CHAPTER IX

INTER-LINGUAL INFLUENCES

1. Introduction

In the present day linguistic situation in India English has come to stay and its cultural and linguistic influence is pervasive and persuasive. At the same time our language is not going to be Indian pidgin because both English and Indian languages have their identities. Neither can replace or transform the other. Still the inter-lingual influences are a strong reality. These influences point to co-operation and mutual inclusiveness. This co-operation and inclusiveness is relevant to the field of teaching and learning as well, specially at an advanced linguistic and cultural level. While our Hindi is affected by English, our English is conditioned by Hindi.

2. Pervasive Influence of English on Hindi

The Relevance of Hindi for a learner of English as an L2 becomes all the more meaningful and effective on account of the fact that a large portion of modern Hindi (both written and spoken) is deeply influenced by English and, quite often, it is even a translation of the ideas and notions originally conceived in English. A great deal of Hindi written and spoken is markedly anglicised, be it in any field -- social, political, economic, industrial, commercial, scientific, conversational,
Modern Hindi is directly or indirectly so much influenced by English that anyone well-versed in both these languages will easily perceive where and to what extent a particular passage is an adaptation of the ideas and structures conceived in English.

3. A Sample of Modern Hindi

Let us look at a passage of Hindi taken from a Hindi daily and mark the influence of English on the linguistic patterns in it. It is also important to note here that the following piece is an original passage and not a translation from English:

एक सूचित कविता
काल्पनिक के मामले में सरकार खुला दिखाना रखती है और सभी प्रभावित पक्षों और विशेषज्ञों से राय लेने से गुरूं नहीं करती वह इससे साफ होता है कि प्रत्यूप कर नियम (संशोधन विषयक 1987) में सरकार इन लोगों के विचारों के प्रकाश में संशोधन करने के लिए तैयार है।

...सूचित कविता के सीमान्त किसानों के लिए प्रस्तावित जलवायु नामक विषय कार्यक्रम के व्यापर उत्पादक नहीं हैं लेकिन 1988-89 में उससे 50 हजार किसान परिवार लाभार्थित कर पाना एक छोटी शुल्क शामिल कर जा सकती है। हरिजनों, आदिवासियों और सीमान्त ग्रामों की कुटिये के विज्ञात एक बल्क वाला करनबाग दिलवाने का प्रस्ताव स्वागत है और यदि 1988-89 में वक्रै ऐसे पांच लाख परिवारों को यह लाभ मिल सके तो ज्योति कुटीर कार्यक्रम अपना नाम संरक्ष कर लेगा।

The above passage constitutes only a small part of the long editorial from which it has been taken. But it is representative of the form of modern Hindi write-ups. Note-worthy are the underlined words and expressions each one of which calls for attention towards its non-native anglicized character.

i. एक खुशिंस्तर बनत : This Hindi phrase is obviously a literal translation of an expression ('well-thought-out') in use in English. This Hindi expression with the meaning implied here would have been unimaginable if there had not been in use the English expression 'well-thought-out'.

ii. खुल दिमाग = open-mind : It is not exactly a native expression and unless one is used to reading, hearing and understanding the English expression 'open-mind' one may not grasp the exact sense which the writer wishes to communicate. This expression is likely to be misunderstood by one who, otherwise howsoever well-versed in Hindi, is not acquainted with the English phrase 'open mind'. Such a person may misunderstand this expression to mean 'a liberal approach', 'a concessional attitude', etc., whereas the connotation here is slightly different -- 'unprejudiced or unbiased approach which is prepared to be accommodative', distinct from खुल दिल (फराख दिल ), one who is broad minded, liberal and generous. As a Hindi expression it

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2. Some words, such as this one, which are as yet in the boiling pot, come to be accepted in the required sense only after they get used in that sense again and again.
may be taken as an adaptation of 'open-mind' and an extension of फराख दिल or खुला दिल.

iii. रखती है = has: This verbal expression is quite unusual even in the most liberal Hindi translation. सरकार का खुला दिमाग है is certainly Hindi-like but सरकार खुला दिमाग रखती है is only a translation of an idea originally conceived in English or, at best, a contribution of English in the use of Hindi as a language of communication.

iv. प्रभावित = affected: It is a direct influence of English language but it is a word acceptable in Hindi because of its equal terseness which flows from the use in it of -क्त suffix, which is corresponding to the past participle form of an English verb also used as an adjective.

v. वह इससे साफ होता है: The writer here has translated the English construction: "That the Government has an open mind ... becomes clear from the fact...". Such patterns of Hindi sentences are new, and speak volumes of the continued influence English is exercising on Hindi. The attempt on the part of the speaker or the writer may be unconscious but a new pattern, a new construction of sentence is being introduced into Hindi. Soon after their introduction such constructions become a part and parcel of Hindi communication.

vi. विचारों के प्रकाश में = in the light of the ideas: This expression is only remotely a Hindi expression and obviously it
is the result of the impact of English on Hindi but it is being tolerated and accepted, and even welcomed. When I pointed it out to some colleagues of mine, by way of experiment, that it was an interference, they remarked that it was just an example of how English was enriching Hindi. They further added that the idea conveyed herein could not be conveyed in any other form than this one, the fact of its having been imported notwithstanding.

vii. सूखा-प्रभावित = drought-affected: It is a compound word and has been possible only because the past participle forms (with का suffix) of verbs are common to English and Sanskrit (and because of it also to Hindi). Hence a readily acceptable compound word. All the same, it is not a native expression in as much as it has never earlier been used in this form. Moreover, प्रभावित here interferes with the native sense of the same word used in other and natural contexts:

ि उसके विचारो से बड़ा प्रभावित हुआ क्योंकि उसका व्याख्यान बड़ा प्रभावशाली था।

प्रभाव in such contexts is positive, whereas the प्रभाव implied in a situation of drought is negative. But this can be perceptible only to a person steeped in the long native tradition. Hindi journalists who spin out newspaper Hindi in large quantities are more 'affected' by English than by the Sanskrit-Hindi continuum of speech. The native and natural expression for सूखा-प्रभावित probably is सूखा-मृत्त (strong; though, it is) but some of us are, truly, 'English-मृत्त' (stricken
with English) whereas we should be only English-प्रभावित (influenced by English).

viii. सीमान्त = marginal: This Hindi translation is rather jarring to Hindi ears tuned to native Hindi. It had not been used in Sanskrit or even Hindi literature in this sense, until a few years ago. The expression is the result of literal translation from the English original, i.e. 'marginal'. सीमावर्ती for that matter, could be a better form, and keeping to the native tone. सीमान्त, perhaps, violates the original sense also. Hindi is still at a developing stage and it is being influenced by those who matter at present (such as journalists) and in fact, by their knowledge of languages other than Hindi -- among which English occupies the foremost, if not the only, place.

This phrase which sounds jarring today may soon become a commonly-used expression having this and only this sense in which it has been used in the present context. One may look up V.S. Apte's English-Sanskrit Dictionary to discover that for 'marginal' the only Sanskrit equivalents given are प्रश्नस्थि and प्रश्नवर्तिन् (and not सीमान्त) which too, of course, do not give the required sense here.

ix. एक छोटी सी शुरुआत कहीं जा सकती है = can be called a small beginning: It is by no means a native Hindi expression.

x. स्वागत है = is welcome: स्वागत के योग्य है should have been

the native expression. But Hindi is being made as terse and as succinct as English is and hence we have a new coinage with the help of -कें suffix. Sanskrit affixes and other declensions come handy in the process.

4. Conversational Hindi

Coming to conversational Hindi we find that the impact of English here is the greatest. We never used to greet each other the way we greet our friends and acquaintances these days. We ask about each others' welfare in a language which would be strange to our predecessors. The niceties and courtesies we exchange with each other are at once new expressions added to the language of our social intercourse. In fact the tone and tenor of our conversation in Hindi has undergone a sea change under the influence of western culture and English manners. Hindi is imperceptibly losing its original flavour, although the new flavour might have made Hindi more lively and spicy. The new influence has changed the native idiom to an indistinguishable extent. And there seems to be no end in sight to this process which is likely to continue till the English and Hindi idioms, hopefully, merge into a common Indian idiom as different cultures and civilizations tend to merge.

Let us look at some of the expressions given below:

1. सुभाष/शुभ प्रातः instead of नमस्ते, etc.

ii. क्या मैं आपका नाम जान सकता हूँ instead of आपका शुभ नाम (क्या है)
iii. याफ कीजिए श्रो जी or ज़रा or inviting one's attention in some other way.

iv. अगर आप खुश न मानें तो...

v. क्या मैं आपका पैन ले सकता हूँ? instead of मैं आपका पैन ले लूँ?
or जरा पैन दीजिएगा.

vi. आप क्या बस से जाएंगे या ट्रेन से? instead of ... बस में ... या ट्रेन में?

vii. चाहेंगे पीना? or चाहेंगे पीयेंगे? instead of the imperative addressed to the housewife: चाय बनाए लैजिए,
or आपके लिए चाय बनवाते हैं।

Comments on the above

i. These days we hear सुप्रभात at the beginning of the breakfast T.V. programme, which is a literal translation of 'good morning'. Maybe the word is used half seriously but with the frequent use of this word or the similar expression शुभ प्रातः at the beginning of our conversation, this word is soon going to be accepted into Hindi and its dictionaries. And once it gets a respectable place in the dictionary it will acquire full acceptability in Hindi. Another such word is शुभ रात्रि, a literal translation of 'good night'.

ii. क्या मैं आपका नाम जान सकता हूँ?: This and such expressions are finding favour with Hindi users and are increasingly being regarded as more courteous and hence more acceptable than sentences like आपका क्या नाम है? --which to one schooled in courteous behaviour sounds rough and rugged. Such expressions,
when added to Hindi idiom, will undoubtedly change the tone of the language. It is obvious that सकता हूँ is a translation of 'May I'. Even आपका शुभ नाम क्या है which is already very courteous is being dropped in favour of this expression.

iii & iv. माफ कीजिएगा and अगर आप बुरा न माने तो:
These expressions are imported and are on way to assimilation into the Hindi language.

v. क्या मैं आपका पैन ले सकता हूँ?: Perhaps never before in Hindi has permission been sought in a questioning (questionable?) expression like this. कृपया पैन दे दीजिए.

or मैं आपका पैन ले लूँ?
is original Hindi-like.

vi. आप कह से जाएगेया या ट्रेन से is a direct influence of English in the change of preposition from the native के into से.

vii. चाय पीजिए? The speaker appears to be saying something not in native Hindi and, therefore, he is only translating his ideas conceived in English, into Hindi. This expression is almost a literal translation of 'Would you like to have tea'? Besides, it is all a direct influence of English manners on Hindi users. I sometimes ask some of my village-mates who visit me in the city "आप चाय पीजिए?" This expression, as becomes evident from their facial expressions, sounds to them discourteous and unworthy on my part. I soon realize that I have translated the English sentence "Would you have tea?", and before they say
retortingly 'नहीं,' I firmly order tea to convince them of my courtesy and hospitality, that I really wanted to offer them tea. One day one of my rural acquaintances (who speaks the unalloyed Haryana Hindi idiom) retorted to me that I need not ask anyone if he/she wanted to take tea or not. He further added that if I was to serve someone tea I must offer it straight and know of their willingness or otherwise for tea in response to the firm offer. In any case, though at the moment anglicised Hindi is sometimes misunderstood by some natives, it will acquire full intelligibility in the due course of time. This linguistic mix is possible in a situation of cultural mix, not in that of cultural exclusiveness. And 'a pedagogical mix' in our circumstances is a part of the cultural inter-communication. I happened to view a Haryanavi play on the T.V. one evening. One elderly character was telling the other village folk: भई, उस आदमी का पंजाबी ने हुक्का पानी बन्द कर दिया. Everybody acquainted with village life, language and culture understands what हुक्का पानी बन्द करना means. But the character added, apparently for the benefit of the illiterate village audience (but in reality for the city-bred and anglicised), भई, हुक्का पानी बन्द करने का मतलब है सोसल बाईकिट. In other words we are at present living in a situation of linguistic and cultural mix wherein the language of the simple illiterate villagers has to be translated for the same villagers through the medium of rural English. Not for the villagers, really, we know too well, but
for the city folk. Nevertheless, the simplest variety of Hindi and the localized English are coming together anyway.

5. Hindi as Officialese

The Hindi being used in the offices is the most considerably affected area of this language. A passage of Hindi officialese is not fully intelligible to one who is not used to English officialese. The construction of sentences in Hindi officialese is a direct translation of English sentences. There is little realization that such constructions are normally not acceptable in Hindi with the same connotations as they have in English. But with the passage of time such alien constructions too are getting fused into the native Hindi idiom. The following lines constitute a good example of how the Hindi being used in offices is mostly a literal translation of English sentences:

i. लिपिक को सीधे अधिशक के पर्यवेक्षण में सारा लिपिकीय कार्य करना चाहिए ।

ii. वह परीक्षा भवन से बाहर नहीं जाए अथवा कोई ऐसा कार्य नहीं करेगा जो उसे अधिशक द्वारा न सीधा गया हो ।

iii. वह उत्तर पुरस्कारें भेजने में अधिशक की मदद करेगा ।

4. Instructions for Supervisory Staff (Bhiwani : Haryana Board of School Education, 1989).
Whereas the instruction carried in the first sentence is in Hindi-like Hindi, the instruction at serial No. ii makes use of future tense for communicating a duty which in Hindi is normally communicated with the help of such imperative verb-forms as जाए, करें, etc. A similar language has been used in instruction No. iii. Hindi in this context requires an imperative for third person singular while the language used communicates the imperative in future indefinite ignoring the fact that the use of 'shall' in the future indefinite form for third person singular is for a prohibitive purpose but in Hindi नही जाए is not prohibitive, it being a simple negative.

Now let us put these two instructions (ii & iii) into native, unalloyed Hindi. For one who has read a lot of such instructions in English it is difficult to draft these instructions in native Hindi because, in this case, his English will interfere with Hindi. Therefore, only one who has never read such instructions in English will be able to communicate the exact sense in pure Hindi. So the help of a Hindi teacher in a Gurukul, not at all conversant with the English language idiom was sought. He gave the following rendering with possible alternatives:

ii. उसे परीक्षा भवन से बाहर नहीं जाना और जो काम उसे अर्थवस ने सीचे हो उनके अतिरिक्त कोई और कार्य नहीं करना।

or

उसे परीक्षा भवन से बाहर नहीं जाना चाहिए... कार्य नहीं करना चाहिए।
But those who are acquainted with the force of 'will' /
'shall' in English for communicating compulsion, prohibition or
authoritativeness are tempted to translate English sentences
into Hindi the way they have been done by the board authorities.
And since there is not much check on arbitrary translations in
Hindi, Hindi is taking a shape through more or less liberal,
literal translation of English expressions. And since most of
our rules, regulations and office papers are written in English,
official Hindi has been left free to suffer the effects of
English. Also we come across the following passage:

> हर्याणा विद्यालय शिक्षा बोर्ड
> आपको सूचित किया जाता है कि माननीय शिक्षा गणनी महोदय की अध्यक्षता में हुई बैठक में लिखे गये निर्णय एवं निदेशक, शिक्षा विभाग हर्याणा द्वारा जारी परिपत्र के अनुसार
> बोर्ड द्वारा परीक्षा संचालन से सम्बंधित लगाई गई हंदूटी अवधारण है । इसकी अन्वेषणा
> करने पर विभागीय कार्यवाही की जायेगी ।

How easy it is to translate it into English because this passage
itself is a translation of the rules originally drafted in

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5. Ibid.
English. So, not much effort is required to bring it back to its original form as has been attempted below:-

Haryana School Education Board, Bhiwani

You are informed that, as per the decision taken in a meeting presided over by the Hon'ble Education Minister, and the circular issued by the Board, the duty assigned in connection with the conduct of Examination is compulsory. Departmental action will be taken if it is violated.

What is to be considered here is: which passage is written in a more native, i.e., natural and idiomatic language — the Hindi passage or the English passage? The obvious answer is: the English passage. In Hindi आपको बुझित किया जाता है, ...द्वारा नारी परिपथ, etc., are foreign expressions. Original thinking in Hindi would have resulted into a different version\(^6\) of the whole thing.

6. Some Imported Lexical Items

Another interesting point worthy of note is the entry into Hindi of English idioms, phrases, expressions and proverbs — expressions which have hitherto been unheard of in Hindi.

6. Besides, our rule of law and our dashing democracy too are responsible for this proliferation of the anglicised style. Consider, for example, whether you have to inform the employee of the duty or also of the source of the prescribed duty as well as the power behind it. Probably, if the source of duty/power is not intimated, and the employee violates the duty, then the defence would say that the gravity of the violation was not intimated to the person concerned. Hence he/she violated the duty without realizing rightly the gravity of the offence. The result is a heap of officialese in Hindi as much as in English.
Some of them for illustration are as follows:

i. खोरे हाथी  
   a white elephant.

ii. काली भेड़  
    a black sheep.

iii. मील का पत्थर  
    a milestone.

iv. अरण्य रोदन  
    A cry in the wilderness.

v. ईमानदारी उल्लम नीति है ।  
    Honesty is the best policy.

Originally they are English expressions but with the increased interaction between the English-knowing people the common Hindi users and the Anglo-Indian Hindi of the Media these expressions have now been accepted as a part of Hindi language. Expressions in such an interlingual situation can be mutually exclusive, approximate, agreeable, similar or exactly alike. But the inter-lingual movement is closer and closer.

English language is known for its brevity and terseness. Instead of communicating an instruction in a sentence with a full-fledged verb in it, the exact sense is sought to be communicated through the minimum use of words, e.g., in the following:

i. No entry/No admission

ii. Lockers available

iii. Exit/Out

iv. Entrance/In

v. Out of stock

vi. Diversion

vii. Road under construction.
The brevity and effectiveness of these expressions can be matched by the brevity of Sanskrit. In any case a similar pattern of expressions is evolving in Hindi also, (of course under the influence of English) not directly in line with its ancestor, Sanskrit. Hindi by character is not as terse as English or Sanskrit. But with the help of Sanskrit phraseology and following the English patterns, Hindi also is evolving expressions and a style as brief and terse as possible. The following Hindi equivalents indicate just that:

i. प्रवेश निषिद्ध

ii. लॉक्ज़ उपलब्ध

iii. निकास/बाहर (निर्माण झार/बाहर जाने का रक्ता were the original expressions but could not sustain on account of their elaborate forms)

iv. प्रवेश/अन्दर

v. माल खत्म

vi. मोड़

vii. सड़क निर्माणपीठ (Earlier we used to see signboards indicating this position of the road thus:

यह सड़क बन रही है.)

Strange words and phrases are coming up for the description of new concepts. Some of them may be acceptable and in fact welcome, communicate as they do the exact sense contained in their corresponding English equivalents. But some of them, at the moment, appear ludicorous. Such words, however,
are only in the process and may soon take a better shape. Some of these are:

i. प्लास्टिन for 'Toilet'
ii. जन सुविधाएं for 'Public conveniences'
iii. कर्मी for 'Workers'
iv. पीढ़ी अधिकारी for 'Presiding Officer'
v. दण्डाधिकारी for 'Magistrate'
vi. यन्त्र for 'Engineer'
vii. मण्डल for 'Board'/'District'/'Circle'

Now let us see how anglicised Hindi helps a learner of English whose MT is Hindi. Above, we have discussed certain words, phrases, idioms, expressions and proverbs which have got into Hindi language under the influence of English. If the ideas sought to be conveyed through these words, phrases, etc., of Hindi were existent in a form other than the present one, a learner would have to make extra effort to understand and identify the corresponding words, phrases, etc., of English. But now for an expression such as खुला दिमाग how easy it is for a learner to understand and identify the corresponding English expression 'open mind'. On the other side if there were no such expression for 'open mind' in Hindi as खुला दिमाग (which is a direct result of the influence of English) and, instead, if there were उत्तराण हृदय (as is given in Apte's dictionary) things would be a lot more difficult for the learner.

However, it is true that this relevance is effective in a greater degree at an advanced stage of learning or at the intermediate stage. For one who is at the initial stage the relevance cannot be as marked as at these two stages.

7. Punctuation Marks

Then we come to a field in which Hindi has been completely anglicised. This is the field of punctuation. Punctuation marks, as at present, are as much an integral part of Hindi as they are of English. Undoubtedly these marks have been borrowed for Hindi from English. They have been found so useful in communication and specially in averting confusion likely to be created from a write-up without punctuation marks that they have been accepted as such in Hindi. So much so that even the linguistic purists in Sanskrit have found them very useful and imported them into Sanskrit, a classical Indian language. One can find even an old Sanskrit write-up, put in a modern way, fully loaded with almost every kind of punctuation mark including the inverted commas as exemplified in:

तौ दुष्टव्यच, काकोढवदन् -- सखे निंधाम् | कोम्यं विक्रेय: ? ८

(On seeing the two, the crow said, "Friend, Chitranga, who is this other one?")

Without the use of the punctuation marks it would have been

difficult to understand quickly the meaning of this sentence. In Sanskrit there are passages, expressions and phrases which are difficult to understand or are ambiguous only on account of the absence of proper punctuation marks. In ancient times Sanskrit poetry had only two punctuation marks:

1. Half stop indicated by one vertical line : (l)
2. The full stop indicated by two vertical lines: (ll)

In ancient Sanskrit prose only the full stop (l) and no other punctuation mark is found. And incidentally, it can be said that for want of punctuation (besides, for want of word order and for a superstitious kind of love for sandhi) old (not modernised with the punctuation marks) Sanskrit texts can be most annoyingly clumsy and ambiguous even in philosophic discourse.\(^9\)

In the beginning of the development of Hindi language only these two punctuation marks, viz., the semi-stop and full-stop were inherited from Sanskrit. But with the increased inter-action with the English language the Indian scholars found the English punctuation marks extremely useful and meaningful in Hindi also. Consequently the punctuation marks of English have been accepted almost as such without much modification. Wherever adaptation was tried, as in the case of bringing (l) in place of the dot (.) it is being found cumbersome, and the consensus

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9. One such line carrying a terrible ambiguity is being quoted here from an important philosophical treatise:

नेष्वरास्विष्टे फलविष्विति: कर्मणां तत्सिद्धः (Sankhya Darshana, V, 2).
is by and by emerging in favour of the dot (.) The prestigious Hindi weekly Dharmayuga has dropped the traditional पूण्यिका in favour of the dot (.) Let us have a look at some important punctuation marks being used in the two languages. It is worth noting that every mark is used for similar purposes and similar places:

| i. Full stop (.) | i. पूण्यिका (.) |
| ii. Comma (,) | ii. अल्पविराम (,) |
| iii. Semi-colon (;) | iii. अर्थ विराम (;) |
| iv. Colon (:) | iv. अपूर्ण विराम (:) |
| v. Mark of Exclamation (!) | v. विद्वास्य बोधक चिन्ह (!) |
| vi. Mark of Interrogation (?) | vi. प्रश्नवाचक चिन्ह (?) |
| vii. Inverted Commas (" ") | vii. उद्दरण/अवतरण चिन्ह (" "); |
| viii. Dash (--) | viii. रेखक (--) |
| ix. Hyphen (-) | ix. योजक चिन्ह (-) |

Thus we see that almost all the punctuation marks have travelled into Hindi and they serve almost the same purpose as they do in English. If some marks are at the moment being used for additional or different purposes, soon the situation is likely to change, resulting into more or less complete identification, of form and purpose.

8. Hindi-ized English

The English language being taught in Indian schools and
colleges is not wholly the native British English. It is largely the Indian variety of English. The Indian variety of English is a distinct and institutionalised variety, made up of not a few local Indian elements as a result of the influence and interaction of several L1's of India -- particularly Hindi and Urdu. Wherever this Indian variety of English has been influenced by Hindi or Hindustani the relevance of the knowledge of Hindi is bound to be there all the more for learning it. So now let us see how far English stands Hindizised/Indianized.

As Hindi has been considerably influenced by English, so Indian English too has been influenced no less by Hindi. "Indian English is one of the recognised non-native varieties of English like American English, African English, Australian English, etc. which are quite different from British English in several ways."¹⁰ It is indeed so much Indian that a large number of phrases and expressions used by world famous Indian writers of English are unintelligible even to those who are well versed, but exclusively, in British English or for whom the non-Indian English is L1. On the contrary this too is true that all those Indian expressions are clearly and immediately intelligible to the Hindi/Urdu oriented Indian users of the language. It is not that only a few expressions or phrases of English are Hindizised or, to be more accurate, Indianized, but even the syntax and

structure of Indian English are highly influenced by the Indian way of thinking. Indian culture, Indian sense of values, balance and proportion, Indian conduct, and Indian psyche, are conspiring to give to the English used in this country a local colour, character and flavour.

Indian English as stated above is one of the institutionalized forms/versions of English. To begin with, this variety was viewed with sneer or cynicism, the term being used in a derogatory sense. It was called 'Babu English', 'Kitchen English' and by a host of other names -- all to underscore its non-nativeness and hence by implication its inferior status. But of late it has come to be recognised as one of the major non-native varieties of English. Idioms, phrases, expressions, structures, syntax, pronunciation, lexical and semantic items being used in Indian English are steadily acquiring international acceptability. They are no longer being labelled as deviant expressions, much less faulty ones.

In the expression 'Indian English' the modifier 'Indian' refers to "that variety which developed on what was traditionally called the Indian sub-continent and which now includes Bangla Desh, India, Nepal and Pakistan." This

11. Ibid., p. 17.
12. Ibid., p. 66.
variety of English is full of Indianisms in the same way in which American English is full of Americanisms, Australian English is full of Australianisms and African English is full of Africanisms, and so on.

Indian scholars have made strong pleas in favour of Indian English as a standard language for India and they do not consider Indianisms in any way deviant. Noteworthy in this connection is the view of A.N. Jha expressed as early as Sept. 1940. Addressing a conference of English Professors, playwrights and critics in Lucknow, he said:

May I in this respect venture to plead for the use, retention and encouragement of Indian English? Is there any reason why we need be ashamed of Indian English? Who is there in the United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh) who will not understand a young man who had enjoyed a 'freeship' at college and who says he is going to join the 'teachery' profession and who after a few years says he is engaged in 'headmastery'? Similarly why should we accept the English phrase 'mare's nest' and object to 'horse's egg' so familiar in the columns of Amrit Bazar Patrika? Why should we adhere to 'all this' when 'this all' is the natural order suggested by the usage of our own language? Why insist on 'yet' following 'though' when in Hindustani we use the equivalent of 'but'? Must we condemn the following sentence because it does not conform to English idiom, even though it is a literal translation of our own idiom? 'I shall not pay a pice, what to say of a rupee'. Is there any rational ground for
objecting to 'family members' and adhering to 'members of the family'?...A little courage, some determination, a wholesome respect for our own idioms and we shall before long have a virile, vigorous Indian English.13

Though the tone appears to be rhetorical the argument is clear. 'It is almost exactly the same opinion as expressed by Dr. A.H. King in 1972 before a meeting of the international Association of the Teachers of English as a foreign Language, in London.14 Jha implicitly, as Dr. King explicitly, underscored mutual comprehensibility and a requisite minimum standard. The distinctive characteristics of Indian English have been emphatically brought out by Jha. It is worth noting that while certain expressions quoted by him have not found a place others have stayed in Indian English.

There is no doubt that, mostly, Indian English is a result of the influence of the MT. The Transfer of syntax, lexis, phonology, semantics, etc., from the Indian languages into English is mainly responsible for this non-native and Indian variety of English. In fact similar features have developed in all the non-native varieties mainly due to the influence of the native languages of the countries in which these varieties of English have developed. However, the problem—if at all it is to be called a problem—of the native Indian

13. Quoted, Kachru, pp. 142-43.
influence on English becomes rather complex because the number of MT's in India is very large, with at least eleven major languages and 1661 dialects. All the same, the different varieties of MT's neither cancel nor conflict with the influence of English on any one variety because the historical, cultural and social background of each Indian language is a local paradigm of one common and homogeneous background and linguistic core.

The role of a native language in the development of Indian English (as also in the teaching of it) has sometimes been called an interference. But this is being a little unfair to the development of the English language in India as also to a native language playing its natural, and hence healthy, role of developing another language. If English is to be used in the Indian context by Indians who have a rich linguistic and cultural tradition of their own, a new variety of English is bound to come into being. New coinages have got to emerge in certain Indian contexts the like of which do not obtain in the other countries where English is being used as an L1. New formations have to be coined and new adaptations of native words and expressions have to be accepted after being just transliterated at a stage of experimentation. There are new contexts, legal, religious, social and cultural. In fact in every field in India we have situations peculiar to India and so
these new coinages have to be brought into being and then used. It is out of these natural and historical exigencies or compulsions that new expressions, phrases, words and even structures are born. Indian English fiction cannot exist without the use of these newly coined words and phrases if the Indian flavour is to find expression in the writings. Even the authors using English as L1 and residing in countries with English as L1 cannot help coining new words, phrases, etc., to prove equal to the task of describing faithfully an Indian situation in their works. And we need not be apologetic about it in the colonial tradition which has now grown into a mutual and co-operative culture of the commonwealth. If we study the English used in British or American fiction and plays, we shall discover that the English of the native English illiterates is given a literary respectability we shall not dream of in India. The educated Indian has all the more justification to use his Indian English for his self-expression.

So instead of calling the role of a native language and culture an interference it would be fair to call it a legitimate influence in the course of natural language evolution and development. For this very reason, at least for making an analysis of Indian English and for teaching it in the classroom we shall call the role of the Indian languages and of native Indian culture as one of direct and indispensable relevance.
Four features of Indian English deserve at least a brief discussion here -- though they have been discussed more thoroughly earlier also in this thesis. The purpose here is not so much one of re-iteration as of emphasising their Indianness which makes them more relevant in the teaching context. They are:

i. phonology ii. grammar
iii. lexis iv. semantics.

a) Phonology: Spoken English in India is different from that in England, America or Australia. The sound system here is different. Therefore, the mutual intelligibility between an Indian speaker and a native speaker is not 100%. Some sounds found in Indian English just do not exist in native British English. The MT plays a very vital role in shaping the pronunciation of a speaker of English in India. R.K. Bansal says on the intelligibility of Indian English:

English as spoken by educated people in India does not differ radically from native English in grammar and vocabulary but in pronunciation it is different from both British and American Englishes. Even within India

15. i. There is a joke an Englishman has at the cost of an Indian speaker. Two Indians, it is said, were talking about their age:

One said: I am 'dirty' (thirty).
The other: I am 'dirty too' (thirty two).

ii. Also, an Indian teacher of English teaching in London at a County school (where he was the Head of the Department) told us that on account of the typical British impression of sounds and sound sense, a native English child spells the word 'think' in seven different ways, some of which are: 'tink', 'sink', 'fink'.
there are large number of regional varieties, each different from others in certain ways and retaining to some extent the phonetic patterns of the Indian language spoken in that particular region.\textsuperscript{16}

Thus there is a distinct Indianness in Indian English as far as its phonology is concerned.

b) Grammar: Grammatically also Indian English is different from the British English. The influence of the grammar of the MT seems to be making a great impact on the grammar of English being used in India. For example, verbs of perception such as 'see', 'hear', 'feel', 'understand', etc., are seldom used in progressive tenses in native English. But an Indian writer, under the influence of his own language does not care for this rule:

Let us consider, as an example, the 'be + verb + ing' construction in Indian English. In such constructions some Indian English users seem to 'violate' the selectional restriction applicable to such constructions in the native varieties of English, where the members of the sub-class of verbs such as 'hear' and 'see' do not occur in the progressive tenses. This restriction, on the other hand, does not apply to Hindi-Urdu verbs 'सुनना = to hear', 'बालना = to see' (e.g., मैं सुन रहा हूँ = 'I' 'listen'

'progressive' 'am'; 'I am listening'; मैं देख रहा हूँ 'I' 'see' 'progressive' 'am' 'I am seeing'). The tendency is to extend this feature to Indian English.\textsuperscript{17}

Also Indians do not care for the rules of the use of the articles. There is reduplication while forming the interrogatives. Indian English does not bother about taking the helping verb (or in some cases even using the helping verb at all) before the subject, for example:

\begin{itemize}
  \item X What you would like to do now?
  \item X Why you went to Delhi yesterday?
\end{itemize}

Similarly in question tags:

\begin{itemize}
  \item X He has come back, isn't it?
  \item X He has come back, hasn't he?
\end{itemize}

as in native English: and even

\begin{itemize}
  \item X He has come back, no?
\end{itemize}

which is a direct influence of Hindi/Indian languages.

These examples have been cited only to show the extent and variety of the influence which Indian languages have come to exercise on English in the Indian context.

c) \textbf{Lexis} : While reading any Indian English newspaper, magazine, law-book, religious literature or social treatise, we

\textsuperscript{17} Kachru, p. 78.
come across a number of terms which are essentially Indian. Some of them have been assimilated even into British English but others still have not found a place in English dictionaries though they are being frequently used in India without any reservation on the part of the writers and the speakers.

In fact when English was taking roots in India there were two attitudes towards borrowing Indian source items into the English language: one, of linguistic purism; and, the other, of linguistic tolerance. The borrowing process, nevertheless, could not be stopped because English had to be used in the Indian context. The native English vocabulary was far too inadequate to describe Indian situations, both physical and mental. As a result, a large body of words had to be accepted. This process is still continuing and now the Indian users of English need not seek the British sanction for transferring an Indian lexical item into Indian English either as such or in an adapted or adopted form.

However, most of these lexical items are restricted in their use to India only and have not been assimilated into other varieties of English since the contexts for their use are exclusively Indian. They are restricted to typically Indian registers of law, politics, society and newspaper writing. Some of them are single lexical items such as 'bandobast', 'purohit',
'quazi', 'kotwal', 'Ahinsa', 'Satyagraha', etc. Others are hybrid items such as 'Lathi-charge', 'tiffin-carrier', 'goonda ordinance', 'police-wala', 'goondaism' 'coolie-dom', 'naukar-shahi'.

Thus a sizeable chunk of Indian English vocabulary has been derived from Hindustani, making the knowledge of the MT relevant to the learning of English as an L2.

d) Semantics: The Indian variety of English has certain semantic features some of which are as follows:

i. Semantic restriction of English words: Some words taken either from an Indian source language (e.g., 'ahinsa', 'satyagraha') or from English (e.g., 'cousin sister') have a restricted meaning. The first two are used only in Indian or similar contexts and the third one (never used as such in British English) is used for a girl who is the daughter of an uncle.

ii. Semantic extension of English words: Certain words have some definite meanings in native English, but when they are used in Indian English they get their meanings extended to some definite connotation. Some such words/expressions are 'stripney', 'hair-tuff', 'loin-cloth', 'sacred thread' and the universal 'uncle ji' in the modern context of Indian sense of deference serving in a situation of pervasive sense of egality and democracy -- in an 'uncle ji urban culture'.
iii. **Archaisms**: An item is considered an archaism if it is no longer used in the original sense in the native varieties of English. Some archaisms have been preserved in Indian English while they have gone out of use in the native varieties of English. For example 'bosom' is still being used in India to mean 'chest'/'breast' of a person but it is rarely used in this sense in native English.

Thus we see that the English being taught and learnt in India is essentially Indianised English -- Indianised phonologically, semantically, grammatically, lexically and in other respects also, including accent and tone, for example. Naturally, therefore, the knowledge of MT will help a learner a lot in learning English and a reference to the MT will help the teacher too.

It is, however, a different matter that the stage at which this particular kind of relevance operates is not the initial stage. It is at a fairly advanced stage of learning -- in fact while reading Indian literature -- that Hindi-ized English is used. It is also used in certain practical fields of life such as law, politics, administration, etc.