CHAPTER   II

TOWARDS   AN   APPROPRIATE   MODEL   OF   ENGLISH

FOR   AN   ESL   CONTEXT

1.   INTRODUCTION

One of the basic assumptions underlying the present study is that the use of communication strategies by second language learners in an ESL context, as in India, is closely related to the sociocultural environment within which the language operates. It is therefore appropriate to begin the discussion by locating English within the ESL context in India, a multilingual setting, where a variety of regional languages coexist with English, and where the functions and values attached to language are distributed among the different languages.

2.   LANGUAGES   IN   CONTACT

2.1   Language Situations

The phenomenon of "languages in contact" - to use Weinreich's (1953) phrase - is central to any bilingual/ multilingual setting. Whether one operates within a linguistic framework, or a sociological/anthropological framework, the basic issue is the social distribution of the

language, the ways in which it modifies and is modified by other languages with which it comes into contact, and the corresponding contacts (Haugen, 1953) of the respective users of the languages.

This leads us to a discussion of different language situations with reference to the use of English. There has been considerable discussion in recent years, of issues related to the development of English as an international language (Widdowson, 1982; Smith, 1983; Quirk, 1985; Greenbaum, 1985). Earlier, the use of English in non-native contexts was viewed from native-speaker standards. The recent increase in the use of non-native varieties of English in the U.K. and the U.S.A. has been accompanied by a shift towards recognition of these non-native varieties. The earlier attitude might be called a "monolingual" view, in the sense that it was derived entirely from the native speaker of English. Increasing recognition of bilingualism/multilingualism has brought about a shift away from such a "monolingual" view.

Despite considerable research on second language acquisition, the complexity of the language situations in different parts of the world has only recently been recognised (Kachru, 1985b; Quirk, 1985). It is no longer appropriate to make a simple binary distinction between the use of English by the native speaker on the one hand, and by

all non-native speakers on the other, irrespective of the contexts within which the speakers function. For instance, to classify the use of English by a non-native speaker in China along with the English used by a non-native speaker in India would be to blur the differences between the two settings. It must be recognised that sociocultural factors have a differential effect on language use, in various language situations.

Kachru (1985b) distinguishes between three language situations, which he views as concentric circles : the "inner" circle, the "outer" or "extended" circle, and the "expanding" circle. These circles represent the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages. The inner circle refers to areas where English is used as the native language. The outer circle denotes areas where English is used as the second language - what Kachru (1985a) calls the "institutionalised" varieties of English, as used in Singapore, India, Nigeria, or Zambia. The expanding circle includes the "performance" varieties of English, as in China, Indonesia and the U.S.S.R. Quirk (1985) also distinguishes between the ENL (English as a native Language), the ESL (English as a Second Language), and the EFL (English as a Foreign Language) situations. Such a tripartite distinction between language situations is meaningful in the context of

the present study. However, the distinction between the two
non-native contexts (extended/expanding circles or ESL/EFL
situations) needs to be discussed in greater detail.

2.2. EFL and ESL contexts

Kachru (1985b) represents the three language situations
as three concentric circles, with the native language at the
centre, and the "institutionalised" varieties at the outer
edge; the "performance" varieties lies between these two
situations. It might be argued that the "institutionalised"
varieties (which Quirk (1985) calls the ESL situation) are
closer to the native language situation, as compared to the
"performance" varieties. If we focus on the uses of English
in the three different situations, we find that both the ENL
and the ESL situations involve the use of English for communi-
cation between members of the same group or speech community,
whereas the EFL situation stands apart by virtue of the fact
that English is used chiefly for communication with members of
other groups and other speech communities. English in the ENL
setting would generally be used for communication between two
or more native speakers, whereas in the ESL setting it would
generally be used for communication between two or more
non - native speakers. In contrast, English in the EFL
setting is chiefly used for communication between native and
non-native speakers. In other words, the ENL and ESL
situations are characterised by the use of English to convey
socio-semantic information, whereas in the EFL situation
English is used as a device to bridge a communicative gap.

This correspondence between the uses of English in the native language and the second language settings is central to the view of communication strategy adopted for the study.

For the purpose of the present study, the distinction between the ESL and the EFL contexts is based on the non-native speaker's reason for using English, and the model of English used. An ESL situation refers to contexts where the non-native speaker selectively uses the L1 (native language) or the L2 (second language), on different occasions and to enact different functions. The speaker's decision to use the L1 or the L2 becomes a tool for conveying semantically significant information. Consequently, the model of English applicable to the ESL context is not the native-speaker model (which is more relevant to the EFL context), but a non-native model that is acculturated in the ESL context. The term EFL, on the other hand, is applied to contexts where there may be no acculturation of English into the sociocultural context. English remains essentially "foreign"; in a sense the language remains intact, its norms and values being derived from the native speaker, that is, from outside the EFL context. Quirk's (1985) definition of EFL contexts describes them as countries requiring English for "external" purposes, i.e., for contact with people in other countries. Making a similar distinction between ESL and EFL, Görlach and Schröder (1985) consider almost all the European countries to be EFL

countries. According to the view adopted in the present study,
therefore, the EFL context refers to situations where the
non-native speaker attempts to approximate the native-speaker
model, and the functions for which the native-speaker uses
English. It is not merely the purposes for which the language
is used, that may be described as "external"; the language
itself remains extraneous to the culture of the speakers. It
is in this sense that the earlier distinction between ENL/ESL
on the one hand, and EFL on the other, was made : in both ENL
and ESL contexts, English is a part of the speaker's culture,
whether intrinsically, as in the ENL context, or by a process
of acculturation, as in the ESL context. In contrast to this,
English in an EFL context represents an alternative mode of
communication, independent of the speaker's sociocultural
affiliation. According to the distinction made in this study,
the use of English by non-native speakers (such as Korean or
Japanese speakers in the U.K. or the U.S.A.) would not be
termed ESL as it is usually referred to in the literature
(Rampton, 1985; Robinson, 1985), but would be considered as
EFL. The immigrant to an ENL country would operate within the
parameters of a "foreign" setting, attempting to acquire the
ways in which a native speaker uses English.[1] Rather than
distributing various functions across the L1 and the L2, the
non-native speaker in an EFL context would aim at imitating
the ways in which the language functions for the native

speaker. English would be used for all functions and all purposes, when interacting with speakers from other speech communities.

To sum up, in this study ESL contexts refer to situations where English - the second language - interacts with the speaker's own culture and language to create new acculturated varieties of English.

3. LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

3.1 Nativisation/Acculturation of English

The previous discussion of the ESL context leads us to consider the development of what Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) refer to as "the new Englishes". There has been considerable discussion in the literature regarding the relationship between language and culture (Whorf, 1941; Hymes, 1962; Kaplan, 1980; McLeod, 1980; Trifonovitch, 1980). The development of English as an international language essentially involves a process of diffusion, a movement outward, away from the NL (native language) situation - both geographically, and in accommodating culture-specific and cross-cultural functions. Kachru (1985a) has described such acculturation as the development of new English-based codes in situations of language contact and cultural contact. The present study adopts a similar view, suggesting that the ESL context, which is a situation of "languages in contact",

involves the intermeshing of language-specific/culture-specific functions and meanings, to create a new mode of communication relevant to that socio-cultural context : this new mode of communication refers to the acculturated variety of English.

Part of the controversy regarding English as an international language is due to the fact that language contact and cultural contact has resulted in English-based pidgins and creoles on the one hand, and code-mixing/code-switching on the other (Kachru, 1985c). The international diffusion of English involves a dual process; English becomes simultaneously more culture-free, shedding the trappings of traditional British/American culture, and more culture-bound, acquiring elements of the culture onto which it is grafted. Another process accompanying the acculturation of English into non-native contexts, is the modification of other languages to accommodate the influence of English (Kachru, 1985a, 1985b, also refers to such a process as the "Englishization" of other world languages). Thus, the transplantation of native varieties of English to non-native contexts is accompanied by a process of metamorphosis, involving the creation of new roles, new functions, new values and new meanings attached to the various languages in contact.

Kachru (1985b) associates the spread of a language with (1) increased variation in its functions and in terms of its proficiency; (2) new acculturation as a result of

displacement from its traditional locale, and (3) limited success in attempts at codification in such contexts. In describing the linguistic implications of acculturation in India, Kachru suggests that the more culture-bound English becomes within the Indian context, the more distance is created between the native and non-native varieties of English. Such distancing has resulted in what Kachru calls a linguistic "allergy" on the part of native speakers to the fact that the non-native varieties appear very different from the native variety of English. Kachru's acceptance and legitimisation of such distancing, amounts to what the traditionalists view as linguistic heresy. The view presented in this study extends this heresy, suggesting that acceptance of non-native models reverses the process of distancing; the development of cross-cultural functions through the process of acculturation is desirable because one outcome of languages in contact is to bring cultures into closer contact.[2] In this sense, English is no longer an exponent of a single culture, but reflects cultural pluralism. English no longer belongs exclusively to British/American culture. The acculturation of English, in fact, simultaneously brings the native and non-native cultures into greater proximity by extending the cultural proprietorship of English.

3.2 Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Kachru (1983) has provided a comprehensive account of the development of bilingualism in India. For instance, among the factors affecting the "Indianness" of English, he identifies its earlier restriction to the more formal registers of law and administration, as well as teaching conventions that have focussed more heavily on the written rather than the spoken medium. Kachru introduces the notion of a "cline of bilingualism", along which he proposes to rank bilinguals[3] in terms of their proficiency in English. Such a cline ranges from the "zero point" (minimal bilingualism) through the "central point" (effective use in restricted fields) to the "ambilingual point" (command of English equals that of the native speaker).[4] It is apparent that Kachru views proficiency in the broad sense[5] as the availability of options to the speaker-hearer, options that include both the linguistic and the sociocultural dimensions. Kachru's "proficiency" has been further defined by Vanikar and Dalal (forthcoming) to include both linguistic competence and cultural competence. In placing an individual along the cline of bilingualism, we therefore need to recognize that linguistic competence and cultural competence are not synonymous and that the degree of proficiency along these two dimensions may vary; for instance an individual may have greater linguistic competence than cultural competence, and vice versa.

The present study emphasises the relationship between language and culture, and suggests that bilingual/multilingual settings provide the individual with a greater range of communicative options. Facility in more than one language exposes the individual to more than one culture, and therefore to a wider range of cultural constructs.[6] Multilingualism and cultural pluralism are closely related, and are likely to allow for more diverse modes of thinking.[7]

4.   THE SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXT

4.1   Functions of English in India

The sociocultural dynamics of a bilingual or multilingual setting, will determine the ways in which language is used within that setting. Gumperz (1962) has stressed the centrality of the social interaction patterns in a linguistic community.[8] Such an emphasis is particularly relevant in a bilingual/multilingual context where linguistic communities are more open-ended, and where consequently, the network of functions/purposes for which the different languages are used is correspondingly more complex. Weinreich (1953) was the first to use the term "dominance configuration" in referring to the functions of use of different languages in a bilingual setting; each one of a bilingual's languages may be dominant with respect to various criteria such as emotional involvement, usefulness in communication and literary/cultural value.

Fishman (1966) refers to the domains of language use as "the occasions on which one language (variant, dialect, style, etc.) is habitually employed rather than (or in addition to) another" (p. 428). According to Fishman, domains such as "the family", "the neighbourhood", "governmental administration", "occupations", etc. will determine the dominance configuration of the speech community. Fishman takes into consideration scales of interpersonal and inter-group relations such as intimacy - distance, formality - informality, solidarity - non-solidarity, status, power, etc. Fishman (1972) describes the phenomenon of diglossia in a bilingual community where more than one language is used for internal communication. The two languages have clearly defined roles, different functions for the languages being sanctioned tacitly, or formally for the community.

Kachru (1983) discusses the contextualisation of non-native Englishes; he includes the cultural context as one of the determinants of a non-native variety. The contextualisation of English in a non-native context would result in functional diversification. According to Kachru (1982a, p. 75), the main characteristics of institutionalised L2 varieties are :

a) extended range of uses in sociolinguistic context of nation;

b) extended register and style range;

c)   process of nativisation of registers and styles

(both in formal and contextual terms); and

d)   development of a body of nativised English

literature.

The domains of use of English are related to what Quirk et al. (1972) have referred to as the "vehicular load" of English. Studies by Kachru (1976), Fishman et al. (1977), Fishman (1982) and Shaw (1983) confirm the current view of English as a tool for the control of technology and education, as well as for social control, in ESL contexts. According to Kachru (1984) the use of English is a marker of socially and administratively dominant roles, and hence has acquired domains of power. The extended functions acquired by English as a result of this "vehicular load" have invested it with a unique quality that constitutes what Kachru (1983c) calls "the alchemy of English".

The present study suggests that embedding of the L2 within the sociocultural context forms the essence of an L2 situation. The last few decades have witnessed a change in the functions that English serves in India. Earlier, English was used largely for business, government administration, education and communication with people from other countries/ cultures. It was a means of exposure to British or American culture and was used more for "external purposes" as defined by Quirk (1985). In this sense, one might argue that a few

decades ago English in India appeared to be closer to the EFL rather than the ESL setting : it was somewhat extraneous and was used to express information/ideas/notions that were not a part of the culture of the Indian speaker. More recently, English has developed intra-national uses that are purely social/cultural; according to Kachru (1985c), it is used to "teach and maintain the indigenous patterns of life and culture, to provide a link in culturally and linguistically pluralistic societies, and to maintain a continuity and uniformity in educational, administrative and legal systems"(p.103). This relationship between language and the indigenous patterns of life and culture is manifested by the extended functions that English has acquired in the ESL context in India. In addition to the earlier uses, English now serves as a link between speakers of the different Indian languages. Apart from its use in administrative and other formal contexts, it is one of the chief languages of the media and hence plays a significant role in terms of cohesiveness among the different Indian communities. Above all, English has acquired social connotations both within and outside of that significant (if somewhat amorphous) group of individuals : the English-Speaking Indians.
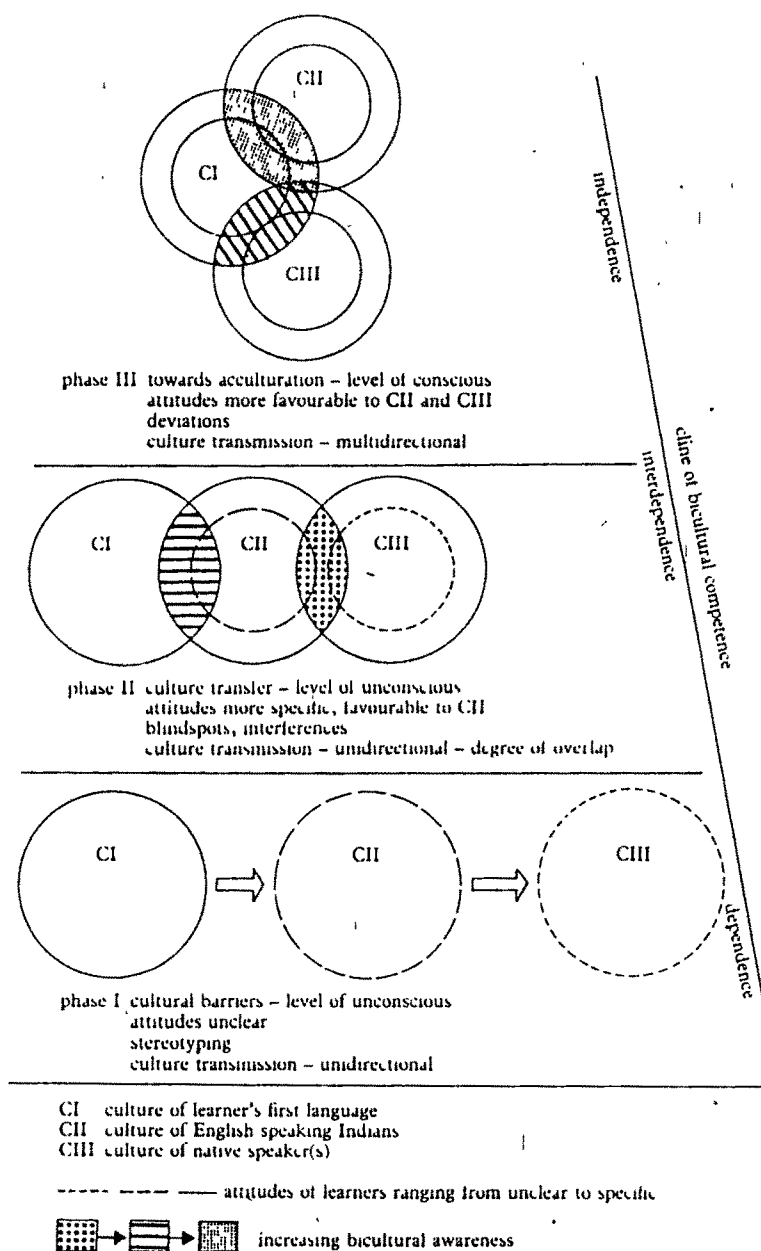
4.2   Social Identity and Social Values

In an ESL context, it becomes particularly relevant to examine what Pride (1971) has called "the social meaning of

language". The integration of the second language with the
non-native speaker's own culture is crucial to the process of
acculturation that language undergoes (See Figure 1). The
reality of the second language setting seldom allows one to
make a neat distinction between utilitarian purposes on the
one hand and socio-cultural purposes on the other (instrumen-
tal versus integrative motivation). A significant feature of
bilingual/multilingual settings is the need to express the
non-native speaker's culture linguistically through English.
This process of integration of language and culture naturally
results in the communication of social identity and social
values through choice of language on a particular occasion.
There has been considerable discussion of language as a means
of signalling socially significant information. Choice of
language has been interpreted in terms of a series of pola-
rities : the expression or suspension of individuality
(Bernstein, 1960); prestige and "anti-prestige" (Fischer, 1958);
power and solidarity (Brown and Gilman, 1960; Labov, 1963);
dominance and affiliation (Argyle, 1967).

The use of English in India is governed largely by
sociocultural factors involving identity and values associated
with English. The complexity of the situation may be illustra-
ted by the following example :
An Indian student who has considerable competence in English,
talking outside the classroom to a group consisting of the

phase III towards acculturation – level of conscious
attitudes more favourable to CII and CIII
deviations
culture transmission – multidirectional

phase II culture transfer – level of unconscious
attitudes more specific, favourable to CII
blindspots, interferences
culture transmission – unidirectional – degree of overlap

phase I cultural barriers – level of unconscious
attitudes unclear
stereotyping
culture transmission – unidirectional

CI   culture of learner's first language
CII   culture of English speaking Indians
CIII culture of native speaker(s)

– – – – – – – – ——— attitudes of learners ranging from unclear to specific

▦ ▸ ▤ ▸ ▦ increasing bicultural awareness

Source : Vanikar, R. (1985), "Crossing Cultural
Bridges : A Model for Mapping the
Extent of Bicultural Awareness",
Journal of Multilingual and Multi-
cultural Development, 6/6, 440.

Figure 1 : A Model for Mapping Extent of
Bicultural Awareness

teacher, and four other students who have low competence in English, might use English when talking to the teacher, to convey a degree of formality, but switch to the vernacular when talking to his peers, to indicate solidarity. The same student in a slightly different peer-group setting consisting of two students with low competence in English and another two with higher competence in English, would code-switch for different reasons - in this case he might predominantly use English with students whose competence in English equals his own, in order to indicate a degree of exclusiveness; his use of the vernacular with the less linguistically competent students might in this case indicate a process of dissociation. The underlying socio-semantic information conveyed would again undergo a subtle change, depending on the socio-economic status of his interlocutors, their age/sex, the setting in which the conversation occurs (for instance, the family setting), and so on.

Thus, choice of code in an ESL setting functions as a device to express social identity, social values and social affiliations.

5. THE MODEL OF ENGLISH

5.1 Native and Non-native Models

Related to the role and functions of English within the sociocultural context of an ESL setting, is the issue of

norms and models. The spread of English across the world has heralded change in the norms influencing the use of English. Earlier, the norm applicable to all settings was the native speaker norm. Allegiance to such a norm was referred to at the beginning of this chapter, as the "monolingual" view; even when English was being used by non-native speakers in settings other than the native one, the norms governing use of the language were those of the monolingual speaker of English. The subsequent development of English as an inter-national language necessitated a shift; English was no longer used only to reinforce British or American values, culture, and modes of thinking, it was now a vehicle for expression of bilingual/multilingual ways of life. Conseque-ntly, new norms had to be established in order to accommodate bilingualism/multilingualism.[9]

Kachru (1985b) refers to the three language situations as norm providing (the inner circle), norm developing (the outer circle) and norm dependent (the expanding circle). He thus views the native language setting as providing norms for the EFL setting; in contrast, the ESL setting involves the generation of new norms. The inner circle is therefore viewed as purely endonormative, and the expanding circle as purely exonormative, whereas the outer circle is both endo-normative and exonormative. Quirk (1985) refers to a similar phenomenon : the development of "multiple and variable standards".

There has been much concern over the development of international standards for English (Widdowson, 1982; Smith, 1983; Quirk, 1985; Kennedy, 1985; Crystal, 1985; Kachru, 1985b; Greenbaum, 1985a; Svartvik, 1985). At issue here, is the question of innovations. Kachru (1985a; 1985b) refers to linguistic innovation as being a result of the nativisation of English. He views these innovations within the parameters of "the new ecology" in which non-native varieties function. According to him "these innovations and their semantic extensions or restrictions are, therefore, indicative of acculturation of English in new sociocultural and linguistic contexts, and reflect its acceptance as a vehicle of non-native social norms and ecological needs" (p.220).

Such a view is relevant to the present study, which does not necessarily consider innovation as error, but also as a means of enacting the various sociocultural forces through language. In the ESL context, very often, the target language is no longer the model used by the native-speaker of English; most Indian learners, for instance, the target language represents the model of English used by the educated Indian speaker. It is therefore no longer appropriate to impose a native-speaker norm and a native-speaker model on the ESL speaker. Kennedy (1985) suggests that the issue of standards in ENL countries, is "fundamentally an attitudinal and especially an aesthetic one" (p. 7). The

present study on the other hand suggests that in the ESL
situation, standards reflect functional concerns related to
the purposes for which English is used. Consequently, the model
of English would also be derived from the functional needs of
the Indian Speaker of English.

5.2   Attitudes to Non-native Varieties

The discussion of native and non-native models leads
us to the issue of attitudes towards non-native varieties
of English. Among non-native speakers in a country like
India, one often finds conflicting attitudes to the nativisa-
tion of English. Kachru (1983) calls this "linguistic schizo-
phrenia", a "love-hate relationship" with English : Indians
continue to uphold native English varieties as models, though
they frequently resort to Indianisms in their own use of
English. There is thus a certain inconsistency between the
imposed norm and actual language behaviour. Kachru (1982a ,
p. 76) traces the history of attitudes of non-native speakers
towards L2 varieties, in the following order :

1. Non-recognition of localised variety

2. Extensive diffusion of local varieties

3. Reduced discrepancy between norm and behaviour
     - recognition of local norm.

One finds a shift towards acceptance in the attitudes of the
Indian speaker of English, who has recently learnt to attach

a certain prestige value not only to English, but to Indian English. These attitudes on the part of the non-native speaker are related to the functions that English serves in the ESL context. Extensive use of English, not only for academic/administrative purposes, but also in the media and for social purposes, has resulted in favourable attitudes to Indian varieties of English. Studies conducted by Vanikar, Dalal and Desai (1984) and by Phadnis (1986) suggest that Indian learners express a need to learn English for various purposes, and reveal favourable attitudes to English, as well as a desire to associate with English-speaking Indians. Findings by Sridhar (1982) indicate that both students and professionals in India feel that English equips them for the largest number of socially valued roles. Shaw (1983) in his study of Asian student attitudes to English, suggests that although the reasons for studying English and the skills desired by the subjects are overwhelmingly the ones normally labelled instrumental, the whole aspect of integrative motivation should be re-examined in terms of a desire among learners to join an indigenous group of English language speakers rather than a group of foreign native speakers. Finegan (1985) and Pringle (1985) have also traced attitudes to linguistic variation in ESL contexts such as Canada.

The attitude of the native-speaker of English to non-native models reveals even greater non-acceptance. Native-

speakers have traditionally viewed non-native varieties as deficient rather than different; colonial attitudes ranged from suspicion to ridicule (Kachru, 1985b) (cf. also Yule and Burnell, 1886). Strevens (1982) suggests that localised forms of English vary greatly in the status they enjoy within the community, and in the corresponding attitudes to such locali- sed forms. Trifonovitch (1981) in his account of attitudes to non-native varieties of English, refers to native-speaker attitudes as being those of non-acceptance and condescension, while non-native speakers attempted to identify with native speakers rather than with other non-native speakers. Smith (1983) captures the essence of this attitude in his use of the expression "linguistic chauvinism".[10]

5.3 Intelligibility

Misgivings regarding non-native varieties of English have often been expressed with regard to intercomprehensi- bility, particularly in international communication. Even if one were to discount attitudinal bias, mutual intelligibility does form a serious consideration in any discussion of English as an international language. (Kachru, 1983; Kachru, 1985b; Quirk, 1985; Greenbaum, 1985a; Kennedy, 1985, Svartvik, 1985).

In this context, Kachru's definition of intelligibility (1983) appears to be particularly relevant : "Intelligibility

does not imply that the user's command of English equals that of the native speaker. The term 'intelligibility' may be used in a wider sense to imply an Indian bilingual's capacity to use English effectively for social control.... and most important, it does not mean that a person is ambilingual" (p. 129). Such a definition is especially useful for this study. Within the ESL setting, English serves certain specific functions and purposes; "social control" in the ESL setting is therefore not synonymous with "intelligibility" in native-speaker terms. In fact the non-native speaker may deliberately choose to use language that does not coincide with the native-speaker norm of intelligibility, as part of a deliberate social strategy in the process of interaction with other speakers of English.

One finds a certain cross-cultural mismatch between the native-speaker and the non-native speaker points of view, in the interpretation of the term "intelligibility" (Sukwiwat, 1981; Trifonovitch, 1981). The native-speaker point of view generally considers that native-like proficiency in English is a necessary pre-requisite for intelligibility, and leads to the voicing of fears that communication in English at the international level will disintegrate on account of lack of intelligibility resulting from the use of non-native norms/models (Quirk, 1985; Kennedy, 1985; Greenbaum, 1985a; Svartvik, 1985).

Perhaps some of the issues involved might be clarified by considering the illustration provided by Mehrotra (1982). He states that whén the Indian-English item "her face cut is very impressive" was presented to native speakers of English, a few of themm interpreted it appropriately as "her profile is impressive" or "the shape of her face is attractive". Other native-speakers responded with "she cut her face badly, poor girl", "sounds as though she has been in a fight with the knives out", and "Does the girl shave?" Apparently in such cases the issue of comprehensibility is obfuscated by linguistic attitudes to what is very obviously non-native usage. It might be suggested that these are cases of delibe- rate avoidance of comprehension, and adoption of humour/ ridicule as a strategy for expressing linguistic attitudes. Examples such as these may be related to the discussion by Trifonovitch (1981) of the proceedings of an international conference where the problem of attitudes and intelligibility surfaced at the interpersonal level.

The issue in such cases is not lack of intelligibi- lity, but attitudinal resistance, particularly on the part of the native speaker. Acceptance of a non-native model of English would involve acceptance that use of different varie- ties of English does not necessarily obstruct intelligibility. Such acceptance is particularly relevant for a multilingual setting like India, where the variety of regional languages

results in different regional accents and different forms of L1 transfer, in the use of English, without necessarily interfering with intelligibility among interlocutors.

Another fact to be recognised is that problems of interlligibility do occur in talk between two native speakers of English. The earlier view had been that proficiency equals intelligibility, and that the NS (native speaker) in most situations does not need to consciously work towards intelligibility, whereas the process of acculturation in non-native contexts necessitates a constant struggle for better communication on the part of the NNS (non-native speaker). We need to recognise, however, that intelligibility (in terms of clarity of communication) is a feature of all interaction, and that one needs to work towards intelligibility in all talk, whether it involves NS-NNS, NS-NS, or NNS - NNS. It is in this context that Kachru (1985b) calls for a redefinition of the norms of intelligibility for English, to include the various culture-specific and region-specific norms that have developed.

5.4   Models for Second Language Learning in the ESL Context

The functions that English serves in India are closely related to the process of second language learning in the ESL context. A study by Sridhar (1982) confirms that Indian students place a priority on English, on the grounds that it equips them for the largest number of socially valued roles.

In another study by Vanikar, Dalal and Desai (1984), Indian students at the college level, indicated a desire to learn English not only for academic purposes but also for social purposes. Another related issue is that of attitudes towards non-native varieties. Findings by Kachru (1982) (See Tables 2, 3 and 4) indicate a strong preference among Indian graduate students and faculty, for the British model of English; however a majority of the graduate students indicate that the variety of English they use is Indian English. Such expressions of learner needs and attitudes help us to understand the socio-cultural forces influencing the process of second language learning. Learner needs and attitudes to English in ESL contexts are associated with motivation for language learning. Various studies have discussed instrumental/integrative motivation in the ESL context (Gardner and Lambert, 1969; Spolsky, 1969; Lukmani, 1972; Brown, 1973; Smith, 1983; Shaw, 1983; Phadnis, 1986). The present study assumes that favourable attitudes on the part of the non-native speakers are closely related to their motivation for second language learning.

Unfortunately, very few second language learning programmes in India take learner needs and attitudes into account. Most English language courses are based on the assumption that the learners need English only for academic purposes, and present the British model of English as

TABLE 2

INDIAN GRADUATE STUDENTS' ATTITUDE TOWARD
VARIOUS MODELS OF ENGLISH AND RANKING OF
MODELS ACCORDING TO PREFERENCE

M o d e l	Preference		
	I	II	III
American English	5.17	13.19	21.03
British English	67.60	9.65	1.08
Indian English	22.72	17.82	10.74
I don't care		5.03	
"Good" English		1.08	

Source :   Kachru, B.B. (1982a), "Models for Non-Native
Englishes", in Kachru, B.B. (ed), The Other
Tongue; English Across Cultures. Oxford:Pergamon,44.

TABLE 3

FACULTY PREFERENCE FOR MODELS OF
ENGLISH FOR INSTRUCTION

M o d e l	Preference		
	I	II	III
American English	3.07	14.35	25.64
British English	66.66	13.33	1.53
Indian English	26.66	25.64	11.79
I don't know		5.12	

Source : Kachru, B.B. (1982a), "Models for Non-Native Englishes",
in Kachru, B.B. (ed), The Other Tongue:English Across
Cultures. Oxford:Pergamon,44.

TABLE 4

GRADUATE STUDENTS' SELF-LABELING OF
THE VARIETY OF THEIR ENGLISH

Identity Marker	%
American English	2.58
British English	29.11
Indian English	55.64
'Mixture' of all three	2.99
I don't know	8.97
Good English	.0.27

Source : Kachru, B.B. (1982a)."Models for Non-Native Englishes",
in Kachru, B.B. (ed), The Other Tongue: English Across
Cultures. Oxford: Pergamon, 44.

appropriate for the Indian classroom; syllabus design, there-
fore, aims at the development of linguistic/grammatical
structures, while classroom methodology is accordingly
teacher-centred. On the other hand, the present study sugge-
sts that conditions of use in an ESL setting require the
learner to develop competence in English not only for academic
purposes, which are a source of instrumental motivation, but
also for social/interactional purposes, which provide inte-
grative motivation. Integrative motivation in this sense
refers to the learner's need to integrate with the Indian
English-speaking community, rather than with native speakers
of English. In the Indian context, the attainment of native-
speaker-like proficiency therefore appears to be irrelevant
to the majority of situations of actual use, since the
notion of appropriacy takes priority over the notion of
accuracy. In such a context, a non-native model of English
appears more viable than a British/American model. Accordingly,
the language classroom should represent a microcosm of the
external world of social interaction, providing the learner
with opportunities to develop communicative competence in
English.

5.5   Towards an Appropriate Model for the ESL Context

The nativisation/acculturation of English has implica-
tions for evolving norms that influence the use of English.
The NL situation has traditionally been viewed as norm-

providing (Kachru, 1985b). For most native speakers of English, therefore, the international model of English still implies a monolingual model, on account of earlier linguistic conditioning. The "pragmatist/functionalist" alternative offered by Kachru (1982a) is that of a "polymodel", rather than a "monomodel" approach. Similarly, Mehrotra (1982) suggests the ESL speakers develop their own norms rather than seek native speaker norms. A more appropriate model of English for an ESL context may be derived from the socio-cultural context in which English operates, and would involve recognition of the functions/purposes that is serves. It would therefore be necessary to de-emphasize accuracy in native-speaker terms, and instead focus on contexts of use, on interaction and on the implementation of communicative options. Deviations from the native-speaker model/norm would be evaluated on the basis of their function in the socio-cultural context of language use. The model would recognise modes of communication in English for expressing and maintaining non-native cultural constructs, ways of life, and patterns of interaction; it would therefore involve acceptance of the ways in which non-native speakers use language within their sociocultural context.

FOOTNOTES

1.   Kachru (1983) refers to such use as a "performance" variety of English.

2.   See also Vanikar and Dalal (1986).

3.   Kachru (1983) defines the term "bilingual" as referring to a person who has available to him two linguistic systems which he uses for communication in appropriate situations.

4.   Gokak (1964) has also referred to the fact that competence in English varies among Indian users.

5.   The term "proficiency" often appears to be synonymous with "accuracy" as referred to in Widdowson's (1978) distinction between "accuracy" and "appropriacy".

6.   The relationship between language, culture and cultural constructs is suggested in the theory of linguistic relativity (Whorf, 1941).

7.   It is on the basis of the relationship between language and culture, that attempts have recently been made within the British educational system to promote cultural pluralism (Rampton, 1985; The Report of the Swann Committee, 1985).

8.   Gumperz (1962) defines the "linguistic community as "a social group .... held together by the frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding area by weaknesses in the lines of commucation" (p. 31).

9.   This is reflected in the fact that dictionaries today are generally "descriptive" rather than "normative" : they also list popular usage that would earlier have been considered as incorrect.

10. In his plea to discard "linguistic chauvinism"
    Smith (1983) argues that "English is the means of
    expression of the native speaker's culture and not
    an imitation of the culture of Great Britain, the
    United States or any other native English-speaking
    country" (p.8).