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Dialect stabilization and speaker awareness in non-native varieties of English[1]

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Research on indigenized non-native varieties of English has aimed to distinguish these varieties from individual second language learning in structural and social terms (B. Kachru 1983; Platt, Weber and Ho 1984; Cheshire 1991); however, quantitative evidence of this divergence remains scarce. Through an analysis of a range of Indian English speakers in a contact situation in the United States, this study distinguishes developing dialect features from second language learning features and explores the concomitant emergence of dialect consciousness. First, an implicational analysis shows that some non-standard variables (past marking, copula use, agreement) exhibit a second language learning cline while others (articles) form a more stable, incipient non-standard system shared to some extent by all speakers; a multivariate analysis suggests that both sets of variables are governed by proficiency levels. Next, the explanatory scope of proficiency is assessed by examining the use of selected phonological variants (rhoticity, *l*-velarization, aspiration). The use of these features resembles native-like style-shifting, as it appears to be more sensitive to speakers' attitudinal stances than to proficiency levels. This points to the importance of understanding emerging speaker awareness and perceptions of stigma, risk, and value in new varieties of English.

KEYWORDS: Indian English, non-native speaker, implicational scaling, proficiency, ideology, language attitudes, consciousness

INTRODUCTION

Indigenized non-native varieties of English (NNVEs) represent an unusual sociolinguistic challenge: they can neither be straightforwardly subsumed under models of individual second language learning nor under models of native variation.[2] These varieties have developed in multilingual regions through initial colonial encounters with native varieties of English followed by the retention of English as an ancillary language without extensive language shift. The hybrid nature of English in such regions derives from its functional status as a second language, on the one hand, and more native-like patterns of indigenous transmission and use, on the other. This typological ambiguity has been reflected in the prevailing literature, which has included

characterizations of NNVEs as fossilized second language acquisition (Selinker 1974; Quirk 1990), as distinct from second language learning (B. Kachru 1983; Tay and Gupta 1983; Platt, Weber and Ho 1984; Sridhar 1985; Cheshire 1991), and as equivalent to native variation (Y. Kachru 2003).

Quantitative evidence of the hybrid status of NNVEs, distinct in certain ways from both second language learning and native dialects, has remained a methodological obstacle: 'The main question with innovations is the need to decide when an observed feature of language use is indeed an innovation and when it is simply an error? ... If innovations are seen as errors, a non-native variety can never receive any recognition' (Bamgboṣe 1998: 2). This study of Indian English uses a combination of methods to seek linguistic and attitudinal evidence of ongoing dialectal stabilization.

In the first part of the study, an implicational analysis reveals a potential distinction between stabilizing dialect features and second language learning stages, suggesting a quantitative manifestation of B. Kachru's (1965) multidimensional 'cline of bilingualism'. While one set of non-standard features appears to follow a second language learning trajectory and is absent among more proficient speakers, another set is distributed more broadly across all speakers. Thus, while all the features examined are variable, differences in the *type* of variability lend support to the claim that innovations can be formally distinguished from individual second language errors. A regression analysis of several external factors shows both sets of variables to be sensitive to proficiency levels.

The second part of the study assesses the extent to which proficiency can account for other variation among the present speakers. While proficiency has frequently been invoked to explain inter-speaker differences in NNVEs, the use of certain phonological variables by the speakers in the present study constitutes an important exception. The speakers' differing degrees of adoption of American phonology in a dialect contact situation, and their corresponding metalinguistic commentaries, show considerable independence from their levels of English proficiency and resemble native speaker responses to dialect contact. This apparently individualistic deployment of selected dialect features suggests that a complex interaction between proficiency and new dialect identity forms the basis of dialect style for these speakers, reflecting both emergent native-like processes and specifically bilingual forces.

THE STUDY OF NON-NATIVE VARIETIES OF ENGLISH

Colonial rule established English as a primary medium of higher education, law, media, and bureaucracy in India, and while Hindi and vernacular languages have reclaimed portions of these domains, English continues to dominate many of them (Mehrotra 1998). English also remains a unique linguistic marker of elite access, class divisions, power asymmetries, and exogenous culture in the nation (Dasgupta 1993; Krishnaswami and Burde 1998). Fishman

(1967) considers English in India to be a case of diglossia without bilingualism, arguing that access to English is reserved for urban elites; at present, English use has spread somewhat more broadly across domains of use (D'Souza 2001), and one might argue that English in some parts of India is moving towards diglossia with bilingualism. Individuals are tied into personal networks based in local languages, but their participation in English-based domains comprised of other bilingual speakers, such as government or higher education, allows shared divergences to stabilize and persist.

Early work on NNVEs emphasized first language interference and unsuccessful acquisition of a native target, occasionally even citing India as a typical case: 'not only can entire IL [interlanguage] competences be fossilized in individual learners performing in their own interlingual situation, but also in whole groups of individuals, resulting in the emergence of a new dialect, here Indian English, where fossilized IL competences may be the normal situation' (Selinker 1974: 38). Other early studies were limited to decontextualized lists of 'deviant' usage in non-native speech. The major drawback of these approaches was their failure to explain: (a) the nature of new grammatical subsystems within which new variables exist; (b) the extent of systematicity in variation; and (c) the distribution of new traits in the speech community.

This early work was also founded on an exo-normative principle, namely that the appropriate norms for use were determined by a variety outside the context of use, such as British English (Quirk 1990). More recently, endonormativity has been argued to distinguish NNVEs from approximative or incomplete second language systems (Lowenberg 1986; Williams 1987; Bamgbọse 1998). Sridhar and Sridhar (1992) point to the absence of a native target, heterogeneous modes of transmission among non-native speakers, and a stable, functional role for English in a multilingual setting. Sahgal (1991) has shown evidence of a developing preference among Indians for 'Ordinary Indian English' accents over American or British English, a finding she contrasts with Kachru's findings almost 20 years earlier that a majority of English users in India favored a British model of English.

This transition from second language learning to systematic social and structural divergence forms the primary focus of this study, a process that bears 'ecological' similarities to some aspects of creole formation (Mufwene 2001) as well as to sociolinguistic factors in bilingual classrooms (Mougeon and Beniak 1996).

PARTICIPANTS AND INTERVIEWS

NNVE studies have often been restricted to relatively proficient speakers, although a few have examined a wider range (e.g. Ho and Platt 1993). As the first part of this study aims to distinguish between second language learning features and emergent dialect features, it includes Indian English speakers that range from minimal users of English to balanced bilingual speakers.

Another methodological motivation of the present study concerns the social reality of the variety for its speakers: NNVEs are similar to creoles and non-standard native dialects of English in being subject to both stigma and covert prestige. Prestige associations in particular have developed relatively recently in the case of NNVEs, and the balance of stigma and prestige plays a central role in the types and degree of stabilization that takes place (Bao 2003). In order to explore the coalescence of a dialect identity, in addition to the stability of dialect features, the data for this study were collected among first generation adult Indian immigrants in the United States. This permits a consideration of the speakers' linguistic self-image and their dialectal response to recent contact with a native variety, which potentially reflects their degree of confidence in the acceptability or value of their own variety.

Of the approximately 320,000 Indians residing in California in 2003, the majority lived in the San Francisco Bay Area, the Sacramento Valley, and the Central Valley.[3] The data for this study come from sociolinguistic interviews with 12 individuals in two Indian neighborhoods in the South and in the East San Francisco Bay Area. The core of the East Bay community consisted of merchant businesses at the time of the study; many store owners lived outside Berkeley and commuted, reflecting the relatively diffuse and scattered nature of the Indian community in the Bay Area, as compared to immigrant neighborhoods in denser metropolitan areas such as New York. Some of the first inhabitants of the Berkeley community arrived through ties with earlier California immigration, originating with Punjabi migrant laborers and farmers in the early 20th century. The major Indian ethnicities in the East Bay continue to be North Indian. The bulk of the South Bay (Silicon Valley) Indian population, by contrast, derived from the sudden and massive rise in employment of South Asian software engineers, many of whom came from the technological and commercial centers of South India. Although software engineers formed the most desired group of invited workers, increased immigration opportunities led to an increase in other types of immigrant labor, including food services and commercial businesses.

All individuals in the present study are first generation immigrants who acquired English to varying degrees in India, emigrated as adults to the United States, and for the most part have maintained their multilingual repertoires in the United States, mostly working in small shops or businesses. As the interest of the present study lay in characterizing the natural development and use of non-native dialect features, the data were collected through relatively naturalistic sociolinguistic interviews within the two chosen neighborhoods. The interviews, ranging in duration from one to two hours, were aimed at eliciting naturalistic speech data, personal demographic information, and information about the speakers' attitudes towards language use, dialects and cultural contact.

Table 1 lists social details for each speaker; the ordering of speakers follows the distribution of usage that emerges later in Table 3. An exact

cross-classification of all social factors would have required many more speakers, but since so little is known of the dynamics of immigrant dialect contact, I included as wide a bilingual range as possible, in order to approach a first approximation of how various factors may interact. Only first generation adult (predominantly male) immigrants were included. English education and daily use of English are independent but closely related variables, reflecting formal and informal modes of language acquisition. Time spent in the United States was also included as a potential factor, as was a range of first languages to permit an examination of individual transfer effects, although the present article will not discuss this in detail.

ANALYSIS OF THE BILINGUAL CONTINUUM

The cline of bilingualism and implicational scaling

B. Kachru's (1965: 393–396) concept of a 'cline of bilingualism' was intended to introduce multidimensionality into theoretical models of NNVEs. While Kachru and others have made frequent reference to the interaction of multiple social dimensions, such as acquisition, function, and context of situation, direct distributional evidence of the interaction of this cline with grammatical structures in the natural speech of bilingual Indian English speakers has been absent for the most part.

Table 1: Participants' social characteristics

Speaker	English education	Daily use of English	Years in U.S.	Age	Sex	Occupation	First language
KD	0	0	2.0	34	M	shop owner	Gujarati
SK	0	0	18.0	38	F	shop owner	Punjabi
CK	0	0	17.0	67	M	shop owner	Gujarati
RS	1	1	2.0	26	M	waiter	Tamil
RR	1	1	17.0	48	M	shop owner	Gujarati
KP	1	2	25.0	54	F	housewife	Gujarati
KK	2	2	39.0	62	M	shop owner	Punjabi
GV	2	1	0.5	35	M	software engineer	Kannada
RT	2	2	0.5	29	M	shop staff	Hindi
KB	2	3	40.0	67	M	shop owner	Hindi
SS	2	3	0.7	23	M	shop staff	Hindi
NT	2	3	2.0	24	M	software engineer	Hindi

English education: 0 (no English medium education), 1 (higher education in English), 2 (mostly English medium education)
Daily use of English: 0 (minimal), 1 (at work), 2 (work and some friendships/younger relatives), 3 (work, friendships, home)

As implicational scaling privileges individual differences while identifying relationships among variables and among speakers, it is well-suited to an exploration of this question, and has been adopted for the study of creoles (see Rickford 2002 for a summary), second language acquisition (Andersen 1978; Pienemann and Mackey 1993; Bayley 1999), and NNVEs (Ho and Platt 1993; elicitation and attitude studies in Agnihotri and Khanna 1994). Under an implicational organization of data in a given table, a [+] value in one cell predicts or implies [+] values in columns to the left of and above that cell. The reverse is predicted for [−] values, and these predictions significantly restrict the degree and type of variation a given speech community is expected to display. This binary contrast of [+] and [−] requires a threshold to be set, above which a feature is assumed to be present in the grammar. Alternatively, the actual frequencies of forms can be reported; I follow the latter convention despite the potential for greater instances of ordering violations as it offers a more precise and transparent representation of data.

Although legitimate concerns over the usefulness of a strict reliance on scaling for both second language data (Huebner 1983; Hudson 1993) and creoles (see Rickford 2002) have been raised, I initially adopt this approach simply to first assess the degree, if any, to which the present sample of a NNVE can be subjected to continuous ordering. In the remainder of the section, I discuss the types of variation observable and assess the role of external factors via multivariate analysis, a tool that has been fruitfully applied to SLA data elsewhere (Bayley and Preston 1996).

Variables and coding criteria

The initial set of variables includes: copula use, past marking, subject–verb agreement, definite articles, non-specific indefinite articles, and specific indefinite articles. Absence of articles has been noted as characteristic of Indian English (B. Kachru 1983; Platt, Weber and Ho 1984; Williams 1987; Agnihotri, Khanna and Mukherjee 1994). The other three 'interlanguage' variables have sometimes been generally noted in relation to NNVEs and have been studied extensively in second language acquisition of English (Dulay and Burt 1974; Wolfram 1985; Bayley 1994; R. Hawkins 2001). For the later multivariate analysis, all six variables were coded for a single set of independent external variables and distinct sets of relevant internal variables, shown in Table 2. Internal factors are not discussed in this paper; their impact on article use is discussed in Sharma (forthcoming).[4]

The copula was treated as null in cases of morphological absence of forms of *be* that were used with nominal (e.g. *She a teacher*), adjectival (e.g. *She lazy*), locative (e.g. *She at home*), and verbal (e.g. *She leaving*) predicates; in other words, the categories of copular and auxiliary uses were not classified separately for this analysis. In fact, auxiliary uses did tend to exhibit higher rates of null use, in keeping with findings in child language acquisition (Becker 2000), AAVE, and creoles (Rickford 1998).

Table 2: Coding of external and internal factors for six syntactic variables

External factors	**Coding criteria**
English education:	No English-medium education; higher education in English; mostly English medium education
English use:	Minimal; at work; with some friends; with family and friends
Time in U.S.:	0–5 yrs; 5–20 yrs; over 20 yrs
Age:	20–35; 35–50; 50+
Sex:	Male; female
Native language:	Gujarati; Hindi/Urdu; Punjabi; Kannada; Tamil
Syntactic variables	**Internal factors**
Definite and indefinite articles:	Grammatical function; clausal topicality; clause position; specificity; type of NP modification; discourse givenness
Copula:	Predicate type; preceding segment; following segment; number; subject
Past tense:	Morphological form; verb type; subject number; subject person
Agreement:	Type of agreement marking; verb type; subject number; subject person

Past tense marking was considered absent if either a past tense suffix or an irregular past tense form was absent (e.g. *I stay in San Francisco last year*). Over-generalization of the past tense suffix *-ed* occurred very infrequently but was included as a form of past marking. Ambiguity between an unmarked (non-standard) past and a bare (standard) present form was usually resolvable from context (using narrative context, topic, or adverbials, for instance); when completely ambiguous, the token was excluded from the data.

Subject–verb agreement was treated as non-standard if there was a mismatch in either number (singular subject + plural verb form; plural subject + singular verb form, e.g. *Our prices is cheaper*) or person (third person subject + first/second person verb form; first/second person subject + third person verb form, e.g. *You talks to them*).

The three remaining variables are part of the article system of standard, native varieties of English, within which definiteness and specificity are the two core dimensions of semantic reference. Definiteness is primarily rooted in discourse: J. Hawkins (1978) describes the definite article as an instruction for the hearer to 'locate' the referent of that NP within a pragmatically defined set of objects that are part of the shared speaker–hearer knowledge. This is sometimes referred to as 'givenness' in discourse, which Halliday (1967: 211) defines as information that the speaker treats as 'recoverable either anaphorically or situationally'. The definite article was treated as null if, in a standard context, the

article *the* would have been used (e.g. *I asked bus driver which way to go*). Optional definite marking of plurals (e.g. *Students who arrived late were locked out* vs. *The students who arrived late were locked out*) and other exceptional instances of optionality (e.g. *taxation of income* vs. *the taxation of income*) were excluded.

Specificity signals the existence of a unique real world referent for a noun phrase and specifically 'a speaker's ability to identify the referent' (Fodor and Sag 1982). Among the indefinite articles, non-specific indefinite articles were treated as null in contexts where standard native varieties would require the article *a* with non-specific reference, that is, in which the real world referent is not specified by the speaker (e.g. *I'm looking for job*). Similarly, specific indefinite articles were treated as null when standard native varieties require the article *a* with an intended specific reference (e.g. *I met friend of yours*).

Two types of variation: SLA features and stabilizing features

Table 3 presents the rates of non-standard use of variables by speaker.[5] The columns list the syntactic variables discussed above and the rows indicate each speaker's rate of non-standardness. These values are ordered implicationally,

Table 3: Percentage rates of non-standard forms by speaker (N = total number of expected contexts)

	L2 Learning features			Stabilizing features		
Speaker	**No past marking**	**No copula**	**Agreement mismatch**	**No definite article (evoked)**	**No indefinite article (non-specific)**	**No indefinite article (specific)**
KD	70	24	6	86	82	50
SK	70	21	16	50	84	50
CK	47	23	9	–	67	45
RS	28	16	3	55	58	31
RR	20	5	11	60	57	46
KP	22	5	8	78	47	23
KK	7	15	4	50	65	30
GV	3	2	0	62	51	21
RT	0	0	0	50	44	20
KB	0	0	0	40	29	21
SS	0	0	0	75	25	36
NT	0	0	0	0	9	0
Total N	926	1147	1372	102	380	274

Horizontal scalability: 91.6% [columns 1–3]; 86.1% [columns 4–6]
Vertical scalability: 86.1% [columns 1–3]; 69.4% [columns 4–6]

with columns decreasing in non-standardness from left to right, and rows decreasing across speakers from top to bottom. Speakers are therefore ordered simply according to their rates of non-standardness. Implicational predictions in the horizontal dimension (i.e. relating grammatical features) have been argued to carry slightly greater weight than implicational predictions in the vertical dimension (i.e. relating speakers), as systematic relationships among variables in a single speaker's grammar are more predictable than the exact distance between different speakers' rates of non-standardness (Rickford 2002). Nevertheless, relationships among variables and across speakers are both of interest here.

The scalability of an implicational distribution, calculated by dividing the number of correctly predicted values by the total number of values, represents the closeness of fit between the data and the predicted implicational model. The high rates of scalability in both dimensions demonstrate first, as many previous studies have, that second language speech is clearly structured in some respects despite considerable variation across speakers. Particularly in the horizontal dimension, of a total of 72 cells in the table, only eight values violate the predicted ordering; furthermore, these violations are still generally within the expected range and do not diverge dramatically from the values in the neighboring cells.

The data also show a number of previously unobserved relationships among Indian English variables. In this group, agreement appears to be one of the earliest acquired features among these speakers, showing the lowest values overall and the most instances of completely standard use among speakers. By contrast, definite articles show high rates of null realization for most speakers, even those at the lower end of the chart, such as KB and SS, who otherwise have completely standard use of features such as agreement, copula, and past marking. Thus, the initial patterning immediately shows that the notion of a 'cline of bilingualism' is not merely a set of functional uses of English across speakers; it is in fact observable in the structures of their grammars to a large extent.

Perhaps the most important feature of the chart, however, is that unlike previous implicational representations of variable data the present data must be divided into *two* distinct scales. There is no single ordering for all six columns in Table 3 whereby the requirements of implicational relations in both dimensions are maintained. For instance, if the sixth column (indefinite specific article) is ordered to the left of the first column (past marking), the implicational relation will hold for RS and below but will be violated for the first three speakers; conversely, if it is placed to the right of the first column, the implicational relation will hold for the first three speakers but will be violated for RS and below. The fundamental problem in attempting a unified ordering is that certain non-standard variables are spread more evenly and broadly across speakers than others.

When the three features on the left side of Table 3 – subject–verb agreement, past marking, and the copula – are grouped by speaker and presented separately, as in Figure 1, we see that they approach native-like use fairly quickly and are used standardly by half of the speakers. In keeping with many acquisition trajectories, the distribution in Figure 1 resembles an S-curve, whereby the majority of the values (34/36) in the distribution are restricted to lower (0%–25%) and higher (65%–100%) frequency ranges, and a minority (2/36) fall in a transitory intermediate frequency range (25%–65%). It is worth noting that the actual ordering of these three interlanguage features is different to 'universal' orders of acquisition proposed for English (cf. Dulay and Burt 1974), and I make no claim here that the emergent order of interlanguage features is universal.

These three features are present in the grammars of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages and so null realization of these features does not have much reinforcement from the local language systems. All five first languages represented in the data mark past tense overtly, in some cases with more distinctions (e.g. in gender and number) than English. All five include some system of subject–verb agreement; again, these systems are often more elaborated than English (e.g. person, number and gender agreement and object agreement). All five languages also have copular verbs, although Tamil and Kannada do permit null copula in certain clauses, such as NP–NP constructions.

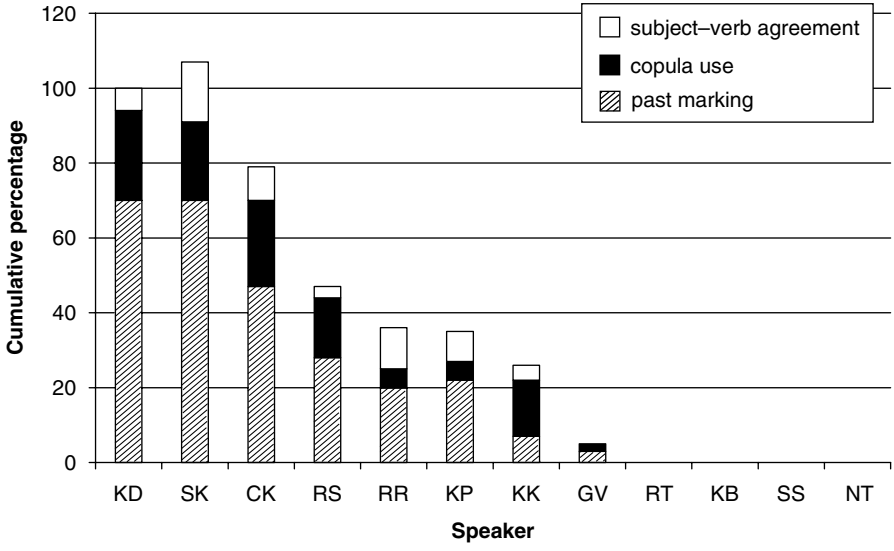

Figure 1: Non-standard use of agreement, copula, and past tense (three percentage values per speaker; N values in Table 3)

The non-standard article variants in the three right-hand columns of Table 3, grouped by speaker separately in Figure 2, exhibit a rather different distribution and appear in the speech of interviewees long after other second language learning features have been acquired. Many of these uses have come to be generalized to the extent that they appear in the speech of otherwise relatively standard speakers such as KB and SS. Figure 2 does not appear to follow an S-curve trajectory; instead, these features show a slightly flatter, and generally higher rate of use across almost all speakers. This flatter pattern was reflected in the lower vertical scalability of the data across speakers for columns 4–6 as opposed to columns 1–3 in Table 3. The underlying cause for this may be that speakers have begun to share and indigenously transmit a distinctive article system, while the earlier features in Figure 1 are following a familiar SLA path of acquisition, with transitional stages of non-standard usage ultimately leading to acquisition of the native system.

Unlike agreement, past marking, and copula use, the article systems of the first languages of these speakers are markedly different from the article system of English. L1–L2 mismatches have been proposed as an underlying reason for the difficulty of acquiring the Standard English article system (Huebner 1983; Agnihotri, Khanna and Mukherjee 1994; Young 1996; Goto Butler 2002; Jarvis 2002; Y. Kachru 2003). An argument could be made that the present rates of article use simply reflect late L2 acquisition of English articles,

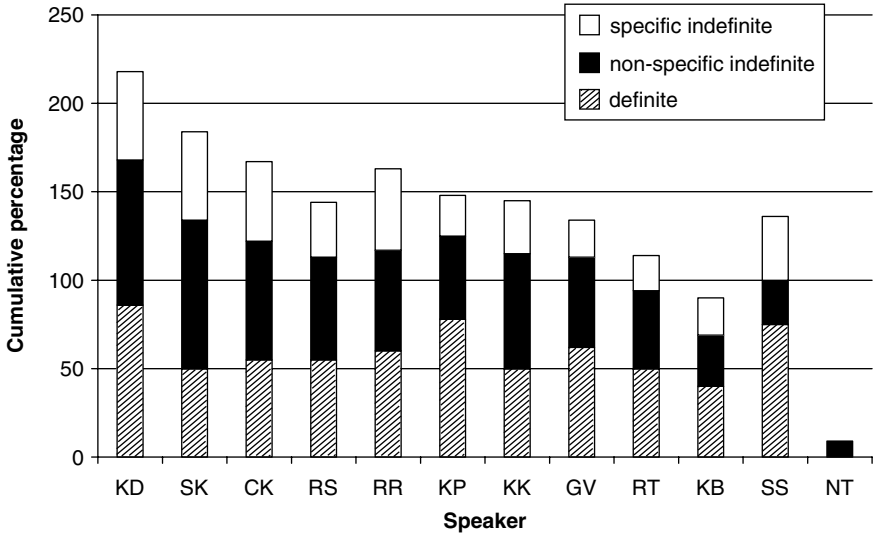

Figure 2: Omission of articles (three percentage values per speaker; N values in Table 3)

particularly as a speaker such as KD, who has very high rates of non-standardness elsewhere, also has some of the highest rates of article absence.

Even if Indian English article use derives from late stage SLA, at least two aspects of the new usage suggest that it may be a relatively stable system. First, the more proficient speakers in the continuum show little evidence of being at other intermediate learning stages, and so the contrast between their article absence rates and lack of other SLA features is quite stark; a couple of these individuals have grown up using English and consider it to be on an equal footing with their other native languages. Second, speakers share a strikingly similar system of principles for article use, deriving from an interaction between language transfer and discourse universals (see Sharma forthcoming). For the present, the key observation is that qualitatively different *types* of variation can be clearly identified within the present group of stable non-native speakers.

It is nevertheless important to observe that the ranking of speakers remains identical in Figure 1 and Figure 2, suggesting that a similar external factor may underlie both the SLA and the more stable distributions. The VARBRUL analyses in Table 4 confirm what Table 1 already suggests informally, namely that the two most significant factors for all six variables are daily use of English and amount of English education. The magnitudes of the VARBRUL factor weights in Table 4 reflect the relative influence that factor exerts on the dependent variable in question. In these results, weighting below 0.5 generally indicates that the factor in question favors standard use (or disfavors non-standard use), while a weight greater than 0.5 means that the given factor favors non-standard use; a weight close to 0.5 means that the factor has little or no effect. A significant gradient effect of amount of daily English use is found for all variables in Table 4, and a similarly gradient effect emerges in relation to English education in the case of copula use. The remaining variables are either not significant or not gradient in the predicted ways.[6]

Together, English education and English use can be said to represent the *proficiency level* of a speaker, as education reflects formal learning and daily functional use reflects informal modes of acquisition. It is interesting to note that the amount of time spent in the United States in contact with a native variety of English does not in fact have a significant impact on levels of non-standardness. The intuitive explanation is that superficial contact with a native variety, due to immigration, does not necessarily entail sustained contact with the variety and many immigrants reconstruct social networks based in their native language (or based in Indian English) after emigrating.

Although first language effects cannot be examined here in detail, Table 1 does show that most speakers at the proficient end of the continuum are Hindi speakers; by contrast, Gujarati speakers tend to have lower levels of English use. This is partly incidental in the data, but also reflects the importance of Hindi as the primary substrate language in Indian English. The Hindi speakers in this group are from the heavily Hindi-English bilingual urban area of Delhi,

Table 4: VARBRUL results for external factors in non-standard usage of four syntactic features

Non-standard past marking	
English use:	**Weight**
with some friends	0.173
frequently at work	0.667
occasionally at work	0.956
Factors not gradient: AGE	
Factors not selected: EDUCATION, TIME IN U.S.	
N = 686; Input value: 0.168; Significance: 0.000	
Null copula	
English use:	
with some friends	0.330
frequently at work	0.423
occasionally at work	0.891
English education:	
in higher education	0.436
none	0.692
Factors not gradient: AGE	
Factors not selected: TIME IN U.S.	
N = 850; Input value: 0.049; Significance: 0.016	
Non-standard agreement	
Factors not gradient: TIME IN U.S.	
Factors not selected: AGE, EDUCATION, ENGLISH USE	
N = 816; Input value: 0.076; Significance: 0.004	
Non-standard article use	
English use:	
with family and friends	0.300
with some friends	0.484
frequently at work	0.598
occasionally at work	0.674
Factors not selected: AGE, EDUCATION, TIME IN U.S.	
N = 1124; Input value: 0.394; Significance: 0.000	

and urban areas in India frequently include a higher proportion of more fluent or 'acrolectal' speakers.

In summary, although Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 129) describe Indian English as having 'significant phonological interference [that] is not accompanied by morphosyntactic interference', the present findings show that regular divergence can be found in syntax as well if the full bilingual continuum is

taken into account, and furthermore not all of these divergences are limited to the domain of transitory second language errors.

BEYOND PROFICIENCY: ATTITUDES AND INDIVIDUAL CHOICE

Despite differences in the degree of non-standardness in the two sets of variables, all variables examined so far appeared to relate to proficiency levels, a common characterization of second language variation (e.g. Ho and Platt 1993; McArthur 1998). This view tends to leave the *social* dimension of dialect stabilization unexplored, namely the prediction that speakers will be conscious of new dialect features and will have the potential to employ them stylistically, rather than passively discarding them in favor of native variants. The new local reality of NNVEs for speakers must therefore also be examined in terms of the emerging salience of features, dialect consciousness, subjective evaluation, and individual choice.

As the present participants are first-generation immigrants who now live in the United States, a consideration of speaker awareness of Indian English features is possible due to their situation of new and sustained contact with a native variety, American English. Contact with another dialect can be a catalyst for raising the level of consciousness of regional variants (Labov 1972; Trudgill 1986). In the case of contact among native speakers of different dialects, the adoption of new features may be a function of extended exposure but can also be strongly constrained by the degree to which speakers create positive or negative allegiances across groups. By contrast, foreign language learners frequently aim to approximate the local native variety upon immigration or formal instruction, given increased access to the target language (Andreasson 1994). If an Indian speaker is beginning to identify her own speech with a legitimate Indian English speech community, rather than as an unsuccessful approximation of native speech, then she may be predicted to respond to the dialect contact situation increasingly more like a native speaker than a foreign language learner. As a consequence, awareness of dialect differences may not lead to immediate adoption of American variants simply to the degree that proficiency permits, but may instead lead to style-shifting based on network ties and group affiliation or distance.

The goal of this section is therefore to initiate an investigation into stylistic choice in the situated speech of stable non-native speakers in contact situations, and to divorce these moves from automatic proficiency-based explanations. While the syntactic variables did not show great stylistic variability, an analysis of three additional variables in this section, along with qualitative evidence from speakers' metalinguistic commentaries, argues for the existence of a distinct type of variation to the implicational distribution identified thus far. My use of the term 'style' in this discussion refers to the usage patterns and choices of individuals in local discursive practices, drawing on their knowledge of a range of styles and dialects, and particularly knowledge of the social

interpretation of particular linguistic features (Bourdieu 1990; Ochs 1992; Rampton 1995; Eckert 2000; Irvine 2002); this use is distinct from the use of 'style' to denote degrees of formality in speech. In discussing speaker awareness of variables, I also hope to extend Labov's fundamental distinction between indicators, markers, and stereotypes to the domain of the non-native speaker.

Phonological features in contact

When in contact with American English, an Indian English speaker is often faced with alternative possible realizations of phonological features corresponding to either Indian or American phonological rules. Proficiency could potentially govern the choice among variants: on the one hand, we might hypothesize that lower proficiency in English leads to lower confidence in one's dialect, resulting in *greater* adoption of American English variants by the less proficient Indian English speakers, such as KD, SK, and CK. Conversely, we might predict that less proficient speakers do not command the language well enough to shift to the native system, resulting in their having *lower* rates of use of American variants. In either case, if proficiency determines degrees of native English usage, the relative ordering of speakers found in Table 3 should be repeated, following either a parallel or an inverse pattern.

The three additional features to be examined are aspiration, *l*-velarization, and rhoticity. The discussion is restricted to consonantal variables, as vowel systems vary considerably more within Indian English sub-varieties. Even within a study of consonantal features, the two Dravidian speakers must be excluded as South Indian English consonants are governed by significantly different rules from North Indian varieties of English, particularly for aspiration, retroflexion, and rhoticity.

In coding the three variables, only the least controversial, or most canonical, environments were considered, in other words, those contexts that almost categorically have aspiration, *l*-velarization, and rhoticity in most American dialects (certainly in California). Thus, for aspiration, only pre-vocalic, non-cluster voiceless stops in primary stress syllables were included (Kahn 1976: 45); for *l*-velarization, only coda and syllabic /l/ were included (Jones 1966; Rubach 1996); and finally, for rhoticity, only /r/ in coda position was included (Labov 1966: 39).

Selecting the least variable native contexts allowed a maximal contrast between the anticipated American realization and the alternative Indian realization of the phoneme. As noted in previous literature on Indian English (see Agnihotri 1994 for a summary) and as evidenced in six control interviews I conducted in India, Indian English generally has unaspirated stops, no velarization of /l/, and non-rhoticity. Full, partial, and no aspiration were coded separately in the analysis, but partial and full aspiration were merged for the

results presented here as both fall within the range of American aspiration. Similarly, full, light, and no velarization were coded separately, but full and light velarization are grouped together for this discussion, also falling within the range of American pronunciation. The case of rhoticity is slightly more complex, as Indian English varieties may either be non-rhotic or may have a partially devoiced, trilled /r/, and so Indian English as a whole cannot be assumed to be non-rhotic. However, the trilled /r/ in rhotic dialects does not resemble the approximant /r/ of American English, and so absence of /r/, use of trilled /r/, and use of approximant /r/ were coded separately, and in the present discussion I contrast the first two (Indian) variants against the third (American) variant. Table 5 shows the percentage rates and total number of tokens of use of American phonological variants by speaker. It should be noted that while previous tables have presented rates of *non-standard* use,Table 5 presents rates of use of *American* features. This is because the focus here is not on the extensive use of Indian phonology across all speakers, but rather the selective adoption of new variants.

In fact, even when speakers have a relatively high degree of 'Americanization' features in their speech, the actual proportion relative to their overall use of Indian variants can be quite low, and they often use American features strategically in discourse-prominent and salient positions rather than consistently throughout their speech. For instance, although SS has the highest rate of rhoticity, this usage is not sustained throughout. The extracts in (1a) and (1b) reflect his tendency to use approximant [ɹ] in simple word-final codas in place of a non-rhotic [ø] pronunciation. He does, however, always use a rhotic pronunciation of the word *Masters* (as well as [æ] rather than [a]), possibly associating

Table 5: Percentage rates of use of American phonological features by speaker (N = total number of expected contexts; vertical scalability: 53.3%; horizontal scalability: 90%)

	Velarization		Aspiration		Rhoticity	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
KD	66	6	200	1	250	1
SK	69	33	222	20	190	10
CK	31	21	91	0	81	0
RR	69	12	188	11	146	4
KP	71	13	187	14	188	2
KK	81	74	143	10	203	7
RT	43	33	154	21	164	6
KB	42	24	143	13	167	9
SS	47	49	85	38	162	45
NT	71	11	221	3	153	7

this term with the U.S.; topic-sensitivity of this sort may also underlie the shift to rhoticity in (1b).

1. ɹ ɹ ɹ
   a. Actually, I'm here for my higher studies. I'm trying to get admission
      ɹ ɹ
      for my Masters. [SS]

      ø ø
   b. The way [an Indian] uses English, the terms and the words, is gonna
      ø ɹ ɹ
      be entirely different with the U.S., the people who're here uses it. [SS]

Similarly, KK has the highest rates of *l*-velarization but fluctuates in his use as well. He consistently uses velar [ɬ] in the discourse marker 'well', as in (2a), and also employs dense clusters of American pronunciation in individual words, such as *girl* [grɬ] or *call* [k^{h}ɔɬ], while retaining Indian phonetic forms elsewhere in the utterance, as the use of non-aspirated [k] in conjunction with intermittent American velarization in (2b) shows:

2. ɬ ɬ
   a. Well, I see myself as Indian . . . I have felt that I should not lose my
      l l l
      basic moral values and cultural values . . . [KK]

      ɬ ɬ k l k k l ø
   b. I always felt that I could still keep my culture and heritage if I marry a
      ɹ ɬ
      Indian girl. [KK]

Other Indian features such as monophthongization or retroflexion are also widespread in this set of interviews, leading to very hybrid-sounding styles. It is thus more informative to compare relative rates of Americanization across different individuals than to assess absolute rates.

Table 5 retains the order of speakers that emerged in Table 3 here in order to assess whether the same ordering of speakers is meaningful for the new set of features. Recall that the proficiency hypothesis predicts either an increasing or a decreasing trend across this ordering of speakers. However, unlike the earlier vertical scalability in Table 3, scalability in the vertical dimension in Table 5 is almost 50 percent, indicating a near-random distribution. In other words, speakers' rates of use of American phonological features do not reflect the same implicational continuum found for the earlier variables. The absence of a repetition of the earlier continuum is even clearer in Figure 3, which shows cumulative rates of American usage by speaker. The three speakers with the highest composite rates – SK, KK, and SS – are distributed across the entire proficiency range. Furthermore, the least proficient speaker (KD) and the most

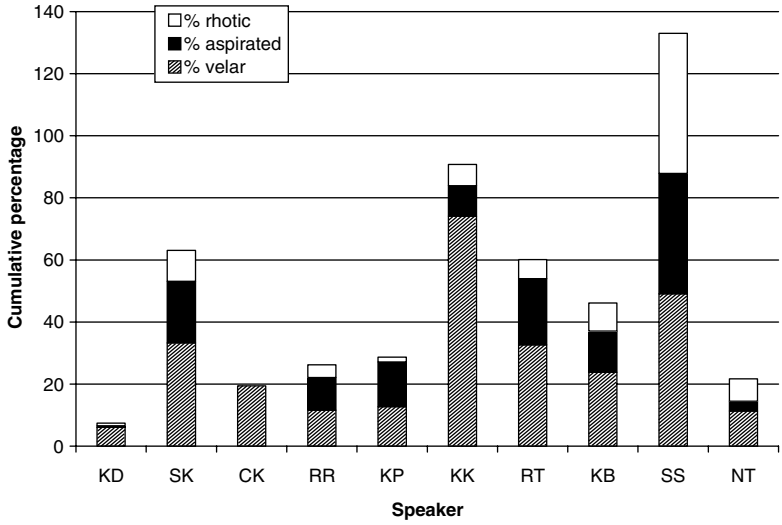

Figure 3: Cumulative use of American phonology features (three percentage values per speaker; N values in Table 5)

proficient speaker (NT) have comparably low composite rates of use of American variants. There is also much greater variability in rates of use per variable for each speaker in Figure 3, as compared to Figure 1 and Figure 2 earlier. KK leads in velarization, while SS leads in rhoticity and aspiration. This further corroborates the apparently individualistic nature of variation in this set of features.

Although of less interest here, it should be noted that there is in fact an implicational pattern across *variables* in Table 5, as the high level of horizontal scalability attests. This pattern may have a set of different underlying causes. The availability of a trilled [r] for some Indian English speakers may lower their use of the less familiar approximant [], and the fairly low rates of aspiration may derive from a perception of light English aspiration as absence of aspiration, as compared to full, contrastive aspiration in Indian languages. The higher rates of velarization remain unexplained, although Table 6, discussed later, indicates that time spent in the U.S. may be a factor.

The initial pattern in Figure 3 suggests that, for the present group, the two social factors that correlated with the earlier grammatical variables – daily use of English and amount of education in English – do not strongly govern rhoticity, aspiration, and *l*-velarization. If proficiency is less central to these variants, then what exactly motivates the high degree of variation in use of these forms? In particular, two dimensions of variation require some final consideration:

1. Why do *certain speakers* (SK, KK, SS) show greater rates of adoption of American phonological features?
2. Why are *certain features* employed stylistically (rhoticity, aspiration, velarization) while the earlier variables were primarily governed by proficiency (agreement, tense, copula, articles)?

Why certain speakers?: Degree of alignment with American culture

Before performing a VARBRUL assessment to confirm the absence of a proficiency effect on speakers' phonological choices, a more qualitative factor must also be considered here: an individual's personal evaluation of a dialect contact situation is a potential factor in greater or lesser adoption of new variants (Trudgill 1986). I begin by introducing some of these individual stances towards the new American environment, as expressed in the interviews. In response to questions such as 'Is there such a thing as Indian English?', 'What do you think of Indians who move here and sound American very quickly?', or 'Would you prefer to stay here or move to India?', clear distinctions in ideologies of cultural contact and speech style emerged.

Among one set of individuals – SK, KK, and SS, the three highest users of American features – the rhetoric of dialect change revolves around notions of flexibility and accommodation to the local variety. In the examples in (3), SK talks about accents becoming 'nice, Americanized'; KK says it takes 'efforts and guts to change'; and SS contrasts flexibility in one's ability to change against having 'a mental block' about remaining Indian:

3. a. Indians really twist their tongue easily. Their accents become very Americanized easier. But other culture it's take little time . . . Indian peoples, their accents become very nice, Americanized. [SK]

   b. If the children were born in this country [and] they have adapted the American way of speaking, wonderful! People like myself who come to study here or went to school in India, you know, we come and pick up so fast and change . . . Gujarati families will stay here for hundred years, they will never change. Because they don't wanna change. It takes times and efforts and guts to change. [KK]

   c. It depends on an individual's attitude. Some people are very flexible. So if they have this thing in mind that they can change to a particular situation . . . within very short span of time. But some people are very rigid, and then they always have this mental block in them, you know . . . [But] if you're working in an American company, then you have to be like them . . . You can't stand all alone. [SS]

Other speakers, by contrast, invoke a discourse of dialect change based in loss of identity and superficiality. The examples in (4) are from two of the lower users of American variants. KB talks of being 'proud' of his Indian accent and not having a 'complex', while NT suggests that sounding American involves 'insecurity':

4. a. Mine is an Indian English. I have not really went out of my way to pick up American slang and I have just kept it, my accent, the way it is and I feel very proud of it . . . I have no complex that way. [KB]

   b. (*What if an Indian sounds very American after being here for a short time?*) Oh, then I think he's just being facetious. [Or] he's got some kind of insecurity. [NT]

The remaining speakers express more ambivalent views on the issue of cultural contact and dialect shift, examples of which are given in (5). KD and CK interpret my question as merely asking whether learning English is good, perhaps as they are early stage speakers. CK and KP talk positively about the facility with which Indians integrate linguistically, but also use very clear rhetorical devices, such as 'those people' and additional descriptors, to distinguish themselves from such people. RR simply distinguishes between native-born and non-native-born individuals, and finally RT exhibits an ambivalence that suggests he may still be negotiating a response to his new environment as he has only been in the United States for six months:

5. a. It's necessary in America. You have to learn English before you have to come . . . Otherwise you're too hard to convince any other people. [KD]

   b. If [people from India] want to live in this country, they should learn English . . . They are educated people, right, those who come in this country? They have to live on their standard. They have to follow what the American does . . . [CK]

   c. Those who born and raised here, or kids, they usually speak, like, Americanized English. But those who are coming from India, they are always you know, different language, English language. They have their own accent. [RR]

   d. Those people are coming from Bombay, Madras or somewhere, they speak fluently English and you don't feel even they are coming from India to here, you know. They blended in so fast, the kids. So those kids doesn't have problem. [KP]

   e. If I don't like their culture so I'm not gonna adapt . . . In every place, like America, you can pick a lot of good things, right? The truthness, explaining politely and truly. So these are some good things which I want to take. Rest all garbage . . . [RT]

Metalinguistic commentaries are not always a reliable determinant of stylistic range as self-reported language attitudes are often found to correspond poorly to actual language use; nevertheless, these three groups of attitudinal orientation appear to correspond approximately with use of American markers in Figure 3. Although such subtle factors as cultural allegiance are somewhat intractable quantitatively, a very superficial ranking of the speakers according to the views expressed in (3), (4), and (5) – views that tend to be corroborated

elsewhere in their interviews – allows us to divide the 12 individuals into three very general attitudinal groups. If this factor of 'attitude' is added to the earlier external factors, we find that a significant gradient effect does surface for this factor in a regression analysis.

The gradient influence of attitude in Table 6 conditions use of American markers more systematically than other factors, which are either not found to be significant or do not follow predicted gradient patterns. In the case of velarization, sensitivity to both attitude and time spent in the U.S. is evident. Despite the absence of a range of stylistic contexts for each speaker in this study, we can observe here that even within the same situation of speaking with me as an outsider and an interviewer, speakers did not respond either identically or predictably according to their proficiency level, and showed highly

Table 6: VARBRUL results for external factors in use of American variants

Aspiration	
Attitude to U.S. cultural contact:	**Weight**
overall positive	0.680
ambivalent	0.438
overall negative	0.408
Factors not gradient: TIME IN U.S., ENGLISH EDUCATION, ENGLISH USE	
Factors not selected: AGE	
N = 1541; Input value: 0.100; Significance: 0.028	
Rhoticity	
Attitude to U.S. cultural contact:	
overall positive	0.798
ambivalent	0.347
overall negative	0.310
Factors not gradient: ENGLISH EDUCATION, ENGLISH USE	
Factors not selected: AGE, TIME IN U.S.	
N = 1623; Input value: 0.054; Significance: 0.026	
Velarization	
Attitude to U.S. contact:	
overall positive	0.764
ambivalent	0.507
overall negative	0.216
Time in U.S.:	
over 20 years	0.735
5–20 years	0.474
0–5 years	0.311
Factors not gradient: AGE	
Factors not selected: ENGLISH EDUCATION, ENGLISH USE	
N = 590; Input value: 0.238; Significance: 0.039	

individualized attitudinal orientations and corresponding styles. This suggests that nothing as simple as proficiency level appears to determine the degree of dialectal assimilation, at least in relation to phonology, and an Indian English speaker's individual experiences in a dialect contact situation have the potential to mold their particular response as profoundly as their linguistic fluency in English does.

Proficiency cannot, however, be discarded entirely in our understanding of Figure 3. Although proficiency does not appear to be the primary constraint on phonological choice here, it may be playing a secondarily constraining role. A bilingual may develop a positive response to the American environment, but his limited ability in English may restrict the degree to which he can adopt new features, regardless of his orientation towards the culture. In Figure 3, a downward trend is observable across the 'low Americanization' individuals, and an upward trend across the 'high Americanization' individuals. We might speculate that although speakers are aligning or distinguishing themselves from an American style according to personal choice, their relative *success* (in either direction) might be affected by their facility with the language.

The data are insufficient to make anything more than a tentative claim regarding such an interaction, but this hypothetical relationship between choice and ability is intuitive. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985: 182) treatment of speech acts as instances of 'projection' of a speaker's personal experience builds in these crucial dimensions, suggesting that we can only conform to desired group patterns to the extent that we have the requisite desire, *as well as* access and ability.

Why certain features?: Types of features and relative risk

The observation that NNVE speakers exhibit stylistic variation leads directly to the second question raised by Figure 3, namely, why it is that phonological variables in particular exhibited this variation in the present group, while the earlier syntactic and discourse variables were conditioned by proficiency. In their commentaries on dialect differences, the speakers in this study show a striking asymmetry in their evaluation of what they themselves termed 'grammar' and 'accent', a distinction that I did not draw explicitly in my questions but one that many interviewees made on their own. Given that all the speakers exhibited some degree of syntactic non-standardness in their own speech, the number of voluntary references to the 'correctness' of Indian English grammar was remarkable:

6. a. I've heard the people talking here [U.S.]. They use different kind of English. It's not actually *English*. Indian is more standardized. Standardized English is proper English. With grammar, adverbs, everything. [SS]

b. [American English] is more slang and Indian English is more respectable. More words and they using proper grammars. But here nobody use the grammars. [SK]

c. Originally they learned from the Britishers, so our English is totally right English. They speak the slang language here. [KP]

The views in (6) do not relate to the speakers' actual use but rather signal an abstract belief about the dialects involved. One speaker talks about Indian English as 'more standardized', the second talks of 'respectability', and the third uses the phrase 'totally right English' for Indian English. Although these speakers are not consistently producing what they might consider 'proper' or 'standard' English syntax, they have a strong belief, dissociated from the actual form of their utterances, that the 'grammar' of their variety is standard, *particularly* in relation to American English. Underlying this assertion of the relative 'properness' of Indian English is the insinuation that Indian English is a more direct and legitimate heir of British English than American English is, constructing Indian English 'grammar' as part of a superior linguistic lineage.

These same speakers who identify with a grammatically correct and prestigious speech community use radically different terms to address the question of what they call 'accent' in (7). SS, who was the first speaker quoted above in (6), says that the Indian accent is different but that 'it's up to you' and 'it's just your accent'. KP says 'we have accent problem' even though she stated in (6) that 'our English is totally right English' with respect to grammar. Finally, RR observes that accent, not grammar, is what distinguishes Indians:

7. a. Accent is different. It's fine, it's up to you . . . It doesn't matter, it doesn't, I mean, categorize you in some way. It's just your accent and the way you speak. [SS]

b. English is my second language. So I used to speak in India too. Still people don't understand because we have accent problem. [KP]

c. (*Would you say there's such a thing as Indian English, compared to American English?*) Oh yeah, definitely, our accent, you know. Whoever is coming from India, their English accent is different. [RR]

The views in (6) and (7) articulate an evaluation of grammar as 'proper' through direct descent from British English, and accent as 'personal' and legitimately divergent. B. Kachru (1986: 39) has noted that these domains may be evaluated differently by second language speakers, and in a study of elicited responses to Indian English constructions, Sahgal and Agnihotri (1994) found that Indian English speakers gave the *lowest* acceptability ratings to examples of syntactic non-standardness (e.g. word order, complex sentence formation, or tag questions), concluding that 'a common syntactic denominator acts as a

bond among different English-speaking communities' (1994: 284). This selective dialectal conservatism is reflected in the present findings: syntax appears to be a potentially more important domain of norm-maintenance in order to cultivate the status of a proficient and legitimate speaker, while phonology is seen in less prescriptive terms and may be recruited more readily for the construction of a local Indian identity.

Consciousness and evaluation

This difference in Indian English speakers' use of certain syntactic and certain phonological variants may be interpreted in two ways. First, syntactic variants may be indicators, and thus below the level of consciousness, not exploited stylistically, and not commented upon. Second, syntactic divergence may be consciously recognized but evaluated more negatively by some speakers, and thus not as willingly employed in stylistic work.

Labov's (1972, 1994: 78) well-known tripartite distinction in degrees of consciousness of variables – indicators ('never commented on or even recognized by native speakers'), markers ('not at the same high level of awareness' but with 'consistent stylistic and social stratification'), and stereotypes ('overt topics of social comment' showing 'both correction and hyper-correction') – has rarely been appealed to in studies of non-native speech, but is in fact central to the question of emergent dialect awareness among non-native speakers.

Higher degrees of consciousness (stereotypes and markers) have commonly been evidenced in two types of speech events: stereotypes are often manifested in explicit performances or imitations, and markers are often evident in self-corrections. In the present data, one imitative speech event parodied both syntactic and phonological features of Indian English; similarly, self-corrections occurred in both syntax and phonology, indicating that speakers are aware of all types of variants and that a simplistic dichotomy in terms of consciousness of syntax and phonology is false.

The two examples in (8) are both instances of phonological self-corrections, indicating awareness of several phonetic variants. In (8a), the initial aspiration and rising intonation in 'attachment' is replaced, in the second utterance of the word, by an unaspirated retroflex [ɔ] and falling intonation; in (8b), the initial form of the word 'forty' includes an approximant [ʃə] and a flap, but the second is non-rhotic with a retroflex [ɽ]. It is interesting to note in passing that these examples conflict with Labov's (1966) finding that self-corrections resulted in a stylistic shift towards the more standard or prestige variant, due to a shift from casual to careful speech. In both cases here, the speaker shifts away from standard American features towards a more locally shared style, and the direction of shifting appears to be governed by the interlocutor's identity, not by an inherent value attributed to the variants in question:[7]

8. a. SS: Obviously you miss your own country, where you have spent like 23 years. You have that **attachment** [[t^{h}ætmnt]) (*rising intonation*).
DS: Sorry?
SS: You have that **attachment** [ætmnt] (*falling intonation*).

b. DS: How long have you been here?
KK: About **forty** [fi] years.
DS: How many?
KK: **Forty** [fi].

Self-corrections of syntactic variants also occurred, showing that syntax can be at an equally high level of awareness for these speakers. However, here again a curious division resurfaces: while speakers often shifted towards *Indian* phonology in self-corrections, as in (8), all syntactic self-corrections, some examples of which are given in (9), shifted from non-standard to standard, native syntax:

9. a. RR: Everybody was saying that America is **land of** – **a land of** opportunity.

b. KD: No because **they was** – in India **they studied** in English.

c. GV: I mean, even if he **go ba**– **goes backs** to India, it's fine.

Limitations of space forbid a more detailed exploration of these speech events, but their occurrence in the data suggests a clear *awareness* of all types of linguistic variants, but a somewhat distinctive *evaluation* of them. Of course, non-native speakers may be particularly risk-averse (in terms of using 'incorrect' grammar) in unfamiliar situations or in interactions with native speakers, and a wider range of stylistic variability should be observable in more informal situations, or in India in the absence of native English speakers.

It should also be noted that the data do not reflect an absolute dichotomy of syntactic and phonological variation, and exceptions can certainly be found. Not all phonological variation is free of proficiency or exposure effects, and not all syntactic variation is governed by proficiency. Although no phonological features appeared to follow the proficiency continuum strictly, retroflexion, monophthongization, and especially alternation of [v] and [w] may be examples that are conditioned by proficiency at least as much as by choice. Time spent in the U.S. was found to affect *l*-velarization in Table 5 and may also be a strong factor for other variables, such as fronting of [a] (*can't, fast*) and t-flapping. Similarly, some Indian English syntactic variables may be employed stylistically, although again such examples were relatively difficult to identify. RS had the highest rate of use of the Indian English focus marker 'only', increasing slightly over the course of the interview, suggesting that his usage may have been sensitive to his level of comfort in the interaction. KB showed slightly higher rates of argument

omission in higher involvement episodes in the interview, which may also constitute a case of syntactic stylistic variation.

Nevertheless, the far more recognizable pattern was of stylistically governed phonological variation and proficiency-based syntactic variation. The present group of Indian English speakers appear to be aiming to inhabit two distinct linguistic spaces simultaneously in their interviews – the American English speech community alongside a more particularized Indian identity. A division of labor in terms of types of variation within the linguistic system, such that some morphosyntactic features signal education and proficiency while certain phonological variants can express allegiance and identity, is one solution to resolving these competing goals.

A prescriptive preoccupation with syntactic conformity has been extensively documented (e.g. Cameron 1995). Bourhis (1997: 312) even cites the French linguist Martinet's observation, in 1969, that accents and dialects of French should be respected as long as the speaker 'uses impeccable syntax and vocabulary'. This concern is particularly true of contact varieties: Eersel (1971: 320) notes that 'a [Surinamese] student who speaks Dutch in perfectly formed sentences, choosing words from a well-stocked thesaurus, and without a Dutchman's pronunciation, is highly praised: a man without affectation!' In other research on Indian English as well, Bhatia (1992) and Baker and Eggington (1999) have observed what they have termed 'bilingual orthodoxy' in the written syntax of Indian English. This conservatism in syntactic style may derive from the 'linguistic schizophrenia' (B. Kachru 1992) or 'schizoglossia' (Pakir 1994) of non-native speakers' simultaneous resistance to indigenous forces at work in their varieties and to the imposition of external models.

The same selective social markedness of linguistic features is also reflected in attitudes towards features of Standard and Vernacular African American English. Rickford and Rickford (2000) describe Standard African-American English as 'a variety in which the speaker uses standard grammar but still sounds black' (2000: 224). Hoover (1978) and Rahman (2002) offer further evidence of a distinctive evaluation of syntax and phonology in Standard African American English.

The argument here is neither intended to suggest that an inherent linguistic difference exists in grammatical and phonological variation, nor that consciousness of these features is different, but simply that prescriptive practices may impact upon non-native speakers' evaluation and consequently their social use of certain variants. At the same time, the emerging stability of these non-native speakers' variety is evident in their exploitation of both emerging as a resource for negotiating an identity that can encompass a dual Indian and American cultural investment.

This study has aimed to advance the methodological and theoretical underpinnings of claims that non-native varieties of English can be distinguished from 'approximative' second language systems in both structural and attitudinal aspects. The Indian English data discussed have provided support for both systematic structural divergence in certain parts of the

grammar, as well as attitudinal divergence in the form of dialect awareness and style choice. Although a bilingual continuum with emergent dialect features can be captured through quantitative analysis, proficiency levels can account only for the behavior of a subset of variants in such a continuum, and forces affecting local linguistic allegiances must also be taken into account for a comprehensive understanding of stable non-native speakers. This interplay of competing forces points to the need to narrow the space between SLA and native variation studies in order to account for language change in stable bilingual situations in a more integrated way.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to John Rickford, Penny Eckert, Elizabeth Traugott, Rob Podesva, Raj Mesthrie, Arnold Zwicky, and Ishtla Singh for sharing invaluable advice, expertise, and insights through various stages of this research. I am also grateful to audiences at NWAV 31 (Stanford University, October 2002) and LSA (Atlanta, January 2003), and two anonymous reviewers for much helpful input.
2. In the present discussion I reserve the term *non-native* (B. Kachru 1983; Sridhar 1985; Lowenberg 1986; Williams 1987; but cf. Mufwene (2001: 108) for a critique) to describe the varieties in question, rather than *contact*, which often extends to varieties which have undergone language shift such as South African Indian English and Hiberno English (Mesthrie 1992; Filppula 1999), or *second-language*, which fails to capture the distinctive stability of the dialects under consideration here.
3. Statistics retrieved on April 25, 2003 from http://www.iafcpa.org
4. Internal factors found to be significant included: givenness and specificity for null article use; verb type and subject type for null past tense marking; verb type and plurality for null agreement; and subject type and predicate type for null copula use.
5. Only the rates of null usage for *evoked* definite articles are listed in Table 3, that is the use of definite articles with NPs that have already been mentioned in the discourse. Prince (1981) treats this as the most 'given' status for an NP. As Sharma (forthcoming) discusses, the category of 'given' shows the highest rates of article absence.
6. Only speakers with some variability for each grammatical feature are included in each VARBRUL run; speakers with a categorical absence of non-standardness resulted in a knockout factor that prevented a regression of competing factors. As only two women were in the group studied, gender was not included as a potential factor for the present analysis. In general, multivariate analysis is less reliable on a small set of data with several factors; these analyses are included here mainly as further support for what is already evident from a simple comparison of Table 1 and Table 3, and later of Table 1 and Table 5.
7. My own speech variety can be described as acrolectal or standard Indian English with very few American features. As I was the sole interlocutor in all interviews, there is no doubt that this plays a role in individual choices among the interviewees. This does not however detract from the clear differences observable among speakers in Figure 3, given the same interview context. In fact, the shifts

in (8) are better described as shifts to the speakers' own Indian English phonological variants rather than to mine; for instance, my speech generally does not include the strong retroflexion introduced in both (8a) and (8b).

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