WORLD ENGLISHES: VARIATIONS OR DEVIATIONS?

SYED MAZHARUL ISLAM

ABSTRACT

The English language has grown as a global language or lingua franca among world communities and as many localized varieties as well around the world. Most of these Englishes, however, are marked by phonological, morphosyntactic and discourse deviations from Englishes spoken in countries like UK, Ireland, USA, South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Anglophone Canada, and some Caribbean territories, referred to as the Inner Circle where the language is used as the first or primary national language. Crossculturally, the non-native, non-standard varieties of English are likely to offer communication problems to the interlocutors with respect to intelligibility, comprehensibility, interpretability, and, last but not least, acceptability. This paper is rooted in the belief that if grammaticality vis-à-vis correct word order and word form and appropriate word choice and discourse conventions, as established as standards in the Inner Circle and used in the Inner Circle, are not adopted as the norm, the aforementioned problems may arise. The paper gives examples of standard English, written and spoken; next, it provides samples of deviant Englishes from diverse English speaking contexts which are likely to result in mutual unintelligibility. Phonological and morphosyntactic aberrations, and inappropriate discourse styles of these Englises are examined and discussed and then a point is made and justified through discussion that there is no alternative to the teaching of non-localized, standard spoken and written English characterized by grammatically correct forms and acceptable discourse norms to learners of English for crosscultural communication, no matter to which English speaking community they belong. Having said that, an interesting observation is made in the end that awareness of and sensitivity and accommodation to the linguistic practices of diverse English speaking communities, as well as understanding different native speaker varieties of English themselves, are also necessary for effective communication through English.

Key words: Standard Englishes; Localized Englishes; Intelligibility, Comprehensibility, Interpretability and Acceptability; Morphology, Syntax and Discourse; Crosscultural Communication

INTRODUCTION

Clearly, English has established itself as a lingua franca for communication between diverse communities across the globe. At the same time it has adapted itself to the local cultures by evolving into numerous localized varieties which are, by and large, mutually unintelligible. The global spread of English through history is represented by Kachru in the following 3-circle model of the spread of English.

Figure 1

Figure 2

Crystal (1995), unlike Kachru, proposes varieties of English as standards in themselves without a core variety (Figure 2). This paper does not subscribe to this view; instead, it is rooted in the belief that there exists a standard English variety as far as English grammar comprising word order and word form is concerned. Thus, the core or the Inner Circle provides a norm or a

standard in grammatical terms which is no to be swayed by cultural variations.

The Inner Circle represents countries like UK, Ireland, USA, South Africa, Anglo-phone Canada, New Zealand, Australia and some regions in the Caribbean where English is spoken as the mother tongue or the first language. The Outer Circle comprises places like Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Malaysia, Singapore, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Zimbabwe, non-Anglophone South Africa, the Philippines, India, Nigeria and others where English has spread because of colonization, communication and trade and has become an important second language, and the expanding circle represents countries like China, Japan, South Korea, Indonesia, Taiwan, Russia, Brazil, Egypt and others which have seen the growth of English not because of historical reasons but as an important language for international communication. The Inner Circle is said to be norm providing, while the outer- and the expanding circle are said to be norm-developing and norm-depending respectively. In other words, it is the Inner Circle variety of English which provides the norm or standard to the other circles. A similar stance is held by Modiano (1999) who, in his three-circle model, places International English in the centre the core features of which are comprehensible to most native- and competent non-native speakers of English and, therefore, acts as standard English. McArthur (1987), likewise, proposes a circle of World Englishes where there exists an idealized central variety or "World Standard English" represented as "written International English." What appears common in all of these three models is that there is indeed a standard or universal variety sharing the following characteristics:

STANDARD LANGUAGE: ITS CHARACTERISTICS
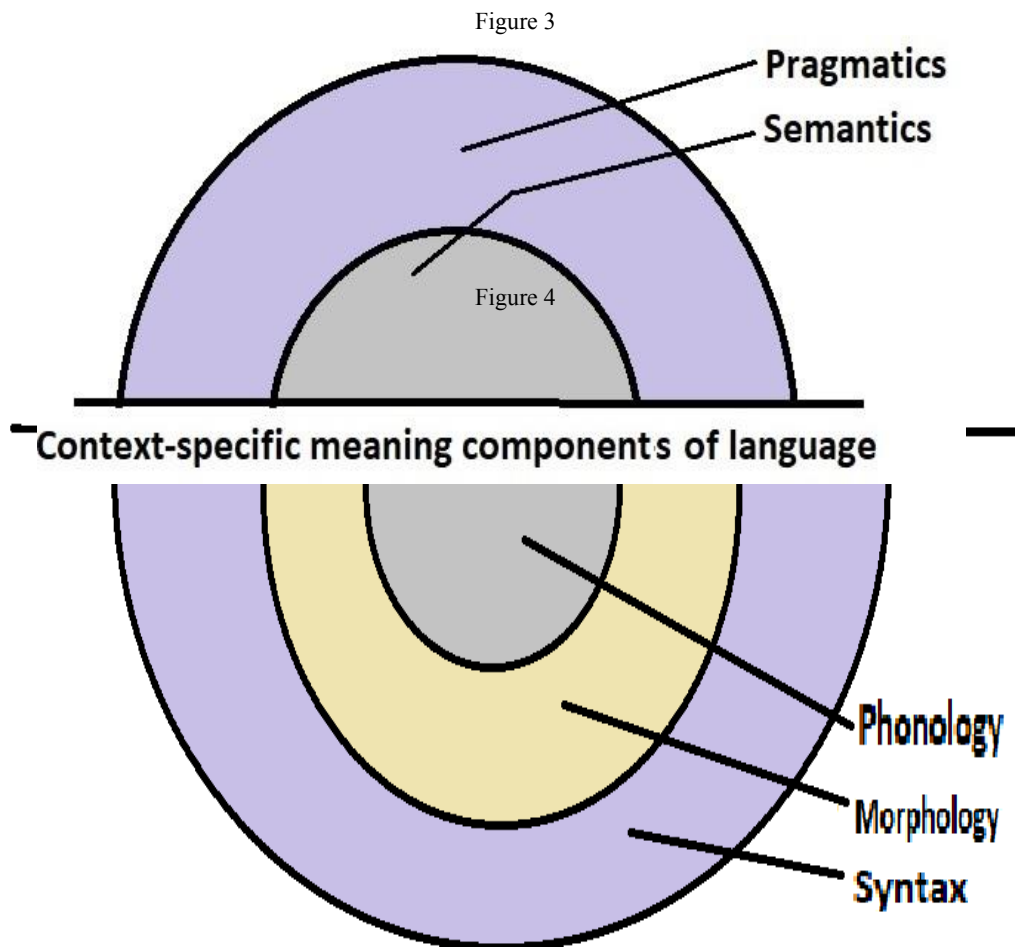The essence of Standard Language may be summarized as follows:
1. A standard language is a native speaker variety;
2. A variety used for formal, official and international communication;
3. Standard language is identical to the written form;
4. It is context-free, universal variety;
5. Standard language is prestige variety;
6. It is based on systemic rules and norms;
7. It is well codified.
8. It is based on systemic rules and norms.

However, there are standard Englishes within the standard, i.e., British English, American English, Australian English and so on with differences within themselves but as norm providers they have one thing in common (leaving aside a very few differences), a grammar which is based on a fixed number of sentence patterns, as mathematical formulas, which are not reinvented every time a new community or a new place adopts it. The English language is unique in that unlike many other languages, its word order rules are fixed accommodating variations within a particular structure without affecting the word order pattern or structure as in case of mathematical formulae. Isurin (2005) cites the following Russian sentences in which a free distribution of their components (the words) is allowed. Therefore, all of the sentences are correct.

1. A newspaper is reading a boy	O + V + S
2. Is reading a boy a newspaper	V + S + O
3. Is reading a newspaper a boy	V + O + S
4. A boy a newspaper is reading	S + O + V

English grammar would not, or rather should not, accept these sentences as correct irrespective of the varieties in which they might occur. This is the ultimate truth about English: Irrespective of the varieties it has evolved into, the core of English, that is, sentence structure and word form rules shall remain undisturbed by contextual factors.

It follows that there exists an inner core of the English language comprising morphology and syntax which are universal and context- free, not to be affected by localized or indigenized linguistic rules whereas the meaning components may be allowed to be patterned on individual cultural backgrounds, beliefs and practices. David Crystal (David Crystal – World Englishes – Youtube) holds the same view that world Englishes are actually Englishes characterized by differences in vocabulary (words, phrases, idioms and usages) or the meaning component. Morphosyntactic characteristics of English are little varied across cultures and hence variations in this regard are, in fact, deviations from the norm as provided by standard English as seen in the following figures:

Figure 3

Figure 4

Context-specific meaning components of language

- Pragmatics
- Semantics
- Phonology
- Morphology
- Syntax

The two halves put together would represent the structure of language as a whole as seen in figure 4 below.

Components of language
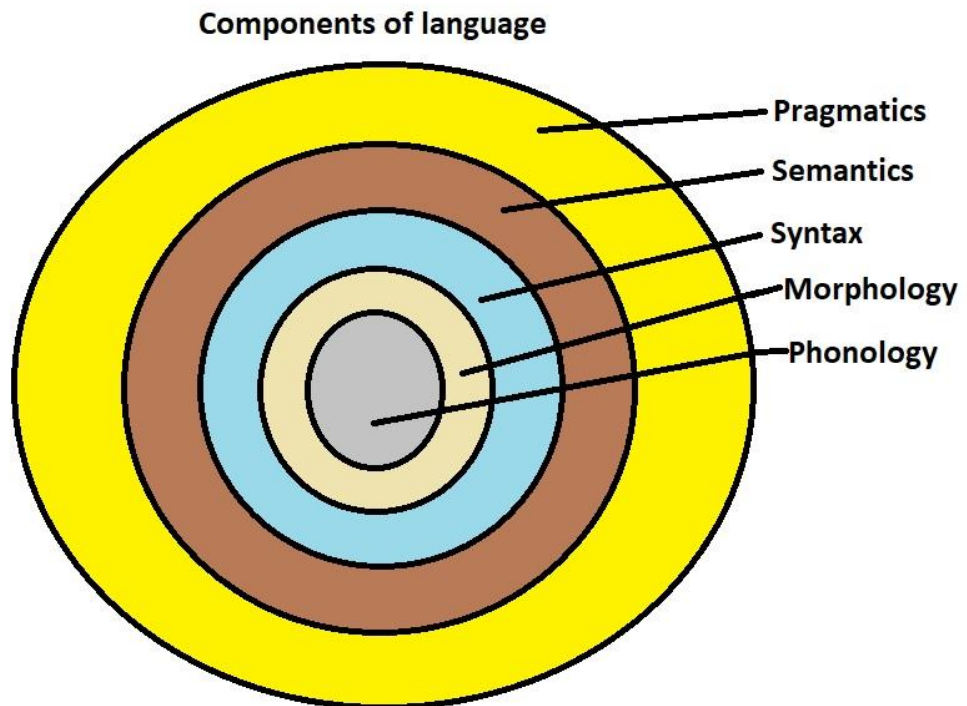
- Pragmatics
- Semantics
- Syntax
- Morphology
- Phonology

Figure 5

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Seen from this perspective, localized varieties of English are marked either by phonological and morphosyntactic, or semantic and pragmatic variations or by both which are likely to cause misunderstanding or ambiguity in intercultural communication. This paper examines deviant Englishes used across cultures with respect to phonological and morphosyntactic inaccuracies and semantic ambiguities which are likely to result in lack of intelligibility, comprehensibility, and interpretability of language for communication as observed by Kachru and Smith (2008, pp. 61 – 64). A fourth dimension, acceptability, is added to these features.

The paper gives samples of non-standard Englishes from diverse contexts deviating from the norm with respect to the core (context-free, universal items, i.e., morphology and syntax) and the context-specific semantic and pragmatic components. A point is worth making here that morphosyntactic aberrations should be considered a higher order of deviation than semantic-discourse deviation; however, both may account for the aforementioned problems, i.e., unintelligibility, incomprehensibility, lack of interpretability, and unacceptability as illustrated below.

INTELLIGIBILITY: LOCUTIONARY MEANING OF DISCOURSE

A: Her family name is Vogeler. (There is outside noise)
B; It is vogel, isn't it?
A: No, Vogeler. V - O - G – E – L – E- R
B: Oh, Vogeler (Kachru and Smith, 2008: p.61)

In the above text, the discourse is unintelligible because of an outside factor, background noise. There is no problem in the language itself though. The next factor is comprehensibility the lack of which may play an even more disruptive role in interaction.

COMPREHENSIBILITY: ILLOCUTIONARY MEANING OF DISCOURSE

T: Excuse me, would you mind going out of the class for a while?
S: No sir, thank you. (Author's example)

In the dialogue, the illocutionary or the functional meaning of an utterance is misconstrued or misunderstood. Lack of knowledge of sociocultural norms of discourse may cause such misunderstanding. Next, interpretability, an extension of comprehensibility, which may be culture-biased, is illustrated below.

INTERPRETABILITY: CULTURALLY BIASED MEANING OF DISCOURSE

A: Hasn't the President left for Nairobi yet?"
B:"Yes." (An example from African English cited in Bokamba, 1992, p.132), meaning "NO")

In this example, A's question would require a "No" as confirmation in the Inner-Circle variety of English which is not the case in an African variety which uses "Yes" in this situation. A, who is a native speaker of English would be confounded by the answer given by 'B', an African non-native speaker of English, in whose culture a "yes" is the norm instead of a "no". This example shows that this type of deviation because of cultural difference may render discourse difficult to interpret. Finally, acceptability is believed to be no less important than the three others discussed above.

ACCEPTABILITY

My town

My natal was in a small, very close to Riyadh capital of Saudi Arabia. The distant between my town and Riyadh 7 miles exactly. The name of this Almasany that means in English Factories. It takes this name from the peopl's carrer. In my childhood I remember the people live. It was very simple, most the people was farmer. (Cited in Yule 1985, p. 105)

The above text written by a Saudi Arabian female student, abounds with grammatical errors of different types, but in spite of them, as Yule points out, "it can be understood", but what would happen if Yule was asked to mark it on its merit as a piece of academic writing? Would he accept it as writing of high standing? The next excerpt is even more interesting.

The colonel and the housekeeper (collected)

(Sometime during the British Raj and somewhere in Darjeeling, India, a British colonel returns to his bungalow one evening and finds his fireplace chimney broken. So, with his sabre drawn, he shouts at the housekeeper):

Colonel: Hey, who broke the chimney?

Housekeeper: (Trembling in fear): Sir, kite kite fight fight broke the chimney. Responsibility whose?

The colonel must have understood what the housekeeper said (intelligible, comprehensible, interpretable and even acceptable) to him as speech produced by his uneducated Indian servant but would it be acceptable to him if it was said by an educated, upper class, English language competent Indian?

The next example of acceptability comes from an encounter of the author with an Indian man he met on the plane on a London-Bombay-Dhaka flight in the early 90s. It was really a monologue – the person seemed to be talking endlessly

> *I am living in New York for 12 years…I am not liking America, you*
> *see, so I am going coming , going coming…My children are not liking America ,too…Very soon I*
> *am returning to India….” (This part, by accident, seemed to work out well to indicate his decision*
> *and arrangement, unknowingly, though).*

From the man's speech it is evident that he was not quite an educated man; his speech was characterized by the use of the present participle form only which is commonly used in Indian English with stative verbs ("I'm loving it" or "I was knowing him" etc.) which is not acceptable in standard or inner-circle varieties of English. The man's speech was intelligible, comprehensible and interpretable but would not be acceptable if he was an educated Indian fellow; his language betrayed the fact that he was not such a person.

As already mentioned, English cannot afford to be ungrammatical; Unlike Russian (See examples given earlier), Arabic and Bengali (to some extent), English is a word order language sentences in which are regulated by universally permissible arrangements of words in a sentence and matching word forms nonconformity to which would be considered errors by any standard. The basic English word order is S (Subject) + V (Verb) + (Object) whereas in Russian and many other languages (including Bengali in which free word order options are available to some degree), there is no fixed word order; consequently, speakers of these languages are likely to suffer interference from their respective mother tongues and produce sentences as they would in their L1.

GRAMMATICALITY IN ENGLISH

Correct word order and appropriate word form in an English sentence, to the contrary, are what constitute basic grammaticality in English. Two examples below, one a highly organized and complex written text, and another a monologue delivered about the same topic, a rainbow, manifest grammaticality of English.

In the written text, every sentence is grammatical with the right word order, right word form and appropriate punctuation marks along with appropriate word choice:

The rainbow (written)

And then, in the blowing clouds, she saw a band of faint iridescence colouring. And startled, she looked for the hovering colour and saw a rainbow forming itself. In one place it gleaned fiercely, and in heart, anguished with hope, she caught the shadow of iris where the bow should be. Steadily the colour gathered, mysteriously, from nowhere… and there was a faint, vast rainbow.

A spoken text (a monologue) which comes next, about the same topic, the rainbow, looks different from the written text above, but is it ungrammatical? Surely, it is not. In spite of broken or incomplete sentences, re-routing, frequent pauses (all of which, among other things, are the paraphernalia of speech), there is nothing ungrammatical vis-à-vis word order and word form about the text; nowhere is there any wrong word order or wrong form; by definition, therefore, this excerpt is as grammatical as the written text which precedes it.

A rainbow (Spoken English)

> *Normally after…very heavy rain…or something like that…and you're driving along the road…and…far away…you see…well…er…a series…of …stripes…of…stripes…formed like a bow…an arch…very far away…ah…seven colours but…I guess you hardly ever see seven…it's just a …a series of…colours which…they seem to be separate but if you try to look for the colours…they seem …very hard …to separate…if you see what I mean…*

These examples from Brown and Yule (1983, p.18) would confirm that English grammar is based on word order and word form rules non-conformity to which will result in ill-formed, strange and unacceptable sentences (in writing) and utterances (in speaking).

What follows now are samples of Englishes from various cultural contexts manifesting phonological, grammatical, lexical and discourse deviations from the norms or standards provided by Inner Circle Englishes (mainly represented by British and American Englises). A discussion about phonological variations with respect to English sounds comes first.

VARIATIONS IN ENGLISH SOUNDS

Some of the deviations found in Outer and Inner circle varieties of English with regard to the sounds of English are as follows:

A. Indian English

1. English long vowels are not distinguishable in Indian English. (In an Indian TV advert, someone asks for his 'shot' (a body spray) but the person spoken to misunderstands it for 'short' because he cannot differentiate between the two sounds, so he delivers the 'short' (shorts, in fact), instead. A few other words in which the vowel length is not maintained are: 'live' for 'leave', 'pull' for 'pool', and 'cut' for 'cart'. As a result, listeners, especially native speakers of English, may experience serious comprehension difficulty.
2. Diphthongs are pronounce as monothongs in Indian and Banglaeshi English. Examples are: 'cake' as /kek/; 'make' as /mek/; 'take' as /tek/ and such like. Another example is /ʃeip/ pronounced as 'shep' by a TV newsreader , the first word in the title of this year's best film award for the film " Shape of Water".
3. /p/ /t/ and /k/ are not aspirated in a syllable-initial position, so the sound may be misunderstood as /b/, /d/, and /g/ respectively.
4. /θ/ and /ð/ are not pronounced; /θ/ is replaced by /t/.
5. /sp/, /sk/ are broken up; an intrusive /i/ precedes in word-initial positions.
6. Weak forms are not used; unstressed syllables take more time for pronouncing. (Examples are from Gargesh, 2009)

B. Bangladeshi English (Consonants)

1. /p/, /t/, and /k/, as in Indian English, are not aspirated in syllable-initial positions.
2. /f/ and /v/ are labio-dental fricatives but Bengali people pronounce them as bilabial plosives.
3. /θ / and /ð/ are labiodental fricatives but pronounced as dental plosives by Bengali-speaking people.
4. /ʒ/ does not exist in Bengali; instead, it is replaced by /dʒ/ or /ʃ/.
5. /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are palato-alveolar affricates but are pronounced as palatal plosives(Based on Syed, 2017, pp. 167-168)

C. Bangladeshi English (Vowels)

1. Vowel length is not maintained. Long vowels are not pronounced as long vowels; words like "heart" is heard as "hut", "pool" is heard as "pull", and "cart" as "cut" and so on.
2. The English diphthongs are pronounced as monothongs or pure vowels.

D. ME (Malaysian English):

1.The final stop is often replaced by a glottal stop, e.g. *ba* for *back*, *be* for *Bet* or *bed* (Schneider, 2003, pp. 56-57).
2. Some words are made homophonous like *theme* and *team*; *then* and *den*; *thin* and *tin*, etc. (Kachru and Smith, 2008, p. 81)

E. African English (AE) and Japanese English: /r/ and /l/ are not distinguished from each other (Kachru and Smith, 2008, p. 81).

F. Chinese, Ghanaian, Singapore-Malaysian English: /θ/ is pronounced as /t/.
These differences or deviations, among others, from standard English pronunciation are likely to present comprehension difficulty to speakers belonging to the Inner Circle as well as to competent non-native speakers of English.

G. Kurdish English: Rahimpur and Dovaise (2011) have found in Kurdish speakers of English evidence of deviation in their pronunciation of English consonants from the standard pronunciation some of which are as follows:

1. English unaspirated voiceless stops are aspirated;
2. /k/, /g/ and /t/ are palatized;
3. /v/ is substituted by /w/;
4. /r/ is pronounced as /ɾ/, a flap;
5. /θ/ is substituted by either /s/ or/t/

The above examples are evidence enough of world-wide variations in the pronunciation of English segments of speech which are likely to be problematic but variations of speech at suprasegmental levels i.e., stress and rhythm are even more problematic as discussed in the following section.

STRESS AND RHYTHM

English is a stressed-timed language which means that in a multi-syllable word, only one syllable is stressed as in words like "maCHINE"; "eduCAtion"; "BROken", "SYLLables". In many languages, however, words do not have the same word stress patterns of English or the syllables in a word are not marked by any stress patterns; rather, all syllables are of equal length and prominence (syllable-timed). Because all unstressed syllables between the stressed syllables are of the same duration, there is a kind of rhythm in English speech which a syllable-timed language, like Bengali, lacks rendering itself flat which is likely to cause comprehension problems to an Inner Circle speaker of English. In these two English utterances, "I would LIKE to GO to the STAtion by CAR" and "The SKY is HEAvily OVERcast", there are three stressed syllables in each as highlighted. The beats fall on the stressed syllables and both utterances are rhythmically spoken. Hindi speakers of English have a problem of a different kind: there seem to be too many stressed syllables in an utterance resulting in a delivery like: *He WANTS to DO it BY*

HIMSELF. English word stress patterned on Hindi makes Indian English what some native speakers call "sing-song" English. To Inner Circle English speakers, lack of rhythm in speech causes them discomfort because instead of listening to each and every word, they would listen to the important words and phrases for information signalled by the stressed syllables in an utterance; too many of them would be equally problematic. As a matter of fact, instead of being able to articulate the sounds of English well, it is more important for a speaker of English to speak English rhythmically; the languages which follow English rhythmic patterns or are close to them (Arabic, for example) seem to be more comprehensible to Inner Circle speakers of English than those (including Bengali) which are flat, have no stress, or follow different word stress and rhythm patterns.

Pronunciation differences, especially, rhythmic pattern differences, are problematic. In Kachru and Smith's (2008, p. 81) words: "The grammatical differences in the Outer and Expanding Circle varieties combine with differences in rhythmic patterns to cause serious problems occasionally in communication between speakers of Inner Circle and Other Circle varieties." Grammatical or morphosyntactic varieties of English across cultures are discussed next.

MORPHOSYNTACTIC DEVIATIONS

In addition to deviant phonological manifestations, inaccurate and localized grammar may seriously affect comprehensibility resulting in communication breakdowns as illustrated below. English word order is S + V + O but in some languages including Bengali, Arabic and Russian, the words in a sentence may follow a free placement order which is not permissible in English. Apart from deviant sentence structures, the use of different grammatical items which does not conform to standard English norms is no less problematic. Some examples are cited below.

A) Sequence of tenses: No grammatical constraints of sequence of tense

Indian English:

Last Wednesday, he said that he will be going to the City on Saturday and coming back on Sunday. So we will meet for dinner on Monday. I went to his room, and saw that he is not there. (Kachru, 1983) notes that such a grammatical deviation creates problem for a speaker of an Inner Circle variety in long narratives or conversations.

B) Use of modals: "Would" instead of "will"

a) Nigerian English: *At dawn, fog patches are expected which by mid-morning* **would** *give way to partly cloudy and hazy afternoon….* (From a newspaper, *The Guardian*, Nigeria, Banjo, 1997, p. 89)

b) Philippine English (From *The Manila Times*, June 17, 2003) quoted in Kachru and Smith (2008, p. 95): *Feken has suggested the passage of a municipal ordinance requiring inveterate chewers to tote or dangle from their necks…together with their betel quid poaches…An empty sardine can would do," he added.*

c) Bangladeshi English:

A meeting *would* be held at 11:00 am to discuss the problem.

The preference for *would* instead of *will* is deviant and so unacceptable in Inner Circle varieties of English.

C) Negatively oriented yes-no questions (Bokamba, 1992, pp 84 -85)

An example from African (Kenyan) English:

Q: Hasn't the president left for Nairobi yet?

A; Yes, the resident hasn't left for Nairobi yet.

In an Inner Circle variety, the expected answer would be *no*, so there is a great chance of misunderstanding in this case.

D) Tag questions

a) Indian English (IE), and Singapore-Malaysian English (SME) (Tongue, 1974, p.42)

i) A: I want it at six o'clock.

   B: At six, is it?

 ii) You are not going home, is it? (Platt and Weber, 1980, p. 76)

b) Bangladeshi English (BE): He doesn't like to go there now, isn't it?

Tag questions as the above are unacceptable in standard English. In American English, however, the tag "Right?" is common. Example: He isn't well today, Right?

E) *Complementation:* In Inner-Circle varieties of English, complements are either full or, if reduced, either gerunds or infinitives as in the following examples from Kachru and Smith (2008, p. 97)

a) Josephine said that she liked watching surfers.
b) Sally enjoyed visiting Alaska
c) Bill wanted to send some money to his friend.

Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes deviate from this norm as shown in the examples below (cited in Baumgardner, 1987; Nihalani et al, 1979; Whitworth, 1982):

a) IE/PE (Indian English/Pakistani English): *They were not at all interested in democracy… and were only interested to grab power.*

b) PE: *It is believed that PIA is prepared for filing an insurance claim.*

c) PE: *According to him, the government had not succeeded to redress the real problems of the people.*
d) PE*: He also suggested to curtail the number travelling through sea route by half.*

e) BE: *He suggested me to write it in red pen. (My example).*

f) IE/PE*: Meanwhile the police are avoiding to enter the campus where the culprits are stated to be hiding.*

g) GhE (Ghanaian English): *They insisted to go in spite of my advice.*

h) PE/IE: He does not hesitate from using four-letter words

Kachru and Smith (2008: p.98) view the above as deviations against the following norms:

a) In English, the adjective *interested* governs the gerund, and *prepared* governs the infinite.
b) *Succeed* requires a preposition *in* and a gerund in the complement position.
c) The verb *insist* requires the preposition *on* followed by a gerund.
d) The verb *suggest* as a mono-transitive requires a finite that-clause complement.
e) The verb *avoid* requires a gerund as complement and the verb *hesitate* requires an infinitive.

F) Subject deletion in Indian English (IE): "The plane reached Detroit. Later stopped for an hour." (Syed, 2016, p.73). This is not acceptable in Standard English writing because the co-reference subject is missing but such inter-sentential deletion is acceptable in Hindi.

G) *Collective nouns used as plural forms*(in IE/AE/PE/SME/BE)
a) furnitures b) equipments c) informations d) evidences e) advices
NOTE: Kachru and Smith (2008. p.98) point out that there is uneasiness in many parts of the English-speaking world about such "ungrammatical" usages.

H) Prepositions: In Kachru's words (ibid, p.99), there is no systematic information on the use of prepositions causing widespread anomalies in the use of prepositions. To add, the misuse happens as wrong, irrelevant or omission of prepositions as in the following sentences.

a) Singapore English (Tongue, 1974)

i) We can give some thought *on* the matter.

ii) The matter has been studied with a view *of* further reducing the risk of fire.

b) Ghanaian English (Gyasi, 1991, pp. 29 -30)

i) The police are investigating *into* the case.

ii) She has gone to abroad.

c) Indian English (Nihalini, Tongue and Hosali, 1979)

i) He is well accepted *on* his job.

ii) He was accompanied *with* his best friend.

d) Bangladeshi English

i) I will discuss *about* the matter.
ii) We are now listening music. (No preposition)

In an international context, the above uses of prepositions are unacceptable.

H) *Thematization or topicalizaton* is widespread in the Outer and Expanding circle Englishes (Kachru and Smith, 2008, p.100).

a) Singapore-Malaysian English (SME) (Platt and Weber, 1980, p.100)

i) Certain medicines *we don't* stock in our dispensary.

ii) One subject they pay for seven dollars.

b) Indian English: The weekend *you can* spend with your brother. (Gumperz, 1982b, p.34)

c) African English: My daughter *she is* attending school in Nairobi. (Bokamba, 1982,
  p.83)

d) South African black English (Mesthrie, 1997,p. 127): Tswa, *I learnt* it in Pretoria.

The device of front-shifting is utilized for thematization and emphasis (Kachru and Smith, 2008, p.100). But a further comment can be made that such a technique is acceptable as topic-comment structure in spoken English but is unacceptable in formal writing as well as in formal speech because it is a violation of an English syntactic rule.

The above are some of the grammatical deviations found in the Outer and Expanding varieties of English. Grammar follows a system which varies little crossculturally as already mentioned. Therefore, grammatical aberrations across cultures should be viewed as errors whereas new vocabulary may be assimilated into English as a result of acculturation and adaptation. It follows that English grammar which is universally intelligible and acceptable is to be followed for international communication irrespective of contextual biases, taking into consideration a very few variations that exist between standard Englishes, e.g., British and American English grammar, the two major Inner Circle norm providers. In summary, contrary to Kachru and Smith's (2008, p. 101) claim below, English grammatical variations are to be viewed as deviations, not variations.

> *The processes that lead to grammatical differences are aspects of acculturation and nativization of the language to express meanings the users intend to convey.*

LEXICAL DEVIATIONS

Unlike grammatical deviations, lexical differences, however, are aspects of cultural idiosyncrasies; variations result from all aspects of the cultural context an insight into and awareness of which are necessary for successful intercultural communication. For intracultural communication, however, the vocabulary in currency should not be problematic. A few variations in English vocabulary across cultures are discussed in the next section.

 A. *Words/phrases with localized meanings*

a) PhE (Philippine English): i) *Salvage* to kill in cold blood ii) *Studentry* to mean the student body (From Bautista, 1996)
b) Indian English: *boy* for "waiter", *lathicharge* for " charging with a baton, *cousin brother/sister* for a cousin (Kachru, B. B., 1983a)

B. *Lexical items with restricted meanings in Inner Circle Englishes have a wider semantic range Non-native varieties of English:*

African English: *Father* may refer not only to one's biological father but also to the father's brother/s. (Tripathi, 1990). In Bangladeshi English, likewise, the grandfather's brothers are also grandfathers.

C. *Change of word meaning in one variety may not be understood by another variety:*

a) Nigerian English: *Travel* means "to go away"
b) Zambian English: *Footing* for "walking"
(Bambose, 1992)

D. *Coining new words to suit local purposes:*

a) Singapore-Malaysian English: "actsy" to mean "conceited/proud" (Butler, 1997a)
b) Bangladeshi English: going "on lien" means "to take up a job elsewhere with permission"

E) Words change their grammatical categories:

Indian English

a) Your behavior tantamounts to insubordination. (Gyasi, G. R., 1991)
b) It does not worth the price (Gyasi, I. K., 1991).

F. Productive derivation:

a) Indian English: *prepone* from "postpone" (Kachru and Smith, 2008, p.108).
b)South African English: *Old Years' Night* for "New Year's Eve" (Silva, 1997, p.171)

G. New collocation because of loan translation

a)   African English: *small room* means the toilet.
b) Indian English: *dining leaf* to mean banana, lotus or any other leaves used as plates
c) Indian English: *common dining* to mean eating with people of different religious
     groups.
d) Indian/Bangladeshi English: *love marriage* meaning marrying someone of one's
     choice.
e) Indian/Bangladeshi English: *pin drop silence* means profound silence.
(Sey, 1973)

H. New abbreviations

a) Singapore-Malaysian English: *air-con* for "air-conditioning" (Kachru and Smith, 2008, p.108); also used in Bangladeshi English
b) Bangladeshi English: *CNG* for CNG-run three-wheel taxi

I. New idioms and metaphors

a). South African English (Kamwangamalu, 2001)
i) *I wrote it down in my head* ("I made a mental note of it").
ii) *Snakes started to play mini soccer in my head* ("I became very excited").

b) South Asian Englishes (From Kachru and Smith, 2008, p.109):
i) blackening one's face (suffer disgrace)
ii) sit on one's head (to get someone to do something)

The lexical variations illustrated above may disrupt communication not only between an Inner Circle English speaker and a non-native speaker of English, but also that between two non-native speakers of English from two different cultures.

DISCOURSE DEVIATIONS

In addition to morpho-syntactic aberrations, deviation from standard discourse is also likely to cause ambiguity. In spoken discourse or conversation, speech acts, functional exponents, turn-taking and politeness are important features, whereas in written English, especially in academic and formal writing, rhetorical organization, among other things, is important; these aspects of discourse vary crossculturally as illustrated below.

Functional exponents

Functional exponents of a specific speech act realized through different grammatical structures vary widely across cultures. Whereas politeness is a major tenet of the conversational principle, there are Englishes which undervalue this. To Bengali speakers, as observed by Syed (2016, p.83), giving thanks for receiving a favour from someone is not customary, not even in interaction with Bengali speaking people. For this reason, a speaker may feel uncomfortable using the following expressions in English for making a request or for responding to it.

   1.   *Would you mind…*
   2.   *I don't think you mind my asking but…*
   3.   *I was wondering if you…*
   4.   *Would you… (From Syed, ibid)*

Syed goes on to say, "A Bengali speaker of English would not understand why long, indirect expressions like the above should be used instead of more precise direct language." Strange and unwieldy they may appear but they constitute the norm in social

interaction, private or public, deviation from which would be considered rude and so unacceptable. Crosscultural differences in the use of some other aspects of discourse are discussed below.

Politeness

Cultural deviations from the norm with respect to the politeness principle of conversation are illustrated below. Liao (1997, 105 - 108) cites the following two examples of complaints from two different cultures. The first one is made by an American boss about a subordinate's performance:

> *I'm concerned about your performance. Been extremely concerned about your work performance lately; I don't feel that you're working to your full potentials.*

The language the American uses adopts the politeness principle of discourse as maintained by the users of Inner Circle varieties of English, whereas the one from a Taiwanese boss is not so palatable:

> *I don't like your performance; I am not pleased with your performance; I am not satisfied with your performance.*

The difference between the two speech acts performing the same language functions are different in that the first one is polite while the second one is not. This is a clear deviation from the conversational principle followed by people speaking English as their L1 and so is unacceptable. To add, a complaint made by a Bengali speaker would not be much different from the one made by the Taiwanese speaker, as Syed (2016, p. 84) observes, "Generally speaking, we are not used to complaining indirectly. We are not used to telling those *"little white lies*''.

Turn-taking

Turn-taking is an important feature in conversation. There are intercultural variations in turn –taking. In some cultures a man takes more turns than a woman; in some, the elderly people dominate the turns while in some cultures one's turns are overlapped with others'. In Bengali culture, for instance, people seem impatient while waiting for their turns; all seem to talk at the same time; this habit is considered rude in Inner-Circle English cultures and may cause communication breakdowns. The differences in turn-taking habits may seriously disrupt intercultural communication.

In academic writing, too, there are discourse features which are marked by cultural variations. How discourse organization, among other things, varies crossculturally in written argumentation is shown below.

Discourse organization in writing

Written argumentation, for example, in the Inner Circle variety follows this pattern (Kachru and Smith, p.155):

1. Convince the audience of one's stance.
2. Marshal argument to support one's stance.

A classic style of argumentation is developed through these stages (Syed, 2016, p. 81):

1. Statement of the problem
2. Giving writer's opinion
3. Supporting writer's opinion
4. Reporting counter opinion
5. Reporting support for counter opinion
6. Rejecting and refuting counter opinion
7. Reconfirming writer's opinion

Syed observes that in Bengali, stages four, five and six are usually not present and sometimes the writer argues both for and against the proposition. In some cultures, however, the model of argumentation is even more different from the usual practice. Lisle and Mano (1997) have found these steps of argumentation in Chinese:

1. Open the text with a universal truth.
2. Then broach the topic of the text.

Arabic argumentation is different in that it develops through verbal artistry, emotional appeal and metaphors instead of logic and evidence (Lisle and Mano, ibid, 17; Sa'adeddin, 1980, pp 38 -39). In Indian culture (Kachru, 2008, p. 156) the purpose is not to provide a solution and provide a stance but to lead the reader to find out the right solution for themselves. Such discourse deviations would not be viewed positively in a situation where English is used for examination purposes, e.g., the IELTS (the International English Language Testing System) in which writing an argumentative passage is a major written activity assessed on the basis of the framework as followed by Inner Circle speakers of English.

CONCLUSION

This paper has illustrated localized and indigenized varieties of English worldwide in terms of its context-free phono-morpho-syntactic components and context-specific semantic adaptations which are likely to cause problems in interaction between people representing different cultures causing lack of intelligibility, comprehensibility, interpretability and acceptability at various levels and intensity. Localized varieties are harmless if used within the community itself because the speakers are aware of and are used to the variety, but for international communication, written or spoken, the English used should be mutually intelligible; otherwise, communication breakdowns may occur. There may be ideas, concepts and beliefs which contribute to the formation of words, phrases and idioms in one culture but unknown to the speakers of another culture, so English spoken by different cultures may not be mutually intelligible and comprehensible if they fall short of a universal standard provided by the Inner English varieties. (See the appendix for examples of extreme Englishes used in notices and announcements in cultures where English is not spoken as the L1. The expressions would be incomprehensible to Outer/Expanding circle speakers as well as to Inner Circle speakers of English.) Language learners, therefore, need to read extensively, watch films representing diverse Englishes, and browse the Internet to enhance their awareness of the Englishes spoken across cultures. In Kachru's words (2008, p. 128), "Given enough exposure and sensitivity to diverse cultural conventions, it is possible to create an environment of negotiation and cooperation." Learners of English need to be sensitized to the fact that they ought be flexible and adaptable in their use of English; they are to remember that they can use their own variety of English for their own purposes (*Do as Romans do when you are in Rome*), but for international communication, there is no alternative to a mutually comprehensible standard English for successful communication. Learners of English should, also, be aware of the different standard Englishes that are available (mainly British and American Englishes which are the primary sources of all varieties). The different aspects of the two varieties are well documented in dictionaries available (both British and American) which not only teach vocabulary but also pronunciation and sentence patterns.

About speaking English, a point may be made that though there is nothing ungrammatical about it, there is nothing frightening about it too, because, as illustrated earlier in the paper, spoken grammar is more flexible than its written counterpart, so speakers can take their time, think, hesitate, pause, repeat and use any other communication strategies to overcome time pressure; they should be reminded that talking naturally is not speaking like a book.

Pedagogically speaking, classroom communicative activities need to be both form- and communication-focused (Syed, 2016, p. 85) effected through a contrastive analysis of L1 and L2 including metalinguistic explanation, demonstration and even translation to enhance learners' language awareness. Material-wise, reading- and listening texts depicting different cultures and their English-speaking habits are to be used. Such instructional measures would help learners notice varieties of English and get used to them.

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Appendix

Weird Englishes around the world

1, (Cocktail lounge, Norway): Ladies are requested not to have children in the bar.

2. (Hotel in Italy): The manager has personally passed all the water served here.

3. (Doctor's office, Rome): Specialist in women and other diseases.

4. (Hotel room, India): Guests are requested not to smoke or do other disgusting behaviours in bed.

5. (In Bangkok temple): It is forbidden to enter a woman even a foreigner if dressed as man.
6. (Shop in Greece): English well talking here. Speeching English.

7. (Hotel room, India): Please do not bring solicitors or other similar women into your room.

8. (Tourist agency, Czech Republic): Take one of our horse-driven city tours. We guarantee no miscarriages.

9. (Dentist's advertisement, India): Teeth filled and extracted by the latest Methodists.

10. (A laundry in Rome): Ladies leave your clothes here and spend the afternoon having good time.

11. (Car rental brochure, Tokyo): When passenger of foot heave in sight, tootle the horn. Trumpet him melodiously at first, but if he still obstacles your passage then tootle him with vigour.

12. (Golf course, Switzerland): Any persons except players caught collecting golf balls will have their balls removed.

13. (A sign at a cemetery in Russia): You are welcome to visit cemetery where famous Russian composers and writers are buried daily except Thursday.

14. (Recipe in China): F…k the potatoes (meaning "Bake the potatoes").

15. (Sign at a construction site, China): Erection in progress (meaning "Construction in progress").

16. (Notice asking residents not to carry household garbage into the elevator, Bangladesh): Dustbin inside lift will feel everyone bad (meaning "Garbage bins inside the lift will make people feel bad").

Syed Mazharul Islam
Assistant Professor
Department of English
Independent University, Bangladesh (IUB)
Plot 16, Block B, Aftabuddin Ahmed Road, Bashundhara R/A
Dhaka 1229, Bangladesh
Email: mazhar@iub.edu.bd