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Steady States in the Evolution of New Englishes

Present-Day Indian English as an Equilibrium

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The evolutionary model of New Englishes offered by Schneider posits a uniform pattern of five diachronic phases that are assumed to underlie the processes inherent in the emergence of all New Englishes worldwide. The present article applies this evolutionary model to Indian English and argues on the basis of linguistic and sociolinguistic evidence that present-day Indian English is best viewed as a phase 4 variety, marked by endonormative stabilization, in which, however, some features of phase 3 (i.e., nativization) coexist. It is suggested that the situation in which Indian English finds itself today could be seen as a stable, productive steady state in the evolutionary process in which there is an equilibrium between conflicting forces of progression and conservativism. This steady state in the diachronic development is linked to the synchronic view of present-day Indian English as a semiautonomous variety, which is characterized by three major determinants: common core, interference, and autonomy.

Keywords: *New Englishes; Indian English; language change; language evolution; nativization; endonormative stabilization*

Introduction: World Englishes, the Outer Circle, and Indian English

In the second half of the twentieth century, the English language rose to the rank of the most important world language, marked both by unprecedented global spread and by local differentiation. The two processes are intricately intertwined, as the broad definition of World Englishes as "[v]arieties of English (standard, dialect, national, regional, creole, hybrid, 'broken,' etc.) throughout the world" (McArthur

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2001, 5) shows. Of the entirety of World Englishes, including all the actual manifestations of English as a world language, those varieties that have come to be known as "New Englishes" (i.e., World Englishes in a narrow sense; cf. Bolton 2004, 367) are a particularly interesting phenomenon for various reasons. Firstly, in former colonial territories like India, Nigeria, and Singapore, the English language has been retained in the postindependence period as an official language, which continues to fulfill a wide range of intranational functions, for example, in administration, newspapers and other media, and education. Secondly, although the English language is used in so many communicative contexts, it is the native language—in the sense of Kachru's (1997) concept of "genetic nativeness"—of only a small fraction of the population in these countries; the vast majority of users of English pick up English as a second or third language in educational institutions.[1] Thirdly, although the English language is usually not acquired as a first language in these countries, local varieties of English have emerged—in Kachru's (1985a) terminology, "institutionalized second-language varieties"—that are norm-developing and deviate systematically from other varieties of English.

Kachru (2005) argues convincingly that second-language varieties like Indian English (IndE) can be viewed as being characterized by "functional nativeness" in terms of two dimensions, namely, "range" and "depth":

> Range refers to the domains of function, and depth refers to the degree of social penetration of the language. These two variables provide good indicators of comparative functions of languages in a society and of acquired identities and types of acculturation represented by a transplanted language. (Kachru 2005, 12)

The concept of functional nativeness makes it possible to describe the entrenchment of the English language in terms of strictly functional parameters, including, for example, the sociolinguistic status of a language, the registers and genres in which English is used, and the extent to which English is used for the articulation of local identities (e.g., in creative fiction writing). While the distinction between genetic and functional nativeness refers to a very useful distinction at the level of languages and varieties, the complex and many-faced concept of the native speaker will be reserved in the present paper for a language user who has acquired as his or her first language a language or variety that is marked by genetic nativeness in Kachru's (1997) sense—for example, British English (BrE) and American English.[2] In this context, the present article argues that present-day Indian English is characterized both by innovative forces, leading to the emergence of local norms, and by conservative forces, which keep it more or less close to native varieties of English; this very situation can be captured by the concept of a steady state in an evolutionary model of the formation of New Englishes.

For a long time, the models that linguists suggested for the categorization of New Englishes were, with justification, motivated by the need to establish the new varieties as variants in their own right and to present them as on a par with traditional native

varieties of English. This emancipatory approach ran counter to what Wee (2002) identifies as the purist tradition with its insistence on norm development as a prerogative of classic native speakers:

> [The purist school] argues that the ownership of English lies with native speakers, and the newer varieties should be viewed as deviations from or approximations towards a native variety. Consequently, speakers of the newer varieties need to look to native speakers for the setting of standards and directions in English language pedagogy. (Wee 2002, 282)

Quirk's (1990) plea for a global orientation toward a standard variety as defined by native speakers is one of the more recent examples of this purist stance. In contrast, the pragmatist counterposition, which has increasingly been gaining ground over the last decades, is based on the assumption that it is no longer native speakers alone who own the English language:

> For this pragmatist school, it is reasonable that there should be "*pluralistic* centers of reference for norms and standards" (Kachru and Nelson 1996, 84, italics in original) and as such, there is no reason to look only to native speakers for directions and models. (Wee 2002, 282)

The urge to translate this pragmatist approach, that is, the "new idea" and "new credo" of World Englishes (Kachru and Smith 1985), into new classifications of varieties of English around the world was at the root of models in which New Englishes could be included as varieties in their own right.

Two particularly influential models in this context are McArthur's (1987) wheel model and Kachru's (1985b) three-circle model. In McArthur's model, World Standard English forms the hub of a wheel. Outside the hub, we find eight broadly defined regional standards and emerging standards: (1) "British and Irish Standard English"; (2) "American Standard English"; (3) "Canadian Standard English"; (4) "Australian, New Zealand and South Pacific Standard English"; (5) "Caribbean Standard English"; (6) "West, East and South(ern) African Standard(izing) English"; (7) "South Asian Standard(izing) English"; and (8) "East Asian Standardizing English."[3] Note that a distinction is made here between regions with established standards, regions where standards are about to be established, and regions with an ongoing process of standardization. Outside this first circle around the hub, a wider circle includes national varieties within the eight regions (e.g., New Zealand English, Indian English), subnational varieties (e.g., Ulster Scots, Quebec English), and other subvarieties (e.g., BBC English, Network Standard). The most significant aspect of this model lies in the fact that established native varieties and New Englishes are assigned a comparable status in terms of the process of standardization, their differentiation into subvarieties, and their contribution to World Standard English.

Kachru's (1985b) famous three-circle model is also intended to emphasize the potential of New Englishes for the development of standards and norms. The "outer circle," which is the middle circle in his model, is reserved for institutionalized

second-language varieties of English (ESL), while the inner circle includes native varieties of English (ENL), and the expanding circle refers to the use of English as a foreign language (EFL). This visualization captures the fact that ESL varieties like Indian English have some features in common with EFL, especially their nonnative status, while they share some other features with ENL varieties, in particular the potential for the development of norms.[4] What underlies both McArthur's (1987) and Kachru's (1985b) models is the idea of nativization in outer-circle varieties—that is, the adoption, as it were, of a once foreign language so that it becomes indigenized and is fully adapted to the new local context. As has already been mentioned, an indication of the process of nativization is the degree of functional nativeness of English in a given sociocultural context, in particular the range of functions of English in general and its use for literary writing in particular:

> The institutionalized second-language varieties have a long history of acculturation in new cultural and geographical contexts; they have a large range of functions in the local educational, administrative, and legal systems. The result of such uses is that such varieties have developed nativized discourse and style types and functionally determined sublanguages (registers), and are used as a linguistic vehicle for creative writing in various genres. (Kachru 1985a, 211)

The notion of nativization, which manifests itself as the "Indianization" (Kachru 1983) of the English language in the Indian context, has attracted particular attention because it is a concept that bridges the gap between the norm-producing inner circle and the norm-developing outer circle and because it has helped to establish New Englishes as full-fledged varieties besides the native varieties of Englishes in the British Isles, North America, South Africa, and the Pacific Rim.[5]

There is no doubt that the three-circle model was very successful in that it opened up new perspectives in the description of World Englishes: second-language varieties like Indian English that had tended to be seen as deficient were increasingly accepted as regionally entrenched and acceptable forms of English and as developing their own norms and standards.[6] The three-circle model in particular is a paradigmatic example of a variationist-oriented and largely synchronic conceptualization of both the wide range of Englishes worldwide and the range of variants of English within outer-circle varieties such as Indian English. The latter aspect of the synchronic variability that we find in institutionalized second-language varieties is captured by Kachru's (1983) concept of a "cline of bilingualism," ranging from a minimal competency (the "zero point") to an equal command of both languages at hand (the "ambilingual point"); all of the various levels of competency coexist in the use of English in India.

In an attempt to provide a macrosociolinguistic framework for the emergence of New Englishes from a diachronic perspective, Schneider (2003) has recently suggested a dynamic model of the evolution of new varieties of English. His model rests on the fundamental assumption "that there is a shared underlying process

which drives the formation of New Englishes, accounts for many similarities between them, and appears to operate whenever a language is transplanted" (Schneider 2003, 241). As Schilk (2006) observes in his corpus-based pilot study of collocations in Indian English, this model lends itself to an application to the Indian context in order to describe in more detail the evolutionary status of present-day Indian English. It is this dynamic model—and the place of Indian English in this model—to which I turn in the following section.

Indian English in a Dynamic Model of the Evolution of New Englishes

The Dynamic Model

Schneider's (2003) dynamic model of the evolution of New Englishes in colonization processes around the world, which could be seen as standing in the tradition of "life cycle" models of Englishes (cf. Moag [1982] for nonnative varieties in the South Pacific and Schmied [1991] for African varieties of English), is based on two interrelated factors: (1) changing identity constructions, and (2) changing interactions between settlers (STL) and the indigenous population (IDG). The first factor refers to the well-known pattern that the first settlers in colonial territories may have viewed themselves as an extension of the culture of the country of their origin but that in the course of time, "the former homeland turns into an 'other,' while a new, regionally based construction of 'us,' gradually including the indigenous population, is developed" (Schneider 2003, 242). The second factor takes into account the complementary perspectives of the colonizers and the colonized, whose interaction and interrelation change from a more confrontational to a more cooperative one in the formation of New Englishes: the colonizers' and the colonized people's "'strands' of development . . . are interwoven like twisted threads" (Schneider 2003, 242). The two factors are held responsible for an evolutionary pattern in the formation of New Englishes which Schneider (2003, 243) takes to be applicable to varieties of English worldwide and which he describes as a succession of five identifiable (but idealized) stages: (1) foundation, (2) exonormative stabilization, (3) nativization, (4) endonormative stabilization, and (5) differentiation. It is not possible here to replicate the detailed and differentiated characterizations of the five phases that Schneider (2003, 244-256) gives. At the risk of some oversimplification, the following summary of the most typical features of the five phases should suffice.

In the foundation phase, English speakers settle in a previously non-English-speaking territory. Apart from names for places, the STL strand keeps to the language norms of the home country, which is usually Britain.[7] Language contact with the IDG strand is restricted (e.g., to trade); apart from rare cases of IDG bilingualism, the two strands are still more or less separated.

In the phase of exonormative stabilization, the STL strand continues to view itself as outposts of the country of their origin and thus adheres to an exonormative standard of English, although local forms and coinages (e.g., names for animals and plants) enter the English language in the new "un-English" environment. Although the Englishness of the STL strand is mainly stabilized through the awareness of still being British, the identity of the STL strand changes to some extent, which Schneider (2003, 246) subsumes under the notion of "English plus": "genuinely British no doubt, but seasoned with the additional flavor of the extraterritorial experience which those who stayed 'home' do not share." In this phase, more and more people in the IDG strand learn English as a foreign language because in the territories that have been stabilized on grounds of (British) colonial power, it is the colonizers' language that opens up new educational and commercial possibilities and that is a key to upward social mobility. The English language used by the IDG strand displays features of structural nativization since "some transfer phenomena on the levels of phonology and structure are bound to occur" (Schneider 2003, 246). The STL and IDG strands can thus interact on a much larger scale—but two separate identities remain.

Nativization, that is, the third phase, is most central to the evolution of New Englishes because it is in this phase that, firstly, both the STL strand and the IDG strand construct a new identity; secondly, the two strands become more and more intertwined in the process of the changing identity construction; and, thirdly, the creation of a new local identity—feasible as it may be—is not (yet) reflected in all spheres of linguistic, social, and political reality. For example, while new forms and structures in the lexicon and grammar of the local variety of English emerge, a typical "complaint tradition" also develops in some parts of the STL strand: "conservative language observers typically claim that linguistic usage keeps deteriorating, that in the new country 'corrupt' usage can be heard which, however, should be avoided" (Schneider 2003, 248). Thus, divided usages abound in the STL strand due to split loyalties: while the more conservative language users stick to the traditional exonormative (British) standard, more progressive language users lean more toward locally emerging norms (which, however, are typically not yet codified in this phase).

In the fourth phase, endonormative stabilization, the process of nativization, is completed to the extent that the indigenous norms are widely accepted on grounds of a new local self-confidence, which makes it no longer necessary or desirable to remain oriented toward Britain. While political independence of the colony is a prerequisite for the transition from phase 3 to phase 4, there may well be an additional "Event *X*"—"some exceptional, quasi-catastrophic political event" (Schneider 2003, 250)—which triggers phase 4 some time later in the postindependence period. Phase 4 is characterized by attempts to codify the accepted local norms in local dictionaries and grammars and by an increasing use of English for creative fiction writing, resulting in what has been labeled "New Literatures in English" or "Commonwealth

Literatures." In phase 4, the homogeneity of the local norms, serving as positively evaluated carriers of a local identity, tends to be emphasized, which is usually mirrored in nation-based labels for the new variety ("*X* English"—e.g., Indian English).

The fifth phase, differentiation, captures an entirely new development because the focus is no longer on constructing a new national identity but on establishing new subnational group identities within the new stable nation: "Once a solid national basis has stabilized, one's global, external position is safe and stable, as it were, and this allows for more internal diversification" (Schneider 2003, 253). The stability of the new nation and the local linguistic norms result in the birth of English dialects in the nation. Schneider (2003, 254) explicitly states in this context that "phase 5 does not entail monolingualism in English at all" and that "it is possible for varieties of English to coexist with other, mostly indigenous languages, with all of these fulfilling identity-marking functions." However, for the English language to be a significant force in identity construction at national and subnational levels, it needs to be a widely used (if not to say a dominant) language—whether in a monolingual or multilingual setting—not only in terms of the range of functions it fulfills but also in terms of the depth of its entrenchment in society.[8]

It almost goes without saying that this model of five phases should be seen as an abstract and idealized diachronic account of the evolutionary pattern that could underlie the formation of New Englishes around the world. Note that the phases cannot be clearly demarcated from—and should thus best be taken as shading into—each other. Thus, there may well be cases in which features of subsequent phases coexist. Whatever the caveats and precautions, there are at least two strong claims the model makes: firstly, there exists a uniform pattern that is at the root of the formation of all New Englishes; and, secondly, every country in which a New English develops will at some point end up in phase 5 (Schneider 2003, 272).

The case studies that Schneider (2003, 256-271) sketches out in testing the viability of his model do not include Indian English, which is the largest ESL variety. Even if we take for granted the widespread conservative estimate that only 5 percent of the total population are competent and regular users of the English language in India (cf., e.g., Tully 1997), "even that small percentage translates into about 50 million users of the language, making India the third largest English-using country after the United States and Great Britain" (Sheorey and Nayar 2002, 14).

The following sections are an attempt to describe the diachronic development and current status of Indian English in terms of the five-phase model. In the following, I will apply the model to Indian English and draw the conclusion that Indian English might be seen as an example of an evolutionary steady state in phase 4 with some coexisting features of phase 3. Afterward, this claim will be substantiated by discussing progressive and conservative forces that are at work in present-day Indian English, keeping it in a stable equilibrium. I will also argue that within this diachronic steady state, Indian English can be characterized as a semiautonomous variety from a synchronic perspective. In the very final section, some concluding remarks will be offered.

The Foundation Phase: English in India
in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

The introduction of the English language to India—and, thus, the beginning of the foundation phase—can be traced back to the first Englishman to set foot on Indian soil in 1579, namely, Father Thomas Stephens. The letters he wrote home from Goa could be viewed as the first items of "Anglo-Indian literature" (Ward and Waller 1916, 331). In 1600, a royal charter was granted to the East India Company, which led to the establishment of trade centers and to a steadily growing influx of English merchants. They began to interact both with the Moghul emperors of various Indian states and with local Indians for reasons of trade. Besides trade, British missionaries were set up, their educational facilities attracting Indians who were also taught English in the missionary schools. Later, the British Army also attracted many Indian soldiers (with a high proportion of Sikhs)—another context in which the English language spread quickly and became popular. In spite of various contexts of interaction between the STL and the IDG strands in the first 150 years of British engagement in India, one can safely assume that the colonizers still considered themselves genuinely British people.

Exonormative Stabilization of English in India:
From the 1760s to 1835

The eighteenth century saw the gradual decline of the Moghul Empire in India. After the death of Aurungzeb, a fanatic Muslim and the son and successor of the famous Shah Jahan (who built the Taj Mahal as a mausoleum for his wife), India found itself in a century-long struggle for mastery over India, fought among the British, the French, the Hindu Marathas, and the Muslim leaders in the North and South of India. Britain became more and more engaged in the rivalries and conflicts on the subcontinent, and established footholds in various coastal areas, especially in the Mumbai area and in Bengal. The victory of the British forces, led by Robert Clive, in the Battle of Plassey in 1757 is usually set as the beginning of the British Empire in India. This victory forced the Moghul emperor, still residing and reigning in Delhi, to grant the East India Company the *Diwani*, that is, the political and administrative authority, for the whole of Bengal and Bihar. The introduction of Britain as the leading power in East India—and later on the entire subcontinent—was concluded by the Regulating Act (1773), turning the East India Company into a British administrative body, and the East India Bill (1784), passing the control of the East India Company from the British Parliament to Her Majesty's government. It could well be argued that the 1760s mark the beginning of the second phase in the evolution of Indian English, that is, its exonormative stabilization.[9]

Both the STL strand and the IDG strand were now fully aware that the British presence in India was not to be a transient phenomenon and that, accordingly, the

language of the new power would stay and become increasingly important: in the early nineteenth century, Britain controlled almost the entirety of India, either by direct rule or by setting up protectorates over Indian vassal states that were ruled by Indian princes.[10] The growth of British power made more and more British people come to India, and from the beginning of the nineteenth century onward, many more missionaries were founded, spreading the English language among Indians, and many more Indians enrolled in the British-Indian Army. Naturally, in this phase quite a few Indian words entered the English language that were necessary in order to be able to denote Indian items (e.g., *curry*, *bamboo*, *mango*, *veranda*). Despite the influx of Indianisms in the English language in India, the standards and norms of the English language in general—as it was used in the STL strand and taught to the IDG strand—remained British and, thus, exonormatively set.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a relatively small but influential group among Indians became interested in Western and English education, culture, and sciences. In contrast to many other colonies, British linguists, philosophers, and scientists discovered Indian traditions in their respective fields of research so that the value of Indian culture and heritage was not generally called into question.[11] In the British colonial administration, the Orientalists suggested that education for Indians should focus on Indian languages, literature, and culture. However, it was the Anglicists, forcefully represented by Thomas Macauley, who prevailed. In his famous *Minute on Indian Education* ([1835] 1965), Macauley made a strong plea for an English-medium education system—a suggestion both based on the assumption that English culture was superior to Indian culture and designed to meet the need of the colonizers to have loyal Indian civil servants at their disposal. Macauley's ideas were officially adopted to the effect that soon afterwards, an English-medium school system was established. English became the sole language of instruction in secondary schools and also in the first universities in India, which were founded in Bombay (today, Mumbai), Calcutta (today, Kolkatta), and Madras (today, Chennai).

Nativization of English in India: From 1835 to the Twentieth Century

Macauley's ([1835] 1965) *Minute on Indian Education* marked the first step toward the beginning of the nativization of the English language in India, that is, phase 3. The new generation of mediators between India and Britain who Macauley had in mind and who were to be schooled in an English-medium system in order to stabilize the British Empire in India bridged the gap between the two cultures: English became the language used not only in administration, the military, and jurisdiction, but also in higher education for an increasing number of Indians who the British needed for the lower ranks of the Indian civil service. Through English-medium education, English and European literature and culture infiltrated the Indian

intelligentsia, which at a later point would turn out to have a boomerang effect on the British Empire because it also meant that Indians became familiar with Western ideas and ideals like democracy, enlightenment, and self-determination; as one of the leading freedom fighters and India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, explains,

> English education brought a widening of the Indian horizon, an admiration for English literature and institutions, a revolt against some customs and aspects of Indian life, and a growing demand for political reform. . . . English-educated people in the professions and the services formed in effect a new class, which was to grow all over India, a class influenced by western thought and ways and rather cut off from the mass of the population. In 1852 the British Indian Association was started in Calcutta. This was one of the forerunners of the Indian National Congress, and yet a whole generation was to pass before the Congress was started in 1885. (1946, 319)

Most ironically from the British point of view, it was the English language as a pan-Indian communicative device in multilingual India that made it possible for Indian intellectuals from all over the subcontinent to agitate jointly against British rule and, thus, to form an all-Indian political identity: the "English language contributed substantially in achieving national integration" (Rao 2003, 1).

Meanwhile, for the British people in India, the subcontinent turned into an increasingly Anglophone territory, making them feel less alien and—positively as well as negatively—at home in India.[12] Thus, in the mid-nineteenth century, the STL strand and the IDG strand began to become intertwined: a local English-based identity emerged among both British settlers and Indian locals, and the English language entered a long and tumultuous process of nativization, lasting for more than a century and marked by various key political events that intensified ongoing nativization.

The Great Revolt of 1857-1858, triggered by the mutiny of the Indian Army in Meerut and soon becoming a popular rebellion, was aimed at driving the British out of India. With the help of Indian forces that had not joined the mutineers, especially Gurkha and Sikh troops, the British prevailed in the end and reestablished their rule on an even more solid basis by inflicting an orgy of vengeance on mutineers and civilians alike, and, in the aftermath, by putting into operation a clever policy of balance and counterpoise—for example, in the army, in administration, and in education—and by strengthening the institutionalized links between the Crown and the princely states. The period of establishing a military, administrative, educational, and institutional infrastructure that would be able to secure British rule in the long run was concluded in 1877 by the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India and the installation of a virtually omnipotent Viceroy who would represent the British Crown in India and reign as an absolute monarch. Linguistically, the outcome of the failure of the mutiny of 1857-1858 and the institutional establishment of India as a British territory was the (re)confirmation of English as the language of power

and dominance. More British people came to India, and India turned from a colony *inter alia* to perhaps the most central part—the "Jewel"—of the British Empire, with the British colonial power in turn viewing itself as an integral part of Indian politics and Indian identity.

From the mid-nineteenth century onward, a growing number of permanent residents of British origin came to stay in India, and many more Indians of the upper class and the higher middle class learned English—the only language that would guarantee access, for example, to a highly esteemed university education in England and to the Indian civil service. It is in this very period that the English language in India, at least as it was used by most IDG users, began to change slowly but gradually toward a variety in its own right, marked not only by heavy lexical borrowing but also by phraseological and grammatical innovations (i.e., forms not found in the British English input variety, such as *England-returned* and *blessings-message*) and phonological changes (e.g., monophthongization of diphthongs such as /eɪ/ and /əʊ/): thus, the late nineteenth century marks the beginnings of the evolution of "educated" Indian English, or—in Kachruvian (Kachru 1983, 24) terminology—"Standard South Asian English." Apart from being an STL language, it was also increasingly accepted by the IDG strand as a communicative device in India.

On August 15, 1947, when India became independent at the stroke of midnight, the fact that the English language had already been absorbed even by the leading freedom fighters in the Indian National Congress as a useful and inevitable pan-Indian link language became all the more obvious when Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of India, delivered his speech in English (Nehru [1947] 1997). In fact, the process of the nativization of English in India did not stop once India became independent. On the contrary, it may be viewed as yet another irony that even the Constitution of the Republic of India, which was passed by the Constituent Assembly in 1949 and came into effect in 1950, was written in English. Although the English language is not listed among the eighteen official national and regional languages in the Indian Constitution, it is only the English version of the constitution that is legally binding even today (Basu 1999, 391).[13] However, since provisions were made in the constitution for a replacement of English by Hindi (the mother tongue of approximately 35% of the population) for all official purposes after fifteen years, one could have expected that nativization would have stopped at some point in postindependence India and that, as in some other former British colonies, the English language would have entered a process of "denativization." But the English language at the beginning of the twenty-first century is firmly established as the second official language of India, and both its range and its depth of use have been growing over the past decades: today, the English language in India is no longer in the process of ongoing nativization, but finds itself, by and large, in phase 4, that is, in a state of endonormative stablization.

Endonormative Stabilization:
Present-Day Indian English

It is difficult to identify precisely the beginning of phase 4 in the history of Indian English.[14] For a variety of English to enter the stage of endonormative stabilization, there must be some sort of inner agreement in a speech community on the status and the usefulness of the English language. Thus, endonormative stabilization is a stage that requires the independence of the colony because it is only then that the new nation-state can decide on its own on the status of languages without external interference.

In India, the status of English as a pan-Indian link language worth retaining alongside Hindi was finally clarified at the end of the transition period of fifteen years envisaged in the constitution. The 1960s saw an unprecedented escalation in the lingering conflict between Northern parts of India, where Hindi was propagated as the only national language, and the Southern parts, where many people forcefully rejected the idea of Hindi as the only national language because it was a nonnative language for them. The language riots, centering on the South Indian state of Tamil Nadu and culminating in early 1965 (the year in which, according to the Indian constitution, the use of English as an official language was to be discontinued), could well be regarded as an "Event *X*" because the language riots made the political parties readjust their stance on language policy and ensure the continuing use of the English language in India: the Official Language Act, passed in 1963 and amended in 1967, established that English would continue to be used for official purposes alongside Hindi, and in 1976 official language rules were formulated to specify the various official communication situations at federal and state levels in which Hindi and/or English were to be used (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting [MIB] 2001, 40-41). In the field of English language teaching, a compromise was found between Hindi-only proponents and supporters of English as the only official language of the Union of India, namely, the three-language formula: according to this formula, Hindi, English, and a regional language are taught in every state (Biswas 2004). In those states in which Hindi is the regional mother tongue, a South Indian regional language is taught. Despite major problems and shortcomings, this formula has been at the heart of language policy in India in the education system over the past four decades (Krishnaswami and Sriraman 1995).[15] The language riots of the 1960s and the legislative reaction to them marked the final acceptance of English as an "integral part of India's linguistic repertoire" (Kachru 1986, 32).

Although even today the official objective of federal language policy still seems to be the propagation of Hindi as the only national language and the acceleration of the use of Hindi by many more Indians in many more contexts (MIB 2001, 42-43), the English language has steadily gained ground over the last forty years—a development ultimately based on the relative security of its status as a second official language of the union, for which various labels have been introduced, such as "associate additional

language" and "associate official language" (Mehrotra 1998, 7). Additionally, the English language serves as the only official language in various contexts even at the federal level (most notably, as the language of the Supreme Court) and as one of the official principal languages of four states and union territories (Chandigarh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Pondicherry). From the 1960s onward, the situation of the English language in India has been marked, thus, by features and factors typical of phase 4, that is, endonormative stabilization:

> English has been retained in a wide range of communication situations, including administration and politics, education and academia, and the press and book publications, and it has been increasingly used as a pan-Indian link language (Mehrotra 1998, 7-15).

> Many more Indian writers have adopted the English language as their communicative vehicle, including the highly esteemed and award-winning works of authors such as Upamanyu Chatterjee, Bharati Mukherjee, Arundhati Roy, and Salman Rushdie. This has led Rushdie (1997, x) to the conclusion that "'Indo-Anglian' literature represents perhaps the most valuable contribution India has yet made to the world of books."

> The local forms of English, including deviations from the input variety of British English at the levels of pronunciation, lexis, and grammar, have been increasingly accepted as features of a nonnative variety of English in its own right, for which various labels have been coined, such as *Indian Varieties of English* (IVE) and *Educated Indian English* (EIE). The most commonly used (and most neutral) label is *Indian English* (IndE), which shows that English in India is now widely seen as an indigenous language with local features.

> On grounds of the emerging acceptance of a local variety of English, attempts have been made to describe the Indian variety of English in detail, resulting, for example, in Kachru's (1983) qualitative work on the Indianization of English, which has exerted an enormous influence on the description of all ESL varieties, and in various scholars' quantitative analyses of Indian English on the basis of the 1-million-word Kolhapur Corpus of written Indian English, the 1-million-word component of Indian English, and larger web-derived corpora of Indian English (cf., e.g., Shastri, Patilkulkarni, and Shastri 1986; Shastri 1988, 1992; Schilk 2006; Mukherjee and Hoffmann 2006).

> There have also been early attempts to codify the most salient features of Indian English pronunciation, lexis, and grammar, most remarkably in Nihalani, Tongue, and Hosali's (1979) handbook of usage and pronunciation.[16] While official language policy has so far not actively implemented the local norms, the teaching of Indian English in the EFL classroom in India has *de facto* become a reality. Many applied linguists have put forward suggestions as to how to adapt English language teaching to the specifically Indian context, for example, by taking into consideration the multilingual setting marked by code mixing and code switching (Sridhar 2002) and by basing an endonormative model of Indian English lexicogrammar on the analysis of large and representative Indian English corpora (Mukherjee 2002b).

Given the situation of English in India sketched out above, present-day Indian English can be viewed as a "phase 4 variety" in Schneider's (2003) model: the process of nativization (in the sense of transplanting English to India and consolidating it in the new environment) is more or less over; the variety is now largely endonormatively stabilized, but it is still relatively homogeneous across the subcontinent (with regard to most aspects of pronunciation, lexis, and grammar) and, thus, has not (yet?) entered the stage of differentiation, that is, phase 5.

As has already been pointed out, the phases in Schneider's (2003) dynamic model should be viewed as shading into each other; therefore, it does not come as a surprise that in present-day phase 4 Indian English a few features of phase 3 still exist. At the linguistic level, for example, there is a tendency in formal written English to adhere to lexicogrammatical standards largely set by native speakers.[17] At the sociolinguistic level, one can still find many examples of what Kachru (1983, 2005) repeatedly has labeled "linguistic schizophrenia": that is, South Asian speakers of English accept English as an integral part of their linguistic repertoire but at the same time reject the local variant of English at hand. In this context, D'souza (1997, 95) also points to the mismatch between the widespread use of English as an Indian language for intranational purposes and the self-critical attitude toward one's deviances from British English. Such observations indicate that even in phase 4, there may be remaining features of ongoing nativization. On the other hand, there are also signs of a beginning dialectal differentiation, which in Schneider's dynamic model should be found in phase 5. For example, it is only in the Mumbai region that *stadium* is used to refer in informal contexts to men with a bald spot with hair all around (Baldauf 2004).

Progressive and Conservative Forces in Present-Day Indian English

In the light of the description of the present situation, it thus seems to me that while there are many factors that qualify Indian English as a phase 4 variety, this very state is not static but dynamic in itself. That is to say, present-day Indian English is characterized by two conflicting kinds of forces: progressive forces and conservative forces. The forces of progression and conservativism operate at three levels: the structural level, the functional level, and the attitudinal level.

At the structural level, progressive forces are forces that are responsible for innovative features and increasing divergences from other varieties of English (e.g., Indianisms in the lexicon of Indian English). At the functional level, progressive forces lead to a wider range of functions that the English language fulfills in India (e.g., its use in matrimonial advertisements). At the attitudinal level, progressive forces may lead to an increasing acceptance of the local variety (e.g., in terms of accepting it as a vehicle for fiction writing). To sum up, progressive forces include all the forces that make Indian English move further along in the evolutionary process to full-fledged autonomy.

Conservative forces, on the other hand, hold Indian English back in the evolutionary process by retaining traditional and established forms at the structural level (e.g., with regard to the common core in vocabulary and grammar shared by Indian English and British English). At the functional level, forces of conservativism stabilize the restricted use of English in the Indian context (e.g., its avoidance in particular genres such as informal conversations among family members). At the attitudinal level, conservative forces strengthen the rejection of English (e.g., by propagating Hindi as the only national language) because it is seen as a foreign language inflicted on Indians by the colonial past.

The assumption that forces of progression as well as forces of conservativism are at work at the same time in present-day Indian English stands in stark contrast to viewing Indian English as a fossilized variety. Rather, it is a relatively stable steady state in which two conflicting kinds of forces are in equilibrium. In this dynamic steady state, neither the forces of progression nor the forces of conservativism win out over each other; rather, they stabilize the current situation and keep Indian English in the stage of endonormative stabilization. It is this concept of steady state to which I turn in more detail in the following section.

The Concept of Steady State and Its Application to Present-Day Indian English

Evolutionary Frameworks and Models of Language Change

The concept of steady state can be seen as a systematic extension of the evolutionary model of New Englishes offered by Schneider (2003). The concept captures a typical situation in specific stages of the diachronic process of variety formation. In fact, Schneider (2003, 273) himself suggests that for his model, "[f]urther testing against global realities is invited, and further refinement is to be expected." Specifically, I will argue in this section that because of the present-day reality of Indian English, it makes sense to refine the model by allowing for a steady state in phase 4 of the model in particular.

Both Schneider's model and the conception of steady states in the development of varieties are largely inspired by evolutionary models in biology. Croft (2000) has been in the vanguard of providing a coherent framework for the description and analysis of language change as a process that shares essential features with evolution. Of fundamental importance is the analogy that Croft draws between selection and replication in evolution, on one hand, and innovation and propagation in language change, on the other. Picking up on Hull's (1988) general theory of selection, Croft argues that the production of utterances in communication fulfills the same function as the replication of genes in reproductive processes. Just as the replication of genes provides a mechanism for genetic innovation (in the sense of genetic

recombination or mutation), it is utterance production in communication in which linguistic innovations may occur. Selection in evolution, that is, the survival and reproduction of organisms that turn out to be fitter than others, correlates to the cognitive entrenchment of linguistic conventions in speakers and its propagation in communication (Croft 2000, 38). By drawing on this analogy between evolution and language change, Croft develops a "theory of utterance selection," which integrates the biological concepts of selection and replication within a linguistic model of *ad hoc* innovation (at the level of a single speaker) and long-term propagation (at the level of populations) of innovations (Croft 2000, 229). It should not go unmentioned that Croft's evolutionary model can also be fruitfully combined with chance as a major factor in language change (cf., e.g., Schneider 1997; Butters 2001), just as randomly occurring restructurings of genetic material (e.g., mutations) are at the heart of genetic variation, which in turn is a prerequisite for selectional processes.

A key point in the application of evolutionary approaches to language change is the analogical nature of the relationship between evolution and language. This is emphasized not only by Croft (2000, 11) but also by Mufwene (2001), who draws an analogy between language and species and describes creolization processes in terms of evolutionary mechanisms. Note, for example, that there is no such thing in language as the DNA as the site of replication. However, it makes sense, as Croft (2000, 11-30) argues, to establish an analogy between the DNA as an entity that is functionally relevant to evolution, on one hand, and the utterance as the functionally equivalent unit of replication (and innovation) in language, on the other. The relationship between evolution and language change is thus essentially metaphorical.

If we assume on grounds of the analogies sketched out above that similar mechanisms underlie evolution and language change, it is useful also to transfer the concept of steady states—or equilibria—from evolutionary frameworks to models of language change.[18] In fact, the concept of "punctuated equilibria" is a cornerstone of modern evolution theory (cf. Eldredge and Gould 1972; Eldredge 1985); it assumes that evolution takes place in spurts, between which there can be long periods with little evolutionary change. This concept of punctuated equilibrium in evolution has already been applied to the development of languages by Dixon (1997, 67). He hypothesizes that in the history of human language, too, long periods of equilibrium alternate with relatively short periods of punctuation, which "will engender sweeping changes in the linguistic situation and may trigger a multiple 'split and expansion.'" This is in stark contrast to traditional family tree models of language splits, which are based on a conception of linguistic change as a linear and continuous process.

Although Croft (2000) does not directly refer to Dixon's (1997) idea of punctuated equilibria in the development of languages, it seems obvious that the two frameworks could be easily combined. In particular, I would like to suggest that the concept of punctuated equilibria can be fruitfully applied not only to the description of the development and divergence of languages, but also to the diachronic (and

Figure 1
Steady States in the Dynamic Model of New Englishes
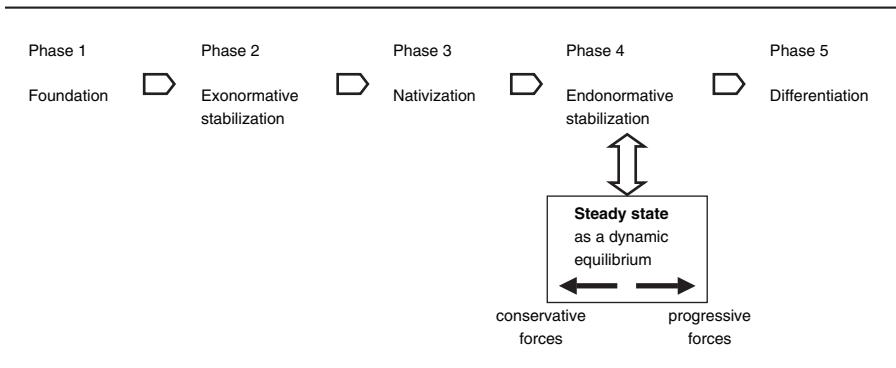
synchronic) modeling of varieties of a particular language, for example varieties of English around the world. In a punctuated equilibria model of the evolution of New Englishes, it is reasonable to assume that present-day Indian English is marked by an equilibrium, that is, a steady state between progressive and conservative forces. On the other hand, the phase of nativization clearly marked a forward-pushing punctuation in the history of the English language in India.[19] As figure 1 shows, the concept of a steady state can easily be linked to the general model of the evolution of New Englishes offered by Schneider (2003). Specifically, the steady state of present-day Indian English is a dynamic but stable situation of endonormative stabilization.

Although the concept of steady state can be combined with the dynamic model of New Englishes, it is quite clear that steady states as stable equilibria call into question a central tenet of Schneider's model, namely, the idea of an underlying goal-oriented development:

> [The dynamic model] predicts that a given variety which can be observed to be currently in, say, phase 3 may proceed to phases 4 and, ultimately, 5. In other words—and this is clearly the most speculative claim of all—such a country is likely to turn into a more or less fully English-speaking country in the long run. (Schneider 2003, 272)

As figure 1 captures, the positing of a steady state in phase 4 runs counter to this teleological assumption. While the history of the English language has confirmed that in predominantly white settler colonies like the United States and Australia, the development of the English language tends to culminate in phase 5 at some point, it seems quite obvious that in countries like India with hundreds of well-established local languages, English will probably never become a (let alone the only) dominant language.[20] In this particular regard, it seems that Schneider's model is more appropriate for settler-strand-dominated varieties such as American and Australian

English than for indigenous-strand-dominated varieties such as Indian English (Schilk 2006, 280). As Tully (1997, 163) points out, "India is not a linguistic *tabula rasa*, as one might argue America and Australia were. It is a civilization with languages, with ancient roots, which have survived colonialism." Therefore, and in contrast to the "English-as-a-killer-language" line of argumentation (cf. e.g., Skutnabb-Kangas 2003), I firmly believe that English will always remain secondary in processes of Indian identity construction.

If present-day Indian English is to be viewed as a stable yet dynamic steady state, the question arises as to what exactly the progressive and the conservative forces are that are responsible for the current equilibrium. The following sections depict some of the conflicting forces.

Progressive Forces in Present-Day Indian English

The most important progressive force in present-day Indian English is the innovation of new forms and structures by Indian users of English. There is a large body of research on many such structural effects of endonormative stabilization on Indian English having led to new or deviant usages in Indian English, such as Kachru (1983), Shastri (1992), and Mehrotra (1998). Most deviations and innovations can be found in vocabulary, and Nihalani and colleagues' (Nihalani, Tongue, and Hosali 1979; Nihalani et al. 2004) dictionary documents many lexical items that are peculiar to Indian English. There exist many loanwords that have been taken over from local languages: for example, *bandh* (BrE *strike*), *challan* (BrE *bank receipt*), *coolie* (BrE *porter*, *luggage carrier*), *crore* (BrE *10 million*), *goonda* (BrE *hooligan*), *lakh* (BrE *100,000*), *mela* (BrE *crowd*), and *swadeshi* (BrE *of one's own country*). Indian speakers have also created new lexical items and compounds made up of English material, as it were: for example, *batch-mate* (BrE *classmate*), *beer-bottle* (BrE *bottle of beer*), *to by-heart* (BrE *to learn by heart*), *inskirt* (BrE *petticoat*), *to off/on* (BrE *to switch off/on*), *to prepone* (BrE *to bring forward in time*), *schoolgoer* (BrE *pupil/student*), and *shoebite* (BrE *blister*). Lexical items that belong to the common core, shared by Indian English and other varieties of English, may be used in different ways in Indian English, both grammatically (e.g., *both* is admissible with the negative form of the verb in Indian English) and semantically (e.g., the use of *boy* for BrE *butler*). Some lexical items that have an archaic flavor in British English (e.g., *thrice*) are still used much more frequently in Indian English. This in itself is not innovative—quite the contrary. But from the point of view of the evolution of a New English variety, such cases of superstrate retention show that today these forms—once part of the input variety—are endonormatively stabilized and no longer based on contemporary native usage. From this perspective, superstrate retention is a reflection of a progressive force at the structural level in a similar vein to genuine innovations.

Indian English also deviates from native varieties at the morphological level, for example by extending the use of the suffix *-ee* (e.g., *affectee*, *awardee*, *recruitee*), the prefix *de-* (e.g., *de-confirm*, *de-friend*, *de-recognize*), and the zero derivation of new verbs (e.g., *airline*, *public*, *slogan*).

Unlike vocabulary and word formation, syntax tends to be quite stable in language change in general and in the emergence of varieties of English in particular (Schneider 2000, 209). There are, however, quite a few fields in which Indian speakers of English tend to deviate from British English grammar, for example with regard to article usage (e.g., BrE *a piece of chalk* → IndE also *a chalk*), invariant tag questions and question tags (e.g., BrE *He has left, hasn't he?* → IndE also *He has left, isn't it?/ . . . , no?*), the use of progressive forms with stative verbs (e.g., BrE *I simply don't understand* → IndE also *I am simply not understanding*), and the position of adverbs (e.g., BrE *I always drink coffee* → IndE also *Always I drink coffee*).[21]

It has been noted in previous studies, for example by Bauer (2003) and Mair (2002), that, firstly, many distinctive features of varieties of English can be found at the interface between lexicon and grammar, and that, secondly, these lexicogrammatical differences are usually quantitative in nature and not categorical. More recent corpus-based studies reveal that there are also new trends at the lexis-grammar interface in Indian English. Schilk (2006), for example, shows by comparing various 1-million-word corpora of British and Indian English that particular collocations are very common in Indian English but not typical of British English (e.g., the word strings *illicit liquor*, *illicit den*, and *illicit liquor den*). Olavarría de Ersson and Shaw (2003) and Mukherjee and Hoffmann (2006) use large web-derived newspaper corpora to describe differences between British and Indian English at the level of verb complementation, such as the use of "new" ditransitives in Indian English (e.g., *gift*, *inform*, and *put* in the double-object construction). Another interesting phenomenon at the lexis-grammar interface is the formation of new prepositional verbs such as *approach to*, *comprise of*, *discuss about*, *order for*, and *visit to*, all of which are attested in the Indian component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-India). Just as in the case of new ditransitives (as in *he gifted her the book*), the underlying motivation for the use of these new prepositional verbs (as in *they discussed about the matter*) is not interference. Rather, new ditransitives and new prepositional verbs are triggered by what has been labeled "nativized semantico-structural analogy" in earlier work (Mukherjee and Hoffmann 2006, 166-167): with regard to new ditransitives, Indian users of English draw an analogy between the ditransitive meaning of established ditransitive verbs such as *give* on one hand and the similar semantics of *gift* on the other, which makes Indian speakers use the same complementation pattern. Similarly, new prepositional verbs can be viewed to be licensed by semantic and collocational patterns that already exist in the English language: for example, IndE *discuss about* < BrE *talk about* (v.), and *discussion about* (n.) (Mukherjee forthcoming). Generally speaking, then, nativized semantico-structural analogy is a process by means of which nonnative speakers of English as

a second language introduce new forms and structures into the English language on grounds of semantic and formal templates that already exist in the English language system. In a similar vein to the morphological innovations mentioned above, both new ditransitives and new prepositional verbs refer to fields in lexicogrammar in which endonormative stabilization of Indian English can be shown to be an inherently creative and structurally innovative process that is guided by an inner logic.[22]

Perhaps the most transparent structural innovations of Indian English can be found in pronunciation because the phonological speech characteristics of an Indian speaker of English, typically embedded in a syllable-timed rhythm, are immediately apparent (Shastri 1992, 263). For example, there is a very strong tendency in Indian English to monophthongize diphthongs like /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ (e.g., *late*, *home*), to merge the two consonants /ʒ/ and /ʃ/ into /ʃ/ (e.g., *casual*, *division*), and to replace the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ with /t/ and /d/ (e.g., *think*, *this*).

At the level of style, too, there are innovations in Indian English that push it further away from the native input variety, as displayed, for example, by the discourse of matrimonial advertisements, which shows a very high degree of culture specificity (Pandurang 2001).

Above and beyond the structural nativization of innovative and local forms at the individual linguistic levels, there are also progressive forces at the functional and attitudinal levels. Of particular importance in this context is the increasing body of fiction in English written by Indian writers. True, Indian authors undeniably tend to write for an international audience (Paul 2003, 362) and may thus be oriented toward exonormative standards set by the largely native readership; but nevertheless, the increasing acceptance of English as a means of literary creativity indicates that, firstly, English is used in an increasing range of literary genres, and, secondly, it is no longer viewed as a foreign language by many writers. Also, the recent (re)introduction of English as a compulsory subject in the early classes of the school system of several states (e.g., in Himachal Pradesh; cf. "English from Class I" 2003), a reflection of the major advantage that an English-medium education provides for Indians in a globalized economy, shows that there are progressive forces at work both at the functional and at the attitudinal levels.

Conservative Forces in Present-Day Indian English

However, there are also conservative forces at work—not so much at the structural level at which Indian English has been changing at virtually all linguistic levels, but predominantly at the functional and the attitudinal levels.

Although English continues to be a co-official language of the Union of India according to the Official Languages Act (1963) and the Official Languages Amendment Act (1967), one cannot ignore the fact that the English language has a somewhat peculiar and anomalous status that is not comparable to that of any of the

local languages: on one hand, it is the language in which the constitution was writ-ten; on the other hand, it is not listed in the constitution itself. Rao's (2003) docu-mentation of the fifty-five-year-old linguistic battle between proponents of a Hindi-only policy and advocates of the full acceptance of English as an Indian lan-guage illustrates that the conflict over the status and position of Hindi and English in modern India is not over. It is quite clear that those who view English as a gen-uinely foreign language and a relic of the colonial past are reluctant to accept the emergence of a local variety of English in its own right.

The forces of conservativism also exert an influence on language education. It is remarkable, for example, that officially there is no target model for the teaching and learning of English in schools that is based on a concept of Indian English. As D'souza (1997) notes, British norms still form the language-pedagogical guidelines for teachers and learners of English in India. This entirely unrealistic stance on lan-guage norms for the English classroom in India is not at all understandable because, for example, it easily could have been possible to implement in the curriculum a model of Indian English pronunciation based on Nihalani, Tongue, and Hosali's (1979, 228) "Indian Recommended Pronunciation" (IRP), developed "to be the model to be prescribed for speakers of English in India." The reluctance to accept a local form of English as an indigenous language is also reflected in the content of English language curricula, where we still find a strong bias towards British topics and texts (Sheorey and Nayar 2002, 18-20).

Perhaps the strongest conservative force at work, however, is many Indian speak-ers' self-critical attitude toward the local form of English that they themselves use, for example when communicating with native speakers. D'souza (1997, 95) describes the effect of what Kachru (1983, 2005) has repeatedly labeled "linguistic schizo-phrenia" as follows: "We use English as if it belongs to us but the minute this is brought to our attention we get into a flap and say this is not our language." The com-plaint tradition, which is a typical feature of the nativization period but is still pre-sent in present-day Indian English, surfaces in comments like "standards have fallen" and "English has gone to the dogs" (D'souza 1997, 95). The widespread pref-erence for traditional native norms in general and an exonormative teaching model in particular is also borne out by various empirical surveys among Indian speakers of English (cf., e.g., Shaw 1981; Hohenthal 2003).[23]

The conservative forces may well be viewed as regressive trends which—if not balanced by the above-mentioned progressive forces—would drag English in India back to a situation of nativization. The mélange of progressive and conservative forces at work in Indian English leads to the question of how to model the present steady-state situation of Indian English. As will be outlined in the following section, it seems useful from a strictly synchronic perspective to view Indian English in its present steady state as a semiautonomous variety of English, which is characterized by three major determinants: common core, interference, and autonomy.[24]

Present-Day Indian English as a Semiautonomous Variety

In the context of the present steady-state situation of Indian English, the notion of a semiautonomous variety captures three equally important aspects of Indian English that have been pointed out repeatedly in a multitude of studies: (a) Indian English is a variety based on—and including—the "common core" (Quirk et al. 1985, 16); (b) Indian English is an "interference variety" (Quirk et al. 1972, 26); and (c) Indian English is a "norm-developing" variety (Kachru 1985b, 17), characterized by a wide range of linguistic innovations, peculiarities, and deviations from other varieties that have developed autonomously. In the following, I will elaborate on these three aspects in turn, which will help to describe the aforementioned steady state from a synchronic perspective as a triangle of common core, interference, and autonomy.

In the *Comprehensive Grammar*, Quirk et al. (1985) set out to describe not a specific variety of English but what all varieties of English have in common. This "common core" is defined as follows:

> A COMMON CORE or nucleus is present in all the varieties so that, however esoteric a variety may be, it has running through it a set of grammatical and other characteristics that are present in all the others. It is this fact that justifies the application of the name "English" to all the varieties. (Quirk et al. 1985, 16)

Given that the definition captures both "grammatical and other characteristics," the notion of a common core is thus intended to cover all linguistic features at all linguistic levels of analysis that all varieties of English share. This includes, for example, the core grammar and the core vocabulary of English, which have been largely set by native speakers.

Many linguistic peculiarities that are characteristic of Indian English are based on interferences from Indian speakers' first languages. However, while interference from one's first language (L1) usually leads to a "mistake" in the EFL context, Kachru (1982) points out that in the ESL setting, in which English is a transplanted nativized language, a more appropriate concept is "deviation":

> A "mistake" may be unacceptable to a native speaker since it does not belong to the linguistic "norm" of the English language; it cannot be justified with reference to the sociocultural context of a non-native variety. . . . On the other hand, a "deviation" . . . is the result of the new "un-English" linguistic and cultural setting in which the English language is used. (Kachru 1982, 45)

Such deviations in the sense of interferences from indigenous languages can be found, for example, at the lexical level because the use of loanwords can be regarded as lexical interference or transfer. Many features of Indian English pronunciation, for

example the replacement of /θ/ and /ð/ by alveolar or dental /t/ or /t̪/ and /d/ or /d̪/ respectively (e.g., in *cloth* and *this*) and the syllable-timed rhythm of Indian English speakers are based on phonological interference.
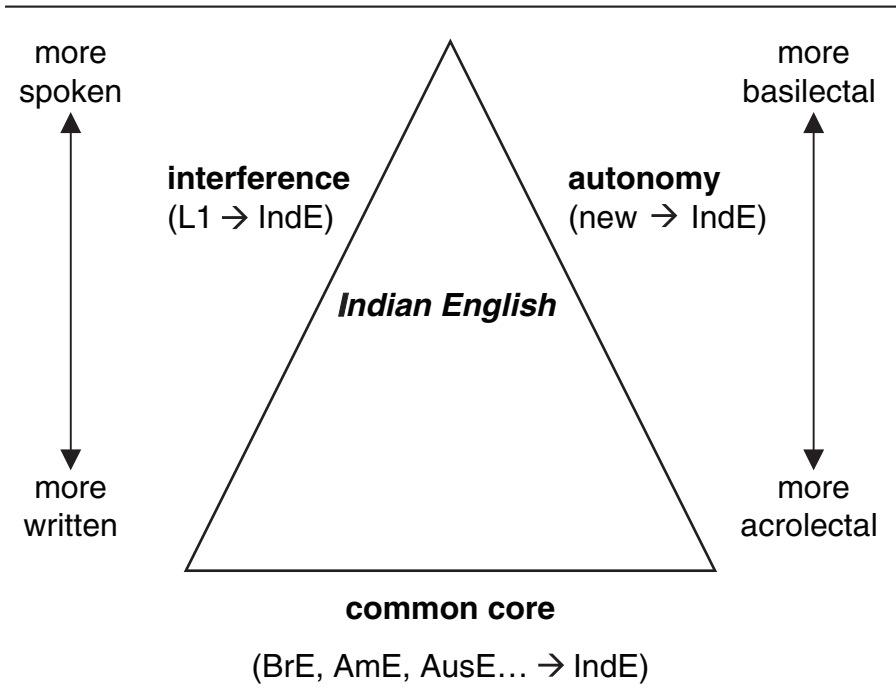
The fact that deviations from native varieties are acceptable acculturations in norm-developing varieties such as Indian English brings me to the third dimension of the triangle in which Indian English finds itself: autonomy. In this context, *autonomy* refers to the creative and interference-independent development of new forms and structures in Indian English, for example the morphological and syntactic innovations mentioned earlier (e.g., the extended use of the suffix *-ee* and the use of new ditransitives). The fact that these creative forms and structures are generally accepted as Indian English features both by most native speakers and by many Indian English speakers (in spite of the linguistic schizophrenia that can be observed in various contexts) is the main linguistic motivation for ascribing the label *Indian English* to English in India and, thus, for viewing Indian English as a phase 4 variety. On the other hand, interference and the remaining orientation toward the common core, which has been—and still is—predominantly set by native speakers of English, impart a certain flavor of ongoing nativization to Indian English.

In figure 2, the conception of Indian English as a semiautonomous variety in a steady state is presented somewhat simplistically as a triangle. The three sides refer to the common core, interference, and autonomy as the determinants of the present-day situation of Indian English. Note that the three sides correlate with three different, yet complementary, labels that have been ascribed to Indian English over time and that have already been mentioned in passing:

a) Common core: Indian English is a "nonnative variety" and thus depends on—and includes—the common core largely set by native speakers and shared by native and nonnative varieties of English.
b) Interference: Indian English is an "interference variety," which takes over features, forms, and structures from local languages.
c) Autonomy: Indian English is a "norm-developing variety"—that is, it displays new and innovative forms and structures which are not based on interference but on Indian speakers' L2-internal linguistic creativity.[25]

One advantage of the triangular model sketched out in figure 2 is that it brings together and combines three different dimensions of present-day Indian English that have very often been considered in isolation. Another advantage of the model lies in the fact that it can accommodate the entire range from acrolectal standard Indian English to basilectal broken or butler English, as indicated by the gradient on the right-hand side in figure 2.[26] At the same time, this gradient correlates with the cline from typically written Indian English to typically spoken Indian English, as captured by the gradient on the left-hand side in figure 2. The two extreme points on the two gradients are illustrated in examples (1) and (2) below. As example (1), which is

Figure 2
Indian English in the Triangle of Three Determinants:
Common Core, Interference, and Autonomy

more
spoken

interference
(L1 → IndE)

autonomy
(new → IndE)

more
basilectal

Indian English

more
written

more
acrolectal

common core

(BrE, AmE, AusE… → IndE)

taken from the speech of a tourist guide in Varanasi (taken from Mehrotra 1998), shows, there is a tendency for basilectal, spoken Indian English to be strongly marked by interference and autonomy (in the sense of pidginization) and to deviate quite clearly from the common core so that many passages are probably no longer intelligible to many non-Indian speakers of English: it exemplifies the most local-ized form of Indian English.

(1) This Banaras very old city. Nobody know how old. Varanasi our very oldest city in India. Varuna plus Assi both jointed called Varanasi. The most important temple the golden temple. The golden temple they bring the Ganges water. The first golden tem-ple Biswanath. Second golden temple Nepali temple, near the river Ganga, the ghat name Lalita. Here three hundred sixty ghats. Main ghat Dasaswamedh ghat. Our Hindu religion so many different kinds of god. Siva was destroy god and Vishnu was power and Brahma was creator. But that is only for totally bluff. This is not so many god. God is one. (Quoted in Mehrotra 1998, 107)

On the other hand, acrolectal, written Indian English tends to be much less marked by interference, as the example in (2), taken from the international edition of *India Today*, reveals. The text shows no local traits, and if it were not for the Indian name of Suhasini Nindrajog, one would not assume that the text is presumably set in India. Acrolectal written Indian English is the most globalized variant.

(2) Despite hundreds of diets, nutritionists and slimming centres, there is considerable confusion about what constitutes the right diet in Indian food. Thirty-two-year-old Suhasini Nindrajog is consumed with dieting. Overweight by about 10 kg, she dreams incessantly of a pencil-thin figure. Nindrajog has tried everything—from the globally famous Dr Robert Atkins' diet to a blood group diet to depressive weeks of just bananas and milk. She seems to be among those whose purses are the only things that lose weight at slimming centres. (Vasudev 2003, 38)

In between the extreme examples of (1) and (2), the entire range of spoken and written mesolects can be arranged. Depending on the extent to which common core, interference, and autonomy determine the mesolect, they can be plotted on different sections of the triangular field in figure 2.

The crucial point about the situation of Indian English that the triangular visualization in figure 2 captures is that as a nonnative variety, Indian English is bound to be a semiautonomous variety. Since the English language has remained in postindependence India also because of its benefits for international communication, trade, and commerce, intelligibility with native speakers around the world (or with other nonnative users of English) is of prime importance, which could be seen as an exponent of an overall conservative force. On the other hand, Indian speakers cannot help adapting the English language to the Indian context to which it has been transplanted; these adaptive processes are a result of the progressive forces in Indian English. The notion of a semiautonomous variety is a suitable label to denote the very tension—and balance—between conservative and progressive forces in a phase 4 steady state.

Concluding Remarks

In the present article, I have tried, firstly, to apply Schneider's (2003) dynamic model of the evolution of New Englishes to the development of English in India; secondly, to complement the dynamic model by a concept of steady state in phase 4; and, thirdly, to describe Indian English in this phase 4 steady state as a semiautonomous variety. While in the first step I focused on the evolution of Indian English from a diachronic perspective (including a thorough discussion of the interactions between the STL strand and the IDG strand, and of relevant processes of identity construction in the various phases), in the second and third steps I zoomed in on present-day Indian

English from a synchronic perspective. It has been shown that the dynamic model can be very well applied to the evolution of Indian English, but that it is necessary to allow for dynamic steady states in the evolutionary process in which progressive and conservative forces are in equilibrium—a situation that we find in present-day Indian English. This concept is based on the assumption that in spite of all the creative and innovative processes at all linguistic levels, Indian English will never become the dominant language in India with the vast majority of Indians turning into a predominantly English-speaking people, and will thus never enter phase 5, that is, differentiation, although dialectal variation may to some extent occur.

Coming full circle, the concept of a semiautonomous variety that I introduced to characterize the nature and status of present-day Indian English avoids extreme—and also ideologically biased—positions as propagated by what Wee (2002) calls the "purist school" and the "pragmatist school," and puts into perspective a realistic view on the English language in present-day India (and, possibly, elsewhere). More specifically, Indian English speakers are, of course, entitled to develop their own norms (which they do), but, on the other hand, native speaker norms seem to remain relevant—not so much because of Anglo-American chauvinism but because of ESL speakers' self-critical attitude and their orientation toward international intelligibility. A semiautonomous variety of English is a nonnative variety that takes over to a very large extent—and includes—the common core of established native varieties of English, but it is also characterized both by interference (that is, forms and structures which can be traced back to speakers' L1s) and by L2-internal creative autonomy (that is, by a potential for the development of new forms and structures in English as a second language). A semiautonomous variety like present-day Indian English can thus be characterized as endonormatively stabilized but showing some aspects of ongoing nativization. In a wider setting, I would hypothesize that any phase 4 variety, that is, a New English variety that is largely endonormatively stabilized without being the dominant native language in the region at hand, can be viewed as semiautonomous in this particular sense—an admittedly speculative claim that will warrant further investigation.

Notes

1. Note that the plausibility of the distinction between native speakers and varieties on one hand and nonnative speakers and varieties on the other for the description of World Englishes has been called into question by various linguists from different angles (cf., e.g., Paikeday 1985; Rampton 1990; Singh et al. 1995; D'souza 1997; Rajagopalan 1997; Kramsch 1998; Piller 2001). However, I do subscribe to the point of view that the native/nonnative distinction remains a useful construct if the two categories are taken to be prototypical and gradient in nature and if they are defined on purely linguistic grounds (Mukherjee 2002a, 108 ff.; 2005a).

2. This leaves open to debate the question of whether there are native speakers of second-language varieties of English.

3. A similarly designed model that focuses on the development of Standard Englishes worldwide is provided by Görlach (1990).

4. To be precise, the inner circle is considered to be "norm-providing" and the outer circle to be "norm-developing" (Kachru 1985b, 16-17), which resembles McArthur's (1987) distinction between "standard" Englishes and "standard(izing)" Englishes. The expanding circle, on the other hand, is regarded by Kachru (1985b, 17) as entirely "norm-dependent" and, thus, as exonormative.

5. It has recently been suggested that English be seen as a nativized language in the expanding circle as well because English, unlike other foreign languages, is easily and readily available to all foreign language learners around the world in the age of the Internet and globalization. Prcic (2003, 37) thus offers the designation "English as *the* Nativized Foreign Language" (ENFL) to refer to the special status of English as a foreign language.

6. It should not go unmentioned, however, that the three-circle model has not remained unchallenged. Bruthiaux (2003), for example, argues that the model conflates the levels of nation, variety, and speaker and is too strongly based on the concept of nation-states. Jenkins (2003), too, criticizes the Kachruvian model because in her view, it does not sufficiently capture the use of English as a lingua franca. Kachru (2005, 211-220) himself offers a very detailed analysis of Jenkins's (2003) concerns and shows that much of her criticism is based on misrepresentations of the model and its implications.

7. *Koinéization* in the sense of dialect leveling (Siegel 1985, 372) may, of course, occur in settlers' speech.

8. I am using "range" and "depth" here in the Kachruvian sense.

9. Kachru (1983, 19-21) also assumes that the first phase of the spread of English in South Asia ended in the 1760s. The main reason that he mentions is the fact that in 1765, the East India Company ceased encouraging the foundation of new missionaries, which, by offering English-medium education, had helped to spread English among the indigenous people. This antimissionary policy changed in 1813 on grounds of a resolution passed by the House of Commons.

10. The success of the British policy of *divide et impera* in India was to a very large extent based on the sheer number of these princely states, which made it very difficult to fight effectively against British supremacy. When India became independent in 1947, 601 princely states existed (Nehru 1946, 307).

11. A good example of the British interest in the cultural heritage of India is Sir William Jones, who came to India as a judge of the Supreme Court. Being a linguist as well, he wanted to learn Sanskrit:

> Sanskrit fascinated him and especially the discovery of the old Indian drama. It was through his writings and translations that Europe first had a glimpse of some of the treasures of Sanskrit literature. . . . To Jones, and to many other European scholars, India owes a deep debt of gratitude for the rediscovery of her past literature. (Nehru 1946, 317)

12. It should be borne in mind, however, that many British people mistakenly tended to view their part in India as being representative of the whole of India. Among the British public in India, the real India of the local people and beyond the British administration and the English clubs did not exist (Nehru 1946, 294).

13. Although the Hindi version of the constitution was authorized in 1987, it is clearly subordinate to the English original: "In case of any divergence of meaning between the two texts, the Hindi version would be subject to revision" (Dasgupta 2003, 31).

14. In a wider context, there is no unanimous agreement on the status of present-day English to begin with. While Schneider (personal communication, 22 January 2006) views Indian English as still being in the process of ongoing nativization, Schilk (2006, 281) argues that "there is a sufficient amount of *endonormative stabilization* within the variety to place IndE at the beginning of stage 4 of the model."

15. It is only in the state of Tamil Nadu that Hindi has not been implemented as a compulsory subject: here a two-language formula with only English and Tamil is in operation.

16. A second edition has recently been published (Nihalani et al. 2004). However, it is almost identical to the first edition and, unfortunately, has not taken into account major trends in the linguistic description of Indian English in general and in the development of corpus linguistic resources in particular over the last twenty-five years (Mukherjee 2005b).

17. Note that Kachru (1985b, 17) thus states that norm-developing varieties in the outer circle "are both endonormative and exonormative."

18. The term *steady state* is also used in biochemistry, where it denotes an equilibrium of simultaneous reactions in opposite directions. This equilibrium of reactions is both stable and productive.

19. Generally speaking, one could argue that with regard to the evolution of all New Englishes, phases 1 and 3 (foundation and nativization) are bound to be stages of punctuation, while phases 2 and 4 (exonormative and endonormative stabilization) denote relatively stable stages of an equilibrium.

20. Note that some aspects of phase 5, in particular dialectal differentiation, may well occur.

21. The Indian forms are additional structural options and do not simply replace the native British form. The original form exists alongside the Indian innovation and very often continues to be the most frequent form. For example, Mukherjee (2002b) shows that in the Kolhapur Corpus of written Indian English, *cope with* occurs twenty times (83%), whereas *cope up with* occurs only four times (17%). However, the important point here is that the Indian English form does not occur in British corpora and thus marks a genuinely innovative form in Indian English.

22. It is thus useful and necessary to complement Quirk et al.'s (1972, 26) concept of "interference variety" with aspects of structural autonomy, for example in terms of systematic changes based on "predetermined breaking points" in a grammatical system—that is, areas which are characterized by forms and rules which are highly arbitrary and nontransparent and/or only very partly systematic, and hence particularly liable to simplification and rationalization in dialect contact, language contact, or the emergence of new standards (Christian Mair, personal communication, 15 November 2006).

23. This tension between progressive trends in form and conservative orientation towards the native norm seems to be characteristic of many ESL settings, for example, in Africa:

> Despite increasing self-reliance and a gradual shift from exonormative to endonormative attitudes (Banjo 2000), these [postcolonial New] Englishes continue to be affected by conflict between linguistic norms and linguistic behavior, with widespread perceptions among users that Anglo-American norms are somewhat superior and that their own variants are therefore deficient. (Bruthiaux 2003, 160)

24. I am using the label *semiautonomous* for the linguistic characteristics of Indian English as a phase 4 variety, while Schneider (2003, 247) draws on the concept of "semi-autonomy" in denoting the remaining cultural and psychological bond of the STL strand with the land of their origin in phase 3.

25. While the dimension of common core correlates, *grosso modo*, with Schneider's (2000) concept of "diffusion" of features from parent varieties, typically British English, to the outer circle, the dimensions of interference and autonomy capture two different aspects covered by Schneider's (2000) concept of "selection"—that is, the choice of one particular (and possibly new and un-English) feature in a language contact situation. While *interference* refers to the selection of an L1-induced form, *autonomy* is about the development—and selection—of new forms and structures within the L2 system.

26. I am using *acrolect*, *mesolect*, and *basilect*—terms that are more commonly used in creole studies—for the lectal range in institutionalized second-language varieties of English (cf. e.g., Fernando 1989 on Sri Lankan English).

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