

20 South Asian Englishes

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The label 'South Asian English'¹ is a cover term for English in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and the Maldives. For the purpose of the present chapter a singular reference – South Asian English – is used for a number of reasons (contrast this with the chapter on South-East Asian Englishes). The region of South Asia consists of geographically contiguous countries or islands near these. The colonial past of all, except Nepal and Bhutan, is similar. Furthermore, in the opinion of many scholars South Asia can be treated as a (socio-)linguistic area in which phonological, syntactic, lexical and stylistic features are shared to a large extent (Braj Kachru, personal communication).

The seven countries just mentioned already encompass nearly 1.5 billion people which represents slightly less than one quarter of the population of the world (McArthur 2002: 309). The dominance of English in the public lives of five of these seven nations (Nepal and Bhutan were not part of the empire, though Burma/Myanmar, which is not considered here, was) is a legacy of British colonialism with its administration and the establishment of English in their educational systems. The indigenous languages of these nations belong to two large families, Indo-European and Dravidian (see section 1.6 'Indigenous languages' below). The former covers most of the north of South Asia, up as far as the border with China and the Turk-speaking central Asian republics. The latter is a family which is chiefly represented in southern India, though the presence of

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¹ On South Asian English in general, see the contributions in Baumgardner (1996b) such as Ali (1996), Bailey (1996), Ferguson (1996), Hartford (1996), Kandiah (1996), Sridhar (1996a, b), Verma (1996). See further Dasgupta (1993), Fishman, Ferguson and Dasgupta (1968), Haque (1993), B. Kachru (1982b, c, d, 1986a, b, 1993, 1994a, b), Karat (1973), Krishnaswamy and Burde (1998), Mehrotra (1998), Parakrama (1995), Rahman (1991, 1996), Singh (1985), Spitzbardt (1976), Sridhar (1989), Tulsi (1983).

More generally on languages other than English, see Bright (1990), Chaklader (1990), Comrie (1990), Dasgupta (1970), Dhamothara (1978), Ferguson and Gumperz (1960), Kachru and Sridhar (1978), Masica (1976, 1991), Pandit (1972), Pattanayak (1978, 1990), Saghal (1991), Singh (1992, 1993), Wolpert (1992).

the language Brahui in present-day Pakistan has led linguists to conclude that Dravidian languages were spread across the entire subcontinent more widely before being confined to the south by encroaching Indo-Europeans from the north-west (Andronov 1970).

In the following the development and present-day forms of English in three of the seven countries forming South Asia will be considered: India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. It should be borne in mind that these countries were, until the middle of the twentieth century, part of one large area – known previously as the Indian subcontinent – which was under the influence of Britain as the major colonial power. The compartmentalisation of the subject matter which is evident in the structure of the present chapter reflects the national divisions in present-day South Asia and is in keeping with the manner in which English is treated in academic research into language in this area. A similar situation obtains for South-East Asia (see chapter 21 in this volume) where the political division of Singapore and Malaysia, with the independence of the former in 1965, has meant that increasingly researchers treat these countries as having separate forms of English.

1 English in India

1.1 *External history*

It is commonplace to mention that the first speaker of English to visit India may have been an ambassador of Alfred the Great – the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states that in AD 884, Alfred sent an envoy to India with gifts for the tomb of St Thomas (McArthur 1992: 504). But the exploration of South Asia by the English began after Elizabeth I granted a monopoly of trade with east India to merchants from London.

The term ‘East India Company’ is a general reference to any of several commercial enterprises formed in western Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to promote trade with the East Indies (Lawson 1993). The companies were supported by the governments of the countries they came from to varying degrees. They grew out of the associations of merchant adventurers who travelled to the East Indies following the discovery in 1498 of the Cape of Good Hope route to Asia by the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama. The most important companies were given charters by their respective governments. These charters authorised the companies to claim territory where possible and to fulfill there the functions of government. This meant that legislation, currency, justice and the military were under the control of the companies.

Four European powers were involved in India during the colonial period: Portugal, the Netherlands, France and England. The Portuguese enjoyed a foremost position among the European powers for the whole of the sixteenth century. A challenge to its hegemony was, however, presented by the Dutch East India Company which arrived in India in the early seventeenth century.

The British East India Company was the most important of the various East India companies and represented a major force in the country, particularly in Bengal in the north-east, for over two centuries. The original charter bore the title 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies'. A monopoly of trade in Asia, Africa and America was granted to the company. It was managed by a governor and twenty-four directors who were chosen from among its stockholders. The company quickly became active in Asia and early voyages to the east took it as far as Japan. Its first 'factories', i.e. trading stations, were established in India in the provinces of Madras/Chennai and Bombay/Mumbai in 1610 and 1611 respectively.

Competition with the Dutch trading monopoly in the Malay Archipelago arose after the granting of a perpetual charter in 1609 by King James I. In 1650 and 1655 the company absorbed rival companies that had been incorporated under the Commonwealth and Protectorate by Oliver Cromwell and in 1661 Britain acquired Bombay/Mumbai (the name derives from Portuguese *Bom Bahia* 'beautiful bay') from the Portuguese. Shortly afterwards, in 1672, it became the headquarters of the British East India Company. The Dutch ceded hegemony in India to the English, given the fact that they were heavily committed in South-East Asia, in the Malay Archipelago. The East India Company expanded into India and established bases on the east coast (in Orissa) and in 1639 founded the city of Madras/Chennai.

Not only did the company have trading privileges but during the reign of Charles II it acquired additional sovereign rights. In 1689, with the establishment of administrative districts – labelled 'presidencies' – in the Indian provinces of Bengal, Madras/Chennai and Bombay/Mumbai, the company began its long rule in India. It was especially interested in gaining access to such materials as silk, spices, cotton and indigo which were essential items in the lucrative trade with India.

The eighteenth century saw the consolidation of the power of the East India Company. Its charter was renewed repeatedly and the company was able to extend its power in India, particularly after the victories over the French at Arcot in 1751 and at Plassey in 1757 under forces led by Robert Clive. Shortly afterwards, in 1761, the French were finally defeated at Pondicherry.

The power of the East India Company was viewed with a certain suspicion by the British government which established a governor-generalship in India in 1773, a measure which was designed to curtail the control the company exercised. This was followed in 1784 by the India Act by which a government department was created to manage Indian affairs, including those of the company. This line of development continued and in 1813 the monopoly of Indian trade, which the company had hitherto enjoyed, was abolished. This was followed in 1833 by the loss of the monopoly in the China trade.

But perhaps the major event which signalled the final demise of the company was the so-called Indian Mutiny (1857–8) – seen as a struggle for independence by the Indians. This began with an uprising of Indian soldiers serving

in the East India Company army in Bengal. The following year the Act for the Better Government of India (1858) led to the British government assuming all governmental responsibilities which had been exercised by the company. The company's army, which was approximately 24,000 strong at the time, was incorporated into the British army. The East India Company was finally dissolved in 1874.

Throughout its existence and particularly in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the power which was wielded by the British East India Company was the subject of controversy. One of the most famous arguments against it was made in 1783 in a speech by Edmund Burke in which he spoke out in favour of commissioners who were to be appointed by the crown and who he thought would better represent government interests in India. Burke's speech was occasioned by the introduction of a bill by Charles Fox to curb the power of the company whose activity in India, where it was a *de facto* government for the entire eighteenth century, he famously labelled 'the most odious species of tyranny'.

1.2 *The spread of English in South Asia*

From the early sixteenth century, Portuguese had been used in trading with India, especially given that Portugal had acquired the region of Goa (in the centre of the west coast) in 1510. English appears about a century later, when the East India Company established so-called trading 'factories' at four principal sites: Surat (1612), Madras/Chennai (1639–40), Bombay/Mumbai (1674), Calcutta/Kolkata (1690). The further development of English in India (B. Kachru 1983) was dependent on a variety of factors. On the one hand the language was obviously used by the English traders and administrators. On the other hand the spread of the language among the native peoples of India was the important factor in the survival of English up to the present day. The establishment of the language among Indians can be traced back to three main factors:

1. The activity of Christian missionaries
2. The desire for higher-placed sections of society to use English
3. The decision of the government of India to make English the medium of education

MISSIONARY ACTIVITY. The activities of missionaries in India, as in Africa, did not lead to wide-scale conversion to the Christian church – the primary intention of the missionaries – but they did result in the establishment of many schools with English as their medium of instruction. Schools such as St Mary's Charity Schools were started in Madras/Chennai (1715), Bombay/Mumbai (1719) and Calcutta/Kolkata (1720–31). Here Indians were exposed to native or near-native varieties of English in a fashion similar to parts of South and East Africa (Schmied 1991; see Mesthrie 1992: 21 on South Africa).

ATTITUDES TO ENGLISH. When the British began ruling India they looked for native Indians who could assist them in the considerable task of administering the country. High-caste Indians were favoured and encouraged to work for the British. The official policy was to establish a social class who should be 'Indians in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions and morals and intellect'. Indians who knew good English were seen as the new elite of India. The language of instruction in higher education was English so that schools that emphasised English were given preference by socially aspiring Indians.

Native attitudes to English education and culture were frequently positive in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As in other British colonies, such as Ireland, there was a perception that a knowledge of English was beneficial for social advancement. For instance, the Hindu social reformer Raja Rammo-han Roy (1772–1833) wanted European gentlemen of 'talents and education to instruct the natives of India in mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, and other useful sciences, which the natives of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world'. There ensued a protracted controversy concerning the medium of education for Indians. Basically there were two opposing factions, the *Anglicists*, who supported the transplantation of English culture to India (the so-called *transplant theory*), and the *Orientalists*, who favoured the furtherance of native culture (the so-called *nativist theory*) (Pennycook 1998: 67–94; B. Kachru 1994a: 506). The main spokesman for the latter view was H. T. Prinsep, 1792–1878. Thomas B. Macaulay, a member of the Supreme Council of India, decided the matter in favour of English in an official Minute (1835) which was pivotal in the history of English in India (B. Kachru 1994a: 500) as it led directly to the use of English as the language of education (McArthur 1992: 505). It was controversial at its time and has remained a cause of controversy in India since.

Before 1835 the language question in education was a matter for each individual state in India. Basically three languages were widely available: Hindi–Urdu, Sanskrit and Persian (the latter especially for Muslim sections of the population).

Three English-speaking universities were established in 1857, in Bombay/Mumbai, Calcutta/Kolkata and Madras/Chennai respectively. Two further universities, in Allahabad and in Punjab (now in Lahore, Pakistan), were founded by the end of the nineteenth century (McArthur 1992: 505). Parallel to this formal introduction of English in third-level education went an increasing secularisation so that vernacular forms of modern Indian languages came to replace Sanskrit.

Even after independence in 1947, English remained the principal language of interethnic communication in India. Officially it was given the status of an assistant language and was supposed to terminate fifteen years after Indian independence, but it still remains the language of India with the greatest international significance and one which functions across communities and between states, a factor of considerable importance for those who might resent the dominance of Hindi among the native languages of India (see below).

1.3 *English in modern India*

Modern India, Hindi *Bharat*, is officially the Republic of India and a federal democracy with a large number of languages spoken. Of these eighteen are officially recognised languages, including Telugu, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Urdu and Gujarati. The constitution specifies that Hindi, spoken by about 39 per cent of the population, is the official language of the country, with English an associate language for many official purposes. However, the official dominance of Hindi is unacceptable to states such as Tamil Nadu in the south, and the full implementation of the provision has had to be postponed. Although the linguistic diversity of India is considerable there is a clear majority in terms of religion: The major religious groups (according to the 1991 census) are Hindus (82 per cent), Muslims (12.1 per cent), Christians (2.3 per cent) and Sikhs (1.94 per cent).

Since independence in 1947 the status of English as a supraregional means of communication has continued to increase as elsewhere in the world. Scholars such as Braj Kachru believe that there is a general variety of educated South Asian English – based on educated Indian usage – and which represents the upper end on a cline of fluency in this large region. It is in its turn influenced by the level of education and the ethnic and linguistic background of its speakers, the last factor determining more than any other the specific features of this variety. There is a continuum from most vernacular to educated, supraregional in South Asian English and this shows several intermediary stages. Some of these have specific labels in India, and to a certain extent in Sri Lanka as well, for instance Anglo-Indian English, Babu English (B. Kachru 1994a: 509f.), Burgher English and further down the social scale Bearer English, Boxwallah English, Butler English (B. Kachru 1994a: 511–13).

1.4 *The development of English in India*

According to the foremost authority on English in South Asia, Braj Kachru, the development of the language in this region can be divided into the following phases (B. Kachru 1982c):

1. The first phase – the missionary phase – started around 1614 by Christian missionaries who began proselytising in South Asia from the seventeenth century onwards (B. Kachru 1986a: 34).
2. The second phase involved ‘local demand’ for English. Much as in Ireland, there was native support of English as a language which made access to knowledge of the West possible (in the case of Ireland to social advancement in the British Isles). This meant a preference for English over Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and indigenous languages, as advocated, for instance, by Raja Rammohan Roy (B. Kachru 1982a: 354).
3. The third phase began after 1765 and engendered much controversy over different educational systems for India. Macaulay’s famous Minute (see above)

was introduced in 1835 to guarantee an anglophone subculture in India and to cultivate anglicised Indians who would be favourably disposed to England and its culture. The Minute led to an official resolution which is seen by most scholars as a watershed in the English involvement in India (B. Kachru 1982a: 355). The British *raj* 'sovereignty'² lasted from 1765 to independence in 1947 (Raychaudhuri 1996). During this time English became the language of administration and education on all levels (Gupta 1996).

From the 1960s the three language formula was promoted in which English, Hindi and the regional language of the area in question were to be given more or less equal support.

B. Kachru (1982a: 356 and 1994a: 508f.) distinguishes between various parameters which determine the degree of fluency in English which South Asians, Indians in particular, show, namely contextual and acquisitional parameters. Contextual parameters depend on region, ethnicity and occupation, whereas acquisitional parameters depend on the linguistic performance levels acquired in the school system where English was acquired. There is considerable variation in the quality of English. B. Kachru gives the example of English newspapers, some of which have a local readership and hence are low on 'a cline of bilingualism' (Davidson 1969; Sridhar 1989) and some of which have an international orientation and are consequently high on this cline.

The school system teaches English against the background of very different languages, indeed language families, e.g. Indo-Aryan, Dravidian or Munda (in the north-west). In addition, the orientation is towards written English and that of authors of previous centuries (B. Kachru 1982a: 358). The consequence of this is that pronunciation is heavily influenced by local languages and written style is somewhat stilted and archaic. The latter fact leads to an impression of ornateness which is often associated with Indian English.

TERMINOLOGY AND STATUS. The term 'Indian English' is widely used but is a matter of considerable controversy (McArthur 1992: 504). The use of this term implies a certain unity which many scholars would maintain does not exist. Furthermore, the subject matter has not been sufficiently investigated to be able to state with certainty that there is a linguistic entity 'Indian English' or, perhaps more importantly, that the diversity of existing forms of English is being reduced so that one might be able to talk of an embryonic single variety of English in India. For a discussion of standard English and Indian English, see D'Souza (1997: 94–6).

As an inclusive, umbrella term, 'Indian English' serves a distinct purpose in linguistic discussion and helps to delimit the set of common features among forms

² The geographical extent of this sovereignty did not cover the entire subcontinent. Specifically, a large central region around Hyderabad, a south-central enclave of Mysore, a large north-west area including Rajputana and Bahawalpur and an L-shaped region in the north, north-east, which included Rewa, were all outside the sphere of direct British influence; see maps for the period just before the so-called Indian Mutiny in Lawson (1993: 182) and in Cain and Hopkins (1993: 483).

of English in India from those found in other parts of the anglophone world. The use of the term also does justice to the function of English in present-day Indian society. According to McArthur (2002: 312) the language is used regularly by at least 10 per cent of the population (over 100 million people). However, figures vary greatly there and B. Kachru speaks of some 330 million regular speakers of English in India (Braj Kachru, personal communication). Either of these figures places India among the largest English-speaking countries in the world.

English also enjoys an official status in India and its component states. It is the associate official language of India and the state language of Manipur (1.5 million), Meghalaya (1.33 million), Nagaland (0.8 million) and Tripura (2 million) as well as the official language of eight Union territories: the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Arunachal Pradesh, Chandigarh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Delhi, Lakshadwip, Mizoram and Pondicherry.

Given the fact that India is a federation of states, references are frequently found to the English of a state, e.g. Bengali English, or to the language of a state, e.g. Tamil English in Tamil Nadu. The references can also be to English associated with a language family, e.g. Dravidian English. These labels stem from the perception of varieties of English as showing distinctive characteristics because of the background language or languages in the regions in which they are spoken. The situation here can be compared to the historical language contact which gave rise to distinctive forms of Irish or Scottish English, for example. As might be expected, the relative nonstandardness of such varieties depends on factors such as education, exposure to mainstream forms of English and attitudinal issues (Agnihotri and Khanna 1994).

ANGLO-INDIAN ENGLISH. Within the spectrum of varieties of English one must be singled out as different in kind from others (Coelho 1997). This is Anglo-Indian, the speech of those Indians who are the descendants of British colonials (from the military or the administration) and lower-caste Hindu or Muslim women (Abel 1988; Moore 1987). The position of this group was peripheral in Indian society and neither Britain nor India looked favourably on the relationships which engendered these European Indians. This fact led to inward attitudes among the Anglo-Indians who tended to marry within their group, something which furthered their linguistic separateness. The group acquired features not unlike the traditional castes of India and found a special occupational niche in the railroad, postal and customs services (McArthur 2002: 318). The sense of community among the Anglo-Indians was furthered by a number of other factors such as their Christian religion and their school system which was focused on English language and culture.

1.5 *Linguistic levels*

AREAL CONSIDERATIONS. In their prosodic and phonological systems Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages are very similar (Bloch 1954). This is probably

due to mutual influence, for instance the retroflexion common in Indo-Aryan languages is taken to be a feature of Dravidian which was adopted by Indo-Aryans in contact with Dravidians (Emeneau 1956, 1980). This and other features have led many linguists to treat India as a linguistic area (Masica 1976; Krishnamurti 1980) in which linguistic traits have a geographical distribution which is largely independent of the genetic affiliation of the languages in the area (see Hickey 1999 for details of this approach).

1.5.1 Phonology. There are broad typological similarities between many of the indigenous languages of India, certainly among the two main language families, Indo-Aryan and Dravidian. Perhaps the most obvious is the retroflexion of alveolar consonants which is also a salient feature of South Asian pronunciation of English, e.g. *time* [tʌɪm], *do* [dʊ:], *lot* [lɒt], *now* [nəʊ]. Another similarity is the lack of a fricative series so that /f, θ, ð/ of English are substituted by /p^h, t^h, d^h/, the nearest phonetic equivalent in most of the Indo-Aryan languages. In general the stops used for /θ, ð/ are dental (Bansal 1990: 225). Similar to Pakistani English (see below), /f/ is very often pronounced as an aspirated /p/ or a bilabial fricative, so that *fool* is pronounced [p^hu:l], or [ɸu:l]. No distinction is found between alveolar and velarised /l/ so that the allophonic distribution at syllable-initial and syllable-final positions respectively is not observed (B. Kachru 1994a: 514). Frequently, there is no clear distinction between /v/ and /w/, so that both *wet* and *vet* are [wɛt] / [vɛt], both with a frictionless approximant (Bansal 1990: 226). Especially among Dravidian speakers initial nonlow back vowels are preceded by glides as in *over* /wɔ:vəɾ/ and *owner* /wɔ:nəɾ/ whereas initial high and mid front vowels are preceded by /j/ (B. Kachru 1994a: 515). Since gemination is very common in Dravidian languages this phenomenon is also employed when speaking English, especially with double consonants in written English which are frequently geminated as in *matter* [mættɛɾ], *innate* [ɪnne:t], *illegal* [ɪlli:gəɪ] (B. Kachru 1994a: 513). In Bengali English there can be a closure of /v/ to /b/, so that *bowel* and *vowel* become homophones (McArthur 1992: 505f.). Speakers of Gujarati tend to use /dʒ/ for /z/. Certain allophonic distinctions of English, such as that between an alveolar and a velarised lateral, may not be observed for reasons of lateral realisation in an indigenous language (B. Kachru 1982a: 359).

Initial consonant clusters of English may pose difficulties for Indians (Bansal 1990: 226). For speakers whose first language does not allow for such clusters there are basically two solutions, if the clusters are not indeed realised as they are intended in English: (1) initial clusters are reduced, by deletion of the fricative or stop which forms the beginning of the cluster, e.g. /sp/ > /p/ or /kl/ > /l/, (2) initial clusters are resyllabified by placing a vowel in front of them, this leads to the following change: CCV > VC.CV, e.g. *speech* [ɪspi:tʃ], *store* [ɪstɔ:ɹ] (B. Kachru 1994a: 515). This is the same process as that which occurred historically in Spanish during its development from late Latin, for instance. This second solution is that favoured in South Asian English, although the first one is found with many pidgins and creoles which have English as their lexifier language.

Stops are generally unaspirated as aspiration is phonemic in both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages in India (B. Kachru 1994a: 514; Bansal 1990: 225). The equivalents used for /t, d/ in English are clearly retroflex (B. Kachru 1994a: 514), this feature being one of the most salient for Indian speakers of English. There is also some fluctuation in the use of voice in obstruents clusters, e.g. /d/ as past marker on verbs ending in a voiceless obstruent as in *asked* [a:skd] or /s/ as inflectional suffix as in *keys* [ki:s], *matters* [mætərs] (Bansal 1990: 226).

RP rising diphthongs are often realised as monophthongs (B. Kachru 1994a: 515), e.g. the vowels in *low* or *old* are pronounced as [o:] and words like *game*, *face* show [e:] (Bansal 1990: 222f.). This tendency means that varieties of Indian English have fewer vocalic contrasts than most forms of British English. This can also be seen in the use of schwa for English /ʌ/ and /ɜ:/ and the lack of distinction between /ɛ/ and /æ/, especially with Punjabi speakers (*ibid.*). It should also be mentioned that not all speakers observe vowel-length contrasts from English. There are also realisational differences, for instance if speakers have a central allophone for /a:/ in their native language they are unlikely to show the retracted pronunciation typical of Received Pronunciation, e.g. *pass* would be [pa:s] rather than [pɑ:s].

1.5.2 Prosody

INTONATIONAL RANGE, STRESS AND SYLLABLE-TIMING. The range of intonation is something which varies greatly across languages. A clause or sentence which might demand a rise in one language may require a fall in another. The stress placed on words is slightly different as this is usually learned with the lexical item in question. The issue here concerns the variety of English to which learners are exposed. Some varieties have regional pronunciations, such as end-stress in verbs of three syllables, e.g. *contri'bute* versus *con'tribute*, *edu'cate* versus *'educate* (Bansal 1990: 227).

Speakers whose native languages have syllable-timing usually transfer this to the English they speak (B. Kachru 1994a: 516). This means that they apply roughly equal length and prominence to each syllable in a word. Syllable-timing leads to reduced or absent stress in words and hence renders speech difficult to comprehend for native speakers of English, though anglophone creoles (Jamaican English) and many near-native varieties of English (Singaporean English) also have syllable-timing.

1.5.3 Grammar. The range of syntactic variation in forms of Indian English is very considerable and generally determined by the background native language of the speakers and acquisitional competence in English which in turn depends on such factors as schooling and exposure to near-native varieties of English. Some generalisations can nonetheless be made, for instance there is a tendency in questions for the word order not to be inverted. There may be uncertainty in the use of articles, with the definite article appearing in contexts where the indefinite article would be expected and vice versa, e.g. *It is the nature's way*.

Office is closed today (McArthur 1992: 506). Reduplication is common as a means of emphasis: *I bought some small small things* (see B. Kachru 1982a: 361 and 1994: 520f. on reduplication). Another feature is the use of *yes*, *no* and *isn't* as general question tags, e.g. *You are going tomorrow, isn't? He isn't going there, isn't it?* (B. Kachru 1986a: 40; 1994a: 520). A lack of inversion with *wh*-questions has also been noted: *When you would like to come?* (*ibid.*). The present perfect can be used instead of the simple past as in *I have seen him last week*. Stative verbs can occur as progressive forms: *Mohan is having two houses; Ram was knowing that he would come*.

It should be mentioned here that many of these features are characteristic of English spoken as a foreign language, i.e. they represent the neglect of categorial distinctions in English rather than transfer from substrate languages. Of course in particular instances one could well be dealing with cases of convergence.

1.5.4 Vocabulary. Borrowings and loan-translations from other languages are very common. Some are borrowed from Portuguese such as *caste*. Others are borrowed from indigenous languages such as Hindi (B. Kachru 1994a: 523) and Bengali, where one has to differentiate between earlier anglicised ones, such as *bungalow* or *sahib*, and later ones which are not anglicised, such as *achcha* 'all right', *basmati* 'kind of rice' and *masala* 'spices'. Some of the loanwords are taken directly from Sanskrit, mostly used in a religious context, such as *guru* '(spiritual) teacher' or *nirvana* 'release of the wheel of rebirth'. An example of a calque from a local language is the word *cousin-brother*.

Ever since the late nineteenth century the lexical idiosyncrasies to be found by various English-speaking groups in India have been the subject of comment in print; see Yule and Burnell (1968 [1886]). Of more recent date Nihalani, Tongue and Hosali (1978) offer a dictionary of contrastive usage in which several thousand items are offered which are different in Indian and British English. Some of the items are the result of borrowing from an indigenous language and indeed have found their way into more general forms of English (B. Kachru 1994a: 524f.), e.g. *walla(h)* 'person with a dedicated role or function', e.g. *police-wallah*, *rickshaw-wallah*; *swadeshi* 'home-grown', both from Hindi (Nihalani, Tongue and Hosali 1978: 190, 171). Other words probably derive from morphological processes being applied to words which are not found in British English, e.g. *unemployee* from *employee*, *head-bath* 'wash one's hair', *baggages* plural of 'baggage', *English-knowing* 'with a knowledge of English', *England-returned* 'back from England, usually after education there', *accidented* as in 'a cheap accidented car'. Lexical extensions also occur, e.g. *batch* 'group' (with an animate referent), cf. also *batch-mate* 'fellow student' (Nihalani, Tongue and Hosali 1978: 31). Some formations have a distinctly archaic sound to them, e.g. *hypothecate* 'mortgage', *upliftment* 'act of lifting up, improving', *botheration* 'inconvenience', *suggestible* 'advised', *chaste* 'pure' as in *she speaks chaste Hindi* (Nihalani, Tongue and Hosali 1978: 187, 37, 99, 170), though in some cases it is doubtful that they ever

existed. With reference to this complex, see Lewis (1991) and B. Kachru (1983: 147–64) on lexical innovations. See B. Kachru (1994a: 521) for a list of lexical resources.

1.5.5 Style. Use of an ornate style with complex sentences can be connected with the notion of a learned style, *sista*, which educated South Asians use (B. Kachru 1982a: 360). It may well derive in part from the manner in which English is taught, using written models from previous centuries, something which conveys a slightly archaic effect to this variety.

In this vein, Görlach (1995a) examines a large range of text types in Indian English and notes the differences when contrasted with comparable written registers in British English. He stresses the essential written input of English to India (Görlach 1995a: 193) and the nature of the text types, religious, legal and administrative, as instrumental in the rise of specific styles in Indian English writing. He also mentions ‘native concepts of stylistic decorum’ as playing a role in shaping style. These factors lead to a conventionalised style of writing and to a use of language, word choice, use of phrases and idioms, which appear particularly archaic and ornate to other native speakers of English. Certain features may be due to Indian languages which are often the first language of English speakers. Görlach furthermore notes lack of concord, unexpected use of prepositions, unusual lexical collocations among other features of journalistic prose in Indian English (Görlach 1995a: 198f.).

For a discussion of the pragmatics of non-native Englishes within the Indian context, see B. Kachru (1983: 211–40) and Sridhar (1996b). An older set of sources is given in Aggarwal (1982). B. Kachru (1986a: 36–45) discusses varieties of South Asian English and B. Kachru (1994a: 528f.) addresses the issue of ‘creativity’ among bilingual South Asians. In this connection he deals with both the South Asianisation of the English language and the Englishisation of South Asian languages where mutual influence has led to a broadening of cultural horizons (B. Kachru 1994a: 533–7).

The issue of creativity is topical in the scholarly discussion of Asian Englishes and consciousness of it would seem to be an indicator of independence and autonomy for many Englishes. In the context of Indian English this question has been investigated by Yamuna Kachru (1991, 1992, 1993). She has also viewed it in the context of world Englishes (see Y. Kachru 1997). The complex has also been examined from the standpoint of gender-specific language use; see the studies by Valentine (1988, 2001).

Further studies can be found in this area, e.g. K. K. Sridhar (1996b) looks at speech acts and writing conventions in South Asian English. Schneider (2000) offers a discussion of corpora available in the Asian context and an examination of the Kolhapur Corpus of Indian English with reference to a number of verbal constructions which he considers from the point of view of their putative Indian character.

1.6 *Indigenous languages*

In present-day India the two most important languages are Hindi and English. The former is the major native language with the greatest number of users and considerable prestige while the latter is the language of communication across ethnic and national boundaries. Apart from these two, there are many others which are used in individual states and territories, some of which are transnational and with very large numbers of speakers, e.g. Bengali in the Indian province of West Bengal and in Bangladesh (the land of the Bengals, former East Pakistan).

SCHEDULED LANGUAGES. A unique feature of the Indian constitution is Article 351 which permits the government to compile a schedule, or list, of languages recognised for official use in state legislation. The Eighth Schedule (1950) lists Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Sindhi was added to the schedule in 1967 while Konkani, Manipuri and Nepali were added in 1992. Hindi, written in the Devanagari script, is designated the official language of India according to Article 343 of the constitution. Despite the fact that it was supposed to be phased out by 1965, English continues as the second official language of India for use in parliament and in the higher courts.

1.6.1 Indo-Aryan. Indo-Aryan (or Indic) is a group of over 500 languages (a figure which depends on regarding many varieties as separate languages) belonging to the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European. These are spoken by over 700 million people in northern and central parts of India as well as in Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka. The following summary sketches the basic facts of the major languages of this group (for more information, see Masica 1991; Comrie 1990). The figures for numbers of speakers are approximate and, given the population growth in South Asia, should probably be revised upwards.

Hindi There are approximately 500 million Hindi speakers in India, Fiji and in England, South Africa and other countries which have diaspora communities which speak Hindi as an immigrant language. The earliest written literature dates from the seventh century AD and the Devanagari script is the basis of Hindi.

Urdu is spoken by approximately 50 million people in India and is an official language in Pakistan; it is hence more often associated with Islam, but the division between Hindi and Urdu along the lines of religion is by no means simple (Braj Kachru, personal communication; Rai 1984). There are few structural differences between Urdu and Hindi, but there are many lexical borrowings from Arabic and Persian in the former.

Bengali is the native language of about 100 million people in Bangladesh and about 70 million in India. It is written in the Bengali alphabet and the earliest literature dates from the twelfth century. Over 10 million in the state of Assam (north-western India), in Bhutan and in Bangladesh speak *Assamese*, which is

written in the Bengali alphabet. To the south-west of Bengal, in the state of Orissa, the language *Oriya* is spoken by about 25 million.

Bhojpuri (about 30 million), *Maithili* (about 20 million) and *Magahi* (about 10 million) are major languages in north-east India, mostly in the state of Bihar. Bhojpuri is found, in a diaspora form, in South Africa, especially in KwaZulu-Natal as a result of labour transportation between 1860 and 1911. It is also found in Fiji, Trinidad and Guyana, where indentured labourers from India were shipped in the course of the nineteenth century.

Marathi is spoken by about 50 million people, chiefly in Maharashtra, west central India where it is an official language. *Gujarati* is spoken by about 40 million in the state of Gujarat in western India and also in Pakistan. It is written in the Gujarati alphabet, similar to Devanagari. The first written documents date from the twelfth century. *Panjabi* is a further major language of western India and Pakistan and is spoken by approximately 25 million. To the south of Gujarat is the state of Rajasthan in which *Rajasthani* is spoken by a similar number of people. To the west is the area of Sindhi spoken by about 10 million in India and Pakistan.

Kashmiri is a language with about 5 million speakers and is found in the contested state of Kashmir in the north of India and in areas bordering Pakistan. Kashmiri is used by the Muslim population of India, settled in Kashmir.

Sinhala (also termed Sinhalese, Singhalese) is the majority language on Sri Lanka, spoken by about 12 million people. As an Indo-Aryan language it contrasts with the Dravidian language Tamil, spoken mainly in the north of Sri Lanka and on the Indian mainland (see next section).

1.6.2 Dravidian. This language family consists of some twenty languages now to be found in southern India and in Sri Lanka (for details, see Krishnamurti 2001). In these areas the languages frequently have official status regionally. It is assumed that the Dravidian languages were once to be found over the entire Indian subcontinent and were pushed back to the south by encroaching Indo-European languages coming from the north-west. Evidence for this is found in Brahui, an isolated Dravidian language in present-day Pakistan which appears to be a survivor from the period of greater areal distribution.

The Sanskrit word *dravida*, used in an early text referring to one of the languages, gave the name to the family. The language with the oldest written records is Tamil which dates from the third century BC. Language contact between some Indian and Dravidian languages led to mutual influence and between the Dravidian family and Munda (Austro-Asiatic) as well. Dravidian languages are known for retroflex consonants which probably spread to neighbouring Indian languages through prolonged contact.

The main Dravidian language is Tamil, spoken in southern India and north-east Sri Lanka and, in diaspora forms, in Singapore and Malaysia. Other important languages of this family are Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada which, together with Tamil, constitute the four literary languages.

There are two other language families represented in India. (i) Munda languages (belonging to the Austroasiatic family) in the north-east of the country; Santali, with more than 5 million speakers, is the largest in the group. (ii) Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken in the north-east and along India's northern border.

2 English in Pakistan

2.1 Introduction

When England withdrew from South Asia it created two countries which were intended to divide the subcontinent according to religious affiliation. The Indian Independence Act (1947) saw the founding of India and Pakistan. The latter was a state based on a majority of Muslims and this initially involved present-day Pakistan in the west (which became an Islamic republic in 1956) and a section of east Bengal in the north-east of India (Brass 1974). Thus two large territories arose: West Pakistan in the north-west – with Baluchistan, North-West Frontier, Sind and West Punjab – and East Pakistan in the north-east. From the beginning this situation was unstable as the two parts of Pakistan were over 1,000 miles apart. Civil war broke out in East Pakistan in 1971 and this led to independence, hence the present-day state of Bangladesh. In West Pakistan there were, and still are, territorial disputes with India, above all in Kashmir, the northern tip of which is also claimed by China. Pakistan occupied part of Kashmir in 1948 and names it Azad 'free' Kashmir, indeed since 1947 Pakistan and India have been to war on three occasions, a fact complicated for Pakistan by the repeated appearance of military governments.

The name *Pakistan* – 'Land of the Pure' in Urdu – is an artificial label which was devised by a number of Muslim students at Cambridge in 1933, chief among which was Chaudhary Rahmat Ali. In addition the name provides an acronym of Punjab, Afghania (the North-West Frontier), Kashmir, possibly Islam, Sind (McArthur 1992: 742). The last syllable is that which is found in other territorial designations like Baluchistan.

Present-day Pakistan has a population in excess of 140 million. Of these roughly 97 per cent are Muslim with 3 per cent of another or no religious affiliation. In ethnic terms Pakistan is about 61 per cent Panjabi, 21 per cent Sindhi, 8 per cent Pathan/Pashtun, 3 per cent Baluchi, 3 per cent Mohajir (Muslims who migrated from India after partition in 1947–8 and their descendants), 2 per cent Kashmiri.

The indigenous languages of Pakistan belong to two subgroups of the Indo-European language family. Some are Indo-Aryan (like most languages in India), for instance Sindhi and Kashmiri, while others are Iranian such as Pashto, close to the border with Afghanistan, and Baluchi in the south-west of the country bordering on Iran. The most important language is Urdu – an Indo-Aryan language linguistically close to Hindi – which has been the language of Muslims

and has thus been influenced lexically by both Persian and Arabic and is written in a Persian script.

2.2 *The position of English*

English in Pakistan – Pakistani English – shares the broad characteristics of South Asian English in general and is similar to that spoken in contiguous regions of northern India. As in many former British colonies, English first enjoyed the status of an official language alongside Urdu after independence in 1947. Again as with other countries, such as Malaysia, native languages came to be favoured and in the 1959 constitution, and in various later amendments, the position of Urdu was strengthened officially with the aim of replacing English eventually (McArthur 1992: 742). One means of reaching this goal was to favour English in primary school (which only about half the population complete) and to allow English (and Arabic) at secondary school level and to have government agencies overlook this policy. The position of English on the level of international communication, technology, science and medicine is, as in other Asian countries, unassailable and hence its firm rooting in third-level education (enjoyed by about 5 per cent of the population). In addition to this it is represented in the press with a number of daily English-language newspapers such as *Daily News*, *Pakistan Times*, etc. As in India, legislation is frequently available in English as well. There is a considerable body of creative literature in English, with Pakistani writers achieving international recognition. For most of the Pakistani population English is a foreign language but it is nonetheless used by a few million people as a second-language variety (see Baumgardner 1993a). For a detailed discussion of Pakistani English, see Rahman (1991, 1996).

2.3 *Linguistic levels*

PRONUNCIATION. Two general characteristics of Pakistani English are its rhoticity and its syllable-timed nature which it shares with northern Indian English. The phonotactics of background languages leads to difficulties for speakers with initial clusters of English (see comments above). The two solutions of (1) breaking up initial clusters or (2) preceding them by an epenthetic vowel are represented by Panjabi, where *sport* and *school* appear as [səpɔ:rt] and [səku:l], and Urdu, where these same words would be realised as [ɪspɔ:rt] and [ɪsku:l]. In both cases one is dealing with a resyllabification of the complex initial clusters with disyllabic words as the result. Because of the lack of initial fricative series in many languages, initial /f/ can be replaced by /p^h/, with Pashto speakers for instance, so that *fool* becomes [p^hu:l] (again, see comments above and McArthur 2002: 327).

GRAMMAR. The grammatical features noted above for Indian English are largely shared by Pakistani English. Interference stemming from background

languages is common and switching between these languages and English occurs frequently on all levels of society.

VOCABULARY. As might be expected, loans from the various indigenous languages of Pakistan are to be found in local forms of English, e.g. *atta* ‘flour’, *ziarat* ‘religious place’. Terms like *crore* ‘ten million’, *lakh* ‘one hundred thousand’ (Baumgardner and Kennedy 1994: 190) or *-mallah* ‘somebody who does something as an occupation’, e.g. *balloonmallah* ‘someone who sells balloons’, *rickshaw-mallah* ‘someone who drives a rickshaw’ (Baumgardner 1998: 208f.), or *policemallah* also found in Indian English (McArthur 2002: 327f.); on Urdu loans, see Baumgardner, Kennedy and Shamin (1993).

There are also word formations consisting of hybrids and blends with inflectional elements from English and stems from regional languages, e.g. *goondaism* ‘hooliganism’, ‘thuggish behaviour’, *biradarism* ‘favouring one’s clan’. Somewhat different are those cases where adjectives or nouns have been created from elements not found in these combinations in English, e.g. *age-barred* ‘over the age for sth.’, *load-shedding* ‘intermittently shutting off a supply of electricity’ (Baumgardner 1998: 224) or *time-barred* ‘loss of validity after a particular period’ (McArthur 2002: 327). Other examples are *country-made* ‘locally made’, *overclever* ‘too smart’ (Baumgardner 1998: 210f.).

Still further word-formation processes are attested in Pakistani English with outcomes which are not necessarily known outside this country. Back formation: *to scrute* from *scrutiny*; blends: *telemoot* from *television* and *moot* ‘meeting’; conversion: *to aircraft*, *to arson*, *to charge sheet*; compounds: *to airdash* ‘depart quickly by air’, *to head-carry*. See Gramley (2001: 139–42) for a brief overview and Baumgardner (1998: 220–4) for more details.

3 English in Sri Lanka

3.1 History

In 1505 the Portuguese, as the first Europeans in Ceylon/Sri Lanka, established a base at Colombo. The island was already known to the Arabs who gave it the name *Serendib*, from which the word *serendipity* – via a Persian tale – was derived in English, on the basis of a novel by Horace Walpole (1754). Later in the seventeenth century the Dutch succeeded in ousting the Portuguese (1658) without, however, controlling the entire island (McArthur 2002: 330).

Dutch rule in Ceylon/Sri Lanka (1658–1796) Although the Dutch East India Company initially only controlled the coastal region, the Dutch gradually pushed inland and occupied much of the territory in southern, south-western and western Sri Lanka. They expanded to the east coast in 1665 and much of the spice-growing lands came under their control.

The British in Ceylon/Sri Lanka (1796–1900) After the wars of the French revolution, the British East India Company came to occupy Ceylon/Sri Lanka.

After the Netherlands came under the control of the French, the British began to move into Ceylon/Sri Lanka from India and established the colony of Ceylon in 1802 after they defeated the Dutch who had surrendered the island in 1796. From an initial temporary conquest from the British base in Madras the permanent occupation of the island grew and the British realised increasingly the strategic value of the island. In 1802 Ceylon/Sri Lanka was made a crown colony. The British possession of Ceylon/Sri Lanka was confirmed later by the Treaty of Amiens with France. In order to have a sufficient labour force on the island, Tamil labourers from south India were imported to work on the tea and coffee plantations. These workers brought the Dravidian language Tamil with them and then contrasted linguistically with the remaining Indo-Aryan Sinhalese of Ceylon/Sri Lanka who spoke Sinhala. The name Ceylon, which was used by the British for the island during their occupation of it, is related to the word Sinhala.

As part of the postwar dismantling of the British empire (James 1994), Ceylon/Sri Lanka became a dominion in 1948. Full independence was gained in 1972 and the Republic of Sri Lanka (from the Sanskrit and Sinhala name for the island, *Lanka*, preceded by the honorific *Sri*) was founded.

3.2 *The position of English*

THE MISSION SCHOOLS. One Revd James Cordiner became chaplain to the British garrison in Colombo in 1799 and later became principal of all the schools there. The Christian Institution was set up by Sir Edward Barnes in 1827, the aim of which was 'to give a superior education to a number of young persons who from their ability, piety and good conduct were likely to prove fit persons in communicating a knowledge of Christianity to their countrymen'. English instruction was managed by the missionaries until after 1830 when government control was introduced with over 200 schools in Ceylon (McArthur 1992: 978f.).

THE POSITION OF ENGLISH. A natural tension between the minority of Christians and the majority of Sinhalese in Ceylon/Sri Lanka grew out of the socially superior position of the former vis-à-vis the latter. The matter was also a language question. Because of the presence of Dravidian speakers in the north of Ceylon/Sri Lanka a three-language policy was pursued with English, Sinhalese and Tamil. This situation survived until the middle of the twentieth century when in 1956 a new left-wing government centred in the south began a language policy which favoured Sinhalese over both English and Tamil. The disfavouring of English was particularly significant as it left the Tamil minority in the north without a link language with the Sinhalese south. This situation has been rectified in recent years with the re-establishment of English, which had declined in public life in Ceylon/Sri Lanka after 1956 (Fernando 1996).

3.3 *Lankan English and Burgher English*

The term 'Lankan English' is sometimes used for English in Sri Lanka (B. Kachru 1982a: 359). The features of this form of English are largely those of southern India in general (see Kandiah 1996 for a discussion of syntax). Influence by the structure of the Dravidian language Tamil is in evidence in the north and north-west of the island, while the Indo-Aryan language Sinhala is the major substrate influence on the remainder of Sri Lanka. Both indigenous languages share certain features between them and with mainland Indian languages, notably retroflexion, intonational patterns, vowel values and phonotactically determined alterations such as the use of an epenthetic vowel at the beginning of words with initial consonant clusters.

The term 'Burgher English' derives from an anglicised spelling of Dutch *burger* 'townsperson', 'citizen'. It was applied initially to the descendants of European settlers and afterwards for people of mixed European and Sri Lankan descent. Even if they were not of English origin, they adopted English as their language and hence achieved a position of social superiority in Sri Lanka. This contrasts with the Anglo-Indians (see above) whose position is much lower in Indian society. Pronunciation and usage distinguish Burgher English from more general forms of English in Sri Lanka. As elsewhere in South Asia, education and exposure to near-native forms of English determine the degrees of proficiency which speakers show and the amount of substrate influence in their speech.

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