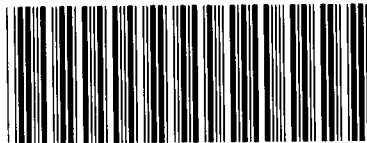


Blanka Svobodová
Univerzita Karlova v Praze
Filozofická fakulta / Hindština
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THE ENGLISH INFLUENCE ON HINDĪ

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**Filozofická fakulta
Univerzity Karlovy v Praze**

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1.0.0. INTRODUCTION

Hindī is the official language of India and a predominant language in the so-called Hindī belt, i.e. the states and territories of Himachal Pradesh, Delhi, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Uttaranchal, Jharkhand, Rajasthan and Chattisgarh.

Outside these areas, Hindī is widely spoken in cities such as Mumbai, Hyderabad or Kolkatta as well. Furthermore, according to the 1998 survey it is the second most spoken language in the world, with 333 million native speakers, i.e. 40 % of the Indian population.¹ Besides, Hindī is used by another 300 million Indians as their second language and by another 8 million speakers outside of India. Thus this number includes both the countries where Hindī is the common second language, such as Mauritius, Fiji, Trinidad, Guyana or Surinam and the countries, where Hindī is the first language of large Indian communities settled all over the world, such as South Africa, Yemen, Uganda, Northern America, Great Britain, Australia, Germany etc.

Concerning the linguistic point of view, Hindī belongs to a vast family of Indo-European languages, particularly to its Indo-Aryan branch. It is a descendent of Sanskrit, the earliest speech of the Aryan conquerors who settled in the north-west frontiers of India around 2000 BC.

The history of Sanskrit dates more than three thousands years back to the hymns of Rigveda, composed in Vedic Sanskrit. If, on one hand, Sanskrit was codified and served as the language of literature, high ritual and was used mainly passively, then Prakrits ("natural") were used as media of conversation. Subsequently around the 10th century AD Hindī and other Indian languages such as Panjābī, Bengālī, Marāṭhī, etc. developed from these later Prakrits, called Apabhramśa.

1.1.0. Historical division and the development of Hindī

From the historical and chronological point of view, it is very difficult to estimate the periodization of the Hindī language. There are two main reasons. Firstly, the boundaries of these periods are somewhat hazy and not strictly chronological. Secondly and most importantly, the literature was written in various dialects, that are nowadays, all dialects of Hindī. Furthermore, the language called Hindī was until very recently only an artificial public style of what most linguists call Hindustānī.² Nevertheless, for a transparent overview and clearness, I will use a simple division, that divides Hindī into three phases, i.e.

- 1) Old Hindī (1000-1200 AD)
- 2) Medieval Hindī (1200-1800 AD)
- 3) Modern Hindī (after 1800 AD)

¹ <http://www2.ignatus.edu/faculty/turner/languages.htm>

² Singh, R. (1998), *Linguistic Theory, Language contact, and Modern Hindustānī*, /The three sides of a Linguistic Story/, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, page 1.

1.1.1. Old Hindī

The beginning of Old Hindī is not clear since it is intermixed with Apabhramśa and other dialects. Nevertheless after 1000 AD various dialects started to be used in Northern India ,i.e. *Braj*, *Avadhī* and *Maithilī*. (all of them represent dialects of Hindī nowadays³) From the other dialects it was particularly *Khaṛī Bolī* (KhB), a language of the Delhi-Meerut region, also called *Dehlavī*, that was established as a lingua franca between the natives of the area and the Arabs, Afghans, Persians and Turks.

1.1.2. Medieval Hindī

The beginning of the medieval period, especially the 12th and the 13th century is a transitional period not only concerning the linguistic point of view. It is the time of the Turkish Muslims invasions, the time of chaos and destruction, when traditional hinduistic structures were disrupted.

Unlike the old period, where the language was similar to Apabhramśa, we can see some characteristic features of modern Hindī that developed during this middle period.

Since the KhB dialect was hardly cultivated as a written language, the language of literature was at the western extreme medieval *Rājasthānī* and on the other end *Avadhī*. The prime style of literary Hindī from the late 15th century onwards was, however, based on the Western Hindī dialect of *Braj bhāṣā*. The development of braj was encouraged not only by the sacred association with Krishna, but also by the location of the Mughal capital Agra in the Braj area. However, what is interesting from the linguistic point of view is that until the 19th century it was in fact braj and not KhB which was meant by the designation Hindī in the perception of most Hindus.

Another phase and a very influential input for the Hindī language was the beginning of the 16th century, when Persian was established as the lingua franca in Northern India under the Mughal power. Some of the Moghul family members were great patrons of poetry and music. Naturally, a Hindustānī poetry developed during this time. It was based on the Khb dialect, using many words of Arabic and Persian origin and written in Perso-Arabic script. This language called Urdū later replaced Persian as the language of the Moghul court. Thus, two languages, i.e. Hindī and Urdū, with different writings developed – yet the two languages were actually the same when spoken except for their higher vocabularies.

³ Since the area of North India and the Hindī speaking population is very large, it is practically divided into two parts, i.e. western and eastern. These two areas are further divided into various dialects.

- 1) Western Area: a) Paścimī Hindī and its dialect: Khaṛī Bolī, Hariyānī, Braj, Bundelī and Kannaujī
b) Rājasthānī Hindī and its dialects: Mārvaṛī, Jaypurī, Mevātī and Mālvī
c) Pahārī Hindī and its dialects: Garhvālī and Kumāunī
- 2) Eastern Area: a) Pūrvī Hindī and its dialects: Avadhī, Baghelī and Chattīsgarhī
b) Bihārī Hindī and its dialects: Bhojpurī, magahī and Maithilī

Towards the end of the 16th century, there were also other linguistic influences in the shape of the European sea powers, particularly Portuguese whose language was used as a communicative language between local people and the traders. Lastly, in the beginning of the 17th century it was the British and their language that contributed to a great extent to the Hindī lexical stock.

1.1.3. Modern Hindī

In the early 1800's(NOTE), the British chose the Kharī Bolī, i.e. Hindustānī lingua franca as their medium for administration and sponsored the composition of hindustānī prose texts in both the nastaliq and devanāgarī scripts. The Hindī variant of KhB before seldom written, now began to emerge as a literary language. Therefore we can say that modern Hindī and its literary tradition evolved towards the end of the 18th century when Fort William College was established in Calcutta by the British East India Company. Many Indian scholars, who worked there were in charge of writing works in new Indian languages. Furthermore, in the second half of the 19 century, the efforts to promote Hindī started among the Indians of non-muslim origin. Subsequently various societies, such as Nāgarī Pracārinī Sabhá in Benaras (1893), were established in order to improve and edify Hindī (taking advantage of Sanskrit), its grammar and lexicon. The aim of these societies (and the beginning of Sanskritised Hindī as well) was to create a counterbalance and a unifying language against the language of Indian muslims, Urdū. Later on, in the 19th and 20th century Hindī became the national symbol in the fight against the British colonial rule. Many Indian leaders (including M.K.Gandhi), revolutionaries, poets and reformists resorted to Hindī to propagate their ideology.

Hindustānī officially disappeared after 1947, the year of India's independence. Hindī became the official language of India (with English as an associate language) and the symbol of Hindu identity as opposed to Urdū that became the official language of Pakistan and the symbol of muslim identity. Being a paradox, both of these languages, as we have seen, emerged from the same dialect, i.e. KhB, thus have the same origin. The main differences between the two are that Hindī is written in devanāgarī script and draws its lexicon with words from Sanskrit, while Urdū is written in nastaliq script, a variant of the Perso-Arabic script, and draws heavily on Persian and Arabic vocabulary.⁴

However, since the independence the formal register of both Hindī and Urdū have become increasingly divergent in their vocabulary, i.e. standard Urdū uses Perso-Arabic vocabulary, while standard Hindī uses Sanskrit vocabulary. This naturally results in the official languages, i.e. their formal vocabulary being heavily Sanskritized or Persianized, and nearly unintelligible to speakers educated in the other standard.

⁴ Other than these, linguists consider Hindī and Urdū to be the same languages.

1.2.0. Two standard forms of Hindī

Except for a large group of geographical and social dialects, Hindī has two standard forms, i.e. the literary form called *śuddh bhāṣā* (clean language), and the colloquial form called *calit bhāṣā* (common language), also referred to as *Hindustānī*.

The latter form is based on the dialect of Khaṛī Boḷī, which developed from Prakrit languages sometimes between the 8th and 13th century and was used as a lingua franca of the Delhi-Meerut region.⁵ As a matter of fact, it is the same as Urdū, just using devanāgarī script. Thus, this form utilizes a more extensive Persian and Arabic vocabulary and very few Sanskrit loanwords. Today, *Hindustānī* with many Persian, Arabic and English loanwords is the spoken form of the language in much of North India, and is used in every day life as well as in Hindī films, drama and television series. Understandably, this applies to all non-government owned institutions only.

Unlike *Hindustānī* which uses very few Sanskrit loanwords, *śuddh bhāṣā* contains numerous Sanskrit loanwords, including those introduced more recently to enrich the technical and poetic vocabulary or to replace words of Perseo-Arabic and English origin.

Traditionally, since this language was artificially created by Indian pundits and the government, its register is limited to the educated Hindu population of North India and used in government owned television news and newspapers. Subsequently, this form is very remote and many times even unintelligible for ordinary people, creating a diglossia-type situation. Since this matter is a subject of sociolinguistics, it will be discussed later.

1.3.0. Conclusion

We can conclude that Hindī has undergone many changes and stages on its way through the evolution, from the Old Period and various literary forms that are nowadays dialects of Hindī, such as Braj or Avadhī, through the Middle Period and the emergence of the lingua franca of Northern India from the 13th century called KhB, that formed the same foundation for Urdū and Hindustānī, through the Persian influence to the Modern Period and the official recognition of Hindī as the official language of India in 1947.

We have also seen that Hindī was enriched by various cultures and languages, such as Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Urdū and last but not least English, whose influence will be discussed in chapter 2.

Lastly, the fact that Hindī as such has two standard forms, the High variant that is the consequence of the policy after 1947, i.e. the efforts to substitute the Arabic, Persian and English loan words and substitute them by the Sanskrit vocabulary and the Low variant that is the widely-spoken form of Hindustānī. This matter, since it is a subject of sociolinguistics will be thoroughly discussed in the particular chapter.

⁵ Singh, R., (1998), *Linguistic Theory, Language Contact and Modern Hindustānī*, M. Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, page 5.

2.0.0. THE ORIGIN OF HINDĪ LEXICON

Throughout the complex history and contacts with East Asians, Arabs, Persians and Europeans, Hindī has absorbed countless words from many languages, often totally integrating these borrowings into the core vocabulary. The most common loan words came from three different kinds of contacts.

Firstly, from Sanskrit and its two principal categories of *tatsama* and *tadbhava* words, from a special category of vernacular words, i.e. *deśī* and lastly from the languages forced from outside, i.e. *videśī*. The latter group can be further divided into two branches.

Firstly the borrowings from Non-European languages such as Arabic, Turkish, Persian whose words were absorbed and fully integrated into the Hindī lexicon after centuries of invasions from the Middle East and Persia and secondly words from European languages, such as Portuguese, French and most significantly English.

Expressed in numbers, Hindī may have as many as 75 000 separate words, of which 50 000 (67%) are considered *tatsama* (direct reborrowings from Sanskrit), 21 000 (28%) *tadbhava* (native Hindī vocabulary) and the rest *videśī*. The number of *deśī* words in Hindī is very minute.⁶

However, these figures do not take into account the fact that a large proportion of these words are archaic or highly technical, minimizing their actual usage. (This particularly applies to various Sanskrit based calques and neologisms.) The productive vocabulary used in modern literary works, on the contrary, is made up mostly of *tadbhava* words (67%), while *tatsama* words make up only 25% of the total. *Deśī* and *videśī* words make up the remaining 8% of the vocabulary used in modern Hindī literature.⁷

Now, let us briefly examine the influence and contribution of each single lexical group and its contribution to the Hindī lexicon, from the diachronic perspective, i.e. from the oldest influence of Sanskrit to the most recent and extensive one of English. I would also like to mention that since this work is mainly preoccupied with the English influence on Hindī, a thorough and substantial proportion of this chapter will be devoted to the English lexical component and its involvement in Hindī.

2.1.0. Sanskrit

The very first source for the Hindī lexicon is Sanskrit. This language has a unique position because, unlike other languages, it has never been a commonly spoken language.

What more, this “perfect” language of a “divine” origin has always enjoyed a very promoted and elevated status, being closely connected with high culture, prestigious religion naturally functioning as a language of high ritual, scholasticism and elite culture.

Thus when the natural linguistic changes threatened to corrupt and change the sacred Vedic texts, the artificial preservation of the language was needed.

It was Pānini’s grammar (4th century BC) that fixed Old Indo-Aryan in the stage of Classical Sanskrit. The representative group of this stage is the first group of so called *tatsama words*.

⁶ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindi>

⁷ *ibid*

2.1.1. Sanskrit based words – tatsama⁸

The first source for Hindī lexicon can be found in *tatsama* words. These are the words that have been directly borrowed from Sanskrit to enrich the formal and technical vocabulary of Hindī, thus representing the source for so called *śudh Hindī* (Standard Hindī).⁹ *Tatsama* loan words in Hindī are mostly nouns of the nominative singular form in the Sanskrit declension or the uninflected word-stem. For example : *patr* (letter), *rājā* (king), *deva* (god), *putr* (son) etc.

2.1.2. Hindī based words - tadbhava

Unlike *tatsama* words, *tadbhava* words might have been derived from Sanskrit or the Prakrits, but have evolved naturally and also undergone minor or major phonetic and spelling changes as they appear in modern Hindī.¹⁰

For example: *cāval* (rice), *patthar* (stone), *jay* (victory) etc.

2.2. Deśī¹¹

Apart from *tatsama* and *tadbhava* words originating from the Indo-European/Indo Aryan stem, there is another smaller but substantial source for the Hindī lexicon called *deśī*. These are words from vernacular languages such as Dravidian and Munda for which there is no Sanskrit etymon.

They are usually associated with the domestic sphere and the names of artefacts and items they designate. Most *deśī* words belong to the category of nouns.

For example: *khir'kī* (window), *pillā* (puppy), *caruṭ* (cigar), *ṭabbar* (family) etc.¹²

2.3. Videśī

Now, when the internal potential is covered, we have to turn our attention “outwards” to another group of languages that were introduced from outside. This group of languages and another source for borrowing is called *videśī* and starts with Muslim invaders as early as in 11th century and continues all through The Golden Age of the Moghul Empire and the importance of Persian and concludes with European colonization.

⁸ “*Tatsama* loanwords are words borrowed from Sanskrit, or formed on Sanskrit structural models. They can show either minimal phonetic adaptations to Hindī phonological patterns or appreciable adaptation.” McGregor R. S., (1993), *The Oxford Hindi English Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, page Xi.

⁹ “*Loanwords of Sanskrit origin have been used in North Indian vernacular speech and also in vernacular poetry over many centuries. Many became acclimatised in early Hindī dialect poetry, and we may presume these to have been widely known. Their currency in dialect and poetry provided an important typological precedent for the later Sanskrit loanwords and other Sanskrit formations of modern Hindī as was crucial in aiding the assimilation of many of these, both into literary style and formal usage, and also into everyday life.*” Ibid, page viii.

¹⁰ “*Hindī tadbhava words are words which evolved organically from Old Indo-Aryan or Middle Indo-Aryan forms.*” Ibid, page Xi.

¹¹ Originally *deśī* but in Hindī language pronounced and written as *deśī* due to the process of Sanskritisation, ibid, page Xi.

¹² However, except for nouns onomatopoeic verbs can be found as well : *katnā* (to cut), *kaṛ'kānā* (to slam) .

Considering their form, *deśī* words usually resemble *tadbhava* words since they do not contain consonant clusters, so typical of *tatsama* words.

New influences appeared on the North Indian linguistic scene with the arrival of Turks and Iranians in the 11th century.¹³ What is interesting from the language contact point of view is the fact that although the mother tongue of these invaders was some form of Turkish, it was, however Arabised Persian that they brought to India as the cultural and court language.

2.3.1. Arabic component

Nevertheless, we can say that unlike Sanskrit or later Persian, the Arabic influence on Hindī has been more indirect due to a large component of the Arabic lexicon already built into Persian. For example : *kalam* (pen), *kitāb* (book), *madrasa* (school), *sāhib* (mister), *taraf* (side), *imārat* (building).

2.3.2. Turkish component

Furthermore, it is not surprising that some words of Turkish origin were incorporated into the language as well. And that it was a mother tongue of the invaders, only proves the kind of words that were borrowed. The loans are mostly nouns and relate with fighting and warfare.

For example : *cākū* (knife), *top* (artillery), *topcī* (artilleryman), *kurk* (confiscated).¹⁴

From this multi-lingual situation, when Persian, Arabic and Turkish components were assimilated by local languages, a new “lingua franca” emerged in the Delhi-Meerut region in the eleventh century.

It was a mixture of Persian and Old Panjabī called Hindavī or Khaṛī Bolī.¹⁵

Because this language was used by soldiers camping around Delhi during the Moghul consolidation, it was given the name Urdū.¹⁶

2.3.3. Persian

The role of Persian was definitely re-established with the Moghul Empire(1526-1700) when it was declared a language of administration at all levels. It was also due to the uniformity¹⁷ of the Persian language that it was proclaimed the lingua franca and considered an appropriate vehicle for Mughal power. It was particularly the political and material dominance associated with Persian that provided it with legal, educational, political and administrative terms .

¹³ They were lured by the riches of Hindustan and their plundering raids repeated with an increasing tendency, culminating between 1000-1021 AD with Mahmud of Ghazni. Then once again, in the 12th century when Muhammad of Ghorī invaded and captured Delhi (1192), followed by the establishment of the Delhi Sultanat by the Slave dynasty (1200).

¹⁴ Nevertheless there are other loans non-related to fighting such as : *kur tā* (shirt), *kulī* (porter), *san dūk* (box), *ken cī* (scissors), *dībācā* (preface) and very few verbs such as *talās nā* (look for).

¹⁵ A nice and brief metaphor that Singh uses to demonstrate its complex development : “*The Khaṛī Bolī or Hindustānī chicken came from the Prakrit egg. Both its infancy and childhood, not to speak of its youth, were defined by contact with Arabs, Afghans, Persians, and Turks, and it was used as the lingua franca of the Delhi-Meerut region. Amongst the labels originally used for it were Rextī, Hindawī, Hindustānī and Urdū.*” Singh, R., (1998), *Linguistic Theory, Language Contact and Modern Hindustānī*, Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, page 5

¹⁶ Urdū is a Turkish loan meaning a camp, exactly the abbreviation of “Urdū - e u'allā” means “exalted camp”.

¹⁷ Particularly in comparison with *Hindavī*

Furthermore, Persian covered a wide range of registers, i.e. it was a language of poetry, education, military and administration as well as the language of the royal house and high Mughal elite. Understandably, vast areas of lexical borrowings in these areas occurred.

For example: *munṣī* (secretary), *daftar* (office), *muharrir* (clerk), *siyāq* (the department of accountancy), *dīvān* (minister), *darbār* (court), *sar'kār* (sir, government), *maz'dūr* (worker) etc.

We can also find words denoting new artefacts that were before unknown to the original culture such as : *tandūr* (a large earthen oven) or *nān* (a special kind of bread) as well as words describing new concepts or ideas such as *zamīn'dārī* (the system of land ownership) .

2.4. Videśī (European languages)

Among all these influences and language contacts, one more in the shape of European colonial powers emerged as early as in 15th century when a Portuguese Vasco da Gama discovered the sea route to India (1498).

2.4.1. Portuguese

As soon as the Portuguese settled down in India, they realized the necessity for schools, where locals would be taught reading, writing and above all the principles of the Catholic faith since Christianity, as well as Islam before, was a missionary religion.

Not surprisingly, the first Portuguese loans¹⁸ into Hindī can thus be found within this sphere.

For example : *christão* > *kriscan* (Christian), *egreja* > *girjā* (church) or *padre* > *pādrī* (pater).

Furthermore Portuguese was not only a means of communion with local people but also the "lingua franca" of all commercial and particularly naval intercourse as well.¹⁹

Naturally, among first loans there was a group of words connected with the nautical terminology such as : *barco* > *bajra* (boat), *capitão* > *kaptan* (captain), *ecsada* > *skat* (ratlines).

Also new loan words connected with water such as *botelha* > *boṭul / boṭal* (bottle), *canstra* > *kaṇiṣṭar* (canister) or military terms such as *campo* > *kamp* (camp) or *pistola* > *piṣṭaul* (gun) can be found.

Another group of loans can be seen in terms for new "objects" and things of every day use such as : *quarto* > *kaṃ'rā* (room) , *chave* > *cābī* (key) , *armario* > *al'mārī* (wardrobe), *mesa* > *mez* (table), *alfinete* > *alpin* (pin), *balde* > *bāl'ṭī* (bucket), *camisa* > *kaṃīz* (shirt), or *sabão* > *sāpū* (soap) etc.

¹⁸ Portuguese as well as all other loans are, of course, not found in the native tongue purity but in their "corrupted" form since they were adapted by the Indian speakers according to their language and phonological rules.

¹⁹ It was only natural that this process resulted in a "two-way" trade in languages.

Portuguese did not only introduce their words to the lexicon of Indian languages but also transmitted many Arabic, Persian, and other words from various Indian languages to the European languages. From this point of view it is worth mentioning that nearly all the Malayalam words which were absorbed into English have distinct traces of having passed through Portuguese. Compare Yule H. and Burnell C.A., (1996), *Hobson Jobson*, Cumberland House, London, page XiX: "Words of native origin which bear the mark of having come to us through the Portuguese such as palanquin, mandarin, monsoon, typhoon, mango, jack fruit, curry, chop, catamaran, betel, areca....etc."

Lastly, there is a wide range of new loans, terms for plants that were brought and newly introduced in India by the Portuguese such as terms for plants, i.e. *ananas* > *ananas* (pineapple), *cintra* > *santrā* (tangerine) or *tabaco* > *tambāku* (tobacco) or new materials such as *espāda* > *is'pāt* (steel)

2.4.2. Other European languages

Except for Portuguese and British, there were also other European powers in India. Namely, in succession, Dutch (1602), Danes (1616) and last but not least French (1644).

Nevertheless the impact of these languages on Hindī has been very minute and cannot be compared with that of Portuguese or particularly the English one.

Most numerous group from these languages represent loan words from French such as : *cartouse* > *kar'tūz* (cartridge), *coupon* > *kūpan* (coupon) or *café* > *kāfī* (coffee).

2.5.0. English loan words (monolexical naming units)

The history of English in India begins on December 31st 1600 when the East India Company (EIC) was granted an English Royal Charter to trade in the East Indies, as the subcontinent was then referred to. However, the British merchants did not assume political power on the Indian subcontinent immediately after their arrival but remained merchants for almost a century and half.

The EIC, which was based in London, received a royal dictate from the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, exempting the IEC from the payment of custom duties in Bengal. Understandably, under such substantial patronage the IEC obtained a considerable commercial advantage in trade that resulted into the eclipse of the Portuguese and establishing a few factories in Surat (1612), Madras (1640), Bombay (1674) and Calcutta (1690).²⁰,

Furthermore, the decisive British victory over the Mughals at the Battle of Plassey in 1757 can be considered a major turning point for the following reasons. Not only did this victory establish the IEC as a military as well as a commercial power but this is also the crucial point when English words started to be borrowed massively. As we will see further on, this is the exact point when English words covering various semantic fields started to be loaned.

In order to delineate a brief overview of E loans in Hindī, I have decided to divide the span of more than 400 years of the complex history of the English language in India into five phases. Each of them is further divided according to their landmarks in Indian history and naturally the groups of the English words that were borrowed during the certain period.

²⁰ Chennai, the capital of Tamil Nadu; Mumbai, the capital of Maharashtra; Kolkatta, the capital of West Bengal

These five phases of English and a stock of the English loan words in Hindī are arranged from the chronological point of view and are as follows:²¹

1. The Pre- transportation Phase (1600-1813)
2. The Transportation Phase (1813 – 1857)
3. The Dissemination Phase (1857 – 1904)
4. The Institutionalization Phase (1904 – 1947)
5. The Globalization Phase (until nowadays)

2.5.1.0. The pre-transportation phase (1600-1813)

This phase starts with the establishment of the IEC. Thus naturally the first loan words were in the sphere of the IEC, particularly its administrative terminology.

Furthermore this was a power struggle period to secure the supremacy of Christendom in India, resulting in the arrival of many missionaries in India, who in turn established various schools and institutions (i.e. many words from this area began to be loaned into Hindī).

And lastly, the British victory over Siraj Ud Daulah, the last independent Nawab of Bengal, in the Battle of Plassey (1757) represented the major turning point not only for the British military and commercial power in India but also for the massive borrowing of the English words into Hindī.

2.5.1.1. Administrative terminology concerning the IEC

Among the first loans from this phase are the E words for various administrative terms and positions who worked for the IEC.

For example :

kampanī (company), *kālekṭar* (collector), *lāṭ* (lord), *puḷīs* (policeman), *in 'spek 'ṭar* (inspector), *gavarṇav* (governor), *kar 'nal* (colonel), *ejeṅṭ* (agent), *estaṅṭ* (assistant), *ekṭ* (act), *berar* (bearer), *kilārḱ* (clerk), *tejurī* (treasurer) etc.

2.5.1.2. Missionary activities, evangelisation and education

The British felt the same urge as the Portuguese before to instill their faith to the Indians. Due to evangelization it was necessary to introduce English. In this part, missionaries played a substantial part in this process of education and schools for non-Christian children.

It was, though, only after the battle of Plassey that educational centres were started and Christian missionaries were allowed to spread Western knowledge, i.e. English as a means to educate, uplift, civilize and last but not least Christianize the Indians. Naturally, new English loans from this area occurred.

For example :

iskūḷ (school)²², *ṭicar* (teacher), *hedmāṣṭar* (headmaster), *istūḍant* (student), *klās* (class).

²¹ For a good arrangement, I am using the same division as used in the book Krishnaswami, N. (2004), *The Politics of Indians' English*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, page 79.

2.5.1.3. Military terms

As English power increased, so did the demand for the military. Thus English military terms had to be introduced for the Indians who worked as soldiers for the British.

For example:

ār'mi (army), *sol'jar* (soldier), *korps* (corps), *ray'fal* (rifle), *gan* (gun), *ganpoḍar* (gunpowder), *renk* (rank), *jeneral āf'sar* (general officer), *ār'dar* (order), *fāyar* (fire) etc.

2.5.2.0. The transportation phase (1813 – 1857)

In 1813 the East India Company's Charter for trade for the subcontinent was renewed. This was a period of expansion and consolidation when English was firmly consolidated as the language of bureaucracy and higher education. The turning point of this phase was in 1835.

2.5.2.1. Juridical and legal terms

The English loans from the judicial and legal areas occurred as well when the Higher and Lower Court of Judicature was established as early as 1676. It was nevertheless after 1835, when the link between British education and bureaucracy was well established, that most of the English words from this area were borrowed. It is interesting, though, that meanwhile higher courts were in English, lower courts kept their Persian terms.

For example:

kārt (court), *lo* (law), *jaj* (judge), *jāry* (jury), *viṭ'nes* (witness), *kes* (case), *rikāt* (record) etc.

2.5.2.2. Education

The infiltration and wider usage of the English loans started in 1835 when Lord Maculay introduced the English language into Indian education.

Furthermore English was made the official language of education in 1837, followed by the establishment of three universities in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. It was during this period that English loanwords and the English education got well established, mostly in urban areas.

For example :

kālīj (college), *bor'ding skūl* (boarding school), *ese* (essay), *sab'jikt* (subject), *ikzem* (exam).

2.5.2.3. Newspapers

The spread of English education in urban areas is very clearly reflected in the number of newspapers started during this period such as Times of India, Bombay (1838), Calcutta Review (1844), Guardian, Madras (1851). Generally, the English press in India has a long history dating back to 29th January 1780, when the first English newspaper, the Bengal Gazette was published.²³ Until recently, this media was fully dependent on English.

²² i.e. meaning the western way of education as opposed to traditional Indian schools, such as Persian *mak'taba* or Sanskrit *pāth'sālā*.

²³ Kachru, Braj B.(2005), *Asian Englishes Beyond The Canon*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, page 57

This situation, however, changed radically after 1947 when many newspapers were started in local languages, including Hindī. Nevertheless, many English loan words from this area were borrowed and remained in widespread use. Last but not least the first Hindī newspaper *Udant Martanda* was published in Calcutta in 1826.

For example:

nyūspear (newspaper), *ṭāims* (times), *pres* (press), *ḍeli* (daily), *vīk'li* (weekly), *kar'ṭūn* (cartoon), *jūr'neliṣṭ* (journalist), *kālam'niṣṭ* (columnist), *kar'ṭūn* (cartoon), *ed* (advertisement), *riv'jū* (review).

2.5.2.4. Railways

Another area for the E loans occurred, when one of the largest and busiest railroad networks in the world was introduced in 1853.

For example:

rel (rail), *relve ṣṭeśan* (railway station), *tren* (train), *ṭikat* (ticke), *penṭri* (pantry compartment), *brek* (emergency break), *ṭikat box* (ticket box), *enjan* (engine) etc.

Even nowadays, when we examine the basic terminology concerning railways in Hindī, the E influence and loans are more than apparent. These word were either borrowed from English or were artificially created from Sanskrit, i.e. neologisms, loan translations or calques.

Compare: (the E component/loan word is underlined)

Ādhikṛt rel *sevā* (rail service)

pradhān ṭikaṭ *sangrāhak* (head ticket collector)

ṣṭeśan *prabandhak* (station manager)

mukhy buking *paryabekṣak* (chief booking supervisor)

suparvāy *jar* (supervisor)

ārakṣaṇ cārṭ (reservation charts)

kampyūṭarīkṛt *ārakṣaṇ kendr* (computerised reservation centre).

2.5.3.0. The dissemination phase (1857 – 1904)

In this phase the interdependence between the English education and bureaucracy got consolidated even stronger. It was also in this period that English became the language of the government. Nevertheless, one of the most important event was the introduction of telegraphic communication and postal services.

2.5.3.1. Telegraphic communication and postal services

The introduction of telegraphs and postal services (1869) represented a new source for the E loans in Hindī.

For example:

poṣṭ āfis (post office), *post māṣṭar* (post master), *ṣṭemp* (stamp), *kaunṭar* (counter), *ṭelegraf* (telegraph), *envelop* (envelope), *caḍ* (card), *rejīs'ṭaraḍ mel* (registered mail), *āfis baks* (office box) etc.

Just for a comparison how much English influenced and contributed to the Hindī postal terminology, I have attached below a current notice from an Indian post office, (here again all the E loans are underlined)

1. ḱṛpayā, khule paise dē (please give us change, i.e. the exact money)

2. ḱṛpayā lāīn sī hī kāry karāyē (please, stand in line when waiting)

3. kāuntar chor'ne se pahle apnā len den jānc lē (Check your money before you leave the counter)

2.5.4.0. The institutionalization phase (1904 – 1947)

This phase starts when the Indian University Act was passed, which gave the British government a tighter control over colleges and ends with India's Independence in 1947. Furthermore it was a phase when many institutions and political parties were established and developed, such as the Bank of India or the Indian Kongress (already established in 1885). Furthermore, it was a time between the two world wars, full of intertwined attitudes towards English and the usage of English loans, finally culminating after 1947 when various government offices were established to work on the re-creation of terminology in various fields that could be changed for the already existing E equivalents. It was also in this phase that Indian writing in English, such as prose, fiction, poetry was well established.

And lastly it is the whole 20th century that is known as the century of technology.

2.5.4.1. Bank and finances

A new area for the E loans occurred when the Bank of India was founded with a Head office in Mumbai in 1906.

For example:

benk (bank), *noṭ* (note), *ekaunṭ* (account), *lon* (loan), *keś* (cash), *cek* (cheque), *kredīṭ* (credit).

2.5.4.2. Technology, science and medicine

Nevertheless, the largest areas for the E loans arose in the field of technology, science and medicine. Terms from all these three fields came from "West", bore English names and most importantly in all these areas English words were necessary as a part of modernisation, progress, commerce and last but not least industry where (by 1940) India had three major areas: steel, cotton and sugar.

Many different words ranging from radio, television, car, radioactivity to medical terms such as penicillin and antibiotics, insulin or chemotherapy were borrowed into Hindī during this phase.

For example: (in succession as mentioned above, i.e. technology, science and medicine)

reḍiyo (radio), *ṭelevijan* (television), *broḍkāṣṭing* (broadcasting), *kār fak'ṭarī* (car factory), *balb* (bulb), *penisilin* (penicillin), *entāy bāyaṭiks* (antibiotics), *insyulin* (insulin), *kemaṭerapi* (chemotherapy), *eniṣṭetik* (*anaesthetic*), *sirinj* (syringe), *sār'jan* (surgeon) etc.

2.5.5.0. The Globalization phase (until nowadays)

*"Enjoy it because I'm lovin' it"*²⁴

Unlike in the four phases mentioned above, when English was the language of the state and its "apparatus" and when there was a big gap between the court and the people, between the rulers and the ruled and particularly the rural areas that stayed more or less intact by English or the English loan words, then this situation changed completely during the Globalisation phase, especially over the last 20 years. The world started shrinking and became a global village in terms of communication. There was no need for the former British military or political power anymore (in order to borrow new words). Recently colonialisms has appeared in different forms, such as "McDonaldization", "Coca colonization" and the IT technology boom. The English language became the language of computers and above all the internet, mail, telexes, cables etc. Furthermore in the Indian electronic media, many programmes like soap operas, talk shows and quiz context are modelled on English programmes, i.e. the occurrence of E loans is even more frequent than before.

Presently, lexical items borrowed from English could be found in every domain. There is, nonetheless a register of words which are extensively loaned. Along with various countries all over the world, India is not an exception and gradually more and more English words penetrate into the every day language due to the process of globalization. The increase is particularly apparent over the last fifty years in the following semantic areas:

2.5.5.1. Politics

Many new terms from politics appeared in Hindī due to the British political system, i.e. a system of political parties that was before unknown to the original political structures.

For example:

kāngres (the main political party in India), *voṭ* (vote) *līḍar* (leader) etc.

2.5.5.2. Sports

Many terms denoting various sports and activities were borrowed from English.

For example:

krikeṭ (cricket), *bet* (bat) *hāki* (hockey), *fuṭbāl* (football), *ceṃpion śīp* (championship), *ṭenis* (tennis), *eṭhletik* (athletic), *jevelin* (javelin), *jim* (gym), *masal būṣṭar* (muscle booster).

2.5.5.3. Fashion

Like everywhere else in the world, the terminology concerning fashion and trends has been borrowed from English to a great extent as well.

For example:

jīns (jeans), *mini* (mini skirt), *smāṛṭ* (smart), *bhīcing krīm* (bleaching cream), *parfyūm* (perfume).

²⁴ This is a hint about the two phenomena that are "visible" all over in India. The first one, i.e. Enjoy, always – is a motto of the Coca Cola company, the latter, i.e. I'm lovin' it – is a motto of the fast food restaurants McDonald's.

2.5.5.4. Television, radio, commercial breakes and advertisements

English, like everywhere else in the world, is the language of advertising. Thus many new words were also borrowed in this sphere.

For example:

komersāl ceṇāl (commercial channel), *brek* (break), *īvning nyūs* (evening news),
ṭālkśo (talk show).

Examples of advertisements, using E loan words :

śāping māḷ Viśāl, āp kā cos (shopping mall Viśāl, your choice)

bīs rupaye mē kyā mil 'tā hai? Mek danāḍ kūl hai. bīs rupaye mē ful dhamā! speśal mek ālū.

(McDonald advertisement in Delhi : What can you get these days for twenty rupees? McDonald is cool. You will get a full portion! Special Mcpotatotes.)

2.5.5.5. Science and Technologies

“More than a thousand words are used in every Indian language as though they are words native to them, particularly in areas where modern technologie matters most. Even in rural areas words like bulb, switch, motor, car, lorry, bus, train, pump, are used by people as part of their mother tongue.”²⁵

With globalization and the IT boom, call centres and modern technologies in Indian cities and urban centres, E words are the main source. The E language has become a part of the IT revolution with the E vocabulary on the increase. These words are becoming commonplace to the Indian languages as well.

For example:

āpareṭar (operator), *roming* (roaming), *fex* (fax), *es īṭ dī*, (STD, i.e. standard trunk dialing),
āy es dī (ISD, i.e. international subscriber dialling), *sel foṇ* (cell phone)²⁶, *inṭerneṭ* (internet),
īmel (email), *ceṭ* (chat), *veb kamerā* (web camera), *kebl* (cable), *jū es bī* (usb) etc.

2.5.5.6. Colloquial language and slang expressions

Certain English words are used in H colloquial style for their neutral tone. This apply to many words from different registers. Nevertheless four main categories can be observed.

2.5.5.6.1. Words decribing people in relationships

For example the E loan word *freṇḍ* (friend) is preferred to H *mitr* (boy friend) and *sahelī* (girl friend). for it neatly circumvents the gender-specific connotation.

²⁵ Krishnaswami, N. (2006), *The Story of English in India*, Foundations Books, New Delhi, page 70.

²⁶ All these words are becoming basic and essential to Indian languages, especially in Indian cities. Funny as it may seem, though, ordinary people do not even realize what is the origin and real meaning of these words. That way a *sel foṇ* (cell phone) could quite possibly be a *sel foṇ* (sale phone).

Furthermore the word *femilī* (family) rather than H *parivār* is used, especially if the family is nuclear rather than an extended one.

Lastly, the E *viḍo* (widow) is preferred to H *vidvā* for the E word decreases the strongly negative connotation of the H original word.

2.5.5.6.2. Words describing relationships, love life and sex

The same, i.e. the preference of E loans, applies to words such E *divors* (divorce) as opposed to H *vivāh-vicched*, E *divārst* (divorced) instead of H *talāksudā*, E *interkos* (sexual intercourse) instead of H *maithun*, E *seksi* (sexy) as opposed to H *kāmuk* etc.

2.5.5.6.3. Nicknames

Another illustrative example of the colloquial use of E loans and of Indian fondness for things reminding Western culture and style at the same time is the use of nicknames. This trend can be observed in connection with the IT boom and the use of internet chatrooms, particularly in bigger cities such as Delhi, Bombay or Jaipur. Thus it is common that a Hindu boy named for instance Abhimanyu will be universally known as *bābī* (Bobby) or *sānī* (Sonny). Similarly a girl named Priya can be universally known as *jen* (Jane).

2.5.5.6.4. Swear-words

Another group of E loans create various swear words that are particularly popular with young urban people from the upper classes.

For example:

ḍāīm / ḍāīm (damn) → *ḍāīm! mujh 'ko patā thā* (Damn. I knew it)

blaḍī (bloody) → *blaḍī rames!* (Bloody Rames!)

bāstard/bastārd (bastard) → *yū bastārd! māī ne tum ko bahut paise de diyā lekin tum ne mujhe vāpas nahī de diyā!* (You bastard! I gave you a lot of money but you did not give it back to me)

Nevertheless even really vulgar swear words can be heard. For example:

śīt (shit) → *śīt. māī ne us kā barthde bhul gayā* (Shit. I have forgotten about his birthday)

fak (fuck) → *māī ne tum ko kahā fak yū! matlab you did not understand me?* (Fuck you, I told you. I mean you did not understand me?)

Furthermore, swear words are often used in code-mixing and code-switching, usually followed by another sentence which is in English, as in the example above)

2.5.5.6.5. Expressions of approval

Lastly, there are also a few words that have filtered through all levels of education and social classes, such as an affirmative answer to a question *yas* (yes) and a term of agreement *oke* (O.K.).²⁷

For example :

āp ise cāh te hai? Yas, pakkī bāt hai. (“Do you want it? Yes, sure.” / literally. “Yes, ripe / sure thing is”) *oke, kal milēge.* (O.K. See you tomorrow)

2.5.6. Special groups of English loans

Among all these various types of loans mentioned above, we can also distinguish two special groups of E loans, i.e. in terms of whether or not they are still in use and whether or not they have ever belonged to the English register.

2.5.6.1. Obsolete English loan words

The first group consists of E loans in Hindī that also exist in the English language but are no more in use by speakers of standard English. Thus we can call this group obsolete or archaic words loan words in Hindī. Among these words, we can find examples, such as *ebod* (abode) or *bembūzal* (bamboozle).²⁸

2.5.6.2. English loans that are not a part of the English register

The second group of E loans are the words that have never formed a register of the English language. Since English has been present in India for more than 400 years, naturally when coming in contact and interacting with Indian languages, this process resulted in various forms of semantic shifts and above all the formation of new words based on E words.

E.g. *ḍabal roḍī* (i.e. sandwich, E double + H *roḍī*) or *hāf-peñṭ* (i.e. shorts, E half + E pants)

²⁷ However, unlike the English word O.K. that can be used as different parts of speech and can have various meanings, in Hindī it is mostly used either as an interjection or an adjective.

Compare the difference of meaning between English and Hindī usage of O.K. :

ENGLISH	HINDĪ
We will need his O.K. on this idea. (noun)	X
He was ill yesterday but he is O.K. now. (adjective)	vah bīmār thā lekin abhī thik / oke hai.
I am sure he will O.K. your proposal. (verb)	X
The TV is working O.K. now. (adverb)	X
You will do this now, won't you? – O.K. (interjection)	Tum is'ko karoge, na? – oke.

²⁸ “I had come to India before, in the north, for five months. On that first trip I had come to the subcontinent completely unprepared. Actually, I had a preparation of one word. When I told a friend who knew the country well of my travel plans, he said casually, “They speak a funny English in India. They like words like *bamboozle*.” I remembered his words as my plane started in descent toward Delhi, so the word *bamboozle* was my one preparation for the rich, noisy, functioning madness of India. I used the word on occasion, and truth to be told, it served me well. To a clerk at a train station I said, “I didn't think the fare would be so expensive. You're not trying to bamboozle me, are you?” He smiled and chanted, “No sir! There's no bamboozlement here. I have quoted you the correct fare.” Martel, Y., (2002), *Life of Pi*, Penguin Books India, page VIII.

2.5.7. Loan words representing new objects

There are also linguistic borrowings from E representing new objects, i.e. words, previously unknown to Indians that were infiltrated into H with the western way of life.

For example: *gilās* (a tumbler, a glass), *tebul* (table), *spirīṭ gilās* (spirit glass) etc.

Furthemore, there are also E words representing new inventions. Naturally, since all these inventions came from "West", they were likely to maintain the same form in Hindī, unless special efforts to create neologisms and calques were made. (see 2.7.2. and 2.7.4.)

For example: *redīyo* (radio), *televijan* (television), *kampjuṭar* (computer), *teḷifon* (telephone) etc.

2.5.8. The existence of two words of different origin and the Use of English loans

Considering the many sources for the H lexicon, there are, naturally, many words of the same meaning but different origin at the same time. Nevertheless, with the growing dominance of English, the loans of Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic origin started to give their way to their English equivalents. Both forms can be used, there is however a trend towards the E forms.

Thus *cikit'sālay* is replaced for *aspatāl / haspaṭāl* (hospital), *niyam* for *rūl* (rule), *adālat* for *koṭ* (court), *dāk ghar* for *pāst āfis* (post office), *madrāsā* for *iskūl* (school) or *roz'gār* for *bij'nis* (business).

However, in some rare cases there is still preference for the H word (usually of Sanskrit origin) to the E one, such as the S *upanyās* rather than the E *nāval* or S *vyākaraṇ* rather than the E *graimar*.

2.6.0. Semantics – Shift of meaning in E loan words in Hindī

English words when borrowed into H are most likely to undergo various semantic changes.²⁹

It is natural that in a changed environment the meaning of a word related to a different environment may change, i.e. the meaning of a loan word may be altered, restricted, extended, degraded etc.

Furthermore, the semantic changes are varied and can be conditioned by various factors such as political, economical, social or cultural conditions.

2.6.1. Narrowing of meaning

Narrowing along with extension of the original meaning is the most common feature of semantic changes in any language. The narrowing of an E loan word is due to its constant use in a fixed context and in order to serve a specific purpose in a specific context of India. This way, E loan words possessing various meanings in its original form, denotes only one particular object, usually made of this stuff, in Hindī. For example the word “glass” has a fuller connotation than in Hindī where it only denotes one particular object.

Compare:

E glass (various meanings) → H *gilās* (a tumbler)³⁰

E collector (one who collects) → H *kalektar* (a revenue officer in district administration)

E congress (assembly of men) → H *kāngres* (a political party in India)

2.6.2. Extension of meaning

Some of the E loans have also undergone the process of extension, i.e. except for the original meaning of the E word they retain, they also mean something else.

For example :

E ticket (a token showing fare or admission fee has been paid) → H *ṭikat* (also a postal stamp)

2.6.3. Alteration of meaning

We can also find examples of alteration of the original E meaning such as :

E hotel (a place to stay overnight) → H *hoṭal* (only a place to eat, restaurant).

E copy (a copied piece of paper) → H *kāpī* (an exercise book).

2.6.4. Deterioration of meaning

Another aspect of the semantic change is that the meaning of a word assumes two directions, i.e. melioration and deterioration. This means that in a changed environment the meaning of a word is either elevated or degenerated from its original meaning. In the latter case, degeneration is usually caused by wrong association or ironic use of the word concerned.

²⁹ Understandably, it does not apply to new coinages or terms from English in the field of technology and various inventions, where the semantic shift is not possible for the word denominates one particular word. E.g. *reḍiyo* (radio)

³⁰ Similarly Persian word *šīš* (glass) has a wide connotation in its original language but once borrowed into Hindī means only one particular object, i.e. a mirror.

For example the word *lanḍan* (i.e. London, the capital of the United Kingdom) has undergone meaning deterioration owing both to nationalistic prejudices and the ironic similarity with the slang word *lanḍ* (penis) .

2.7.0. Syntagmatics and collocations (polylexical naming units)

Except for the monolexical naming units, some E polylexical naming units were borrowed into Hindī as well. Nonetheless, they represent a smaller group and also do not undergo various semantic changes since they are already fixed phrases denoting a particular meaning.

Polylexical naming units can be divided into three categories, i.e. polylexical naming units loaned, calques and hybrid formations.

2.7.1. Polylexical loans

Polylexical E loans are not a numerous group, nevertheless they occur.

For example:

ḍensing hāl (dancing hall), *veṭing rūm* (waiting room), *ḍrinking vāṭar* (drinking water) ,
rīyal eṣṭeṭ (real estate), *śāping seṇṭar* (shopping center), *ṭreval ejensi* (travel agency) etc.

2.7.2. Calques ³¹

A calque is a loan translation, in which the various components are separated from one language into another.³² To put it exactly in my context, calques will be those Hindī words and phrases that have been directly created by a literal translation.

Calques in Hindī are coined from Sanskrit words and roots to designate new terms, concepts and items from different fields such as science, technology, politics, medicine etc. From these words and roots, it is particularly a group of Sanskrit based tatsama words that are very important for calque creation and consequently find their fulfilment in so called *śuddh* (pure) *Hindī* and its effort to compete with and create a “counter balance “ to the well established English loan words in Hindī, especially concerning the lexical areas mentioned above.

Let me demonstrate a calque on a word from every day use. It is a Hindī word *dūrdarśan*, meaning a television. The word (a calque compound) *dūrdarśan* was created on exactly the same pattern as E television.

³¹ The word calque comes from the French word calquer (to copy) and a loan translation is a calque from German Lehnübersetzung. So is its proper name in Hindī *udhār anuvād* since *udhār* is a Sanskrit word meaning “loan” and *anuvād* meaning “translation.”

Furthermore the difference between a calque and a loan translation is that a loan translation is left and used in the original language – i.e. English loan *televijan* (television) as opposed to a calque that is translated into Hindī such as *dūrdarśan*.

³² Snell, R., (1988), *Hindī and Urdū since 1800*, Heritage Publishers, New Delhi, page 221

Compare :

E television ⇨ Greek *tele* (distant) + Latin derived *vision*

thus

H *dūrdarśan* ⇨ Sanskrit *dūr* (distant) + *darśan* (vision)

We could find many more examples like this. Compare :

E telephone ⇨ Greek *tele* (distant) + Latin derived *phono*s

thus

H *dūrbhāṣ* ⇨ Sanskrit *dūr* (distant) + *bhāṣ* (speech) ³³

The main question that naturally arises is why should new Hindī terminology be created and coined when there already are words delineating and denominating the same object in English?

The reason why Hindī is trying to find and convey new items is closely related to the post-independence language policy in India and the urge and effort to reinforce *śuddh Hindī* and consequently avoid the use of Persian and particularly English words; to show and prove that Hindī is an equipollent obverse to English.³⁴

This policy of substituting English terminology with Hindī words, based on Sanskrit terminology, can be particularly observed in these areas :

2.7.2.1. Science, technology and medicine

dūr sancār (telecommunication) *dūr niyantraṇ* (remote control) *dūr darśak* (telescope)

dūr lekḥ (telegram), *pragati* (progress), *parivahan* (transport)

sūkṣm darśak yantr (microscope), *sūkṣmjīv* (microbe), *praṇvāyu* (oxygen)

2.7.2.2. Politics and ideologies

pūñjivād (capitalism), *sāmyavād* / *samājvād* (communism) and even an adjective calque formation

such as *samājvādī pārtī* (communist party, which is a calque and a hybrid formation at the same time)

2.7.2.3. Education, literature and culture

abhyās (exercise), *ā mukḥ* (preface), *paristhiti* (circumstance), *tīkḥ vyaṅgy* (sharp satire),

lokgīt (folk song), *mūkhy nagar* (metropolis) etc.

³³ As one can notice, these calques take advantage of the fact that both Sanskrit and English are Indo-European languages and that the process of "calquesation" is based and simplified by the analogy between Sanskrit and Latin derived English words.

³⁴ This stems from the controversial attitude towards the legacy of English and the English language in India. It can be particularly traced in the post-independence policy whose goal was to initiate the withdrawal of English, and efforts to replace it by *śuddh Hindī*. But as Braj Kachru (2005) aptly points out, the situation after India's independence is rather in favour of English than *śudh Hindī*. "However, the reality of use is different. The actual picture is one of ever greater social penetration of English. The functional domains in which English is used have actually expanded rather than shrunk." Kachru, Braj B.(2005), *Asian Englishes Beyond The Canon*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, page 62.

From the morphological point of view, there is also a frequent and wide use of both Sanskrit and sometimes Persian affixes during the process of calquesation.

Compare :

Sanskrit prefix : a hindī bhāṣī (non Hindī speaking) Sanskrit suffix : prākr̥tik (natural)

Persian prefix : berozgār (unemployed) Persian suffix : ilāqāī (local)

2.7.2.4. Calques created by inappropriate translations

Furthermore we can also find examples of calques where the literal translations seem to be inappropriate and look rather odd and comical.

For example:

jantā sevā (public service)

bas sevā (bus service)

adhīkr̥t rel sevā ejent (authorised, official railway service)

In these examples the Sanskrit word *sevā*³⁵ means a care of a person or an animal, a service for church, an offer of servitude, worship thus is not an appropriate expression since the word *sevā* connotes with and conveys the process of “offering” rather than the “provision of transport” which is the genuine meaning of the word service.

Other illustrative example where the literal translation is inappropriate would be *sajjan kī sāikil*, literary meaning the bicycle of a gentleman as opposed to its original meaning “gent’s bicycle.”³⁶

2.7.3. Communicative phrases

We can also find a slightly different group of loan translations, i.e. words which already exist in Hindī (usually of Sanskrit or Persian origin) but whose usage is determined by English conventions. I have particularly in mind the use of various greetings, formalities, collocations and idioms which were directly transferred into Hindī from English and which are associated with British culture. (i.e. “the noble, rich and preferential culture” as seen by the majority of Indians). The Indian person using these expressions wants to show a) that s/he is acquainted with the British culture and its conventions (i.e. has higher education) and b) to show his/her status at the same time.³⁷ These phrases could be divided into four categories depending on the semantic field and register they cover.

³⁵ McGregor R.S. (2003), *The Oxford Hindī- English Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, page 1039

³⁶ Snell, R., (1988), *Hindī and Urdū since 1800*, Heritage Publishers, New Delhi, page 93

³⁷ I have not found any extensive research on this topic, nevertheless it would be (from the socio-linguistic point of view) interesting to observe how the usage of such collocations, greeting etc. is determined by the economical status and wealth of the Indian speaker and also if, how and to what extent the usage changes with the presence of a “white person.” I encountered this feature many times in India, when I visited my gym at a five star hotel Clarks Shiraz in Agra. There were some Indian men, who after seeing me, started their conversation such as : “*Suprabhāt, sar. Ap kaise hāī?*” (Good morning sir. How do you do?) These loan translation and their usage in upper classes are in a sharp contrast with the language of ordinary Indian people, especially in villages where they usually greet each other as *he rām, rām! or namo śivāya!*

2.7.3.1. Greetings, common phrases and formalities

One of the most numerous groups are greetings that are literally translated from English into Hindī such as : ³⁸

suprabhāt (good morning) or *śubh rātri* (good night)

dhanyavād (thank you)

āp kaise hai? (How are you?)

2.7.3.2. Letter writing phrases

Other examples of such loan translations can be seen in letter writing, its compellation and structure conditioned by E conventions.³⁹ Compare:

priy (dear)

śrī / śrīmatī (Mr/ Mrs)

āpkā / āpkī (Yours masculine / feminine)

merā nivedan hai (I submit)

kṛpayā, śīghr uttar dē (please reply soon)

vinīt / ājñākārī (yours sincerely /faithfully m/f)

punaśca (post scriptum / P.S.)

2.7.3.3. Newspapers

Newspapers are one of the most important medium that was started and initially published in English and which, in vernacular languages, has been to a greater extent influenced by the English journalistic standards. Therefore we can read as follows : *Dainik jāgaraṇ*, 27.3.2006, page 2, commenting on the visit of George W. Bush in Delhi and taking all the necessary safety precautions.

.....*savāl uṭhā hai ki amerikā ke rāṣṭrpati jārij buś dillī aur hoṭal maury bhī surakṣit ho.....*

(The question arises if the American president G. Bush is safe in Delhi as well as in his hotel Maury)

In this phrase the H *savāl uṭhā hai* is a clear calque of the E phrase The question arises.

³⁸ Besides these common greetings, I have also heard Hindī native speakers, especially from middle and upper classes, saying *āp svāgat hai* (you are welcome) when e.g. I was asking them a question or to do me a favour. The same loan translation can often be seen on different boards, such as for instance this inscriptions from Agra's railway station :

āgrā āgaman par āpkā hārdik svāgat kar tā hai (literally meaning : arriving in Agra be welcome)

Quite similarly (although I have encountered this phrase only oral wise) it would be the situation with another phrase : *Main āp ke lie kyā kar saktā hū?* (What can I do for you?) which I was asked on entering a sports shop Reebok in Jaipur, Rajasthan. Nevertheless it is true that I mostly heard these phrases only in bigger cities likes Jaipur or Delhi, especially in western shops and department stores, which may be a part of the management's policy.

³⁹ In terms of the abbreviations of names it is interesting to notice that over the last fifty years the name and surname's initials have been modified according to the English alphabet (i.e. the pronunciation of the first letter of the name) instead of its Hindī equivalent and the first syllable. Compare : *Mohandas Karamchand Gāndhī*, abbreviatd as *Mo. Ka. Gāndhī* based on Hindī alphabet as opposed to e.g. : *Sandīp Patel Gupta* abbreviated as *Es.Pi.Gupta* based on the E alphabet.

2.7.3.4. Public notices, slogans and advertisements

Another area where these English conventions are applied are various public notices, advertisements, slogans and proclamations.

Compare for instance :

a) A notice from the Indira Gandhi library in Delhi:

Kāryālay parisar mē dhūmrpān, tambākū, guṭ'kā ādi kā sevān kar'nā evam thūknā sakht manā hai
Dhanyavād

(It is strictly prohibited to smoke, chew tobacco, spit in the vicinity of the library)

b) A notice from a petrol station in Agra:

Kṛpayā, paṭrail pamp parisar mē kūṛā va khāne pīne kā sāmān na phēkē
Dhanyavād

(Please / we ask you not to drop litter and the containers of food and drinks in the vicinity of the petrol station. Thank You)

c) A slogan / advertisement on buses of Delhi

viśv kī sab se baṛī pradūṣaṇ niyantrit sī en jī bas sevā

(The world biggest pollution repressed /restrained, controlled bus service C.N.)

2.7.4. Neologisms

A neologism is a new word or expression, often coined from existing words or roots.⁴⁰ To put it for our use and purpose, these will be words, terms and expressions borrowed and based mostly on the tatsama words. Neologisms, as compounds and syntagmas, in Hindī can be created by combining existing words or by giving words new and unique prefixes or suffixes in order to describe, identify and coin new terms for new items, inventions and phenomena.

For example:

*ākāśa vāṇī*⁴¹ meaning a heavenly voice as a neologism for radio.

mahājāl meaning a big web as a neologism for the internet.

The reason why this is happening, alike in the instance of calques, is the endeavour to replace already existing words, usually in English or of English origin, by so called *śuddh Hindī*, i.e. by words and terms that are mostly based on Sanskrit, thus avoiding the use of English words.

⁴⁰ Shackle, C. and Snell R. (1988), *Hindī and Urdū since 1800 /A Common Reader*, Heritage Publishers, New Delhi, page 221.

⁴¹ The national radio, popularly known as All India Radio was started in 1936 and renamed as *ākāśa vāṇī* in 1957. It is the sister service of the national television *dūrdarṣaṇ*. Both of these Government corporations broadcast in *śuddh Hindī*.

Nevertheless, the crucial question concerning both neologisms and calques used in Hindī is, to what extent are they coined for the sake of purity, i.e. used only by a very restricted group of people and government owned institutions, and to what extent are these new words really used in the media and widely accepted by the general public since this, in my opinion, is the general measure of success / failure of a new word.⁴²

Moreover, we can generally say that the English loan words have remained generally more familiar than the new Hindī coinages. The reasons are many, nevertheless one of them is that the components of the coinages are sometimes used in ways which bear little relationship to their main areas meaning as Sanskrit words. Sometimes, their Sanskritic origins can also seem awkward at variance with its modern context of use such as Sanskrit neologism *vaidyutagaman nirgaman niyantraṇ upadhi* for a remote control .

All these factors have worked against ready acceptance of the Hindī neologisms, especially those in technical fields, that have been proposed in numbers both by lexicographers and by Indian government agencies. The last factor working against a wide acceptance of neologisms has been that there has been no agreement on the forms to be used, or on their exact senses, so that competing expressions have sometimes gained a confusing, nominal currency, i.e. which eventually results in favour of the English loans.

2.7.4.1. My Personal Experience with the Use of Monolexical / Polylexical Calques and Neologisms in Agra, Uttar Pradesh, India. (September 2005 to April 2006)

Let me illustrate this former supposition on a short but very apposite example from up-to-date India itself. It is based on my own experience from a two-semester scholarship at Kendriy Hindī Sansthān in Agra. (a government owned institution)

At the very beginning of the first semester I was talking (in Hindī) to one of our Sanskrit professors Mrs Puṣpā. We were debating modern technologies and inventions. When it came to that point I naturally used most of the terms from English e.g. *reḍio* (radio), *kampyūtar* (computer), *inṭernet* (internet) etc. while speaking the rest in Hindī. Nonetheless, I was quite surprised when Mrs Puṣpā briefly interrupted me and told me that there was no need to use English terms when they had their "own".

⁴² This problem of purity for the sake of general use, acceptance and comprehension will also be discussed in the section of Hindī, Indian Constitution and language policy especially after 1947. It is necessary to bear in mind that even though Constitution clearly states Hindī as the official language, it also clearly names Sanskrit as the primary source; a source to which Hindī should resort when looking for, enriching and developing new vocabulary and conveying new meanings. Here, it is especially the Article 351, Directive for development of the Hindī language, which says: "*It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindī language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustānī and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.*"

<http://indiacode.nic.in/coiweb/welcome.html>.

I didn't quite understand what she meant by "their own" because I had heard and seen these terms widely used both by general public and by various kinds of media. She also told me that it was better to say *ākāśa vāṇī* for radio, *parikalāṇ* or *saṅgaṇal* for computer etc.....and that there are all terms ranging from science to modern technologies already included in Sanskrit, thus in Hindī.

I have to say and admit it is true (theoretically) but practically completely out-of-touch with reality and with what I have mentioned above as "acceptance by the general public".⁴³ Nevertheless, I wanted to verify such statements, including the use of both calques and neologisms in Hindī, in reality and decided to prepare a small questionnaire. I wrote a list of items both in English and Hindī, mostly containing technical inventions .

Then I went to the internet café, called Iway, and interviewed the staff-two men, aged 26 and 28 working there. I supposed this would be the most "reliable" source since they used various technologies on a daily basis and would have to use this terminology a lot. The interview was conducted in Hindī so as to avoid the "English" influence.

My first question was: Which of these two words /from each pair/ do you use on daily basis? And my second question: When I say the Hindī equivalents, would you understand what the word means and denominates?

The results were quite interesting. In the first case the answers were unanimous, i.e. they used the English terms. In the latter case they had difficulty understanding the meaning of *parikalak* (computer) and *par'dā* (screen).

My questionnaire looked like this:

Technical terms in English	Technical terms in Hindī, i.e. usually calques or neologisms	Question 1: Do you use the English or Hindī terms?	Question 2: <i>Do you understand what the H word means</i>
1) CALQUES			
telephone	<i>dūr'bhāṣ</i>	E	yes
television	<i>dūr'darśaṇ</i>	E	yes
computer	<i>parikalak / sangaṇak</i>	E	no
keyboard	<i>kūñ'jī phalak</i>	E	yes
mouse	<i>mūṣak</i>	E	yes
2) NEOLOGISMS			
radio	<i>ākāśa vāṇī</i>	E	yes
screen	<i>par'dā</i>	E	no
internet	<i>mahājāl</i>	E	yes

⁴³ I would compare this situation to another frequently heard statement in India since it seems to follow the same logic and substantiation as the previous one. It is the assertion that Sanskrit is a spoken and "vivid" language. Again, this is true "theoretically", being restricted to a small and rather unusual groups of "pundits" conversing in Sanskrit. But again- practically, from the criterion mentioned above, I really doubt it could and would be used by the general public.

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It is necessary to add that throughout my entire eight-month stay in India, I visited countless internet cafés in Northern India and especially in Uttar Pradesh.

Every time I asked the same two questions mentioned above. Unsurprisingly, the answers, i.e. the words used by the internet staff, were quite similar to those from Agra.

2.7.5. Hybrid polylexical naming units (HPNU)

Loan words in general do not only add to the vocabulary of Hindī but are often responsible for various hybrid formations, i.e. hybrid polylexical naming units. HPNU are these formations that contain elements in which at least one item is from English.

The HPNU are of various types, depending which word class they belong to.

2.7.5.1. Noun phrases

A large group of hybrid compound nouns can be found as well. These are the words that contain one item from English and are of two main types :

2.7.5.1.1. Determinative Noun Phrases ⁴⁴

i.e. the English component is in the second place and it is qualified by the first word without losing its grammatical independence.

For example: *rikṣa stand* (riksha stand) *sarkār hāus* (government house)

2.7.5.1.2. Atributive Noun Phrases

Where the English component is in the first place and the second word loses its character as a noun and together with the first word becomes an adjective with a possessive meaning.

For example: *box / tīkaṭ vālā* (the person carrying boxes/selling tickets), *tīkaṭ ghar* (ticket box), *rel gārī* (train), *kampanī bāg* (garden of a company), *jel khānā* (mess in prison)

2.7.5.2. Verbal phrases

Hybrid formations also play an important role in verbal-nominal expressions (VNE). These are expressions that consist of a verb and a noun structure one of which is taken from English. As Braj Kachru (1983) points out VNE could be divided into two groups:⁴⁵

⁴⁴ These are of the same type as the Sanskrit *taṭpuruṣa* compounds, literally meaning "his servant", particularly its variety called *karmadhāraya*. In *karmadhāraya* variety of compounds the component words would stand in the same case if the compound were dissolved. E.g. *rikṣa* and *stand*.

⁴⁵ Kachru, Braj, B. (1983), *The Indianization Of English / The English language in India* /, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, page 200.

2.7.5.2.1. Verbal-nominal expressions (VNE) called parallel lexical sets

The first group of VNE is called "parallel lexical sets" because there already are native terms for such words and expressions, either in Sanskrit or in Persian.⁴⁶

Examples of such parallel sets would be :

Sanskrit forms	Persian forms	Englishized forms	English meaning
<i>ārambh kar'nā</i>	<i>śurū kar'nā</i>	<i>begin kar'nā</i>	to begin
<i>prayog kar'nā</i>	<i>istamal kar'nā</i>	<i>yūz kar'nā</i>	to use
<i>cintā kar'nā</i>	<i>phikr kar'nā</i>	<i>vari kar'nā</i>	to worry
<i>pratīkṣā kar'nā</i>	<i>intazār kar'nā</i>	<i>vet kar'nā</i>	to wait
<i>pyār kar'nā</i>	<i>muhabbat kar'nā</i>	<i>lav kar'nā</i>	to love

2.7.5.2.2. VNE that do not have parallel lexical sets

Second group of VNE does not have parallel lexical sets and are mostly created by borrowing an English word and adding Hindī verbs such as *karnā* (do), *honā* (be), *lenā* (take), *denā* (give) etc. The structures of these VNE can be of two types, depending whether the English component was borrowed as a noun or a verb :

a) There are VNE where the verbal item is from English and the verb from Hindī. Nevertheless, the English verb is borrowed and used as a noun in Hindī

For example: *fil kar'nā* (to feel), *trāy kar'nā* (to try), *bor kar'nā* (to bore), *setisfāy kar'nā* (to satisfy)

b) And these VNE where the nominal item is from English (borrowed into Hindī as a noun) and Hindī verb.

For example: *permiṣan denā* (to grant permission), *help denā*, (to give help), *halidey lenā* (to take a holiday)

Unlike the first group of VNE parallel sets which are an interesting example of the structure of the multilingual verbal repertoire⁴⁷, the latter group of VNE usually compensate for missing words and expressions in Hindī and it is basically the result of the process of filling the "lexical gaps" .

⁴⁶ This group of parallel lexical sets is interesting from the sociolinguistic and language register point of view. Why does a Hindī native speaker opt in his conversation for the English equivalent such as *Māi begin kar sak tā* (I can start) instead of its Sanskrit and Persian form such as *Māi ārambh / śurū kar sak tā*. What is the reason and the impulse to do so?

Kachru, B. (2005), *Asian Englishes Beyond the Canon*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, page 106 : "The motivation is mainly sociolinguistic. In many South Asian languages, the borrowed word from English is perceived as neutral in many interactional contexts, or its use implies a certain status, class or level of education. This may not be true, in the same sense, of a word from Sanskrit or Persian or from a local source. The English word or phrase where the equivalents are available in an Indian language is very common in educated informal speech."

⁴⁷ Ibid page 104

Unsurprisingly, these VNE are from those fields where English is the dominant language , such as :

- IT technologies : *klik kar'nā* (to click), *inzert kar'nā* (to insert) , *svic kar'nā* (to switch) *dāyal kar'nā* (dial, phone), *esemes kar'nā* (to write sms), *fon kar'nā* (to phone), *fax bhej'nā* (to send a fax)
- science and medicine: *klon karnā* (to clone), *āpareṣṇ karnā* (to operate), *eks re karnā* (to X-ray),
- administration : *brāyb lenā* (to take bribes), *fāyn denā* (to fine).

2.7.5.3. Hybrid Coordinate Syntagmas (HCS) ⁴⁸

Hybrid Coordinate Syntagmas are a complex process that arises when an E loan word is introduced along with the native word of the same meaning and later becomes an integral part of it. Thus, HCS consists of two fixed words, one of which is from English and have roughly the same meaning as the vernacular word.⁴⁹ HCS are used to intensify the sense of the word. The position of the English loan word can be on either places, nevertheless its use is strictly given by the convention rules, meaning there is a general order that cannot be violated. HCS are of two types :

a) HCS with the English loan word in the first place of the formation :

- E *tebul* (table) + H *mez* (table) → *tebul-mez* (table)
- E *karṭ* (court) + H *kach'ri* (court) → *karṭ-kach'ri* (court)
- E *kaṭan* (cotton) + H *kapas* (cotton) → *kaṭan-kapas* (cotton)

b) HCS with the English loan word in the second place of the formation:

- H *phal* (fruit) + E *phrūt* (fruit) → *phal-phrūt* (fruit)
- H *lāṭhī* (stick) + E *stik* (stick) → *lāṭhī-stik* (stick)

2.7.5.4. Echo Formations

These are the formations that use an English loan word taking advantage of its echo-word. Echo formations are used in the sense of et cetera et cetera.

For example:

- pen-sen* or *pen-pun* ("pen" – meaning any writing instrument)
- pensil- vensil* ("pencil" or any writing instrument)
- ṭāim- vāim* ("time" meaning time in general)

⁴⁸ "Hybrid reduplication is a feature that Hindī came up with somewhere in the 15th century. This is a process when a loan word becomes an integral part of the expression such as e.g. *dukh-taklif* (trouble), *kālā- syāh* (black), *vivāh-sādi* (marriage), *dhan-daulat* (money). Generally, the pattern is that the first word is from Sanskrit (the native stock) and the second is of Persian or Arabic origin." Singh, R. (1998), *Lectures Against Sociolinguistics*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, page 5.

⁴⁹ It is interesting to notice that most people even do not notice or perceive that one of the components is of English origin, i.e. they use it as an integral part of the word.

kāpī-sāpī (“copy”). There is even a semantic shift from its original English meaning. In Indian English this means an exercise book thus the echo word means an exercise book or anything else to write in.

It can be generally said that unlike the HCS, the echo formations can be freely formed from any English loan word and its echo sound. Thus, a Hindī native speaker can basically create any new echo formation such as *kār-sār* (“car” or any vehicle), *bil-vil* (“bill” or any other receipt) etc.

2.8.0. Hindī and English: The mutual influence

This chapter would not be complete if I did not mention the opposite part of the linguistic process, i.e. the influence of Indian languages on English. This influence is evident from the number of Indian words that have made their way into the English Dictionary. Speaking in numbers, according to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) English contains more than 60 000 words. Furthermore, out of these sixty thousand words, the (OED) lists about 1000 words of Indian origin.⁵⁰

The loan words of Indian origin in E can be divided into three groups;

Firstly the words that have no equivalent in English such as *sari, sati, swastika* or *yoga*.

Secondly the words that have undergone various semantic changes, such as *purdah*. In the English context *purdah* is register-restricted and is always preceded by - woman, - system, or - lady. However, in Hindī-Urdū *par dā* does not have such register restrictions. It has various meanings such as drapes, curtain, veil, wall, layers, and screen as well.

And lastly the third group of Indian words that already had their equivalent in English but were borrowed and used because they sounded different, trendy and exotic, such as *pariah* or *pundit*.

Generally, we can say that words of Indian origin, let it be from Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, Bengālī, Hindī, etc. have been loaned ever since the 17th century. The lexical range is vast and covers areas ranging from fabrics, clothes, plants, fruits, animals, in the 17th and 18th century to the sphere of religion, philosophy, politics and fashionable words from the second half of the 18th to the 20th century. It is necessary to add that this process has not ceased but naturally continues until nowadays.

Among the 80 new words recently included in the lexicon of the OED are words such as *badmash* (a worthless or a clever person), *hawala* (illegal currency exchange), *bandh* (curfew) or *dhaba* (open air highway-side eatery).⁵¹

The lexicon of Indian origin in English from the semantic point of view :⁵²

<u>SEMANTIC AREA</u>	<u>EXAMPLES</u>
Fauna	<i>anaconda, cheetah, mongoose</i>
Flora, fruits and others	<i>jack fruit, mango, neem, orange, rice, sandal, teak</i> ⁵³

⁵⁰ Krishnaswami, N. (2006), *The Story of English in India*, Foundations Books, New Delhi, page 169.

⁵¹ www. chillybreeze. com

⁵² For more information on the particular origin of these words see http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_English_words_of_Indian_origin or for a very thorough and extensive description see Lewis, I. (1991), *Sahibs, Nabobs and Boxwallahs*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pages 5 - 40.

Spices, culinary terms, food and others	<i>betel, chai, chowpatty, chutney, curry, ghee, ginger, kebab, punch, sugar</i>
Clothes, dressing, materials and accessories	<i>bangle, bindi, calico, cashmere, dungaree, indigo, jodhpurs, jute, pyjamas, sari, shawl</i>
Things from everyday use	<i>cheroot, cot, rattan, shampoo</i>
Terms from Indian philosophy, religion, politics and fashionable words	<i>ahimsa, ashram, avatar, ayurveda, dharma, guru, karma, mandala, nirvana, pundit, satyagraha, sutra, svadesi, swastika, yoga</i>
Others	<i>bazaar, bungalow, caravan, catamaran, dinghy, jungle, loot, thug⁵⁴</i>

2.8.1. Pronunciation and spelling of Indian words in English

*"The human ear is far from accurate, particularly the English ear, which is unaccustomed to a definite system of pronunciation in its own alphabet, especially as regards vowel sounds. The consequences are an entire misrepresentation of the original spelling, and a total want of consistency, the very same word being written in every possible variety of orthography."*⁵⁵

Similar to the situation with the pronunciation of English loan words in Hindī, the Indian words naturally undergo certain changes. Throughout the history of English in India, English has gathered many words from all over India, adapted them to its grammar and spelling, sometimes also changing their appearance beyond recognition. The pronunciation too, took a different tone, in these Indian borrowings, i.e. they were adjusted to the E phonological rules.

The important modifications were mainly seen in the sounds of /t/ and /d/. In the North Indian languages /t/ is mostly pronounced as /t̪/, as in *thing*, while the /d/ is pronounced as /d̪/, as in *this*. Thus, when a word from this region came to English, the sound came with a hard /t/ and /d/ as in *dungaree* (from Hindī *dum ʻgrī*) and *swastika* (from Sanskrit *svastika*).

However, the words that came from South Indian languages took the exact opposite course, with /t/ and /d/, being pronounced softly or not at all, such as in *cheroot* (from Tamil *churuttu/shuruttu*).

⁵³ There is one person in particular owing to whose influential writing many names from Indian flora, beasts, birds and reptiles, even using their correct names in Anglo-Indian spelling, came into a common knowledge of the people in Great Britain.

Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) used many words of Indian/Hindī origin in his writing. E.g. muggar (*H magar*, i.e. crocodile), jungle (*H jan ʻgal*, i.e. forest), bandar log (*H ban ʻdar log*, i.e. monkey people), Shere Khan (*H sér*, i.e. tiger), the tulsi plant (*H tul ʻsī*, i.e. the holy basil of Hindus), etc. Ibid, pages 27 to 33

⁵⁴ This word penetrated to English from a term for one person of a band of assassins, formerly active in northern India, who worshipped Kālī and offered their victims to her. Thus thug has a meaning of a criminal who treats others violently and roughly, especially for hire. This word is widely used in English. See Dahl, Royald (2001), *Esio Trot*, Puffin Books, London, page 6 : *"Oh, if only he kept telling himself, if only he could do something tremendous like saving her life or rescuing her from a gang of armed thugs, if only he could perform some great feat that would make him a hero in her eyes..."*

⁵⁵ Lewis, I. (1991), *Sahibs, Nabobs and Boxwallahs*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, page 1

And lastly since English, unlike Hindī, is not a phonetic language, i.e. words are pronounced differently than they are written, words have many variants of spelling.

For example:

The Great Grey Crane of India (*Grus Grus Lifordi*), in Hindī *kulang*, has been variously transcribed in English since the 17th century as *colum*, *kolong*, *kullum*, *coolen* or *coolung*.

2.9. Conclusion

As we have seen in this chapter, Hindī, throughout its complex history, has borrowed words from three main groups, i.e. from Sanskrit, from a special category of vernaculars and from the languages forced from outside such as Arabic, Turkish, Persian as well as European languages such as Portuguese and French.

From the European languages, the Hindī vocabulary was particularly influenced by the English words that were borrowed either as monolexical or polylexical naming units. This process of borrowing was particularly strong from the second half of the 19th century when the Hindī lexicon started to be filled up with the English loan words and this trend could also be observed in spoken Hindī as well. Thus, we see many English loan words that were borrowed with a western lifestyle, i.e. *tebul* (table) or *jin* (gin) and in some cases the English loan words started to substitute native words such as E *rūl* (rule) for H *niyam*.

We can furthermore conclude that the motive for borrowing the English words in Hindī can generally be divided into two groups. Firstly linguistic, i.e. words in which the borrowed term represented a new concept, feeling or object, previously unknown to the borrowing community, such as e.g. *redīyo* (radio). Secondly non-linguistic, i.e. words whose usage was mainly influenced by social, political, cultural and prestigious considerations. Furthermore, it was particularly political and material dominance of English that provided it for legal, educational, political and administrative terms in Hindī, being followed by the terminology and lexicon from science, technology, medicine and pop culture in the 20th century.

Concerning the semantic aspect, it is necessary to realize that some E loans on entering the Indian subcontinent have undergone various semantic changes such as narrowing, extension, alteration or deterioration of meaning. The lexical items borrowed from English can be found in every domain, there is, nonetheless a register of words which are, recently, extensively loaned from English, i.e. science and IT technologies, sport, fashion, advertising, slang etc.

Furthermore, English loan words do not only add to the vocabulary of Hindī but are also responsible for various formations and features such as calques, neologisms and hybrid formations. On the other hand, English has also influenced Hindī in its phraseology, i.e. not only by the direct borrowing of full sets of phrases but by the borrowing of various idioms as well. Many of these apply to social etiquette and were formed on the English pattern while using Sanskrit vocabulary, e.g. *āp svāgat hāī* (you are welcome).

And lastly it is only natural that the conquered language, i.e. Hindī, ended up borrowing a lot more words than the conquering language, i.e. English.⁵⁶ But, as I have demonstrated above, this can never be a one-way process. In other words, not only were the Indian languages (Hindī) influenced by English but the English language is simultaneously being influenced by the Indian languages as well. Naturally, as in the previous case with the English loan words in Hindī, the pronunciation, spelling and semantic shifts of Indian words occur as well once borrowed into English.

⁵⁶ This is so called Martinet's Rule that can be applied to any conquered and conquering language. See also: Singh, R. (1998), *Lectures Against Sociolinguistics*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, pages 5 and 6.

3.0.0. PHONOLOGICAL ADAPTATION OF ENGLISH LOAN WORDS

IN HINDĪ

[*"Is mē koī kanfyūjan nahī ho sak tā, kyōki yah klīr hai."*⁵⁷]

There are a number of structural impacts on the linguistic structure of the Hindī language due to borrowing from English. One of these impacts is the phonological adaptation of E loan words. Just like Hindī spoken in Uttar Pradesh is different from the Hindī spoken in Madhya Pradesh, the same way it is different from the Hindī spoken in Rajasthan. As we can see, there is a difference between a language even within in a country. In other words there are many dialects of the same language. Furthermore, just like Hindī spoken in India differs from the Hindī spoken in e.g. the Fiji Islands, the same way the English (especially the pronunciation of E loans) in India differs a great deal from the English spoken in Great Britain. Naturally, there are also many varieties of a language.

It is obvious that due to historical reasons Indian pronunciation was based on British English and not e.g. American, Australian or Canadian English. Furthermore from the British English, it is a particular British dialect from the middle of the 19th century, called Educated Southern British English (ESBE), sometimes also denoted as Received Pronunciation (RP). The ESBE was further influenced by Scottish pronunciation, which makes this English rather archaic.⁵⁸ For example: the English vowels from the 18th century such as /e:/ and /o:/ were diphthongized as /ei/ and /ou/, nonetheless they kept their monovocalic quality in Hindī English.⁵⁹ Also ESBE loses /r/ at the end of a syllable and in the front of a vowel within a word, however it is retained or assimilated with the following phone /t/ and /d/.

Except for these historical changes, it is also important to bear in mind that once an English word is borrowed, it happens first orally, i.e. the word is first pronounced before it is actually written. It is also necessary to realize that Hindī speaking people learn Hindī first, i.e. as their mother tongue, which consequently strongly forms habits which are bound to interfere with the English pronunciation. In other words the phonological system of their mother tongue will have an influence on their pronunciation of E loans. As a result of this process, an E loan word is typically adjusted and recast so that it is in accordance with the phonological system of Hindī.⁶⁰ This in turn means that the E loan word is governed by the same phonological laws of Hindī as its native words.

Furthermore, English loans are able to introduce some new phonemes and phonological patterns which did not exist in Hindī earlier.(e.g. a number of fricatives and a short /ɒ/ as in college.)

⁵⁷ Words of my professor on Hindī language in Agra, India, Mr. Kumār when explaining Hindī pronunciation and spelling.

"There cannot be any confusion because it is clear."

⁵⁸ Balasubramanian, T. (2005), *A Textbook of English Phonetics for Indian Students*, MacMillan India, Delhi, page 71.

⁵⁹ *"These features are also found in Scottish English and in some standard forms of American English."* Nihalani, P. and Hosali, P. (2004), *Indian and British English*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, page 205.

⁶⁰ Simultaneously these loan words are also adjusted so that they are in accordance with Hindī morphology – as it is shown and discussed in chapter 3.

Besides, English loans and their adaptation are also responsible for changes in the distribution of certain phonemes. (e.g. in Hindī phonology /r/ was a conditional or positional allophone of /d/ which never occurred in the middle or at the end of a word.

However this has changed due to the English influence, when in words like /redʒi/ (radio), /ga:rd/ (guard), /ca:rd/ (card) /d/ can occur medially or finally.⁶¹ Similarly, new clusters also came into existence e.g. /drāma/ (drama), /rizalt/ (result) etc. Lastly, where there is no equivalent, as in case of some English vowels and consonants, Hindī has a tendency to substitute them with its closest sound. Many times this means an amalgamation of a few phonemes into one. (compare words such as e.g. plot, ball and laugh which are all pronounced the same in Hindī)

Concerning the phonetic notation of E loans, I use The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) which is considered a notational standard for the phonemic and phonetic representation of all spoken languages.⁶² Furthermore according to the same international standards, phonemic symbols are enclosed within slant lines e.g. /d/ and phonetic symbols within square brackets, e.g. [a].

Now, let's examine some of these phonological adaptations :

Phonological adaptation of English loan words in Hindī⁶³

3.1. Consonant shifts:

There are 38 distinct consonant phonemes in Hindī and 24 distinctive consonants in English (RP). The most common consonant shifts are :

1) voiceless stops > unaspirated voiced stops

collar /'kɒlə/ > /kalər/

2) fricatives > aspirated or unaspirated stops or approximants

i.e. the aspirated /ph/ is the original and native sound for Hindī whereas /f/ is a foreign sound that occurs in words of Persian, Arabic and English origin. As a result, many Hindī native speakers substitute /f/ for /ph/.

fashion /'fæʃən/ > /phɛʃən/

safe /'seɪf/ > /seph/

⁶¹ A Study of Loan Words in Pahāri, D.D.Sharma, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1979, page 12

⁶² I use the following symbols from the English IPA :

a) Consonants:

/p/ : pin, /b/ : big, /t/ : tea, /d/ : do, /k/ : cat, /g/ : go, /f/ : for, /v/ : very, /s/ : son, /z/ : zoo, /l/ : live, /m/ : my, /n/ : near, /h/ : happy, /r/ : red, /j/ : yes, /w/ : want, /θ/ : thank, /ð/ : then, /ʃ/ : she, /ʒ/ : television, /tʃ/ : child, /dʒ/ : German, /ŋ/ : sing

b) Vowels:

/i:/ : see, /ɪ/ : his, /e/ : twenty, /æ/ : hat, /ɑ:/ : father, /ɒ/ : hot, /ɔ:/ : morning, /ʊ/ : football, /u:/ : you, /ʌ/ : sun, /ɜ:/ : learn, /ə/ : letter

c) Diphthongs:

/eɪ/ : name, /əʊ/ : no, /aɪ/ : my, /aʊ/ : how, /ɔɪ/ : boy, /ɪə/ : hear, /eə/ : where, /ʊə/ : tour

⁶³ Varma, R.S. A Note on Phonological Substitution in English Loanwords in Hindī

3) the replacement of E dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð /> by H aspirated dentals /tʰ/ and /dʰ/ or /ɖ/ replacement

thin /'eɪn/ > /tʰɪn/
 then /'ðen/ > /dʰen/

4) replacement of E unaspirated dentals and alveolars > by retroflexive ones /t/ > /ɖ/ and /d/ > /ɖ/ i.e. a general trend to cerebralization that has the strongest tendency in Southern India.

For example:

motor /'məʊtə/ > /mɔʊtəɾ/
 telephone /'telɪfəʊn/ > /'tɛɭɪfɔɻ/
 day /'deɪ/ > /ɖeɪ/

5) other shifts in the position of articulation such as :

- a) sibilant /ʃ/ > /s/ polish /'pɒlɪʃ/ > /pəlɪs/ ⁶⁴
- b) fricative /z/ > voiced palatal /dʒ/ zoo /zu:/ > /dʒu:/
- c) fricative /ʒ/ > voiced palatal /dʒ/ confusion /kən'fju:ʒn/ > /'kənʃju: dʒən/

6) occasional voice shifts

decree /dɪ'kri:/ > /'dʒɪɾɪ/
 fees /'fi:z/ > /phi:s/

7) occasionally /n/ > //

note /'nəʊt/ > //oʊt/

8) normally /r/ is retained in all positions, i.e. a rhotic accent /r/ is pronounced wherever it occurs. Nevertheless /r/ is not retained before /t/ and /d/. The quality of the Indian /r/ is also different because it is stronger, less guttural and more alveolar. Compare:

card /'kɑ:d/ > /kɑ:t/
 order /'ɔ:də/ > /adə/
 lord /'lɔ:d/ > /lɑ:t/

⁶⁴ Such a little shift may seem of no importance. Nevertheless I saw for myself that it can be very confusing. E.g. When I was on the train and at 4 a.m. there was a loud voice shouting /pəlɪs/, /pəlɪs/, i.e. "the police" at the top of his voice. A few minutes later when the person came to my seat, I realized that /pəlɪs/ was supposed to be /pəlɪʃ/. So instead of "the police" he was a person who earned money by polishing shoes, i.e. "shoe polish."

3.1.2. Semivowel and vowel shifts

Hindī has 11 vowels unlike English, where there are 20 vowel sounds.(RP)

Of these, 12 are monophthongs and 8 diphthongs or vowel glides.⁶⁵

Just from this comparison it is obvious that there is a number of sounds in English having phonemic status, which does not find any place in the sound system of Hindī.

Thus it could be anticipated that the most sensitive area of interference or substitution will therefore be among vowels, particularly round open back short /ə/, long vowel /ɜ:/and all 8 diphthongs.

1) regularly /w/and /v/ > /ʋ/

i.e. there is only one phoneme /ʋ/ instead of the English phonemes /w/and /v/. This means that when E words like wine or vine are borrowed into Hindī, the difference is not apparent. Compare

wine /'wain/ > /ʋain/

vine /'vain/ > /ʋain/

Furthermore, /w/and /v/is also sometimes substituted by /b/ in stressed positions.

2) changes of vowels accented or semi-accented in English

a) usually /æ/ > /ɛ/ but also /æ/ > /ɑ/

bank /'bæŋk/ > /bɛŋk/

tram /'træm/ > /tɾam/

b) usually /ɑ/ > /ɑ:/and /ɔ:/ > /ɑ:/

i.e. an amalgamation of three E phonemes /ɒ/, /ɔ:/and /ɑ:/ > /ɑ:/, thus the words plot, ball and laugh being pronounced the same.

Compare:

plot /'plɒt/ > /plɑ:t/

ball /'bɔ:l/ > /bɑ:l/

laugh /'lɑ:f/ > /lɑ:f/

c) usually /eɪ/ > /e/, /əʊ/ > /ɑ/

i.e. monophthongization of semi-diphthongs. As I have mentioned above, this is not only a feature typical for Indian English but for Scottish or American English as well.

jail /'dʒeɪl/ > /dʒe:l/

coat /'kəʊt/ > /ko:t/

However, some monophthongs can be perceived vice versa as diphthongs

cancel /'kænsəl/ > /kɑ:nsəl/ or dress /'dres/ > /dɾraɪs/

⁶⁵ For more details and comparisons of BRP and the Indian phonological system see Nihalani, P. and Hosali, P. (2004), *Indian and British English*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pages 207-215, and 229-230.

d) in the second syllable /aɪ/ > /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ > /aʊ/

cycle /ˈsaɪkl/ > /saɪkɪl/

blouse /ˈblaʊz/ > /blaʊdʒ/

f) usually /ɪə/ > /ɪjə:r/, /eə/ > /e/, /uə/ > /u:/

beer /ˈbɪə/ > /bɪjə:r/

bearer /ˈbeərə/ > /berə/

tour /ˈtuə/ > /tu:r/

g) other occasional shifts :

coupon /ˈku:pən/ > /ku:pən/

engineer /ˈendʒɪnɪə/ > /ɪndʒɪnɪjər/

3) changes of vowels unaccented in English

a) regularly /ɪ/ > /i:/, /ə/ > /a/ in the final position

company /ˈkʌmpəni/ > /kəmpəni:/

sofa /ˈsəʊfə/ > /sɒfə:/

b) some spelling pronunciation

biscuit /ˈbɪskɪt/ > /bɪskɪt/

3.1.3 Sequential shifts :

1) consonant assimilation

i.e. natural and universal sound shifting due to the process of assimilation and dissimilation

lantern /ˈlæntən/ > /ləntən/

2) consonant elision

i.e. the omission of one or more sounds such as a vowel, consonant or a whole syllable in a word producing a result that is easier for the speaker to pronounce.

february /ˈfebruəri/ > /fɛvruəri/

3) metathesis

i.e. altering the order of phonemes

desk /ˈdesk/ > /deks/

signal /ˈsɪgnəl/ > /sɪŋgəl/

4) Additional sounds

What is interesting from the phonological point of view is the fact that Hindī has developed two strategies in order to adapt English consonant clusters, i.e. prothesis and insertion of a vowel.

a) prothesis

The first strategy is the process of prothesis, which is inserting a vowel in front of the consonant cluster. This method applies to all English loan words starting in /sk/, /sp/ and /st/.⁶⁶ The reason why prothesis happens is that no Hindī word starts in this combination of consonant clusters, respectively /sk/, /sp/ and /st/. Secondly, the prothesis is also due to the fact that /k/, /p/ and /t/ are less sonorous than /s/, so the /ɪ/ has to be inserted.

Compare:

school	/ˈsku:l/ > /ɪsku:l/
spoon	/ˈspu:n/ > /ɪspu:n/
station	/ˈsteɪʃn/ > /ɪʃteɪʃn/

b) insertion is the second strategy how to adapt English consonant clusters in Hindī. It is exactly a process of vowel insertion into the cluster. Unlike prothesis, insertion applies to all English loan words starting in /bl/, /pr/, /pl/, /sl/, /fr/, /sf/ etc. In general we can say that Hindī inserts a vowel before the strong segment, i.e. the more sonorous segment. Compare:

blouse	/ˈblauz/ > /bɪlaudz/
project	/prəˈdʒek/ > /pəro:dʒak/
please	/ˈpli:z/ > /pɪli:z/
slipper	/ˈslɪpər/ > /sɪlɪpər/

5) syllabic consonant is supplied with a vowel

middle	/ˈmɪdl/ > /mɪdɪl/
--------	-------------------

6) accentual shift resulting in a vowel change

April	/ˈɑɪprɪl/ > /əpˈreɪl/
July	/dʒuːˌlaɪ / > /ˈdʒula:ji:/
second	/ˌsekənd/ > /saˈkɪnt/
chocolate	/ˌtʃɒklət/ > /ˈtʃa:klet/

⁶⁶ However in Eastern Hindī and Panjabī there is only one way to incorporate or adapt these and it is the process of insertion. So, as a result the words such as school or spoon are pronounced as /səkul/ and /səpu:n/ instead of /ɪsku:l/ and /ɪspu:n/. For more details and explanation on prothesis, insertion and sonority hierarchy see Singh, R. (1998), *Lectures Against Sociolinguistics*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, pages 48-56.

7) variations of the length

i.e. sometimes the length of variations may occur, such as :

diarrhoea /ˈdaɪə,riə/ > /dɑːjɑːrɪjɑː/ but also /dɑːjɑːrɪjə/

Or even a length of variation along with a vowel change such as:

police /pəˈliːs/ > /pɒlɪs/ or /pʊliːs/ ⁶⁷

8) elision of /ə/ before /r/

battery /ˈbætəri/ > /bætriː/

9) miscellaneous sequential shifts :

verandah /vəˈrændə/ > /bəramdɑː/

theatre /ˈeɪtə/ > /tʰeɪtər/

10) in some cases it is possible to detect popular etymologizing and other morphological reinterpretations such as e.g.

library /ˈlaɪbrəri/ > /raɪbəriː/ according to a place in Uttar Pradesh called Rae Bareli

11) doublets due to historical reasons :

We can find older loans and their pronunciation together with their newer forms, i.e. older forms that found their way via Portuguese or French influence and sound system and then the same words were directly borrowed from English. This means that one word can have two forms. Compare :

america /əˈmerɪkə/ > Por. /amriːkɑː/ and E /ɑːmerɪkɑː/

hospital /ˈhɒspɪtəl/ > Por. /aspataːl/ and E /haspiːtəl/

October /ˈɒktəʊbər/ > /aktuːbər/ and /aktɔːbər/

3.2.0. Supra segmental features:

In terms of supra segmental features, three fields can be observed. These are tone group and intonation, rhythm and word-stress.

3.2.1. Tone group- Intonation

Hindī as well as English belongs to a group of intonation languages.⁶⁸ In both languages each sentence has a certain intonation, i.e. the melodic line or a pitch pattern. The pitch of the voice is used to express a statement, question, negative or along with facial expressions and body movements convey surprise, irony, disappointment etc. At the same time the intonation carries the meaning as well.

⁶⁷ Although *pulī:s* reflects the English pronunciation better, the short form *pulis* is used more often.

E.g. *pulis sahāy tā kendr* (police help/information centre) , *pulis steśan* (police station), *videśī pulis* (foreign police)

⁶⁸ As opposed to so called “tonal languages” such as Thai or Chinese, where a pitch is used to distinguish words.

3.2.2. Rhythm

The biggest difference in terms of supra segmental features is at the level of speech rhythm and word stress. Despite the fact that both languages are intonation languages and of Indo-European origin, English is a stress-timed language.

This means that certain syllables are highlighted over others through syllable length, vowel quality and pitch. Thus in a sentence, there are certain words that are stressed⁶⁹ and others that are unstressed.⁷⁰ This is in sharp contrast with Hindī which is a syllable-timed language where each syllable receives roughly the same timing and length. It is therefore understandable and natural that an English phrase borrowed and used in a Hindī sentence, is not influenced by the original rhythm, i.e. there is no difference between stressed and unstressed E words when used in Hindī.

3.2.3. Word stress

A very similar trend can be also seen in terms of word stress of English loan words in Hindī. Due to the fact that English is a stressed-timed language, multisyllabic words can have more than one stressed syllable. Nevertheless only one of those syllables receives primary stress, the other(s) secondary stress or almost no stress. The primary and secondary stress, i.e. functional stress, is used to distinguish between noun or adjective where the stress is on the first syllable and verbs where the stress is shifted to the second syllable. In this case again, Hindī being a syllable-timed language does not have this feature, i.e the functional stress is not important in terms of distinguishing word categories. Thus when an English noun and verb of the same form is borrowed and used, there is an absence of stress to distinguish these nominal categories from their verbal counterparts. We can simply say that the difference of E noun or verb borrowed into Hindī is neutralised by melting the two different forms into one :

Compare :

import (n)	/ˈɪmpɔ:t/ > /ˈɪmpɔ:ɾ/
import (v)	/ɪmˈpɔ:t/ > /ˈɪmpɔ:ɾ/
object (n)	/ˈɒbdʒɪkt/ > /ˈabdʒɪkt/
object (v)	/ɒbˈdʒɪkt/ > /ˈabdʒɪkt/

Furthermore there are a few other changes⁷¹ such as that E disyllabic words with weak prefixes which are not accented on the root when borrowed into H as in their E form.

For example:

amount	/əˈmaʊnt/ > /ˈemaʊnt/
--------	-----------------------

⁶⁹ called content words, i.e. nouns, adjectives and main verbs

⁷⁰ called function word, i.e. auxiliary verbs, prepositions etc.

⁷¹ For detailed description see Nihalani, P. and Hosali, P. (2004), *Indian and British English*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pages 212-217.

3.3.0. Writing system, spelling and the script

English is written using the Roman Script whereas Hindī is written in the Devanāgarī script. Unlike the spelling system of Hindī which is phonological, i.e. written the same way as it is pronounced where one letter of the alphabet stands for one sound, English orthography is historical. This means that the spelling of words often diverges to a great extent from how it is pronounced for one letter of the alphabet stands for more than one sound. That way it is only natural for English loans in Hindī to be transcribed phonologically, i.e. in the Devanāgarī script, so as to avoid confusion about its pronunciation. Consequently there are very few E loans that are left in their English form, written in the Latin alphabet.⁷²

Then there is a small group of E loans in Hindī that are written and pronounced in different ways. This would apply to all E loans where the process of prothesis or insertion is used.⁷³

For example :

school is written [skūl] but pronounced /*isku*://

blouse is written [blauz or blauj] but pronounced /*blaudz*/etc.

Furthermore, with the process of globalization and the boom of modern technologies especially computers, internet and mobile phones, there has been a strong tendency to write everything in Latin alphabet. However, unlike the English spelling, certain phonological rules and patterns can be seen in its orthography. In spite of this phonological adjustment, the distinction between the lengths of vowels such as /*a*/, /*ā*/, /*i*/, /*ī*/, /*u*/, /*ū*/ is not made.⁷⁴ Also the retroflex consonants such as /*ʈ*/, /*ʈʰ*/, /*ɖ*/, /*ɖʰ*/, /*ɳ*/ are not distinguished from their alveolar counterparts such as /*t*/, /*tʰ*/, /*d*/, /*dʰ*/, /*n*/. Similarly there is no difference between /*ʃ*/, /*ʃ*/, /*s*/, /*ɳ*/ and /*ɳ*/ and /*r*/ and /*r*/.

Compare (an sms from the Idea mobile operator) :

*[Aapka gaana Aapke mobile per. Ap mobile per sune apni pasand ke gaane. Abhi dial kare 656 aur sune apni pasand ke gaane. T and C apply]*⁷⁵

3.3.1. Punctuation marks

Lastly from the syntactic point of view, the written mode of Hindī has been influenced by English because the whole system of punctuation marks has been adopted from the English writing system. In Hindī the punctuation marks were traditionally restricted to two vertical lines “//” termed *virām*, for marking the end of a paragraph, or a thought unit, and one vertical line “|” termed *ardha virām*, for a full stop.⁷⁶

⁷² However, especially in the field of advertisement a small shift toward using the English loans written in Roman script, while the rest in Hindī can be observed. E.g. from a billboard, advertising a TVS motor bike with special dampers, Agra, April 2006 :

[Superstar TVS (written in roman Script) śaktiśālī rāṭī -svic śāks badan baṛhāo, kharāb sarak bhūl jāo!]

⁷³ as mentioned above in 3.1.2. 4ab

⁷⁴ In Hindī vowels such as /*e*/ and /*o*/ are always long.

⁷⁵ *Your song on your mobile. Listen to your favourite songs on your mobile. Dial 656 right now and listen to your favourite songs. T and C apply.*

⁷⁶ Englishes Beyond the Canon, B. Kachru, Oxford University Press, New Delhi 2005, page 115

3.3.2. Special diacritic signs for English loan words

Owing to the massive amount of E loans, new E phonemes that do not exist in Hindī were introduced. (e.g. the short open-mid back rounded vowel /ɒ/ as in hot). Naturally, there was a need to reflect this foreign sound in Hindī spelling. Therefore, a special sign i.e. a superscript sign has been invented to represent English /ɒ/ vowels that are alien to Indian phonology.⁷⁷

However, the superscript sign for /ɒ/ transcribed by [ā̄] / [ऑ, ॉ] does not distinguish between /ɒ:/ and /ɒ:/. Thus words such as an audio CD and complex are pronounced and written the same. i.e. with the italic letters [ā̄].

Compare:

English /ɔ:/

[ā̄ḍiyo sīḍī] (CD), [vās] (voice)

English /ɒ:/

[kā̄mpleks] (complex), [tumā̄ro] (tomorrow)

⁷⁷ Furthermore, it is also possible that there might be more superscript signs created such as [ā̄] / [ऑ, ॉ] before. The very next logical choice would be a superscript sign to represent the short open-mid front unrounded vowel /e/ as in get which does not have any symbol or diacritic in Hindī script so far. Therefore there could be a superscript sign of [ē̄] / [ँ] to represent the /e/.

3.4. Conclusion

We might conclude that English does not only enrich Hindī vocabulary but also forces Hindī to adapt E loans according to its phonological rules and patterns. However, the adaptation of E loans may in turn result in new structures of the sound-body of words, i.e. E loans are able to introduce new phonemes and phonological patterns which did not exist in Hindī earlier. Compare the chronological table of phonemes:

Original Sanskrit, i.e. tatsama phonemes	Original Hindī phonemes	Original Arabic and Persian phonemes	Original English phonemes
Vowels : <i>/a/, /ā/, /i/, /ī/, /u/, /ū/, /e/, /o/</i>	<i>/ā/, /ā̃/, /ɪ/, /ī̃/, /ū/, /ū̃/, /ē/, /ɛ/, /ē̃/, /ō/</i>		<i>/ɒ/, /ɒ/, /ə/, /ɜ/, /ɜ:/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/, /ɔ:/</i>
Diphthongs: <i>/ai/, /au/,</i>	<i>/au/, /aū/</i>		<i>/ou/, /au/</i>
Consonants:			
Velar : <i>/k/, /kh/, /g/, /gh/, /ŋ/</i>		<i>/q/, /kh/, /g/</i>	
Palatal: <i>/c/, /ch/, /j/, /jh/, /ñ/</i>		<i>/z/</i>	<i>/ʃ/, /tʃ/, /ʒ/, /dʒ/</i>
Retroflex: <i>/ʈ/, /ʈh/, /ɖ/, /ɖh/, /ɳ/</i>	<i>/ɽ/ /ɽh/</i>		
Dental: <i>/t/, /th/, /d/, /dh/, /n/</i>			<i>/θ/, /ð/</i>
Bilabial: <i>/p/, /ph/, /b/, /bh/, /m/</i>		<i>/f/</i>	<i>/m/</i>
Semivowel: <i>/y/, /r/, /l/, /v/</i>			<i>/w/, /v/</i>
Sibilants: <i>/ś/, /ʃ/, /s/, /h, /ʒ/</i>			

Furthermore, concerning supra-segmental features Hindī does not abide the original stress and rhythm of E words and phrases once borrowed into Hindī.

And lastly, besides the pronunciation, E naturally affects Hindī spelling as well which results into the creation of new superscript signs such as [ā̃] / [ँ, ॉ] for phonemes /ɔ:/ and /ɒ:/ that are foreign to Hindī.

4.0.0. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

From the point of view of English lexical borrowing it is interesting that Hindī has borrowed mainly nouns, very few adjectives, nearly no verbs and the verbs that have been borrowed, have been borrowed as nouns and adjectives. They are often used as components of VNE with H verbs such as *kar'nā* (to do), *honā* (to be) etc. And lastly Hindī, very few inflectional morphemes have been borrowed, i.e. some English derivational affixes can be found in Hindī. ⁷⁸

4.1.Nouns

As we can see from this, the most numerous group is nouns.

When an English word is borrowed, it usually undergoes not only phonological but also morphological changes, so that the new word can be applied to the native system. In other words, to be able to decline a word and make the plural number according to the rules of Hindī, the gender of a new word must be assigned in the first place.

4.1.2. Gender

Unlike English which does not have grammatical gender and adjectival agreement, Hindī distinguishes two grammatical genders, masculine and feminine. General rules of gender in Hindī are complicated and have many exceptions, however, two basic rules can be observed :

- a) Nouns denoting males are masculine and nouns denoting females are feminine.
- b) The typical ending of the masculine is –ā, and the feminine is –ī.⁷⁹

4.1.2.1. Gender assignment for the E loans

In the assignment of gender for the E loans, there are three general approaches that seem to take place. They are as follows:

4.1.2.1.1. According to the ending of the E loan word, i.e. by the analogy of the ending

The majority of nominal borrowings from English ends in a consonant just like the second type of Hindī masculine nouns such as *kisān* (farmer).

For this reason there is a tendency to assign these loan words masculine gender.

Compare :

hoṭal m (hotel), *breḍ m* (bread) etc.

⁷⁸ Singh, R. (1998), *Linguistic Theory, Language contact, and Modern Hindustānī*, /The three sides of a Linguistic Story/, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, page 14. Furthermore compare : "A classified analysis of loan words, which may be borrowed under any condition, shows that hierarchically the highest number of loan words belongs to the category of nouns, next to it come adjectives or verbal phrases but on the other hand numerals and pronouns are rarely or never borrowed from other system." Sharma, D.D. (1980), *A Study of Loan Words in Central Pahāṛī*, Panjab University, Chandigarh, page 11.

Or also see the classical study of language borrowing Weinrich (1953).

⁷⁹ The exceptions being : *pānī* (water), *dahī* (yoghurt), *ghī* (purified butter) and *moṭī* (pearl) which despite their ending –ī are masculine.

However there are various exceptions to this rule, as several words ending in a consonant are assigned feminine gender.

Compare:

pensil f (pencil)

boṭal f (bottle)

rel f (rail)

It is also possible to notice the effort to make the E loan univocally feminine, i.e. by adding the characteristic feminine ending – ī.

Compare:

ṭankī f (tank, pond), *cim' nī f* (chimney), *ḍig' rī f* (degree)

4.1.2.1.2. By analogy with already existing synonyms

As in the case of Sanskrit and Persian loans before, the assignment of gender can also be determined by already existing synonyms.

For example:

bas (bus) and *kār* (car) are both feminine by analogy with *gārī* (car).

pulis (police) is also feminine by analogy with Sanskrit *senā* (army).

4.1.2.1.3. General dominance of masculine gender

And lastly the fact that the masculine gender is universally dominant among the borrowings from languages that have no grammatical gender into languages that have grammatical gender.

Compare:

kek m (cake) *koṭ m* (coat), *kālij m* (college), *pres m* (press), *mīṅg m* (meeting), *inṭarneṭ m* (internet), *kampjūṭar m* (computer), *bil m* (bil), *svīṭar m* (sweater), *rikārd m* (record) etc.

4.1.2.2. Variations of gender

Some loan nouns are treated differently concerning the gender, by different speakers of Hindī, i.e. variations of gender can be observed.

Compare:

pik' car m/f (picture) → *yah merā / merī pik' car hai* (It is my picture.)

film m/f (film) → *lagān acchā / acchī film hai* (Lagaan is a nice film.)

pleṭ m/f (plate) → *mujhe ek nīlā / nīlī pleṭ pās karo* (Pass me one blue plate.)

sigreṭ m/f (cigarette) → *yah āp kā / kī sig' reṭ hai?* (Is it your cigarette?)

hoṭal m/f (hotel) → *hamārā / hamārī hoṭal vahā hai* (Our hotel is there)

4.1.3. Number and number agreement

Most of the E words once borrowed into H follow the original E number, i.e. the words that are singular in E are borrowed as singular into H and E plural words are borrowed as plurals.

For example:

Singular number:

hoṭal sg (hotel), *plet sg* (plate), *film sg* (film)

Plural number:

trāḍarḅ pl (traders), *brāḍarḅ pl* (brothers) etc.

However, some of the English words once borrowed into Hindī do not follow their E number, i.e. some words that are plural in E are borrowed as though they were singular.

For example :

mācis f (matches) where *mācis* is the singular form despite the E plural.

The plural *mācisē* which would be the correct plural of E matches is not used at all.

4.1.3.1. Number agreement of English collective nouns

Furthermore Hindī does not reflect the growing tendency of English to apply plural agreements to singular collective nouns (i.e. “the government are”, “the police are”).

Compare:

pulis yahā hai (The police is here) x as opposed to *pulis yahā haī* (The police are here)

gavarmant nayī dillī mē hai (The government is in NewDelhi.) as opposed to *gavarmant nayī dillī mē haī* (The government are in New Delhi.)

4.1.3.2. The English marker of plural -s

In terms of plurals, we can also find the use of the E –s, i.e. the marker of plural, incorporated into the Hindī form instead of making plural according to Hindī morphological rules.

Compare.

trāḍarḅ m pl. (traders) x and not *trāḍar pl.*

brāḍarḅ m pl. (brothers) x and not *brāḍar pl.*

4.1.4 Case

Unlike English where case marking has almost disappeared, Hindī has the noun inflectional paradigm, i.e. declensions. Hindī has a system of two cases, i.e. the direct and oblique. The oblique case is mainly used in combination with postpositions. These postpositional constructions serve as a substitutive of declensions in the respective cases. Thus, e.g. the genitive case is expressed by combining the oblique case with the postposition *kā*. The postposition expresses gender, number and case. Understandably, when a new word is borrowed and the gender assigned, it is also automatically declined and inflected.

For example:

- Declension of a masculine noun, demonstrated on the word *film f* (film)

us kī ek videśī film hai (S/he has one foreign film)

us kī bahut videśī filmē hai (S/he has many foreign films)

In filmō kā san'gīt sun'dar hai. (The music from the films is nice)

- Declension of a feminine noun, demonstrated on the word *cim'nī f* (chimney)

kār'khāne kī cim'nī dhuā ugal'tī hai (the chimney of the factory releases fumes)

kār'khānō kī cim'niyā dhuā ugal'tī hai (the chimneys of factories release fumes)

4.2. Adjectives

Very few English adjectives have been borrowed into Hindī. From the loan adjectives *brāyt* (bright), *rāyt* (right), *lāyt* (light) or *seksi* (sexy) should be mentioned.

In case of the first three adjectives, i.e. bright, right and light - the analogy with an indeclinable Hindī adjective ending, i.e. a consonant, such as *lāl* (red) can be seen. This means that the adjective does not change according to the gender of a noun, i.e. it has the same form for both masculine and feminine.

Compare:

lāl kalam m (red pen)

E *lāyt kalam m* (light pen)

lāl mez f (red table)

E *lāyt mez f* (light table)

As for declinable H adj. ending in a vowel such as *nayā m / nayī f* (new) and the subsequent adjectival agreement, it is interesting to notice that despite the ending of *seksi* (sexy), which is -i, sometimes even spelled and pronounced with long ī, does not function as feminine.

Thus we have *seksi men m* (sexy man) but also *seksi leḍī* (sexy lady) / and not *seksā mard m* as opposed to *seksi/seksī aurat f*.

4.2.1. Newly formed adjectives

Furthermore, a small group of newly formed adjectives, usually belonging to calques, can be found. These adjectives are formed from E nouns while adding a Hindī affix of Sanskrit origin.

For example:

E noun *film* (film) + H suffix *ī* → *filmī* (adjective)

E noun *skūl* (school) + H suffix *ī* → *skūlī* (adjective)

E noun *kampyūtar* (computer) + H suffix *īkṛt* → *kampyūtarīkṛt* (computerised / adj.) and the subsequent calque : *kampyūtarīkṛt ārakṣaṇ kendr* (computerised reservation centre)

4.3. Numerals

Various English numerals have been borrowed into Hindī and are of three following types.

4.3.1. Cardinal Numerals

English cardinal numbers are used on an every day basis, even by nearly illiterate people and sometimes, especially in shops, markets or bāzār the E numerals compete with their Hindī counterparts.

For example (in a shop): *yah cakalet kit'ne kā hai? yah tventi rupaye kā hai.* (How much is this chocolate? It is twenty Rupees.) Notice that Hindī numeral 20 (bīs) is not used.

Furthermore in terms of cardinal numbers, a trend to use "ek" (one) as an equivalent to the English indefinite article can be observed. Sentences such as : *maī ek fīcar hū* (I am a teacher) where the indefinite article is redundant and also quite foreign to Hindī sentence structure can be heard not only in colloquial Hindī.

4.3.2. Ordinal Numerals

English ordinal numbers are also frequently used, especially *farst* (first) and *sekonḍ* (second).

For example: *sekonḍ klās* (second class on the train as opposed to Hindī, Sanskrit based *dviṭṭy śreṇī*)

4.3.3. Multiple Numerals

The most common from multiple numerals are : *ḍabal* (double) which is most often used in a collocation such as *ḍabal roti* (toast bread) and *tripal* or *tripl* (triple).

4.4. Verbs

As I mentioned above, it is not common for Hindī to borrow simple verbs such as *help* (help), *ṭrāy* (try) or *veṭ* (wait) as verbs but to borrow them as nouns or adjectives while creating various verbal nominal expressions such as *help kar'nā* (help), *ṭrāy kar'nā* (try) or *veṭ kar'nā*.

However, there are a few exceptions such as the verb *pās* (to pass) which can be used, especially in colloquial Hindī, as *pās'nā* instead of *pās kar'nā*.

Compare:

vah is test pās karegā (He will pass the test – using the VNE)

meanwhile in colloquial Hindī

vah is test pāsegā (He will pass the test)

4.5. Other Morphological features and formations

From the morphological perspective, there are other creative processes due to the English influence. This is also one of the very rare cases when Hindī is able to create composites. The formations are of the following types:

4.5.1. Formation of new / hybrid adverbs

New adverbs are formed using the Hindī prefix of Persian origin *be* (without) and an E loan word.

For example:

behed (headlong) or *beḥāym* (not the right time)

4.5.2. Formation of new / hybrid postpositions

A similar trend can be observed in the instance of postpositions where the Hindī particle *ke* is used in the combination with the E preposition *through*, so that a new hybrid postposition [*ke thrū*],

/ke: ʔru:/(through) is created. It is used in the sense “through the offices, by means of.”

However, the use of such Hindī-English postpositions is restricted to colloquial Hindī only.⁸⁰

4.5.3. Formation of new / hybrid compounds

English words such as *hed* (head) and *ful* (full) are used in many Hindī compounds.

We can say that these E words almost became affixes.

For example :

hedpaṇḍit (from the Anglo Indian “head pundit“)

hed bābu (the director of the office in India)

4.6.0. Syntax

Not only Hindī lexicon, phonology and morphology has been influenced by English, but H syntax as well. However, it is necessary to add that a large number of syntactic features are restricted to either spoken or written modes. In some cases this restriction applies to the frequency of use. In general we can say that most syntactic changes, due to the influence of E, are register-dependent and have a high frequency in register of law, journalism and news broadcasting, i.e. all the media originally started in English.

The English influence on Hindī syntax can be particularly seen in the following areas :

4.6.1. Word order

As opposed to the original word order in Hindī, which is SOV (subject-object-verb), the change of word order due to the SVO construction of English can be observed. This change is used mainly in written Hindī for stylistic effects.

For example:

Original Hindī word order (SOV) : *āp(S) kitāb(O) parh rahe haī (V)* (“You a book are reading.”)

The E influence and the SVO order : *āp (S) parh rahe haī (V) kitāb (O)* (“You are reading a book.”)

⁸⁰ Shackle, C. and Snell R. (1988), *Hindī and Urdū since 1800 /A Common Reader/,* Heritage Publishers, New Delhi, page 77.

4.6.2. Impersonal constructions

The use of impersonal constructions in Hindī is an innovation normalized under the influence of E. It originally started under the influence of E in the news media, but has now been extended to colloquial styles as well.⁸¹

For example :

dekhā gayā hai (it is seen) where the H active form *dekh´te hai* would normally be used

sunā gayā hai (it is heard) where the H active form *sun´te hai* would normally be used

kahā gayā hai (it is said) where the H active form *kah´te hai* would normally be used

4.6.3. Passive voice

The use of the passive voice is another innovation normalized in the newspaper style under the influence of E, i.e. passivization with the agent NP in Hindī. This passive construction with over manifestations of the agent has a high frequency in the formal register of Hindī.

Compare :

hemlet śekspīr ke dvārā likhā gayā thā (Hamlet was written by Shakespeare)

4.6.4. Indirect speech

The indirect speech and the back shifting of a pronoun is a feature attributed to the English influence. Originally in Hindī, there is not a back shifting of the pronoun.

Compare these two sentences where the first person pronoun *māī* (I) changes to the third person *vah* (he) due to the E influence.

Compare:

Original Hindī structure: *Pol ne kahā ki māī jā rahā hū* (“Paul said that I am going”)

The back shift of the pronoun: *Pol ne kahā ki vah jā rahā hai* (“Paul said that he is going”)

4.6.5. Post-head relative clauses

Lastly, the E influence on Hindī syntax can be found in post-head relative clauses, where the relative marker *jo* (who, which, that) follows the head noun.

For example:

ādmī jo anevālā hai, vah merā mitr hai (“The person who is coming is my friend.”)

as opposed to the original H structure:

jo ādmī anevālā hai, vah merā mitr hai (“Who person is coming, he is my friend.”)

⁸¹ “Until recently, the local language media in Asia was fully dependent on the teleprinters and telegraphic transmission in English. A quick process of translation – almost instant – was used to translate the news items from English to local languages. Thus there was a very close adherence to the text. What originally appeared as a close translation from English, gradually became institutionalized in a particular register, and then, slowly found its way in wider use.” Kachru, Braj B. (2005), *Asian Englishes Beyond The Canon*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, page 107.

4.7. Conclusion

In this chapter I attempted to demonstrate various morphological processes from the very moment the E word is borrowed and used in Hindī. Since the majority of E loans in Hindī were said to belong to a category of nouns, gender assignment and common principles concerning this matter has been shown. I have also demonstrated how certain words tend to undergo morphological changes according to grammatical and morphological rules of Hindī fully while others do only partially and some do not at all.

Furthermore the English influence on Hindī morphology can be particularly observed in creative processes and morphological hybrid formations, such as compounds, adjectives, adverbs or postpositions where the E components play a substantial part.

And lastly, we have seen, that it is not only the Hindī morphology that was influenced by English, but the same applies to the Hindī syntax as well, i.e. it has been influenced by the English structure to a great extent. Thus features like word order, impersonal construction, passive voice, indirect speech and post-head relative clauses are a clear example of the English influence upon Hindī.

5.0.0. SOCIOLINGUISTICS

India is the second most populous country in the world with an estimated 1,095,351,995⁸² people. However, it is important to bear in mind that out of this number 75%, i.e. approximately 750 million people, is estimated to live in villages and only 25% in cities. Thus this number clearly confirms the locution that India is a country of villages and only demonstrates the fact how difficult it is to make any general statement. (the Hindī-speaking area not being an exception)

Furthermore, when discussing the sociolinguistic aspect and individual languages, we have to take into account that the national average of the literacy rate is only 64.4%, with males – 75.6% and females – 54.2%, i.e. largely varying again in rural and urban areas.⁸³

Talking from the linguistic perspective, this situation is not simple either. The Indian Constitution recognizes 23 official languages while English and Hindī are used for official purposes. Additionally there are as many as 1652 dialects as well.

North India can be viewed as a continuum of village dialects. In addition, there are numerous regional dialects that villagers use when e.g. doing business. Since the late 18th century Hindī has become relatively standardized and was associated with a body of literature. As we have seen, the British rule was an impetus for the official codification. Their colonial administrators and missionaries learned the regional languages, including Hindī, and often studied their literature. Their translations of English language materials and the Bible encouraged the development of written, standard language.

On one hand, teaching materials such as grammar, textbooks etc. were often commissioned and, in some cases, were closer to everyday speech than was the standard of literary language.

On the other hand, industrialization, modernization and printing gave a major boost to the vocabulary and standardization of Hindī, especially by making possible the wide dissemination of dictionaries. However, such written forms often differed widely from spoken vernaculars and village dialects. Consequently, diglossia, i.e. the coexistence of a highly elaborate, formal language alongside a more colloquial form of the same tongue naturally occurs in many instances.

5.1.0. Diglossia

Diglossia is a term introduced by Charles Ferguson in 1959. "A diglossia exists in a society when it has two distinct codes which show a clearly functional separation; that is, one code is employed in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set.⁸⁴ Moreover, it is sometimes a serious violation of social behaviour if codes are used in inappropriate situations. This can cause certain codes to be associated with certain social groups or behaviours and these codes inevitably divide themselves into High (HV) and Low (LV) varieties."

⁸² Estimated to July 2006, www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/htm

⁸³ *ibid*

⁸⁴ Hamers, J.F. and Blanc, M.H.A. (1989), *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, page 31.

Concerning the sociological point of view, we can generally say that the High Variant corresponds to status, high culture and a strong aspiration upward social mobility, whereas the Low variant is more associated with solidarity, comradeship and intimacy by its speakers.⁸⁵

As we have seen (see 1.2.0.), Hindī also has these two varieties.

5.1.1. High Variant

Firstly *śuddh Hindī*, i.e. the High Variety, that was artificially created for the needs of Hindī as a national language after 1947, drawing its vocabulary mainly from Sanskrit. This variant is typically used for delivering sermons, formal lectures, legal and administrative transactions, e.g. in courts of law, parliament, for political speeches, radio broadcasting, newspapers, literature etc.

5.1.2. Low Variant

Secondly it is *calit Hindī (Hindustānī)*, i.e. the Low Variety that is used for giving instructions to workers in low-prestige occupations, e.g. servants, in casual conversations, with family and social groups. The low variety is typically acquired at home as a mother tongue meanwhile the high variety is learned later, usually at school.

5.2.0. Double-nested diglossia

India being a country of many cultures, languages and various dialects, there is, concerning the linguistic point of view, a special type of diglossia, called *double-nested diglossia*. It is another variation on diglossia as described by Gumperz (1964) of a village situation in India, north of Delhi. The HV is Hindī and the LV is called *Khalāpur*.

Khalāpur is spoken by all villagers and is always used in local interactions. Hindī is learned in school or by having lived in the cities. Better educated and socially prominent villagers speak Hindī in matters relating to commerce and politics (i.e. outside village matters). Furthermore there are two sub-varieties of Hindī in the village, i.e. *conversational* and *oratorical*, the latter containing borrowings from Sanskrit and special consonant clusters. It is used for formal speech situations, e.g. lectures, however this variety may have to be explained in conversational Hindī or *Khalāpur*.

Then there are also two sub-divisions of *Khalāpur*, i.e. *Moṭī Bolī* (literally “gross speech”) used in informal communication and *Sāf Bolī* (literally “clean speech”) used with more distant acquaintances and to show respect to elders.

Apart from this, double-nested diglossia is a clear example of code-switching (see 5.4.1.)

⁸⁵ Ibid, page 32.

5.3.0. Bilingualism in India

The complex sociolinguistic situation is highlighted and closely connected with various types of bilingualism. A substantial Indian minority is able to speak two Indian languages, e.g. Hindī and Marāṭhī in Bombay, Maharashtra, Hindī and Bengālī in Kolkatta, Bengal etc.

We have to understand, though, that the connotation does not have to be necessarily the bilingualism that we are, most often, used to, i.e. knowledge of two different languages. As we have seen above, there is also a special type of bilingualism, i.e. diglossia that determines the peculiarity in the Hindī language of the existence of two parallel pairs, the standard and colloquial language.

Nevertheless, let us now examine another case of bilingualism in its most common sense, i.e. knowledge of two different languages, and it will be the case of Hindī-English bilingualism and the sociolinguistic position and influence of English as well.

Bilingualism in India is inextricably linked to social context. India's long history of foreign rule has fostered what Clarence Maloney terms "the linguistic flight of the elite." It is also estimated that only around 3 percent of the population is truly fluent in both English and Hindī.⁸⁶ However minor this number may seem, we have to realize the special position of English in India; it serves as an associate official language, a lingua franca among western-educated Indians, it is the language of press, magazines, administration, justice, technology, medicine and science. Apart from these, English has contributed to the emergence of new literary styles and the Anglo-Indian literature written by Indians for Indians in English. Lastly, throughout the twentieth century, radio, television and internet have contributed to the widespread of English words, even into villages.

5.4.0. Multilingualism, Language Switches and Codes

As we have seen from the paragraphs above, India with its many languages, dialects and varieties is not only a diglotically high and multilingual and bilingual country but a country with high "codes" potential as well. To understand this problematic from the Indian perspective better, I decided to utilise this quotation by Kachru (1983), who has given an apt example how a multilingual speaker in Bombay, Northern India might use different codes in his repertoire. He describes an Indian businessman living in the suburbs of Bombay. His mother tongue and home language is Gujarātī; in the market he uses a familiar variety of Marāṭhī; the state language; at the railwaystation he speaks the pan-Indian lingua franca, Hindustānī; the language of work is Kachī, the code of the spice trade; in the evening he will watch a film in Hindī and listen to a cricket/match commentary on the radio in English.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ about 28 million people in 1995, www.wikipedia.com, India

⁸⁷ Kachru, Braj, B. (1983), *The Indianization Of English / The English language in India /*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, page 150.

From this point, I shall be interested in another linguistic aspect of the English influence on Hindī, i.e. a linguistic device of code-switching and code-mixing. As Kachru (1983) demonstrates these two features are, as a matter of fact, two distinct manifestations of language dependency and language manipulation. Naturally, in discussing these features, there are two presuppositions; firstly that there is a language (dialect) contact, i.e. between Hindī and English and secondly that there are functional or pragmatic reasons for the use of code-switching and code-mixing.⁸⁸

5.4.1. Code-switching (CS)

Code-switching entails the ability to switch from one language (code A) to another (code B). The alternation of codes is determined by the function, the situation and the participants. In other words, it refers to categorization of one's verbal repertoire in terms of functions and roles. It may be used as a device to mark, among other things, an identity, an aside, a specific role on one hand or to express anger, disapproval, joy or solidarity on the other .

Moreover, code-switching is a feature at the syntactic level, i.e. it takes place at a sentence level where sentences of another language, i.e. code B are inserted while using a language, i.e. code A .

Naturally, CS is typically observed in diglossia-type situations. Thus this feature can be observed both within the Hindī language itself, e.g. as in case of the double-nested diglossia (5.2.0.) where the "switches" mark the situation and the relationship with the participant and between various variants of Hindī and English as well.

5.4.2. Code-mixing (CM)

Code-mixing, on the other hand, entails transferring linguistic units from one code into another, i.e. from English to Hindī for, my purposes. In other words, CD is a process whereby a word or a phrase of a second language (code B) is used in a syntax of a language (code A). Such a transfer, i.e. mixing results in developing a new restricted or not restricted code of linguistic interaction. As mentioned above, each language and code has a different function.

Subsequentially, a multilingual person is generally able to associate a function and an effect with a certain code, i.e. English. This code-mixed variety thus provide sociolinguistic indicators of various types and has a wide range of use such as interactional context from personal to formal discourse, literary texts, newspaper stories and captions, advertising etc.

The motivations for the use of CM with English can be divided into three categories, i.e. style-identification, register-identification and elucidation and interpretation.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Ibid, page 200

⁸⁹ Kachru, Braj B.(2005), *Asian Englishes Beyond The Canon*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, page 114.

Furthermore, he suggests another type of division into various ranks that form a hierarchy. The morphological ranks of code-mixing are as follows : 1) Noun-phrase insertion, 2) Verb-phrase insertion, 3) Unit hybridization, 4) Sentence insertion, 5) Idiom and collocation insertion and 6) Inflectional attachment and reduplication.

5.4.2.1. Style-identification

This style is used both in interpersonal interaction and literary creativity.

The Englishization of style is a socially accepted marker of education, class, status, power, modernity and so called "Westernization". We can generally claim that the speech of all educated Hindī speakers is marked by varying degrees of code-mixing with English, with the language of His Highness, the Heir Apparatus, verging on code-switching. The connotation of "eliteness" carried by the variety of Hindī mixed with English is, no doubt, a reflection of the status of English as an elite language.⁹⁰

For example:

tum nahī jān'ī, he is chairman Mr. Mehta's best friend yahā do cār din ko hī āye haī. Maī ne socā, I should not miss the opportunity.

(You do not know [him]? He is the best friend of a chairmain Mr. Mehta [and he] has come [to stay] for a few days. I was thinking that I should not miss the opportunity [to meet him])

In this case, the Hindī speaker wants to express his erudition, knowledge of the E terms and the status as well.

5.4.2.2. Register-identification

"sāyans sālā angrezī ke binā kaise ā sakt'ā hai?"⁹¹

This feature can be particularly observed in areas, where Hindī registers of terminologies have not been stabilised or have not received general acceptance. Thus the mixing is used as a device for elucidation and interpretation, and people use these English terms in order to avoid vagueness and ambiguity. A register specific mixing is most likely to be used in areas of technology, science, medicine, politics, administration and law, i.e. all the fields where English is the prevalent and dominant language.

This type of CM results in Sanskritization, i.e. the various processes such as the creation of neologisms, calques and others so as to avoid the use of English terms at all cost. (see more in chapters 2.7.2., 2.7.3., and 2.7.4.) In stylistic terms it may mark religion and caste. It has also developed registers for philosophy, literary criticism, and religious discourse. In other contexts, Sanskrit lexicalization is considered "*paṇḍit*" and thus marks "pedantic style." In oratorical style, Sanskritization is associated with rightist, revivalist politics e.g. *Rāṣṭrīya Svayam Sevak Sangh* (RSS). The opposite of this, i.e. the stress on retaining the E words in favour of the Sanskrit ones is true of the Drāvida Kazhagam in Tamil Nadu, South India, which emphasizes desanskritization.

Consider the following examples:

⁹⁰ Kachru, Braj, B. (1983), *The Indianization Of English / The English language in India /*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, page 201

⁹¹ How can you understand science *sālā* [cursed word] without English.

This sentence was said by a teacher in the classroom, who found it difficult to explain the concept of density only in Hindī. *ibid*, page 200

■ Technical context :

kisī ne ḍrāy'var kā ḍrāy'ving lāy'sens chīnā, kisī ne rejīstreśan kārd koī bek vyū miro khaṭ khaṭāne lagā, koī ṭrak kā horn bajāne lagā, koī brek dekh'ne lagā.

(Somebody snatched his driving licence and registration card away, somebody started to break the back view mirror , others started to blow the horn or to brake.)

■ IT technologies – mobiles phones

As an example of CM from up-to-date India, i.e. summer 2006, I have decided to attach an Airtel instruction. As we can see, in comparison with the English original below, most of the Hindī sentences follows the Hindī sentence structure, nevertheless the lexicon is mostly of English origin. It is also necessary to mention that the situation, i.e. CM is the same in every domain applying to computers and IT technologies in general.

Śurūāt kar'nā (Getting started)

Ap'ne nae eyaratel pṛipeḍ sim kārd ko istemāl kar'ne ke lie āpko nae eyaratel pṛipeḍ ricārj kārd kī āvaśyak'tā peregī. Ap'ne nae pṛipeḍ kārd ko ricārj kar'ne ke lie bas nimn'likhit āsān carāṇṇ kā pālan karē.

(To start using your new Airtel prepaid Sim card, you need a New Airtel Prepaid Recharge card.

Simply follow the procedure mentioned below to recharge your NA Prepaid Sim card.)

1. *ap'ne hainḍeṭ mē nae sim kārd ko dāl'kar, use svic ān karē*

(Insert your New Airtel Prepaid Sim card into your handset and switch it on.)

2. *āp'ke hainḍeṭ skrīn par āie nae eyaratel neṭ'vark koḍ dikhāi paregā.*

(Airtel network code appears on the handset screen.)

3. *16 ankō vāle nambar ko dekh'ne ke lie ricārj kārd ke pīche dī silvar paṭṭī ko dhīre-dhīre kharocē.*

(Gently scratch the silver panel on the reverse of the recharge card to see a 16 digit number.)

4. *123 par kāl karē aur ap'nī prāthamik bhāśā cunē.*

(Call 123 and choose your preferred language.)

5. *vāyas nirdeśō kā pālan karē aur nivedan par ap'nā 16 ankō vālā ricārj nambar enṭar karē.*

(Follow the voice announcement and enter the 16-digit recharge number, when requested.)

6. *āp'kā nayā pṛipeḍ akāunt ap'ne āp hī kāling vailyu rāśi se ricārj hī jāegā, aur āp'kā naī bakāyā rāśi evam vaidh'tā avadhi ke bāre mē sūcit kar diyā jāegā.*

(Your New Airtel Prepaid account will be automatically recharged by the calling value amount, and your new balance and validity displayed to you.)

5.4.2.3. Elucidation and interpretation

This applies to using specialised vocabulary or technical concepts when after using the term in Hindī, a close equivalent in English is used to elucidate the term. It is like providing a translation equivalent.

Compare:

Yah gārī havākulit hai matlab vah ear-kandīśanḍ hai (This train is air-conditioned (Hindī word), I mean it is air-conditioned.(English word)

From the morphological and syntactical point of view, we can generally observe that all the three aspects of CM share one common feature, i.e. the sentences and grammatical structures are that of Hindī, however all the nouns and the lexical part in general have been substituted by the English word, thus only Hindī postpositions and basic verbs such as *kar'nā* or *denā* remain.

5.5.0. Hinglish

In India, where English is a lingua franca of educated people whose first language is a language other than English but who are also practically fluent in English often employ CS and CM by inserting English words, phrases or sentences into their conversations. This has given rise to a dialect jokingly referred to as **Hinglish**, which is a mixture of Hindī and English. This highly popular mixing of both the languages is typical for most parts of northern and central India and a prevalent style among urban elites. Nevertheless, due to the massive influence of Bollywood films (where this dialect is a prevalent style), Hinglish has reached the audience in towns and villages and is not therefore restricted to urban elites any more. In fact, close examination reveals that in normal conversations, an average sentence spoken by an Indian, even if said to be in an Indian language, invariably contains words from both English and the relevant Indian language, i.e. Hindī. Consequently, many speakers do not even realize that they are incorporating English words, sentences or phrases into Hindī sentences.

5.5.1. Hinglish in Bollywood films

Bollywood is the informal name given to the popular Mumbai-based Hindī language film industry in India. It is the largest producer in the world in terms of the number of films produced and tickets sold. Bollywood is also commonly referred to as Hindī cinema, even though use of poetic Urdū words is fairly common. Furthermore, with a growing presence of English, the film songs and dialogues feature dialogues with English words, phrases and even whole sentences which has resulted in a wide spread of Hinglish.⁹² Therefore, nowadays Hinglish is not only seen in urban and semi-urban centers of population, but is rapidly spreading its root into rural and remote areas via these films, television and word of mouth, slowly achieving vernacular status.

⁹² It is an interesting though little known fact that unlike the narration of a Bollywood script, which is in Hindī or Hinglish, many contemporary screenwriters first write their scripts in English. The specifics of a screenplay such as location, time of day, scene descriptions, and camera movement are nowadays always in English and only then given to specialists who translate some parts into Hindī. Therefore the result is a great proportion and occurrence of English words, sentences etc (Hinglish).

For more information on Hinglish in Bollywood films, see [http:// www.lehigh.edu.html](http://www.lehigh.edu.html).

Let us demonstrate Hinglish in Bollywood films, i.e. CM and CS, with a dialogue between a father and a son and a film song.

■ For example (code-mixing):

ded, t̄āym kyā huā hai? (Dad, what is the time?)

no baje (nine o'clock)

o māy gad, no baje? mujh 'ko jānā hai. rāyṭ nā (Oh my God, nine o'clock? I have to go, right now)

phir milēge. tek ker. (See you later, take care)

■ For example (code-switching)

In this song called *Terā merā pyār sanam* (Your and My Love) we can see, that the first paragraph is sung only in English and then in the second paragraph there is a switch to Hindi. This, again, is fairly common in all Bollywood films.

yor lāv is lāyk e sṭār, śāy'ning in māy hārṭ (your love is like a star, shining in my heart)

lāy'ting ap māy lājif, it is trū giral (lighting up my life, it's true girl)

nevar felt this ve befor (never felt this way before)

āy kīp wonting iṭ mor end mor (I keep wanting it more and more)

voṭ vud āy bī vidaut yū garl (what would I be without you girl)

merī sānsō se tere pyār kī khuś'bū āyī (Your love has filled my breath)

tere āne se mere dil par nikhār ā jāye (My heart has filled up with loveliness)

dil ko tune jo chuā (Since the moment you touched my heart)

aisā mah'sūs huā (I have been feeling this way)

jaise seh'ra mẽ bhī bhūl se ghaṭā cchā jāye (as if a cloud has spread over my wedding garland)

terā, merā pyār sanam, vāda hai kabhī ho na kam (Your and my love, let it be not less than a promise)

ban ke dhad'kan tū merī jānam base dil maī mere (May you stick in my memory/heart as a heartbeat)

Lastly, it is important to realize that the huge impact of Bollywood films and Hinglish is not only limited to India and the Indian subcontinent but reaches as far as Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Africa and particularly to the UK, Canada and the US where Bollywood has its largest diasporic audiences due to large immigrant populations.

5.5.2. Indian communities in the world

/A case of code-switching and code-mixing due to Bollywood films/

Outside India, the Indian population number about 4 million in the Middle East, about 3 million in South East Asia, about 1 million in South America and the Carribean, followed by about 2,5 million in Africa, about 2,5 million in Europe, about 3,5 million in North America and lastly about 0,5 million in Oceania.⁹³

Most of these Indians watch Bollywood films, hear Hinglish and they themselves use more or less CS and CM for a number of reasons. It is commonly used when a person living in a different country to the language, which they usually speak, finds that they have no relevant translation of a word, expression or concept created in the country which they are now living. On the other hand, a person from a different culture to the one in which they are living may find it necessary to switch back to their mother tongue in order to explain something which has no linguistic equivalent in the environment tongue. In this sense CS and CM is inevitable.⁹⁴ Alternatively, CS is also used in order to help an ethnic minority community retain a sense of cultural identity. In much the same way that slang is used to give a group of people a sense of identity and belonging, and to differentiate themselves from society at large.

5.5.3. English as a source of slang and jargon

English has also influenced and contributed to Hindī by using various slang expressions (as already shown in 2.5.5.6.3., 2.5.5.6.4., 2.5.5.6.5.) when e.g. E nicknames, swear words or words of approval are being used as an active part of the Hindī vocabulary.

Furthermore, English has contributed to and influenced Hindī in terms of various jargons. Jargon is a terminology, much like slang, that refers to a specific activity, profession or group. An interesting feature, not only restricted to the Hindī-speaking areas is the usage of English as a source of jargon of Indian taxi drivers in general.

An example from a real situation recounted by an Indian writer Vishnu Kare during his stay in Prague in 1972 when one of his friends, a foreigner, told a taxi driver in śuddh Hindī : “*śīghr calo, mujhe śīt hai!*” (Drive quickly, I am cold). Nevertheless, the taxi driver did not seem to understand, so the foreigner shouted angrily: “*Go quickly, I am cold!*” and the taxi driver answered with relief: “*Why didn't you say it directly in Hindī?*”⁹⁵

⁹³ For individual states see www.wikipedia.com – Non Resident Indian/numbers. These numbers, of course do not take into account Indians living abroad illegally. Thus they must be taken only approximately.

⁹⁴ An interesting and an up-to-date study case has been published by S. Al-Azam, who researched and examined, among others, the sociolinguistic differences (CS and CM) between the first and the second generation of the Indian Bengālī community living in Manchester, Great Britain. Interestingly, he discovered that both generations use code-switching very frequently but completely in the opposite order, i.e. the first generation uses English words in Bengālī sentences meanwhile the second generation uses Bengālī words in English sentences. On the syntactic level, i.e. code-switching, the first generation uses English clauses or sentences while using Bengālī, whereas the second generation use Bengālī sentences in their English expressions. For more information on this matter, see : Al-Azam, S.(2006), *Linguistic Manipulations in the Bengālī Language by the Bangladeshis in Manchester*, SACS, Vol.1., No.1, pages 53-59

⁹⁵ See Vacek, J. a Preinhaelterová H. *Úvod do studia indických jazyků II.*, Univerzita Karlova v Praze, page 124

5.6.0. Hindī and the position of English according to the Indian Constitution

"Unity in diversity is our STRENGTH"⁹⁶

As we have seen from the above paragraphs, the position of Hindī and English in India is very complex. The situation is not easier or clearer as stated in the Indian constitution either.

The Indian Constitution (1950) granted English the status of an associate official language to be used in this capacity until the 26th January 1965 (article 351), while Hindī was accepted as the official language of the Union, i.e. a national tongue (Article 343). As drafted, the constitution provided that Hindī and English were to be the languages of communication for the central government until 1965, when the switch to Hindī was mandated.

The Official Languages Act of 1963, pursuing this mandate, said that Hindī would become the sole official national language in 1965. English, however, would continue as an "associate additional official language." After ten years, a parliamentary committee was to consider the situation and whether the status of English should continue if the knowledge of Hindī among people of other native languages had not progressed sufficiently. The act, however, was ambiguous about whether Hindī could be imposed on unwilling states by 1975. In 1964 the Ministry of Home Affairs requested all central ministries to state their progress on the switch to Hindī and their plans for the period after the transition date in 1965. The news of this directive led to massive riots and self-immolations in Tamil Nadu in late 1964 and early 1965 with slogans such as "English ever, Hindī never", leading the central government, then run by the Congress to back away from its stand. A conference of Congress leaders, cabinet ministers, and chief ministers of all the states was held in New Delhi in June 1965. Non-Hindī-speaking states were assured that Hindī would not be imposed as the sole language of communication between the central government and the states as long as even one state objected. Consequently, in 1967 the Official language amendment bill was passed, giving a statutory recognition to the continued use of English as long as the non-Hindī regional governments did not want a change.

Except for this, there has also been the so-called three language formula at schools since 1957 that includes a study of one's mother tongue, Hindī and English. (i.e. in Tamil Nadu Tamil, Hindī and English, in Maharashtra Marāṭhī, Hindī and English etc.) Nevertheless, especially in Tamil Nadu where an unanimous preference is given to English rather than Hindī – this formula is completely out of touch with reality.

We can generally conclude that to fulfill its purposes, i.e. for Hindī to be really the official language of India, it must not only be standardized, thereby encroaching both on its own dialects and minority languages, but also taught to a higher percentage of the population, (not only "in theory" according to various Bills).

⁹⁶ An inscription written on a cover of an Indian exercise book for students that I bought in Agra, India. I have chosen this "motto" as it, in my opinion, gives aptly a true picture of the Indian sociolinguistic situation, the Constitution and Indian language policy as well.

Hindī would need to become the language of instruction and administration, affect the economic and career interests and the self-respect of an ever-greater proportion of the population all of which are, so far, the domains of the English language.

5.6.1. The domains of English

As we have seen, the first reason why Indians give such an importance to English is related to the historical fact that India was a British colony. Furthermore, the domain of English are defined by the Indian Constitution which assigns English the status of an associate official language.

According to Platt (1984) the Official Language is generally used for government administration and the Higher Courts of Law, in the media and as one of the languages of education, at least of secondary and higher education on a nation wide basis.⁹⁷ These are the domains of the most important language of India, in addition to the most read and written language in India. Besides, English symbolizes in the Indian mind better education, better culture and higher intellect and thus serves as the communicator among Indians who speak different languages (i.e. a lingua franca). It is also favoured due to its "neutrality" in many interactional contexts such as colloquial language, slang, nicknames, approval, words and phrases describing relationships, love, sex etc (as already shown and described in paragraphs from 2.5.5.6. to 2.5.5.6.5.) .

On the other hand, it is also true that especially in North India, Hindī and English have come to play complementary/supplementary roles in the socio-economic context, e.g. English that is not a language of agriculture in India, is the medium of instruction in the agricultural universities because all modern knowledge on agriculture is in English. English, which is not the language of day-to-day business in the market place, is the language of business management courses in the universities because it is the language of international business etc. Nevertheless, this division shows again the absence of language planning and political will in implementation and lack of co-ordination among Central Government, State Governments, universities etc. These are the factors and obstacles that prevent Hindī from being a truly official language (as I have also mentioned at the end of 5.6.0.).

⁹⁷ Platt, J., Weber, H., Ho, M.L. (1984) *The New Englishes*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, page 19

5.6.2. The attitudes toward English

Lastly, when speaking of English and its influence in North India, it is interesting to observe the attitudes towards English. We can say that there are, in general, three basic attitudes shared by all Indians toward the English language, usage and its lexicon as well. Firstly, reverence, i.e. those people who consider English a gift to India, secondly abhorrence, i.e. English as a symbol of eternal slavery and thirdly the “middle path” of the practical attitude toward the use and knowledge of English.

The best metaphor for the first attitude, i.e. the reverence toward the English language in India, would be that of Nagarajan (1978), who compared this situation with a cow. Both the cow and the English language are held in reverence and worshipped, though for different reasons and with different expectations of a reward. Cow-worship is practiced according to their ancient sculptures and is believed to bring them, in the distant future, the infinite riches of the *paraloka*, the unseen other world, while the “worship” of English is expected to bring the devotee the wealth of this world *itiloka*, the here and now – a promising career, a prosperous bride/groom, a coveted green card and a Non-Resident Indian status.⁹⁸

Unlike those who regard English and the education in English in India and its usage and loanwords as a “gift to India”, there are also others who regard English as a symbol of the eternal slavery and degradations which has hindered national and cultural identity. It would be among these people, that we could find various “purists” who have been trying to substitute all the English loan words by Sanskrit ones, thus creating the artificial style of *śuddh Hindī*.

Interestingly, within this second group, there is also a group of intellectuals and writers who are so “loyal” to Indian languages that they criticize Indians writing in English but surprisingly (and ironically) their criticism is voiced in English and they even write themselves in English because of the market potential.

And lastly, somewhere in between these two intertwined attitudes, there is a third group of people who pragmatically view English as a “window to the world”, and the English education as providing to Indians the intellectual and conceptual ability. The roots of this attitude can be traced to Raja Rammohan Roy (1772 - 1833), the founder of one of the first socio-religious reform movements called Brahma Samāj. In Roy’s opinion, English provided Indians with the key to all knowledge and was the best medium for Indian education as well.

⁹⁸ Krishnaswami, N. and Burde, S. A. (2004), *The Politics of Indians’ English /Linguistic Colonialism and the Expanding English Empire*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, page 1.

5.7.0. Conclusion

The sociolinguistic situation in the Hindī speaking area is very complex. Firstly, due to the number of dialects of Hindī, North India is a highly diglottic area, where, as we have seen, there is a big difference between the High Variant and the Low Variant of Hindī, i.e. between śuddh Hindī and Hindustānī, between the language of people living in cities and people living in villages.

Secondly, the complex sociolinguistic situation in North India is highlighted and closely connected with various types of bilingualism. One of these, i.e. the use and influence of the English language has resulted in various codes. These codes, i.e. code-switching and code-mixing usually fulfill complementary functions and are used differently according to the interlocutor, domain, topic and role. Furthermore, the insertion of English words, phrases or sentences into conversations has given rise to a dialect called Hinglish, i.e. a mixture of Hindī and English. Besides, English is also used as a source of various slang expressions and particularly in jargons.

And lastly, English, being the associate official language of India, is particularly dominant and more important than Hindī in domains such as government administration, the Higher Courts of Law, in print, in medias and in secondary and university education.

6. SUMMARY

Hindī and English language – two language giants in the world. The first one being spoken by about 600 million people⁹⁹ and the latter, nowadays, the most important and international language.

As we have seen, English from its very first contact with North India in the 17th century has been influencing Hindī for more than three hundred years. From the very beginnings, when the first English loan words were borrowed, thus creating another source of the Hindī lexicon, apart from already existing words of vernacular, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian origin. The semantic range of the loan words differed according to the time period they were borrowed, i.e. firstly the word for unknown objects to words for the latest technological inventions in the 20th century.

Furthermore, once the English words were borrowed, they have also undergone various phonological changes and adaptations, concerning the pronunciation and word stress.

Naturally, when the English loans became established, some of them have undergone various changes of meaning in comparison with the original English meaning. Most of the words were also incorporated from the morphological point of view, i.e. in case of nouns, they were assigned gender and number in order to be able to decline them. Besides, English and its standard and usage is also responsible for various linguistic processes in Hindī, such as calque and neologism formations.

English has also influenced Hindī on the syntactical level, changing its original word order, using the punctuation marks, impersonal constructions, passive voice and indirect speech.

And lastly, the greatest impact of English upon Hindī can be observed on the sociolinguistic level where English has been responsible for various sociolinguistic features such as code-switching and code-mixing. English is not only an important source of slang words and jargons but an important language in terms of bilingualism as well.

The domains of English, in comparison with Hindī, are clear from its status given by the Indian Constitution, as the associate official language, thus prevailing in the domains such as government, administration, school, law, medicine, technology etc.

Last but not least it is also a well known fact that popularity of a language depends on the social prestige and social status. Considering the fact that English serves as a lingua franca among educated Indians, it is more than obvious that in modern North India English, and not Hindi, is the language of social status and power.

⁹⁹ Spoken by 333 million native speakers, by 300 million Indians as their second language and by other 8 million speakers outside India. <http://www2.ignatus.edu/faculty/turner/languages.htm>

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A list of abbreviations

All the abbreviations used in my thesis are listed in the alphabetical order. They are not listed in succession as they were mentioned in each chapter of my work.

<u>abbreviation</u>	<u>meaning</u>
A	Arabic
AD	anno Domini
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
BC	before Christ
CM	code-mixing (sociolinguistics)
CS	code-switching (sociolinguistics)
E	English
e.g.	for example
EIC	The East India Company
ESBS	Educated Southern British English
H	Hindī
HPNU	Hybrid Polylexical Naming Units
HV	High Variety (concerning diglossia)
HCS	Hybrid Coordinate Syntagmas
ibid	ibidem
i.e.	that is
KhB	Kharī Bolī (a dialect that is the origin of both Hindī and Urdū
LV	Low Variety (concerning diglossia)
n	noun
OED	The Oxford English Dictionary
pl.	plural number
P	Persian
Por.	Portuguese
RP	Received Pronunciation
RSS	Rāṣṭrīya Svayam Sevak Saṅgh
S	Sanskrit
sg.	singular number
v	verb
VNE	Verbal-nominal Expressions