing with the lexico-semantic component is accent representation in written discourse. By means of accent representation the author or speaker can present as evidence the Indian characters' speech manner and also raise awareness of the existence of variation in English as spoken in India. This is made evident in Salman Rushdie's novel, especially when Indian characters are interacting and using English. The following extracts have been selected as proof of the use of Indianisms and the way characters' discourse is conveyed in the written text.

Case 1.

> [...] "If he didn't think I was as ugly as a *bhoot,*" said Noman conclusively, "he wouldn't keep trying to rip my face off with his claws." [...] p-24 (Annex section II.1)

The Hindi word *bhoot* means 'ghost' in English and Case 1 uses direct style technique of speech representation where the dialogue shifts from the Indian speaker to the narrator. In the first sentence the Indian word is presented and highlighted with italics. Throughout the novel any word, that belongs to the first type of words which are used only in Indian contexts, is marked visually to establish a difference from the rest of the narrative. By doing this Salman Rushdie leaves the reader in a doubt as there is no further explanation as to what the italicized word means.

Case 2.

> [...]Words reawakened in him and rushed out like panicky sheep. “Pamposh, hai! hai! Pamposh—where is she—what’s happening—is she all right—the baby, will the baby live—where is Pyarelal, he must be wild—my God, didn’t I tell you to stay back—*arré,* how did she, when did it, what should we do?” [...] p-30 (Annex section II.1)

In case 2 there are no Indianisms explicitly represented but we do find traces of orality being conveyed through the written form. These traces are made evident in the use of interjections. Indian English is often accompanied by a great number of interjections. The use of *hai! hai!* in the first line is a typical trait of Indian English discourse. And the word *arré* is an interjection directly taken from Hindi meaning “hey”.

Case 3.

> [...] “Everything is in order, please be assured,” said Pandit Gopinath Razdan, jerking his head to the side and emitting a long red stream of betel juice and saliva; and there was hauteur in his voice, even though he spoke with the bizarre accent of Srinagar which not only omitted the ends of some words but also left out the occasional middles. *Ev’thing is in or’er, plea’ be assur’.* “I am presenting myself—*I am prese’ing mysel’*—at your good father’s own behest.” Bustling out from the kitchen came Pandit Pyarelal Kaul, smelling of onions and garlic. “Dear cousin, dear cousin,” fussed Pyarelal, casting shifty glances at Boonyi, “I wasn’t expecting you until next week at the earliest. I am afraid you have taken my daughter by surprise.” Gopinath was sniffing the air disapprovingly. “If I did not know better,” he said in his skeletal voice, “I would think that was a Muslim kitchen you have back there.” *Know be’er. Musli’ ki’en.* Boonyi felt a great snort of laughter blowing through her nostrils. Then a huge surge of irritation welled up in her and the impulse to laugh was lost. [...] p-37 (Annex section II.1)

In case 3 there is a direct description of the way in which a character speaks and reference is made to a character named Pandit Gopinath Razdan as having a “bizarre of Srinagar accent”. This accent is characterized by the omission of some words in final and middle position. The accent representation is displayed in the text by using italics to

mark the differential feature in the English spoken by characters. This portion of texts raises awareness of other non-standard varieties being spoken in India in the context of the novel. In addition to passages previously analysed, there is an ample number of Indianisms interspersed throughout the novel that can be put into different categories:

Articles of clothing:

Lehenga: Indian dress

Shalwar-khameez: a type of Indian suit worn by men and women

Phiran: traditional Kashmiri outfit

Haligandun: Kashmiri belt worn on weddings

Chappals: Hindi word for flip-flops

Food dishes:

Methi chicken: a type of chicken curry

*Boti kabab*s: an oven baked meat roll

*Masala dosa*s: Indian crepe

Religion and mysticism:

Bhoot: ghost

Puja: Hindu ceremony

Faqir: member of an Islamic religious group

Samadhi: state of meditation

Pandit: Hindu teacher

Brahmin: priesthood caste

Military:

Jawan: soldier in Hindi

Politics:

Azadi: independence

A final aspect worth mentioning is the borrowing of Indian words into English as a consequence of India's relation with the British empire. The mutual exchange between the English language and the Indian languages could be traced back in time. G. S Rao (1969) indicates that the entrance of Indian words into English first started in the 17th century and they were mainly of commercial character. They are mainly content words connected with trade and commerce. For example, *Calico, Bazaar, Chintz, Pepper Chuddar, Dungaree, Sugar.* These words have eventually become assimilated and used in Indian English and other varieties of English. Therefore, this can be said to be the contribution of the Indian languages to the overall English vocabulary. Many of these words are listed in the Oxford English Dictionary. During the 18th century, the amount of words that found their way into English was smaller and the words that had formerly been introduced started to be used in different ways giving them attributive and combinative uses: *Bengal silk, mango-bird, India rubber, Sanskrit, Islamism.*

The 19th century saw an increasing intake of Indian words used in many different ways: attributive, combinative, figurative uses. In the 19th century, the word Indo-European appeared to bond India and Europe. This fellowship was drawn by the discovery of a common language between the main languages of Europe and Asia. The discovery of Sir William Jones perhaps helped to connect India with Britain even further. The words that appeared in the course of that century are related to Indian Philosophy: *Brahmin, Swastika, Karma, Mantra, avatar Mahatma, Yoga, Dharma, Deva, Dirvana, Amrita.*

IV. Conclusion

To conclude this research, it can be said that the question whether a standard variety of English can be postulated to exist has been successfully answered. As it has been shown, the process of standardization in any language is a process that involves different stages: *selection, codification, elaboration and implementation*. Once this conditions are fulfilled the language becomes standard and is used in public life. In the case of India, the colonial enterprise brought the English language to India and it stayed there until the present day. After gaining its independence from the British, India decided to continue using Indian English, which, from this point onwards, became the object of study of many linguists. Braj Kachru's contribution to the study of Indian English has opened a new paradigm in understanding the diversity of English in the world.

On the methodological level it can be concluded that there are several differential features in British English versus Indian English. The phonological component is one of the key components in analysing Indian English. In this section attention was brought to the different allophonic variations on a consonantal level which outnumber the vocalic component, which is less affected by the influence of Indian languages. On the grammatical level the cases presented show to some extent grammatical differential features perceptible in Indian English, for instance: adjective reduplication. The lexical component of Indian English introduces two main elements which are Indianisms and the written literary representation of speech. These two elements are key to the development of *Shalimar the Clown* (2005) and its portrayal of India and Indian characters speaking English. One last aspect I would like to underline is the elaboration of the corpus. This corpus has been collected ad hoc due to the fact that there are almost non-existent tangible data sources for the analysis of Indian English. The sources here selected cover a wide range of linguistic features. Indian English has proven to be a national standard variety of

English on its own and the future of English in India will depend on how India is viewed as regards to the country's economic and political development. In other words, the linguistic status of a national English variety always depends on the country's status as a world power.

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