Towards a Pedagogical Model for Teaching English in an Indian Context

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This book first published 2018

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN (10): 1-5275-0761-0
ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-0761-6

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the role played by Dr. Anindya Syam Choudhury, Assistant Professor in the Department of English of Assam University, Silchar in leading me through my work from its initiation. His constant guidance, advice, criticism and inputs have been crucial for the completion of my work. I'm also very much indebted to Dr. Anupam Dutta, Assistant Professor in English, Barbhag College, Barbhag for the immense help and suggestions provided throughout my research period. I thank him from the bottom of my heart for enriching my research work through his input. I would also like to thank all my departmental colleagues, especially the Head of Department, Rajeev Mohan, for helping me out in different ways. I am grateful to all the students, journalists, teachers and intellectuals whose timely and sincere response to my questionnaire enabled me to complete my research work within the stipulated time; since the questionnaire formed the backbone of my study, it would not have been possible for me to complete my work without their input. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank my wife Rita who has lived my work with me, sharing my trials and tribulations, anxiety, anguish and joy, coaxing and encouraging me all the time. I am grateful to my father Madan Mohan Choudhury and my mother Pranati Choudhury for their constant emotional support, suggestions and encouragement.

I express my gratitude to my father-in-law Bhupen Chandra Dutta and mother-in-law Hemaprabha Dutta for their constant help and support throughout my work.

Mriganka Choudhury
Place: Tinsukia

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

IndE	Indian English
BrE	British English
SBrE	Standard British English
AmE	American English
ENL	English as a Native Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EIL	English as an International Language

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Indian English belongs to that group of varieties of English which has been termed by sociolinguists as Postcolonial Englishes (PCEs). These varieties are the outcomes of socio-historical conditions and the social nature of man. Schneider, in *Postcolonial English: Varieties Around the World* observes that "Human beings usually associate closely with other humans nearby and have considerably less contact with people who live far away or in different social circumstances, which they are less likely to encounter. Hence, they accommodate and adjust their speech forms to those of their friends and neighbours to express solidarity, which is the reason why there are dialects and varieties of languages." (Schneider, Postcolonial English 8). The study of PCEs has primarily been based on this perspective, and methodologies have been adopted to delve deep into the regional, social and other types of variations of English. Schneider opines that the belief that only one 'standard' variant of English exists which is the correct and monolithic form and the 'other' forms are simply 'deviants', is unacceptable and wrong (Schneider, Postcolonial English 8).

Kachru, in *Teaching World Englishes*, has put forward a model to categorise World Englishes in the form of three concentric circles. The Inner Circle comprises the nations where English is the first language. Countries like the UK, USA, Australia, Canada and New Zealand belong to this category. Then there is the Outer Circle where English enjoys the status of a second language. English as Second Language (ESL) countries such as India, Nigeria and Singapore, display a wide range of functions, not only in international, but also in intranational contexts. It is the language used in education, administration and nation-wide media. "In ESL countries there are practically no first language speakers of English, and the proficiency of users displays considerable variation, from native speaker-like fluency to 'broken English'." (Silke 14). Finally, there is the Emerging circle where English is used for specific purposes like seeking jobs in English speaking nations, carrying out trade and commerce with

Inner and Outer Circle nations, etc. Countries like China, Indonesia and Korea belong to this group. Here, English is taught as a foreign language (EFL). "In EFL countries, the function of English is the most limited. The language is learned exclusively in school and does not serve any internal functions apart from as a 'book language' in higher education and certain highly specialised domains (e.g. banking). EFL users often show a closer approximation of Standard English than ESL users (Silke 14). Kachru's model "enables a contextualisation that has both historical and present day sociolinguistic significance" (Kachru, Teaching World Englishes 568). As Kachru states, "The inner circle is inner with reference to the origin and spread of the language, and the outer is outer with reference to geographical expansion of the language – the historical stages in the initiatives to locate the English language beyond the traditional English speaking Britain; the motivations, strategies and agencies involved in the spread of English; the methodologies involved in the acquisition of the language; and the depth in terms of social penetration of the English language to expand its functional range in various domains, including those of administration, education, political discourses, literary creativity, and media" (Kachru, Teaching World Englishes 568). It is fundamental to Kachru's model that the historical contexts of the movement of English have an effect on the sociolinguistic manifestation of World Englishes today. What differentiates the Inner Circle from the Outer Circle is the basic fact that while in the Inner Circle nations, English exists more or less as the sole language, in the ESL nations, English persists under a multilingual context. In India, for example, English exists along with Hindi and a number of other regional languages. This coexistence with other native languages has inadvertently led to a language contact situation resulting in the emergence of indigenised forms of English. The ESL nations are basically those where English has existed since the colonial period. "A frequent outcome of language contact in colonial settings is the creation of so-called indigenised varieties of European languages, varieties of colonisers' languages that were shaped by the contact with indigenous languages of the population and that are still used in those communities today (in the scheme above, an indigenised variety would of course fall in the category of contact induced language change). The most prominent and most discussed examples are the 'New Englishes' in India, Pakistan, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines and several African states" (Silke 14). Indian English, thus, is a variety of English that was influenced by the contact of English with Indian languages. This spread of English globally has also resulted in variation because of nativisation and acculturation of the language in various communities. "The use of the language according

to local needs and conventions has affected the grammatical structure as well as other aspects of the language like its syntax, pronunciation and morphology. Grammatical variation is noticeable in sounds, rhythm, words, processes of word formation, phrases, sentence patterns, idioms and metaphors, and discourse structures and strategies." (Silke 15). Use of English in various contexts manifests in varied genres, conventions of politeness, code-mixing and switching, and new canons of literary creativity – "all the resources of multilingual, multicultural contexts are now part of the heritage of World Englishes" (Schneider, Postcolonial English 21). The emergence of English as regional varieties in the Outer Circle countries like India, Malaysia, Singapore etc., mainly due to nativisation and acculturation, has led to the coinage of the term 'Englishes' instead of 'English'. The differences in the varieties of English in the Inner Circle and the Outer Circle have raised concerns regarding the notion of nativeness. Traditionally, this has been the main grounds for the distinction between the two circles where it has been stated that only native speakers fully command a language and have proper intuitions on its structural properties (nativeness here refers to genetic nativeness). However, as pointed out by Kachru in *The Alchemy of English. The Spread, Functions and Models of Non-Native Englishes,* "The reality in Outer Circle contexts is much more complicated since competence in a language is related to its constant use. In such countries there exist both native speakers of English in the narrow sense, like the Anglo-Indians in India (who use English as their mother tongue but their intuition is different from those of British and American people), and those who, after having acquired a native or indigenous language, shifted to English as the primary language in all aspects of their everyday life. 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 PCEs, is paramount (Schneider, Postcolonial English 21). "Functional nativeness is as important as genetic nativeness" (Kachru, English as an Asian Language 4–5). This brings us to the issue of 'norms of correctness'. In Outer Circle nations like India, English is used in sociolinguistically complex circumstances and therefore there exists a very high degree of variability. "The variability includes linguistic forms which are hybrid (English modified by contact with indigenous languages) or nonstandard (English not accepted as socially adequate in formal circumstances). 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, Postcolonial English 17). Schneider opines that "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, Postcolonial English 17). Bamgbose states that "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 7). Whether RP is what the majority of a population really speak is not taken into consideration here. 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. In this regard, we have two distinctly opposite opinions among linguists. Because of the duality of opinion between the descriptive and theoretical linguists on one hand and the conservatives on the other, the argument that all language varieties are functionally adequate in their respective contexts and internally well structured has until now not been accepted by the decision makers in the political arena, who still regard British English as the norm to be followed. As suggested by Kachru, 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" (Silke 23). In fact, in fiction, we find Indian writers using various 'indigenous' varieties of English. 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. "There has always been a pervasive sense that somehow the language has to be taught by a native speaker; it was being tainted by its being taught by foreigners. Thus, questions of pedagogical model and what it is that is being learned – UK, US or local English – have been much debated." (Kachru and Nelson 82).

"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" (Kachru and Nelson 96). Therefore, in the name of setting a norm

for the pedagogy, we are trying to achieve a target which is neither achievable nor desirable. Even the most educated and elite class in India use only a type of Indian English which has been termed the acrolect variety. 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 in *Indian English*. Kachru and Nelson in *World Englishes in Asian Contexts* also clearly mark out the differences between Indian and British English in respect to Phonology, Stress and Rhythm, Sounds and Grammar (Kachru and Nelson 31). Moreover, in his analysis of Indian English, Schneider, in *Postcolonial English*, by applying the Dynamic Model of nativisation, shows how Indian English over the years has evolved and grown to reach the fourth and penultimate phase of nativisation. Therefore, using an Indian English variety as the norm in the Indian context and pedagogy is definitely a viable idea that needs to be looked into. The researcher's effort will be to analyse the prospects and problems, the arguments for and against the adoption of pedagogical models based on norms and standards set using an Indian variety of English because in spite of the consensus on the viability of Indian English, there are issues that still remain unsettled. These include, as stated by Ayo Bamgbose in *Torn between the norms: innovations in world Englishes*, the status of innovations in the nativisation process, the continued use of native forms as a point of reference, the ambivalence between recognition and acceptance of non-native norms, the adequacy of pedagogical models and the overriding need for codification. Underlying these issues is the constant pull between native and non-native English norms. "Innovations in non-native Englishes are often judged not 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. To this extent, it is no exaggeration to say that these innovations are torn between two sets of norms." (Bamgbose 1). The purpose of the research is to address the issues just outlined since they are crucial for the actual realisation of the use of Indian English as an endonormative standard in India. Whether it is desirable or not, the recognition of Indian norms for English has become inevitable.

> "The formulation of a model amounts to codifying the language that is considered ideal and exemplary in the form of dictionaries with meaning and illustrations, usage and pronunciation, spelling and idioms, etc. Additionally, grammar books are written to include and illustrate the rule-

> governed language structures of morphology, namely, word formation; and syntax, namely, sentence formation. But in modern times, we need to give an extended meaning to the word 'model'. A language is not limited to its orthography, lexis, morphology and syntax alone. Learners and teachers need models of ideal or near ideal speaking and writing formats covering different genres and styles, all represented through relevant content. The models should serve local needs and their content should, generally speaking, be wedded to the sociolinguistic, socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-economic environment of the learners. If we accept the extended meaning of 'model' to include samples of texts, then the models of English need to be drawn from the entire range of disciplines such as science, humanities, law, medicine, mass media, etc. And there are many linguists and ELT teachers who share this view" (Kaushik 143).

The endeavour on the part of the researcher has been to examine the acceptability or otherwise of Indian variety samples and the viability of their inclusion in the pedagogic model.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The research study has been undertaken with the following objectives in view:

1) To test whether people closely associated with English in India accept the use of Indian variants of English in classrooms and also their inclusion in the pedagogic model.
2) To find out, through an attitudinal survey, subject response to Indian variants drawn from the print media, the issues addressed being chiefly focussed upon the following:
   (i) attitude towards acceptance of variants of IE;
   (ii) order of acceptance of variants of IE;
   (iii) comparative acceptance of each element or aspect of IE.

1.3 Literature Review

Since the evolution of the Indian variety of English is intrinsically related to the phenomenon of the dispersal of English from a small European nation to different corners of the globe, the review of literature for the study included the tracing of this dispersal and the subsequent emergence of varieties and creoles of the language from historical, geographical and political perspectives.

The global spread of English has been traced from a historical perspective by critics like Jenkins on the one hand and Kachru, Nelson et al. on the other. Jenkins, in *Who Speaks English Today?* divides the spread into two dispersals or diasporas. The adaptation of the migrants to the alien environments and the language contact scenario led to the emergence of indigenised forms of English in America and Australasia. Jenkins traces in detail the arrival of the English language from the British Isles to the 'New World' in 1584, through the settlements in 1607 at Jamestown and Virginia (named after King James I and the Virgin Queen Elizabeth I) to the subsequent settlements in Plymouth, Massachusetts and New England in 1620. The succeeding years saw the rapid spread of these two settlements as more and more migrants arrived there. The two groups of settlers came from different linguistic backgrounds and hence the accents of the two groups varied to a large extent. The settlers in Virginia came from the western parts of England and hence their /r/ was rhotic and their /s/ voiced. On the other hand, the settlers in New England were from the east of England and they didn't have these features in their English.

The seventeenth century witnessed the spread of English to the southern parts of America and the Caribbean Islands due to the growing slave trade. The slaves from West Africa were exchanged at the coast of America and the Caribbean for sugar and rum. The Englishes used by the slaves among themselves and with their British lords were contact pidgins, but the elevation of the language into the mother tongue among the succeeding generation led to the emergence of English creoles.

The eighteenth century ushered in large-scale immigration from Ireland, and the immigrants settled down in the southern and western parts of the new land. With the Declaration of American Independence in 1776, many loyalists crossed over to Canada. Kachru, Nelson et al., in *The Handbook of World Englishes*, have traced the ascendancy of the English language along with the remarkable growth of trade and commerce from approximately the beginning of the fifteenth century. Until around 1400 AD, the English language was struggling to establish itself as the 'high language' in Britain since it was competing with equally powerful languages like Latin, French, Welsh and Irish. However, the rapid disintegration of the feudal system coupled with the use of English language for trade and commerce during the fifteenth century saw the emergence of the language as the language to be used in the higher echelons of the society (King 36). Kachru, Nelson et al. regard the arrival and evolution of English in Wales, Ireland and Scotland as the first diaspora of English. In these parts of Britain, English initially had to struggle for ascendancy as the language to be used in the higher echelons

of the society. Welsh, Irish, Scottish, Latin and French were the other contending languages which had a firm place in the linguistic landscape of these regions.

In the context of North America, Schneider reiterates the fact that the distinctive nature and the varieties of English in North America are a product of the continent's settlement history. The unique mixtures of settlers from different regions of the British Isles and elsewhere, coupled with their ways of speaking, have led to the distinctive nature of English and also the emergence of varieties of English in the region (Schneider, The Handbook of World Englishes 58).

Gordon and Sudbury, in *The History of Southern Hemisphere Englishes*, trace comparable developments in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa during this period. James Cook discovered Australia in 1770 when he landed in present day Queensland. The period between 1788 and 1852 saw the transportation of around 160,000 convicts to Australia from Britain and Ireland. Although transportation was ended in 1852, free settlers continued filtering into Australia from the 1820s. Among the settlers, although the largest proportion was from London and the south-eastern parts of England, there were groups from south-west England, Lancashire and Scotland as well. The convicts, on the other hand, came from various regions of Britain. This led to 'dialect mixing' coupled with the influence of the aboriginal indigenous languages.

Although New Zealand officially became a colony of Britain after the British–Maori Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, European traders had been settling there since 1790. The immigrants first arrived in the 1840s and 50s from Britain, in the 1860s from Australia and Ireland and in the 1880s and 90s from the United Kingdom (mostly Scots). Like Australia, New Zealand also witnessed 'dialect mixing' with strong influence of the indigenous Maori language, especially in vocabulary.

Since colonisation, Australia and New Zealand have witnessed significant travel and migration between them due to their close proximity. This intermigration is one of the reasons for their similarity in ways of speaking English (Kiesling 74). Moreover, both Australia and New Zealand were colonised rather late, i.e. 1788 and 1840, respectively. Therefore, they find themselves at very similar stages of language development. These colonisation dates have also been claimed as one of the causes of linguistic similarity (Kiesling 74).

The British arrived in South Africa in 1795. However, British immigrants started settling in large numbers from the 1820s. Most of them had come from southern England although a number of settlers were from Ireland and Scotland. The 1850s saw another influx of British settlers, and

this time they were mostly from the Midlands, Yorkshire and Lancashire. After 1822 when English was declared the official language, the indigenous black and Afrikaans population started learning English as their second language. The Indians who had migrated to South Africa since the 1860s also learnt English as their second language. This colonisation period of South Africa is similar to that of Australia and New Zealand, but unlike the two neighbouring nations, is geographically distant and hence arose in very different social and language contact situations (Kiesling 74).

Jenkins's second diaspora and Nelson, Kachru et al.'s third saw the arrival of English on the shores of Africa and Asia during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in manners and outcomes that were quite different from the first diaspora.

English in Africa had two distinct traits during the colonial period: one belonged to West Africa whereas the other was of East Africa. English in West Africa is linked to the slave trade and the development of pidgin and creole languages (Jenkins 7). Since the fifteenth century, the British slave traders used to travel to the various coastal regions of West Africa. However, they were not interested in settling there. English in these regions (which included countries like Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon) was used as a lingua franca, not only between the slaves and their masters but also between the slaves themselves since a huge number of local languages were in use. Subsequently, English has become an official language in all the countries mentioned above. Moreover, language contact situations where English is one of the contact languages have given rise to several pidgins and creoles like the Krio (Sierra Leone) and Cameroon Pidgin English which are subsequently used by a large number of people as their second language.

Unlike West Africa, English in East Africa took root and evolved through the large number of immigrants who settled down in countries like Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Malawi, Zimbabwe and Zambia from the 1850s. English came to be used extensively in these countries (after they were colonised during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century) in major institutions like government, education and law. Even after their independence, English continues to be used as the official language in most of these countries, with a large number of users of English as their second language.

English arrived in South Asia (India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Bhutan) in the second half of the eighteenth century. However, McCrum et al (356) state, "The English have had a toehold on the Indian subcontinent since the early 1600s, when the newly formed East India

Company established settlements in Madras, Calcutta and later Mumbai." The Company gained comprehensive control of the running of affairs in the subcontinent in the eighteenth century, and this growing British influence reached its zenith through the establishment of the 'British Raj' which lasted from 1765 to 1947. It was through Macaulay's Minute of 1835 that the English language became a part of the Indian educational curriculum and continues to be so even after more than 68 years have passed since India gained independence from British rule. In 1947, the Indian subcontinent was divided into two nations – India and Pakistan (which included Bangladesh). It is in India that we find English playing a dominant role. In 1950, when the Indian Constitution came into force, the Hindi language was recognised as the official language. English was relegated to an associate language for 15 years until 1965. However, the non-Hindi speaking states, namely West Bengal and the four states of South India stood against the idea of using Hindi as the only language for administrative services and wanted the permanent retention of English as an associate language. The political turmoil of 1963 in South India led to the enactment of the Official Language (Amendment) Act of 1967 whereby English was designated an "Associate Official Language" with no time limit; it was also expected to serve as a "link language" between the central government and the governments of non-Hindi-speaking states. Since then, the place of English in India has become secure though controversial (Jenkins 9). Even today, English is an 'associate official language' used as a neutral lingua franca (Jenkins 9). More than three hundred years of coexistence with indigenous languages of India have lent English in India a distinct tinge of 'Indianisation' due to which it has developed a distinctive national character comparable to American or Australian English (Jenkins 11).

This global spread of English and the subsequent emergence of varieties and creoles over the years have given rise to issues pertaining to the ownership of English. The English that left the shores of England and the Englishes that have evolved in the various diasporas after prolonged coexistence with various indigenous languages in multilingual contexts are phonologically, lexically and structurally quite different from each other. These nativised varieties are more suited for the contexts in which they are being used. This phenomenon has raised a debate about the ownership of English. Literature related to the native/non-native dichotomy has also been reviewed. Phillipson in his books titled *Linguistic Imperialism* and *Linguistic Imperialism Continued* discusses on the hegemonising tendencies of the claimants of the authenticity of the so-called native varieties of English. This us–them notion is also advocated by Quirk et al.

through the ENL–ESL–EFL model that tries to encapsulate the global spread of the language within a theoretical framework. Here, ENL means English as a Native Language, ESL stands for English as a Second Language and EFL stands for English as a Foreign Language.

On the other hand, Kachru, Schneider and many other scholars have regarded this supposed superiority of the first language English speaking nations as a myth. Kachru's *Asian Englishes Beyond the Canon* and Kachru, Nelson et al.'s *World Englishes in Asian Contexts* talk about this myth. Kachru makes a geography based analysis of the evolution of different varieties of English through his three Concentric Circles. Schneider, through his book *Postcolonial English* provides a dynamic model to encapsulate the nativisation process of English in the erstwhile colonies of England. Schneider's *English Around the World* also tries to study the emergence of indigenous native varieties of English in different nations where it has existed for several hundred years in a multilingual setting. However, Kachru's model is mostly about the historical and geographical diffusion of English and fails to explain the differentiation in its use within and across the circles. Kachru has tried to explain the differences within the circles by placing the speakers of the respective varieties on a cline of proficiency where he uses the terms 'acrolectal', 'mesolectal' and 'basilectal' to classify speakers of a particular variety. However, attempts have been made, notably by Graddol and Yano, to modify the Kachruvian model and define the global evolution of Englishes on an individual level of proficiency. Graddol, in his book *The Future of English?* has replaced the terms 'Inner Circle', 'Outer Circle' and 'Emerging Circle' with 'L1 Speakers', 'L2 Speakers' and 'L3 Speakers', respectively. He also reconstructs the circles as overlapping each other, thereby suggesting a language shift from the Emerging Circle to the Outer Circle and then to the Inner Circle. Yano, in his essay *English as an International Language: Its Past, Present and Future*, suggests that with the emergence of varieties of English in the Outer Circle, the subsequent rise in the number of native speakers of these varieties and the inflow of these native speakers to the Inner Circles have led to the functioning of English in a manner which is similar to the Outer Circle. As such, their differentiation needs to be questioned. Therefore he suggests the use of dotted lines to demarcate the Inner and Outer Circles. This would suggest rapidly reducing differences between the two circles. Yano's theory helps to a great extent in removing the hierarchy in varieties and bringing them at par with each other.

Modiano made an attempt to encapsulate this phenomenon through his Centripetal Circles Model of International English, which is a synchronic

model that is more person-based. In his paper titled *International English in the global village*, Modiano describes this model where English is not any Standard English of the so-called Inner Circle countries but a rather amalgamated kind of English, devoid of any strong regional accent and internationally intelligible to all educated speakers of English, irrespective of their country of origin (Syam Choudhury 7).

Modiano, in his paper titled *Standard English(es) and educational practices for the world's lingua franca* came up with another model which he called the English as an International Language model. Here he talks about an internationally intelligible variety of English at the centre and five circles at the periphery, which he calls British English, Other Major Varieties, American English, Foreign Varieties and Local Varieties of English.

Another model that tries to encapsulate the evolution of English in the erstwhile British Colonies is Schneider's Dynamic Model of Nativisation. In his book *Postcolonial English*, Schneider talks about the five stages through which a transplanted language gets nativised in an alien socio-cultural-multilingual setting. Applying this model as the measuring tool, Schneider, in his book, has shown how English in the erstwhile British Colonies like India are at different stages of the nativisation process.

Yano, in his paper titled *English as an international language: Its past, present, and future* propounded his Three-dimensional Cylindrical model of English which is a person-based sociolinguistic model. At the centre of the model, there is an arrow that points upward and shows the level of proficiency. The highest level of proficiency has been termed as English as an International Language (EIL). The Outer and Expanding Circle speakers need to come up to the level of proficiency of the Inner Circle native speakers. The proficiency level of English for General Purposes (EGP) is set just above the proficiency level of native speakers. To acquire the proficiency level of EGP, the speakers should learn "pragmatic strategies of communication across cultures" which will be required even for the next level of proficiency which is English for Specific Purposes (ESP), for which all "speakers in the three circles equally must make an effort to gain professional and linguistic knowledge in respective disciplines, which have much less to do with being a native speaker" (Yano 215). Beyond the proficiency level of ESP lies the proficiency level of Intra-Regional Standard English (intra-RSE), which represents communication within wider regions like Europe and Asia. At the highest level is the level of proficiency in EIL, "which is the ultimate level of proficiency for cross-regional or international communication" (Yano 216).

Pennycook, in *Plurilithic Englishes: Towards a 3D Model*, has propounded a three-dimensional Transidiomatic model of English which, in his own words, has tried to move away from "nation-based models of English and to take on board current understandings of language as used transidiomatically and within communities other than those defined along national criteria" (Pennycook, Plurilithic Englishes: Towards a 3D Model 202).

In tracing the history of the English language in India – its continued presence in spite of the independence of India from British rule, the evolution of an indigenised variety of English which has emerged out of a prolonged multilingual sociolinguistic and socio-cultural coexistence with other indigenous languages and the issues related to the growth of a hybridised linguistic scenario in India – the related literature has been extensively reviewed. David Crystal's *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language* states how the link between Europe and the East was restored by Vasco da Gama in 1498 when he arrived at Calicut. In his book *English in South Asia*, Kachru describes how The Charter of 31 December 1600, granted by Queen Elizabeth I, marks the establishment of British contact with the Indian subcontinent. It granted a monopoly on trade with India and the East to some merchants of London, and the East India Company was formed. He also traces the three phases in introduction of bilingualism in India in his book titled *The Indianization of English. The English Language in India*. McCrum et al in *The Story of English* and Bailey in *Images of English. A Cultural History of the Language* have also analysed the gradual processes of exonormative stabilisation of the English language in British India. Alastair Pennycook, in *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language* argues that the Indian bourgeoisie was demanding English language education as much as the missionaries and educators (Pennycook, The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language 79), seeing knowledge of English as an essential tool in gaining social and economic prestige (Pennycook, The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language 76). All these factors combined together to lend English a position of power and prestige in the Indian linguistic scenario.

The evolution of English in post-independence India has been studied from various perspectives by linguists. Kachru in *English education in India: a sociolinguistic profile of Indian English*, Schneider in *Postcolonial 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 nativisation 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 and 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 Silke, 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 the English educated Indians comprising a very tiny percentage of the population. It comes closest to the English used on British shores. ii) Intermediate (Mesolect) which can also be called the General Educated Indian English, used by majority of English speaking educated Indians and iii) Lower (Basilect), used by the uneducated masses to somehow put across their thoughts. Kaushik, in *Teaching English in the Indian Context,* strongly advocates the idea of introducing the 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 formal domains such as education and administration. Zoltan Domyei's *Questionnaire in Second Language Research* provided necessary insight for the preparation of the questionnaire which was the sole data collection tool employed during this 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.

1.4 Hypothesis

The study aims to test the hypothesis that the majority of people closely associated with English language usage in India will favour the move for formulating a contemporary indigenous nativised model of English for pedagogical purposes.

1.5 Methodology

As part of the study, the researcher selected around 200 Indian variants (items) from well recognised national dailies, namely: The Times of India,

The Indian Express, The Hindustan Times, The Hindu, The Statesman, The Tribune, The Telegraph, The Deccan Herald, for a questionnaire which was administered to the chosen subjects.

An obvious question might arise regarding why the print media have been used as the source for the venture. This can be answered by saying that from among the various forms of media, print media best serve our purpose as even amidst the welcome fluidity in language, they offer stability. For centuries, the printed word has served as the touchstone of standardisation. **"**As the lexical structures of Indian newspaper English extensively share structures with normal IndE communication, their in-depth study seems to be well pointed to suggesting what really typifies the IndE 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 IndE as a nativised language (Dubey 19)." In addition, it is easy to obtain samples of interest and value from it. Besides, the media generally have multiple originators who pass through certain standards of quality control. Print media represent all kinds of discourse and offer a variety of styles. And, as Gorlach in *Studies in Varieties of English Around the World* observes, "they can also be compared worldwide in respect to events they deal with."

The questionnaire, as has already been stated above, comprised about 200 variants of IE; the respondents examined these items grouped under the following sub-headings:

(i) Lexis – Items 01–50
(ii) Morphology and Syntax – Items 51–100
(iii) Discourse – Items 101–200

After the examination of the items, the respondents indicated whether they would recommend their inclusion in the English teaching classroom.

For the study, the researcher chose 100 subjects comprising 20 Print and TV English language journalists from across India, 20 linguists working on issues associated with IE, 30 teachers of English literature and language in Indian universities, and 30 students of MA English programmes in different universities in India. The researcher also ensured that these subjects represented almost in equal proportion the following three demographic groups: 18–29 years, 30–45 years and 46–60 years. The groups, of course, had a proportionate mix of male and female respondents.

In selecting the subjects, the researcher used purposive sampling. The data collected through the attitudinal survey were tabulated and analysed.