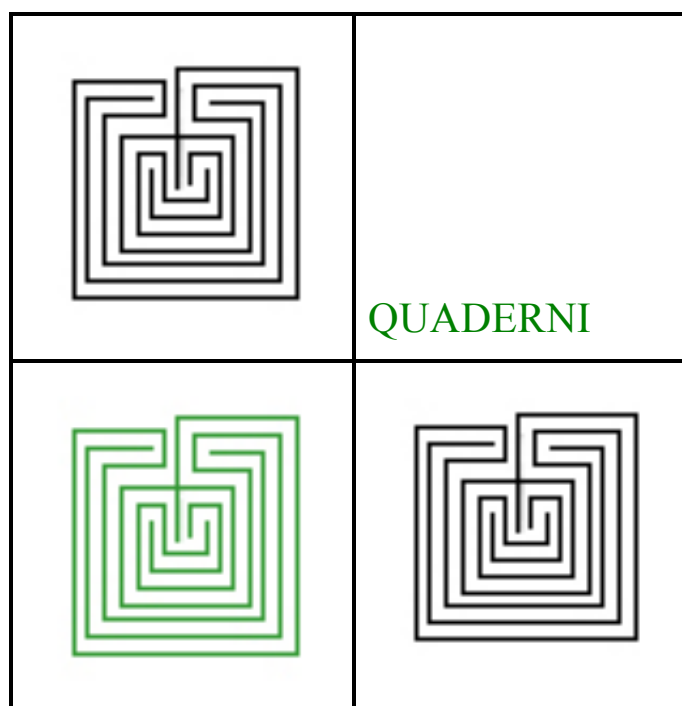

CONTACT ZONES

CULTURAL, LINGUISTIC AND LITERARY
CONNECTIONS IN ENGLISH

edited by Maria Micaela Coppola,
Francesca Di Blasio, Sabrina Francesconi



LABIRINTI 179

Università degli Studi di Trento
Dipartimento di Lettere e Filosofia

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GIULIANA REGNOLI

LOCAL AND GLOBAL IDEOLOGIES IN TRANSIENT CONTACT
ZONES: EVIDENCE FROM AN INDIAN STUDENT COMMUNITY

1. *Introduction*

Indigenised non-native varieties of English challenge much sociolinguistic theory since they cannot simply come under models of second language learning nor under those of first language variation.¹ These varieties have emerged in language contact situations and developed their hybrid nature in multilingual regions in which native-like patterns of indigenous transmission and use have progressively entered the superstrate language.² However, anthropological approaches to language point to the fact that languages do not come into contact in any meaningful sense, but, rather, speakers do under a wide range of historical and social circumstances such as colonialism, slavery, and, more recently, under new forms of globalisation.³ In such occasions, speakers make selections from a pool of linguistic variants available to them and, through such a mixture of features, they reproduce, recreate and appropriate elements of a selected language.⁴ In other words, language events occur in

¹ D. Sharma, *Dialect Stabilization and Speaker Awareness in Non-Native Varieties of English*, «Journal of Sociolinguistics», 9 (2005), pp. 194-224.

² See P. Sailaja, *Indian English*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2009; E. Schneider, *Postcolonial Englishes. Varieties Around the World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007; B.B. Kachru, *The Indianization of English. The English Language in India*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1983.

³ P.B. Garrett, *Language Contact and Contact Languages*, in A. Duranti (ed.), *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford 2009, pp. 46-72.

⁴ Mufwene's theory of ecology applies to language contact situations. The 'feature pool' consists of the sum total of all individual forms and variants that each of the speakers involved, with diverse language backgrounds, brings to the contact situation. See S. Mufwene, *The Ecology of Language Evolution*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2001.

what Pratt has conceptualised as the contact zone: «[a] social space where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other», and where people «come into contact [...] and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict».⁵

The paper focuses on the development of new linguistic forms which draw on diverse language ideologies of cultural contact. Here I refer to ideologies as «sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use».⁶ When cultural contact occurs, it becomes necessary for speakers to negotiate language ideologies actively and to reflect on language use consciously. Hence, a valuable ideological dimension is dialect awareness, here intended as «[the] capacity to switch attention from the communicative goals of language to the formal means of their expression»⁷ (see Section 2). In the multicultural and multilingual Indian scenario, the outcome of cultural contact has produced what Kachru has defined as «Indianness».⁸ In diasporic settings, the Indianness incident to speakers' language attitudes seemingly acquires a particular poignancy as they quest for linguistic and cultural distinctiveness. Their constant need of renegotiating the problem of ethnicity is resolved in their willingness (or not) to shed their regional, linguistic, and ethnic identities, sometimes to the detriment of

⁵ M.L. Pratt, *Arts of the Contact Zone*, «Profession», 91 (1991), pp. 6-7, 34.

⁶ M. Silverstein, *Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology*, in R. Cline, W. Hanks, and C. Hofbauer (eds.), *The Elements: a Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels*, Chicago Linguistic Society, Chicago 1979, p. 193.

⁷ A.D. Roberts, *The Role of Metalinguistic Awareness in the Effective Teaching of Foreign Languages*, Peter Lang, Oxford 2011, p. 9.

⁸ Kachru defines the Indianness as being constituted by «those formal features of IE which mark it distinct [...] from the *Englishness* of British English, or from the *Americanness* in American English»; see B.B. Kachru, *The Indianness in Indian English*, «Word», 21 (1965), p. 392.

their more general pan-Indian one.⁹ In this sense, «a person may be Bengali [or] Indian» depending on specific sociocultural and linguistic circumstances.¹⁰

Following this line of argument, the present paper explores ideologies of localisation and globalisation in the transient community of Indian university students located in Heidelberg, Germany. Composed of more than 500 members coming from all over India, the community is a *de facto* 'two-fold contact zone', a catalyst for continuous dialect contact situations in which network ties and in-group affiliations shape (and are shaped) by speakers' language attitudes.¹¹ Here, intra-group differences are key factors contributing to the understating of the community's structure, members' identity development and attitudinal orientation toward standard and non-standard varieties of English. In addition, not only do such differences emphasise a sense of what the anthropologist Steven Vertovec has defined as «diaspora consciousness», a «multi-locality» that, in the words of Friesen and Kearns, involves dual or multiple identities, but they also shed new light on language power relations.¹² Thus, the study aims to assess how local and global ideologies of cultural contact affect the language attitudes of community members in light of the transient aspect of the community.

The research suggests two approaches that may be followed: a more qualitative one aiming at eliciting respondents' value judgements concerning the variables at issue (through

⁹ See N. Jayaram, *The Indian Diaspora: Dynamics of Migration*, Sage, New Delhi 2004.

¹⁰ W. Friesen, R.A. Kearns, *Indian Diaspora in New Zealand: History, Identity and Cultural Landscapes*, in P. Raghuram, A. Kumar Sahoo, B. Maharaj and D. Sangha (eds.), *Tracing an Indian Diaspora. Contexts, Memories, Representations*, Sage, New Delhi 2008, pp. 210-236.

¹¹ Language attitudes are here intended as reactions to specific language ideologies.

¹² See S. Vertovec, *Three Meanings of 'Diaspora', Exemplified among South Asia Religions*, «Diaspora», 6 (1999), 3, pp. 277-300; W. Friesen, R. A. Kearns, *Indian Diaspora in New Zealand*.

sociolinguistic interviews) and a more quantitative one as to support the qualitative analysis of the data (through statistics retrieved from a web-based questionnaire). Studying language ideologies in transient multilingual communities may be helpful as far as perceived in-group linguistic variation is concerned. Specifically, a study on accent perceptions might shed new light on local and global ideologies, since they tend to be often associated with biases and prejudices and with positive or negative responses.¹³ Consequently, these factors need to be examined in more detail as evidence suggests an interesting correlation between language ideologies and attitudinal orientations in transient multilingual communities.¹⁴

After a brief sketch of previous related research in language variation and ideology in primary diaspora situations and in transient multilingual communities (Section 2), and an outline of the sociolinguistic background to the Heidelberg Indian student community (Section 3), an analysis of language attitudes and personal language-related plans towards Indian English, British English and American English (hereafter, IndE, BrE and AmE) and participants' descriptions of stereotypical IndE local features (Section 4-5) will hopefully shed new light on the relation between local and global language ideologies in transient communities.

2. Language Ideologies in Indian Diasporas and Transient Multilingual Communities

The study of language ideologies has become a fertile topic of investigation in multiple linguistic areas including socio-

¹³ See V. Chand, *[V]at is Going on? Local and Global Ideologies about Indian English*, «Language in Society», 38 (2009), pp. 393-419.

¹⁴ J. Mortensen, J.A. Fabricius, *Language Ideologies in Danish Higher Education: Exploring Student Perspectives*, in A.K. Hultgren, F. Gregersen and J. Thøgersen (eds.), *English in Nordic Universities: Ideologies and Practices*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam 2014, pp. 193-223.

linguistics, linguistic anthropology and discourse over the past decades. However, there is no consensus in the highly prolific body of research concerning language ideologies. Alan Rumsey, for instance, refers to language ideologies as «shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world».¹⁵ Considered as one of the most straightforward and, at the same time, controversial definitions of language ideologies, Rumsey's notion does not problematise language ideological variation, thus contributing to the promotion of a homogeneous view of language ideologies within a cultural group. Yet, considering that both social and linguistic variation influence change, it would be more useful to use an analytical framework which captures diversity rather than uniformity in a shared culture. Michael Silverstein highlights the importance of folk awareness and defines language ideologies as «[...] sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use».¹⁶ His pioneering definition recalls the writings of philosophers such as Wittgenstein and Austin, and the sociolinguist Dell Hymes in the recognition of a more central and mediating role for linguistic ideology as an influential level of language. As he puts it:

it has become clearer that people not only speak about, or refer to, the world “out there” – outside of language – they also presuppose (or reflect) and create (or fashion) a good deal of social reality by the very activity of using language. We should ask, in particular, how the seemingly reflective and creative or “performative” functions of language (or, rather, of language use) relate to native awareness and native ideology.¹⁷

The importance of attending to awareness as an ideological dimension involves the recognition of speakers who, by

¹⁵ A. Rumsey, *Wording, Meaning, and Linguistic Ideology*, «American Anthropologist», 92 (1990), p. 346.

¹⁶ M. Silverstein, *Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology*, 1979, p. 193.

¹⁷ Ivi, p. 194.

rationalising their language, contribute to its gradual change. In this sense, Silverstein argues that the ideology of performativity demonstrates the interdependence of metalinguistic functions and formations of linguistic ideologies, intensifying what Kroskrity defines as the «tension between emphasizing speakers' awareness as a form of agency, and foregrounding their 'embeddedness' in the social and cultural systems in which they are enveloped».¹⁸

Devyani Sharma's work on Indian stable communities in a contact situation in the United States, for example, explored ideologies of cultural contact along with the concomitant emergence of dialect consciousness.¹⁹ Her results are likely to point that speakers' awareness of dialect differences leads to style-shifting processes based on network ties and in-group affiliation or distance. In this sense, Sharma emphasised speakers' personal evaluations of dialect contact situations over proficiency levels and pointed to the importance of understanding participants' perceptions of stigma, risk, and value in IndE. In order to further the understanding of the Indian diaspora, Sharma's more recent work explored, both theoretically and methodologically, the relation between the rate of change and adaptation and the degree of transnational network maintenance in a diasporic Punjabi community in West London. Her analysis offered interesting insights into the ideological orientations of the community – which resulted in evidence of overt prestige for the standard variety of IndE – and contributed to shed new light on the impact of transnational activities on language behaviour.²⁰

¹⁸ P. Kroskrity, *Language Ideologies*, in A. Duranti (ed.), *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford 2009, p. 497.

¹⁹ See D. Sharma, *Dialect Stabilization and Speaker Awareness in Non-Native Varieties of English*.

²⁰ D. Sharma, *Transnational Flows, Language Variation, and Ideology*, in M. Hundt and D. Sharma (eds.), *English in the Indian Diaspora*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam 2014, pp. 215-242.

Discourses on trans-contextual networks, flows and movements have always been central in Blommaert's work on language ideologies.²¹ His analysis is generally articulated through several discursive modes (mainly, through media and institutions) and puts great emphasis on the connections with indexicality. He argues that «ideology offers semiotic opportunities through the availability of multiple meaningful batteries of indexicality», hence, it operates in and through multiple layers of polycentric and stratified systems.²² In Blommaert's view, ideology is strictly bound to contextualised local and global practices. By rethinking globalisation as a sociolinguistics of mobile resources, he suggests that research must focus on the reconsideration of locality, repertoires, competence, history and sociolinguistic inequality.²³

This kind of analysis is crucial to works concerning transient multilingual communities, since it points to their intrinsic fluidity of movements and linguistic norms. Transient communities are social configurations in which people from diverse sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds come together for a limited period of time around specific shared activities. In such relatively short-lived contexts, norms for language choice tend to be less stable and more negotiable than in other settings and thus challenge much sociolinguistic theory, which is traditionally more concerned with the study of stable communities.²⁴ This fluidity in terms of linguistic norms entails a constant (re)negotiation of language choice and the social meaning which is associated with different ways of speaking. In this sense, norm fluidity goes hand in hand with language ideological construct resources, since members of transient

²¹ J. Blommaert, *Discourse: A Critical Introduction*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005.

²² Ivi, p. 173.

²³ See J. Blommaert, *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2010.

²⁴ See J. Mortensen, J.A. Fabricius, *Language Ideologies in Danish Higher Education*.

multilingual communities seem to share different ideological postulates about language variation compared to members of more stable communities. For instance, Mortensen and Fabricius' work on the transient multilingual community of international university students in Denmark dealt with a qualitative analysis of speakers' language attitudes toward different forms of English.²⁵ They posited that while stable communities are generally characterised by similar standard language ideologies, such shared assumptions cannot be assumed *a priori* in transient multilingual communities, since different ideological patterns might be shared among community members. In other words, «members of given communities develop language ideological beliefs which act as interpretative resources *vis-à-vis* different ways of speaking».²⁶ Considering language ideologies as being constituted of different forms of 'knowledge of', and language attitudes as «*evaluative* orientation[s] to a social object», Mortensen and Fabricius argue that:

[linguistic ideologies in transient multilingual communities] can be studied empirically, for example when they [speakers] crystallize into meta-pragmatic talk about language variation and its social significance, but also more subtly, through interactional moves.²⁷

3. *The Heidelberg Indian Student Community*

Indians are the largest ethnic minority in Germany among the two other South Asian diasporic communities of subcontinental India (Pakistan and Sri Lanka).²⁸ Estimates of the Indian

²⁵ *Ibidem.*

²⁶ Ivi, p. 195.

²⁷ *Ibidem.*

²⁸ Figures from the German Federal Statistical Office (DESTATIS), url <<https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/AuslaendBevoelkerung.html?nn=68748>>, last accessed September 28, 2017.

Embassy in Germany attest at some 14.000 the number of Indian students presently pursuing various courses in German universities, and at 1.380 that of those studying in the German state of Baden-Württemberg (hereafter, BW), where Heidelberg is located. Considering the numerous cooperation agreements of major university institutions in BW with nearly 60 Indian universities, it comes as no surprise that the state has reportedly emerged as a major pillar of growing and expanding Indo-German relationships.²⁹

Heidelberg is a university town home to around 150.000 people of 160 nationalities, including almost 47.000 with a migration background.³⁰ Although the city is traditionally monoglossic, multilingualism is commonly widespread, with English considered the second *lingua franca* of the town. As a matter of fact, the language of instruction is German, but considerable number of graduate degrees and doctoral courses are offered in English. Because of its internationally renowned educational profile, Heidelberg is facing a significant globalisation in terms of linguistic practices and is gradually entering Germans' everyday life as well – especially that of young adults. In this sense, Heidelberg depicts a *per se* contact zone for its coexistence of monoglossia and multilingualism, German and English. Correlated with the Indian student community, it becomes a 'two-fold contact zone', in which German coexists with English, the latter generally being used as a mean of acculturation and integration in the city context (see Table 2).

The excellent education and research opportunities provided by the university town of Heidelberg have been attracting undergraduates and graduates from India for years. The

²⁹ Estimates from the Consulate General of India, url <<http://www.cgimunich.com/pages.php?id=12618>>, last accessed September 28, 2017.

³⁰ Figures from the Heidelberg City Hall website, url <<http://www.heidelberg.de/english/Len/Home/City+Hall.html>>, last accessed September 28, 2017.

European Molecular Biology Laboratory (EMBL), the German Cancer Research Centre (DFKZ), the Max Planck Institutes (MPI), the University of Heidelberg and the SRH University Heidelberg are all major educational institutions in which Indian students are registered. The Heidelberg Indian student community counts more than 500 members coming from all over India and with different sociolinguistic backgrounds. The community mainly consists of upper middle-class students who came to Germany to further their education and improve their professional skills. After having generally been imparted an English-medium education at private schools in their mother country, these students are today enrolled in Engineering, Information Technology, Management and Medicine courses. After graduating, the majority of them is resolved on first getting an internship and a post in Germany for two to five years and then on going back to India financially independent, economically stable and with a well-paid and secured position. Hence, the transient aspect of the community is a valuable sociolinguistic factor to draw attention to: not only does it help foster network ties and in-group affiliations among its members (see Section 5), but it also indicates the degree to which they are interested in learning the official language of the host country.

The Indian student community is pulled together by the Heidelberg Indian Students Association (hereafter, HISA). Widely acknowledged as one of the most prominent Indian student associations in Germany, HISA was established in 2003 as a non-profit migrant organisation and has been officially recognised as an international student organisation by the University of Heidelberg. Its members organise cultural events and work together on multiple local and national projects aiming to «bridge the gap between [the] Indian and the local community» and to «promote the amazingly diverse culture of an astonishing place called 'I N D I A'». ³¹ As a matter of fact, intra-group differences are significant sociolinguistic variables

³¹ HISA, url <<http://hisaheidelberg.com/>>, last accessed November 1, 2017.

to take into account since they may help delve into how ideologies of cultural and linguistic contact emerge and how they influence language attitudes. In addition, they may help shed light on the complex adaptive system of transient multilingual communities since, following Mortensen and Fabricius' viewpoint, ideological patterns cannot be assumed *a priori* in such dynamic language scenarios.³²

4. *Data and Methodology*

Ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in the community over a period of three months. Participants were generally approached through friend-to-friend recommendations, usually in local establishments such as university libraries but also privately, in their households. Eleven participants were recorded for sociolinguistic interviews for a total of approximately two hours. The interviews aimed at eliciting naturalistic speech data. They consisted of relatively open-ended conversations in which speakers' biographical background, language proficiency and attitudes toward English varieties and language use were discussed. Information about ethnic affiliations and cultural contact both within and outside the community was also elicited. All participants were master students at the time of the fieldwork and had either Kannada, Telugu, and Tamil (Dravidian languages), or Marvadi and Marathi (both Indo-Aryan languages) as first languages. They were between 23 and 27 years of age and, with the exception of one Marathi speaker, had all attended English-medium schools in India (see Table 1 for further social details).³³ Additional data come from a web-based questionnaire submitted to 42 Indian students (male= 37,

³² See J. Mortensen, J.A Fabricius, *Language Ideologies in Danish Higher Education*.

³³ Please note that speakers' ordering in Table 1 simply follows interviews' schedule.

female= 5) around the same period of the interviews, with the intent of investigating personal language-related plans toward IndE, BrE and AmE and individual perceptions of speech productions. Casual speech samples were also included in the analysis and concern value judgements and social orientations of the respondents.

Speaker	English education	Years in HD	Age	Sex	Faculty	First Language	German
JD	English-medium	2	25	M	Information Technology	Telugu	No
MN	English-medium	1	27	M	Information Technology	Tamil	No
CH	English-medium	1	23	F	Applied Computer Science	Kannada	No
DS	English-medium	1	24	F	Information Technology	Telugu	No
NJ	English-medium	1	26	F	Information Technology	Marvadi	No
PH	Marathi-medium	2	26	M	International Business and Engineering	Marathi	No
AC	English-medium	1	24	F	Applied Computer Science	Marathi	No
SA	English-medium	1	25	M	Information Technology	Telugu	No
DV	English-medium	2	27	M	Mechanical Engineering	Telugu	Yes
PG	English-medium	2	23	M	International Business and Engineering	Telugu	Yes
JK	English-medium	2	25	M	Engineering	Tamil	Yes

Table 1. Participants' social characteristics.

5. *Local and Global Ideologies Around Accent Variation*

The ‘two-fold contact zone’ in which the Heidelberg Indian student community interacts is constituted of two interrelated social spaces in which, at the first level of contact, German and English (EFL) are both *lingua francas* and, at the second one (i) Indian vernacular languages, (ii) standard or educated IndE and (iii) regional varieties of IndE simultaneously coexist (see Table 2).

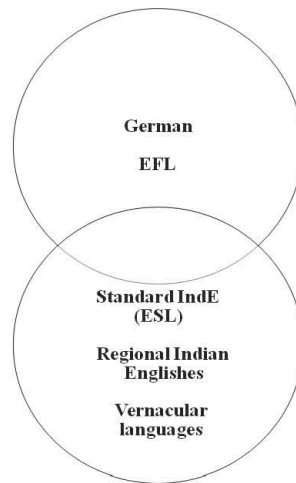


Table 2. Heidelberg’s two-fold contact zone.

This section will draw attention to the analysis of the second degree of contact, thus focusing on how Indian university students perceive language variation through their language attitudes surrounding IndE accent stereotypes. Specifically, exploring the idea that «popular notions of the geographic distribution and status of linguistic facts are related to beliefs about the speakers of regional varieties», the paper will discuss folk perceptions and those language ideologies lying behind

them.³⁴ Nonlinguists generally know that people in different regions speak the same language differently. Importantly, members of the Heidelberg Indian student community are aware of the fact that their English is different from L1 English varieties:

(1)

- a. DS: Indians do frankly try to adapt themselves to the language [BrE] to map their own language with their mother tongues.
- b. CH: [...] the British English which is called as the higher standard English, that's what I believe in uhm because in uhm whatever the, whatever we have been taught 'til today, uhm it's uhm, it's not that high standard English, that's what I feel.

The overt connection DS and CH are drawing between particular local language practices and more global assessments of nativeness reflects what Shuck has postulated as the «ideology of nativeness», which constructs the categories of 'native English speakers' as contiguous with British or Americans, and 'non-native English speakers' as contiguous with foreigners.³⁵ In this sense, BrE is the only variety perceived as standard. Results from the administered questionnaire confirm these assumptions:

Model	%
British English	64.3
American English	19.0
Australian	0
Own way	16.7
Others	0

³⁴ D. Preston, *Language, People, Salience, Space: Perceptual Dialectology and Language Regard*, «Dialectologia», 5 (2010), p. 87.

³⁵ G. Shuck, *Conversational Performance and the Poetic Construction of an Ideology*, in «Language in Society» 33, (2004), pp. 195-222.

Table 3. Preference for models of English.

Table 3 provides a significant indication of the attitudes of various members of the Heidelberg Indian student community toward various models of English according to preference. Moreover, one must note that attitudes toward BrE may also be explained in historical terms, since BrE has always provided a ‘perceived’ norm to follow.³⁶ The following excerpts may shed new light on the topic:

(2)

- a. AC: What we have learned English in our school it’s from the British English itself, because we believe it’s first of all, I mean, what I have taught in my schooling it’s not our language, first of all. It originated from Britain, uhm British rule so it’s their language so we have to speak in their tone, in their pronunciation, in their way, but obviously since uhm we are not native to, we are not taught by British people uhm we’re still taught by Indian people so still the accent of Indian mixes with British English.
- b. JK: When you speak the British accent, it’s, it has, I don’t know, it’s very attractive to speak the British way.
- c. MK: South India [...] each state has a very strong mother tongue influence. North India is more conscious, so the influence is less, just a degree. [...] I think South Indian accent very strong. They more focused on education and regional language is given more importance plus the teachers also carry the same accent. North India, Mumbai has more British accent and clarity [...] actually in the North India we love English.

Here, again, ideologies of nativeness resurface (AC: «we are not native») and point to another critical aspect of alleged non-standardness: perceived accent variation. Community members generally restrict accent variation to L2 varieties of English and,

³⁶ See B.B. Kachru, *The Alchemy of English: The Spread, Functions, and Models of Non-native Englishes*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana (IL) 1986.

as a consequence, they tend to consider L1 varieties accentless. In this sense, discourse evoking an attempt to eliminate stigmatised local features when dealing with ‘native’ speakers is commonly widespread:

(3)

- a. JD: When I talk something they [British English speakers] don’t understand – if they don’t understand I try to explain things speaking it out.

According to Labov, sustained contact with other varieties or dialects can raise speakers’ level of overt and covert social consciousness of regional variants.³⁷ Among speakers of different varieties, extended exposure can either cause the adoption of new features or «be strongly constrained by the degree to which [they] create positive or negative allegiances across groups».³⁸ Particularly in the case of the Heidelberg Indian student community, contact with other Indian varieties is an everyday matter and network affiliations are fundamental for in-group compactness. In this sense, it comes of no surprise that the constant proximity of community members leads to a further differentiation in accent perception according to Indian geographical discontinuity:

(4)

- a. DV: In the North. And so influence with their language certain words like – there is a funny experience with us, like uhm with one Pune guy, he used to say always like materials right? What you call materials. He used to say muh-terials [m^t:rjalz]. It is always, sounds so funny and we used to laugh.

³⁷ W. Labov, *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 1972.

³⁸ D. Sharma, *Dialect Stabilization and Speaker Awareness in Non-Native Varieties of English*, p. 8.

- b. JD: In the north, they have thick accent, more of Hindi accent. They have the typically Indian accent, like ‘Kasshmirr’ [kas:’mɪr:].

North/South and *vice versa* perceptions of accent variation are imagined through framings of ‘typical Indian’ and ‘standard English’. Community members’ explicit attitudes toward accent variation overtly attribute global social authority to their own way of speaking ‘standard’ English. As a matter of fact, DV and JD are both Telugu English speakers. Not only do their attitudes align with the same geographic area (the Southern state of Andhra Pradesh), but also with the same community in-group. In this sense, by differentiating the linguistic productions of other community members in terms of correctness, fluency, and intelligibility, they tend to perpetuate the ‘us’ vs ‘them’ internal sociolinguistic conceptualisation, ultimately striving for ethnolinguistic distinctiveness. However, concurrently existing is discourse based on group compactness and affiliation, in which speakers’ more general Indian identity emerges. In transient multilingual communities, establishing network ties is fundamental, and the Heidelberg Indian student community is no exception. Here, questions of kinship and in-group allegiances tend to exceed North/South linguistic power imbalances. An intuitive explanation might be that such communities are not permanent, but transient and small in number, and that cultural affiliations tend to overtake linguistic and ideological issues:

(5)

- a. JK: I feel very happy anywhere I get to speak in my mother tongue and for that matter any of Indian languages actually.

The afore-mentioned examples argue that community members dialogically challenge global standard language ideologies regarding a single standard IndE variety, positing that while there are differences across varieties, each has peculiar

L1-dependent features. As a matter of fact, the majority of them self-labelled their spoken variety of English as a ‘mixture’ of IndE, AmE and BrE, and as IndE (see Table 4). In doing so, they are likely to confirm what has been argued at the beginning of the section: that non-linguists are usually aware of their own speech productions.

Identity-marker	%
American English	2.4
British English	14.3
Indian English	19.0
"Mixture" of all three	57.1
I don't know	2.4
Good English	4.8

Table 4. Self-labelling of speakers' variety of English.

6. Conclusion

The present study examined the impact of global standard ideologies in a transient multilingual community of Indian university students located in Heidelberg from the perspective of personal language-related plans toward diverse varieties of English and overt and covert language attitudes. Before drawing any far-reaching conclusions, firstly and most importantly, a fuller account of data would be appropriate in order to shed new light on ideological patterns in transient multilingual communities. Current data demonstrated that the ideology of nativeness has framed the BrE variety as *the* standard, hence referencing the ideological link between IndE and non-nativeness. However, concurrently existing is discourse challenging global social standard language ideologies regarding a single IndE variety. The majority of speakers, in fact, recognised that there are differences across IndE varieties, which may be due to different language backgrounds. They also

suggested that their own speech productions are closer to standard (British) English. In doing so, a discourse concerning the ideology of nativeness is newly reassessed, but just to be abandoned again in light of the community's consolidated network ties, which seem to exceed India's North/South linguistic power imbalances. Results also support the claim of the impossibility of assuming *a priori* the ideological patterns of transient communities, since multiple language ideological construct resources may be involved.³⁹

³⁹ See J. Mortensen, J.A. Fabricius, *Language Ideologies in Danish Higher Education*.