A STUDY OF THE INDIANIZATION OF ENGLISH WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INDO-ANGLIAN FICTION

THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the
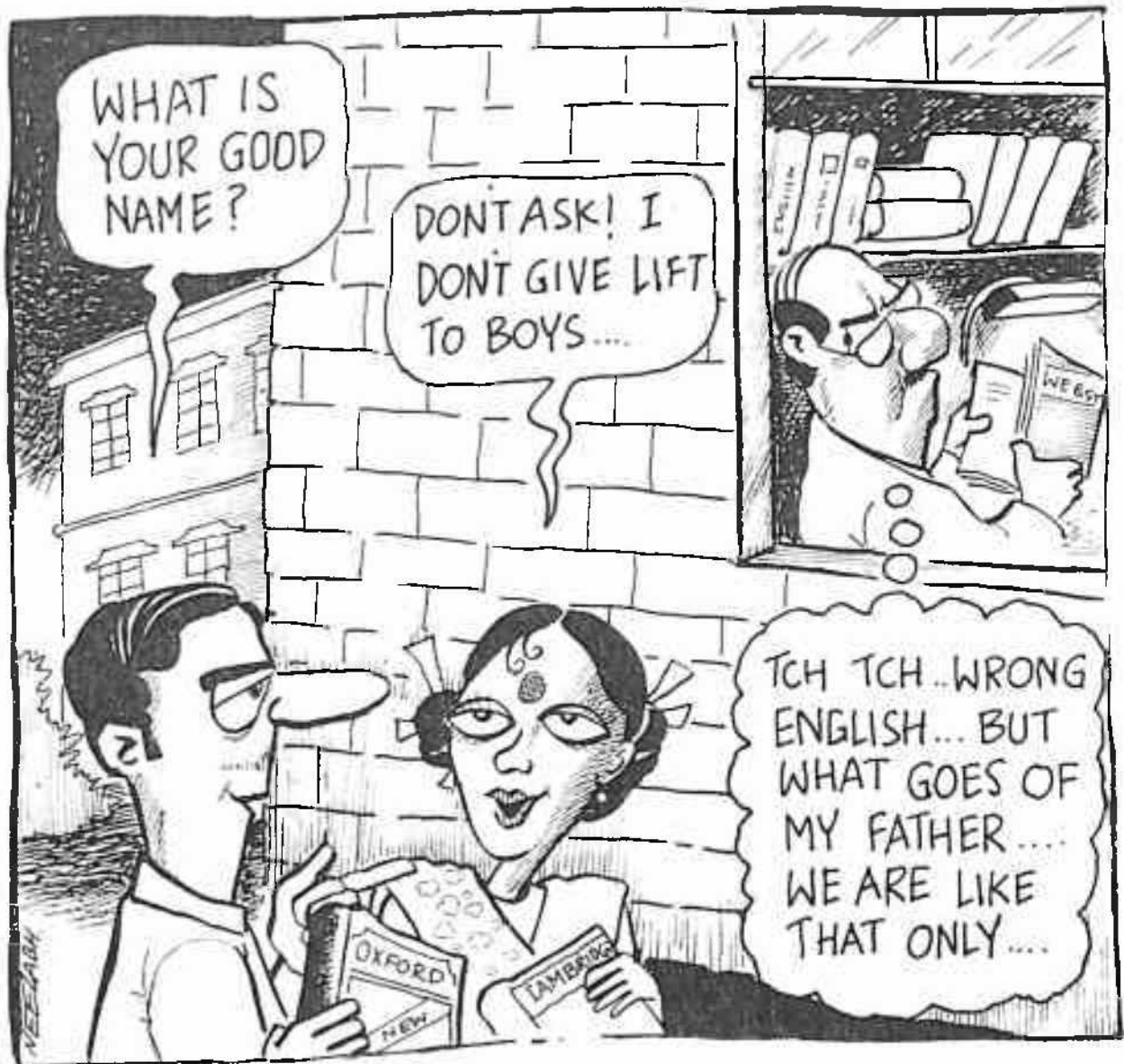requirements for the degree of
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by

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Under the Supervision of
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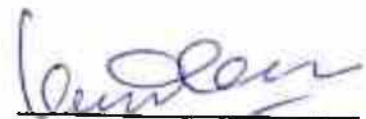**BIRLA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY & SCIENCE
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "**A Study of the Indianization of English with Special Reference to Indo- Anglian Fiction**" and submitted by **Charul Jain, ID No.** 94PHXF009 for award of Ph.D. Degree of the Institute, embodies original work done by her under my supervision.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Though the advent of English in India was accidental, it soon became an inalienable part of the Indian education system and gradually grew to become the 'lingua-franca' of the intellectual, political and administrative life. Its hallowed linguistic tradition and rich literature fascinated the Indian intellectuals and some of them began to use it for creative writing. A beginning in this direction was made towards the end of the 18th century with Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Rabindra Nath Tagore and the Dutt family. Indo-Anglian literature, as it is termed now, developed into a strong and substantial body during the 19th century. Genuine efforts in the field of novel writing in English began in the nineteen thirties with writers like Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao and R.K. Narayan. Today novel writing has come a long way and has established itself as perhaps the most powerful medium of creative expression by Indo-Anglian writers.

Even after almost five decades of Independence English continues to have a sway on the minds and work of Indians. It not only is an integral part of the educational system but also has a significant social role to play. Constitutionally, today, English is recognised as an associate official language of the Union of India; intellectually and educationally, it is the only language which is a window to the world of knowledge for Indians and socially, it is not only a link language of the country but also an indicator of power, status and prestige in society. It serves as

a powerful instrument of thought and communication and acts as an aid in the upsurge for social and economic growth. After the initial turmoil and resistance against continuing English in India, there is a shift in the attitude of Indians who now recognise the significance of English for national growth. English has thus become stabilised in our society as an important second language.

Years of its use by Indians have helped them to acculturate and assimilate this language in the fabric of their thought and society. As a second language it naturally subsits with the other languages of use. It is more widely used in professional and academic spheres than in social spheres where the use of the mother tongue is dominant. It is but natural for the languages, thus co-existing, to come into contact and influence each other leading to changes in both the languages. Accordingly English is becoming 'Indianized' and the Indian languages are undergoing the process of 'Englishization'. It is said that due to mutual influence of English and Hindi, a new variety, called 'Hinglish', is now coming up. The changes in languages in contact occur at all levels, including syntax, word order, lexis, idioms, pronunciation, intonation and stress patterns. They often result in novel coinages, lexical transfers by borrowings or adaptations and hybridizations. The 'Indianizations', that is, linguistic deviations in English used by Indians are determined by the context and are productive and pragmatically essential. They are, in fact, motivated by the underlying linguistic and sociocultural needs of the users. (Pathak 1994).

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Though it is an undisputed fact that creative writing in English by Indians was not accepted as a welcome idea in the beginning but as of now this view is already a matter of the past. In recent years, the attitude towards 'new Englishes' and literatures written in them has undergone a profound change. These literatures are no longer recognised as incorrect versions of British or American literature. They are divergent from the native literatures in the sense that they have their own norms and contexts which determine their formal features. Indian Writing in English, in the light of this shift in attitude, is now regarded worthy of consideration in India and abroad.

The concept of creative freedom underlines the choice of medium of expression to which the writer out of his inner urge, commits himself. Bhabani Bhattacharya rightly says that it is "the fundamental right of a creative artist to express himself in whatever manner he likes". Other writers too think alike and are of the view that English is not merely a medium of expression of ideas but is, in reality, a medium of expression of the personality. Nirad Choudhury represents the views of most of the Indian creative writers when he says that "English is not a mere instrument for us but a force shaping and moulding personality, making us a wholly different kind of character from what we should have been if we did not know the (English) language". (quoted in Pathak 1994:2)

This process of Indianization of English is gradual, is still going on and is by no means, complete. Indian writers have to face an uphill task in conveying the

sensibility and nuances of Indian life and culture through a language that is non-native, if not alien. Raja Rao in his Foreword to Kanthapura (1966:iii) remarks:

> One has to convey in a language that is not one's own the spirit that is one's own. One has to convey the various shades and omissions of a certain thought-movement that looks maltreated in an alien language.

Indians are still in the stage of carrying out experiments to use this medium most effectively for their purpose. In the words of R.K. Narayan (Pathak 1994:3):

> We are all experimentalists. We are not attempting to write Anglo-Saxon English. The English language, through sheer resistance and mobility, is now undergoing a process of Indianization in the same manner as it adopted US citizenship over a century ago...

Yet Indians have to a certain extent adapted English to suit their requirements and firmly believe that now English is becoming one of the Indian languages. Iyengar (1963) rightly observes:

> Indian writing in English is but one of the voices in which an Indian speaks. It is a new voice, no doubt, but it is as much Indian as others.

Kamla Das also has expressed similar sentiments in her poem 'An Introduction' in *Summer in Calcutta*:

> Why not let me speak in
> Any language I like?
> The language I speak
> Becomes mine, its distortions, its queerness
> All mine, mine alone.

The analysis of the factors which have led to the Indianisation of English has been the concern of many a scholar in recent past. A number of studies

touching upon various aspects of this process have been published Pathak (1994), Verma (1993), Kachru (1983), Bansal (1969). Some of these studies have examined in depth a specific aspect of Indian English, focussing attention at a particular sociolinguistic level, while others have chosen a particular registral variety for scrutinizing the syntactical patterns and lexical structures. All these studies suggest that a new variety has emerged and its authenticity as a typical Indian voice is beyond question. However, all in all these are stray studies, albeit very useful. A comprehensive, wide ranging critical survey, binding the individual characteristics into a meaningful linguistic network has not yet been made. Our literature survey reveals that there is a need for abstracting from published scholarship in the area and to come out with an acceptable basis for the recognition of Indian English as a variety and to put it at the same pedestal at which we find other national varieties like American English, Australian English, etc.

That there is a recognizable sub-variety called Indo- Anglian literature is an established fact but the existence of what we term as Indian English is still a matter of discussion, despite the laudable attempts of Kachru (1983) and Bansal (1969). This is partly because of the multilingual nature of our society and lack of only one language being the vehicle of expression of our national, cultural and social affairs. As a result English has to vie with the Indian languages for a significant place in the Indian socio-cultural setting.

This study addresses itself to the task of identifying the extent of Indianization that has taken place and to examine the various factors that have contributed to this process. Obviously, to fulfil this task it is essential to examine the kind of English which is actually used by educated Indians in standard publications dealing with a diversity of topics and touching upon various facets of our life.

The study first presents a historical perspective with regard to the advent of English in India and its assimilation in the sociocultural fabric of the Indian community and then to sustain this claim attempts to discover evidence in imaginative literature that has been created by Indians. Further, it is also imperative to present a critical survey of the existing body of knowledge in the field of sociolinguistics with a view to highlighting the well-established principles of change that occur when two or more languages come in contact.

It is recognised that the process of linguistic change is slow and complex. So, apart from a historical perspective, it is necessary to show how and to what extent the process of Indianization has taken place, in specific terms, at the syntactic, lexical and semantic levels. The study therefore presents an integrated and comprehensive picture of the permeation of this process at all significant levels with a view to establishing and supporting the claim of Indian English for recognition as one of the languages of India.

To collect data for the study we have resorted to a diversity of sources. This is done by a survey of magazines and journals pertaining to a variety of fields and subjects randomly chosen. We have also consulted leading national dailies, advertisements from the print and audiovisual media, official documents like reports, notices, circulars, etc. issued by professional organisations. The magazines consulted for this purpose are *Woman's Era* (WE), *Femina* (Fem), *India Today* (IT), *Sportstar* (SS), *Cine Blitz* (CB), *Filmfare* (FF), *Stardust* (Sdt) and *Business India* (BI); the newspapers are the leading dailies *The Hindustan Times* (THT), *The Times of India* (TOI) and *The Economic Times* (TET); the advertisements are taken from the print and the audio-visual media and include both the *Matrimonial* (MA) and the *Commercial Advertisements*. The magazines and journals randomly chosen for collecting the samples belong to the period 1993-1996 and the newspapers to the year 1996. Samples from novels, poetry and drama have been culled from the writings of popular and acclaimed writers. *Official Documents* (OD) like notices, circulars, official correspondence and other official records are drawn upon to select the samples for the day-to-day written English. The samples of spoken English have been collected through *Personal Observation* of its use by educated Indians (teachers, university students and business executives).

So far as official documents are concerned, we have collected data from correspondence during 1995-96 with a large number of professional organisations located in different parts of the country with which BITS has linkages through its

Practice School and Distance Learning Programmes. Though our focus is on fiction, we have briefly surveyed other forms of Indian writings in English with a view to discovering the extent of Indianization. For detailed study we have examined the use of language by the leading Indo-Anglian Fiction writers, namely, Mulk Raj Anand, Shobha De, Anita Desai, Ruth Prawer Jhabwala, R.K. Narayan, Raja Rao, Salman Rushdie, Nayantara Sahgal, Vikram Seth and Khushwant Singh.

The samples culled from all the above sources are first broadly classified into syntactic and lexico-semantic categories and each category is then divided into appropriate sub-sections. After this listing each sample is individually taken up and analysed from a sociolinguistic point of view in order to identify the deviation and also the factors leading to such deviations.

In the end, an attempt is made to abstract and generalise from the analysis of samples to show the spheres of creativity and levels of language which bear an unmistakable stamp of Indianization of English.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

To provide a background to our investigation we present in this chapter two main aspects of English in India from a historical point of view. The first is concerned with the introduction of English as a subject of study and medium of instruction in Indian schools and colleges. It also includes a critical review of the permeation of English in the social fabric of the Indian community. The second aspect relates to a discussion of the emergence and growth of Indian Literature in English. It touches upon the major genres of literature which were written during a vast expanse of time beginning from 1820 to the present day.

2.1 The Beginning

The Britishers came to India in 1612 and established The East India Company to look after the affairs of India. This company started expanding its operations here. Gradually, the English studies also began in the eighteenth century. The earliest advocate for teaching English in India was Sir Charles Grant who in 1792 suggested the adoption of English as the official language of India. He believed that the wretched condition of Indian society was because of the appalling ignorance among the Indian masses. He firmly believed that teaching English language and literature to the masses would enlighten them and would also help in their development and progress. Though Grant came under sharp

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criticism from the Indian rulers and his fellow Britishers, yet there were a few who shared his views partially. His contemporary, Warren Hastings, established the Calcutta Madrassa in 1781 with a view to educating the masses. To strengthen this process, Sir William Jones organised the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784.

Meanwhile, development at other fronts was on. As a printing press had been established, India's first newspaper 'Hickey's Bengal Gazette' came out in 1780 and gradually, many others followed. Several private schools imparting English education were established - one as early as 1717 at Cuddalore. (Iyengar 1973)

After establishing their commercial and political monopoly by 1813, the Britishers turned to educating and civilizing function in India. Lord Minto, the Governor General of India succeeded in introducing a new clause in the 43rd section of the Charter of East India Company in 1813 which made it obligatory for the Britishers to evolve a viable educational policy for the Indians. Accordingly, the missionaries were granted permission to promote education. These missionaries also helped in establishing printing presses in different parts of the country. As a result, many dictionaries, grammars and translations were brought out. The Hindu College was also established by the Britishers in 1817 at Calcutta, which by 1855 became the Presidency College. Despite all these steps, the new educational system could not be firmly established immediately because certain crucial

decisions regarding the medium of instruction, agencies and objectives were yet to be taken. Anglicists believed in introducing western education with special emphasis on English and Science, whereas the Orientalists wanted to expand oriental education. Despite this conflict the latter continued to flourish.

2.1.1 Macaulay's Minute

T.B. Macaulay put an end to this controversy between the Anglicists and the Orientalists. He held that scientific learning could be promoted only through English as he felt that native languages had neither literary nor scientific information necessary for the purpose. He introduced a Minute on Indian Education in February 1835 which recommended that "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the western nomenclature and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of population" (Young 1967:729).

Thus, this Minute supported schools and colleges of western education through English medium. As a result, English became the language of education in 1835. It was believed that this Minute would serve double purpose - one, the medium of instruction would now get affixed as English and second, the

'downward filtration' theory would apply and education would spread to masses through the educated upper classes.

2.1.2 Native Support

The entrenchment of English education was helped by domestic political instability and evils like 'satee', 'purdah', etc. Raja Ram Mohun Roy wished to use English as a tool for imparting scientific knowledge and for eradicating superstitions and social evils. He supported these views in a letter to Governor General Lord Amherst and sought support. Accordingly, Lord Bentick approved Macaulay's Minute and gave a decisive turn to English education in India by ordering appropriation of funds for the sole purpose of English education. In 1837, English was made the court language and higher posts were given to those well-versed in English literature and Science. In 1844, Lord Hardinge regulated that all public services would be filled in by an open competition with preference being given to people with English education. Thus, English served as a passport to government jobs and in turn, it gave much popularity and progress to English language learning.

2.1.3 Wood's Despatch

Wood's education despatch of 1854, called 'the 'Magna Carta' of English education' in India, redefined the aims of Indian education. This Despatch emphasized the need for mass education to have a two-tier system in which both English and vernacular had a significant role to play. The English language was

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to be the medium of instruction of the higher branches and the vernacular of the lower. English was to be taught where there was a demand for it, but it was not to be substituted for the vernacular languages of the country. This was considerably appreciated by the Indian community and helped in the spread of education to the masses.

2.1.4 Impact on Indian Psyche

The introduction of English studies in India influenced deeply the mind and spirit of many social and religious reformers and national leaders and they in turn influenced the masses in more than one way. Swami Dayanand, Swami Vivekananda, Keshav Chandra Sen, Ram Krishna Pramhansa, Sir Saiyed Ahmed Khan were a few among these national and social leaders and reformers. Meanwhile, Indian nationalism was becoming stronger and more vocal but it never opposed the spread of English education and literature. The formal foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885 brought national leaders from different regions on a common platform where English became the language of communication in the absence of any common mutually intelligible language.

The study of English brought to India political ideas of the West and a knowledge of the western science. This led to an awakening of a desire for freedom and democracy which furthered the Indian national movement. But the gradually increasing emphasis on western education eclipsed the study of native languages which was later strongly objected to by leaders like Mrs. Annie Besant

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and others with an assertion that the education "...must be controlled by Indians, shaped by Indians, carried on by Indians. It must up-hold Indian ideals of devotion, wisdom and morality and must be permeated in the Indian religious spirit..."(Nurullah and Naik 1964:263).

When Gandhiji appeared on the political scene he condemned the permeation of English in all walks of life and denounced its "denationalizing and despiritualizing effects". Gandhiji's remarks about English education (Sinha 1978: 119-20) clearly illustrate the position of English in 1920s: "English is today studied because of its commercial and so-called political values. Our boys think rightly in the present circumstances that without English they cannot get government services. Girls are taught English as a passport to marriage... Hundreds of youth believe that without a knowledge of English, freedom for India is practically impossible. All these are for us signs of our slavery and degradation... I would have our young men and women with literary tastes to learn as much English and other world languages as they like and expect them to give the benefits of their learning to India and to the world... But I would not have a single Indian to forget, neglect or be ashamed of his mother tongue or to feel that he or she cannot think or express the best thoughts in his own vernacular".

Though there were diverse opinions about the growth of English and many people opposed it, yet its spread continued unabated. Almost all the leaders of the Nationalist movement used English as a medium of communication and

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expression and in due course of time it proved to be a binding force for the establishment of India's political entity. Even after independence, certain sections of Indian society opposed the prominence of English in the education system of India.

When the attempts to make Hindi the National language of India failed, English was adopted as the lingua-franca of India. The government wisely granted equal freedom to all Indian languages to grow and expand. English continued to be a 'link-language' among regional speech communities and its role in administration, education, business and commerce remained as important as before.

As a result, English gradually superseded the Indian languages in work, activities and thought processes of the higher intelligentsia of all the linguistic regions. In due course of time it became the sole means of inter- communication of all persons holding positions of authority or prominence in private or public life. (GOI 1956)

As we shall see in the discussion that follows, English became an important instrument of thought, discussion and creative expression. Its permeation in the educational system and intellectual and professional life of Indians made it an inalienable part of their linguistic behaviour.

2.2 Growth of Indian Literature in English

The impact of Britisher's bourgeois economy and culture was first forcibly felt in Bengal and resulted in an awakening, popularly known as the Bengal Renaissance. It brought a striking consciousness about the changing and developing modern world. Great national identities like Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Swami Vivekananda, Ramkrishna Paramhansa were the products of Renaissance brought forth by the English contact and education. The development of Brahmo movement, introduction of the new education and finally, introduction of English by Macaulay (1835) paved way for the Indian masses to come into a better contact with western culture, knowledge and education.

With the emergence of middle class which received education in English medium schools, came a voracious interest in the English literature alongwith a command of English language. So much so that at times it led to a low prestige of the native language and literature. This trend was quite evident in Bengal and Maharashtra where there was a widespread proficiency in the English language. As economic benefits accompanied knowledge of English; status-conscious educated people turned to English literature which resulted in the knowledge of world literature (through translations in English). This highlighted for the Indian writer a possibility and a need for exploring new ways of expression. Indian renaissance was thus set in motion. Indian thoughts and themes were projected

freely using the western literary forms. Thus began the history of Indian writings in English, which may roughly be divided into the following five periods:

I.   1820-1870   The Age of Pioneers.

II. 1870-1900   The Age of Literary Renaissance.

III. 1900-1920   The Era of Political Awakening.

IV. 1920-1947   The Era of Gandhian Revolution.

V.   1947 onwards   Post-Independence Period.

2.2.1 The Age of Pioneers

The earliest writings by Indians in English were largely in prose. Raja Ram Mohun Roy can be called a pioneer in this field. His lucid and forceful prose betrays amply his self-confidence and masterly ease in using English language. He was a pioneer not only in Indian writings in English but also in attempting to bring about purposeful reforms in many aspects of the life of masses.

In the field of poetry writing, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio can be called the inaugurator of the so called Indo-Anglian poetry. Though he lived for a very short time, he has left behind a creditable body of English verse. Truly called 'The National Bard of Modern India', his sonnets and poems reveal his deep feelings and wonderful craftsmanship. The influence of Byron, Moore and other English poets is clearly evident in his works, as in *The Fakir of Jungheera* (1828).

Kashiprasad Ghose was another poet of this age and represents the first attempt of renascent Bengal in English poetry. Dwivedi (1991) remarks that his poems are agreeably imitative and everywhere pleasing . Many other poets became prominent during the later part of the nineteenth century but among them only Michael Madhusudan Dutt deserves mention here. He belongs primarily to the Bengali literature but he also wrote in English. He is chiefly remembered today for his work *The Captive Ladie* (1849), a narrative metrical romance which is about the great Rajput King Prithvi Raj Chauhan and his captive princess Samyukta.

2.2.2 The Age of Literary Renaissance

Towards the end of the Nineteenth Century, spiritual Renaissance flowered with the efforts of Ramakrishna Paramhansa and Swami Vivekananda. To carry the message of these masters to the western world, English was extensively employed with consummate mastery and skill. At this very time, the Dutt family had distinguished itself for its literary activities. The Dutt family album was published in London in 1870 containing 197 pieces composed by the four Dutt brothers. The range and variety of themes, the meter and the restrain and dignity of style encaptures the reader's attention.

The two daughters of the Dutt family, Aru and Toru Dutt were poetesses of rare promise and no mean achievement . Their English renderings of the French Lyrics of the Romantic School *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields* came out in 1876 in which Toru was the main contributor while Aru had only a few poems to

her credit. One of these was the famous poem of Aru *Morning Serenade*. In a short creative period Aru wrote only eight pieces but all were meritorious. Toru had produced many works of lasting worth which include *Le Journal de Mademoiselle d'Arvers* (1879), *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan* (1882) and of course *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields* (1876). Toru, in fact, laid the foundation stone on which the entire edifice of the Indian literature in English is built up.

Their brother Romesh Chunder Dutt, who lived a long and wholesome life, produced many works of high literary merit. He produced the English version of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* besides writing treatises like *A History of Civilization in Ancient India* (1890) and others. Romesh's works have stood the test of time and according to Iyengar (1973) they are still the best introductions in English to our great national epics.

Let us now turn our attention to novel, a new literary phenomenon, which started in India in the latter half of the Nineteenth century. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Rajmohan's Wife* (1864) was the first novel published in English. His other works including *Anandmath, Devi Chaudhurani*, etc. published between 1866 and 1886, came out first in Bengali and later on in their English versions. Bankim was an excellent story teller preoccupied with an intense patriotism and hence, tried desperately to restore national self-respect. He lept into national fame

a decade after his death when his mantra of patriotism 'Bande Matram' was discovered.

His successor, Rabindranath Tagore was also a great novelist who is known mainly for his English poetical work *Gitanjali*. His first success at novel was with *Choker Bali* translated as *Binodini* in English. Many other authors appeared on the literary scene with novels mostly in Bengali and a few in English. Toru Dutt's *Bianca* (1878) also came out at this time. Two of Ramesh Chunder Dutt's Bengali novels appeared now in English entitled *The Tales of Palms* (1902) and *The Slave-Girl of Agra* (1909). Other novelists who feature prominently include Shoshee Chunder Dutt's *The Young Zamindar* (1883), Mirza Moorad Alee Beg's *The Battle of Panipat* (1884), and Yogendranath Chattopadhyaya's *The Girl and Her Tutor* (1891).

2.2.3 The Era of Political Awakening

Modern Indian dramatic writing in English is neither rich in quantity nor is it of high quality. Enterprising Indians have, for nearly a century, occasionally attempted writing drama in English - but seldom for stage production. Michael Madhusudan Dutt's *Is This Called Civilization* came in 1871. Rabindranath Tagore's plays *Chitra* (1913), *The Cyde of Spring* (1917) and others, originally in Bengali were made available in their English renderings. Sri Aurobindo's plays *Perseus the Deliverer, Vasavadutta, Rodogune, The Viziers of Bassora* and *Eric* were however, original English dramatic creations. Only the first of these plays

was published in his life time. All of these plays were seeped in poetry, romance and of course all have Aurobindonian overtones.

Though Rabindranath Tagore, prominently belongs to the Bengali literature, he has secured for himself an abiding place in Indian Writings in English. Apart from the English version he made of his poems and plays, he also wrote originally in English. His poem *The Child* was first written in English and later translated into Bengali. He later took to translating his own lyrics into English which were collectively published as *Gitanjali* in 1912 and fetched him the Nobel Prize for literature in 1913. His prose works *Sadhana* (1913), *Nationalism* (1917), *Personality* (1917) and *The Religion of Man* (1930) were originally written in English as they were meant for an international public. Diverse facets of this great laureate come to us as the poet, the story-teller, the novelist and the prophet of enlighted humanism.

Manmohan Ghose, another prominent contemporary poet of Tagore's time received education in English where he started writing and publishing his poems. His initial poems were published in the collection *Primavera* in 1890 which were reviewed and highly appreciated by Oscar Wilde in the *Pall Mall Gazettee*.

Aurobindo Ghose, Manmohan's younger brother was a multifaceted personality and people treated him as a mahapurush or a mahayogi. He was a teacher, a politician, a nationalist, a yogi but besides all these he was a master

poet and a critic of life. Two volumes of *Collected Poems and Plays* (1942) contain his works written as early as Eighteen-Nineties and also recent poems of the Nineteenth Century. As a translator and narrative poet, metrical craftsman, lyric and dramatic poet and an experimenter, Sri Aurobindo has a record of rare poetic achievement, *Urvasie* and *Love and Death* are narrative poems; *Baji Prabhou* is an action-poem; *Perseus the Deliverer* is a blank verse drama. *The Rose of God* and *Thought the Paraclete* are among the finest mystical poems in English. He successfully adapted classical quantitative meters to his own purpose and accomplished new harmonies.

Sri Aurobindo was not only a poet, he was also a great master of prose. His works like *The Life Divine* (1939), *Essays on the Gita* (1928), *The Ideal of Human Unity* (1919) and specifically his magnum opus, the philosophical epic *Savitri* (1954) reveal the industry of a researcher, the imaginative fervors of a poet and the creative vision of a seer.

Like Tagore and Aurobindo, Sarojini Naidu too was a dynamic personality but it was as an English poetess that she caught the attention of the masses. Her first collection of poems, *The Golden Threshold* (1905) established her reputation as a poet of distinction. After a long interval, two more collections of poems appeared, *The Bird of Time* (1912) and *The Broken Wing* (1917). She was a poet of emotion and memory who sensed beauty in colour and odour, song and movement. In a few of her early poems she tried to capture and reproduce the lilt

and atmosphere of the folk songs as in *The Palanquin Bearers, The Wandering Singers* or in *The Coromandel Fishers.*

2.2.4 The Era of Gandhian Revolution

Only a few good actable English plays were written by Indians as natural medium of conversation was the mother tongue and not English. Unless the characters and situations were carefully chosen, it was very difficult to make a dialogue in English among Indians sound convincing. T.P. Kailasam's English plays are drawn from certain perennial situations that transcend time, place and language. His plays are inspired by Puranic themes - *The Burden* (1933), *Fulfilment* (1933) and *The Purpose* (1944). Harindranath Chattopadhyaya was noted for his fecundity and versatility. He is not only a commendable poet but also a meritorious dramatist. He has a number of plays to his credit. His plays reveal his social consciousness, and realism. *Five Plays* (1937) and *Pundalik* are his characteristic plays. Among the women dramatists Bharati Sarabhai deserves mention. Her plays *The Well of the People* (1943) and *Two Women* are more of a poetic pageant than plays and are highly packed with thought.

Though it is a truism that the art of poetry is more ancient than the prose art, Indian prose writings in English came rather earlier than writings in verse. Talented Indians learned to use English for translation, social reform propaganda, political agitation, educational, historical and philosophical studies. Beginning from Raja Rammohun Roy, India had several leaders who wrote for religious

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awakening, social reform, new education and women's emancipation. Swami Vivekanand, Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra, Dadabhai Naroji, Sir Saiyyed Ahmed Khan, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and many other political and social leaders frequently employed English to carry their message to the masses.

With the Indian National Movement picking up momentum, Indian journalism became more crisp and pointed, orators became brief and emphatic and prose writers sought more natural forms of persuasive expression than Macaulay's. Gandhiji too started relying heavily on his English newspapers *Young India* and later on *Harijan* to publicise his views, speeches and battle cries. The English version of Gandhiji's autobiography, *My Experiments With Truth* reveals Gandhiji's style. The work is notable for its clarity and utter simplicity and is commendable for absence of evasions and ambiguities.

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's *Autobiography* (1936) and *Discovery of India* (1945) are the works of a supreme master of English prose. Widely and deeply read in English literature, familiar with the movements in European thoughts and letters, Nehru's writings in English are marked by natural ease as well as a felicity of expression. The marvelous capacity to see both sides of every question was a priceless blessing, amply revealed in his *Autobiography*. Humour too never failed him and wit and irony were ready in the armour, though these are used very sparingly.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan was another master of prose. His monumental *History of Indian Philosophy* in two volumes sets a standard for Indian philosophical writing in English. Brilliant in exposition, persuasive in argument, his works display an excellent command over English. Radhakrishnan gave Indian philosophy, the quality of a vital and living tradition. The range of his interests, the sweep of his mind, the catholicity of taste, the temper and the quality of eloquence have made this man of 'Words and Wisdom' a Guru for his contemporaries.

Two other writers deserve mention here as prose writers of merit, C. Rajagopalachari and Nirad Chaudhari. The former is a dialectician par excellence who had cultivated a severe austerity in expression. The latter was an 'Unknown Indian' (as he prefers to call himself) till 1951 when his *Autobiography* made him famous. He is a master of prose style, an intellectual who had the courage to stand aside and be different from the crowd.

Turning our attention to Fiction, we infer that more novels are being published today than all other kinds of serious literature put together. The novel written in the spoken language of people is more enterprising, richer in content, wider in range than the novel in English, which has now gained a substantial standing in Indian Writings in English. The latter, especially in the recent years, tends more and more to address itself to the western audience. As early as 1903,

T. Ramakrishna tried a historical novel in English *Padmini*. Romesh Chunder Dutt's *The Slave Girl of Agra* (1909), Sir Joginder Singh's *Nur Jahan* (1909), Raina's *Ambapali* (1962) and A.S.P. Ayyar's *Chanakya and Chandragupta* (1952) are all historical novels. K.S. Venkataramani's two popular novels explore different aspects of Indian culture and tradition. While *Murugan the Tiller* (1927) evokes the Indian's attachment to river, *Kandan the Patriot* (1932) seeped in the thoughts of pre-independence days reveals the Gandhian civil disobedience movement of the early thirties.

The novels written in the pre-Independence era, take up the contemporary circumstances and issues and try to explore the sentiments and situation of the Indians in the times. Tagore's *The Home and the World* (1916) and *Four Chapters*; Mulk Raj Anand's *The Sword and the Sickle*; K.A. Abbas's *Inqilab* (1935) and Raja Rao's *Kanthapura* are a few novels set admist the revolutionary movements of the twenties and the thirties.

A few novels of the later period cover the second world war days in India. The growing chasm between the Hindu and the Muslim communities, between India and Britain, and the 'Quit India' movement are taken up as the theme of many novels. Bhabani Bhattacharya's *So Many Hungers* (1947), R.K. Narayan's *Waiting for the Mahatma* (1955) and Kamala Markandaya's *Some Inner Fury* (1957) reveal this mounting frustration and misery.

Meanwhile, novels of social criticism and social protest were also being written. Romesh Chunder Dutt's *The Lake of Palms* (1909), Ahmed Ali's *Twilight in Delhi* (1940), S. Nagarajan's *Athawar House* (1939) and R.K. Narayan's *The Sweet-Vendor* (1967) constitute the group of social novels which protest either against the superstitions and prevailing social conditions or against the modernization of the Indian society.

2.2.5 Post-Independence Period

After Independence, the interest in Indian English literature has grown tremendously both in India and abroad, thus making possible a larger readership than it could claim at any time earlier. Initially hasty attempts were made to circumscribe the role of English in post Independence India. Later the importance of this world language came to be increasingly recognised for a nation which had after centuries regained its legitimate place in international councils. This provided a further impetus to the study of English language and literature. The increasing attention won abroad by Indian art and culture after Independence further helped Indian English literature.

The post-Independence Indian scene with its curious criss-cross of rapid socio-political changes in a country where tradition still remains a strong force has presented a stimulating spectacle. This has naturally evolved a variety of reactions of the immediate past, of the days of the freedom struggle. Thereby, a strong desire has been kindled to rediscover one's roots in the ancient Indian

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ethos and also to examine this ethos afresh in the light of westernization and satirical comment both on the darker side of the freedom movement and its aftermath and the decline of values in all spheres of life.

As a result of these developments, important gains were registered especially in fiction, poetry and criticism. Fiction, already well established grew in both variety and stature; poetry shedding its anemic romantic uncertainties became vigorous and truly modern and soon after the publication of K.R.S. Iyengar's *Indian Writing in English* (1962) works of Indian English writers began to be studied in depth both in India and abroad.

Let us first have a look at Fiction. After Independence the theme of the novels and also the style changed gradually. Many novels were written on partition horror and bestiality. These include Khushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistan* (1956), Manohar Malgaonkar's *Distant Drum* and *A Bend in the Ganges*. A guarded experimentation of the style, method and techniques of writing started after Independence and continues till now. The stream-of-consciousness technique was attempted by G.V. Desani in his novel *All About H. Hatter* (1948) and by Anita Desai in *Cry, the Peacock* (1963) and *Voices in the City* (1965). Sudhin Ghose's novels reveal unique sensibility and vision *And Gazelles Leaping* (1949), *Cradle of the Clouds* (1951) and *The Vermilion Boat* (1953). Among all these novelists, the famous trio, Mulk Raj Anand, R.K. Narayan and Raja Rao, stands apart as these three novelists are of a more gigantic stature.

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Among the many Indian novelists writing novels in English, only Mulk Raj Anand and R.K. Narayan have consistently been productive and have a voluminous and meritorious creative bulk to their credit. Mulk Raj Anand, with academic attainments in London and Cambridge and a Doctorate in Philosophy, chose the profession of letters. His early books were greatly appreciated, particularly *Curries and Other Indian Dishes* and soon he took to writing novels. The first five novels appeared in a sequence: *Untouchable* (1935), *Coolie* (1936), *Two Leaves and a Bud* (1937), *The Village* (1939) and *Across the Black Waters* (1940). Apart from these he has written many other novels among which *The Sword and the Sickle*, *The Big Heart* (1945) and *Private Life of an Indian Prince* (1953) feature prominently. Anand's vitality, his keen sense of actuality and his ardour for details give an intense and accurate account of his theme and message which usually revolve around sociological problems and the down-trodden. His language too, which closely represents Indian society through its literal translations of words or phrases (as 'rape sister', 'something black in the pulse', etc.) gives his novels high degree of verisimilitude and authenticity in the Indian socio-cultural setting and ethos.

Another novelist of this period R.K. Narayan, a dedicated craftsman strives towards a technical perfection. His first novel *Swami and Friends* was published in 1935 and *Bachelor of Arts* (1936) and *The Dark Room* (1938) came in quick succession. These were followed by *The English Teacher* (1945), *The Financial*

Expert (1952), *Waiting for the Mahatma* (1955), *The Guide* (1958) and *The Sweet Vendor* (1967) which made him immensely popular. Narayan's experience of life, his triple vision of man, in relation to himself, his environment and his Gods and his deep sense of comedy all give new dimensions to his art. He uses English with a masterful ease and conveys the subtlest shades of feelings and thoughts with confidence, precision and accuracy.

Raja Rao, a contemporary of M.R. Anand and R.K. Narayan was both a novelist and a short story writer. He reveals in his works the sensitive awareness of the times of the Gandhian Age. In his books *Kanthapura* (1938), *The Serpent and the Rope* (1960), *The Cat and Shakespeare* (1965) and *The Cow of the Barricades* (1947) he reveals his strong cultural and traditional strings. His writing is closer to speech -- the foul speech as well as the subtle and resonant rhythmic speech of the Indian tradition. He uses a repetitive incantory rhythm which induces a sense of age-old tales. The racial and poetic wisdom is indicated in his works through Indian characters, feelings, assumptions and beliefs.

The latter part of the post-Independence era witnessed a host of other writers, apart from this trio, in the field of fiction. Khushwant Singh, better known as an eminent Sikh historian and a journalist has only a few short stories and novels to his credit which include *Train to Pakistan* (1956), *Delhi* (1989) and *Women and Men in my life* (1995). With an objective and impartial treatment he renders with accuracy and detachment the horrors and brutality of partition in his

first novel. An acute sense of place and ethos, a feeling for the spirit and style of people and a resourceful imaginative strength enabled Khushwant Singh in imparting life to his characters and drama to the plot. His direct unadorned style is effective in conveying the nuances of personalities and hues of feelings. Bhabani Bhattacharya strikes a promising note with his very first novel, *So Many Hungers* (1947) and followed it up with *Music from Mohini* (1952) and *Shadow from Ladakh* (1966). Malgaonkar published four novels in five years, *Distant Drum* (1960) and *A Bend in the Ganges* (1964) being the two best. He reveals in these novels a sound historical sense and is quite successful in his attempts to fuse the personal and historical perspectives in fictional terms.

Sulman Rushdie is an internationally known literary figure, more popular for being controversial than several literature prize awardee. He has more than half a dozen novels to his credit and many of these have been published in as many as twenty-five languages. His first novel *Girmus* was published in 1975. His recent novel *Midnight's Children* (1981) utilizes language and fiction to attempt personification of India and realisation of Indian life. He intermingles magic and fantasy, realism, force and analogy into the symbolic structure of the novel to achieve his purpose. He has a characteristic fictional technique where he attempts three things at once - he mixes the autobiographical element and his problems and obligations as a narrator into his straight forward story telling. His latest novel *The Moor's Last Sigh* (1995) is as popular as all of his previous works.

Vikram Seth is a literary phenomenon. He is a proud author of six books of poems and a travel guide. His verse novel *The Golden Gate* (1986) elicited enthusiastic response from the entire literary world. Having already acquired the enviable reputation as a daringly innovative poet and travel writer, Seth has stunned the literary world with his latest work, *A Suitable Boy* (1993), his first and an immensely long novel.

It was after the second world war that a group of women writers arose who brought in new subject matter to the Indian novel. These novelists include Nayantara Sehgal, Kamala Markandaya, Ruth Prawer Jhabwala, Anita Desai and Shoba De. Sehgal brought new subject matter in the form of autobiography and politics into the fiction. Her novels, *This Time of Morning* (1965), *Storm in Chandigarh* (1969), *Rich Like Us* (1985) and *Mistaken Identity* (1988), often deal with the development and influence of political events. Her novels reveal her grasp of detail, accuracy and her moral stance support her brisk journalistic prose style.

, Kamala Markandaya's work is notable for its range and intimacy. Her subjects range from agricultural life to the city poor and to the conflict of Eastern spirituality with western materialism. *Nectar in a Sieve* (1954), *Some Inner Fury* (1957), *A Silence of Desire* (1960), *Possession* (1963) and *The Coffer Dams* (1969) exemplify the above stated fact. Though she is not intimately familiar with the environment of her themes, she commendably analyses human relationships.

She is most successful while dealing with the problems of the educated middle class.

Ruth Prawer Jhabwala can be called the most distinguished of all Indian women writers. Polish by birth and Indian by marriage, she comes in the category of 'the emigre' or 'expatriate or international novelist' (Walsh, 1990:106). Famous among her novels are *The Nature of Passion* (1956), *Esmond in India* (1958), *The Householder* (1960), *Get Ready for Battle* (1962) and *Heat and Dust* (1975). Her endless curiosity and an acute power of observation made her realise and render the changes in the Indian milieu from local to cosmopolitan, from traditional to conventional and from naive to sophisticated. (Iyengar, 1973:450-451). The pattern of emotional relationships in her novels is quite complex in consonance with the rapidly changing modern times. She brings in the comic element by delicately exposing human follies, foibles and self-deceptions. Her prose style is flexible and adaptable and becomes efficient in using elision and indirect implications.

Anita Desai's earliest works *Cry the Peacock* (1963) and *Voices in the City* (1965) deal with the impact of modern life and world on the traditional and conventional customs and beliefs which are gradually becoming weaker in their grip. The social background here is more important than the characters themselves. She tries to convey the fever and fretfulness of the characters through the stream-of- consciousness and adapts her language, syntax and

imagery effectively to communicate the same. Her later novels *In Custody* (1984) and *Clear Light of Day* (1980) are more mature works wherein she is less individual, less generalized and conventional than before.

Shobha De started her career as an editor of the magazine *Stardust*. Since then she has been writing incessantly for the last three decades. Her writing has cut across caste, class, age, sex, race and religion and captivated the entire nation. She was the first person to popularise the Indian Esperanto: Hinglish. She has to her credit works like, *Socialite Evenings* (1989), *Starry Nights* (1991), and *Shooting from the Hip* (1994).

When we turn our attention to Drama, we note that the plays written by Indians in English are scarce as ever. Though a few significant attempts were made now and then, resulting in a few good plays, their number is nevertheless, small. G.V. Desani published a different kind of play *Hali* in 1950. Asif Currimbhoy's *The Dumb Dancer*, *Thorn on a Canvas*, *The Restaurant* and *The Doldrummers* were all published in 1960s. Noteworthy is also Lakhan Deb's *Tiger-Claw* (1967). The recent successful full length plays include Nissim Ezekiel's *Nalini*, *The Sleepwalkers* (1971) and Gurucharan Das's *Larins Sahib* (1971) which are realistic, comedy and historical plays. Gradually we note that drama too became a fruitfully cultivated field in the Indo-Anglian Literature.

Girish Karnad is today one of the foremost playwrights in India and writes in Kannada. His plays *Yayati* (1961) and *Hyavadana* (1970) were a major success. He wrote *Naga-mandala* (1990) originally in Kannada and later translated it into English, which he calls "the language of my adulthood"! He believes that theatre is a means of questioning the traditional values, though, it also upholds them at the same time.

Harindranath Chattopadhyay has numerous collections of poems and plays to his credit. These include the poems, *The Feast of Youth* (1918), *Strange Journey* (1936), *Masks and Farewells* (1961) and *Virgins and Vineyards* (1967).

It is in poetry that the post-Independence period witnessed the most crucial developments. In the Fifties arose a school of poets who tried to avoid and escape from the romantic tradition and write a verse more synchronous with the age, its general temper and literary ethos. These poets attempted, at times successfully, to naturalize in the Indian soil the modernistic elements derived from the poetic revolution effected by T.S. Eliot and others in the Twentieth Century British and American poetry. Thus, the 'New Poetry' made its appearance in the Fifties and P. Lal and his associates founded the Writers Workshop in Calcutta in 1958, which soon became an effective forum for modernist poetry. The Workshop's manifesto described the school as consisting of 'a group of writers who agree in principle that English has proved its ability, as a language, to play a creative role in Indian literature, through original writings and transcreation' (Naik 1982:193). The first

modernist poetry's anthology was *Modern Indo-Anglian Poetry* (1958) edited by P. Lal and K. Raghavendra Rao.

The first of the 'New' poets to publish a collection was Nissim Ezekiel, one of the most notable post-Independence English verse writers, with works like *The Unfinished Man* (1960), *The Exact Name* (1965) and *Hymns in Darkness* (1976) to his credit. Towards the end of Fifties, Dom Moraes appeared on the scene and won recognition in the literary circles of England with his works *A Beginning* (1957) and *John Nobody* (1965).

During the Nineteen Sixties, several prominent 'new' poets appeared, the earliest of whom was P. Lal *The Parrot's Death* (1960), *Calcutta: A Long Poem* (1977). A.K. Ramanujam's *The Striders* (1966), *Relations: Poems* (1972), R. Parthasarthy's *Rough Passage* (1977), Pritish Nandy's early poems *Of Gods and Olives* (1967), *Tonight This Savage Rite* (1977), Keki N. Daruwalla's *Under Orion* (1970), *Crossing of Rivers* (1976), Arun Kolatkar's *Jejuri* (1976), and Kamala Das's *Summer in Calcutta* (1965), *The Old Playhouse and Other Poems* (1973) were all products of this creed. This was a period when many minor poets were writing under the banner of Writers Workshop. Together they have created a vast Indian verse in English, but the quality of this verse does not match with the abundance of output.

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From this brief historical survey that we have presented, it is clear that Indian literature in English has emerged as a major part of commonwealth literature. Over the years it has become a new idiom of expression which is unique. It would now be appropriate to examine the various factors that have gone into the shaping of style and techniques of expression that characterize the Indian sensibility as reflected in writings in English.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

In this Chapter we propose to examine briefly the basic concepts that have evolved in recent times as a result of researches and studies in sociolinguistics. These interrelated concepts provide a framework which is used later to discuss the factors that have influenced in the past, and are still exercising an impact on, the process of Indianization of English. The basic ideas underlying these concepts have sometimes worked imperceptibly to condition social behaviour and sometimes are overtly manifested in thought processes of of the users of English in India.

In Chapter 2 we surveyed the growth of Indian Literature in English from a historical point of view. What we propose to do here is to discuss the universal sociolinguistic phenomenon that get topicalized under certain conditions unique to a particular society. English, as we know, was introduced in India as the language of rulers centuries ago. The power that it enjoyed and the sway it had upon the Indian psyche still lingers, perhaps with greater impetus, the reasons for which are not far to seek. A foreign tongue that the country has chosen to express its deepest thoughts, its intellect in several significant areas such as commerce, politics, science and technology, has seeped into the cultural fabric. Successful attempts have been made by the users to reflect what is typically Indian through the medium of English. No wonder then, one can hear the voices which assert that

English no longer is a foreign language to Indians and that it should be regarded as another medium of social interaction and expression of creative impulses and national aspirations.

The theoretical aspects which we shall now allude to account for the above phenomenon, a detailed analysis of which has been done in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 that follow. In discussing these aspects we have tried to keep in view the restricted needs of the investigation and touched upon only those factors which are relatable to our analysis. Obviously in doing so we have drawn upon the studies made by eminent scholars such as Peter Trudgill (1983), Joshua Fishman (1966, 1971, 1972), Dell Hymes (1967 and 1971), J.B.Pride (1971), Bernstein (1971), Labov (1970), Whorf (1956), etc.

3.1 Socio-Cultural Factors

Language as a social phenomenon is closely tied up with the social structure and value systems of the society. Many factors affect and influence language. These may be broadly grouped into two categories: (i) social factors which include social hierarchy, social status, inter-personal relationships, etc. and (ii) cultural factors which render a few things possible, appropriate and feasible. All these factors together determine speech act of a particular individual in a particular set of circumstances. Several studies have been conducted on these aspects and let us now turn our attention to the results of these studies.

First let us refer to **Sapir-Whorf hypothesis** (1956), according to which a speaker's native language sets up a series of categories which act as a kind of grid through which he views the world and it shapes the way in which he categorizes or conceptualizes different things and phenomenon. A language, thus, can and does affect a society by influencing as well as often controlling the world view of its users.

Society, in its turn, too affects language and the societal environment is reflected in the language of its members. There are many examples to support the reflection of the society's "physical environment" in language, especially in the structure of lexicon. An oft quoted example is of 'snow': Englishmen have two words for 'snow' - 'snow' and 'sleet'; whereas Eskimos have twenty-two words for the same object.

Similarly, the "social environment" also gets reflected in the language and often affects the structure of its vocabulary. According to **Trudgill** (1983), kinship system of a society is generally reflected in its vocabulary. In the English society, the kin relations are signalled by single vocabulary items as Grandmother, Grandfather, Aunt, Uncle, Cousin, Granddaughter and Grandson. In Indian society, on the other hand, maternal and paternal distinctions are elaborately drawn as 'Nani' and 'Dadi'; 'Mausi' and 'Bua'; 'Mama' and 'Chacha', 'Tau'; 'Nati' and 'Poti', etc.

The changes in society or the social structure produce a corresponding lexical change. For example, Indian women, earlier, were not expected to utter their husband's name but now, under the influence of western society, it has become common for the educated urban women to address their husbands by their first name.

In addition to physical environment and social structure, the 'values' of a society deeply affect its language. The most important tool for carrying this out is through the phenomenon of 'taboo'. 'Taboo' words which are prohibited or inhibited in a society, clearly reflect the value system of a society. Such words are generally used when a reference has to be made to the death of close relatives and sexual relations. Sometimes, 'taboo' words also emerge because of a society's desire to avoid reference to an unpleasant association of one of its sections. We are aware of how in Independent India, the use of the word 'untouchable' (Achoot) has become a taboo and has been replaced by a more sophisticated word 'Harijan'.

Studies in the dialects of languages reveal that an important factor for differentiation in the speech is the societal stratification, apart from sex, age, class, race and religion. Social stratification can be explained as a hierarchical arrangement of groups within a society. Not only do these social classes affect and influence language but the subtle group differentiation within a class account

for a lot of differences in the language used within a class or a community.
Trudgill (1983) takes as an example, Indian society which is stratified into
different classes on the basis of 'caste'. Castes are stable, clearly marked and
rigidly separated from each other and as a result, class- dialect differences are
quite clear-cut and easy to comprehend. In comparison, regional dialects are more
complicated and inconsistent. He draws upon Kannada, a Dravidian language of
South India to illustrate his viewpoint (Trudgill 1983:36):

	Brahmin		non-Brahmin	
	Dharwar	Bangalore	Dharwar	Bangalore
'it is'	d	id	ayti	ayti
'inside'	-olage	-alli	-aga	-aga
infinitive affix	-likke	-ok	-ak	-ak
participle affix	-o	-o	-a	-a
'sit'	kut-	kut-	kunt	kunt-
reflexive	ko	ko	kont	kont

A similar kind of social stratification operates in English society on the
basis of class. Language used by people of different classes varies with respect to
pronunciation and lexis. For example, the kind of English used by the educated
speakers of Oxford and Cambridge is different from the English spoken by the
flower-sellers, newspaper sellers, plumbers, etc.

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Everywhere in the world societies have rules about the way in which language should be used in social interaction. These rules vary widely from one society to another. What is regarded as necessary or prestigious in one society need not be so in some other society. In a telephonic conversation in India, for example, the respondent is expected to speak first and identify himself and the caller needs to give his identification only if asked or if the addressee is not available. In Japan, on the other hand, the caller has to speak first. In France, the caller not only identifies himself first on the phone but also apologizes for the intrusion.

3.2 Contextual Features

Language varies not only according to the social and cultural systems of a society but also according to the social context of the speech-acts. Society dictates what forms of language can or cannot be used in a particular context on the basis of the societal considerations of what is appropriate, feasible and acceptable and what is not. As **Dell Hymes** (1971) puts it, "There are rules of use without which the rules of grammar will be useless". These rules of use obviously refer to the societal conventions and patterns of behaviour unique to a particular speech community.

There are various aspects of this issue of language- context relations. An important aspect in the choice of language on the basis of the social context is the

'context' of the person spoken to, i.e., the role-relationship and the relative status of the participants in conversation. Formality and informality of speech in a particular context depends considerably on the relationship among the participants. When people of unequal rank or status (inequality may be due to differences in the status in an organisation, social class, sex, age, or some other such factor) interact with each other, there is bound to be more formality in tone and speech than is likely in an interaction between equals. In fact, some languages even prescribe or have certain specified linguistic forms which may or may not be used according to a situation and context. For example, a subordinate in an organisation in India is not expected to address his superior by the latter's first name but in English society, it is a common practice to do so.

The forms of address (as pronouns) used frequently between individuals give out a lot of information about the degree of formality that exists between them. **Brown and Gilman** (1960) maintain that a man's consistent pronoun type gives away his class status and his political views. Power and solidarity are the two factors which are said to dictate the choice of pronoun in a particular setting. A person who is able to control the behaviour of others is said to be the person in power. Many bases of power are recognised; the most frequently recognised are eight bases. These are physical strength, wealth, age, sex, institutionalized roles in church and temple, the state, the army and the family. Power relationship is said to be asymmetrical and non- reciprocal. On the other hand, solidarity is a general relationship which is symmetrical and reciprocal. Here the mutual address form is

either T or V* but in a power relationship, when one gives out a V, he receives a T. The T of solidarity is the pronoun of intimacy and closeness and the V of power is of reverence or formality.

In the Indian languages, in addition to the eight bases of power (cited earlier) a few other factors also operate. These are notably the distinctions between boss and clerk and those within the family. The Indian languages use a non- reciprocal T and V between the elder brother and the younger and also between husband and wife. Under the influence of the static, unchanging feudalistic pattern, the norms of pronominal usage in the power dyads continue to remain similar. However, by western society's impact, the inter- personal relations are becoming more open and informal, and the norms of pronoun usage are alsochanging. The progressive, urban, educated youth of India has now started exchanging a mutual T with his wife.

Apart from the non-reciprocal T and V and a few actions (like bowing, lifting the cap, touching the forelock, etc.), many expressions convey power relations, i.e. superiority and subordination. Forms of address besides pronouns, as proper names and titles on a non-reciprocal basis indicate the power pattern of a society. In India, for example, to show respect to the superior (in a power relationship)

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* *The familiar pronouns are collectively referred to as T and the polite forms as V.*
  (Trudgill 1983:103)

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either the respect marker "ji" or "saheb" is added to the surname, as in 'Sharmaji' or 'Bhardwaj Saheb'; or the person's full name with title is spoken (Mr. R.N. Singh or Prof. G.K. Bahadur). Another way of indicating power relation is to address the superior or the stronger by the word "Sir" though the person may not deserve the title.

Fishman (1972) maintains that factors such as prestige, language loyalty, interpersonal relationships concerning power and intimacy and the like, however, important for the language user himself, cannot be easily verified and tend to mean different things to different people in different settings. A person's speech act in a particular instance would depend not only on his efficiency in a particular language but also on other factors as topic, person(s) and place(s), alternatively, the situations or the domains in which these languages are used. Accordingly, Fishman arrives at three basic theoretical decisions: first, to place the concept of 'Domain' at the forefront of analysis; second, to resolve domains primarily into constituent 'role-relations'; and third, to seek out correlations between these two categories and the choice of language.

'Domain' is defined as "a sociocultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a culture in such a way that individual behaviour and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other". (Fishman, 1972:

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82). Thus, we can say that domain is the 'sphere of activity' or 'the occasions on which one language is habitually employed, rather than (or in addition to) another'. Everyday examples of domain as given by Schmidt-Rohr are the family, the playground, the school, the religious institution, literature, press, etc. (Fishman 1972). Each of these reveal specific characteristics and hence have to be studied separately.

Within each domain, as in the domain of 'family', differentiations occur in terms of "speakers" and their inter-role-relationships. For example, father to mother and mother to father, father to child and child to father, mother to child, and child to mother, child to child, etc. The language behaviour in these dyads is not merely a matter of individual preference or facility but also a matter of role-relationships. In certain societies particular behaviours (including language behaviours) are expected of particular individuals with respect to each other. These role-relationships within a particular domain are very crucial in particular societies at particular times. Language usage varies, thus, at an instance with respect to the role-relationship which determines not only the language to be employed but also the topic, the locale and the interlocutor(s).

These theories were substantiated by a study conducted in Puerto Rico on the children aged between 6 to 12 (Fishman 1971). The children were asked to name as many objects as they could recall from four settings, namely, kitchen, school, church and neighbourhood to represent the domains of family, education,

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religion and neighbourhood, respectively. For each setting they were given 45 seconds to recall the objects. They applied this test to the children for two languages separately. The results indicated significant effects of age, domain, language and also, interaction of language with domain and of age with domain. It was noticed that when words in both languages were combined, a greater number of words were produced in some domains than in others and more words in one language were produced than in the other when all the domains were combined. Another significant result was that relative proficiency in a language varied as a function of domain. It was noticed that English was favoured over Spanish for the domains of neighbourhood, religion and education.

A similar situation can be observed in India where English is favoured in the domains of education and profession while the mother-tongue is favoured in rest of the domains, which include family, neighbourhood, religious institutions, etc. Thus, social and cultural settings influence interpretation and usage of language which further depends upon the person(s) and their relations - interpersonal and circumstantial.

Another study worth mentioning is the one conducted by **Bernstein** (1971) reported in *Class, Codes and Control*. He here considers the problem of communication in a socio- cultural matrix. He classifies social classes and family types in terms of the codes (the language) and speech variants (realisations of the codes) used by the middle class and the working class in England. He makes a

distinction between "the elaborated code" used by the middle class (which is accurate, explicit and has a complex grammar) and "the restricted code" used by the working class (which is grammatically simple, repetitive, rigid and puts greater demands on the listener). These codes are found in social contexts like regulative (being told off by mother, father, etc.); instructional (in the classroom); imaginative (as in play); and interpersonal (i.e. talk with others).

On basis of these codifications, Bernstein argues that family type working class which are typically positional (based on one's position in the family - father, mother, grandmother, etc.) extensively use restricted code and as a result, these children do not do well in schools due to cognitive deficiencies and ultimately result in "verbal deprivations". These children are unable to organize their experience and interpret the world the way middle-class children do due to their lack of access to the elaborate code. Thus, we see that this study indicates the contention that social class and family-type influence the language.

An interesting study was made by **Labov** (1970) to analyse the impact of the linguistic context (determined by the social situation) on language at the phonological level. He studied the pronunciation contrast in the initial sound of words like 'thick', 'thing', 'think', etc. The variation was recorded in New York, in four different contexts: casual speech, careful speech, reading continuous prose and reading word-list. The fricative ($/\theta/$), the prestigious form, reports highest pronunciation for all social groups for reading word lists and the lowest for casual

speech. The non-prestigious form, the affricate (/tʃ/) is used by all social classes in almost every speech situation, but he reports a remarkably regular pattern involving both, the speech-situation and the social class.

Another determinant of the language is the "context of situation". 'Situation', here is defined as "a patterned process conceived as a complex activity with internal relations between its various factors". In a given situation, what is said by one man in conversation prehends what the other man has said before and will say afterwards. The 'context of situation' will determine the kind of language used, the interlocutors, modifiers, etc. In these terms, thus, it can be said that any utterance becomes comprehensive when interpreted by its context of situation.

In certain contexts of situation, language is used merely for socialization, i.e., for establishing social ties or relations. This kind of use of language has been termed as Phatic Communion (Malinowski 1923). There is no serious purpose or specific aim with which the interlocutors participate in the speech event. Most of the time, in such situations there is mutual agreement and no arguments and counter-arguments. Man by nature being social and communicating cannot help but use phatic communion. That is why it is considered to be an instrument for the prevention of silence.

3.3 Varieties of Language

The sociocultural factors and contextual features that we have discussed so far determine the variety of language which should be used in a given social situation. We shall now turn our attention to four varieties of language namely, dialect, register, pidgin and creole which are engendered by these factors and features. Let us first briefly discuss DIALECT as a variety of language. We may define a dialect as a regional or social variety of language. The regional dialects are the differences in a language with respect to different regions like Australian English, American English, British English, etc. Within British English, dialectal variations occur with respect to different regions as Lanchashire, Yorkshire, etc., as is exhibited in D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928):

"Why do you speak Yorkshire?" She said softly.
"That? That's not Yorkshire, that's Derby". He looked back at her with a faint distant grin.
"Derby, Then - Why do you speak Derby? You spoke natural English at first".
"Did ah though? An' canna ah change if a'im a mind to't? Nay, nay, let me talk Derby if it suits me. If yo'n nowt against it".

The emergence of dialectal varieties is a universal phenomenon. When a language is spoken over a wide geographic area differences do emerge in the kind of language which is spoken or written by the speakers of a region. So far as Hindi is concerned, we may mention four major dialectal varieties used in different parts of Uttar Pradesh: 'Brij Bhasha' in Mathura, Brindaban; 'Khadi boli' in Lucknow, Kanpur; 'Awadhi' in Faizabad, Allahabad and 'Bhojpuri' in Varanasi and Gorakhpur.

Social hierarchy and status too give rise to dialectal variations. An aristocrat in London uses a different variety of English than a person from a lower class. Cockney, the language-dialect used by the flower girl in G.B. Shaw's *Pygmalion* (1912) is a lower class dialect:

Flower Girl: There's menners Flyer? Teo branches of voylets trod into the mad.
Mother: How do you know that my son's name is Freddy, pray?
Flower Girl: Ow, ee yeooa san, is e? Wal, fewd dan'u' deooty bawmz a mother should eed now bettern to spawl a pore gel's flahrzn than ran awy a that pyin. Will yooo py me f' them?

The Received Pronunciation or the Queen's English, used by the mother in the above example, is the dialect of Upper Class or the educated speaker of England.

These dialectal differences are realised at the phonological (difference in pronunciation); morphological (word forms may vary); syntactic (sentence construction varies) and lexical levels (for same meaning, different words are habitually employed in different dialects). For example, the word 'last' is realised in R.P. as /la:st/ and in general American as /1 st/. The same applies to words 'dance' and 'class'. The morphology varies as the past form of 'dive' in America is *dove* while in Britain, it is *dived*. Britishers use the sentence *I'll check up on that* while American syntax is *I'll check that out*. Examples of lexical deviations are quite common - American *gas* is British *petrol*, American *elevator* is British *lift*.

Apart from region and society, the differences in language are a result of differences in "context of situation" too. Such variations are referred to as variations of REGISTER.. Register as defined by J.C. Catford is "a variety correlated with the performer's 'social role' on a given occasion. Every normal adult plays a series of different social roles... and within his ideolect he has varieties appropriate to these roles". According to Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens, Register is "the name given to a variety of a language distinguished according to its use". (Verma 1993:5).

Meaning is a property of Register. Each registral item carries with it its own particular meaning, which is a property of mutually relevant people, things and events in a situation. Any item derives its meaning from the relation(s) between its linguistic features and relevant situational (socio-cultural) features. The linguistic grouping of situations in terms of language patterns differs from one language community to another. Therefore, transference of ideas across languages and cultures becomes difficult. For example, in response to 'How are you?', a Hindi-speaker might say 'By God's grace we all are fine'. This is a result of transference of Hindi registral feature having a definite value in Hindi cultural context but does not work at all in English situation. (Verma 1993). Register creates a complex problem as it relates context of situation with cultural and social attitudes.

One individual may use a different variety of the same language in different situations and circumstances and with different people. An advocate, for example, would use highly technical language while arguing a case in a court of law. But while he describes the same case to the members of his family, his language would be devoid of legal jargon; he would instead use a plain language, keeping in view the linguistic repertoire of his listeners (members of his family in this case).

As registeral variations are a result of differences in "context of situations", different kinds of situations which cause such variations are identified. Broadly classifying, there are three situational features which condition variations in register. First, the subject matter or topic or the 'field of discourse'; second, the medium, spoken or written, used for communication and third, the relation between the participants involved in the discourse or the 'style of discourse'. Variations by field or subject matter are linked to variations in the register of law, science, journalism, etc.

The Register of Law:

A minor incurs no liability by drawing, endorsing or accepting a bill of exchange, even if the bill is given for necessaries. But the holder in due course can enforce it against other parties.

The Register of Science:

The inoculation of the infective spinal cord of a dog suffering from ordinary rabies under the duramater of a rabit always produces rabies after a period of incubation...

The Register of Journalism:

> A kilometer away from Malawali Railway station is a small village
> of Bhoje at the foot of a medieval Visapur fort. Just above the
> village are a group of 22 Buddhist caves, the Bhoje caves.
> Excavated in the second half of the Second Century B.C. these
> are still so perfect...

The spoken or the written 'medium' of language gives rise to variations in language like telephonic conversation, telegraphic message, newspaper article, etc. "Hello, can I talk to..." triggers off an image of telephonic conversation in our minds while "Trains cancelled extend leave" is easily recognised as a telegraphic message. Thus, there are different registers on basis of the medium and these lead to variations in language.

The inter-relations between the participants in the speech-act of a particular language regulate the 'style of discourse' which gives rise to colloquial, intimate, informal and formal.

Colloquial: Up you go, chaps.
Intimate :   Time you all went upstairs.
Informal :   Please go upstairs.
Formal   :   Visitors should go up the stairs at once.

As has been already indicated, Register is related to the use to which it is put and hence, it also is related to the role of the user in a particular setting. It is a characteristic feature of some language varieties that they permit register-mixing. That is, two or three registers are at times, mixed to heighten the effect of discourse. Verma (1993) talks about a phenomenon referred by Leech (1966) as

'Role Borrowing'. Role borrowing results when linguistic features appropriate to one role are used in another role situation. For example, children during a play, sometimes address each other in the classroom manner of a school teacher. Such mixing can be conscious or unconscious. Unconscious borrowing results either due to interference of mother tongue or due to a confusion arising when certain registers do not exist in the mother tongue. This has led to a peculiar feature known as 'Babuism', a phenomenon that can be observed especially when one of the languages used by the speakers is alien to their social life. "Babuism is not by any means confined to India... Foreigners learning another language from books often become quite fluent - they acquire a service of words which is not speech. They have not learnt the habitual 'economy' of the native in social situations, and their sentences are often much too long, too complete, sometimes too grammatical. And they cause amusement by using strange words equated in the dictionary with the right ones, but not socially operative, and therefore having a ludicrous 'meaning' to the native". (Firth 1964:176).

Register mixing is related to domain as well. A multilingual usually switches to the working language when he is talking about abstract scientific principles or issues related to his profession or work. Talking in Foreign or second language while using technical register and otherwise in the native language is also called "registeral bilingualism". It at times may result in the speaker using the phonological and grammatical patternsof his native language with lexical filler derived from the other language. (Verma 1993: 11-12).

In a multilingual society, when a language is used as a 'lingua-franca', it undergoes a certain degree of simplification and also, a reduction of its social functions (being employed in a limited number of social situations). Obviously, the speaker of a lingua-franca does not use it in as many social contexts as a native speaker does. Moreover, his speech often contains errors arising out of interference with his native language.

When extensive simplifications have taken place and there is a comparatively stabilized form of this simplified language consistently being employed as a lingua-franca, then, this resulting variety is called a PIDGIN language. It is not used by any speech-community as its native language. This variety is derived from a parent language through simplification (and in this sense it is different from the other two varieties of language, viz. dialect and register). Verma defines Pidgin language as "a 'marginal language' which is derived from a 'full-sized' source language by drastically simplifying its structure and vocabulary". This simplification is often a result of reduction in vocabulary items and grammatical rules and an elimination of complexities and irregularities in the language. Another reason for modification is its mixture with the native language(s) of the speakers, and this change is particularly manifested in the pronunciation pattern.

Usually pidgin language develops in situations where three or more language groups exist; one 'dominant' language and at least two 'non-dominant' languages. If the 'dominant' language is used as a lingua-franca and if it is imperfectly learned by the speakers of the non-dominant language, then pidgin easily develops. Though, pidgins are very different from other varieties of language but they are different in degree from the other varieties. These pidgin languages have a well-defined structure - with all features of regular languages and are not haphazard mixtures of many languages - contrary to what some people think. They are not 'corrupt' or 'debased' form of the language from which they are derived.

Peter Trudgill (1983) supports this view of pidgin languages by quoting an example of 'Neo-solomonic' which is a pidgin variety of English used in British Soloman Islands. The grammar and vocabulary of Neo-solomonic, although similar to English in many ways is quite distinct. The language has its own grammar and vocabulary which is quite systematized and regular in itself.

In a linguistically mixed community where a pidgin is used as a langua-franca for long durations, there is a high probability of children acquiring it as their native language. When this happens, the language re-acquires all the characteristics of a full language - a non-pidgin language and then its creolization begins to take place. When a pidgin language is used by a speech-community as its native language, then this language is called a CREOLE language.

3.4 Inter-Language Contacts

Bilingualism[*] is a form of language contact in a speech community where two languages subsist together. The speakers of this speech community who acquire or have the facility of using the two languages proficiently, are called bilinguals. Bilingualism is a standard term for "the practice of alternately using two languages" (Weinriech 1953:1). Bloomfield (1933: 56) defines it as "native-like control of two languages". Bilingualism is a "demonstrated ability to engage in one communication via more than one language" (Fishman 1966:22). Broadly speaking, bilingualism is a situation wherein a speaker speaks two languages irrespective of the degree of his competence in either. Haugen (1972:127) provides an option of viewing bilingualism in a wide or a narrow perspective "A wide definition (of bilingualism) would include virtually everyone who has learned a smattering of a second language and is therefore of less interest, but in a narrow definition as native competence in more than one language limits to a very small number of persons".

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* In this study, the American usage is followed according to which 'bilingualism' and 'bilingual' subsume 'multilingualism' and 'multilingual'. J.A. Fishman (1977).

Keeping in view the extent and degree of use, scholars have identified the following kinds of bilingualisms. (Aruna 1995)

Coordinate bilingualism: In this form a person can use two languages with equal ease and facility.

Subordinate bilingualism: In this a speaker has more facility in one of the languages (which is called the 'dominant language').

Balanced bilingualism is more of an ideal situation than reality. Here the speakers are fully competent in the use of both the languages.

Subtractive bilingualism is a situation of a bilingual minority (frequently immigrants) who are dominated by a society speaking a different language. This can lead to deterioration and eventual loss of their native (L1) language. This kind of condition is frequently observable in India. When a person migrates to other region where a different language dominates, after a generation or two it becomes noticeable that the immigrants' native language tends to disappear and the regional language of the place substitutes the native language even at home. Unless conscious efforts are made to retain the native language, it gradually gets lost.

Additive bilingualism is a recent term and is applicable to a situation where two socially useful and prestigious languages prevail together. Both these languages are viable and are considered complementary and enriching. The speakers here are proficient in the use of both of these languages. This holdstrue in many parts of India, particularly with Hindi and Urdu. Both the languages are prestigious and speakers make alternate use of both in different warranted situations.

Registeral Bilingualism: In this speakers use their mother tongue in various situations but when technical register is required they switch to the language in which they have acquired technical knowledge. Such a situation very often arises in India. The speakers here use their native language most of the time but when they require technical vocabulary they automatically switch to English.

In a situation where any of these kinds of bilingualism exist, there is a good enough chance of interference between the two languages. Usually, every bilingual is more adept in expressing himself better in one language in a particular circumstance than in the other. He is more successful in performing his social roles if he strictly separates his language by domains or roles. This means that he uses one language in one specific set of circumstances and the other in the rest.

In determining which language is to be used when, many features of social situation are involved. Language choice varies according to not only the social characteristics (Social class, ethnic group, age and sex) of the speaker but also

the social context in which he finds himself. Different situations would thereby call for the use of different languages for different purposes. The total number of languages thus used by a particular community of speakers can be called the 'verbal repertoire'of that speech community. Members of such a community know when to shift from one language to another keeping in view the requirements of a given situation. The choice of language is quite significant and is conditioned by his concept of appropriateness which eventually determines the effectiveness of his verbal interactions. Gumperz (1968:220) says, "... the choice of one language over another has the same significance as the selection among lexical alternates in linguistically homogenous societies". This choice is an indicator of same specific social meaning "speakers in any community share rules regarding usage of language which allows them to interpret the social meaning of alternate linguistic choices" (Sankoff 1979: 34). This also indicates that "...no normal person, and normal community is limited in repertoire to a single style of speech" (Hymes 1964:30).

India provides an excellent case study for the functioning of bilingualism. A number of languages are spoken in this mainland. Most of the speakers are either bilingual or multilingual. They make choice of language on the basis of domain and socio-culturo-contextual factors. Let us consider the situation in a campus where people drawn from different regions having different native languages reside. For all social functions and meetings Hindi is the usual choice, for official work and meetings English is used; at home the speaker uses his mother tongue

and at the market place the language of the natives of that place. Pandit records (1972) that in India there is stable bilingualism. A second or even third generation Marwari in Maharashtra speaks Marathi in the market, marwari at home, Hindi with his neighbours and English at the work place.

In the formal domains, two-tier system of language use is found in India. The regional dialects and languages are used in spoken communication at the lower levels of administration, courts of law and education. In written communication, regional languages are sometimes used at the lower levels in these domains, but English is by far the preferred choice at the higher levels. Regional languages, though, are now increasingly being used in education upto the graduate level, English is still the primary medium of instruction at the graduate and post-graduate levels, especially in science, engineering and medicine. (Sridhar 1989:7).

Three kinds of linguistic behaviour of the speakers is discernible in a bilingual speech community; these are language switching or shifting; language mixing and language borrowing. Through these processes, the languages affect and in turn, get affected themselves by the sociocultural and contextual features of a particular situation. The speakers use these processes for influencing or defining the situation as they wish and to convey nuances of meaning and personal intentions.

Let us first look at the process of **language switching or shifting** which is of two types: one, relation-specific and two, situation specific. In the first case, the languages, in a way, are used together simultaneously. This switching serves the purpose of defining relations between people. For example, using the mother-tongue or a native language interspersed with the language of professional environment or the lingua-franca indicates more intimacy, closeness and confidentiality between the participants in a speech-act. This kind of language switching or shifting is often unconscious and unintentional.

In the second type **language mixing**, which is situation specific, there is a complete switch over from one language variety into another depending upon the social situation, context, locale, etc. and nuances of meaning that are to be communicated in addition to the verbal message.

This situation can be exemplified taking a hypothetical example of a bilingual who uses different languages in different occasions. Working in a foreign land when this person meets another employee who belongs to his native land, he switches over to the native language to convey more intimacy and closeness. But it can be noticed on careful observation that the use of native tongue is not invariable and continuous. As and when topics related to professional work or intellectual interest arise, he switches back to the foreign language or the lingua-franca which is the language employed in these settings. Furthermore, when he meets the same person in an official setting, he uses the formal

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language. This clearly shows how relation-specific and situation-specific language switching operates.

This kind of linguistic behaviour observed in bilingual speech settings is that of **language mixing**, alternatively called **'code-mixing'** where there is a rapid shift from one language type to another. This helps the speaker to signal two identities at a time. Trudgill (1983) quotes from Le Page the example of Chinese students at the University of HongKong, who often speak a dense mixture of English and Cantonese. Speaking only in English might result in others considering them as being disloyal to their community. If they speak only Cantonese in the English-language-dominant university, they might be considered as uneducated and unsophisticated. By speaking both the languages together they overcome this problem. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the linguistic behaviour of educated Indians who make an alternate and effective use of English and their native language to communicate, specially in the professional environment, precisely for the same reason as the Chinese students do. As a result one may come across the following kind of utterances quite often:

> "I was just passing this way and thought why not 'tum se mil loon'. It was a good opportunity and furthermore, 'mere pasa thoda samay bhi tha'...".

The third kind, the process of **linguistic borrowing** occurs when two or more languages subsist together for a long period; and the speakers who become equally proficient in both the languages often indulge in language shifting and switching. Such situations may arise when they want to express a particular idea

or feeling and find an apt term in one of the languages and use it frequently. Such an equivalently apt word or phrase may not exist in the other language(s) and while speaking in the other language they often use that apt term. This term through repeated and often usage may gain acceptance in the lexicon of other language(s) as well. Such a transferred term may get adapted itself, phonologically, morphologically and ofcourse lexically in the recipient language after sometime. Such a term, phrase or work is called the **borrowed term**. This process enriches the lexicon of the recipient language by making it efficient in communicating nuances of thoughts. Words like 'significant', 'describe', etc. were borrowed from latin or french into English in the Middle English period. Similarly, some of the Hindi words that were borrowed into English include 'ghat', 'ghee', 'pundit' and English 'time' 'lathi charge', 'uncle', 'auntie' were borrowed into Hindi. The borrowings are not limited to the lexical level only, they are evident at the phonological, morphologial, syntactic and even at the semantic levels.

In such a bilingual society where one of the languages is used for some specialised purposes or only as a 'lingua- franca' then there is a possibility that the co-existent language which is the mother-tongue of the speaker exercises an impact on the other language. Under the influence of mother-tongue the other language starts undergoing a process of simplification (due to analogy) and modification. This process is called "Navitization' of the language. This influence is not limited in one direction only; the mother- tongue too experiences an impact

of the other language and gets modified. This process is called 'Westernization' of the language.

The discussion in this chapter clearly shows that sociolinguistic factors play a significant role in the evolution and growth of a language. The changes are brought about both by the linguistic patterns of the native languages and sociocultural behaviour of its users. Since English has remained in use in our country for a long time along with several other native languages, it has undergone changes to such an extent that there is a school of thought which makes out a case for the emergence of a variety of English called 'Indian English'. In the next chapter, we focus our attention on a study of the various aspects and factors that engender this process of Indianization.

CHAPTER 4

INDIANIZATION AT THE SYNTACTIC LEVEL

English which was brought to India by the Britishers to serve their imperialistic needs has now become ingrained in the fabric of Indian sensibility and thought process. With the spread of education in the Independent India, English spread to the masses, and now it is no longer an urban middle class phenomenon (refer Chapter 2). Khubchandani's contention is that marginalisation of English is today more in terms of intellectual paradigm than in terms of individual or regional paradigm. (Bharucha and Sarang 1994: I). Today's Indian society is largely a multilingual society with English as the second or third language of most of the educated class. It considerably affects and influences the linguistic behaviour of its users. The speech and writings of Indians exhibit clearly a stamp of English. They have, by decades of their use, acquired a sufficient degree of competence and fluency in using English and now they are enabled to express their desires, feelings and ideas through this medium.

The users of English in India are essentially bilinguals. These users are drawn from all over the country cutting across boundaries of culture, religion and geographical territories. The only commonality amongst them is perhaps that most of these users are drawn from the upper/middle social crust of their respective communities. This limited social territorisation gives a peculiar character to the writings of these users. Indian English literature is essentially bicultural, upper

class, socially restricted, linguistically cut-off from the going concerns of Indian society and pan-Indian literature of migration.

A language transmits the culture, tradition, norms and values of its users. With the spread of English to America, Australia, Africa and Asia, English is no longer confined to the British and it now transmits the associations of all its users who are drawn from different regions and have equally diversified cultures and traditions. A language also communicates the experiences and expectations of its users. Every experience is unique and is described in terms of situation, context, topic, locale and participants - all of which are unique to every culture and society. That is, any event would be experienced differently in different cultures and its expression too, would therefore be different. Thus, language shapes the thinking processes of people. (refer Chapter 3).

A bilingual situation generates hybrid variety of experience and also of the expression it results in. Due to coexistence of two or more languages, the interaction between the cultures and languages in contact plays a significant role in modification of the languages (refer Chapter 3). This situation exists in India with English as one of the many languages coexistent. Here too is a hybrid of the languages and cultures which is often labelled as 'Indo-Anglian Consciousness'. (Khubchandani 1994:223)

It is tradition that provides a linguistic-cultural landscape in which a work of art is produced, understood and appreciated. To describe a culture if we move away from the tradition, and from its language and use a different literary tradition and a different language, a hybridized literature results which can be called, in the Indian scenario, Indian-English Literature. As a language is vitally and intimately related to the basics of its 'native' culture, it is a common understanding that its native users have an intuitive sense of appropriateness and feasibility in that language functions. When a non-native user employs the language, with an evident lack of this intuitive understanding, there results a clash or a gap which has either to be resolved or bridged. To do this various means are employed - the most common means are lexical borrowings, syntactic adjustments and semantic changes or additions. When the Indians try to adapt English to express experiences of their native cultures, they too have to resort to all the above mentioned methods. This process eventually leads to 'Indianization' of English.

'Indianization' should not be confused with the term 'Indianness' as the latter is the quality or the characteristic of a piece of work. In other words, any work written in the Indian context or setting by an Indian in 'Indianized English' is bound to have 'Indianness' in it. 'Indianness' is the flavour which emanates from the thoughts or the meaning content. It is also the theme, situation, and context used to convey the message. It is evident in the characters chosen, their norms, values and morals, their religious and deeper thinking and in their overall behaviour and relationships. The method of organisation of ideas and

presentation, the use of literary conventions and genres also exhibit 'Indianness'. Indianization on the other hand, is giving an Indian flavour to something that is un-Indian or alien or foreign. When Indians use an external language like English they adapt it and use it for their purpose and thereby give it an Indian quality (which it initially and integrally lacks), i.e. it is Indianized. To say in other words, Indianness is something integral and intrinsic about a work, Indianization is extrinsic and external, superimposed on a work/language.

India has nativised and acculturated English. Indian English literature is being Indianized in such features as the syntax, word order, lexis, and idioms. This process of Indianization has been going on imperceptibly for the last five decades and reflects a change in mentality. Indian words and expressions have been recognized internationally and convey the Indian way of life, tradition and ways of feeling. (Pathak, 1994:6). The Fifth edition of the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (1996) has a supplement of Indian English thereby internationally accepting this variety of English. It gives credit to the fact that 'over a period of time Indian English has acquired a distinct stock of new words and usage'. The dictionary lists words from Indian languages that describe specifically Indian objects, customs, ideas, etc; words current in British English (BE) but used in different sense in India and English words which have been adapted or shortened to convey a distinctly Indian flavour.

We intend to present in these chapters (4,5 and 6) a few samples of English used in India with special emphasis on the Indianization of English and to show how it has become a new dialectal variety. This variety is intelligible to all the users of English in India and is widely accepted, credited and used in India. This variety furthermore, is not a pidgin variety of English and has the same rules of grammar, syntax and lexis as the parent language. A few of the rules have been simplified (often by intralanguage analogy) as is the case in most of the dialects but it does not have a distinct set of rules different from the parent language (as is the case in the pidgin varieties). So far as the spoken English is concerned, the Indian variety, appropriately called General Indian English (G.I.E.), has acquired a distinct identity. It has been systematized and described (Bansal 1969) and a number of books describing this variety are available, for example, Bansal and Harrison (1994), Balasubramanian (1989), and Mohan and Singh (1995).

In choosing the samples we have drawn upon a variety of sources which include magazines, newspapers, advertisements, official documents, personal observation and various forms of literature already mentioned in Chapter 1. The selected samples have been broadly categorized as syntactic and lexico-semantic. The syntactic category (Chapter 4) deals with the grammatical and syntactic modifications of English while the lexico-semantic category (Chapter 5) covers the lexical and semantic restrictions and extensions that Indians have made on English. While categorizing it was noticed that some of the samples fall into more

than one category. This happens because different parts of the same sentence exhibit different Indianization techniques. As a result, a few samples occur in more than one category.

Each category has been divided into several sections: The Perfective Form, The Progressive Form, Interrogative Transformation, Complex Sentence Formation, Complementation, Use of Preposition and Articles and Placement of Adverbs. The number of entries in each section is different as the frequency of use differs and hence, availability of samples vary. Each section has been further divided into sub- section, on basis of the sources of samples: Popular Magazines, Cine, Sports and Business Magazines, Newspapers, Advertisements, Official Documents, Personal Observation and Literature. These samples are listed under each sub-section. The part of the sentence which is Indianized is shown in a different font and is explained in the paragraph following the citation of these samples. After a listing of all the samples, these samples are analysed and discussed.

4.1 The Perfective Form

Perfective in English is used in two time frames of present and past. The present perfective (has been/have been) is used to indicate a habit or state upto the present, indefinite past or resultative past, examples of these are given below:

(a)   He has lived here for two months. (and is still living here)

(b)   We have seen him. (The time of action is not given)

(c)   The taxi has arrived. (And is waiting)

The past perfective is used to indicate the meaning of past-in-the-past and past of the present perfect:

(a)   I had washed the clothes when he returned. (washing had taken place before his return)

(b)   He had lived there for two months before shifting to a new house. (state upto the past moment)

(c)   We had seen him before. (Indefinite past in the past)

(d)   The taxi had arrived but he wasn't ready. (Resultative past in the past)

Here, perfective is used in a sense different from simple past but when Indians use it, they neutralize the distinction between Perfective and Simple past and use the former in the sense of latter. That is to say, any event which occurred at a point of time in the past is also referred to in perfective:

I.E.   I have seen him two months back.

B.E.   I saw him two months back.

I.E.   He had lived here in October.

B.E.   He lived here in October.

This kind of usage of Perfective has come to be accepted and is widely used in the Indian English as will be seen in the examples cited below.

POPULAR MAGAZINES

S1. "We know that you **had wanted** children under three, but would you consider these two who are a little older", she read the brief summary she had about the children. (Fem)

S2. She had married the eldest of the brothers and **had had** no inclination to leave the family fold. (WE)

S3. "Kishore **had passed** the exam last year but is sitting idle at home", Rambabu told me. (WE)

S4. "Ramya **has finished** the work last evening", Mother told Kashyap. (WE).

S5. As soon as Surendra returned from college, his mother began to question him, "Munna, what is this I hear? Is what Ramprasad bhaiya **has told** me true?" (WE)

S6. Her mother is not at all happy that Mohini **has joined** films so early in life. She is an only child! (WE)

CINE, SPORTS AND BUSINESS MAGAZINES

S7. "He (Thackeray) asked me to take command of north India for the Sena", says Goswamy. "I **haven't rejected** the offer outright. I need to think about whether I want to be associated with a political party". (IT)

S8. Their first major tour of Australia **has been marred** by a succession of controversies which have rocked the international cricket community. (SS)

S9. The entry of the private sector in the Indian telecom sector **had created** the need for a regulatory body which **would have resolved** disputes between private operators and the DoT. (BI)

S10. "The auto-industry **has grown** by over 50 percent last year", says Managing Director V.D. Sud. (BI)

S11. "We **have been** very strongly associated with the housewife in the kitchen and we would not like to lose sight of our target audience", clarifies Madhup Vaghani. (BI).

NEWSPAPERS

S12. "The Hadud Ordinance, according to which a woman's testimony is inadmissible in crimes like rape and murder, **had been passed** in 1979", says Hassan who believes that Islam worldwide is at the moment, torn between two concepts of God. (TOI)

S13. I **have written** a letter to the textbook board of Gujarat on September 9 about the errors in Social Studies text for standard V (English Medium). (TOI)

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS

S14. "We have given the same question in 1994-95. So should we give it again?" Sanjay asked with doubt.

S15. "Oh! I have entered the marks yesterday itself". Maruti exclaimed.

LITERATURE

E1. *Our Casuarina Tree* - Toru Dutt.

Like a huge python, winding round and round the rugged

trunk, indented deep with scars.

Dear is the casuaring to my soul:

Beneath it we have played; though years may roll, O

sweet companions, ..

In S1, the perfective form 'had wanted' is used in the place of simple past. In S2, the occurrence of past-in-the- past, 'had married' is the first reference and that of the simple past, second. But we notice that in both the situations the perfective form is indiscriminately used.

S3 has a definite time in the past (last year) and hence simple past would be normally used. But in Indian English this restriction is violated and perfective is

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS

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S3 has a definite time in the past (last year) and hence simple past would be normally used. But in Indian English this restriction is violated and perfective is

freely used in this situation too. The same is applicable in S4 where the perfective is used in a definite time frame. A conversation is going on in the present which takes account of a happening of the past in S5. In the first question simple present 'is...hear' is used and in the second thought something that happened in the past is questioned. Thus, for a simple past situation present perfective 'has told' is used. In S6, the perfective 'has joined' is used despite a time event being specified in the sentence.

A past occurrence (an offer being made) and its response is being described in S7. The conversation refers to the present. The response was thus in the simple past form but for it the perfective one is used 'haven't rejected'.

Present perfective describes an event in the past, results of which are operative still (at the present time). In S8 present perfective is used twice. In its first occurrence, an event that took place in the past is reported. For this too present perfective 'has been marred' is used. In the second occurrence however, the results of this event are described which became operative in the past and still hold true. Hence, the use of present perfective 'have rocked' is in accordance with BE here. The context (of S9) is setting up of a regulatory body in the telecom sector, a past event. The objective of this body was to resolve disputes - an event of the future. Yet in both the instances of simple past and future, perfectives 'had created' and 'would have resolved' are used.

A definite time in the past is given in S10 and a present event and future aspirations are described in S11. Irrespective of time and tense restrictions, perfectives have been used in both the places. In S12 past perfective 'had been passed' is used to refer to an act in the definite past (1979) and similarly in S13 an act in a definite past (September 9) has been reported in present perfective 'have written'. Past events with definite time frames are given in S14 and S15. Still in both the sentences, present perfective is used 'have given' and 'have entered', respectively.

The poet has the advantage of moulding the language to suit his purpose. This is the reason why many cases of deviations cannot be traced to poetry. In the extract picked here, a habitual event that used to take place in the past is described. This can be expressed in simple past but a perfective 'have played' is used.

Thus, we notice in the samples listed above that Indians accept and widely use present and past perfective in situations where standard English would normally use simple present or simple past, respectively.

4.2 The Progressive Form

In English, the Progressive too is used in both the time frames of Present and Past - the Present Progressive and the Past Progressive. Both of them are

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used in the meanings of duration, futurity and habitual use. The Progressive indicates limited 'duration' and hence does not indicate instantaneous present or general truths but shows happenings which are not over or complete at the present instant or the one talked about. For example,

The bus is slowing down.

I was studying late in the night.

The Present and Past Progressive both are used to refer to an event in the future. The only difference between the two is, while the present progressive indicates the present intention about the future; the past progressive shows a past intention about the future or an intention that now stands cancelled. For example,

He is leaving for Madurai on Saturday.

He was leaving for Madurai on Saturday. (but now he is not going).

Both of the Progressives are used to indicate a very frequently repeated or a habitual action usually with a hint of disapproval or irritation, e.g.

This phone is always ringing!

He was always dozing during the lectures!

The Progressive, in contrast to a simple present (a single event) surrounds a particular event by a temporal frame (a continued activity). Indians tend to relax this difference and even a single event (shown by simple past in English) is rendered in the progressive.

Example:

I.E.   "Mr. Pant, **are you having** the finalised list of   students allotted to

Bombay?"   She inquired.

B.E.   "Mr. Pant, **do you have** the finalised list of students allotted to Bombay?"

she   asked.

I.E.   Now again, **I am having** a problem with my scooter.

B.E.   Now again, **I have** a problem with my scooter.

In English, certain verbs called 'Static verbs' do not take Progressive Form and are expressed in simple present   instead. Such verbs comprise of two categories (A) The verbs of inert perception and cognition such as **see, hear, feel, understand, desire, taste,** etc. and (B) Relative verbs such as **cost, contain, fit, have, need,** etc. While using these verbs Indians unhesitantly employ progressive forms and this practice has become so much accepted that they find their use in simple present awkward.

The samples presented underneath amply illustrate the use of Progressives in Indian English:

POPULAR MAGAZINES

S1.   She wasn't too well off and she was **having a tough time** managing her 3 children and making both ends meet. (WE)

S2. I am **noticing** somewhat creamy white lines on the area around... (WE)

S3. I am **still having** some marks on my face. (WE)

CINE, SPORTS AND BUSINESS MAGAZINES

S4. Otherwise he will also begin complaining like Imran Khan and Mohammed Azharuddin that the merit of their teams' win are not being recognized because home umpires **are standing** in their matches. (SS)

S5. If you ask me which countries these funds **are coming** from, **I am not going** to reveal the names. **I am not saying** that we don't need the money or that we don't accept it! (IT)

S6. Wherever I go people **are asking** me why the Indian team is not playing one-day international cricket this month. (SS)

S7. They **are seeing** so much of the one-day cricket involving Australia, the West Indies and Srilanka down under on Television... that they think the only way to prepare for the World Cup is to play international cricket. (SS)

S8. In view of the general elections due in 1996, "Even the government **is admitting** that it now appears unlikely that this target (fiscal deficit) will be achieved". (BI)

NEWSPAPERS

S9.   My DPS educated son, Bablu is constantly urging me to   read the
      newspapers. (THT)

S10. You seem to be having a Vaghela type situation in UP too with power in
      the hands of one or two individuals. (THT)

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

S11. As you might be knowing, the Institute has launched a journal 'CURIE'...
      with the broad objective to promote institutional linkages between the world
      of learning and the world of work.

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS

S12. "I am seeing that these days you are becoming more and more careless. I
      warn you - this is not good", shouted Mr. Shah as soon as he came in.

S13. "I am understanding your situation but I can't help you as this work too is
      very urgent", Prof. Hassantold his colleague.

LITERATURE

E1.   *Goodbye Party for Miss Pushpa J.S. - Nissim Ezekiel*

Friends,

Our dear sister

is departing, for foreign

in two three days.

Miss Pushpa is coming

from very high family.

Her father was renowned advocate

in Bulsar or Surat

I am not remembering now which place.

Pushpa Miss is never saying no.

Whatever I or anybody is asking

she is always saying, yes,

and today she is going

to improve her prospect

and we are wishing her bon voyage.

You are all knowing friends

what sweetness is in Miss Pushpa

In all the above sentences we notice that Indians have a tendency to use progressive form in the simple present and simple past time frames, where an Englishman would rather use the simple present and simple past tense, respectively. They also use progressive form for the static verbs. Such use has become acceptable and is frequently noticeable in the English used by educated

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Indians. In S1, 'was having a tough time', a progressive is used in the simple past time frame and in S2, simple present is rendered in progressive form, 'am noticing'. In S3 and S4 too, the same is applicable 'am still having' and 'are standing', respectively represent simple present tense but the progressive is used here. In S5, we have three instances of the typically Indian usage of progressive. In all the three places simple present has a progressive manifestation 'are coming', 'am not going to reveal' and 'am not saying'.

In S6, the simple present is presented in the continuous present form 'are asking'. In S7, the static verb, verb of perception 'see' is used in the present continuous. In English these verbs generally do not take progressive form but in India they are frequently used in such a way. In S9 and S10, simple present is rendered in progressive 'is constantly urging me' and 'seem to be having'.

In S11, we have 'you might be knowing' where a static verb has taken the progressive form. In S12 and S13 too, 'see' and 'understand', the static verbs take progressive. The use of static verbs in this manner is not restricted merely to speech but has stolen its way into writing also. In the extract (E1) we notice that simple present has been rendered in progressive and the static verbs 'know' and 'remember', too, have been presented in this form.

We infer from this discussion that Indians use the progressive form indiscriminately in the sense of simple past/present and continuous form as well as with static verbs.

4.3 Interrogative Transformations

When an interrogative is constructed in English the rule applied is inversion of NP and tense in the sentence order:

Kernel sentence : Ram-past-see-Sita.

NP-Inversion : Past-Ram-see-Sita.

Do-support : Past-do-Ram-see-Sita.

Interrogative : Did Ram see Sita?

While reporting a question in Indirect speech, this NP- Inversion is not applicable. Words like 'if' and 'whether' are used to connect the two segments of the reported speech. For example,

(a)   "What do you mean?" asked the man.

The man inquired of him what he meant.

(b)   He asked, "Are you going somewhere?"

He asked if she was going somewhere.

(c)   He asked, "Who saw Geeta?"

He asked if anyone had seen Geeta.

In English the method of constructing question-tags is quite elaborate and complicated:

1. If a sentence is affirmative then the tag is negative and if the sentence is negative, the tag is positive.

2. No proper name is used in the tag position. The pronoun of the subject (noun) is used in this position.

3. (a) If the sentence has an auxiliary verb, it is used in the tag position.

   (b) If it is a 'be', 'have' or 'do' type verb, then these forms are retained in the tag position.

   (c) If the verb form is none of the above two, then an appropriate form of 'do' is introduced in the tag position.

For example,

Radha can dance well, can't she?

Prakash is very handsome, isn't he?

They have a car, haven't they?

She sings very well, doesn't she?

Deepak didn't come yesterday, did he?

We aren't free tonight, are we?

Indian users of English tend to ignore all of these rules and while using interrogatives, employ more of rising tone than of NP-inversion and usually come up with utterances like:

(a) Ram saw Sita?

(b)   You are going somewhere?

This kind of construction is more encountered in spoken mode rather than in the written mode. When Indians report interrogatives in the Indirect speech, they construct a complex sentence and use it with NP-inversion along with intonation to indicate their intention. Such instances are frequently encountered:

(a)   The man asked him what did he mean.

(b)   He asked who had seen Geeta.

While constructing question-tags too, Indians highly simplify these rules. They use 'no', 'isn't it' or 'right' in all tag positions.

This kind of interrogative construction has become stabilized in the use of English by Indians. It is also accepted and frequently used by educated users of English in spoken as well as in written English; as will be seen in the following samples:

POPULAR MAGAZINES

S1.   **Why allow the girl to die slowly and at the hands of strangers?** (WE)

S2.   As soon as Surendra returned from college, his mother began to question him, "What is this I hear? **Is what Ramprasad bhaiya has told me true?**

(WE)

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S3. The lady on the opposite berth asked, "you are also going to Bangalore? (WE)

S4. "You aren't sleeping?" Neeraj's voice shook her. (WE)

S5. "You are interested in sight seeing?" Madan asked her. (WE)

NEWSPAPERS

S6. The incident once again brought to the forefront the naked question that does human life convey any value? (TOI)

ADVERTISEMENTS

S7. Why our products will always be in demand? (Indian Dyestuff Industries Ltd.)

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS

S8. "You are free in the evening?" asked Nitya, "I want to go to the market. You would come with me, no?"

S9. "You will go to Madras during the holidays, right?" Satish inquired.

S10. "We had a thorough fun on picnic, isn't it Sangeeta?" Anita remarked.

S11. "You have finished your correction work? You have to enter the marks in the file," Sanjay said.

Interrogatives usually create problems for the Indian users of English and they often employ translation of Mother Tongue rules to construct interrogatives. S1 is a direct translation from MT and herein the supporting or auxiliary verb is missing. In the second question in S2, the tense restrictions imposed on an embedded sentence in an interrogative are disregarded and tense differs in the main and embedded structures. S3, S4, and S5 form a bunch as they present similar, often noticed interrogative construction. Interrogation here is marked by a rise in pitch towards the end of the sentence and not by word-order inversion. In writing though, question mark is there to provide a clue to the intention of the statement/speaker. This is due to MT interference as in the Indian languages interrogation is often marked by a raise in pitch.

For an indirect question in B.E., NP-inversion does not take place and words like 'if' and 'whether' are used to indicate a question. Indians tend to invert the word order even in indirect questions instead of making use of the usual interrogative markers in such cases as is noticeable in S6. In S7 no NP inversion has taken place. The word order of a sentence is retained and the use of a 'wh-' word is the only marker of an interrogative.

It was observed that Indianization occurs more frequently in the spoken speech than in the written form. This is perhaps because the Indian user, though aware of the B.E. rules of such constructions, inadvertently employs analogy from

his native language and uses intonation and pitch raise to convey his intentions. When writing, he is more cautious and makes full use of his knowledge. This form of questions, nevertheless, have gained acceptance in the spoken mode and never attracts an eyebrow raise even in the most formal situations.

In S8, while constructing the first question NP- Auxiliary inversion has been disregarded and intonation is used as a marker. In the second question, in the question- tag position, all the rules of constructing tag have been ignored and 'no' is used as a question tag. This is due to MT interference. Most of the Indian languages use the sense of 'no', 'isn't it', or 'right' in the tag position. While speaking this automatically gets translated but while writing, Indians employ the correct rules. In S9 and S10 the rules of constructing question-tags have been simplified to 'right' and 'isn't it', as indicated above. In S11 again, NP-inversion has not been done and intonation is the interrogative marker.

We note in all these examples that though these constructions are not accepted in the standard usage, these have gained a wide currency in English used in India, whether it be the spoken or written mode and are acceptable to all Indian users of English.

4.4 Complex Sentence Formation

When a complex sentence is constructed, there is atleast one main clause which is grammatically independent and can stand alone. There are one or more dependent clauses which are joined to the main clause either by a relative pronoun (who, which, that) or by a subordinate conjunction (after, although, as, because, before, if, since, unless, when, whereby, why). These dependent clauses are used as nouns, adjectives or adverbs. In Indian construction, at times, the identity of grammatical independence is lost in the complexity of expression, resulting in semantic ambiguity. The sign of subordination too may or may not be present.

In English there are certain tense and pronominal restrictions on the embedded sentence, in the complex sentence construction. If the verb in the main clause is in simple present and the verb in the subordinate clause refers to a future time, then the latter is in simple present instead of being in the indefinite tense as is done in Indian English.

B.E.:   I hope that he comes in time.

I.E.:   I hope that he will come in time.

If the verb in the main clause refers to a future time, the verb in the subordinate clause takes the present tense, whereas in I.E., future time indication is shown in subordinate clause too.

B.E. We will go to a picnic if they come tomorrow.

I.E. We will go to a picnic if they will come tomorrow.

Here are a few samples taken from various sources to illustrate complex sentence formation:

POPULAR MAGAZINES

S1.   Apart from the many kinds of water fowl, a beautiful bird which visits our gardens, lawns and other open spaces is the wagtail. (WE)

CINE, SPORTS AND BUSINESS MAGAZINES

S2.   It is always a temptation among the older generation of cricket followers to believe teams and players associated with their youth are far better than players of the contemporary game. (SS)

S3.   So, apart may be from one catch I can remember, Srikant dropping one versus New Zealand, we didn't drop any catches. (SS)

S4.   Quite often such a conclusion is based on misleading impression because people may have formed when in an impressionable age the deeds of the heroes over certain period were etched in their mind. (SS).

S5.   The excuses offered are the flimsiest: that the commission report loses relevance because of the delay, that too much money has been spent already. (BI)

NEWSPAPERS

S6.   Recently in India to conduct the NASSCOM global leadership summit and to launch the Indo-American Society Management Development Forum, Prof. Prahlad spoke to Paroma Roy Chowdhary and Vivek Bhargava on diverse issues ranging from management of discontinuity to strategising for the future. (TET)

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS

S7.   "I will give my seminar when sir will come." the student answered.

S8.   "It's so hot. I hope it will rain today." Chanda commented.

S9.   "The grades will be submitted when the grading will be over." The instructor informed his boss.

It is a noticeable fact that when a complex sentence is constructed by an Indian, in the myriad of many subordinate clauses, often the main clause gets lost. This is observable in S1 where the main sentence 'a beautiful bird... is the wagtail' is hidden and becomes clear only in the second or third reading of the sentence.

In S2, the tense restrictions that the main clause imposes on the subordinate clause are violated. The verb 'to believe' of the main sentence would take the verb 'to be far better' in B.E. but 'are far better' is used instead.

S3 is a very complex sentence, typical of the Indian usage of English. In this sentence, the subordinate clauses are not properly integrated with the main clause. There is, in fact, no clear subordination link between the main sentence and the clause. Indians often make use of comma instead of relative pronouns or subordinating conjunctions to indicate subordination. This can be seen in the next sentence too. S4 though, has a clear main clause but the subordinate clause has not been properly constructed and tense considerations too are overlooked. S5 too has a similar problem. The subordinate clauses are not integrated properly and there is no clear sign of subordination. Even the main clause is not clear. In the first main clause 'the commission report' on the first reading creates great deal of ambiguity and confusion due to a missing possessive 'commission's'. The continuation of the second subordinate clause marked by '..., that' throws the reader completely off the rail and only later he realises that it is really related to the main clause.

In this long sentence (S6), the main clause which is the second part of the sentence is quite clear but it is the first part, the subordinate clause which creates problem as it is not properly integrated with the main clause. The problem is being caused by the omission of a relative pronoun f'when' at the start of the sentence.

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Indians usually do not follow the tense restrictions particularly when the reference is to some future time, being stated in the present tense. They tend to give this indication by the use of same modal. In S7, S8 and S9 indefinite future is talked about by using 'will'. The tense restrictions are disregarded here and in place of simple present, futuristic present is used.

We see thus, that while constructing complex sentences, Indian English does away with the complexities of tense restrictions and integration of the complex sentence; and this kind of usage is becoming stabilized and is accepted by educated Indians.

4.5 Complementation

'Complement' is defined as that part of a verbal phrase which is required to make a complete predicate in a sentence. It is an obligatory constituent of a sentence. Complement can be a single word, a phrase or even a sentence (occuring as a clause) which is subordinated to function as a complement of one of the constituents of another sentence.

I want a book. (word complement)

I want to write a letter. (phrase complement)

I want her to go to Delhi. (Sentence complement)

In the process of complementation, the nouns and verbs of the recipient sentence impose certain restrictions on their counterparts in the complemented clause or sentence. For example 'want' type of verb in English does not take a 'that' type of complement sentence. For example,

I want her to attend the meeting.

I asked him why he wanted a transfer.

Indians do not maintain such restrictions and the complement subordinate clause is accepted in the main sentence as it is. Furthermore, a 'want'-type sentence in Indian English takes a 'that' type clause. For example,

I want that she should attend the meeting.

I asked him why did he want a transfer.

A few samples are listed and analysed in this section which illustrate the Indian manner of complementation in English.

POPULAR MAGAZINES

S1.   "Maa, Sharmaji **wants that I should accompany him** to the Delhi **meeting"**. Radha shouted from the kitchen. (WE)

S2.   "Rajamma **wants that her widowed daughter-in-law should remarry!"** exclaimed Ram. (WE)

SPORTS, CINE AND BUSINESS MAGAZINES

S3.   What makes him seem like a bowler from a different age is he believes in speed as the ultimate weapon. (SS)

S4.   The only problem with this assertion is that clearly demand for capital has outstripped the willingness or capacity of banks and financial institutions to lend. (BI).

NEWSPAPERS

S5.   The incident once again brought to the forefront the question that does human life convey any value? (TOI)

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS

S6.   "She has to go to Delhi. So she wanted that I should take her classes when she is away"... "Yes, I asked her why did she want to go now?"

In these sentences (S1 and S2) we notice that 'want' verb has a 'that' type sentence. The pronoun restriction and the 'for-to' construction which 'want-' verb requires are ignored here and complementation has been done in the usual manner of other verbs.

In S3, the nouns and verbs of the complement sentence do not abide by the restraints laid on them by recipient sentence's nouns and verbs. In S4, complementation has not been properly effected. Furthermore, the placement of adverb makes complementation more difficult. When an interrogative sentence is subordinated the complementation is affected by 'if' or 'whether'. But in S5 even in the embedded question, the NP-inversion is retained. The noun and verb form restrictions imposed by complementation too are thereby ignored here.

In S6 too, the 'want-' verb has taken a 'that-' type sentence and the pronoun and 'for-to' construction have been ignored. In the second part of the sample, a question which acts like a complement, requires a 'wh-' word to effectualize the complementation. But here, the same question order is retained.

We can hereby safely say that Indians tend to disregard the restrictions imposed by the nouns and verbs of the main clause on the complemented phrase or clause.

4.6 Use Of Prepositions And Articles

The use of preposition in a sentence is as much dependent upon collocation as upon the rules. Articles' usage, however, is truly a rule governed activity. All countable nouns on their first appearance take 'a' or 'an' depending on whether the word starts with a consonant or a vowel sound, respectively. On their

next reference 'the' replaces 'a' or 'an'. That is to say, if we wish to 'particularize' a noun, we use the definite article 'the' and if we wish to 'generalize', we use the indefinite articles, 'a' or 'an'. As a general rule, a common noun in the singular number should have some article placed before it. An example is given below:

I want to bathe in a river. (Any river)

I want to bathe in **the** river. (The river beside which we are standing and talking)

A preposition is a word placed before a noun to show its relation to something else. For example,

I placed my hand **on** the table.

In this sentence the preposition 'on' shows the relation between the hand and the table. The hand might alternatively be placed 'under' or 'above' the table. Usually the preposition is placed immediately before its object but in cases of relative clauses and interrogatives, the object and the preposition may be separated with the latter coming towards the end of the sentence.

The cat is **in the bag**. (Preposition + object)

This is the man we **are looking for**. (Relative)

Who are you **waiting for**? (Interrogative).

However, there are no satisfactory rules for preposition usage - it has to be learnt individually, item by item. The Indian users of English, therefore, often

deviate from the British usage and make use of preposition where unnecessary, omit them where required or use some preposition other than what is normally used. Their use of prepositions is partly governed by the mother tongue influence and meaning correlates that they think are appropriate.

POPULAR MAGAZINES

S1. "Please **leave me your card**. I'll get in touch with you tomorrow" replied Varsha. (WE)

S2. Conservative estimates **put the cost** of the two houses **at** Rs. 60 lakhs, and when asked how the money was raised Geelani declines to comment. (IT)

S3. The Hurriyat is seeking to fill the political vacuum with talk of self-determination, at a time when Kashmiris, though emotionally still in favour of the idea of independence, have rejected violence as **the vehicle** for azadi. (IT)

S4. Indeed she went on to announce to the world **at general** that, apart from the little drop in the ocean I was depositing, my account was just about empty. (Fem) .

CINE, SPORTS AND BUSINESS MAGAZINES

S5 *You cannot argue with the figures though and in two last summers Cork not only won a Test for England against West Indies at Lords for the first*

time **for years** but also scored 53 runs and seized seven wickets for 43 (SS)

S6. He may never graduate from the Jane Fonda school of Aerobics but **there are few men** better at picking the gaps either along the ground or in the air **and judging** the short quick single. (SS)

S7. Madhup Vaghani pointed out to Jasmine Supriya of Phulchand Exports Ltd. "August **is buy** season for Europeans but they don't 'buy on spot' basis. And **for big** buyers, the summer is already over".

S8. These are **the few things** one can't afford to do now. (CB)

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

S9. As our budget for the current financial year is already finalised, we would not be in a position to release an advertisement or **subscribe the** journal.

S10. Please **refer your letter** August 10, 1994 on the subject mentioned above.

S11. **Copy of Advertisement** and subscription proformae alongwith advertisement material is enclosed.

S12. It was indeed nice of you to forward to us a complimentary copy of **inaugural issue** of 'CURIE'.

S13. Similarly mention one aspect in which you have to **improve in your** performance.

ADVERTISEMENTS

S14. Willing go abroad. (MA)

S15. Income five figures. (MA)

S16. Belonging respectable family. (MA)

S17. Working reputed institution. (MA)

S18. Owning banglow. (MA)

S19. Father leading exporter. (MA)

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS

S20. He perhaps wants to discuss about the plans for the next week. (PO)

S21. In the last meeting he emphasized on the need to be regular and punctual.

S22. On winning the contest, he was awarded with a cash prize of Rupees One Lakh.

S23. The speaker stressed the need to combat against corruption and malpractices.

S24. "I find it very difficult to cope up with all this work and my child," an employee in an organisation.

S25. Yesterday we ordered for a new cooler.

S26. Now he is repenting for his misdeeds.

S27. She has requested for a new order book and stationery.

S28. Please **convey** him my best wishes.

S29. Please **inform** me the latest situation.

S30. His brother **presented** him with a beautiful tie pin on his birthday.

S31. "I am stuck up here. Can you **suggest** me how to solve this problem?" inquired a student.

S32. The course **begins** from May 15th.

S33. When we **compare** this year's average to last year's, we notice that there is a remarkable improvement.

S34. Today's lecture **deals about** how to control your nervousness.

S35. We all are **fascinated with** Madhuri Dixit's smile.

S36. My classes start **at** 7.15 **to** 10.15 a.m.

S37. You can meet the concerned authorities **between** 9.0 a.m. **to** 2.0 p.m.

S38. When I was studying in **the college**, I performed on stage once.

LITERATURE

E1. Nissim Ezekiel's *Goodbye Party for Miss Pushpa T.S.*

Miss Pushpa is coming

from **very high family**

Her father was **renowned advocate**

in Bulsar or Surat.

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In S1 and S2, there are highly unusual constructions for the standard English. Such constructions are quite frequent, nevertheless, in Indian usage of English. In S3, 'the' is used where a general article is generally used. 'In' usually collocates with 'general' but in S4 'at' is used in this association. In S5, a different preposition 'for' is used that the usual one 'in'.

An article 'a' and a preposition 'in' is missing in S6 and an article 'the' (in both the places) in S7. A different preposition is used in S8 - 'the' in place of 'a'. In S9 the preposition 'to' is omitted and the same is applicable to S10.

An article 'the' is omitted in both S11 and S12. In S13 there is an unnecessary preposition 'in' in the highlighted phrase. It is noticeable that matrimonial advertisements show an intensity of Indianization in the usage of prepositions and articles as these are used according to the native rules and consideration rather than according to the standard English rules and collocations. In S14 preposition 'to' is omitted; in both S15 and S17 'in' is omitted. In S18 an article 'a' is discarded. In S16 both a preposition and an article are missing 'to' and 'a'. Apart from a missing article in S19, verb too is omitted; 'a' and 'is' both are excluded from the lexicon.

Maximum number of differences in the use of prepositions and articles are seen in the spoken English of the Indians. Such changes are now acceptable and find place in speech (and also in writing) of prominent and distinguished users of

English. The section on Personal Observations records the most frequent Indianizations in this field. From S20 to S27 preposition are used where they are not required in the standard dialect. In S20 'about' is used with discuss, in S21 'on' with emphasized; 'with' in S22 with awarded and 'against' with combat in S23 and 'up' is used in S24 with cope. We notice here that this kind of usage (these prepositions along with the specific word) has become so current and accepted that if an Indian is told that it is wrong, he would not only deny it as a mistake, he would infact, direct the sayer to a dictionary. 'For' is used with order (S25), with repenting (S26) and with requested in S27. The preposition 'for' is quite popular among the Indian users of English and such combinations are frequently heard 'go for shopping', 'go for swimming' and 'go for movies'.

A case reverse to the above is noticeable in S28 to S31. Here prepositions are omitted where they are used in the standard English. In S28 'to' (convey to), in S29 'of' (inform of), 'with' in S30 (presented with) and 'to' (suggest to) in S31. Usually inform does not take any preposition in the Indian usage; if it does, 'about' is used in this combination.

Like the native users, Indians too have their own specific combinations of prepositions and words which are many-a-time different from that of the natives. From S32 to S37 a few such combinations are listed. 'Begins from' instead of 'on' (S32), 'compare to' and not 'with' (S33), 'deals about' instead of 'with' (S34) and 'fascinated with' in place of 'by' (S35). The sequential association of the

prepositions is also different at times; 'at...to' and not 'from...to' (S36) and 'between... to' and not 'between... and' (S37). Such a usage too has become quite frequent and accepted in the Indian usage of English.

In this extract articles are omitted in both the highlighted phrases. The indefinite article 'a' would have been used in the standard dialect before very high family and 'renowned advocate'.

From the above discussion we come to the conclusion that Indians are quite flexible with respect to the usage of articles and prepositions. They have their own set of collocations for prepositions and they are not bound down by any specific rules of usage in case of either.

4.7 Placement Of Adverbs

An adverb is a word that modifies a verb, an adjective or another adverb. The placement of adverbs play a significant role. Adverbs can qualify not merely individual words but an entire sentence. Usually they are placed immediately before or after the word they qualify depending upon the kind of verb in question. They are placed in the beginning of the sentence when a sentence is assertive. The meaning of sentence can change, at times, only by shifting the place of the adverbs:

Only he can do this task.

He can do only this task.

Indians overlook the significance of their placement and on basis of the ease in sentence construction, they tend to affix adverbs anywhere in the sentence. This at times leads to absurd construction. Let us take a look at the following samples which illustrate this.

POPULAR MAGAZINES

S1. **Also**, incense sticks were lit just close to the photograph. (WE)

S2. **Also**, there were a good many willing hands to attend to the baby. (WE)

S3. **Also**, the problems on the street are compounded by pedestrians who prefer to walk on the road. (Fem)

S4. **Also**, diaries seized by the CBI show that whenever Amir bhai paid money to J.K. Jain, the latter would account for the receipts against secret heads 'A', 'AB' and 'K'. (IT)

CINE, SPORTS AND BUSINESS MAGAZINES

S5. They appear to have more affairs than films. George came in to tell me this **actually**. (CB)

S6. **In fact** many businesses were witnessing rates of growth of upto 50 percent which **only occur** in boom times. (BI)

S7. **Also,** we expect new players in the auto-component industry, which will lead to higher exports of auto parts. (BI)

S8. The only problem with this assertion is that **clearly** demand for capital has outstripped the willingness or capacity of banks and financial institutions to lend. (BI)

NEWSPAPERS

S9. **Also,** their wives were home sick, according to sources in contact with the defectors. (THT)

S10. **However, although** she has little charisma, her tears and lamentations on public platforms win her sympathy and are her 'shastra' (weapon) against rival Chandrababu Naidu, and the Congress Party. (THT)

OFFICIAL DOCUMENT

S11. I was getting **consistently** estimated electricity bills for Rs. 380 or so (bimonthly). We complained to BSEB (Electricity Co.) and found that our meter was faulty.

In S1, S2, S3 and S4 the sentence begins with 'also' which is a common practice of Indian users of English. This adverb, in the standard use comes before the main verb but in the Indian usage this formality is casted off and only the

meaning of adding something to what is previously said is regarded. Hence beginning a sentence with 'also' is quite frequent and accepted here as the sentence indicates an addition to the meaning. Therefore, instead of having 'also' before 'lit' (S1), 'a good many' (S2), 'compounded' (S3) and 'show', it comes in the sentence beginning.

In S5 'actually' is placed at the end of the sentence. This adverb usually comes before the main verb but Indians use it in the beginning as well as at the end of the sentence like a few other adverbs. In S6, 'only' is placed before 'occur' whereas it usually comes after the main verb or at times, at the end of the sentence. Indian users are very flexible in placing this adverb anywhere in the sentence. In S7 and S9 again, the adverb 'also' begins the sentence. The same justification applies here as that given in the previous paragraph.

In S8 'clearly' has been placed at the beginning of the clause and not after the auxiliary in a compound verb. S10 presents an interesting case as two similar adverbs have been placed together (perhaps to lay extra emphasis) at the beginning of the sentence. Here, though, the positioning is correct, the occurrence of two adverbs with same meaning and function might seem strange in the standard usage. In S11 the adverb 'consistently' occurs after the main verb instead of coming before it.

From the above discussion we observe that in the Indian usage, there is a tendency to discard the restrictions regarding the placement and positioning of adverbs in a sentence thus bringing about a change in the intended meaning that would have resulted, had the usage been British.

CHAPTER 5

INDIANIZATION AT THE LEXICO-SEMANTIC LEVEL

The Indianization of English has taken place not only at the syntactical level as shown in the previous chapter but also at the lexical and semantic levels. Since lexis and semantics are closely interlinked, we have clubbed together the deviations at these levels into one category, namely, lexico-semantic. We now turn our attention to this category. The discussion is divided into seven sections: Translations from Common Mother Tongue Expressions, Translations from Indian Idioms, Code Mixing, Changes in Semantic Range, Collocations and Usage, and Coinages and Lexical Borrowings. The seventh section has a listing of miscellaneous expressions which are typically Indian but could neither be categorised nor any sufficient and sound explanation could be given for their occurrence. But as they constitute actual deep-rooted Indian thoughts and their expression, it is necessary to describe them. Each section has been divided into sub-sections on basis of the sources of samples, similar to that in Chapter 4. The samples listed in each sub-section are followed by their analysis and discussion.

5.1 Translations from Common Mother Tongue Expressions

When rendering the thoughts, feelings, emotions and ideas deep rooted in Indian psyche, sentimentality and socio-cultural ethos into English, no equivalent and apt expression is available, the only way a writer can communicate them is to

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translate these into English. What often results is an idiosyncratic expression which cannot be easily translated back into Hindi or any other Indian mother tongue variety.

Let us now look at the following examples which clearly reflect the Indian ethos.

POPULAR MAGAZINES

S1.   They did not hesitate to **sling mud** at each other even in public. (WE).

S2.   This anger, this unquenchable desire for revenge, is a perfectly human reaction in this age of rage, when all around us, newspaper articles, TV serials and films are full of victims **burning with** badle ki aag! (Fem).

S3.   Her mother is not at all happy that Mohini has joined films so early in life. **She is an only child**. (Mohini was then exactly 15 1/2 years). (WE).

S4.   Mother retorted, "He moves in high society. He has to keep pace. 500 is **no amount** these days". (WE).

S5.   There was **no talk of dowry** or exchange of presents. (Fem)

S6.   **"I have eaten your salt**, Memsahib", Chotibi said with much anguish, "and I will not lie. But this picturesque bunglow suffers from a curse..." (WE).

S7.   She had met him only the night before and was attracted to him so much that she **unthinkingly eloped** with him, leaving behind Moore Sahib. (WE).

S8.   "It is me, Munna, your **Rakhi-sister's** son", replied Surendra. (WE)

S9.   "She was on the ground floor, while my flat was on the top floor. That did not stop us from being **thick friends**". (WE)

S10. Thanks to Dinanath, the cook-cum-odd job man, **the house ran on well-oiled wheels**. (WE)

S11. "The death of thousands of youth will **not go in vain**... we will **fight to the last Kashmiri**" - this had been the long heeded rallying cry of the Hurriyat Leadership. (IT)

S12. Says A.S. Chahal, the Chief Defence Counsel: "With such a vague conspiracy theory, the prosecution doesn't have **a leg to stand on**." (IT)

S13. "Policemen are my enemy. **My blood still boils** when I see one", laments Maya Tyagi. (IT)

S14. Every direction Amina turns, she finds that **hope has flown**. (IT)

In all the sentences quoted above, we notice that there are phrases which have been literally translated from either Hindi or some other Indian native language with which the authors are much more conversant. We also note that the phrases thus translated convey some deep rooted emotions and thoughts of Indian psyche and do not have any equivalent phrase or idea in English.

In S1, 'sling mud' relates to the common saying, *Ek doosre par kichad uchaalna*; S2 has 'burning with' as a translation of *badle ki aag se jalte hue*. In the third sentence, *woh to bachchi hi hai* and in the next sentence, *kuch paise nahin hain* have been translated directly in S3 as 'she is an only child' and in S4 as 'is no

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amount'. S5 translates *Dahej ki koi baat nahin hui* into 'No talk of dowry', *Maine aapka namak khaya hai* became 'I have eaten your salt' and *Bina soche-samjhe bhaag gayee* became 'unthinkingly eloped' in S6 and S7, respectively. In India, a great deal of significance is attached to *Rakhi*, a sacred thread, which a sister ties on her brother's hand. An unrelated girl becomes a sister when she ties Rakhi to a boy. S8 reveals this in a translation of *Rakhi bahen* to 'Rakhi Sister'. *Gahare dost* becomes 'thick friends' in S9 and in the next sentence S10 *grahasthi ki gaadi aaram se chalati rahi* has been translated directly into 'the house ran on well-oiled wheels'. S11 has two literal translations - *Barbaad nahin jayegi* and *Aakhiri kashmiri tak ladenge* as 'will not go in vain' and 'fight to the last Kashmiri', respectively. S12 shows a more or less idiosyncratic translation and the near approximation in Indian language is *Khada nahin ho sakta*. A typical Indian phrase and typical literal translation is what we have in S13, *mera khoon ab bhi khaul uthta hai* - 'my blood still boils'. *Sab aasha ud gayee* becomes 'hope has flown' in the last sentence here.

CINE, SPORTS AND BUSINESS MAGAZINES

S15. He beamed at me, "Of course, I'll be careful of what I say, since my **tongue has a tendency to run away with me**". (CB)

S16. If you **keep track** of these **small small things** you can improve a lot. (FF)

S17. But then I am not the kind to **raise my hands on a woman** and she knows that. (CB)

S18. They won the **first first** final by 18 runs in Melbourne before 72,614 people - the largest crowd of the summers. (SS)

S19. We drifted apart **farther and farther** emotionally. (SD)

S20. Gone are the days of autocracy and license Raj when company stocks were essentially held by a small coterie of individuals, whose access to inside information precluded the need for formal data. (BI)

S21. No woman has ever fallen so much in my eyes. (CB)

In these magazines we notice that there is a tendency for translating words and phrases very close to the daily life of Indians. These translations even capture the tempo and fervor of the Indian speech and amply reflects it in the non-native medium of expression being used. *Meri jabaan ko bahut tez chalne ki aadat hai* has been translated to 'tongue has a tendency to run away' in S15; *choti choti cheezen* becomes 'small small things' in S16 and *Aurat par apne haath uthana* changes to 'raise my hands on a woman' in S17. The 'first, first' of S18 is a translation of *pehla pehla* and 'farther and farther', S19 comes from *Door aur door hona*. Here we notice that Indians often repeat words to emphasize a particular idea or view. This becomes evident not only from the preceeding two samples viz. sentence 18 and 19 but also from S15. Sentence 21 is closely related with Indian culture - *Koi aurat kabhi bhi meri nazaron mein itna nahin giri*. In S20 *Andar ki khabar* is directly translated into 'inside information'.

S22.   **There is a talk that** the Chandrababu Naidu group might   give election tickets to all the sons and daughters of NTR. (THT)

S23.   Ms. De' was putting up at the Taaj Maan Singh and yes,   her **feet were killing her** from all the **running around.** (THT)

S24.   Save ice-creams and pastries; even the 'bhelpuris' at   the bus-stops are inviting enough to **kill the time**   while waiting for the university special. (THT)

S25.   So if you want to 'patao' somebody don't talk about   **getting the celestial star** try something intelligent. (THT)

S26.   **It is another matter** that, given the first opportunity,   the famous qawwali singer Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan   clarified that his Birmingham based Oriental Star Company had signed an agreement with ABCL. (TOI)

S27.   It is we who have **woken the country** to its rising   levels of corruption. (THT)

S28.   An article heading reads: **MOUTH-WATERING VARIETY.** (THT)

'There is a talk that' (S22) comes from *aisa kaha jata hai ki.* S23 has two translations consecutively - *har taraf daudne se, uske paer use maar rahe the* give 'running around' and 'feet were killing her' respectively. In the next sentence *samay marna* is translated into 'kill the time' and *aasman ke   tare lana* becomes 'getting the celestial stars' in S25. *Yeh aur baat hai* is 'It is another matter' in S26

and *Desh ko jagaya* is 'woken the country' in S27. *Moonh mein paani laane wali kism* becomes 'Mouth watering variety' in S28.

ADVERTISEMENTS

S29. Only son of a senior bank officer. (MA)

S30. Dim complexioned. (MA)

S31. Wheatish complexion. (MA)

S32. If he keeps saying 'no-no' how will he ever grow? (Complan).

Advertisements offer the most idiosyncratic literal translations. Many a time advertisements (particularly the commercial ones) use this as a device to attract attention but at other times they are just created to meet the demands of the situation. Matrimonial advertisements which are closely related to the culture and tradition of a society, provide an abundance of culture related phrases which have to be literally translated. In S29 *Akela beta* is 'only son' which has a specific significance in Indian cultural mileu due to two reasons (a) This son inherits all the property of his father and (b) the girl has only a small family - parents and husband to look after. Therefore, 'only son' is a highly attractive proposal for the girl's family. S30 and S31 deal with the complexion of the girl - 'Dim complexioned' and 'wheatish complexion' where *Halka rang* and *Gehuan rang* have been translated, respectively. While choosing a bride some of the parents give a significant importance to the complexion of the girl. A fair girl is normally preferred

over a darker one. S32 is a commercial advertisement where repetition of word *nahin* - is translated.

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS

S33. Many of you must be annoyed considerably everyday by the amount of **boot-licking** that you have to do daily.

S34. "Prof. Sharma, this tube-light is **not burning**. Whom should I contact?", asked a lecturer.

S35. "Due to this heat, **my head is eating circles**", commented the visitor.

S36. "**What is your good name?**", heard in the corridor of a university.

In S33, *joote chatana* has been directly translated into 'boot licking' which has a specific meaning in Indian context - appeasing someone by degrading yourself and therefore, cannot be aptly expressed by any other phrase. In Hindi people say *tube-light jal nahin rahi hai* which becomes 'burning' in English (S34). S35 is also a literal translation of *mera sar chakkar kha raha hai is garmi ke karan* which can be expressed in English as 'I am giddy' but a translation has been made. Indians value politeness greatly and when they have to ask anyone's name they usually ask *aap ka shubh naam kya hai* and this has been directly translated into 'what is your good name' here. This has now gained acceptance in the Indian usage of English.

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LITERATURE

E1.   Toru Dutt's *'Our Casuarina Tree'*

Like a huge puthon, *winding round and round* the

rugged trunk, indented deep with scars

But not because of its magnificience

As we noticed earlier, Indians have a habit of repeating words for emphasis and here is a translation of a hindi phrase with words repeated *gol gol lipatna* into 'winding round and round'.

5.2 Translation from Indian Idioms

An idiom is an expression peculiar to a language. An idiom may, at times, be irrational, untranslatable, even ungrammatical. Idioms are created out of the day-to-day living of ordinary people and they are alive, pregnant and racy. They are truly the heart of a language. The culturally deep rooted sentimentality, expectations of moral and social nature, taboos, norms, etc. are exhibited only through the language of the society. WEBSTERS define Idiom as a language peculiar to a people or to a district, a community or a class and the expressions in the usage are peculiar either grammatically or have a meaning that cannot be derived from the conjoined meaning of its elements (as 'Monday week' for "the

Monday a week after next Monday"). When an attempt is made to express any culture related idea then these idioms best and most efficiently serve the purpose. More often than not, these idioms are limited or associated with only one culture or society and cannot be easily interpreted by members of the other society. Naturally, a foreign language would not carry such ideas and hence while using a non- native tongue, the speaker would be forced to fall upon the repertoire of his native language to convey his idea precisely. Furthermore, such ideas or idiomatic expressions cannot be easily translated into any other language. Such attempts are either not successful at all or if successful, at times lead to very comic or abnormal expressions. Whatever the case may be, these expressions have gained a wide currency in Indian English.

POPULAR MAGAZINES

S1.   **The tiny hair over his body stood on end at once.** (WE)

S2.   "You must be able to differentiate between fair weather friends, hangers on, social climbers, and those who indulge in **vicious back stabbing**". (WE)

S3.   "You are **throwing cold water** on all our enthusiasm..." (WE)

S4.   **"As you sow, so you reap!"** shrugging his shoulders the old man turned away. (WE)

S5.   Karnataka Chief Minister Marpadi Verappa Moily recently lamented: "It is **like the fence eating the crop"**. (IT)

S6.   "Now I can find a job and **stand on my own feet**". Radha wrote. (Fem)

S7.   V.P. Singh in Ghaziabad: "Only **my dead body will** go to Delhi if the Mandal Recommendations are not implemented. (IT)

Idioms reflect the culture of a society and when translated into other language loose their flavour, intensity and precision. But when no equivalent term exists in another language translation is the only means available to the writer. This is what we observe from the examples listed. In S1, the Hindi idiom, *ekdam rongte khade ho gaye* has been translated. The sense of fear that is conveyed through the idiom is lost very much in its translation. *Peeth mein chhura ghopna* has the sense of betrayal and hurt. The precise connotation is lost in the translation which is the only remedy when no equivalent idiom in English exists. In S3 *thanda paani dalana* means to supress something. A very popular saying is *jaisa bowoge vaisa hi phal katoge* (S4). Again, these idioms do not have any English equivalent and to convey the idea, translation was the only means.

In Tamil and Kannada there is a saying *veliei payirai neindadupore* (S5) which means a protector harming its own subjects. When a person becomes self dependent he is said to be *apne pairon par khada ho gaya* (S6) in the sense that he does not need any support now. As both the idioms of S5 and S6 do not have equivalents in English, they had to be translated. S7 has a literatal translation of *mera mara hua sharir hi jayega* in the absence of any similar phrase in English.

CINE, SPORTS AND BUSINESS MAGAZINES

S8.   He took some time to **fix his feet** in Test Cricket. (SS)

The translated idiom here (S8) is from daily life *pair jamana* which means 'making a place of your own'. An equivalent, though exists in English but the Hindi idiom has been retained perhaps because its so deeply rooted in the psyche that it automatically comes when the particular idea is to be expressed.

NEWSPAPERS

S9.   Bhajan Lal refutes charge of **having a hand in** hawala deal. (TOI)

S10. But he discards the **frog-in-the-pond** attitude of a typical traditional musician. (TOI)

Not having any participation is idiomatized in Hindi as *haath no hona* (S9). A person who does not have any interface with the outside world is called *koop-mandook* (S10), 'a frog in the pond' who knows only about what is inside and does not know anything of the outside. S9 and S10 have translations of these idioms.

Only a few idioms are used in specialised spheres perhaps because not many idioms in Indian languages cater to these fields. Idioms usually express thoughts of routine life truths and are not limited to any specialised profession as such.

5.3 Code Mixing

As stated earlier, the Indian users of English are usually bilinguals or multilinguals and have English as their second or third language. They are every efficient in switching languages - shifting quickly from the mother-tongue to English and from English to the mother-tongue depending upon the context of situation, the topic of discourse, the relation between the speaker and the listener. It is often a result of the inability to find an apt term in the code being used to convey his view or feeling. This prompts the speaker to fall back upon the language which provides him this facility easily. In work or professional environment where specialization is often acquired in English, everyday mother-tongue discourse regarding the work is often interspersed heavily with terms and expressions borrowed from English. The reverse is also applicable - when a discourse is being carried out in English which deals with daily life of a common man, the speakers usually interpolate the English sentence(s) with their mother-tongue expressions. In this process they might completely switch over from one code to another (called **'code switching'**) or they might borrow a few words or phrases from one code while using another code (called **'code mixing'**). While

former is mostly found in oral communication, the latter is used equally in both the oral and the written communication.

Code mixing is done for many reasons in India. Sometimes it is done deliberately and at other times, its involuntary.

(a)   English might lack an equivalent word or phrase to express ideas, notions or objects which have typically Indian socio-cultural flavour. For example, *bindi*, *lassi*, *puri* are the words which do not and cannot have English equivalents.

(b)   Many a time an English word or phrase exists which expresses similar meaning as the Indian word but it fails to convey the emotional and connotative overtones that Indian word has. *Prayer - Pooja, Sight - darshan, Hymn - Mantra, Saint - sadhu* are such pairs where the entire meaning of Hindi word is not brought out in its English equivalent.

(c)   Every linguistic item in a speech community has its traditional, cultural and emotional connotations. Using that linguistic item means conveying all the surrounding features of meaning with it. Choosing a word or phrase from another code which has similar meaning but not the other related meanings (called 'neutralisation') helps in hiding the *meaning correlates*. For example, *'minda'* (Kashmiri) and *'vidhva'* (Hindi) have traditional

connotations while the English synonym *'widow'* is devoid of these connotations. Depending upon whether whole associations are to be conveyed or not, native or English word is used respectively.

(d) Every language has stylistic restrictions in the sense of informal or coloquial to formal or frozen. Lexical items, in accordance with this, are associated with specific style in the native language,i.e. *'biwi'* (colloquial) and *'patni'* (formal) in Hindi for the English *'wife'* which has no stylistic restrictions in Indian culture. Expression or avoidance of these cultural overtones and stylistic restrictions regulate the choice of the linguistic item from the native or the English system, respectively.

An extension and stabilization of this process is **code-borrowing**. Many a time a word or term from a non-native language is used to express some idea for which the native language is not adequately equipped. After a repeated use of this term, it starts getting assimilated in the sound and grammatical systems of the native language. It starts getting used as any other word of the native language and then it is said that the word or term has been 'borrowed' into the language. By this process languages enrich themselves to communicate new and different ideas and feelings.

A few examples taken from the sources mentioned earlier are listed below:

POPULAR MAGAZINES

S1. Standing in her white saree, bereft of the usual **kumkum** on her forehead, she looks every inch a victim. (Fem)

S2. "I have eaten your salt, **memsahib**", Chotibi said with much anguish," and I will not lie. But this picturesque bunglow suffers from a curse..." (WE).

S3. As soon as Surendra returned from college, his mother began to question him, "Munna, what is this I hear? Is what Ramprasad **bhaiya** has told me true? (WE)

S4. This anger, his unquenchable desire for revenge, is a perfectly human reaction in this age of rage, when all around us, newspaper articles, TV serials and films are full of victims burning with **badle ki aag**. (Fem).

S5. She had met him only the night before and was attracted to him so much that she unthinkingly eloped with him, leaving behind Moore **sahib**. (WE)

S6. At this Rao turned to Shukla and asked him: "Vidya, **tumhe ticket chahiye?**" (IT)

S7. He was back in a trice, saying **Kuch nahin hua... Khali pair toot gaya budhey ka... chalao gadi...** and we were off again, at the same hair-raising pace! (WE)

S8. They bent downand almost kissed her feet; they performed **aarti** and lit incense sticks. (WE)

S9. From **vadina**, the people have now elevated her to the status of **amma** in whole hearted acceptance. (Fem)

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S10. There was a big crowd of foreign tourists waiting for her **darshan** in the courtyard. (WE)

S11. Her intention now was to renounce the world and take **sanyas**. (WE)

S12. Arun wanted a court marriage with no '**taam-jhaam**'. (Fem)

S13. The bank of the lake, however is siltation and the annual exercise of **shramdaan**, which officially began in 1988 is carried out every year with much fanfare and enthusiasm. (WE)

S14. Also, diaries seized by the CBI show that whenever Amir **Bhai** paid money to J.K. Jain, the latter would account for the receipts against secret heads 'A', 'AB' and 'K'. (IT)

S15. The Hurriyat is seeking to fill the political vacuum with talk of self-determination, at a time when Kashmiris, though emotionally still in favour of the idea of independence, have rejected violence as the vehicle of **azadi**. (IT)

S16. I am **mulayam** towards Mulayam Singh. (IT)

S17. Its success prompted him to organise funds mostly from overseas VHP branches - what he called **ghar vapasi** camps where he claims over 50,000 christians have been reconverted. (IT)

In the first sentence, the word 'kumkum' is closely associated with Indian culture. A married woman has to apply 'kumkum' on her forehead as a mark of her marriage. This custom and symbol does not have any equivalent in English and hence cannot be replaced by any word. In S2, 'mem sahib' is a Hindi word used as

a respectful marker to address the mistress of the house. In S3 'bhaiya' is a respectful address for the older brother and has no similar term in English. 'Badle ki aag' in S4 is more of an idiosyncratic use, probably to convey the meaning more emphatically. The master of the house is referred to as 'sahib' or is a respectful address to a senior person (S5). The Hindi address 'tumhe ticket chahiya' can be indicative of the intimacy that exists between the participants (S6). The next sentence (S7) has code switching where Hindi phrases have been interspersed in the English sentence while reporting what the other person said in Hindi. 'Aarti' in S8 is again closely related with the Indian culture and does not have any English synonym. In S9, 'Vadina' meaning *daughter-in-law* and 'amma' meaning *mother* are the epithets for the person being talked about and hence had to be retained in the native Telugu language. 'Darshan' (S10) has a specific significance in the Indian socio-culturo-religious environment and English word 'sight' cannot serve here as a replacement. And the same applies to S11 'sanyas', 'renouncing the world' though conveys the idea but the connotation attached to 'sanyas' in India is not aptly communicated.

Indian marriages are very elaborate affairs with many ceremonies to be performed at different times, both by the bride and the groom. A marriage performed in the court (a 'court marriage') on the other hand is a very simple and easy affair as not many ceremonies are required to be performed. 'Taam-jhaam' (S12) refers to this complexity of marriages and as it is more of a colloquial use, has no equivalent in English. The lake is cleaned by people who do not charge

any thing for their efforts. It is like donating their work and now this is called 'shramdaan' (S13) - name of the exercise and hence, had to be retained.

In S14, 'bhai' means *brother* but the latter cannot substitute the former. 'Azadi' has a special meaning in India, particularly that acquired without violence. *Independence* does not convey those socio-culturo-historical connotations that 'Azadi' carries and hence it is retained in S15. S16 has the word 'mulayam' (soft) to emphasize the meaning and intent and also to bring some wit in the remark. 'Ghar vapasi' here has been used in a wider sense, that of *return to homeland* - use of Hindi phrase asserts the meaning in the context.

CINE, SPORTS AND BUSINESS MAGAZINES

S18. Govinda: "Pehlaj says he is my Godfather. **Agar** Godfather **ki kadar karni hai to**, he has to behave like one. Does he expect me to do **pooja** to him?" (CB)

S19. On a roll, De Silva has another **avatar**, one he's nick named after - Mad Max, vigilante on a mission of vengeance. (SS)

S20. Gone are the days of autocracy and license **Raj** when company stocks were essentially held by a small coterie of individuals, whose access to inside information precluded the need for formal data. (BI)

S21. Kishan Lal Chugh may have converted rather suddenly to the virtues of 'swadeshi', but judging from the way Indian cigarette makers have fallen

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over themselves to tie up with tobacco multinationals, they seem to have resigned themselves to the entry of international brands. (BI)

S22. "Our **chaudhari** says there will be **pradushan** and this will affect our crops. That would definitely be bad..." he asks. (BI)

S23. As Amit Khanna, Managing Director of Plus Channel, puts it "seeing people who are not quite boardroom boys from Nariman Point, but are not **lalahs** from Lalpur either!" (BI)

Use of mixed code is a regular phenomenon in cine magazines, though in sports and business magazines one rarely encounters such usage. S18 has code switching as well as code mixing - a rare occurance in the written mode. This kind of usage is often seen in spoken mode - specially to emphasize the idea. It is with the same purpose that a part of the sentence is rendered in English while the other part is in Hindi. This Hindi phrase would not be so forceful if recorded in English - *if you want to respect*. The same is applicable to 'pooja' which is *prayer* in English but the Indian connotation of 'pooja' cannot be aptly captured by the English equivalent. 'Avatar' in Indian context has a specific connotation and its equivalent *reincarnation* does not fully convey the meaning associated with the word and hence, retaining the word as such was needed. 'Raj' in S20 has the meaning of *reign* and is often used as such in the Indian context to mean *privilege* which cannot be communicated by any equivalent word in English. S21 has the Hindi word 'swadeshi' which has specific emotional strings attached to it since the pre-independence days. 'Swadeshi' is not mere *indigenous* to an Indian; it is much

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more than that. In S22, 'chaudhari' and 'pradushan' are two Indian words in the sentence. The use of 'pradushan' instead of *pollution* is a deliberate effort on the part of the speaker to Indianize the expression. The last sentence has a sociocultural related term 'lalah' - a fat businessman would be a near but not correct approximation of the meaning associated with 'lalah' and hence the world is irreplacable by any other English word.

NEWSPAPERS

S24. However, although she has little charisma, her tears and lamentations on public platforms win her sympathy and are her **shastra** against rival Chandrababu Naidu, and the Congress party. (THT)

S25. Save ice-creams and pastries, even the **bhelpuris** at the bus-stops are inviting enough to kill the time while waiting for the university special. (THT)

S26. So, if you want to **patao** somebody don't talk about getting the celestial stars try something intelligent. (THT)

S27. It is meant solely and wholly for the citizens of Ahmedabad, a city which boasts of being the safest in the world; in spite of its **bindaas** traffic. (TOI)

S28. In my growing up years I was told Delhi is a city of **babus** and contractors. (THT)

S29. "**Arre bhai**", I said "one would think you'd wanted to go as far as possible from the dreaded place". (THT)

S30. "Kya hua bhai?" I asked "Don't you agree that the Supreme Court is the last resort for the justice seekers?" (THT)

S31. Cooperation Minister C.P. Pattabhiraman and Hindu Religions Endowments Minister Arumamuthu Pillai ate **mansoru** or food served on the ground rather than plates at the Vaidnadai temple in north Madras to invoke the 'Amman' or Goddess there to give their leader long life and unending term as Chief Minister. (THT).

Newspapers provide a variety of information and accordingly the range of words mixed in the English lexicon is wide - from politics to romanticism, from down to earth facts to delicacies that our lives have to offer us. In the first sentence here (S24) political situation in Andhra Pradesh is described such that use of 'shastra' becomes almost necessary. The only weapon or 'shastra' available is sympathy - the force with which 'shastra' expresses the fact is missing in its English substitute, 'weapon', probably due to traditional and heritage associations with the word. 'Bhelpuri', an Indian dish is a favourite of people who are relaxing or waiting and it does not have an English equivalent. 'Patao' (S26) here has been used in a derogatory sense which can be conveyed best by the word used. In S27 free and fast moving traffic has been called 'bindaas' - a word so apt and so frequently used in the sense that it immediately creates a picture so clear and apt that no word in English can. The government officers are called 'babu' in India - they constitute an emerging middle class of the society (at the time being talked about) and hence, this word has a specific connotation. The next

two sentences S30 and S31 are taken from a playful article where attention attracting device is the starting phrase in another (Indian) language. By using a different language from English, the writer wishes to draw attention in which he is amply successful. Otherwise, these phrases which have a wide currency in Indian usage and address, do not have any reason for their inclusion here. In S31 both the Indian words mixed in the English lexicon have been defined simultaneously and tell clearly that their inclusion was necessary and just.

ADVERTISEMENTS

S32. **Manglik**, MBBS girl. (MA)

S33. **Gori** sharp featured. (MA)

S34. Send **janampatri**. (MA)

S35. Pretty **gori**, well versed in household affairs. (MA)

S36. **Kundali** requested. (MA)

S37. **Yehi hai** right choice, baby. (Pepsi)

S38. Prafful **ka** dress material **laye kya**? (Prafful)

S39. My dear **Nani**

   when she gives us **pani**

   guess what she puts in it? (Rooh Afza)

S40. Enjoy it with **puris** or with **paranthas**. (Amul Shrikhand)

S41. **Aaj-ki-nari's** recipe for perfection. (Trupthi)

S42. "Guzara hua Zamana aata nahin dubara". There was a time when Indian cinema was much quieter. (Filmfare)

The matrimonial advertisements are closely related to the culture and sensibility of a country and reflect these clearly. S32 has 'manglik' which means a person born under the influence of the star mangla. It is believed that such a person can have harmonious relation only if the spouse is also 'manglik'.

Gori occurs twice in these advertisements (S33 and S35) and is an ample evidence of the importance of this in Indian marriages. A fair bride is a definite preference over a darker one and people keep this as a condition for selecting a bride for their son. S34 and S36 talk of 'janampatri' and 'kundali'. Many parents consider it imperative to see and match 'kundalis' of their children before deciding upon their marriage. An astronomical data of the position of star at the time of birth is called 'janampatri' or 'kundali'. People believe that those stars rule the lives and if the stars of two people are favourable to each other, only then can they get married.

Commercial advertisements exploit mixing two languages as an attention attracting device. In S37, *this is the only* is written in Hindi as 'yehi hai' which is more precise and attractive than the English equivalent. English phrase 'dress material' is embedded in the Hindi lexicon. This phrase has gained a wide currency and an Hindi equivalent is almost difficult to find. This kind of code mixing

is ultimately responsible for loan transfers and borrowing which enrich a language. In S39 'Nani' refers to maternal grandmother and 'Pani' is *water*. Indians make a distinction between maternal and paternal grandparents and there are no English equivalents for these distinctions. 'Puris' and 'Paranthas' of S40 refer to eatables in Hindi. These are Indian preparations and therefore do not have an English synonym. The phrase 'Aaj-ki-nari' of S41 is gaining recognition and wide acceptance as an epithet for the liberated, emancipated Indian woman. Due to emotive and connotative meaning associated with this phrase, its English translations cannot replace this. S42 is an example of code switching - The Hindi line is taken from a popular song. The meaning of this line is the *bygone days never return*, but the beauty, charm and content packed in that one Hindi line cannot be reproduced by any number of English words put together.

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS

S43. "Main pichle week se unhe phone kar raha hoon. I am not finding him. Aap zara unhe message de dee jiyega." Soniji told the person on the line.

S44. "Aree, the entire junta has hazaar enthusiasm about the inaugural ceremony par I don't think it will be such a grand affair." One of the students remarked.

In every day speech we often come across instances of code mixing - either Hindi words are mixed in the English lexicon or vice versa. Code switching

too is a frequent phenomenon, which is switching completely from one code to another. Both the examples here S43 and S44 have code switching as well as code-mixing. 'Week', 'phone' and 'message' are the English words embedded in the Hindi sentence in S43. Hindi phrase alternates with an English phrase. This is done for two reasons - one, to show an identity of culture with the other participant in the conversation and two, English is used as a prestige marker. In S44, 'Aree', 'junta', 'hazaar' and 'par' are used in the English sentence. It is not as if these words do not have any equivalents in the other languages but because these words are so widely used the users inadvertently tend to use them instead of making an attempt to find their equivalents.

LITERATURE

E1.   Henry L. Derozio's *Song of the Hindustanee Minstrel*

With **surmah** tinge thy black eye's fringe,

'Twill sparkle like a star

With roses dress each raven dress

My only loved **Dildar**!

E2.   Sarojini Naidu's *The Pardah Nashim*

Her life is a revolving dream

of languid and sequestered ease;

E3.   Sarojini Naidu's *Village Song*

Full are my pitchers and far to carry

Lovie is the way and long

Or if am evil spirit should smite me,

Ram re Ram! I shall die

E4.   Joseph Furtado's *'The Old Irani'*

Sly rogue, the old Irani!

By mixing milk with **pani**

Beware of **kala pani**

And meddle not with money

she thinks I be some **rajah**

Wouldn't mind a little **majah**

I read it in her eyes

But wait a bit, my **rani**

In E1, 'surmah' and 'dildar' are inserted in the lexicon. In E2 the title of the poem itself is in Hindi 'The Purdah Nashin' whereas the whole poem is in English. In E3 the exclamation 'Ram re Ram' is a Hindi phrase. In E4 there are many instances of code-mixing where Hindi words like, 'pani', 'kaala pani', 'rajah', 'majah' and 'rani' are incorporated into the English syntax.

5.4 Changes In Semantic Range

Change in the semantic range is a feature of every living language. As a language extends its lexicon to accommodate new ideas and thoughts, so does a word extend or restricts its range of meaning depending upon the requirements and demands made by the context. Meaning gets changed with reference to the context of situation in which it is put to use. When English is used by Indians, meanings of many words in English experience a change due to social, cultural and contextual differences. In this section those words are listed whose meaning has undergone a change in the Indian usage. Both the original and the extended or the restricted meanings have been given to show the change. What we present here and in Section 5.6 is based on our study and observation in a number of writings on varied topics. Obviously, it is a very small sample from a vast semantic area in which such extensions have been going on per se. The intention is to give a flavour of the semantic change which has been necessitated by the need to express the typically Indian social and cultural flavour.

Amount: In British English 'amount' refers to the total sum or value and is used usually in the contextual reference to some specified money, e.g. "I lent him ten thousand rupees. I want the whole amount back". In Indian English on the other hand, 'amount' is a *synonym*

for money or cash. "I need more amount to buy the cycle" and can be used on the first reference to money.

Aunt: Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary (WNNCD) gives the meaning of 'Aunt' as the sister of one's father or mother or the wife of one's uncle; but in India *any woman, even a stranger,* can be addressed as 'aunt'.

Batch: In British English (B.E.) 'batch' refers to 'number of people or things dealt with as a group'. 'Batch' in India is used in the sense of *group of students studying together as in one class or in a particular year,* e.g. - 'He belongs to 1987 batch'. 'He was in my batch at school'.

Bogie: 'Bogie' is defined by the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (OALD) as an undercarriage with wheels fitted below the end of a railway vehicle and pivoted for going round curves. Indians use Bogie in the sense of a *carriage or a coach.*

Bonded: In the idiomatic use of English, the term 'bonded' is applied to goods, whisky or warehouse as in 'put the goods in a bonded warehouse! Indians have extended this meaning to the sense of a labourer as in 'a bonded labour'. This lexical item is structured after items 'bonded wood' and 'bonded goods' though with a very

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different meaning in the Indian context *'a labour who is bound by a bond to serve his master till he repays the loan to him.* (Dubey 1989).

Catch. In B.E. 'catch' means 'capture after a chase in a trap', as if to seize and hold, or hearing or understanding something. e.g. 'Catch a thief' or 'catch your meaning' but in Indian usage the meaning of 'catch' is extended to *include the sense of a misleading clue or a deceptive limit.* For example, 'This problem is very difficult. There has to be a catch somewhere!

Check. As a verb, 'check' in B.E. means to 'examine something in order to make sure that it is correct, safe, satisfactory or in good condition', 'check the tyres' or 'check the items against the list'. In India 'check' is used in the sense of *evaluation, assessing the amount or value of something,* 'Have you checked the answer sheets?'

Colony. In B.E., it means a group of people from a foreign country living in a particular city or country as 'the American colony in Paris'. In India, it refers to *any group of people staying in one part of a city or town, not necessarily belonging to any particular group or nation or occupation.* 'I live in Ganesh Colony' or 'Saket Colony in Jaipur'.

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Compound: OALD defines 'compound' as an area enclosed by buildings specially in a military camp or a prison camp. Indians use it to denote *any residential area,* e.g. 'this house is near the mission compound'.

Convent: 'Convent' refers to a school run by nuns or by missionaries. When the word was initially employed it was used in the same sense as used by the natives but with the passage of time *any public school strictly having English medium of instruction* has now come to be known as a convent in India.

Copy: As a noun, copy means an imitation, transcript or a reproduction of an original work but in India the meaning of the word copy is changed. It is used here to refer to *a notebook.*

Cot: In British English, 'cot' refers to a bed for a baby with bars or panels round it to prevent the child from falling down. In Indian English, however, cot is used as a *synonym of bed.*

Family: In B.E. family refers to a nuclear unit of society which comprises of two adults looking after their children and wards. In the Indian context family refers to a *larger unit than a nucleus* wherein

brothers, sisters, parents and at times other kith and kin of the 'two adults' are included.

Gentleman: A man who combines gentle birth with chivalrous qualities and whose conduct conforms to a high standard of propriety is referred to as a 'gentleman' in B.E. (WNNCD). In India this term has a wider application where *all men who have a good bearing or personality and are literate* are included in the term.

Goggles: 'Goggles' are large round spectacles with flaps at the sides to protect the eyes from wind, dust, water, etc. especially worn by motorists, skiers and frogmen. Indians use 'goggles', in the sense of *sun-glasses*.

Hotel: In BE, hotel is a place where rooms are provided for staying but in India 'hotel' is often used *interchangeably with 'restaurant'*.

Hosteller: 'Hosteller' is a person who travels around staying in youth hostels. In India a *person who stays in hostels* is called 'hosteller'.

Kerb: 'Kerb' is defined by Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary (CCELD) as 'the raised edge between the pavement and a road' e.g. The taxi pulled into the kerb. An entirely different meaning is

used by Indians with reference to business and trade in the term 'kerb trading' which means *unofficial trading done after the closure of trading hours of stock exchange.*

Lady

WNNCD describes the meaning as 'A woman of superior social position' or 'A woman having proprietary rights or authority especially as a feudal superior'. The word in Indian context however, makes a very wide application to *all females.*

Rank

OALD defines 'rank' as position in a scale of responsibility, quality, social status or grade in the armed forces. In Indian English it is used to denote the *position one has acquired in an examination or competition.*

Schedule

'Schedule' is listing of items or including something in a schedule; arranging something for a certain time for example 'a scheduled flight' or 'a scheduled event'. 'Schedule' in India is used with the words caste and tribe as 'Scheduled Caste or scheduled tribe' and it refers to *a section of community or the lower strata of society.*

Sir

WNNCD defines 'Sir' as a man of rank or position and a title used as a respectful form of address. Indians mostly use it as an

address, not necessarily respectful. This is done especially to draw the person's attention.

Uncle: One's father's or mother's brother or aunt's husband is called uncle in the standard English. In India however, *any man related, unrelated or a stranger* is referred to as uncle.

Weightage: WNNCD defines weightage as assignment of a quota to a particular segment of the population as a special favour (in addition to the allocations). IE, however, uses the term in a entirely different or unrelated meaning. Here 'weightage refers to the *degree of importance or indicates the marks for a particular test or assignment.* For example, section A of the paper carries thirty percent of the total weightage.

5.5 Collocation and Usage

Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English defines collocation as 'grouping together or arrangement, especially of words'. Dictionary of Language and Linguistics, on the other hand describe collocation as 'Two or more words, considered as individual lexical items, used in habitual association with one another in a given language'. Usually, every word in a language has its range of collocations which limits its meaningful usage. Furthermore, equivalent words in

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different languages rarely have the same range of collocations so that one's pattern of collocations can not be applied to another language's. What happens many-a-time is the user falls back upon the word collocates of his native language and translates them or uses the same words together in the non-native language. This process causes confusion and leads to mistakes because there is no one-to-one correspondence between languages in matter of collocations. As such collocation is not a rule governed activity and every pair that goes together has to be individually learned by the user. This is more a matter of appropriateness and usage than of correctness.

CINE, SPORTS AND BUSINESS MAGAZINES

S1. Also, we had a friend's **place** which was **empty**. (CB).

'Empty' does not collocate with a 'place' which is not lived in. In the sense of 'inhabited', *vacant* would be preferred by an Englishman in SI.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

S2. An early reply will be **highly appreciated.**

S3. The faculty should ensure that in the regular interaction which the students have with professional experts, the students should **clarify the doubts** related to their work, if any.

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S4.   The undersigned will not be able to engage his classes as he would be out-of-station from ___ to ___.

S5.   Close the tap after use.

In BE, 'appreciate' collocates with *greatly* or *warmly* and not with 'highly'. Indians most frequently make use of 'highly' in this association. 'Clear' collocates with *air* or *way* in BE, but not with 'doubt' or 'difficulty'. In S3, *clear up* is used in place of 'clear' in the standard English. But Indians make frequent use of 'clear' in association with 'doubt'. 'Engage' is used in the sense of *attention* or *time* but not in the sense of 'class'. Indians make the latter use quite frequently.

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS

S6.   My new **shoes** keep on **biting** me even after applying oil.

S7.   Please donot **rub the blackboard** after finishing your presentation.

S8.   I have to **give exams** in May and so I study late.

S9.   Sushma told me that Manju had a habit of **writing diary** since school days and that helped them.

S10.   Please **open the light**. It is a bit dark here.

S11.   As Madhu could not **clear the exams** last years she is **giving the exams** again this year.

S12.   If you **feel** any **difficulty** in solving the problem, you can ask me to **clear** your **doubts**.

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S13. He is on leave today as his cousin **expired** last night.

S14. 40 people were **charred** to death in the fire that engulfed the school building.

S15. The Kashmiri militants **indulge in** terrorism and arson to get their demands met.

S16. He does not want to **join politics** but wants to work as a social worker.

S17. She has got her hair **chopped**. She is looking nicer now.

S18. He **gave** a speech in Bhopal recently.

S19. My **Mrs.** is at home

S20. My **madam** asked me to get a copy of that article.

S21. Suresh would **board** the train at Rewari.

'Biting' usually collocates with *Chill, frost, measure, restriction* or an *insect* but not with a 'shoe'. Indians often use the phrases 'shoe-bite' or 'shoes are biting'.

'Blackboard' does not collocate with 'rub' or 'wipe' off in BE. It goes only with *clean* but Indians frequently use the former with 'blackboard'.

Indians use 'close' in the sense of 'light', 'fan', 'tap', 'cooler', etc. but it collocates only with *doors, windows, cupboards* in BE. 'Exams' go with *sit for* or *take* and not with 'give' or 'appear'. It is the latter which Indians most frequently employ in the context of exams (as in S10 and S12). Another collocation in

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context of 'exams' is that of 'passing'. Indians use *clearing* whereas in the standard English exams collocate with 'passing'.

S12 has two cases of collocation difference. First, 'difficulty' goes with *clear away*, *find*, *have*, etc. in B.E. but not with 'clear' or 'feel'. So 'feel', which are frequently used by the Indians in this association. Similarly in the second case 'doubt' is used with *clear* which is mostly used with *clear up*.

In S13, 'expire' is used in the meaning of 'to die' where as in the British usage, 'expire' collocates with items as *driving license, term of office* or *lease*. This usage of 'expire' is very common in India and is widely accepted as a highly formal expression of anyone's death. 'Charr' collocates in the British usage with words denoting non-living creatures whereas in India it is frequently used for words denoting living creatures as people, children, men and women, etc. as is done in S14. 'Indulge in terrorism and arson', a phrase that has gained a wide currency in Indian newspapers and magazine would be found unusual and unacceptable to most of the Britishers. 'Indulge' collocates with luxury - *liquor, cigarette* or *vice* but not with 'terrorism' or 'violence'. S16 has 'joining politics' as joining any other profession but in the British usage 'join' does not collocate with 'duty' 'politics' or 'hospital'. 'Join the duty' is another common phrase frequently used in India.

Listed underneath are a few words which form novel collocations in Indian usage. These collocations have gained a wide currency and acceptance in the Indian usage and one often comes across such combinations in published writings - be it newspapers or magazines. The most common occurrence of these collocations are in matrimonial advertisements.

Boy: Boy is an interesting collocate in the matrimonial advertisements. It combines not only with words denoting caste but also those pertaining to profession, status or qualification. **Punjabi Arora boy, Agarwal boy, Doctor boy, service boy, unmarried boy, Gupta businessman boy,** etc. The last quoted phrase is quite interesting due to the conflicting nature of the collocation - a person referred to as a 'man' and a 'boy' at the same time. 'Businessman' here probably refers to the profession - 'business'.

Gentleman: 'Gentleman' combines with words denoting profession, caste and characteristics which are unusual collocates of the word in B.E. **Saxena gentleman, lawyer gentleman, professional gentleman, young gentleman, suitably-placed gentleman.**

Girl: Girl exhibits a case similar to that of 'boy'. Apart from caste collocates here, we find words denoting education, profession, appearance and other characterstics. **Vaishya girl, US citizen girl,**

fair girl, journalist girl, B.Ed. girl, working girl, beautiful teacheress girl, Hindi-English speaking girl, convented girl, divorcee girl, etc. The words 'teacheress' (a new coinage by Indians) denotes a feminine gender but is used as a modifier of 'girl'. The qualities required are perhaps denoted in the phrases 'Hindi-English speaking' - ability to speak fluently in both the languages and 'convented' - a girl educated in a convent or an English medium school. These characteristics are now-a-days considered essential because fluency in spoken English is considered as a prestige marker in the society. The last collocation may definitely sound highly unusual - 'divorcee' is used as a modifier for 'girl' which is contradictory.

Lady: This word too has somewhat unusual collocations in Indian English. Phrases like **lady teacher, lady doctor, lady police** are frequently used. In B.E. 'Lady' is not used as a modifier but in India, such a usage is common.

Match: 'Match' has two different contextual collocations.

1. In matrimonial contexts 'match' combines with words like **vegetarian, suitable, handsome, cultured, transferable, clean-shaven,** etc. Amongst these the last two inspire interest and close analysis as they sound quite strange to the natives. Contrary

to the suggested implication a 'transferable match' is not a person who can be transferred from one match to another but a person who has a transferable job. 'Clean-shaven' holds a cultural significance in Indian context. Sikhs usually keep beards and a clean-shaven sikh is not often found, hence this is considered in finalising matrimonial alliance.

2. 'Matching Centre' is a place where one can find shades of cloth to match one's requirements.

Teacheress: This word is an Indian coinage which denotes the gender as well as the profession of the signifie. A few of the collocations in which this word was found in the matrimonial advertisements are **vegetarian teacheress, divorced teacheress, B.Ed. teacheress, M.A. teacheress, computer teacheress, homely teacheress, employed teacheress,** etc. The third and the fourth collocates are quite ambiguous as it is not clear whether the modifier refers to qualification or to the subject or level she teaches. The last one too is amusing as employment is an inherent requisite for being a teacheress.

Apart from these, such collocations too are quite frequent: **innocent divorcee, temple marriage, court marriage, wheatish complexioned,**

sharp-featured, etc. Most of these are socio-cultural specifics to the Indian context.

A few other collocations are listed in Table I in section 5.6.

5.6 Coinages And Lexical Borrowings

When Indians need to refer to things which have a specific Indian association and no equivalent term is available in the English lexicon then they either coin new words, terms or phrases or borrow directly from their mother tongues. A listing of such words and phrases is given in this section.

COINAGES

Bed-tea: It's an Indian coinage which is used to refer to the *early morning tea served in bed.* It's formed, perhaps, by analogy of 'evening tea' and 'morning tea'.

Black money: By analogy from 'black market', this term was coined by Indians to refer to the money in black marketing. The phrase means *illicit money acquired in violation of official regulations.*

Chief Minister: This coinage, conditioned by the Indian political situation, refers to the *formal head of the government of a state* ('Chief of State' in

B.E.) as distinguished from the head of the government of a nation. The coinage comes by analogy from 'Chief of Staff' and a translation of 'Mukhya Mantri'.

Cousin brother and cousin sister: The English concept of 'cousin' has been classified on basis of gender at the lexical level. In India, gender considerations are more subtle than in the English culture and hence such coinages were necessary and required.

Delhite, Keralite: These are new coinages used to refer to the persons who belong to Delhi and Kerala, respectively. These come by analogy of words which have the English suffix '-ite', meaning *belonging to or resident of*.

Dining leaf: A socio-cultural determinant led to this coinage. Indians consider it auspicious (and it is a tradition too) to eat meals in leaves. The leaf used for this purpose or leaf-plate is thus called a 'dining leaf'.

Fresher: Its a new coinage which refers to a newcomer especially *a student in his first year of college* ('freshman' in B.E.).

Lecturership: In India the reference to the post of 'Lecturer' is made by the term 'Lecturership' and it comes by analogy from words like 'ownership'.

Maharashtrian, BITSian: These novel Indian coinages refer to the persons who belong to Maharashtra and BITS, respectively. This comes by analogy of words which have English suffix '-ian', meaning *belonging to or resident of.* The word was coined by analogy to words like 'Canadian', 'Asian', etc.

Pin-drop-silence: This frequently used phrase which refers to *absolute silence* is an Indian coinage. It is actually a literal translation of a Hindi phrase but has gained a wide currency and acceptance in Indian English.

Prepone: A widely accepted and frequently used word in India is a novel coinage by analogy from 'predetermine' and 'predict'. It is the opposite of 'postpone' and means 'advancing' or 'bringing before' (from the scheduled time).

Teacheress: A lady teacher in India is called a teacheress - an Indian coinage on analogy from 'princess' and 'tigeress'.

To provide a sample a list of Indian coinages of English words and phrases is given at the end of this section in Table I (Aruna 1995). Most of these have gained acceptance in English and have found a place in the Fifth (latest) Edition

of the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (1995) which has come out with a supplement on Indian English.

When English does not provide words which can convey the subtle nuances of meaning that an Indian requires while conveying his ideas, feelings and thoughts, then the only option available to him is to fall back upon the lexical resources of his native language. A few words drawn from Indian language which express Indian sensibility have gained acceptance by English speakers at large. Table II lists a few such words drawn from Indian languages.

TABLE 1

INDIAN COINAGES OF ENGLISH WORDS AND PHRASES

Indian words with English suffixes	English words with Indian languages suffixes	Indian words with English prefixes	Indian collocations of English words	Hybrid collocations
brahminhood	policewala	non-brahmin	Military hotel	Janta meal
gheraoed	thank youji	anti-jat	tiffin carrier	masala tea
brahminish	Helloji	pro-Hindu	mid-day meal	jibba pocket
Hinduvising	Mandiwala		non-vegetarian	British sarkar
Babus	Superstarni		restaurent	Tonga driver
Vedic	boxwallah		wedding season	Ladies sangeet
dacoitage	newspaper wala		creamation ground	religious diwan
thugdom	breadwala		nose-ring	palm pandits
babuism			goodday	Ganapathi-festival
punditship			bedding-roll	badla system
Delhite			sacred-thread	havala sheet
salaaming			salt-march	sauda book
prakritic			intercaste marriage	holy mantras
Hindustanish			dining-leaf	partial bandh
aryanize			caste-mark	rikshaw-fellow
teacheress			cow-worship	paan shop
Maharashtrian			England-returned	lathi charge
Keralite			English-educated	burning bhat
			foreign-travelled	vishwa cup
			non-violence	vishwa bank
			untouchables	choli-piece
			co-brother	durri wearing
			kerb-trading	beedi smoking
			broker-clients	marriage-pandal
			annualised-rates	jutka driver
			love marriage	company sahib
			convent educated	doctor sahib
			coconut breasts	purdha system
			arranged marriage	savings bank khata
			godman	gymkhana
			time pass	double roti
				hawai-slipper
				mithai-shop
				light weight chappals

Table II

Indian Words used in English : A Sample

Words used in political field	Words used in socio-cultural context of Indian life	Words used in religion	Use of register based words	Words used for articles of food & clothing	Words used in trade and commerce	Words used in Indian flora and fauna	Miscella-neous
Ahimsa	Jai Hind	pooja	raga	methi	vepari	pipal	baniya
Satyagraha	gharana	darshan	swara	roti	vyaj	tulsi	bandobast
Swarajya	mohalla	rishi	thumri	chapati	badla	teak	bungalow
Swadeshi	jatra	pandits	krithi	vada	seeda-	bulbul	kothi
bandh	shamiana	dharma	tarangam	chutney	badla	cheeta	cashmere
dharna	mela	karma	pallavi	idli sambar	unda-badla	sambhar	cheroot
gherao	lepan	moksha	talam	masala	band ke	chital	dingy
badshah	leela	slokas	veena	paan	bhao	gulab	jangli
rajah	janampatri	kirtan	urad	pakodi	khangibhao	chameli	pariah
sepoy	palanquin	stupa	moong	ghee	khel	jute	polo
sabha	namaste	ashram	krishi	curry	khela	sandal wood	punch
panchayat	jatakam	guru	kisan	kabab	khoka	bandicoot	maidan
darbar	dosham	nirvana	jawan	biryani	mandi		indigo
hartal	kundali	juggernaut	tuvar	pulau	(bearish)		lac
rally	gotra	bhakti	ghazal	dhoti	jurmana		dhum-dhum
raj	srimati	veda		sari	teju		mali
dakoos	kumari	yoga		lungi	(bullish)		shampoo
sentry	bandana	swastika		kurta	munshi		coolie
taluk	karishma	avatar		calico	rupee		cartoon
gram	vihara	sutras		khadi	chowkidar		
rail-roko	bangle	aryan		tandoori	benami		
	amrit				challan		
	granth						

5.7 MISCELLANEOUS

In this section those samples are listed which are typical Indianizations but no reason or justification is clearly seen for them. These are a combination of translation, collocation and coinages and hence had to be listed separately.

S1. I was one of those few beauty queens of those days who never allowed a **guy** to come within 10 feet of her. (WE)

S2. I found most girls getting attracted to him since he was quite a handsome **hunk.** (WE)

S3. Reuben, who was a good friend of hers and was studying in the same grade had written me off as a **'bad charactered girl'.**

S4. My parents on their part, expressed their **deeply-felt** gratitude to him for his exceptionally kind act. (WE)

S5. As I was in the family way, my mother assured me that she would come and personally attend to me, but failed to do so due to a **certain conspiracy of circumstance.** (WE)

S6. Says Brahma Chellaney, Professor at the centre for Policy Research in New Delhi: "We cannot expect a **milk miracle** to happen in our nuclear option". (IT).

In both S1 and S2 we notice that there is a collocation clash as in a formal lexis one word is taken from the informal or slang lexis, viz., 'guy' in S1 and 'hunk'

in S2. In S3 and S4 we have compound word formation - Indian coinages most probably by translation from the native phrases *bure charitra ki ladki* (S3) and *atyadhik aabhar* (S4). In S5 the use of the word 'conspiracy' to refer to a set of circumstances is typically Indian and certainly a deviation from the British usage. The coinage of the phrase 'milk miracle' in S6 has been done by the writer to refer to a one-time event of the kind which could happen only in India, a land of varied beliefs and faiths. This phrase when coined was apt and vivid but is not likely to gain currency.

CHAPTER 6

INDIANIZATION IN INDO-ANGLIAN FICTION

In Indo-Anglian literature, Fiction is acknowledged as the most popular and voluminous genre of creative expression. A number of writers have won international acclaim, though, their works have a typical Indian flavour. In this Chapter we have selected for discussion ten well- known authors (referred to in Chapter 2) and their works for detailed study and have tried to identify the elements of Indianization that the language used by them exhibits.

Though, it is true that the language used by creative Indian writers is quite different from the standard English; nevertheless, it is a variety of English. This language was not evolved by the Indians overnight; repeated use, experimentations and innovations over the decades are responsible for bringing English into its present form in India. A number of literary intellectuals, after Independence, started experimenting with the English language to develop a medium for writing fiction. Novelists like Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao and R.K. Narayan were the pioneers in this field. S.V. Shastri (1992) quotes R.K. Narayan as having once remarked that all Indians are experimentalists. They do not attempt to write Anglo-Saxon English. The English language in their hands is undergoing a process of Indianization. This process is inevitable as "one has to convey in a language that is not one's own, the spirit that is one's own". (Rao 1966:iii). As a result of the efforts of these novelists a significant amount of

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imaginative literature came into existence and contributed substantially to the evolution of a new variety of English "as distinctive and colourful as the Irish or the American" (Rao, 1966:iv). According to Gokak (1952) the language that evolves represents the evolution of a distinct standard - a standard the body of which is correct English usage, but whose soul is Indian in colour, thought and imagery.

English in India has form and functions different from those of the native varieties of English and as a result "there will always be more or less indigenous flavour about our English. In our imagery, in our choice of words, in the nuances of meaning we put into our words, we must be expected to be different from Englishmen and Americans alike", as Dastoor (1968:126) puts it. This English has to serve the purpose of the Indian writers and therefore has to be able to carry the weight of Indian sensibility and experience. Therefore, this English has to be a new and different English, still in communion with its native home but altered to suit the new Indian environment and to cater to the needs, demands and requirements of the Indian writers. Gokak (1964:162-63) remarks that those writers, "who are true to Indian thought and vision cannot escape the Indian flavour even when they write in English. Even when they write fiction, they depend for their effect, on picturesque Indian phrases and their equivalents in English".

Indian writers too testify to the suitability of English for creative writing in India. R.K. Narayan once remarked that after nearly thirty years of writing in

English he was able to confirm that it had served his purpose admirably, of conveying unambiguously the thoughts and acts of a set of personalities.

Various devices are used by these writers to effectualize their desires and intentions (Shastri 1992, Pathak 1994). The ones most frequently used are as follows:

(A)   Interpolating pan-Indian or regional words in the English lexicon: One often comes across words of dress like, *sari, dhoti, topi, khadi*, etc.; of food items as *laddu, jalebi, chapati, chutney*, etc.; of flora and fauna as *peepul, tulsi, neem, koel*; of religion like, *puja, bhajan, shastra, puran*, etc.; of festivals as *holi, diwali, ekadashi*, and of social stratification and institutions like, *brahmin, shudra, shikari*, etc.

(B)   Interpolating by borrowing indigenous terms, especially when no English equivalents were available: Such constructions are usually hybridizations with English elements. For example, *lathi charge, tiffin carrier, tonga driver, cooliedom*, etc.

(C)   Compounding to create pan-Indian sensibility: This is a peculiar Indian way of compounding where both the pre- and post-modifiers are placed before the head noun to give rise to compounds like, *corner house Moorthy, nose scratching Magamma, the next-house-woman's kitchen*, etc.

(D) Translating Indian language items literally: This is the most prolifically used device. It can be further divided into five categories:

(i) Indian words with peculiar socio-cultural contextual connotations, meanings of which are often lost to the non-Indian reader: *prostitute* (randi), *brother-in-law* (sala), *son of a prostitute* (haramzada), *flower-bed* (pushpasayya), *government* (sarkar), etc. A few of these are often used as abuses but in the translated version they often lose the actual meaning intended.

(ii) Swear words and abusive expressions which depict a regional flavour and lack much of their pungency in the translated version: Mulk Raj Anand and Raja Rao make frequent use of phrases like, *son of a concubine, dung-eating curs, illegal son of a shameless mother, you lover of your mother, spoiler of my salt, rape-mother,* etc.

(iii) Literal translations of Indian idioms, proverbs and sayings: M.R. Anand has an abundance of these and R.K. Narayan, Raja Rao and others are close on heels. For example, *a traitor to one's salt giver, a crow and sparrow story, why do you eat my head, rats were running about in his belly, playing with fire,* etc.

(iv) Translation of context bound peculiar Indian expression: *eat dust or mud, my right eye winks, dead over her, father of father, is this your father's house, lack-slapping terms,* etc.

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(v)   Compoundings to create typically Indian meanings: *thread ceremony, nose pendent, bridegroom procession, a twice born, worshipping room, sitting plank, etc.*

After this brief critical preview, the stage is set for a specific discussion of the elements of Indianization that occur in the writings of selected novelists. We first present the samples extracted from the major works of these authors (alphabetically arranged) and then give a short comment, summarising the various elements that constitute the language of individual author. At the end of each sample, a reference to page numbers from where it has been taken is given for identification.

The elements of Indianization belong to a number of categories mentioned in Chapter 4 and 5. Since in this chapter our aim is to identify the total impact on the English of individual authors, an integrated view of the extent of Indianization is presented authorwise.

6.1 Mulk Raj Anand's *Two Leaves and A Bud*

Anand's writings are remarkable for their close affinity to the actual language of the characters and the settings. He has dealt mostly with the suburban/rural lower middle class societies and the language that his characters use speak amply of their actual English. He has often recorded the distorted or the

so-called pidgin English that these characters use. Most of the samples listed here show code-mixing which is very frequent in everyday speech and the pidgin English that these uneducated people use.

S1. The steady **drip-drip** of the moisture, with the queer inhuman shapes of the vegeration created phantasmagoric visions in his brain. (pg. 12).

S2. What hour is this to arrive on the plantation? **Jungli folk**! The **Sahibs** are having siesta, and the office time is about to be over! (pg. 13).

S3. And he began to fear that, as in the district court of Hoshiarpur, so here, an atmosphere of **twisting and turning** prevailed. (pg. 13-14)

S4. 'Salaam, **Huzoor**', said Buta, taking his hand to his head. (pg. 14)

S5. '**Yessir, yessir**', said Shashi Bhushan, getting up at last and nodding continuously. (pg. 14)

S6. '**Jao**', ordered Shashi Bhusan. "The Dr. **Sahib** will examine you tomorrow". (pg. 14)

S7. 'Buta', called the Babu. '**Listen to my talk** for a minute'. (pg. 14)

S8. 'No, **Hazoor**', answered Ilahi Bux, showing his yellow, decaying teeth in a wheezy obsequious smile. '**Cha rery**', he called out. (pg. 18)

S9. 'No', said Mrs. Croft-Cooke 'Or, at least, the **sayce** hasn't fetched it if it has arrived at the office.... I went to **bazaar** last Saturday and found that artichokes are sold at an **anna a seer**'. (pg. 22).

S10. "... And he said: "Miss **Sahib, I cook you to teach lesson!**" Don't you think that was sweet?" (pg. 23)

S11. "Come ni, Leila, come vay, Buddhu," she shouted to the children who had strayed outside. (pg. 35)

S12. "Be patient, the **mother of my daughter!**" said Gangu. (pg. 35)

S13. "**Acha, Buta Ram, mehrabani**", said Gangu. (pg. 36).

S14. "Oh, it is all right **brother**", said Narain. "I suppose it was in our **kismet**...". (pg.37).

S1 has a repetition of 'drip drip' as is often used in the Indian languages. S2 has a compound formation of a Hindi and a English word 'Jungli folk'. There is probably a translation of *aadmi* into the latter word. The second instance of Indianization in the same sentence is 'sahibs'. Here we notice that Anand has used Hindi word as an English stem and has used English plural marker '-s'. This is how words from one language get assimilated into another. In S3 there is a literal translation of the Hindi phrase *todna aur marodna*. Here a substitute distorting could have been used but to emanate the typical Indian flavour, the phrase seems to have been retained. In S4 and S6, Indian words are interspersed in the English lexicon to convey the actual language use by the natives. The same is applicable in S5 where the English phrase 'yes sir' is rendered in the actual speech of the native speakers (where they use their native speech patterns).

In S7, there is a direct translation of a Hindi phrase *meri baat suno*. In S8 and S9 again, Hindi or Urdu words 'Huzoor', 'Sayce', 'anna a seer' and 'bazaar' are

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inserted in the English lexicon. In S8 the spoken English of the Indians (many a time referred to as the 'Butler English') with slight distortion/mistake in the meaning or sound is recorded. *Tea ready* has become 'cha rery' here and *I will teach you how to cook* becomes "I cook you to teach lesson!' in S10. In S11, S13 and S14 there is again insertion of Hindi and Punjabi words in the English lexicon 'ni', 'vay' (S11), 'Accha', 'mehrbani' (S13) and 'Kismat' in S14.

Anand often directly translates some native phrases into English perhaps to convey that special flavour which their English equivalents (if any) lack. Often these phrases are the most common abuses and address of relationships. In S12, the translation has been culturally dictated as in India husband and wife often not not address each other by their names but as *mother/father of ___*. Similarly in S14 a colleague or a close fiend who is often addressed as *bhai* is translated into English as 'brother'.

Anand's works have in general, a multitude of lexical borrowings from Punjabi and Hindi. Many of the borrowed lexical items are 'inflected with morphological devices' (Sharma 1977) used in English such as the plural marker.

dhobis, bhangis, sahukars, slokas, samosas, pakoras, chaparasis, sahibs, lathis, etc.

He has used several native Indian stems as English verbal forms with definite English suffixes.

bur-burring, salaaming, sisked, goor-goored,

salaamed, etc.

Anand attracts attention by his experimental use of language. His endeavour to neutralize the English language depends on three devices:

1. Most notable is the **literal translation** of Hindi or Punjabi idioms into English: 'my counterfeit luck' *(mere khota naseeb),* 'Is this any talk?' *(yeh bhi koi baat hai),* 'Nothing black in the pulse'. *(daal mein kala),* 'Made my sleep illegal' *(neend haram kardi).*

2. Secondly, he interpolates Hindi words in an English sentence indiscriminately, sometimes as nouns

   'Shut up *saley,* stop your *tain tain'.*

   'These *angred log* are crafty'.

   'Sisking', 'burburred' as verb-daring.

3. The third device is **changing the spelling of English words** to suggest uneducated speech: 'yus' for *yes,* 'notus' for *notice,* 'poolic' for *police,* 'Girmany' for *Germany,* 'Amrika' for *America,* etc.

6.2 Shobha De's *Shooting from the Hip*

Shobha De is one of the most popular, talked-about modern Indian women novelists of English. The writer of many best sellers, she continues to keep herself in the lime- light by writing works which become controversial. She is one of the promoters of Hinglish (a mixture of Hindi and English which results in coinages of new words and phrases).

S1.   One chap explains shortly, "Bonus issue... **go slow chal raha hai**" (p. 6)

S2.   She cuts you short, "Never mind, never mind. But **he is a southie, no?** Then that's the place". (p 6)

S3.   He presses a paradai on your daughter. "Looking like dancer", he tells her, "No... looking like Delhi soicalite being different at garden party, you tell him." (p. 7)

S4.   There is something positively sinister about these blond **chotiwallahs**. (p.9)

S5.   Especially since they invariably treat **desi** devotees as third-class citizens at **hi-tech ashrams** they end up getting their hot little hands and controlling. (p.9)

S6.   Now, the reference to the lady-love is rather off-the- mark and if one goes by the rumour mills of Delhi which insist the lady did the skip months ago, leaving Mr. Singh to milk his cows and brood alone with his chickens. (p.30)

S7. More explosive than all the "anars" and "flower pots" that blew up the place. (p. 279)

S8. "Madam, people who bought what you are making such a big fuss to buy are not **sadak-chaap people**..." (p. 276)

S9. "...**cultured class people**, madam, **cultured class**", the man snapped." I don't know about this **culture and vulture business**", I added,...(p. 276)

S10. "...It's not as if what **I'm recommending** is intellectual or something. It is definitely low-brow - that's what the press **are saying**, not me!! (p. 277)

S11. Oh hell! **I've forgotten** today is the **dhobi day**. (p. 250)

S12. Even as I write these words the **machchiwallah** wants me to go press the pomfret's gills. (p. 249)

S13. I yell at the **fishman** to stop being disgusting and smile sweetly at the **Water-filter man**. (p. 249)

S14. Anandita toddles home saying pathetically, "**I very tired. I very sleepy**". (p.250)

S15. **My eyes are beginning to shut**. (p. 251)

S16. Someone phones from a suburban club... No and no again. Go find another **bakra**. (p. 252)

The very first sentence here has a Hindi phrase 'chal raha hai' and the next sentence S2 has an Indian coinage 'southie' which refers to a *south-Indian*. In S2 'no' is used as the question-tag which is a result of mother-tongue interference. S3 is a complex sentence where the meaning gets lost in the maze of many

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sentences linked together by commas. In S4 there is a Hindi word 'chotiwallahs' - a plural marker speaks of its treatment as an English root. 'Desi' in S5 is another Hindi word. There is a compound word formed by an English and a Hindi root 'hi-tech ashrams' in S5, which is given the treatment of an English root.

S6 is a complex sentence where the main clause is not discernible. The clauses too are not properly integrated so that the meaning of the sentence is very vague and obscure. S7 has a Hindi word 'anars' and S8 has a Hindi-English compound word 'Sadak-chaap people'. In S9 again there is a novel compound construction 'cultured class people'. This is an Indian coinage referring to the people who belong to the upper strata of society. Another Indianization in the same sentence is 'culture and vulture' where the word 'vulture' does not have any relation to the bird. In fact, it's an allusion to Indian habit of naming similar sounding words together (i.e. words which have similar sound but usually a different first syllable as 'chai-shai'). In S10 there are two progressives 'am recommending' and 'are saying'. Both these instances require the use of simple present but as Indians accept using progressive in this circumstance, a progressive is used here.

In S11 there is a Hindi compound 'dhobi-day' which means the day on which 'dhobi' comes. In this sentence perfective 'have forgotten' is used in place of simple past. S12 has a Hindi word 'machchiwallah'. In S13 there is a new coinage 'fishman' which is a translation of machhiwallah. This coinage was effected to

distinguish between a *fisherman* and a *fish seller* (English equivalent 'fish monger'), largely due to mother tongue influence. In the same sentence there is a typical Indian compound formation 'water-filter man' which might mean anything from 'a man who brings filtered water' to 'a man who sells water filters'.

In S14 there is a deliberate attempt at Indianization. The highlighted sentences do not have any verb. They are a result of mother tongue interference and also an attempt to show how English is often spoken by people who are not so well conversant with the language. S15 is a translation from the mother tongue expression *meri aankhen band hone lag rahi hai*. In S16 there is a Hindi word 'bakra' (goat) which has a specific connotation of a *scapegoat* and there is also a translation of *Jao dusra bakra dhundo.*

While reading Shobha De's works one comes across many words and phrases which are intelligible to people familiar with Indian ethos. A few such Indianized words and phrase are listed underneath:

The five-star way of living, a paan-bidi shop, the memsaaby image, kutcha roads, a laid-back person, the classy girls, a shudh-vegetarian kitchen, gleaning silverthalis laden with rich food, oil diyas, the tamasha, a husband material, a Gupta-period temple deity, oily pakodas, independence- shindipendence stuff, a canary yellow Lucknowi kurta outfit, love-shove, a full thali, the raddiwallah, his bada-saab act, a visiting maharani, etc.

6.3 Anita Desai's *Cry, The Peacock*

Anita Desai is one of the modern Indian novelists who writes in the stream-of-consciousness technique. Accordingly, her language often is as complicated and incomprehensible as her thought. One encounters many complex sentences, incomplete, snipped sentences, broken and unconnected utterances in her work. Of course, many Indian or Hindi words are interspersed in the lexicon and there are other instances of Indianization too. A few represntative samples were chosen for presentation in this chapter which exhibit the language and the style she uses.

S1. He had already put him behind his back, was already walking away restlessly, already, musing upon 'A new book Professor sent me today, one of his publications - a very distinguished anthology of Persian couplets'. (p. 25)

S2. The milky way swooped across from north-east to south- west, **Akash-Ganga**, the Ganges of the sky. (p. 29)

S3. A persistent sense of some disaster I had known, and forgotten, and perhaps never known, only, at one time, feared, and now rediscovered. (p. 30)

S4. 'Not only here, but in your horoscope also', he said, tapping the long chart the **ayah** had had made for me, 'and there on your forehead too,' he smiled...(p.32)

S5. Coming slowly up on his bicycle, in the evenings, it was my father Gautama used to come to call upon, and had it not been for the quickening passion with which I met, half-way, my father's proposal that I marry this tall, stooped and knowledgeable friend of his, one might have said that our marriage was grounded upon the friendship of the two men,... (p.45-46)

S6. It was as though he had seen only what he had expected to see, nothing less, and nothing more. **What cause for excitement then?** (p. 47)

S7. I named Rose rather than **Gulab** and the guards of Buckingham Palace were nearly as real to me as the uniformed cavalry officers who practiced, in a magnificient vertigo of yellow dust on the **maidan**in the army contonment where I was sometimes taken for a drive in the evenings.

S8. When the woman with loose stragling hair who has sunk into one of the wicker chairs, so I must leave him Rai Sahib, I cannot bear it - I must leave him immediately, if only I could buy a railway ticket.. his face grows ascetic, his profile sharpens with distaste, and he places fingertip against fingertip and says, 'Hmnn', looking over the top of her head at me, with battledore in one hand and three mandarin oranges in the other (p. 50).

S9. He did not hear me - **the tap was running.** (p. 53)

S10. Our **yogis** do it, and our **Sanyasis**, the true ones. (p. 138).

S11. I **had gone** to see her on a day when I heard her husband had had another attack. (p. 67)

S12. **Tell me**, is any part of your life as drab, or as depressing as theirs? (p. 77)

S13. "Reely?" said a prime lady in an orange spotted sari, who had a mouth strangely like an ant eater's snout. (p. 78).

S14. 'Never', he roared. 'He was always the **brainy type**. He was always studying, **always standing first** in examinations. (p. 85)

S15. 'And you? I questioned, '**You believe in palmistry?** Have you found the lines in your hand dictating your life? **You are convinced?** (p. 88)

S16. 'There!' shouted the Sikh, 'She is ready to listen - I will convince her within fine minutes **just you watch!**'(p. 90)

S17. The trainer, holding onto a string which is attached to a metal ring that passes through the bear's nose, goes around with filthy turban turned inside out, singing a song for pity and **baksheesh**. (p. 99)

S18. 'In fact, they were the ones to tell you that, in advance, and you relayed their prediction to me. **Right?**' (p. 90)

S19. **How they quarelled in this family at times quite frightening me.** (p. 187)

S20. "Keep her indoors. **What nonsense you will talk** at times, Gautama", cried his mother.. (p.181)

E1. Oh, unprivileged to miss the curved arc of a bird's wing as it forces itself against the weight of air into the clear sky where it can skim the currents with singing ease, the stream rising from a pot of tea, flavoured with orange, the revelation within the caress of a familiar hand, tender, heart-torn, and the speechlessness that goes with it; the persistent, sweet odour of a ripe pineapple, freshly sliced, its pale juice and streaked flesh,

pungent and sweet, inhaled with a delight that swells to the point of exploding or of soaring away into the sky; the pages of an exquisite, hardbound book, odorous of rice and ripe age, marked with the fine letters suited to the verses inscribed there; phrases of music, lines of verse, cleaving together in the rich all-embracing voice of a baritone drunk with wine; and the untrained voice, as great, as memorable, that rings out on the open road at night, and sets trembling those who hear it while lying sleepless in the moonlight that floods in through open windows; moonlight, its quality and coolness, playing upon papaya leaves, its silver glint cutting sharp, black silhouettes out of those great, marvellously designed leaves and then the papaya tee in itself... I contemplated that, smiling with pleasure at the thought of those long streamers of bridal flowers that flow out of the core of the female papaya tree and twine about her slim trunk, and the firm, wax-petalled bloosoms that leap directly out of the solid trunk of the male... (p. 256-257)

In the first sentence there appears to be short incomplete sentences connected together by virtue of the same theme/idea. In S2 there is a Hindi word 'Akash-ganga' ('the milky way' in English) which came to be there probably because it is used more frequently than its English equivalent. The next one (S3) is a complex sentence, where subordinate clauses are interlinked by the use of comma and the sentence order of the main clause itself is quite extraordinary and unusual. Here the object which constitutes of a long NP comes in beginning of the

sentence, followed by subject and VP. S4 amply enamates Indian culture, heritage and beliefs through the contents. The belief of getting one's future predicted by astrologers is typically oriental. Here the prediction is made by reading the palm and even forehead, by seeing the horoscope, etc. A Hindi word 'ayah' or maid-servant too is incorporated in the sentence which gives it a potential Indian sensibility.

S5 is a very complex sentence where the main clause does not stand out and many thoughts are intertwined so that they are not clearly discernible. The sentence is also very long with many commas used as linkers. S6 presents a case of a question where Indianization is a result of mother tongue interference. In Hindi we say *behichaini ka kay karan* which appears to be translated here and hence, there is no verb in the question. S7 is another complex sentence where there is no apparent link between the initial and the final thoughts in the sentence. A passage typical of stream-of- consciousness technique in theme as well as in language. There is no clear cut main clause and no obvious link or linking device between the sentences. Two Hindi words have been inserted in the lexicon in S7. 'Gulab' has an equivalent *rose* which is also mentioned and maidan, originally a Hindi word but is now accepted in English. S8 too is a complex sentence where commas and hyphens provide the link between the sub-clauses. Here also no main clause is derivable and it seems that there are many clauses put together without any specific unified theme.

In S9 there's a translation of *nal bah raha tha* into the tap was running which is an obvious Indianization. Two Hindi words are interpolated in S10 'yogis' and 'sanyasis' - the plural forms of the words. It is a remarkable tendency of the Indians that they inflect and affix the Indian words like other English roots. These two words (S10) have specific cultural connotations and the English equivalent would not have done the meaning justice.

In S11, a perfective 'had gone' is used to refer to an event that happened in the past. The second use of perfective in the same sentence is in accordance with the standard English as the event mentioned took place before the other. Indians often use perfective in the sense of simple past too. 'Tell me' in S12 is a direct translation from a mother tongue expression *mujhe batao*. The pronunciation of English words and sentences by Indians betrays their native languages' speech patterns and this facet is recorded in S13 where *really* is pronounced and accordingly written as 'reely'. 'Brainy type' is an Indianisation in S14. Another Indianization is the use of progressive 'always standing first' in the sense of simple past. An oft-repeated action and an accepted truth is rendered in progressive here.

The first question 'you believe in palmistry?' in S15 does not involve NP-inversion as in B.E. but makes use of intonation and interrogation mark to show the question. Similar is the case with the last question in S15 ' you are convinced?' Mother-tongue interference in S16 gives rise to 'just you watch' - a

translation. An Indian word 'baksheesh' is inserted in S17 which describes an Indian form of *tip*. The word used in this context is irreplaceable. S18 has an Indian question tag 'right'. Indians often simplify the elaborate process of making question-tags and use 'isn't it', 'no' or 'right' in all such tag positions. This kind of usage has become accepted and is frequently encountered even in standard publications (as here).

The sentence construction is quite unusual in S19 as there is no tense unity and the linking or the main verb of the sentence is missing. The subject is a long sentence which is not linked to the object or complement of the sentence. This is a small complex sentence whose meaning is not very clear. S20 is a result of mother tongue interference. *Kya bakwas karoge kabhi kabhi tum* is translated here.

The extract (E1) cited here consists of one long, still incomplete sentence which has approximately 280 words. Desai's writings are full of very long sentences which often (on an average) have about 50 words. Her thoughts flow rapidly and their expression is rendered equally fast. It is inevitable, therefore, that her writings at times become slightly incomprehensible and lose the thread of unity of thought.

6.4 Ruth Prawer Jhabwala's *Heat and Dust*

Ruth Prawer Jhabwala is one of the expatriates who has adopted India as her homeland. Years of life here has inculcated in her the likeness of a native sensibility and that emanates from her writings. She freely interpolates Hindi words in the lexicon and her English is similar to any Indian's. The samples from her world famous best-seller (a movie, too, was made on this novel) amply illustrate this contention.

S1. But my neighbour - the guardian of my watch - is awake and **wanting to talk**... (p. 3)

S2. **But why expect** anything from these poor people when our own are going the way they are. You've seen that place opposite? (p. 4)

S3. Although I'm now dressed like an Indian woman, the children **are still running** after me; but I don't mind too much as I'm sure they will soon get used to me. (p. 9).

S4. The principal god - he was in his **monkey aspect**, as **Hanuman** - was kept in a glass case;...(p.13)

S5. Douglas always got up at crack of dawn - very quietly, for fear of waking her - to ride out on inspection before the sun got too hot. (p. 17)

S6. But she still got scratched by thorns and also some insects **were biting** **her**, her straw hat had slipped to one side and she was very hot and near to tears. (p. 42).

S7. But then he grew serious and said "But you are a different type of person. You don't like **horses, I** think? No. Come here please, I will show you something" (p. 45)

S8. Now she often accompanies me to the bazaar and bullies the shopkeeper if he **is not giving me** the best vegetables. (p. 53)

S9. Although this shrine **only dates** back to 1923, it looks as age-old as the others. (p. 55)

S10. She sighed, "Her **dhobi**", Mrs. Saunders whispered, leaning closer to Olivia. (p. 119)

S11. The **Begum** did try to speak a few words of English to her - only at once to laugh at herself for pronouncing them so badly. (p. 29).

S12. She had learned it from the Nawab who had told her that Mrs. Crawfold looked like a **hijra**.

In S1 a progressive 'wanting to talk' is used in the sense of simple present. Similarly in S3 'are still running' - a progressive is rendered for an event requiring simple present. Indians often use progressive in the sense of simple past or simple present for an action which takes place generally. In S2 the preposition 'to' is missing from 'why expect' due to Hindi's influence. 'Hunuman' a Hindi word is inserted in the lexicon in S4. This Indian god looks like a monkey and so, 'monkey aspect' in S4. Sub clause is linked to the main sentence with a hyphen in S5. An article 'the' too is missing in this sentence in the highlighted phrase. In S6 there is no tense correlation. In the second sentence progressive is used in the meaning

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of past. In addition to this the adverb 'also' is used to add sentences whereas (semantically) it is adding two actions (here, verbs).

'I think' is used in the tag position in S7. Indians often simplify the complex rules of question-tag formation and use the native language's tags in this position. In S8 again a progressive 'is not giving' is used in place of simple present. The adverb 'only' is modifying dates in S9 where as it means to modify the complement Indians are quite flexible with regard to the placement of adverbs in a sentence. In the next three sentences S10, S11 and S12, Hindi words are interspersed in the lexicon. 'dhobi' (S10), 'Begum' (S11), 'Nawab' and 'Hijra' (S12) are all Indian words in these sentences.

6.5 R.K. Narayan's *The Bachelor of Arts*

R.K. Narayan is one of the most accomplished and voluminous of all the Indian novelists of English. He is widely read and acclaimed in the literary circles. He has an easy mastery over English, a spontaneous gaiet and a conversational style. He is known for his short crisp sentences which are quite a contrast to the Indians' habitual long sentences.

S1. Chandran was just climbing the steps of the college union when Natesan, the secretary, sprang on him and said, "You are just the person I was looking for. **You remember your old promise?**" (p.13).

S2.   Chandran walked, thinking of the secretary. The poor idiot! Seemed to be always in trouble and always grumbling. Probably borrowed a lot. Must be taking things on credit everywhere, in addition to living in a dingy room and eating bad food... Not a bad sort. Seemed to be a sensible fellow. (p.26).

S3.   "All right. Bring me fish, rice and curd." He then gave a shout. "Mother!" (p.29).

S4.   There was his Madras uncle who said that staying in Malgudi would not lead him anywhere, but that he ought to go to a big city and see people. (p.91).

S5.   "No, no. She will keep telling me what jewels she has got for her daughter. I can't stand her." (p.100)

S6.   But Veeraswami would not let him go: "A year since we met. I have been dying to see an old classmate and you want to cut me!" (p. 104)

S7.   "They can't be all right. We have a face to keep in this town. Do you think it is all child's play?" She left the room in a temper. (p. 118)

S8.   Kailas said to the waiter, "... Get me a gin and soda. You will have lime juice?"

E1.   The night had fallen. Somebody had brought and left a lighted lantern beside him. He looked about. They all brought gifts for him, milk and fruits and food. The sight of the gifts sent a spear through his heart. He felt a cad, a fraud, and a confidence trickster. These were gifts for a counterfeit

exchange. He wished that he deserved their faith in him. The sight of the gifts made him unhappy. He ate some fruit and drank a little milk with the greatest self-deprecation. (pp. 179-180).

We notice an interrogative construction indicated by intonation and question mark rather than by the usual NP inversion in S1. S2 is characteristic of Narayan - the short sentences, and also of the Indians - snipped incomplete sentences. Indians often omit nouns (subjects) and at times even verbs. They often take these for granted. 'He' is often missing in this passage from the text. Another feature of Indianization observable here is the placement of adverb 'always'. It is repeated twice and it comes before a prepositional phrase in its first appearance. In S3 there is a translation from mother tongue *aawaz dee* - 'gave a shout' which could have been rendered as *shouted* in English. Indians have elaborate distinction in kin relationships and everyone is specifically mentioned with reference to his/her relation or to the place where they stay. In S4 'madras uncle' particularly refers to *an uncle who stays in Madras.*

In S5 there is repetition of 'no' to give it extra emphasis. In the same sentence a general truth is represented in progressive due to mother tongue interference. In S6 again ellipsis is used *It is* is taken for granted and is omitted. There is a translation of a common expression *kaatna chahate ho* into 'want to cut me' in the same sample. Other translation of common expressions are in the next sample S7. *Munh rakhna hota hai* and *yeh sub bachchon ka khel hai* are

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respectively translated as 'a face to keep' and 'all child's play'. A question is posed in the last sample with the help of an interrogative mark and tone change 'You will have lime juice?' (S8) instead of the usual NP inversion.

The extract given here is representative of Narayan's style of writing. The short, crisp sentences which lucidly convey the thought are unique to Narayan. He seems to stand apart only by virtue of his sentences. He too exhibits about all forms of Indianizations which his contemporaries do, but only a little less frequently.

6.6 Raja Rao's *Kanthapura*

Raja Rao's style is conversational and hence it is quite close to the speech of the Indians. It captures the tempo of Indian life and speech which according to Rao is 'fast'. We come across many translations of forms and modes of addresses in his writings. There is an abundance of cuturally related native Indian words which have been retained as such.

S1.   If not, **tell me, sister**, why should it be red only from the Tippur stream upwards, for a foot down on the other side of the stream you have mud, black and brown, but never red. (pg. 2).

S2.   If rains come not, you fall at her feet and say 'Kenchamma, goddess, you are not kind to us... Tell us, Kenchamma, why do you seek to make our stomachs burn?" (pg. 2)

S3.   Of course, you will tell me that young Sankamma, Barber Channar's wife, died of it. (pg. 3).

S4.   And when the night is over, and the sun rises, over the Bebbur Mound, people will come from Santur and Kuppur, people will come from the Santur Coffee Estate and ... (pg. 4).

S5.   But hardly had he finished the Harikatha and was just about to light the camphor to the god, than the Sankur Police Jamadar is there. (p. 17).

S6.   'So you are a traitor to your salt-givers!' (p. 20).

S7.   'Enough! Enough of that, 'answered the Patel indifferently. 'You'd better take care not to warm your hands with other's money...' (p. 21).

S8.   They will even pay you nineteen rupees and two annas, if you will sell more than twenty Khandas. (p. 24).

S9.   You see, he had always papers to get registered - a mortgage bond, a sales sheet, a promisory bond - and for this reason and that reason he was always going to the city. (p. 29).

S10.   She will not die without her son having a wife.(p. 31)

S11.   'As you like, says the licker of your feet.' (p. 34)

S12.   And I, good brahmin that I am, I went to touch his feet and ask for the tirtham. (p. 39)

S13.   And he is my wife's elder brother's wife's brother-in- law. (p. 39)

S14.   ...She said that. seeing a man for a day, and this when one is ten years of age, could be called a marriage, they had better **eat mud and drown themselves in the river**. (p. 44)

S15.   But she pushed him away and told him he should never show himself again, not until he had sought **prayaschitta** from the **swami** himself. (p. 57).

S16.   'You **have the tongue** to ask that too?' and Rachanna says he will not leave his hut till he's paid... (p. 85).

S17.   'Godess Kenchamma, Oh, donot **leave us to eat dust!**' (p. 86).

S18.   Moorthy said his Gayathri trice a thousand and eight times... (p. 88).

S19.   'Ah, **the cat has begun to take to asceticism**', says she, **only to commit more sins**.' (p. 88).

S20.   Rangamma again tried to persuade him to eat a little 'just not to be too weak, for even the **dharma shastras** permit it;' she said. (p. 92)

S21.   'Ah!' says Ranga Gowda. 'And I shall **not close my eyes** till that dog has eaten filth,'... (p. 98-99).

S22.   Then Moorthy stands up and says it is no light matter to be a member of the Congress. (p. 101)

S23.   ... Rachanna cries out 'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai!' and the policeman rushes at them and bangs them with his lathi and Rachanna quavers out the louder, 'Gandhi Mahatma ki jai!' (p. 120).

S24. ... policeman beat the crowd this side and that side, and groans and moans and cries and shouts and coughs and oaths and bangs and kicks are heard, while there is heard, 'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai!' (p. 122)

S25. We wept and we prayed, and we vowed and we fasted, and may be the gods would hear our feeble voices, who would hear us, if not they? (p. 123)

S26. ...the students formed a Defence Committee and raised a huge meeting and copper and silver flowed into the collection plate. (p. 123)

S27. But one cannot break the legs of the ignorant. (p. 129)

S28. A week after week passed, and Rangamma's Blue paper brought us this news and that news, and Pandit Venkateshia said, 'Why should I not make it come?' (p. 132)

S29. To tell you the truth, Bhatta left us after harvest on a pilgrimage to Kashi. But, don't they say, sister, the sinner may go to the ocean but the water will only touch his knees. (p. 135)

S30. But our Rangamma was as tame as a cow and she only said, 'One cannot stitch up the mouths of others. So let them say what they like.' (p. 136)

S31. 'If you will bring a name to Kanthapura - that is my only recompense...' (p.140)

S32. 'You know once there was an ignorant Pathan who thought the Mahatma was a covetous man and wanted to kill him. He had a sword beneath his shirt as he stood waiting in the dark for the Mahatma to come out of a

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lecture hall.   The Mahatma **comes** and the man **lifts** up his
sword...'(p.282).

E1.   The DAY DAWNED over the Ghats, the day rose over the Blue Mountain
and, churning through the grey, rapt valleys, swirled up and swam across
the whole air. The   day rose into the air and with it rose the dust of the
morning, and the carts began to creak round the bulging rocks and the
coppery peaks, and the sun fell into the river and pierced it to the pebbles,
while the carts rolled on and on, fair carts of the Kanthapura fair - fair carts
that came from Maddur and Tippur and Santur and Kuppur, with chillies
and coconut, rice and ragi, cloth, tamarind, butter and oil, bangles and
kumkum,   little pictures of Rama and Krishna and Sankara and the
Mahatma, little dolls for the youngest, little kites for the elder, and little
chess pieces for the old - carts rolled by the Sampur knoll and down into
the valley of the Tippur stream, then rose again and groaned round the
Kenchamma Hill, and going straight into the temple grove, one by one, with
lolling bells   and muffled bells, with horn-protectors in copper and
back-protectors in lace, they all stood there in one moment of fitful peace;
'Salutations to Thee,   Kenchamma, goddess Supreme,' - and then the
yokes began to shake and the bulls began to shiver and move, and when
the yokes touched the earth, men came out one by one, travellers that had
paid a four-anna bit or an eight-anna bit to sleep upon pungent tamarind
and suffocating chillies, travellers who would take the Pappur carts to go

to the Pappur mountains, the Sampur carts to go to the Sampur mountains, and some too that would tramp down the passes into the villages by the sea, or hurry on to Kanthapura as our Moorthy did this summer morning, Moorthy with a bundle of khadi on his back and a bundle of books in his arms. (p.56-57)

In S1 and S3 there is a literal translation of *kaho behn* and *tum kahoge* which are frequently used in a conversation. In S2, there is translation of Indian manner of touching the feet of a Godess into *you fall at her feet*. *Pet jalana* is translated into 'make our stomachs burn'. Instead of 'if it does not rain', *barsaat aayee nahin* is directly rendered into English as 'rains come not'. In S4, there is a shift in the tense used. The sentence starts ('sun rises') in simple present indicative of general truth then it shifts to an indicative of future time ('will come'). In S5 there is a use of *hardly...than* which is unusual in the standard usage where 'hardly...when' is more frequent. The sentence is in past tense but simple present is used in the 'than...' clause. In such a construction, there normally is a consistency in tense. A Hindi word 'Harikatha' is there in S5 because it is untranslatable as it is a widely used term referring to the tales of God with moral message.

In S6 and S7 there is a direct translation of Indian idioms. *A person who provides food* (employers) has a great reference in the Indian society and betraying him is considered sinful and shameful. It does not have any similar

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expression in English. An Indian idiom relates to taking bribes - *haath garam karana* which is literally translated here. In S8 there's an Indian measurement term 'khanda'. Indians often neglect the tense restrictions when forming conditional clause. That is what we have in S8 'will...pay' and 'will...sell'. In S9 again there is a literal translation of a common Hindi expression *is karan aur us karan* into 'this reason and that reason'. In S10 an Indian woman's words of determination are translated to retain the poignancy and force that issues forth from her deeds - *bete ki patni aaye bina maregi nahin*.

In S11 common Indian phrase of humility - *pairon ki dhool chaatne wala* is translated into 'the licker of your feet'. Such a degree of humbleness would not be easily expressed in English. Native word 'tirtham' is retained in the English lexicon of S12 as the word does not have an equivalent in English. Indians are very particular about the relationship even if it is quite distant. They have specific relational names for every one and hence the relations are quite clear and explicit. This fact is amply illustrated in S13. In S14 an abuse *dhool chaati aur doob maro* is translated to convey the fierce feeling of frustration, disgust and helplessness. In S15, two Indian words which have a specific cultural significance are interpolated in the lexicon - 'Prayaschitta' is something like 'penance' but not exactly so and 'swami' too is socially and culturally defined, untranslatable in English.

S16 has a translation of a common mother tongue expression of disdain and anger, *bahut jabaan hona* which cannot be equivocally conveyed in English. An idiomatic expression *dhool chatana* is translated in English in S17. *A thousand and eight* is a sacred number for the Hindus and they say their prayers in numbers related to this figure (S18). In the Indian languages there is an idiom *sau chuhe kha kar billi haj ko chalee* - this idea is conveyed by the translation in S19. In S20, the Hindi words 'dharma shastra' are retained due to culture related association. In S21 there is a translation of a common Indian expression which conveys the idea of an intense desire to get a work/deed over before one's death - *Aankhe band nahin karoonga jab tak.* There's another translation in S22 of *yeh koi choti baat nahin hai* into 'it is no light matter'.

S23 has Indian words which are retained because they have a specific cultural and emotional connotations for the Indians as these recall the Independence movement of the 1940s. S24 and S25 are Indianized in two ways; first, the fast tempo of life and thought is amply portrayed in the quick rhythmic phrases and second, the intermingled use of tenses which is typical of Indians can be easily noticed here. There is a quick shift from past tense to present and from the past time to the present as well as the future time in these sentences.

S26 has collocations unusual in the standard dialect 'raise a meeting' and 'a huge meeting' due to mother tongue influence. In S27 the translation is from an Indian Idiom *taang todna* which means controlling or subsiding. S28 has three

instances of Indianization. Indians often repeat words (in some combinations) to give more emphasis - 'a week after week' and 'this news and that news'. There is a verbatim translation of an Indian sentence into English; *Main ise aane kyon na doon?* There is another translation in S29. The Indian idiom *papi chahe samudra mein chala jaaye, paani uske pairon tale hi rahega* with the meaning that 'a sinner never gets atoned', is directly translated into English. Another Indian idiom *logon ke muh silna* which means 'to prevent them from gossiping', is literally translated in S30.

The extract E1 taken from Foreword in *Kanthapura* (1996) upholds and illustrates Rao's remark:

> We, in India, think quickly, we talk quickly and when we move, we move quickly... We tell one interminable tale. Episodes follow episodes, and when our thoughts stop, our breath stops and we move on to another thought. ...

A passage of approximately 300 words constituting only one sentence clearly and unambiguously conveys the thought.

6.7 Salman Rushdie's *The Moor's Last Sigh*

We notice, in the writings of Salman Rushdie, a marked tendency to use Hinglish (compound phrases or words formed by a mixture of Hindi and English) and code mixing. There is not much Indianization noticeable in the syntactic features.

A few samples are presented in this section which amply illustrate his style

S1.   Cameons yearningly confided: 'You and your father are in a same state:
       He misses his Mrs., and you are glum about your mom'. (p. 10).

S2.   Epifama, according to legend, was heard to say, 'Hai Ram!' (p. 27)

S3.   She snapped, 'If you have ambitions in our boy's direction, then please to
       mindofy your mouth. You want dark or white meat? Speak up. You
       want stuffing? (p.23)

S4.   ... it was common knowledge that while Mr. Aires and Mrs. Carmen were
       the incharges for the time being, the late Mr. Cameons had left them no
       more than an allowance. (p. 69)

S5.   'Now these come-latelies steal our business', she mumbled. (p. 71)

S6.   Bharat-mata, Hindustan Hamara, is this the place? (p.87)

S7.   My very own yahoody. My in-those-days beloved Jews. (p. 88)

S8.   'You samjao that baysharram pair', said the eldest sister Aspinwall 'that
       this sort of tamasha is simply not the cheez'. (p. 97).

Indians often refer to their wives as 'my/his Mrs.' instead of saying my/his
wife (S1). A popular Indian exclamation 'Hai Ram' is inserted in the English lexicon
in S2. Rushdie uses Hinglish in S3 'mindofy your mouth'. In the same extract
there are two instances of Indianization in the interrogative constructions
Sentences are made out into interrogatives only by intonation. Another form of

Indianization is in S4 where titles like Mr./Mrs. are used with the first names Mr. Aires and Mrs. Carmens.

Salman Rushdie forms novel compound words/phrases to convey his ideas. In S5 and S7 there are such words and phrases, 'come-latelies' and 'in-those-days'. A few such words and phrases are listed after this discussion in a separate paragraph. There are native Indian words which are interspersed in the English lexicon in S6, S7 and in S8, 'Bharat-mata', 'Hindustan Hamara' (S6), 'Yahoody' (S7), 'Samjao', 'baysharram', 'tamasha' and 'cheeza' (S8). A few of these have a specific socio-cultural significance and hence could not be adequately replaced by English words while others are retained in the lexicon perhaps to create and impart the typical Indian flavour as well as to show the kind of mixed Hindi-English that the Indians speak.

Listed below are a few words and phrases taken from Salman Rushdie's writings. These are the examples of the kind of English he employs; the novel compound constructions, the Hinglish mix and the compound noun- adjectives: one most, filthy-rich, grand-maternal credulity, killofy, tiltoed up or down, twoness of things, think- o, discombolutation, shuttofy her trap, suited and booted, hot-water trouble, bombay-wallah, rottofied, Tata-bata, sittoed, blindofy, pudding-shudding, art-shart, a Bombay-talkie-style-close-up, eatofy, crime-stained birth, secs, a chutnification of history, writing-shiting, forest of new

relatives, Bombayness, calico-skirted secretaries, the now-six-hundred-million-plus of us, looker-after, by-the-hairs-of-my- mother's head truth, etc.

6.8 Nayantara Sahgal's *Mistaken Identity*

Nayantara Sahgal is one of the famous women writers of Fiction in English. We notice in her writings many cases of Indianizations of English, particularly those related to translations of Indian sensibility into the language she is using. These instances are more at the Semantic level than at the Syntactic level.

S1. If father had sent her here instead of his fossil lawyer, she would have extracted some crazy meaning out of this. The fossil **had said she was thinking**, of me night and day. (p. 22).

S2. **Frightening when she danced herself into a frenzy with friends and maid servants at the Shiva puja a visiting sadhu presided over every year.** (p.27).

S3. The year the Jsar was dethroned **had had other concerns** for me, but her grief had certainly been disastrous, a landmark in my life. (p. 31).

S4. Father's **taluk** is notorious for a sly sort of rack- renting, **he tells me**. (p.35).

S5. 'You **are a student of the history of costume?'**

'Good Lord no. But clothing reform and general reform go together'. (p. 40).

S6.   '...It is a catastrophe. And at a time when we are backing the **Mussalmans** in their support for the khilafat in Turkey. **Raja Wali Khan is speechless.** Next door to his estate my son abducts a Mussalman girl. **I am covered with shame. My face is black** before the Ottoman government. **My nose is cut...'** (p. 58)

In S1 reference to a habitual action that took place in the past and for this a present progressive is used. In the standard dialect simple past tense would have been preferred. S2 is a complex sentence and there is no clear cut main clause. Further, the subordinate and the main clauses are not properly integrated. Such kind of complex sentence formation is typical of Indian English and is widely accepted. In S3 past perfective has been used though a specific time (the year the Jsar was dethroned) is given. Indians often use perfective to convey the idea of simple   past or present. There is an Indian word 'taluk' inserted in the English lexicon in S4. In the same sentence, while talking about an occurrence of the past (telling), she uses the simple present tense. In S5 an interrogative is constructed by using an interrogation mark and intonation change.

S6 is a typical sample of Indian way of using English taken from Sahgal's novel. Here we find code mixing and translations from common Indian expression as well as from Indian idioms. 'Mussalmans' and 'Khilafat' are Indian words interspressed in the lexicon. *Munh Kala ho gaya hai* and *meri naak kut gayee hai* are the idioms translated into English as 'my face is black' and 'my nose is cut'.

respectively. What is stated as a general truth '... is speechless' is temporary and recent in occurrence.

Thus, we notice that these forms of Indianizations are widely accepted and find expression in the writings of the noted authors too.

6.9 Vikram Seth's *A Suitable Boy*

Seth's writings show Indianization in the most embryonic form. There are mainly interpolations of Indian words in the lexion and long sentence typical of Indian's use of English. One reason for this kind of standardized English writing could be his long association with the native land of English, which has made his language closer to that of the natives' than that of his countrymen.

S1.   'I thought of sending you one, **Baoji**, but I didn't think it was so important. Then, the expense...' (p. 35).

S2.   'It is **Ekadashi** today', Mrs. Rupa Mehra fasted on the eleventh day of each lunar fortnight in memory of her husband. (p. 36).

S3.   'You are so scrumptious', she told Aparna. 'Now have your milk'. To the ayah she said, '**Dudh lao. Ek dum!**'. (p. 39).

S4.   There was just enough room for the tonga to get through among the bullock-carts, rickshaws, cycles and pedestrians, who thronged both the road and the pavement - which they shared with barbers plying their trade

out of doors, fortune-tellers, flimsy tea-stalls, vegetable stands, monkey-trainers, ear-cleaners, pick pockets, stray cattle, the odd sleepy policeman sauntering along in faded-khaki, sweat soaked men carrying impossible loads of copper, steel rods, glass or scrap paper on their backs as they yelled 'Look out! Look out!' in voices that somehow pierced through the din, shops of brassware and cloth (the owners attempting with shouts and gestures to entice uncertain shoppers in), the small carved stone entrance of the Tiny Tots (English Medium) school which opened out onto the courtyard of the reconverted haveli of a bankrupt aristocrat, and beggars - young and old, agressive and meek, leprous, mained or blinded - who would quietly invade Nabiganj as evening fell, attempting to avoid the police as they worked the queues in front of the cinema-halls. (p. 87).

In S1 'baoji' and in S2 'ekadashi' are both Indian words. The former is an address (pronoun/epithet) used for the elder of the family and the latter is a religio-cultural significant day which is auspicious for the Indians. To mark a distinction between the language used with people of different social groups, different languages are used (S3). The use of Hindi here in a sense also shows a modern Indian tendency where people talk with their children in English but with the servants in their native tongue.

S4 captures the tempo of Indian life, thought and expression. Indians are habitual of writing long sentences with many subordinate clauses, interlinked with

each other by commas and hyphens. What is characteristic here is that though the sentence is quite long, the meaning is very clear and is understood in the first reading itself.

6.10 Khushwant Singh's *Women and Men in My Life*

Khushwant Singh is one of the most popular, accomplished and well-read Indian writersof International fame. He has several works to his credit where he displays a mastery of handling topics related to an Indian sensibility in English. His language is a curious mix of Hindi and English. There are abundant borrowings from Hindi, many novel compound constructions (Hinglish) and translation from native idioms and expressions. He writes like a true Indian with all whims, fancies, Indianization, and all the feelings. The samples chosen and presented here throw a light on the language of one of the most talked about Indian writers of English.

S1. They were witty and malicious and written in a **Khichari** of Hindi-English terminology I had not come across before. (p. 6)

S2. But Devyani was very self-conscious of her size and visibly upset when she overheard someone refer to her as **woh motee aurat**. (p. 9)

S3. She talked to me by the hour telling me of **the many men** in her life. (p. 14)

S4. A few months later she sent me a collection of her poems published by none other than **Writers' workshop**. (p. 21)

S5.   It would be unfair to describe Anees Jung as a **matlabee, a seeker of** favours. (p. 39).

S6.   He was a senior executive in Burmah Shell; she working on a doctoral thesis in Cambridge University. She was **the centre** of attraction. (p. 43)

S7.   She wrote out recipes and gave me home-ground **masalas** to take home for my wife. (p. 71)

S8.   Once when I was invited by **Chief Minister** Ramakrishna Hedge to see what I wanted of the state he ruled, I opted for wild life resorts and ancient ruins. (p. 71)

S9.   There is **little chance** of my seeing her for the next five years. (p. 74)

S10. She also had rich **land-owning** relatives on her **sikh father's** side who regularly visited Lahore. (p. 78)

S11. There is a Hindustani saying that **men of destiny have signs of greatness in their infancy.** (p. 147)

S1 has an Indian word 'khichari' which does not have any English equivalent and S2 has a Hindi phrase 'woh moti aurat' which cannot be rendered in English as that is an epithet given to the concerned person. In S3 the adjective used is quite unusual in this context; 'various' is more frequently used here but perhaps due to mother tongue influence 'many' is used. In S4, there is no article before 'Writers' Workshop'. S5 has a Hindi word 'matlabee' (selfish) in the

sentence and there is another Indianization 'a seeker of favours'. In S6 again, the use of article is a case of Indianization. Here the article used is 'the' in place of 'a'.

A Hindi word 'masalas' (spices) is used in S7. Noticeable is the manner in which Hindi roots are treated as English ones and are similarly inflected. The article 'the' is omitted in S8 from 'Chief Minister' and the construction of the sentence is complex too. The main clause and the sub- clause are not properly linked. The article 'a' is missing in S9 also. There is a novel, compound word formation 'land- owning relatives' in S10. In the same sentence 'father' takes an adjective 'her sikh' implying thereby that she had a non-sikh father too. We notice that Indians are very elaborate in defining relations 'sikh father's side' and something like 'uncle' is insufficient in India. In S11 there is a translation of a Hindi idiom *honhar babool ke hot cheekne pat.*

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The study reveals a number of sociolinguistic factors which made English in India a very useful vehicle of intellection and interaction. The various events, mainly political, brought about significant changes in the educational system, giving a primary place to English not only as a medium of instruction but also as a subject. An interesting feature that emerges from our study is the acceptance of English first as a language of the masters and later as a tool of spreading literacy and enkindling political awakening. The movement for the use of English got its impetus from a number of scholars who began to look upon it as an essential instrument of their thinking and expression.

In Chapter 2 we have shown how English continued to remain, even during post-Independence era, as a significant element of the educational system of the country and to perform the functions that it used to, before Independence. As one would have thought, English did not continue as a symbol of slavery, it, in fact, became a vibrant means of communication and creative activity for the Indians. English education brought to the Indian intelligentsia a possibility and need for exploring new avenues and medium of expression of the Indian sensibility. This paved the way for emergence and growth of a substantial body of Indian literature in English. Today there is a healthy and promising environment for the production and development of Indian writings in English. Modern poets, dramatists, prose

writers and most of all, novelists cater to the tastes of a vast section of Indian as well as international audience.

In Chapter 3 we have critically reviewed a few important sociolinguistic theories. The contributions by eminent scholars like Fishman (1966, 1971, 1972), Pride (1971), Bernstein (1971), Hymes (1976 and 1971), Labov (1970), Whorf (1956), Trudgill (1983) and others have been carefully studied and the findings of their researches drawn upon to provide a framework for our investigation. It is well established that various sociocultural factors like social hierarchy, social status, inter-personal relationships and culturally determined notions of appropriateness and feasibility largely regulate the speech- act of a person in a particular situation. The physical and social environment of a society, too, deeply affect language which in turn shapes the world-view of its users.

In this chapter we have also attempted to relate these sociolinguistic theories to the use of English in the Indian context. What has happened in India is but natural because the intermingling of linguistic groups, especially if it is for a long time, engenders significant modifications in languages which come into contact with one another. Our review of the existing sociolinguistic theories amply supports and provides a suitable background for the main thrust in this work. Our reference to various studies that were carried out elsewhere contains several fragments of thoughts that have impelled the process of Indianization of English.

Chapters 4 and 5 contain an analysis and discussion of the samples collected from various published written material and actual speech. While classifying the samples into various categories it is noticed that a few of these show Indianization of more than one kind and hence it became imperative to include them in more than one section. The focus in Chapter 4 is on the syntactical analysis of English as used in India. The data relating to this aspect is categorised into seven main sections, viz., the Perfective Form, the Progressive Form, Interrogative Transformation, Complex Sentence Formation, Complementation, Use of Prepositions and Articles and Placement of Adverbs. The most frequent instances of Indianization are noticed in the use of prepositions and adverbs and the least number of instances are found in the case of complementation.

It is observed that Indian English often makes use of the perfective form even in the sense of simple past and simple present and of the progressive form with all static verbs and verbs of inert perception and also in the sense of simple present as well as simple past. In the construction of interrogative sentences the use of pitch rise is more common. In indirect questions NP-inversion is used in place of 'if' or 'whether' clauses and the rules for constructing question tags have been highly simplified to two or three namely, 'isn't it?', 'no?' and 'right?'. The complex sentences often have no clear main clause and no proper interlink between the clauses. Further, the tense and pronominal restrictions imposed on the embedded clause in such a sentence are often relaxed. Similarly, in case of

complementation, the complemented clause ignores the conditions imposed by the nouns and verbs of the main clause. There is a lot of flexibility in the use of articles and prepositions. Indian users of English have devised their own set of collocations and are not bound by any specific rules. The restrictions regarding the positioning of adverbs in a sentence are also discarded. This is sometimes done without adding any meaning value or at times inadvertently emphasizing the wrong semantic aspect.

In Chapter 5 we have dealt with the lexico-semantic aspects of Indian English. This Chapter is divided into the following sections: Translations from Common Mother Tongue Expressions, Translations from Indian Idioms, Code-Mixing, Changes in Semantic Range, Collocations and Usage, and Coinages and Lexical Borrowings. The maximum number of instances of Indianization are noticed in the case of code- mixing and the least in the case of Translations from Indian Idioms. While conveying the Indian sensibility these writers of English in India often take recourse to interpolating Hindi or other regional languages' words in the English lexicon. The second frequently used device is that of translating common Indian expressions as well as the Indian idioms into English so as to retain and communicate the typical Indian ideas and beliefs.

We also find a number of instances of Indianization which have been categorized as Changes in Semantic Range, Collocations and Usage and

Coinages and Lexical Borrowing. The changes to which we refer here take place in every living language but what is significant is their occurance in a particular direction to meet the demands of a speech community using a foreign tongue to verbalize its native genius. The samples under the various categories amply prove that apart from the natural linguistic phenomenon, there is a special significance to the changes in the words, coinages, collocations and their usage in the Indian context.

We infer that personal observation was the source of maximum instances of Indianizations. It, therefore, seems to support the contention that more instances of Indianization are noticeable in the speech of the users than in their writings. Popular Magazines were the next potential source with Cine, Sports and Business Magazines following close on heel. Minimum number of instances could be culled from Literature and it can easily be justified. As we know, the poets generally exploit language to meet their specific requirements and hence, often deviate from the standard rules of grammar to best express themselves. To refer to only a few well known poets, Shakespeare, Pope, Eliot, Hopkins, have often resorted to syntactic and lexical dislocations to achieve their ends. We have therefore, discussed only those forms which bear an unmistakable stamp of Indianization of English. Our survey reveals that no great Indian writer of English has used drama as a medium of expression. The output in terms of plays, specially if we juxtapose it with poetry and fiction, is almost negligible. The same is the case with prose (literary essays). Fiction being the main focus of our

attention has been treated in detail in Chapter 6, where we have been able to find a large number of samples of Indianization.

By taking the educated varieties of the non-native speech forms as the basis for our study we observe that the second language varieties do not show any 'impoverishment' of vocabulary. In fact, the indigenized varieties exhibit 'expansion' of the lexicon. This is achieved through several processes which include heavy borrowings from the native language(s); hybrid words and compounds; novel collocations and neologisms created by analogy from the reference language rules. This feature of creativity has been cited by some linguists as a ground for classifying Indian English as a 'dialect' of the reference language at par with other native dialects. The grammar of Indian English has a marked regular difference from the reference language patterns, e.g., embedded questions, invariable tag in question tags, use of perfective for simple past and present, use of progressive with static verbs and verbs of perception as well as for simple present, omission and misuse of articles, etc. Though a few of these features may be termed as 'simplification' of the reference language, the grammar of Indian English is still quantitatively and substantively different from that of pidgins as it does not show elimination of grammatical categories as number, gender and some redundant features as in pidgin. Its sentence structure is marked by a degree of complexity (sentence embedding, subordinating and coordinating devices) similar to that of the native varieties (Sridhar 1989: 38-39).

Chapter 6 discusses the features of Indianization in the writings of eminent Indian novelists of English. The selected works of the well-known writers mentioned in Chapter 1 have been analysed for this purpose. It is noticed that though all these authors resort to many Indianizations to convey the Indian ethos, Mulk Raj Anand and Raja Rao show an abundance of these. In their writings a large number of instances of code-mixing, literal translations and compoundings are noticeable. In the works of Vikram Seth and Salman Rushdie not many instances of Indianizations could be discovered. This can be attributed to the fact that these authors have been residing in English speaking countries and have been in close touch with the native speakers of English. They along with Shobha De and Khushwant Singh are the proponents of 'Hinglish' (compoundings of Hindi and English words). Their writings have a large number of instances of code mixing and translations but Indianisations at the syntactic level is rarely discernible. Ruth Prawer Jhabwala, an expatriate, has adopted India as her homeland and has considerably imbibed its sensibility. In her writings and that of Nayantara Sahgal we find a number of expressions reflecting typically Indian socio-cultural ethos but there are not many specific instances which show a marked deviation from the British usage. So the Indianization in the case of these writers, in general, is at the semantic level.

The three most significant aspects of Indianization observed in the writings of all the novelists are as follows

1. There is an abundant use of complex sentences in which the main sentence and the sub-clauses cannot be easily made out. As a result, very often the meaning is not clear in the first reading. This complexity is maximum in the work of Anita Desai.

2. There is a tendency to construct long sentences which at times run to the length of a whole page. It is however remarkable, that despite a frequency of very long sentences, the authors manage to retain clarity and unity of thoughts and these are unambiguously conveyed to the reader. Raja Rao in his Foreword to Kanthapura (1966) remarks:

> We, in India, think quickly, we talk quickly and when we move, we move quickly. There must be something in the sun of India that makes us tumble and run on... We have neither punctuation nor the treacherous 'ats' and 'ons' to bother us. We tell one interminable tale. Episodes follow episodes, and when our thoughts stop, our breath stops and we move on to another thought. This was and still is the ordinary style of our story-telling...

This comment aptly conveys the state-of-art of the style of Indian writings. Raja Rao particularly, and almost all other novelists with the exception of R.K. Narayan, are exponents of this kind of style. R.K. Narayan is well known for his short, crisp but simple sentences which are also very clear and have a smooth transitional device, wherever required. With equal ease he is able to depict the typical Indian ethos.

3. We find more instances of Indianizations in Code- Mixing, Translations from Common Mother Tongue Expressions and Indian Idioms, and also in

the Use of Interrogatives and Prepositions and Articles. There are comparatively fewer cases of Indianizations in other Lexico-semantic and Syntactical features categorized.

The study thus provides adequate evidence to show that the potentiality of expression offered by the English language is being fully exploited by the Indians to suit their specific needs in a variety of spheres. It also proves that, apart from a preponderance of new coinages, borrowings from Indian languages and creation of fresh collocations, the Indianization has permeated at levels which are traditionally considered to be rigid. The diversity of aspects in deviation from the British usage which this study has revealed can be said to support the claim of Indian English to be considered as a variety used by thousands of educated Indians for a large number of social and professional purposes. It would therefore, not be wrong to suggest that Indian English as a variety needs to be probed further, applying the principles of linguistic description so that an organised body of knowledge emerges for achieving theoretical and pedagogic goals.

We would like to conclude with Rao's comment (Rao 1966.iv):

> We cannot write like the English. We should not... Our method of expression therefore has to be a dialect which will some day prove to be as distinctive and colourful as the Irish or the American. Time alone will justify it.

And we believe this study is a small step towards the fulfilment of this prophecy.

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