CHAPTER 3

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter an attempt has been made to study the process of decolonization of English language and how decolonization has been employed as a communicative strategy by Indian English writers to create a language of their own, in order to assert their own identity. Following this we have discussed decolonized English. The next section of the chapter deals with the analysis of the linguistic peculiarities of Indian English, which is further divided into subsections like phonetics and phonology of Indian English, grammar of Indian English, lexis of Indian English and some other features typical to Indian English like reduplication, polite diction and myths and caste in Indian English.

The term Decolonization may simply be defined as the action of changing from colonial to independent status. Decolonization is a process where a colonized people, by developing a consciousness based on the remnants of their traditional culture, redefine themselves as people and reassert the distinct qualities that historically guided their existence. It may also be defined as the process by which a colony gains independence from a colonial power, a process opposite to colonization.

Decolonizing would therefore imply and demand: (i) rejection of colonial imports and imitations; (ii) re-appropriation of our native soil and its promises and possibilities; (iii) sowing of this soil with our own problems, sufferings and struggles, our own needs, hopes, experiences and tears; and (iv) careful gathering of our harvest with which to foster human life and humanizing visions, and to equip ourselves for action. Thus, to decolonize, is to liberate yourself from the colonial yoke.

Decolonization is part of a deliberate anti-colonial strategy. It is a step in the process of the dismantling of the imperialist centralism. Decolonization is a mental process, a deliberate attempt to break free of the shackles of the colonization, therefore establishing a free status. It is employed as a
communicative strategy by the writers, a tool to create a language of their own and their own way of looking at things. The language of decolonized writers registers a deliberate and calculated shift from the norm and standard of conventional language. Decolonization reflects a change in mentality, the writers consciously aim at reorienting the language; modes and expressions of the native language have recognized national rather than imported significances and references and convey local realities, traditions and ways of feeling.

Edward W. Said explores the notion that there are two stages in the process of decolonization. The first takes place in the physical and geographical sense and the second, more complex and difficult, takes place in the cultural, social, and ideological realms. Said writes that the second stage is characterized by "an effort at the restoration of community and repossession of culture that goes on long after the political establishment of independent nation-states." Such a cultural nationalism is concerned with imaginatively constructing, or reconstructing and reviving, a cohesive national identity that receives much of its force from its deliberate contrast with the previous imperial culture. The rise of post-colonial and nativist literature is part of this process and dovetails with trends in postmodernist literature, produced by Western and post-colonial authors alike, in which, as part of the larger postmodern movement of exploring particular modes of being and constructions of reality, one can detect what John A. McClure calls the "resurgence of magical, sacred, pre-modern and non-western constructions of reality"; this being only the latest stage of "the religious wars of modernity and postmodernity: the suppression, survival, and resurgence of traditions marginalized by European conquest."

Some of the most vigorous debates in post-colonial societies have centered on exactly what ... "decolonization" implies and how it should be achieved. Some critics have stressed the need vigorously to recuperate pre-colonial languages and cultures. For the most resolute of these critics, colonization is only a passing historical feature which can be left behind entirely when "full
independence” of culture and political organization is achieved. Others have argued that not only is this impossible but that cultural syncreticity is a valuable as well as an inescapable and characteristic feature of all post-colonial societies and indeed is the source of their peculiar strength (Williams 1969).^4

To think that colonialism can end abruptly, dictated by independence’s inception, is naive. Colonialism - which brings new values, new beliefs, foreign languages, and alien traditions - cannot be shed like the skin of a snake and then tossed away and forgotten. It will always leave something behind, some form of colonial residue.

Language seems to be the most obvious and the most pervasive of the colonial legacies, especially in the countries over which the British Empire held sway. This becomes evident when one considers the fact that a great amount of internationally recognized post-colonial literature in India has been written in the English. Because language “provides the terms by which reality may be constituted” and “the names by which the world may be “known,”^5 perhaps the effects of language in a colonized country transcend the basic function of speech as communication and acquire a more cultural significance. Ngugi Wa Thiong’o may be implying this when he writes, “Language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world.”^6 This significance placed on language raises the great debate: What should become of the English language in the former British Empire? Should it be rejected, embraced or perhaps subverted? Does writing in English suggest the betrayal of the mother tongue or the assumption of a new post-colonial identity? Is English a “Post-colonial anomaly, the bastard child of the Empire”^7 or has it evolved to fit the need of its speakers in the post-colonial world? No one can deny the socio-economic advantages that the knowledge of English brings.
Two of the major responses to English’s pervasiveness in post-colonial writings include rejection and subversion.

Fearing English’s encroachment on indigenous culture and traditions, Ngugi Wa Thiong’o calls for the complete rejection of the imperial language and concludes, “The bullet was the means of the physical subjugation. Language was the means of the spiritual subjugation.” He believes that the retention of the colonizers language prevents a nation from ever gaining true independence.

Subversion involves the use of English as a means of retaliation, hence the concept of “the Empire writes back.” “The post-colonial writers” adoption of the colonial language to local needs by decolonizing it and reconstructing it into a “very different linguistic vehicle” attempts to impose something on the West. Ethnographic phrases, found in Salman Rushdie’s writings function as assertion of the author’s naming power, for “to name the world is to “understand” it, to know it and have control over it.”

Wole Soyinka’s response to the colonial past of the language is very insightful - indeed, very refreshing; he says that English has turned into “a new medium of communication,” and thus represents “a new organic series of mores, social goals, relationships, universal awareness- all of which go into the creation of a new culture.” Soyinka uses a very potent metaphor when he says that [b]lack people twisted the linguistic blade in the hands of the traditional cultural castrator and carved new concepts into the flesh of white supremacy. And the result, says Soyinka, is “the conversion of the enslaving medium into an insurgent weapon.” What Soyinka says about Africa is indeed already true in the world of English in Asia. What Soyinka means when he says that “black people” are “carving new concepts” by the use of the medium and what Quirk means by “liberation linguistics” is actually one of the major strengths of the English language in Asia. We cannot overlook the significance of such a conceptualization for Asian uses of English.
African writers in English often draw upon local traditions of oratory; proverbs, myths, legends and metaphors to create an Afrocentric ethos, and here one could instance the novels of Ngugi wa Thiong'o from Kenya, Chinua Achebe from Nigeria, the Ugandan poet Okot p' Bitek or the novels of Ama Ata Aidoo from Ghana. The effect of fusing these contrasting cognitive systems has affinities with "magic realism," though many such novels and poems were written before the term became fashionable. More recently, Ngugi took the decision to write novels in his mother-tongue, Gikuyu, in a conscious manoeuvre designed directly to address the Gikuyu people rather than a primarily western readership.

Ngugi's radicalism carries linguistic decolonisation to a logical conclusion, but writers in English have also developed strategies by which they challenge Eurocentric representations. Achebi's ground-breaking novel *Things Fall Apart* was written as a response to Conrad's vision of African savagery in *Heart of Darkness*. Jean Rhys, from Dominica, in her novel *Wide Sargasso Sea*, gives substance to Bertha, the mad woman in the attic in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, exposing the 'canonical' author's unthinking complicity in contemporary views on race. The South African writer, J.M. Coetzee deconstructs the text of Robinson Crusoe in his novel *Foe*, which subtly centralises the character of Friday. Caryl Phillips (born in St Kitts) has deftly woven the story of *Othello* into his latest novel, *The Nature of Blood*. These are just a few writers who have, in Salman Rushdie's words written "back to the centre," recuperating representations of "third World" identity from the western canon.

English during the British Empire had become an integral part of Indian nationalism. No one really had the time or the inclination to bother about the English they were using, whether it measured up to the requirements of Standard English or not. They were using the English they knew, the English they thought would serve their purpose best. They were people with the purpose and it was the intensity of the purpose, which made their English
spontaneous and unselfconscious. And this is where the decolonization of English really started. The English language began to acquire a different character and to assure a different personality.

"Put India in the Atlantic ocean and it would reach from Europe to America. It’s high time Indian literature got itself noticed, and it is happening." In his Introduction to Mirrorwork: 50 years of Indian Writing, Salman Rushdie writes: This collection is a celebration of the marriage of the English language and the Indian culture, “the prose writing-both fiction and non-fiction created in this period by Indian writers writing in English is proving to be a stronger and more important body of work than most of what has been produced in the 16 ‘official languages’ of India; the so-called ‘vernacular languages’ during the same time.” Rushdie notes that the pieces represent 50 years of work by four generations of Indian writers, and they are as various as “the huge crowd of a country” they hail from – “that vast, metamorphic, continent-sized culture that feels, to Indians and visitors alike, like a nonstop assault on the senses, the emotions, the imagination, and the spirit.” Indeed the most immediate expression is of the extraordinary variety: The works here range from Ruth Prawer Jhabvala’s cool somber In the Mountains, to Bhapsi Sidhwa’s nightmarish record of the destruction of the Muslim village in Ranna’s Story, and from the complex realism of Rohinton Mistry’s The Collectors to the impressionist tongue-in-cheek narrative The Trotter-Nama by I. Allan Scaly. The stories do share, though, a clear, persistent desire to locate an identity for India, as well as the struggle to reflect in written language the sheer zest of India’s many tongues. In Midnight’s Children Rushdie mentions the redrawing of India’s map in 1956 in which the boundaries of states “were not formed by rivers, or mountains, or any natural features of the terrain; they were instead walls of words. Language divided us ......” Judged from this point of view, Rushdie’s multilingual medium in the novel may be considered a plea for resisting the artificial division or portions of Indian democracy and for embracing fluidity and multiplicity, which is the ultimate reality about India.
The question is whether this adoption of language variance as a technique for literary discourses undermines the homogenous character of English and make it a distinct entity creating a linguistic distance from English. Critics of the post-colonial language use suggest that the creativity of the post-colonial writers does not make a thrust for cultural difference but rather for a cultural compromise affected through the alchemy of "colonial structures and indigenous processes." The language used by these writers sets up, albeit inadvertently, and implicit hierarchy between imperial structure/language/culture on the one hand and indigenous process/practice/experience on the other.

Some of the strategies employed by the writers in decolonizing the English language are: (i) using a number of native words; (ii) using translations of certain characteristic expressions, idioms and sayings; (iii) imposing the syntax of the native language without, however doing great violence to English grammar; (iv) imposing the native speech rhythms of the English language spoken by the native characters. The motivation in the use of native words and expressions is the deliberate attempt on the writer’s part to convey native-ness.

The post-colonial texts of the diglossic societies use a language, which is different from the language of power and gives the writer an amplitude of freedom which conformity to the metropolitan/standard variety so far denied. Distinguished between ‘English’ as is the norm for the metropolitan centre and ‘English’ as is the now-devised post-colonial variety Bill Ashcroft et al. in *The Empire Writes Back* quote Terdiman to show how English has established itself as distinct and separate: “In this process of ‘becoming’ English, by asserting its opposition to the centre and constantly interrogating the dominance of the ‘standard’, establishes itself as a contrastive or counter-discourse.” At the same time, that is, as an English, ‘emerges’ from English it establishes itself as distinct and separate. A considerable range of linguistic variance is generated; even though such variance is always attacked from
centre by the dismissive terms 'colloquialism' or 'idiom.' The post-colonial cross-cultural texts take advantage of the liberality of the tongue and make extensive use of hybrid and unglossed local terms. The post-colonial writers go through the process of abrogation and appropriation to make it possible.

The process of decolonization of English in India includes using language "unproblematically" which on the one hand enhances the process of abrogating and replacing the English language and on the other hand forges a multilingual need to capture the polyglossic and multicultural reality. Since language is a primary means of defining the self, anticolonial writers, seize the language of the centre and replaces it in a discourse fully adapted to the cultural ambience of India. By re-moulding the colonial English to new, inventive, need-based usages; they give a jolt to the notion of the illusory standard of normative or 'correct' usage. They force the language of the centre to bear the burden of communicating the cultural experience of the periphery. It is, as Raja Rao puts it in Kanthapura, to "convey in a language that is not one's own the spirit that is one's own." The deliberate use of native terms by post-colonial writers is also a strategy for characterization.

### 3.2. Decolonized English

In this jungle of metaphors, English is Hydra-like with many heads, including one that, in the view of Raja Rao, India's metaphysical writer, is uplifting for, as he says, it "...elevates us all." Rao has no hesitation in equating English in India with the Brahmanic sacred language Sanskrit. The metaphors "the Flowering Tree" or "the Speaking Tree" points to yet other dimensions of English: its multiculturalism and pluralism.

Decolonized texts have both a national identity and a linguistic distinctiveness (e.g., Indianness, Africanness.) The linguistic realization of such identities is achieved in several ways: the text may have both a surface and an underlying identity with the native varieties of English; it may show only partial identity with the native norms or it may entail a culture-specific (e.g., African, Asian) identity both at the surface and the underlying levels and share nothing with
the native variety. Thus, decolonized texts have several linguistic and cultural faces: they reveal a blend of two or more linguistic textures and literary traditions and they provide the English language with extended contexts of situation within which such literatures may be interpreted and understood.

English in Asia has already acquired functional nativeness, and that Asia's English must be viewed in terms of that nativeness, which includes uses of English:

1. as a vehicle of communication across distinct linguistic and cultural groups at one level of interaction;
2. as a nativized medium for articulating local identities within and across Asia;
3. as one of the pan-Asian languages of creativity;
4. as a language that has developed its own subvarieties indicating penetration;
5. as a language that continues to elicit a unique love-hate relationship that, nevertheless, has not seriously impeded its spread, functions, and prestige.

The implications of focusing on the Indianness of English and its Indian identity demand that we consider the message that the myths about English convey to us.

In the beginning the creative writing in English by Indians was not accepted as a welcome idea. Gordon Bottomley, for example, described it as "Matthew Arnold in a sari." John Mander thought that English in India "has become essentially a dead language" and that it was "no more a possible proposition"; and John Wain pointed out that Indian English "lacks the fineness of nuance that makes literature possible." Indian writing in English has been called "a Janus-faced literature" born of "a cross-fertilization of two faithful cultures"—Indian and European. Whether Indians are really capable of using English for creative purposes is already a matter of the past. Moreover, as Bhabani Bhattacharya puts it, "the fundamental right of a creative artist to
express himself in whatever manner he likes cannot be denied, and the concept of creative freedom would include the medium of expression to which the writer, out of his inner urge, commits himself." If a writer is able to communicate his thoughts, vision and experiences authentically in a language, his choice is justified. Indian writers themselves have testified to the suitability of English for creative writing in India. "All that I am able to confirm after nearly thirty years of writing, "writes R. K. Narayan, "is that it has served my purpose admirably, of conveying unambiguously the thoughts and acts of a set of personalities...." Nirad Choudhari, another competent Indian writer in English, represents the views of most of the Indian creative writers when he remarks: "English is not a mere instrument for us but a force shaping and moulding personality, making us a wholly different kind of character from what we should have been if we did not know the [English] language." Kamala Das effrontery would silence all denigration and deliberate attempts to exorcise English from the Indian creative scene. "Why not let me speak in/Any language I like?" she asks. "The language I speak/Becomes mine, its distortions, its queerness/All mine, mine alone."

Indian English has been criticized for what has been termed as 'phrase-mongering' and 'wrong' compounding. What is often forgotten is the fact that a language carries tell-tale marks of the 'accent of the mind' of its speakers, to use a phrase of R.L. Stevenson's, and that its structures are related to the thinking process of the people. It has been pointed out that Indians 'think' in "a circle or a spiral of continuously developing potentialities, and not on a straight line of progressive stages" as do the Westerners. The Indian concept of time is cyclic rather than linear, and Indian logical syllogisms have a nonsequential structure. It is not surprising therefore that the patterns of linguistic structure in Indian English are different from those of British English or American English. As C.L. Wrenn observes, "The form of English that has already developed in India and may henceforth develop even more rapidly and uninhibitedly may well be recognized by serious students of English as at least legitimate and not altogether unacceptable form of the
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language. Inevitably and in spite of our best efforts, there will be more and more peculiarly Indian forms of English usage in India.}

No individual or nation can today have any proprietorial claim over any language and a writer is free to express himself in any language provided he can do so successfully. English today is a shared language and no country—not even England has any proprietorial rights over it. R. K. Narayan once observed that “the time has come for us to consider seriously the question of a Bharat brand of English. So far English has had a comparatively confined existence in our country chiefly in the halls of learning, justice, or administration. Now the time is ripe for it to come to the dusty street, market place and under the banyan tree.” What Indian writers seek to do is just that—to forge “a Bharat brand of English or a brand of English that very often deviates from the standard conventions.” As early as 1956, Firth had said that, “in view of the almost universal use of English, an Englishman must de-anglicize as well.” It has got to be accepted today that there are many valid varieties of English and that their speakers need not sound like Americans or Britons or any other group of native speakers to be effective users of English. The existence of a language is an existential fact, connecting a perceived reality and a shared dream, and the pragmatics governing its use has got to be recognized properly. Kachru aptly points out, “... a pragmatic or functional view is essential in understanding the uses of English in unEnglish contexts. It is specially true now, since English has already attained the status of a universal language whose functions vary from situation to situation, from one continent to another.”

R. K. Narayan writes, “We are all experimentalists. We are not attempting to write Anglo-Saxon English. The English language, through sheer resilience and mobility, is now undergoing a process of Indianization in the same manner as it adopted U.S citizenship over a century ago...I cannot say whether the process of transmutation is to be viewed as an enrichment of the English language or a debasement of it.” The language evolved by Indian
English writers, according to Gokak, has to represent "the evolution of a
distinct standard - a standard the body of which is correct English usage but
whose soul is Indian in color, thought and imagery." P. Lal highlights the
challenge more forthrightly, "I should like to add...that part of the excitement
of writing in English comes from the challenge of creating a special
'idiom'...the texture of language, its idiom comes generally by wearing out
one's heart (as Yeats put it) on the rocks of craft-learning...The task of any
self-respecting Indian writer is to discover a suitable 'idiom' for the
bewilderingly rich material he has in front of him waiting to be creatively
transformed."

There are several reasons why the non-native varieties of English deviate at
the phonological, grammatical and lexical levels. First, is the presence of a
substratum. Second, the impact of cultural parameters. Third, resistance to the
impact of linguistic change which influences the native varieties of English.
Fourth, attaching primary importance to written sources, especially those of
the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This manifests itself what has been
labeled "bookishness" in Indian English. The non-native varieties of English
function in societal, linguistic, and cultural networks that are distinctively
different from those of America and Britain. Since English is used for
intercultural interaction across languages in India, the result has been a slow
process of acculturation; which one might call, Indianization. This is an
inevitable linguistic process, which has applied earlier to Latin, Sanskrit, and
various other languages. It is a process that is impossible to stop, but perhaps
difficult for purists to accept.

Decolonization of English has been a gradual process, which is still going on.
Indian writers have had to come out of the dilemma of conveying the
sensibility and nuances typical of Indian life and culture through a language
that is not of Indian origin and yet remaining unfettered by 'English chains.'
In his foreword to *Kanthapura*, Raja Rao remarks, "One has to convey in a
language that is not one's own the spirit that is one's own. One has to convey
the various shades and omissions of a certain thought-movement that looks maltreated in an alien language." He nevertheless justifies an Indian writer's creative use of English, for it is "the language of our intellectual make-up" as Sanskrit and Persian were earlier. English as used by Indian writers, says he, has the potential of emerging as a powerful means of literary expression in this part of the world, and sedulous aping will not take us very far. "We cannot write like the English. We should not." What is essential in the present context is a concerted effort on the part of Indian writers to carve out a distinct idiom of English. Rao adds, "Our method of expression therefore has to be a dialect which will some day prove to be as distinctive and colorful as the Irish or the American. Time alone will justify it." Referring to the Indian 'style' of English he continues, "After language the next problem is that of style. The tempo of Indian life must be infused into our English expression, even as the tempo of American or Irish life has gone into the making of theirs. We, in India, think quickly, we talk quickly, and when we move, we move quickly. There must be something in the sun of India that makes us rush and tumble and run on." Dustoor rightly claimed in the 1950s: "there will always be a more or less indigenous flavor about our English. In our imagery, in our choice of words, in the nuances of meaning we put into our words, we must be expected to be different from Englishmen and Americans alike." The language thus re-created would honestly be expressive of our national temperament and will considerably enrich the English language, "Our mental climate will always foster plants that do not flourish in England or America, and such plants, just because they are somewhat exotic, add to the charm of a garden. All lovers of English will, therefore, encourage them to grow in the worldwide garden of English." Gokak shares the same view. According to him, those writers, "who are true to Indian thought and vision cannot escape the Indian flavor even when they write in English. Their style is, in a great measure, conditioned by the learned vocabulary of the subject on which they
Indian writers draw their sustenance from their heritage. The recurrent imagery and myths, themes and characters help them capture the characteristic Indian ethos. English, said Raja Rao is not merely an ‘alien’ language to Indian writers in English, most of whom are ‘instinctively bilingual’. They have found, as William Walsh states, “a sense of peculiar intimacy with the English language, making it a second natural voice for the Indian mind and sensibility.” The English language as developed by these writers he says, will realize “the power of Indian inheritance, the complexity of Indian experience, and the uniqueness of the Indian voice.”

Indian writers, says Mulk Raj Anand, aim at “consciously reorienting the language” and “synthesizing Indian and European values in contemporary India.” Decolonization of English in India has been going on surreptitiously for the last five decades and reflects a change in mentality; words and expressions in Indian English have recognized national rather than imported significances and references and convey local realities, traditions and ways of feeling. Anand has said on several occasions that the King’s (or the Queen’s) English is inadequate for an Indian writer. The English language as used by the Britishers or Americans, he says, “seemed a completely unsuitable medium to interpret my mother’s village Punjabi wit, wisdom and folly” in which “there are inevitable echoes of the mother tongue.” Anand regards Indian English as a language of remarkable vitality. He calls it “Pigeon-Indian.” Despite a rugged rhythm and clichés, words in it soar “like a pigeon in flight, shrill when they are frightened, nervous and sensitive, often soft and soothing, somewhat heavy-footed, but always compelled by the love of flight.” According to him, “the creative process behind most of the genuine Indian English writing... is a natural expression of a bilingual talent, nourished mostly on the mother tongue, and seeking communion, beyond communication, on certain levels which has not entered into English
Raja Rao, not unlike Anand has made interesting innovations in style, syntax and word formation. He is in favour of having English in this country "as long as we are "truly Indians of the Indian psyche" and "not as a guest or friend, but as one of our own, of our caste our creed, our sect and our tradition." G. V Desani remarked, "...my entire linguistic creed... is simply to find a suitable medium. I find the English language is that kind of a medium. It needs to be modified to serve my purpose."

Indian writers have acculturated and decolonized the English language. They felt that it is important to indigenize the medium of writing, to project a comprehensive vision of the highly complex, multilingual and multicultural society that India is. In an article significantly entitled "The Empire Writers Back with a Vengeance" (London Times, 3 July 1982); Rushdie wrote about what he called decolonizing of the English language by writers like Chinua Achebe, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, Nadine Gordimer, R. K. Narayan, G. V. Desani and others. Narayan, he said, is "busy forging English into new shapes," and Desani has shown "how English could se bent and kneaded until it spoke in an authentically Indian voice." Rushdie himself seems to be doing the same. According to him, the language like much else in the newly independent societies needs to be decolonized, to be made in the other image, if those who use it from positions outside Anglo-Saxon cultures are to be more than artistic Uncle Toms. And it is this endeavor that gives the new literatures of Africa, the Caribbean and India much of their present vitality and excitement. English, Rushdie said ceased to be the sole possession of the English quite some time ago. He further remarked, "What seems to me to be happening is that those peoples who were once colonized by the language are now rapidly remaking it, domesticating it, becoming more and more relaxed about the way they use it - assisted by the English's language's enormous flexibility and size, they are carving out large territories for themselves within its frontiers."
Rushdie believes that if he has to convey his vision of Indian culture in an original way with English as his medium of writing, he has “to break up the language and put it back together/in a different way ... to destroy the natural rhythms of the English language ... and, to dislocate the English and let other things do it.” Rushdie does not find the task of dislocating the English language much of a problem. In an interview he explicitly states that, “The English language is, I think, less of a problem than people make it out to be.” He maintains, “that by now English is very domesticated in India.” Rushdie desires “that Indian writers will become much freer with the English language ... use it with more nerve, more confidence ... unproblematically and without that kind of echo of the colony ... and use it with more nerve, more confidence, more ease, and with more Indianness.”

Upamanyu Chatterjee says that the ‘language of the blood-sucking imperialists’ has changed so greatly that, “The language we speak is not the English we read in English books... Our English should be just a vehicle of communication. Other people find it funny but how we speak shouldn’t matter as long as we get the ideas across.”

Indianization of English, however, has not been approved by some writers like Nirad Chaudhuri. He wants English to be English; examples of ‘Baboo English’ and ‘Indian English’ confirm his belief that the choice before the Indian writer in English is “to write much better English than he has done so far, or go to the wall.” The linguistic culture of India, to him, is made up of “a combination of English, a denatured written vernacular and a mixed colloquial language.” Questioning the assumption that English can survive in India only by developing an Indian form, he writes in an article, “If for no other reason, simply for the fact that laziness is the greatest force in the use and adoption of languages the principle of Anglicizing the Indian languages will push out the alternative principle of Indianizing English.” The “mutation of linguistic genes,” he adds, will only result in the “denatured syntax and vocabulary.” A writer like Raja Rao, on the other hand, does not
want to write like the English. R. K. Narayan, whose own English is a model of what he advocates, also favours the growth of 'a Bharat brand of English' which "while following the rule of law and maintaining the dignity of grammar, will still have a Swadeshi stamp about it unmistakably, like the Madras hand-loom check shirt or the Thirupathi doll."\(^\text{51}\) The sense of individuality even in the case of a language is essential and it will result in certain distinctive features.

Indian English has ramifications in Indian culture (which include languages) and is used in India towards maintaining appropriate Indian patterns of life, culture and education. This, in short, we may call the Indianness of Indian English, in the same way as we speak of the Englishness of British English.\(^\text{52}\) He also remarks that the distance between the natively used varieties of English and Indian English cannot be explained only or by comparative studies of phonology and grammar. The deviations are an outcome of the Indianization of English. The deviations in phonology and grammar are only a part of this process of Indianization.\(^\text{53}\)

The linguistic resources of English have been fruitfully exploited by Indian writers for creative purposes. These writers put their "language resources to an unaccustomed strain," and the language is being moulded today to yield a new idiom. "The language," says Kantak, "has to be broken..., as it were, and made new."\(^\text{54}\)

Indian writers forge an independent 'dialect' of English. According to H. M. Williams, "Indian English is undoubtedly the most popular vehicle for the transmission of Indian ideas to the wider English speaking world."\(^\text{55}\) It gives an illuminating view of the variegated Indian socio-cultural matrix.

Decolonized Indian English and its characteristics, stem from Indian thought and ethos, which would provide an opportunity for cross-fertilization of ideas and values. Indian writer's presentation of Indian reality and their re-writing of the contemporary Indian history in creative terms will go a long way in removing some deep-rooted misconceptions. The process of decolonization is
an ongoing activity with wide ramifications and it is high time that it was considered from various angles.

3.3 Linguistic Peculiarities of Indian English

This section outlines the dimensions of Indian English, which constitutes a world of its own in linguistic, cultural, interactional, ideological, and political terms.

The English language has come to stay in India and is being used for almost all the purposes that it is employed by the native speaker, even for interpersonal function albeit by a small section of Indian society. Now that English has ceased to be the sole property of the British or the so-called native speakers and has become a world language, it is bound to have national/regional varieties, if not already fully developed, in different stages of development.

The process of decolonization of the English language manifests itself in three aspects. First, it supplies rich data for language contact study in cross-cultural and multilingual context, thus being of interest from a sociolinguistic point of view. Second, it raises many typologically interesting theoretical and methodological problems about the descriptions of the new Englishes, which have developed from the L1 varieties of English (say, for example, American English, Australian English, British English, Canadian English) as second or foreign languages. Third, there is a large body of the South Asian English literature in different forms (e.g., poetry, prose, fiction), which is interesting from a stylistic point of view. This rapidly increasing body of writing is now being recognized in the English-speaking world as a significant development of the English language in a subcontinent where English is spoken only by a small minority out of the total literate population.

In South Asia it is very common to come across users of English who have acquired some control of restricted items of English but who cannot use the language in any serious sense. Some such varieties have been labeled Babu English, Butler English, Bearer English, Kitchen English.\textsuperscript{56}
Indian English lexis has many distinctive and kaleidoscopic aspects of meanings and structures, which are not found in British or American English. Indeed, decolonized English’s linguistic autonomy alongside native as well as non-native English come out sharply, not in a slip-shod sample of a random assortment of so-called Indian English’s lexical features, but in the core patterns of Indian English’s lexical repertoire, integrated with Indian English speech situation through functional value or wide assimilation, or both.

The fairly unexplored dimension of Indian English’s lexico-morphological strategies of nativizing lexis of the language is directly somewhat independent of Indian English’s semantic and collective patterns of nativization. The lexical items nativized through these strategies are typical ‘Indianisms’ in that they are overtly marked structurally and cut across registral variations in terms of distribution in pan-Indian English speech situation. Broadly speaking, the term ‘Indianism’ can be used as a label for an intended formal manipulation of English in order to make it an adequate mode of expression of the exigencies and contingencies of Indian themes, context and scenario, particularly in literary communication. So, they are not merely ‘typically Indian English formations’ since they constitute part of the natural linguistic discourse and at the same time serve as a necessary formal device for the author. As such they can reasonably be considered a valid unit to stylistic innovation. The generic term ‘Indianism’ thus refers to a tendency of the Indian writer in English to interpolate his English with lexical borrowings, loan translations or other formal features. Indianism is the soul of Indian literature and its major dimension.

The ‘Indianisms’, as linguistic innovations are called, are determined by the context and are productive and pragmatically essential. They should not be regarded merely as “linguistic flights...which jar upon the ear of the native Englishman.” They are, in fact, motivated by underlying linguistic and socio-cultural needs of the speakers. The language thus re-created would be expressive of our national temperament and will considerably enrich the
English language. The Indianness of Indian English may take several forms and shapes and may appear in a work in diverse ways, both overt and subtle.

The process of decolonization has affected English from phonological to lexical to syntactic to semantic level. At the hands of competent writers of India, English is being used independently, without being a pale imitation of a native variety. The linguistic resources of English have been fruitfully exploited by Indian writers for creative purposes.

3.3.1 Phonetics and Phonology of Indian English

There have been more studies on phonetics and phonology of Indian English than on any other area. There may be two reasons for this: First, during approximately the last thirty years entire South Asia has been exposed to the structuralist linguists; their undue emphasis on phonetics and phonology manifests itself in the research. Second, pedagogically this level has always been treated as primary, and since these studies were done essentially from pedagogical point of view, the pedagogical presentation naturally attracted more attention.

The phonetic and phonological deviations in Indian English are essentially determined by the phonetic and phonological structures of the $L_1$. These deviations are of two types, (a) those of segmental phonemes, and (b) those of non-segmental phonemes.

The Segmental Phonemes

In this section we have tried to present certain generalizations about Indian English. The basis of such generalizations can be the underlying features of the languages of the region. These generalizations are of two types, i.e., structural and systemic.

By structural and systemic differences, in the case of Indian English, we mean the following. The term structure is used in a synatagmatic sense, and the term system in a paradigmatic sense. Thus in many cases the structure of $L_1$ may be absent in $L_2$ (in this case, English) or the structure may be 'identical',

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yet there may be systemic differences. Consider, for example, the following three language of South Asia: Hindi-Urdu, Kashmiri and Sinhalese. We find that in these three languages (as in English) CVC morpheme structure is possible. Thus in this restricted sense these language may be considered ‘identical’ with English at the phonetic level. However, we should note here that these vary in the elements, which operate in the systems. For example, /f, θ, δ/ do not occur in the above languages as members of any system; this results in the transfer or substitution of L₂ elements by L₁ elements. In phonetic terms this transfer is of two types. First, it may involve a substitution of one or more phonetic elements in a full series of sounds, e.g., the fricative series, which is not absent is South Asian languages but which shows ‘gaps’ when compared with the same series in English. Second, there may be complete transfer of a series, e.g., the whole alveolar series is replaced by a retroflex series in South Asian English. The degree of retroflexion in Indian English varies from the south to the north of India. The systemic differences may also occur in term of distribution. An Indian language and English may have ‘identical’ phonetic elements, but these shared sounds may operate in different systems. For example, both in Hindi and English the following clusters are present: sk, st, sp. The differences, however, are distributional, i.e., structurally these elements are shared but systemically they are different. The result is that in Indian English (as spoken in the Hindi region) we get the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[ɾstʃʃn]</th>
<th>speak</th>
<th>[ɾspiːk]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>station</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| school  | [ɾskuːl] | stall | [ɾstʊːl] |}

What happens, usually unconsciously, is that the most approximate sound is substituted from the phonological inventory of L₁ wherever there is a ‘gap’ in the system. This substitution and ‘overhauling’ of the phonological systems (segmental and non-segmental) results in the deviations and, ultimately, in the phonological characteristics termed South Asianness or Indianness.
A detailed typological analysis of the systems gives us sub varieties of Indian English. These sub varieties; apply to the regional varieties, and also to the ethnic varieties of Indian English.

In the general typological statement of Indian English, two things are to be taken into consideration: first, the subsystem of the loan phonology of different Indian languages; second, the subsystems of nonshared items in different Indian languages. A good example of the first is provided by Hindi-Urdu, Punjabi, Kashmiri and Sinhalese. In the spoken English of the L1 speakers of the above languages, the /ph,f/ distinction is maintained by a large number of people who are exposed to the loan phonology (say, acquired from Arabic, Persian, or other languages) in their respective L1s. It should be noted here that the /ph,f/ distinction is not found in the non-loan phonology of these languages except Sinhalese. In Sinhalese /f/ is found only in Sanskrit loanwords. A number of such examples may be added from other languages, too. Thus it is on the basis of two phonological systems, the main system and the subsystems, that the analysis of Indian English is to be worked out. By nonshared items in Indian languages we mean, e.g., the implosive in Sindhi or lateral flap in Marathi, which are not shared by all Indian languages.

Thus we can see the influence of following items of Indian languages on Indian English: (a) nonshared items, (b) ethnic-group differences (c) caste dialects and (d) religious dialects. In many North Indian or Pakistani varieties of English we find that certain distinctions found in one language merge into one distinction in another language. Consider, for example, the phonemes /s/ and /ʃ/. In Bengali, English same to you becomes shame to you. On the other hand, on the borders of Bengal and Orissa the situation is quite the opposite; there /ʃ/ changes to /s/, thus she and see are homophonous.

There has been a controversy in linguistic literature to determine the underlying reasons for ‘readjustments’ in the consonant system of English in Indian English, especially the initial / p, t, k /. Rao does not consider that the L1 s and the process of transfer can be the main reason. "The real explanation
lies elsewhere. It is in the way that English is taught in India, and in the way English is spelt. Pandit suggests that "the non-realization of aspirated voiceless allophones of the phonemes /p, t, k/ by Indian speakers should be interpreted in the larger framework of the consonant systems of English and Indian languages. Most of the Indian languages (except Assamese and perhaps Tamil-Malayalam) have a five-way position contrast from bilabial to velar and a four-way manner contrast of voiceless v. voiced, and unaspirated v. aspirated in the stop consonant series." We might then say that certain features, such as series substitutions (e.g., retroflex series for alveolar series), are typically Indian: other features may depend both on the competence of speakers in English and on their L1 backgrounds.

Non-segmental Phonemes

The main phonological features of Indian English, which separate it from the L1 varieties of English, are not necessarily the deviations in the segmental phonemes but the deviations in stress, rhythm, intonation, etc. It is obvious that the intelligibility between an L1 speaker of English and an Indian English speaker suffers much because of the second type of deviation. Usmani has given an analysis of non-segmental features of Urdu and English. Passe has discussed certain non-segmental features of some varieties of South Asian English. The main points of Passé are:

1. All stressing in Lankan English is comparatively weak, as 'stress (or force accent)' is comparatively weak in Sinhalese and Tamil.
2. There is no vowel reduction.
3. There is no distinction between strong and weak forms.
4. The English words are 'incorrectly' stressed.

The observations of Usmani on the role of stress in Urdu and English are naive and misleading. He gives the following rules for the stress pattern of Urdu:

1. Single-syllable words with short vowels are slightly less loud than those with long vowels:
2. Polysyllabic words have an ‘even scale of stress’ if all syllables have short vowels:

/bər'tæn/ ‘pot’

3. Polysyllabic word have louder stress on the long vowels if they have short and long vowels:

/zə'mæna:/ ‘period’

Usmani concludes, that “Urdu stress depends in some cases upon the length of the vowels. In general the stress pattern is very simple and kept to the even scale of loudness.” His analysis of the intonation of Urdu is equally superficial and misleading (e.g., “A comparative study… shows that Urdu and English follow the pitch patterns.”) ⁶³

Gopalkrishnan’s observation on the English spoken by South Indians also applies to the Tamil-speaking Lankans. His main points are summarized below:

1. A general unawareness of the patterns of primary as well as secondary stress, e.g.,

/mækbeθ/ for /mek'beθ/; /tjuː'fɪn/ for /tjuː:'fɪn/

2. A tendency to ignore differentiating the stress patterns of nouns and adjectives on the one hand verbs on the other hand.

3. An unawareness of the shift in stress found in different parts of speech derived from the ‘same Latin or Greek root.’ ⁶⁴

Taylor’s study, “The Indian English Stress System,” is based on a widely spoken North Indian language (Hindi.) The North Indian English stress features, however, are not different from what Gopalkrishnan has written about Dravidian English. Taylor’s tentative conclusion, subject to the findings of much wider speech samplings, may be summed up as follows:

The Hindi L₁ speakers of English tend to give generally stronger and more nearly equal stress to the unstressed and weak syllables of English. Their
stress distribution and points of juncture tend to be unpredictable. Within the overall framework of relatively stronger stress for unstressed and weak forms, the observed speech samples indicate the following deviations:

1. A tendency in some instances to place stress on the suffix itself and in other instances randomly rather than where predictable on the penultimate syllable.

2. A tendency to accord weak-strong stress to nouns as well as verbs in the group of two-syllable words showing grammatical contrast through stress.

3. A general lack of recognition of the primary/tertiary patterns of stress for compound nouns as opposed to the secondary/primary pattern used with free noun/noun combinations; a tendency to use the secondary/primary pattern of both.

4. A strong tendency to give full value to auxiliary verb forms written as contractions, and to accord them a relatively strong stress as well.

5. A strong tendency to break up grammatical units arbitrarily within sentences, thus violating the confines of ‘sense groups’ and placing a strong stress on words other than those normally found to have ‘sense stress.’

It may be mentioned here that the underlying reasons for the deviations in stress are the following: all main Indian languages are syllable-timed languages, as opposed to English, which is a stress-timed language. This results in a distinct Indian rhythm in Indian English, which is based on arranging long and short syllables, and not stressed and unstressed syllables. This may be the main reason for labeling South Asian English or Indian English as ‘sing-song’ English, and for stating that it hampers intelligibility with the L1 speakers of English.
Thus, we can say that these typical features of South Asian stress and rhythm, rather than the segmental phonemes, mark a typical South Asian English speaker.

Indian accents vary greatly from those leaning more towards a purist British to those leaning more towards a more 'vernacular' (Indian language)-tinted speech. The most ubiquitous instance of modified sounds is the morphing of alveolar English 'd', 't' and 'r' sounds to more retroflex variants. South Indians tend to curl the tongue more for 'l' and 'n' sounds, while Bengalis (from both India and Bangladesh) and Biharis often substitute 'j' for 'z' (as in 'jero' instead of 'zero'). Subcontinentals, especially those from the Sindh (of both India and Pakistan), have the habit of changing 'w' sounds to 'v' (as in 'ven' instead of 'when') and vice versa ("I will pay with Weeza" for "...Visa.")

The important features of phonological differences between Indian English and Received Pronunciation (RP) of the London region (and even with most other dialects of Standard English) include:

- All native languages of India (including Hindi itself) lack the voiced postalveolar fricative (/zą/). Consequently, /z/ or /dʒ/ is substituted, e.g., treasure /tresaːriz/.  

- Standard Hindi, most other vernaculars and hence General Indian English lack the difference between /v/ (voiced labiodental fricative) and /w/ (voiced labiovelar approximant). Instead, most Indians use a frictionless labio-dental approximant, close to /v/, for both v and w graphemes. So wine is pronounced like vine. All consonants are distinctly doubled in General Indian English wherever the spelling suggests so, e.g., drilling /driːling/.  

- Inability to pronounce certain (especially word-initial) consonant clusters by people of rural background, and hence modification. e.g., school /səkuːl/.
- All native languages of India, and hence General Indian English, lack the phonemes /θ/ (voiceless dental fricative) and /ð/ (voiced dental fricative). Hence, the aspirated voiceless dental plosive /tʰ/ is substituted for /θ/ and the unaspirated voiced dental plosive /d/ is substituted for /ð/. This can create confusions like themselves being heard by native English speakers as damsels.

- In RP, word-initial and syllable initial p, t and k are slightly aspirated, but in native Indian languages (except Tamil), the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated plosives is very stark and phonemic. Generally, Indian English speakers use the unaspirated voiceless plosives /p/, /t/, and /k/ although they may deal with the allophones as separate phonemes, which is not as apparent to native speakers.

- A very stark feature of General Indian English is the use of retroflex plosives (/t/, /d/) instead of the corresponding alveolar plosives of English (/t/ and /d/). In Indian languages there are two entirely distinct sets of coronal plosives: one dental and the other retroflex. To the Indian ears, the English alveolar plosives sound more like retroflex than dental. In Devanagari script of Hindi, all alveolar plosives of English are transcribed as their retroflex counterparts. One good reason for this is that unlike most other native Indian languages, Hindi does not have true retroflex plosives. The so-called retroflexes in Hindi are actually articulated as apical post-alveolar plosives, sometimes even with a tendency to come down to the alveolar region. So a Hindi speaker normally cannot distinguish the difference between their own apical post-alveolar plosives and English's alveolar plosives phonemically. However, languages such as Tamil have true retroflex plosives, wherein the articulation is done with the tongue curved upwards and backwards at the roof of the mouth.

- RP English is a stress-timed language, and word stress is an important feature of Received Pronunciation. Indian-English speakers regularly
put the stress accents at the wrong syllables, or accentuate all the syllables of a long English word, since stress is not considered an essential part of pronunciation by them (Indian native languages are actually syllable-timed languages like Latin and French. Also, Indian English speakers speak English with a peculiar pitch-accent, which makes Indian-English sound like a sing-song voice to non-Indian English speakers. Indians also have problems with other suprasegmental features of English.

- Sometimes, Indian speakers interchange /s/ and /z/, especially when plurals are being formed. It suffices to note that in Hindi (but not Urdu) and Sanskrit, /z/ does not exist (as also any other voiced sibilant.) So /z/ may even be pronounced as /dʒ/ by people of rural backgrounds. Again, in dialects like Bhojpuri, all instances of /ʃ/ are spoken like /s/, a phenomenon which is also visible in their English. Exactly the opposite is seen for many Bengalis.

- In case of the postalveolar affricates /tʃ/ /dʒ/, the native languages like Hindi have corresponding affricates articulated from the palatal region, rather than postalveolar, and they have more of a stop component than fricative; this is reflected in the Indian English.

- While retaining /ŋ/ in the final position, Indian speakers usually add a /g/ after it. Hence /riŋ ɪŋ/ → /riŋ ging/ (ringing).

- Syllabic /l/, /m/ and /n/ are usually replaced by the VC clusters /æl/, /æm/ and /æŋ/ (as in button /buʃtən/), or if a high vowel precedes, by /ɪl/ (as in little /lɪtɪl/). Syllable nuclei in words with the spelling er (a schwa in RP and a r-colored schwa in GA) are also replaced VC clusters. e.g., meter, /miːtə(ɹ)/ → /miːtər/.

- General Indian English has long monophthongs /eː/ and /oː/ instead of R.P. glided diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/ (or /ɔu/); this variation is quite valid in General American English.
Many Indian English speakers do not make a clear distinction between /ɛ/ and /æ/ and between /ɒ/ and /ɔː/. (cot-caught merger)

As against R.P. /ʌ/, /ə/ and /ɜː/, General Indian English has only one vowel /ə/ (schwa.)

In R.P., /r/ occurs only before a vowel. But in much of General Indian English, being a Scottish-influenced rhotic accent uses a sharp alveolar trill /r/ in almost all positions in words as dictated by the spellings. Indian speakers do not use the retroflex approximant /ɭ/ for r, as opposed to many American speakers.

Indian speakers convert gh digraphs to aspirated voiced velar plosive /ɡh/. e.g., ghost /ɡʰoːst/. But rough, dough, etc. are pronounced as in RP.

English words borrowed from French are pronounced in RP with a proper French pronunciation, but in India, such words are sometimes pronounced according to the rules of English pronunciation. e.g., bouquet /bu. kɛt/ or /bau kwɛt/.

Many Indian speakers always pronounce the as /əiː/, irrespective of the fact whether the definite article comes before a vowel or a consonant, or whether it is stressed or not.

In total, such discrepancies exist in General Indian English because, first, Indians tend to look up to their own rich phonology for the nearest approximations of English phonemes, and second, because they by and large tend to follow English pronunciation as it appears through the English spelling. This is because all Indian scripts are highly phonemic alpha-syllabic scripts.
3.3.2 Lexis of Indian English

In lexis we may include two characteristic types of Indian vocabulary. The first is concerned with that part of lexis, which is, by and large, nonshared with those varieties of English, which are used as the L1. The other comprises those items, which are transferred from the Indian languages lexicon of English. We have divided this section into following sub sections:

I Linguistic Creativity, in which we will discuss -ing ending coinages, -ed ending coinages, Loan translations, Clichés, Nativization and Hybridization.

II Linguistic Economy.

III Semantic Manipulation.

I Linguistic Creativity in Indian English

(i) **-ing type Coinages:** The choice of bound morphine -ing to structure lexical items is an instance of free variation in Indian English in so far it is not conditioned by semantic or structural compulsions, and is variable in occurrence in terms of performing skill of participants. Nevertheless, the choice of -ing type lexical structures are a typical ingredient of Indian English’s lexis. Consider the following illustrations, taken from news stories (NS), editorials (ED), ‘letters to the editorial’ (LT) and matrimonial advertisements (AD), taken form national and provincial dailies in India.

(i) ...the cooperation...in the...task of ensuring the objectivity of approach so essential ...(ED)

(ii) there were...reports of booth-capturing/land-grabbing...(NS)

In both the examples, the choice of -ing morpheme to structure lexical items is free of any constraint, structural or semantic. In (i), ‘ensuring has replaced the normal ‘ensurement’ (which would of course go with the preposition ‘of’) despite both having identical meaning and identical structures, ‘verb → noun’. Similarly, in (ii), ‘booth-capturing’/‘land-grabbing’ have been preformed to ‘booth-capture’/‘land grab’ though both the pairs of parallel items have identical meaning and identical structure, being hyphenated
compounds with ‘noun + noun’ structure. In both the clipped instances of lexical items, the choice of -ing morpheme to structure them does not being about a change in the grammatical category (word-class) of the relevant word, thus suggesting the inflectional nature of linguistic creativity. This pattern of creativity seems to derive from the over-all English situation, which is pooled, is small measure by non-journalists. In the examples given below, the pattern is clearly reinforced by non-journalists:

(iii) Shifting of blame...is of no avail (LT)
(iv) I required the Chief Minister ...to play the national anthem before the starting of ...film... (LT)
(v) Rail track, rail coaches...and the braking system...are all scientifically designed ... (LT)
(vi) graduate girl...smart looking... (AD)
(vii) ...home loving... (AD)
(viii) for Bombay based...girl ...non-working ... (AD)
(ix) ...working girls... (AD)
(x) Rainy season witnesses water-logging on the main road ... (LT)
(xi) ...the water logging culminated in the tumbling down of the houses... (LT)

The words suffixed with -ing morpheme to structure lexical items above do not have a dictionary entry in the structure, word-class (noun (N)/adjective (Adj)) and sense in which they appear here. They are thus typical instances of Indianism. Their Indianism is underscored by their common -ing morpheme suffixation, having an overwhelming pattern of inflectional productivity. This implies that the words, despite their -ing suffixation, retain their core grammatical category. In examples (iii) through (iv) above, the words with -ing suffixes are preferred to the ones without it, or with a different suffix as in (vi), though all the lexical structures, with/without -ing or some other suffix, stay put to the same word-class. Listed below are -ing suffixed words from relevant lexical items alongside their root words/normal structure and their respective word-class:
(iii) shifting (N): shift (N)
(iv) starting (N): start (N)
(v) braking (N): brake (N)
(vi) smart looking (N): smart looker (N)

Both in terms of meaning and word-class these -ing suffixed words are identical and interchangeable with those without -ing suffix, or with -er, suffix as in (vi). These words thus share the structural pattern preferred, though marginally, by journalists as in (i) and (ii) above. In as much as these -ing suffixed items do not involve a change in their core-word-class, or a coinage of a different word within the same word-class, or a semantic difference, they are all instances of ‘zero-inflectional productivity.’ Their functional value of -ing suffix as an indicator of progressive aspect of meaning is also, going by the context, out of question here. Though -ing type zero-inflectional productivity is shared by journalists as well as non-journalists, thus characterizing the over all Indian English speech situation, the variant pattern of its occurrence seems to be linked with the performing skill of the participant. This explains why, as the above examples would show, non-journalists with a generally lower performing skill opt for this type of productivity more often than journalists with a fairly higher performing skill.

In (vii) though (ix), the option for -ing suffixed words to constitute lexical items, again, does not entail a change in their word-class though it involves a measure of semantic difference:

(vii) home loving (Adj) : loving (Adj)
(viii) non-working (Adj) : working (Adj)
(ix) working (Adj) girls : working (Adj)

In (vii) and (viii), the hyphenated lexical items, ‘home-loving’ and ‘non-working’ respectively, are structured by recourse to -ing suffixed words, ‘loving’ and ‘working’, and apparently do not seem to be nonce formations. Their functional value, however, emerges as they are hyphenated with free
and bound morphemes, 'home' and 'non' respectively, to give rise to lexical items with new meanings. The items, 'home loving' and 'non-working', respectively refer in Indian English to the girl 'who would make herself a good housewife', and one 'who is not in service.' Likewise, -ing type inflectional productivity gains in meaning in (ix). Here, 'working girls' refers to 'the girls in service', as contrasted with 'working men' who work with their hands, especially in a trade. The option for -ing suffixed lexical items remains, nevertheless, free of semantic and structural compulsions in as much as the lexicon has synonymous or near-synonymous items to replace them: for instance, 'home-loving' by 'domestic'; 'non-working' by 'unemployed', and 'working' by 'inservice'. In the light of this, the items in (vii) through (ix) may be called instances of -ing type 'optional-inflectional productivity.'

By contrast, -ing type lexical structures in (x) and (xi) are placed in a different scheme of linguistic productivity, and thus need to be discussed separately. In (xi) Indian English's striking preference for -ing type lexical constructions would alone explain the option for 'tumbling + down' to the preclusion of a commoner word, 'collapse'. Though 'tumbling-down' would have fitted well into the pattern of 'optional inflectional productivity' as 'tumbling of the houses', the structure, “tumbling + down of the houses”, involves collocative clash of a complex nature since 'tumbling' normally goes with 'prices' and 'tumble-down' structure is directly patterned here on the preceding item 'water-logging', which is thoroughly nativized in Indian English. However, the -ing suffixation here belongs to a special type of lexical productivity, which may be called 'quasi-optional-inflectional type', in as much as both the -ing suffixed words in 'tumbling (N) down of the houses' and 'tumbling (N) of the houses' retain the same word-class.

The most prominent of all the -ing type Indianisms above is 'water logging' in (x) and (xi), which recurs in Indian English speech situation irrespective of performing skill of participants. The -ing type lexical productivity in 'water-logging' is of a special sort: the item is structured by clipping -ed of the
existing item ‘water-logged’, and suffixation of -ing morpheme in its place of one non-existent base/root word ‘water log’. Were it a case of routine suffixation, as from ‘water logged’ to *water logginging’, not involving a non-existent base word, the identification of the word-class of ‘water-logging’ would not have posed any etymological problem. But given the form of the word its word-class may be identified with reference to its functional value in the syntactic structure, which is that of noun phrase (NP) functioning as either subject (S) or object (O), and derived from the embedded NP structures which contain the existing item ‘water-logged’, as is shown below:

(x) Rainy season witnesses: (that) the area is water-logged (Adj)...
    (that) the main road is water-logged (Adj)
    (O and NP clause structure)
    : water-logged area
    (O and NP (-clause structure)
    : water-logging
    (O and N)

(xii) (That) the area is water-logged (Adj)/
    (That) the main road is water-logged (Adj)
    (S and NP (clause structure)

    water-logged area
    (S and NP (-clause structure)

    water-logging (S and N) culminated in tumbling down of the houses...

Thus, whereas the functional value of ‘water logging’ derived from the embedded NP (+/-clause) structures, helps identify its word class (N), the morphemic replacement of -ed by -ing (‘water-logged’ by ‘water-logging’) involving back-formation (‘water-log’) typifies its lexical structure. Both ways, the structure of ‘water-logging’ is derivational in nature, involving morphological re-structuring, syntactic transformation and change of word-class (from ‘water-logged’ (Adj) to ‘water-logging’ (N)) ‘Water-logging’, therefore, is an instance of ‘replacive-derivational productivity.’
Indian writers in English have explored this resourcefulness to a great extent:

(i) I am doing my duty (The Railway Clerk)
   ‘be do + -ing’ form is used instead of only ‘do.’

(ii) I am discharging it properly (The Railway Clerk)
   ‘be discharge + -ing’ is used in place of only ‘discharge.’

In the above examples, present progressive (continuous) is used instead of simple present tense to denote habitual action.⁶⁸

(iii) The angeling of Babar must have been just complete by the time of his death ... (Shame, 132)

In the above example, the noun angel becomes an expressive, highly physical verb.

(iv) Eat, na, food is spoiling (Midnight’s Children, 24)

(v) ..., to need all this writing-shiting? (Midnight’s Children, 24)

(vi) ..., to abandon even for a moment this darkling pickle factory where the smell of spices ... (Midnight’s Children, 28)

(vii) Let the walls be splashed with our inaccurate expectorating (Midnight’s Children, 45)

(viii) Memory of a mildewing photograph ... (Midnight’s Children, 44)

(ix) ...ganjing, they would afford to ... (A Suitable Boy, 45)

Some vernacular verbal stems ending in -ing have been used by Mulk Raj Anand as English verbal forms with definite English suffixes:

(x) He put my brief-case into the tonga and, without salaaming or anything... (A Confession of a Lover)

Newspaper and magazine journalists also employ this strategy to add more flavor to their articles as it makes them look catchier. For example:

(xi) Dumping too much on your man? (Femina Cover Page, May 1, 2005)

(xii) Mapping futures (The Education Times, Oct. 3, 2005)

(xiii) Overflowing Ganga (The Times of India, Sep. 7, 2006)
Similarly, words like, nearshoring (with us hi-tech jobs going to offshore operations in India, China and Russia, Canadian firms offer themselves as a nearshore alternative) and phishing (a new kind of spam flooded inboxes, masquerading as email from legitimate businesses and aiming to get recipients to divulge personal info. The practice of phishing (from fishing and phreak) has existed for five years, but has now become commonplace.\textsuperscript{69}

(ii) \textit{-ed type coinages:} The preponderant choice of -ed suffix to form adjectival lexical items is a feature markedly restrictive in Indian Newspaper English to the register of AD. Though the choice prominently typifies AD its recurrence in over-all Indian English speech situation in accordance with situation-type underlines it as a type of common Indianism. The -ed suffixed items, like -ing-suffixed ones, are also typical Indianisms as they, too, do not have an entry in the lexicon in the structure, word-class and sense in which they appear in Indian English. However, -ing type and -ed type of Indian English lexical productivity stand out distinct from each other in that the former is generally independent of structural and semantic compulsions while the latter is generally conditioned by them. The option for -ed suffixed items, as shown by AD, is explicitly intended to gain both structural economy and information focus. In the process, these items usually undergo a change of word-class and semantic shift befitting Indian context. While some of these -ed structured items are nonce formations which may appear structurally odd and even semantically opaque in British English, others already in the lexicon, acquire their stylistic significance simply because their recurrence reinforces the pattern of Indian English's overwhelming preference for -ed suffixed adjectival items. All -ed suffixed adjectival items in the data of this study showed an all-out choice for derivational productivity, involving a
change of word-class, from (V) – (Adj), and (N) – (Adj), in that order. The pattern of their derivational productivity, through marked by a range of variations, falls into two broad categories, featuring: (a) normal/probable lexical productivity; and (b) distinctive lexical productivity characterized by structural oddity and semantic opaqueness. The items in the former category gain their stylistic value in terms of frequency of occurrence that reinforces the pattern of novelty set by those in the latter. Consider the following items from the latter category, which are highly typical Indianisms, both structurally and semantically.

**AD:**

(i) employed in Delhi
(ii) employed in England
(iii) stable charactereaf...spinster...stable charactered bachelors
(iv) sweet natured girl

**NS/ED**

(v) bonded labor

All these -ed suffixed items are nonce formations, aimed at structural economy and information focus. Their structure prefers evenly the derivational patterns (V) → (Adj)/(Adj), as in (i) and (ii), and (N) → (adj), as in (iii) through (v). In (i) and (ii), the item ‘employed’ implying here in employment used as an adjective is derivational in two ways. In the first place, it seems to derive from the ‘unemployed’ (Adj) through clipping of its prefix un-resulting its nonce formation in the same word-class (Adj) in the pattern, say, of ‘polite’ (Adj) → ‘impolite’ (Adj) Secondly, it appears to derive from the prepositional verb ‘employ in’, which involves change of word class, from (V) → (Adj), though with a variation. Since the prepositional verb ‘employ in’ always anticipates a direct object (O_d as in the sentence ‘She was employed in watering the garden’, the omission of O_d) as well as that of the preposition in renders the clipped item ‘employed’ structurally odd and semantically opaque. in (i) and (ii) combines with the
adjunct of place, in Delhi/in England and not with the prepositional verb, as in ‘employ in’. In AD, the nonce item ‘employed (in)’ is clearly structured to highlight the state of being ‘in employment’ (as against that of unemployment) rather than the nature of one’s employment (low-paid/lucrative, etc) as is highlighted by the prepositional verb ‘employed (+ in) (something)’. Obviously, the Indianism ‘employed’ (Adj) focuses the Indian concern for employment (service), whatever be its nature. Next, the Indian concern extends to the place of employment (metropolitan city, an affluent country, etc.), instead of the nature of employment. This explains why the item ‘employed’ prefers in Indian English an adjunct of place (in Delhi/in England) to an O_d (for instance, ‘in business’), though both are mutually replaceable in terms of structural economy.

In (iii) and (iv) -ed suffixation helps narrow down focus on adjectival clusters through their attributive position in the lexical items. The adjectival clusters are so focused as to prominently specify the disposition of the spinster/bachelor/girl. The -ed suffixed items thus become typical Indianisms, characterized by structural oddity and semantic opaqueness in British English. In British English, ‘character’ does not accept -ed- suffixation, but in Indian English, as in (iii) -ed-suffixation is a device of adjectivising ‘character’, of changing its word-class from (N) ‘character’ (Adj) ‘chatacter ed; to a specific purpose. The choice of ‘charactered’ is intended, not merely for structural economy, but more plausibly, for securing prominent attributive position to the adjectival cluster formed by it. Consider -ed-suffixed items in (iii) as contrasted with those without -ed suffixation, having normal lexical structure:

(iii) stable charactered ... spinster: ‘spinster of stable character’
stable charactered ...bachelors: ‘bachelors of stable character’

The of-genitive constructions suggested above are quite normal, structurally as well as informatively, though they have a longer structure and neutral end-focus on of-prepositional phrase. By contrast, -ed suffixation meets with
registral requirements of the text (AD) here by having a shorter structure for the lexical items and sharper focus on adjectival clusters through their front attributive position.

In (iv), -ed suffixation is again expedient for both structural economy and information focus as will be apparent when ‘sweet natured girl’ is contrasted with ‘girl of sweet nature’. Besides, the item also involves derivational productivity: ‘sweet nature (N) ‘sweet natured (Adj), patterned on such analogous British English items as ‘good/ill-natured’, ‘bad-tempered’, ‘well-behaved’, ‘ill-mannered’, etc.

In (v), the lexical item ‘bonded labor’, though structurally analogous to British English items ‘bonded wood’ and ‘bonded goods’, semantically stands out as a typical Indianism. It implies ‘a labor who is bound by a bond to serve his master until he repays him his outstanding loan. The recourse to -ed suffixation to structure ‘bonded labor’, in preference to available, albeit archaic, British English pattern to structure, without -ed suffixation, such words as ‘bond man, bond servant, bond slave’, is therefore an instance of positive Indian English creativity in several ways: first, the item conveys a meaning quite a few shades different from the one associated with ‘bond man/servant/slave’; secondly, it involves a change of word-class, from (N) → bond → (Adj) ‘bonded’, for reasons of structural brevity and information focus; and thirdly, the derivational productivity here also shares pattern congruity with Indian English’s recurrent option of -ed-suffixed items. In as much as the -ed-suffixed items from (i) through (v) above feature Indian English’s communicative efficacy involving a change of word-class, they are all instances of Indianisms of derivational productivity of a positive type.

Some of the typical -ed type Indianisms, briefly discussed above, help identify and characterize the general pattern of Indian English’s option for -ed-suffixed adjectival clusters. This pattern is reinforced further by the frequent recurrence in Indian English of such -ed suffixed adjectival clusters as feature normal/probable lexical productivity characterized by a relative
absence of structural oddity and/or semantic opaqueness. These adjectival clusters, too are instances of -ed type Indianisms, though essentially in terms of their frequency of occurrence than in those of their typical structure and meaning. The choice of -ed suffixation here nonetheless remains functionally the same as in (i) through (v), as one of both structural brevity and information focus, as the following would show.

AD

(vi) well-placed groom
(vii) career-oriented girl
(viii) broad-minded...girl
(ix) open-minded...family: contrast with ‘moderately modern’ family
(x) convent educated girl
(xi) Bombay based girl

All the -ed-suffixed items above have a derivational structure, and all but those if, (vii) and (ix) involve a change of word-class. The British English derivational items, ‘broad-minded’ (viii) and ‘open-minded’ (ix), already in current usage, are a combining form with the same word class (Adj) — (Adj). They are nonetheless stylistically significant in Indian English for their semantic shift as well as for sharing the pattern congruity with other-ed-suffixed Indian English adjectival clusters. The items acquire distinctly identical meaning in Indian English, implying ‘a girl/family free of restrictions and taboos of conservative Indian society by which most Indians are bound’, in sharp contrast to British English’s implications of the items, ‘broad-minded’ and ‘open-minded’, respectively: ‘being tolerant or liberal in thought or opinion’, and ‘with open mind, unprejudiced’.

The adjectival clusters in (vi), (vii) and (x) are, by contrast, instances of Indian English’s derivational productivity involving a change of word-class marked by non-entry in the lexicon in the structure and sense in which they recur in Indian English. In (vi) and (vii), -ed suffixation has a two fold derivational function in forming the adjectival clusters. First, it changes the
word-class of the relevant words of the adjectival clusters so as to meet Indian English communication requirements, from ‘place’ (V) ‘placed’ (Adj), and from ‘orient’ (V) ‘oriented’ (Adj). Secondly, the words thus formed with -ed suffixation are combined with other words to form typical Indianisms with/ without a change of word-class: ‘well-placed’, (Adj) → (Adj), and ‘career oriented’, (N) → (Adj). In (x), the existing -ed suffixed adjective ‘educated’ is combined with ‘convent’ to derive the typical adjective cluster ‘convent educated’ involving in the process a change of word-class, (N) → (Adj). The adjectival cluster in (xi), ‘Bombay-based’, is again a combining form on the British English derivational pattern as in ‘broad-minded/open-minded’, though the cluster here is marked by a change of word-class (N) → (Adj). It thus seems that the choice of -ed suffixation in Indian English even in those adjectival clusters as feature Indian English’s probable derivational productivity invariably involves a change of word-class of the relevant words whereas -ed -suffixed Indian English adjectival items patterned on British English lexical structures may or may not feature a change of word-class.

This suggests a pattern, more of convergence than contrast. All the -ed-suffixed adjectival clusters, featuring normal British English or probable (Indian English) lexical productivity, appear classed together by their common choice of derivational structures and their semantic clarity. Even such adjectival items which are typical of Indian English insofar as they do not have a dictionary entry in the structure and sense in which they appear in Indian English, as in (vi), (vii) and (x), would readily unfold their meaning in terms of their predicative structure, which is not the case with the more typical Indian English adjectival items in (i) through (v) which are marked by derivational productivity of a positive type, involving both structural oddity and semantic opaqueness. Consider the following instances of -ed type probable (Indian English’s) lexical productivity as in contrast to those featuring positive (Indian English’s) lexical productivity in terms of their structure and meaning:
It is easier to predict meanings of the adjectival items in (vi), (vii), (ix) and (x), featuring probable lexical productivity, than of those in (i) through (v), featuring positive lexical productivity, even though all of these items are typical Indianisms of -ed type derivational productivity. The difference between the probable and positive types of Indian English’s -ed structured derivational productivity is thus clearly one of both structure and meaning. Though both types of -ed productivity characterize over-all Indian English speech situation, it is the positive type that seems to be more typical and predictable of Indian English than the probable one, especially because of its generic contribution of to Indian English’s lexicon, in structural as well semantic terms, in contradistinction to that of British English, as the foregoing
illustrations would suggest. It is again to this efficacious types of lexical productivity that such -ed-suffixed Indianisms ‘bonded labor’ and ‘well-placed well settled well-established, etc’, belong, that help open up a whole vista of variegated Indian socio-cultural reality, even in a non native language."

Newspaper and magazine journalists also employ this strategy to add more flavor to their articles as it makes them look catchier. For example:

(vi) Ronaldinho-ed (The Times of India, Mar. 9, 2006)
(vii) Punjab ajudged India’s Best State (The Hindustan Times, Sep. 6, 2006)
(viii) Rain fury: jammed J & K on alert (The Times of India, Sep. 4, 2006)
(ix) Kajol dolled up (The Times of India, Sep. 7, 2006)

Indian English writers have explored this resourcefulness to a great extent:

(i) …kababed saints and tandooried martyrs… (The Moor’s Last Sigh, 26)
(ii) …kali tongued… (The Moor’s Last Sigh, 65)
(iii) …kurta-pajamed… (The Ground beneath her Feet, 65)
(iv) …a tube of mildewed Vick’s inhaler (Midnight’s Children, 31)
(v) Mesmerized by this brandied portrait of a bald, gluttonous Christ,… (Midnight’s Children, 16)

(iii) Loan Translations: Translation is establishing equivalent, or partially equivalent, formal items at any rank in L₂ for the formal items of L₁. In a language contact situation translation may be of the following two major types:

A. Rank-bound: In rank-bound translation a writer translates formal items of L₁ at the ‘same’ rank into L₂ (That is if we presuppose that the number of units in the two languages is the same.)

In the following examples in Indian English the unit ‘word’ (Compound) in L₁ has been translated at the ‘same’ rank into L₂: gopuja ‘cow-worship’ (The
Voice of God, 122); grih-devata ‘family protector’; ishwar-prem ‘god-love’ (Untouchable, 205); katidora ‘waist-thread’ (He Who Rides a Tiger, 190); the unit ‘group’ (class ‘nominal’) has been transferred as follows: ghorardim ‘horse’s egg’; motiyamda badshah ‘king of pearls’ (Train to Pakistan, 90) . A few examples are given below from the formal items of higher ranks from speech functions and phatic communion.

(1) May the fire of your ovens consume you (Coolie) (bhatthi me ja);
(2) Where does your wealth reside? (Train to Pakistan) (apka daulakhana kaha hai?);
(3) What honorable noun does your honour bear? (Train to Pakistan) (apka shubh nam kya hai?);
(4) Beat me on my head till I go bald (Coolie) (kur kur ke mainu ganjakarde)

These are the examples of what may be termed ornamental style and are restricted to Indian English creative writing. The sources again are the L1 items. The above (2) and (3) respectively mean: ‘Where do you live?’ and ‘What is your name?’

B. Rank-Changed: In rank-changed translation the item of L1 are translated at different ranks into L2. This may be transfer at a higher rank or a lower rank. The following items of the word rank have been transferred into L2 at the rank of group (nominal): bhaiya-duj ‘brother-anointing ceremony’ (He Who Rides a Tiger); shuddhi ‘cleansing bath’; godhuli ‘cow-dust hour’; mundane samskar ‘hair-cutting ceremony’ (Kanthapura); bad-baxt ‘you of evil star’ (Untouchable.)

There are other items, which do not involve a rank change. In such item words of L1 are transferred as compound words: e.g., pattal ‘dining leaf’ (Waiting for the Mahatma, 84); tilak ‘forehead-marking’ (Mr. Sampath, 206); janeo ‘holy thread’; coti ‘tuft-knot’ (Coolie, 180).
Further, the process of Indianization of the English language has formally resulted in Indian collocations, which are sometimes termed as Indianisms. The Indianisms will include the following types of formations:

a. those which are transferred from Indian languages into Indian English: e.g. the confusion of caste (Kanthapura, 51), 'varnasankara'; dung wash (A Silence of Desire, 101), 'lepan'; chapatti like cakes (Midnight's Children, 32), 'lepan';

b. those which are not necessarily transferred but are only collocationally unusual according to an L1 user of English e.g., salt- giver (Kanthapura, 32), rape-sister (The Big Heart, 46);

c. those which are formed on the analogy of natively used forms of English, and hence, in a lesser degree are collocationally deviant (e.g., black money (One Thousand Nights on a Bed of Stone, 43) on the analogy of black market); and

d. those which are formally nondeviant but are culture bound. Such formations amount to an introduction of a new register by writers in Indian English, and extend the register range of such items (e.g., flower- bed (Music for Mohini, 109); government (Train to Pakistan, 40).

Here, 'flower-bed' is rank-bound in the sense that the L1 and L2 items belong to the same unit ('word', compound), but in addition to this, it has another characteristic: it is item-bound, too. That means that the writer, B. Bhattacharya has translated the lexical items phul (flower) and shujja (bed) and has used flower-bed in the same contextual unit in which 'phul-shujja' operates in Bengali culture. This results in contextual ambiguity in English, since the item 'flower-bed' is restricted to the register of gardening in English. This difficulty of register confusion could be resolved by translating it as 'nuptial-bed' which would be rank-bound translation but not item bound; hence there would be no contextual difficulty. The use of 'government' (transfer of Hindi/Urdu sarkar) involves a change of register; in "Government,
she knows nothing about drinks. She is hardly sixteen and completely innocent." (Train to Pakistan, 90)

According to Kachru, following four speech functions are selected to illustrate the transfer of form-context components:

(a) Abuses and curses: You eater of your masters (Coolie, 18); you goose faced minion (Kanthapura, 31); may thy womb be dead (He Who Rides a Tiger, 212); oh, you prostitute of a wind (Kanthapura, 170); you cock-eyed son of a bow-legged scorpion (Untouchable, 38); you circumcised son of a pig (The Dark Dancer, 202).

(b) Greetings: bow my forehead (Coolie, 14); fall at your feet (Coolie, 16); ...blessed my hovel with the good dust of your feet (So Many Hungers, 55).

(c) Blessings and Flattery: thou shalt write from an inkwell of gold (Train to Pakistan); draw a hundred lines on the earth with the tip of my nose (Coolie); your shoe and my head (Untouchable); Oh Maharaj, we are all lickers of your feet (He Who Rides a Tiger).

(d) Modes of address and reference: cherisher of the poor (Train to Pakistan); king of pearls (Train to Pakistan); policewala (So Many Hungers); inspector sahib (Train to Pakistan); mother of my daughter (Coolie); jewel of jewels (So Many Hungers); master (The Financial Expert).

It may then be said that Indianism is an item of any rank used by a standard Indian English writer, which may involve either formal and/or contextual deviation.

Indian writers like Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao, R.K. Narayan and Khushwant Singh, among others use phrases like spoiler of my salt, sister sleeper etc, it doesn’t make their English substandard nor does it mean that these words necessarily have a high frequency in Indian English (spoken or written). They use such words or expressions as a stylistic device for creating contextually and linguistically typical Indian plot and character types.
A very special use of compounding has been made by Raja Rao for creating proper noun like phrases – ‘corner house Moorthy’, etc. In Kanthapura Raja Rao has tried others such as ‘thread ceremony’; ‘nose pendent’; ‘bridegroom procession’; ‘country chess’ etc. In Anand’s novels it is not particularly striking. We have ‘sweeper boy’; ‘water carrier’; ‘twice born’; ‘caste-well’ and so on. Narayan has some interesting ones; ‘mud oven’; ‘worshiping room’; ‘rice cake’; ‘dining leaf’; ‘clay head’; ‘sitting plank’, etc.

Strategies such as repetition of various elements of structure – ‘child after child’; ‘bridegroom after bridegroom’; ‘rain pouring on and on’; ‘ages and ages ago’ except perhaps ‘this was a sin and that was a sin’ are common stylistic devices albeit the motivation may be different. Other strategies such as the use of fragmentation, coordination and linkage etc, are all well established stylistic devices.

(iv) Clichés: A cliché is “a hackneyed phrase or expression which a writer keeps in ready stock set up in his mind and puts down automatically without troubling to find an original phrase of his own.”

Though Raja Rao’s writings are relatively free from clichés we occasionally get instances like “to tell you the truth” (Kanthapura, 20). One comes across “to tell the truth” in Ved Mehta’s Delinquent Chacha (110). Joshi’s The Strange Case of Billy Biswas (132), Uma Vasudev’s The Song of Anasuya (3) and Salman Rushdie’s Midnight’s Children (114,301). Mulk Raj Anand’s writings are interspersed with cliché-like expressions; e.g.
the conventional phrase “wonder of all wonds” (Coolie, 31) and phrases “going to the dogs” (Coolie, 126) also in R.K. Narayan’s The Guide, 180) and “he had missed the bus” (Coolie, 262); “waxing philosophical” (Two Leaves and a Bud, 18), “waxed eloquent” in Narayan’s The Guide, 154) and “wax poetic” in Joshi’s (The Strange Case of Billy Biswas), “he felt like a fish out of water” (Two Leaves and a Bud, 26), “at a standstill” (Two Leaves and a Bud, 29); “discretion is the better part of valor” (Death of a Hero, 59).

The same goes for R.K Narayan whose favorites phrases are the Siamese twins, “odds and ends” (Swami and Friends, 32,195; The Vendor of Sweets, 25,119,158). “Odds and ends” appears to be Joshi’s favorite expression too because he has used it both in The Foreigner (162) and The Strange Case of Billy Biswas (62). Talking of Narayan’s Swami and Friends, it has “by and chance” (44), “beat a hasty retreat” (44), “drove home the point” (51), “half a mind” (88), “Right O” (90), “more easily said than done “(129); also in The Strange Case of Billy Biswas, (65), “in the pink of health” (141), “nip this tendency in the bud” (152), “stereotyped question” (169) and “he is a gem” (173).

Swami and Friends is Narayan’s first full-length work of fiction and that perhaps explains why it contains a fair sprinkling of clichés. Of the “big three”, Narayan perhaps uses more of such expressions and some of them have been used again and again. One of the possible reasons may be that simplicity in the hallmark of Narayan’s style. The following are some more examples from Narayan’s works:

“To make a clean breast of it all” (109), “like a bolt from the blue” (147), “cleared out” (205) and “bag and baggage” have been used again in his The Bachelor of Arts (117), “A fault-finding mood” (22), “a stone’s throw” (29), “where there was a will there was a way” (112) and “out of sight out of mind” (144): The Bachelor Of Arts; “Thus far and no further” (144) and “for reasons best known to them”(153), also in Uma Vasudev, The Song of Anasuya, (35): A Tiger of Malgudi; “Best chum” (6) “ravages of the time” and “a whit lost”
In Kamala Markandaya’s novels we come across the following clichés: “In the twinkling of an eye” (25), “next to impossible” (180): *Nectar in a Sieve*; “Umpteen babies” (49) “umpteen servants” (200), “all and sundry” (45), “at her wit’s end” (76), “cat’ll be out of the bag” (208), “she felt she was on fire” (218), “cry over split milk” (203) and “at and the of the tether”: *Two Virgins* (“near the end of the tether” in Joshi’s *The Strange Case of Billy Biswas*).


In Anita Desai’s writings we don’t get uses of this type frequently. In her *Voices in the City*, however, we get “ivory tower” (201), and “lull before storm” (226), etc. Bhabani Bhattacharya has used “played his cards well” (28), “article of faith” (9), “first things first” (34), “like a bombshell” (34), and “life is a game of cards” (79) in his *So Many Hungers* and “the less said the better” (39) in *Shadow from Ladakh*. In addition to a number of items of this nature, Khushwant Singh’s *Train to Pakistan* carries “crystal clear” and his *I Shall Not Hear the Nightingale* “who is to bell the cat” (27), Ahmed Ali’s *Ocean of Night* carries “build castles in the air” (123). Sasthi Brata’s *My God Died Young* “they’ll hit the bull’s eye”. We find “facts and figures” (68), took
it for granted” (69), “classical joke” (74) and “like dead wood” in Nayantara Sahgal’s Storm in Chandigarh.

Instead of saying “nip it in the bud”, Raja Rao, in a characteristically Indian way, has said, “crush in the seed”. Money has been frequently used for comparisons. Also there are often hyperbolic numerical assertions – “The saying is worth a hundred thousand rupees (Train to Pakistan). A few other examples from Indian fiction in English are:

“As long as he is there, no one can harm a single hair of my head.”

“Where does your wealth reside, Babu Sahib? My poor home is in Jhelum district.”

“Does my lap bite you?”

“No one can stop anyone’s mouth.”

“Have you not mother or sister in your home?”

“drinking water out of the same pitcher”.

“Don’t eat my head”,

“bread of illegality”

“your good name.”

Wood has roughly classified clichés into seven broad divisions.79 It is interesting to note that we get examples of all these types in the Indian Writings in English:

(i) Conventional Phrases or Expressions:

“the evening of the life” (Storm in Chandigarh, 5)

“by leaps and bounds” (Storm in Chandigarh, 61)

“wheel of time” (Death of a Hero, 26)

“janes of death (Death of a Hero, 84)

(ii) The Conventional Adjective:

“Golden Promises” (Anand, Two leaves and a Bud, 6)
The Conventional Verb:

"the engine screamed" (Coolie, 174); "he shepherded them" (Storm in Chandigarh, 47); "the sentry barked" (A Bend in the Ganges; 182.) The humanizing use of the verbs "hissing" and "stabbing" seems to be very common with Indian English novelists.

The Conventional Adverb:

"The fire was blazing fiercely" (Nectar in a Sieve, 56) "when she had become so sheetly-white (Midnight, Children, 59)

"She lay dustily on her bed; we waited and feared. (Midnight's Children, 273)

Circumlocution:

"the edge of her tongue was like a pair of scissors"(i.e., 'Talkative') – (Untouchable); "... and yet he was as honest as an elephant" (Kanthapura)

Vogue Words:

"movie"-"a Bergman movie" (The Strange Case of Billy Biswas, 95), "fellow-travelers" (A Bend in the Ganges, 355), 'jet' — "jet of water" (Ocean of Night, 62), "jets of white stream" (Voices, 5)

Hackneyed and Pointless Similes:

"My old servant had not understood the purpose of my wanderings but had remained at his post like a dutiful Casabianca" (The Foreigner, 352); "They were all staring at him making him conscious of their fear and hatred, like characters in some dance drama" (A Bend in the Ganges, 132). "She is like a sister to me" (The Guide, 78), "She was still as stone" (The Strange Case, 62)
(v) Nativization (Indian locale): By nativization of English we mean the use of native expressions and words in English structures. The process of nativization is due to the transfer from local languages as well as the new cultural environment and communicative needs. Because of deep social penetration and the extended range of functions of English in diverse sociolinguistic contexts there are several varieties, localized registers and genres for articulating local social, cultural and religious identities. Also, factors such as the absence of a native group, inadequate teaching and acquisitional limitations (e.g. lack of exposure and facilities, learning under compulsion) contribute to the process. Scholars (such as Kachru, Halverson, Verma, Mehrotra and Sridhar) have all concluded that the South Asian varieties of English are being nativized by acquiring new identities in new socio-cultural contexts. They have emerged as autonomous local varieties with their own set of rules that make it impossible to treat them simply as mistakes of deficient Englishes.

South Asian English has developed to a more distinctive level than in other countries where English is used as a second language. English in India has evolved characteristic features at the phonological, lexical, syntactic and even at discourse level. Initially, these innovations were rejected by purists, but they are becoming increasingly accepted: English is not anymore treated as a foreign language; it is part of the cultural identity of India.

Nativization has been used as a conscious creative experiment, aiming at lending a national identity to an alien language. Indian Writers in English have infused the tempo of Indian life into their English expression by harnessing their philosophical, mythological, cultural and socio-political resources of language in installing the Indian soul in English body. A judicious use of conversational expressions and natural items of Indian locale has proved to be effective in giving Indian identity to an alien language.

A large number of Indian words (from different regional languages and Hindi) have passed into 'Indian Variety of English.' Indian English is an
index of a rich culture and a great tradition of indigenous languages. The earliest of the Indian (language) items to intrude into the English language were essentially those lexical items, which came through travel literature. The second phase developed with the register-restricted items whose history is not different from American Indian items in American English and aboriginal language items in Australian English. Kachru has used the term lexical innovations for these borrowings and has further classified them into two categories:

1. **Single Items**: By single item innovation we mean the transfer of Indian lexical items into Indian English. They are to be separated from hybrid items and other innovations, such as *shifts or loan translations*. These items are further classified into two additional categories. There are, first, those items, which have become part of the lexical stock of the English language and are used both in British and American English and may, therefore, be termed ‘assimilated items.’ For administrative, cultural and political reasons the borrowing of South Asian (Indian) items is higher in British English than in American English. Second, there are those items, which have not necessarily been included in the lexicons of the native varieties of English, but have high frequency in Indian English. Kachru has used the term ‘non-restricted lexical items’ (or ‘assimilated item’) for the first type and ‘restricted lexical items’ for the second type. The first are non-restricted in the sense that they do not occur only in Indian English. However, it should be noted that a large number of lexical items have certain semantic constraints, which they do not have in the Indian languages from which they have been borrowed.

Examples are:

puja, bazaar, dhun Ishwar, Allah, jadoo, ayah, mynahs, hortal, saris, baas, darshan, maharaja, sahibzadas, baysharram, tamasha, mainduck, bombayalis, samjao, elaichees, halva, mussulman, sultan, paans, paisa, badmash, khansama, chipkali, chamchas, khazana, bilkul, chaat, khalaas, lathis, paranthas, bhangra (*The Moor’s Last Sigh*)
bazaars, PWD, Ammu, dhobi, veshyas, mol, mon, shri, guru, baba,
zamindars, patcha, pappachi, mammachi, charminar, raksha, lungi,
avatar, kebabs, mombatti, bandh, namaste, ayah, mehndi, ghat, laddoo,
laltain, sherwani, mantra (God of Small Things)

nakhras, karma, rishis, rajah, vakil, arre, chokra, maidan, dhols, yagi, aha!,
oho!, shamiana, dekho, langur, kalyug, yatra, muezzin, hamal, galis, chalta
hai, arre, koi.hai?, ashram, dhaba, loafer, chaprassi, patangbaz (The
Ground Beneath Her Feet)

brahmin, satyavati, hindustani, asana, lao, burra, do, bhisti, lotas, fakir,
jamadar, bhai, huzoor, attar, dharampatni, memsahib, behn, mushairas,
thana, swastika, shakti, chillum, apsara, namaz, halal, ghee, pathan,
pahelwan, madrasah, koyyal, mynah (The Great Indian Novel)

Then there are names of different Indian festivals (Onam, Dewali,
Eid, Ganpati etc), food items (idli, sambhar, kebabs, Mughlai kormas, reshmi
kebabs, Kashmiri shermal, keema, biryani etc) which are frequently used by
Indian English writers as well as in the conversations of English (Indian
variety of English.)

Some examples have also been taken from national dailies and magazines,
which are given below:

(i) Jaya now woos minorities by going to durgahs (The Times of India,
Mar. 5, 2003)

(ii) He doesn’t issue fatwas… (The Sunday Times, Mar. 16, 2003)

(iii) In her Kanjeevarams and mali poos, she’s South India’s, most
enduring import (The Sunday Times, Mar. 16, 2003)

(iv) …bhajans of Meera … (The Sunday Times, Mar. 16, 2003)

(v) I adore my ganne ka juice, and bhel …(The Sunday Times, Mar.
16, 2003)

(vi) Nafisa Joseph …consider herself a pucca South Indian at heart (The
Delhi Times, Mar. 3, 2003)
We love Kamala Das …even though she wears glasses and black burqas… (The Sunday Times, Mar. 2, 2003)

In Paris, papa, mummy, me and bhaiya (India Today, p. 5, Apr. 24, 2006)

Wearing a lungi in a village is not a fashion (India Today, p.16, Apr. 24, 2006)

Is Aishwarya really worthy of being the Bachchan bahu? (Star Dust, p. 9, Apr. 2006)

After all Sallu is no ulla? (Star Dust, p. 13, Apr. 2006)

2. Hybridized Items: By hybridized item is meant a lexical item, which comprises of two or more elements, at least one of which is from Indian language and one from English. The elements of a hybrid formation may belong either to an open set or to a closed system in lexis. An open-set item is considered ‘open’ in the sense that there are no grammatical constraints on the selection of the elements of the item. Consider, for example, the following: kumkum mark (Kanthapura, 159.) A closed system item is ‘closed’ in the sense that at least one element belongs to the closed system of Indian languages; for example the suffix -wala in policewala (So Many Hungers, 61.)

Some other examples are:

Karri-leaves, bazaar-collies, congresswallah, summer charpoys, ranghu clan, kali-tongued, chowpatty beach, lambajan chandiwala (Long John Silver fellow), art-wallahs, masala-art, business-baboons, Bombay-wallahs, Mummy ji, gai-wallah (The Moor’s Last Sigh)

kunukku earrings, white chatta, kodam puli treee, clay kooyah, co-sadhus, co-swamis, Big meeshas (God of Small Things)

hennuaed feet, houri’s feet, punkha-wallah, Durbar Hall, jute wallahs, peepal tree, chausa Mango, lathi charge, astrakhan cap, Gelabi Desh War (The Great Indian Novel)

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khatri-boy, harsingar tree, tonga-wallah, chaat-stand, cuckoo-clock, cowrie-shells, jatav-caste, Baitar House, Alamgiri Mosque, kathak-dance, sarangi-wallah, masterji, box-wallah and box-walli, Teen-Murti House (A Suitable Boy)

kundalini flashers, sodawater-batliwala, properly wallah, numdah rugs, fillum fans, movie mogul, tantric masters, tabla drums, bidri-work, itr-seller, tika-marks, Limo Singh, Lawn Singh, Kitchen Singh, Goddess-Ma, Wagahwal’a gang, Mahayana mastesr, Gandhara-heads, do-teen days, Indian Puranas, Bharat-burbble (The Ground Beneath Her Feet)

Classification of Hybrid Formations

We have classified hybrid formations according to the units and the elements, which operate in their structure.

A large number of hybrid formations belong to the nominal group, with two or more elements in the structure. They have been divided into the followings two subgroups: (1) Indian item as head, (2) Indian item as modifier.

Indian Item as Head

This group includes those formations in which there are two elements and the relationship is that of a modifier and a head. The first component – the modifier – is from English and the head is form an Indian language, e.g. British sarkar (The Big Heart, 192.) The second group also belongs to the class nominal but the order of elements in the group is reversed. In this case, Indian lexical item functions as a modifier, and an English lexical item as the head, e.g., ayurveda system (Music for Mohini, 99.)

In the first group the formations of modifier-head (MH) relationships have been further subgrouped according to the position of the components, i.e., (i) NN type (ii) AN type, and (iii) -ing as H type.

1. NN type: In these the first element belongs to the class noun, e.g., babu English (The Serpent and the Rope, 33), canal-bund (The Serpent and the Rope, 281); Christian sadhu (The Flame of the Forest, 257); city
kotwali; coconut paysam (The Astrologer's Day, 8); Congress pandal (Untouchable, 212); -raj (The Serpent and the Rope, 31); copper pie (So Many Hungers, 91); -pajama (The House in Adampur, 139); -sadri (The Big Heart, 147); -satranji (He Who Rides a Tiger, 222); evening-bhajan (Kanthapura, 186); -puja (He Who Rides a Tiger, 170); flower bazaar (The House in Adampur, 56); gang coolie (The Astrologer's Day, 181); glass choorie (He Who Rides a Tiger, 211); gold mohar (One Thousand Nights on a bed of Stone); gram khir (Kanthapura, 43); marriage pandal (Mr Sampath, 34); onion pecoras (Remember the House, 17); police jamadar (Kanthapura, 29); -lathi (Kanthapura, 162); -thana (So Many Hungers, 85); rail gadi (The Big Heart, 75); Saturday haat (So Many Hungers, 52); solar topee (The Voice of God, 10); tamarind chutney (The Serpent and the Rope, 244); tank bund (The Astrologer's Day, 61); vermicelli paysam (Kanthapura, 18.)

2. AN type: In these the first element belongs to the class adjective e.g.,
British sarkar (The Big Heart, 192); ceremonial pronom (He Who Rides a Tiger, 195); counterfeit kismet (The Big Heart, 182); double roti (Coolie, 261); eternal upavasi (The Serpent and the Rope, 386); evil sarkar (The Big Heart, 51); holy mantra (Music for Mohini, 64); imperial raj (The House in Adampur, 141); landless kisan (So Many Hungers, 18); swadeshi cloth (Kanthapura, 63); yakka carriage (The Big Heart, 55)

3. -ing H type: In a restricted number of formations the -ing form function as a modifier, e.g., burning-ghaut (The Big Heart, 207); burning-ghee (The Bachelor of Arts, 66)

**Indian Item as Modifier**

In terms of structure, the items discussed in this category are also of the unit group (class nominal), but the difference is that the position of the modifier is reversed. In this case, an English item functions as a head. This group has
been further subdivided into the following: (1) derivative N, (2) -ing as head, (3) agentive, (4) verb as head, (5) noun + noun

1. Derivative N, e.g., anjali salutation (The Flame of the Forest, 84); bazaar musician (The Flame of the Forest, 16); haldi invitation (Kanthapura, 152); kashi pilgrimage (Kanthapura, 199); vilayati mixture (The Big Heart, 102); yakka carriage The Big Heart, 55)

2. -ing as head, e.g., beedi-smoking (The Serpent and the Rope, 198); kirtan singing (The Flame of the Forest, 221); pan-spitting (The Serpent and the Rope, 31); puja-offering (He Who Rides a Tiger, 127)

3. Agentive, e.g., ashram scavenger (Untouchable, 217); sweeper (Untouchable); beedi-seller (The Astrologer’s Day, 52); jutka driver (The Bachelor of Arts, 101); palki-bearer (Music for Mohini, 214); paria-mixer (Kanthapura, 63); sarvodaya leader, senai player (He Who Rides a Tiger, 159); sherbet-dealer (The Big Heart, 34); tiffin carrier (The Voice of God, 19); tom-tom beater (The Astrologer’s Day, 111); tonga driver (The Voice of God, 36)

4. Verb as H, e.g., guru ridden (The Flame of the Forest, 171); ghee-fried (He Who Rides a Tiger, 205); khadi bound (Kanthapura, 41); sari-clad (So Many Hungers, 81)

5. N+N: This class is most productive; such formations are frequently seen in the newspapers and other pieces of creative writing. These hybrid formations are used in various socio-cultural contexts in India; ahimsa soldier (Waiting for the Mahatma, 78); -spell (So Many Hungers, 84); akashiti holiday (The Big Heart, 162); anna coin (The Astrologer’s Day, 123); a roti ceremony (He Who Rides a Tiger, 113); -time (He Who Rides a Tiger, 207); aruni-field (The Serpent and the Rope, 282); asirvad ceremony (Waiting for the Mahatma, 115); ashram camp (Waiting for the Mahatma, 82); -disciple (Music for Mohini, 82); -disciple (Music for Mohini, 82); attar bottle (The Serpent and the Rope, 266); ayurveda system (Music for Mohini, 166); baran rite
(Music for Mohini, 98); basar chamber (Music for Mohini, 85); -room (Music for Mohini, 73); basavana bull (The Serpent and the Rope, 293); bhajan song (So Many Hungers, 171); choli-piece (The Serpent and the Rope, 58); dak bungalow (Train to Pakistan, 56); durbar hall (The Astrologer’s Day, 224); harikatha-man (Kanthapura, 23); jibba pocket (Waiting for the Mahatma, 19); kartik light (Kanthapura, 127); kumkum mark (Kanthapura, 159); kumkum-rice (The Serpent and the Rope, 123); nautch-girl (The Flame of the Forest, 13); party (The Serpent and the Rope, 289); panchayat hall (Kanthapura, 116); pheni dinner (The Serpent and the Rope, 227); punkah-boy (The Serpent and the Rope, 90); rudrakshi bed (Kanthapura, 136); sanai music (Music for Mohini, 72); sandhi rites (The Astrologer’s Day, 53); shagan ceremony (The Big Heart, 124); sherbet shop (The Big Heart, 98); shirshasana posture (The House in Adampur, 30); sindur mark (Music for Mohini, 99); taluk magistrate (Kanthapura, 201); -office (The Astrologer’s Day, 61); upanayanam ceremony (The Serpent and the Rope, 323); zari work; zenana affair (The Flame of the Forest, 66); -life (The Serpent and the Rope, 181)

String Formations

In a string formation we have more than two elements, one of which may a compound modifying a head, which may be form an Indian language or from English. Consider the following: four-anna class (The Astrologer’s Day, 84); high-class lallas (The Big Heart, 125); hillman coolie (The Big Heart, 86); home spun khaddar (The Big Heart, 48)

Hybridization and Derivative Suffixes

The hybrid formations with derivative suffixes from the Indian languages or English are grouped into the following three categories: (1) non-English head and English derivational suffix; (2) English head and non-English derivational suffix; and (3) non-English head and English prefix of negation.
The following English derivative suffixes are used with Indian lexical items: -dom, colliedom (Coolie, 94); hood, sadhuhood (Untouchable, 59); chaprasihood (Coolie, 10); -ship, patelship (Kanthapura, 144); -worth, piceworth (So Many Hungers, 161); -ic, upanishadic (The Serpent and the Rope, 25)

There is only one South Asian suffix, -wallah, which is used with a large number of nouns to denote an owner, or possessor, or master, for instance, factory wallah (Coolie, 82); Congress wallah (Remember the House, 119); police wallah (So Many Hungers, 61)

The English prefix of negation non- has a high frequency and is used with a large number of items, e.g., non-Brahmin; non-adiwasi.

Some other examples taken from national dailies and magazines are given below:

(i) She is the Babuji Bomb!" (The Sunday Times, Feb. 16, 2003)
(ii) videshi liquor (The Delhi Times, Mar. 3, 2003)

The development of hybridization in Indian English lexis has been accomplished over two hundred years of administrative, cultural, political and educational contact with the English-speaking world. This feature of Indian English is therefore interesting from the point of language acculturation and from that of language contact.

Thus, by nativizing the English language Indian English writers have been trying to portray Indian ethos and native consciousness.

II Linguistic Economy: It is seen quite often that a language undergoes linguistic economy in a non-native communication situation for lack of performing skill of the participant, or as a result of his linguistic laziness. The linguistic economy is employed both at lexical and syntactic levels to gain forthright communication. While such linguistic economies or ‘deletions’ are not quite unusual and do not pose problems of communication in native
situations, they appear stylistically distinctive and/or semantically opaque to the native whose language undergoes such deletions.

In a large number of Indianisms a syntactic unit of a higher rank in English is reduced to a lower rank in Indian English. There are cases where an L1 speaker of English tends to use a group or a clause, but in many such cases an Indian user of English uses a unit of a lower rank. For example, many nominal formations of modifier + head + qualifier structure are reduced in IE to formations of modifier + noun structure.\(^{86}\)

In such Indianisms the rank reduction involves first the process of deletion and than permutation of the lexical items. Consider, for instance, the following nominal groups of English:

(1) an address of welcome, (2) a bunch of keys, and (3) love of God. In Indian English these are reduced to: (1) welcome address (Indian Express, 14 Aug. 1959), (2) key bunch (The Astrologer’s Day, and Other Stories, 178), and (3) God-love (Untouchable, 205)

In formations such as America-retuned (The Flame of the Forest, 105) or English returned, the process involved is more complex. Though the process is complex the underlying structures are non-deviant, but the realized structures (e.g., American returned or English returned) are deviant and would use both semantic and grammatical explanations in the Indian variety of English.

The rank-reduced formations have been labeled by Whitworth ‘wrong compounds’ for the reason that Indians are following the process of analogy of Sanskrit *tatpursa* compounds, like deva-putra (‘son of God’) and transfer such formations into Indian English (say, for example, deva-putra as ‘god-son’).\(^{87}\) This, as he mentions, may also result from loan-shifts, as in bride-price, which in from kanya sulkam.

Goffin suggests that such formations show a tendency in Indian English of ‘phrase mongering.’\(^{87}\) The examples given by him (e.g., Himalayan blunder,
nation-building, dumb millions) are not different from the above examples and show clearly that there is a regular underlying pattern in such formations.

Other examples of deletion are:

match-box for a box of matches (In British English match-box in used for a box without matches. In Indian English it is substituted for what in British English would be a box of matches), mission lady for the lady from the mission; roll-strength for the strength of class, caste-basis for the basis of caste (*The Hindu*, Nov. 25, 1963.)

The following instances of lexical deletions in Indian English were all found in Indian English newspapers, where participants performing skill in not generally quite high:

**LT**

(i) Hindi version certificate : Hindi version (of the) certificate  
(ii) hardship of Chapra : hardship (of the people) of Chapra  
(iii) Samastipur-Banmankh passenger : Samastipur-Banmankhi passenger (train)

**NS**

(iv) Electricity Board failed to meet situation created by poor generation  
(v) exchange of firing between two parties

Deletions have a linguistic relevance in as much as they have a pattern about them and are a means for rapid communication as in borne out by the deletion-characterized registers of advertisements, catchy slogans, headlines/headings, etc. It is in this perspective of communicative efficacy that Indianisms marked by deletions have come to acquire stylistic significance.
III. Semantic Manipulations: An item of English may be assigned additional semantic markers in Indian English, which are not necessarily assigned to it in the L1 varieties of English. This may also lead to register shift (or extension) and thus, for an L1 speaker of English, it results in what is termed register confusion. Consider, for example, the use of flower-bed (Music for Mohini, 90.) In British English it is restricted to the register of gardening but in Indian English it has been used in the sense of nuptial bed, or the terms government (Train to Pakistan, 40) or master (The Voice of God, 19) which are used as modes of address in Indian English.

Secondly, an item of English may be assigned an extra feature in Indian English. In English, brother, sister, or brother-in-law all belong to the lexical set of kinship terms. In Indian English, extra semantic features are assigned to them and their range of functions in other lexical sets is widened, e.g., [+ affection], [+regard], [+abuse], [+mode of address]. He for example, mentions the item co-son-in-law used for wife's sister's husband. 89

Other examples of semantic shift are:

boy – used for bearer or waiter in Indian English
auntie – extensively used in Indian English to any female adult, even if only an acquaintance of the parent. In British English, the use of the term in not so wide, it is usually limited to the parent’s sister and close women friends. (c.f. uncle)

cousin-sister/cousin-brother – In British English, the item cousin has no marker of sex; in Indian English, however, cousin may be followed by a sex marker; i.e., cousin-sister (Remember the House, 29), cousin-brother. (The Flame of the Forest, 131)

Similarly a vendor in Indian English situation might refer to his/her female customers as sister (not any reference to kinship).

The result of these shifts is that ambiguities are caused which can be resolved only when the texts are understood in terms of Indian semantic features. Thus, these lexical items are to be redefined in terms of Indian contextual units.
3.3.3 Grammar, idiom and usage in Indian English

For those aware of the grammar of Indian tongues like Bengali, Hindi, Malayalam, and Tamil, the logic behind quirks of Indian English is quite transparent and readily explicable. However, observations by the perspicacious, in spite of ignorance of Indian languages, will reveal much that is characterised in 'rules' and 'tendencies.'

According to Kachru, a mistake may be defined as any 'deviation' which is rejected by a native speaker of English as out of the linguistic 'code' of the English language, and which may not be justified in Indian English on formal and or/contextual grounds. A deviation, on the other hand, may involve differences from a norm, but such deviations may be explained in terms of the cultural and/or linguistic context in which a language functions.

A number of these observations are variety-oriented and mark members of the Indian English speech community as separate from users of other varieties of English. The other types of observations are register oriented. These features are characteristic of the typical registers of Indian English, which are definable with reference to the functions of the Indian English in typically Indian sociocultural settings. Consider, for example, text oriented: salt march (*Remember the House*, 36), salt-laws (*The House in Adampur*, 55.) The third type of collocation is author oriented and may be present only in the works of creative Indian English writers who write about typically Indian contexts. Such collocations provide linguistic clues to the style of a specific author. There are also features which are text specific and may not be generalized as features of the total literary output of a writer. For example, the style of *Kanthapura* cannot be generalized as the style of Raja Rao, just as we cannot generalize the style of 'any one lived in a pretty how town' as the style of E.E. Cummings. In both these cases it is important to understand the style of the text in order to understand the total style repertoires of Raja Rao or E.E Cummings.
We find that linguistically definable Indianisms present a spectrum, and each item needs careful categorization. At one end, this spectrum presents statistically frequent Indianisms which may be generalized as variety-oriented features; at the other end it presents text-specific and statistically marginal features such as the formation ‘may the vessel of your life never float on the sea of existence’ (Coolie, 20.) This formation is both author restricted and text-specific, but it is a possible formation in Indian English as are the ‘deviant’ formations of Cummings or Joyce in other Englishes. When it is claimed that one cannot ‘postulate Indian English’ based on examples drawn from ‘Indo-Anglian writers’, one is confronting a confusion between language use and prescriptivism. It becomes more confusing when it is further claimed: The Indo-Anglian writer should be allowed the freedom to experiment with the language for his own artistic needs rather than to be heaved into a system of linguistics in search of that elusive medium-standard Indian English.

Standard Indian English is no more ‘elusive’ than is standard American English or standard West African English. An individual author experiments with the style repertoire, which a speech community uses, whether for ‘artistic’ or practical needs. In the description of language use, ‘artistic needs’ for creative use of language are as much a part of the total range of language use as is purely functional use (e.g., in ordering one’s meal.)

We will take into account certain grammatical characteristics, which mark ‘educated’ Indian English as deviant from the ‘educated’ native varieties of English. First, let us consider some features involving sentence and clause structure. It is claimed that Indian English has a tendency towards using complex noun and verb phrases and rather long sentences. The following excerpt from Kanthapura is illustrative:

The day rose into the air and with it rose the dust of the morning, and the carts began to creak round the bulging rocks and the coppery peaks, and
the sun fell into the river and pierced it to the pebbles, while the carts
rolled on and on, fair carts of the Kanthapura fair...

One cannot generalize, since R.K. Narayan's style is the opposite of Raja
Rao's. But stylistic characteristics do not have to be uniform; generalizations
are indicative of tendencies.

Second, in constructions at the phrase level (verb phrase or noun phrase) we
find several features. Let us consider, as an example, the be + verb + ing
construction in the Indian English. In such constructions some Indian English
users see to 'violate' the selectional restriction applicable to such
constructions in the native varieties of English, where the members of the
subclass 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 sunna
'to hear', dekhna 'to see' (e.g., mai sun raha hu 'I' 'listen' 'progressive' 'am';
'I am listening'; mai dekh raha hu 'I' 'see' 'progressive' 'am'; 'I am seeing.')
The tendency is to extend this feature to Indian English.

Third, characteristics may be defined in terms of systemic variation. An often
discussed illustration of such deviations is the use of articles in Indian
English. It is not claimed here that Indian English necessarily displays a
consistently 'deviant' pattern in the use of articles. The picture is one of
arbitrary use of the, a/an and \( \emptyset \) article. In Dustoor very descriptive labels have
been used to categorize the Indian deviations in the use of articles, such as
'missing and intrusive articles in Indian English,' and 'wrong, usurping and
dispossessed articles in Indian English.'

The fourth characteristic concerns the formation of interrogative constructions
in which Indian English speakers do not necessarily change the position of the
subject and the auxiliary items. Consider, for example, What you would like to
eat? or Really, you are finished? The tag questions in Indian English also
show the influence of the first languages. It is not uncommon to find either a
general 'it' in all tag-questions, (e.g., You have taken my book, isn't it? He
has left, isn’t it? or simply a negative particle in the tag question (as in She borrowed my book, no?.)

We will also discuss here certain formations, which form part of both grammar and lexis. Some of the linguistic devices used to produce such formations are very productive. Kachru has used the term Indian English collocations for such formations. Collocation refers to the tendency of certain lexical items to keep company with a set of other lexical items. In other words, there is a mutual expectancy and a tendency of co-occurrence between certain words in a language. One might say that knowledge about the constraints of mutual expectancy of lexical items forms a part of a native speaker’s competence in a language. The formation silly ass in English is often given as an example of a collocation. A silly ass means more than what the two lexical items mean individually — for a native speaker of English, these words signal a lot more than a four-legged animal.

The use of English in India for almost two hundred years has naturally nativized the company which English words traditionally keep in their non-Indian settings. The Indian linguistic and cultural context has either extended the membership of the set of items with which lexical items can co-occur, or new, typically Indian collocations have been formed. The Indian collocations naturally sound ‘foreign’ to native speakers; after all, these have to be understood in the Indian context. Therefore, a large number of typically Indian collocations mark Indian English as distinct from other varieties of English. A collocation might be marked as Indian either in terms of its constituent members, or in terms of its extended or restricted semantic range.

The interference is not restricted to one level only; it shows in grammar, lexis, collocations and transfer of idioms from Indian languages into English. In lexis or in idioms, this process manifests itself in what is termed translation. The translated items vary in their assimilations in the target language—the language, which absorbs the items. The list of such items in Indian English is a long one. Let us consider, for example, the following: twice born
(Untouchable, 14) ‘dvija’; waist-thread (He Who Rides a Tiger, 190) ‘katidora’; dining-leaf (Waiting for the Mahatma, 84) ‘pattal’. At first glance these items appear to be unEnglish, but one can find several contextual arguments for their existence in Indian English, the most convincing one being that the formations make sense in Indian English – they have a meaning with reference to Indian culture. It is true that translated idioms sometimes stand out without being assimilated; they may even remain marginal in terms of use. But so did ‘a marriage of convenience’ or ‘it goes without saying’ when these were first translated from French into English. It is a rare scholar who would be curious to find out their ancestry, to identify their source. In Indian English the translated idioms ‘may the fire of ovens consume you’ (Coolie, 78), ‘a crocodile in a loincloth’ (He Who Rides a Tiger, 217) sounds rather unusual now, but there is no linguistic reason to consider them so. The formation ‘pin drop silence’ appear less deviant, the reason being that we have heard if often and have used it for a long time. The following comparative constructions in Kanthapura are translations, which have typical Indian character, and convey the Indianness, which the author obviously intended to convey: as honest as an elephant (12), as good as kitchen ashes (46), helpless as a calf (55), lean as an areca-nut tree. (259) A construction which is more English would perhaps sound less deviant, but then it would also be less Indian – therefore, less effective.

In India, English language functions in the following sociolinguistic setting:
(1) it is a second language used under the influence of a number of substrata,
(2) it is used in cross-cultural (and cross-religious) contexts, as well as for describing both these and native contexts; (3) it is used in Indian English writings (fiction, newspapers, etc.)

The following anomalies are observed in the grammar of Indian English:

- The progressive tense in stative verbs: I am understanding it. She is knowing the answer; an influence of traditional Hindi grammar, it is more common in northern states.
• Variations in noun number and determiners: *He performed many charities. She loves to pull your legs.*

• Prepositions: *pay attention on, discuss about, convey him my greetings.* Most prepositions of English are direct mental translations of the approximate postpositions of Hindi, but the Hindi-speakers fail to note that there isn't always a one-to-one correspondence.

• Tag questions: The use of "isn't it?" and "no?" as general question tags, as in *You're going, isn't it? instead of You're going, aren't you?, and He's here, no?* ('na' often replaces 'no': another influence of Hindi, this time colloquial, common all across the North, West, and East--the South replaces it with the 'ah' sound, as in *Ready, ah?*, an influence of colloquial Tamil and Kannada.)

• Word order: *Who you have come for? They're late always. My all friends are waiting.*

• *Yes* and *no* agreeing to the form of a question, not just its content -- A: *You didn't come on the bus?* B: *Yes, I didn't.*

• Use of the indefinite article *a* before words starting with vowels (usually a slip of the tongue).

In addition to these observations, other unique patterns are also standard and will frequently be encountered in Indian English:

• The past perfect tense used in verbs where international English speakers would use the past simple. *I had gone for I went.*

• Use of the words *but* or *only* as intensifiers such as in: *"I was just joking but."* or *"It was she only who cooked this rice."* (Influenced by Hindi syntax)

• Anglicisation of Indian words especially in Chennai by adding "ify" to a local Tamil word.

• Use of *yaar, machaa, abey, arey* in an English conversation, mainly by people of native Hindi-speaking origin; 'da' is more frequently used in the South.
• Use of the word *ki* (Hindi) to mean, loosely, *that*, such as in "What I mean is *ki* we should adopt this plan instead." (Seen mainly in the North and West of the country.)

• Idiomatic English for quantification in use of preposition "of", as in "There is so much of happiness in being honest."

• Use of the plural *ladies* for a single lady or a woman of respect, as in "There was a *ladies* at the phone."

• Use of "open" and "close" instead of switch/turn on/off, as in "Open the air conditioner" instead of "Turn on the air conditioner"; and "Open your shirt" for "Take off your shirt." This construction is also found in Quebec English.

• Use of "hope" where there is no implication of desire but merely expectation: "We don't want rain today but I hope it will rain."

• Use of "off it" and "on it" instead of "switch it off" and "switch it on."

• Use of "current went" and "current came" for "The power went out" and "The power came back."

• Use of "y'all" for "you all" or "all of you", as used in Southern American English, especially by Anglo-Indians.

• Swapping around the meanings of "slow" and "soft" as in "I shall speak slower for you" (actually means I will speak softly) or "make the fan softer" (actually means make the fan go slower/ reduce its speed.)

• Creation of nonsensical, rhyming double-words to denote generality of idea or act, a 'totality' of the word's denotation, as in "No more ice-cream-fice-cream for you!", "Let's go have some chai-vai (tea, "tea and stuff.") or "There's a lot of this fighting-witing going on in the neighbourhood." (Prevalent mainly in Hindi- and Punjabi-speaking states.)

• Use of "baazi"/"baaji" or "-giri" for the same purpose, as in "business-baazi" or "cheating-giri." (Also prevalent mainly in Hindi-speaking states.)
• Use of word "wallah" to denote occupation or 'doing of/involve ment in doing' something, as in "The taxi-wallah overcharged me.", "The grocery-wallah sells fresh fruit." or "He's a real music-wallah: his CD collection is huge."

• Use of the word maane (Bengali), "Yani" (Urdu) and matlab (Hindi/Urdu) to mean, loosely, "meaning" ("What I mean is..."), as in "The problem with your idea, maane, what I feel is missing, is ki it does not address the problem of overstaffing." or "Your explanation, matlab, your feeble attempt at one, was sorely lacking in cohesiveness."

• Overuse of the words "Generally"/"Actually"/"Obviously"/"Basically" in the beginning of a sentence. e.g. "Actually I am not feeling well."

• Use of the word "since" instead of "for" in conjunction with periods of time, as in "I have been working since four years" instead of "I have been working for four years" or "I have been working since four years ago." This usage is more common among speakers of North Indian languages such as Hindi where the words for both "since" and "for" are the same.

• Confusion, especially among North Indians, between the use of till and as long as, as in "Till you haven't finished your homework, you will not get dinner." This is again directly traceable to Hindi grammar.

• Use of the word "gift" as a verb: You are gifting me a new cell phone?

• Use of "He is older to me" instead of "He is older than me."

• Use of "I can able to cook" instead of "I can cook" - a widespread grammatical error in India, but especially so among Telugu speakers.

• Omission of the definite article: e.g. "Let's go to city" instead of "Let's go to the city."

• Usage of "out of hundred" instead of per cent: "He got hundred out of hundred" instead of "He got a hundred" or "He got a one hundred per cent."

• Pronunciation of h and z as "hech" and "ized" respectively.
Use of the Latin word "cum", meaning "with", as in "Welcome to the gymnasium cum swimming pool building." This was common in the past in British English.

In South India, phrases such as "that and all", or "this and all" are used roughly to convey the meaning "all of that (stuff)" or "regarding that." e.g: A: "Can I pay you back later? I don't have my wallet." B: "That and all I don't know. I need the money now."

Use of "the same" instead of "it", as in "I heard that you have written a document on xyz. Could you send me the same?" (this again used to be standard British English but now appears old-fashioned.)

Idioms and Popular Phrases

These might look strange to a person for whom English is the first language. They should realise that many of their expressions similarly look strange to those for whom English is not their first language. Many of these idioms and popular phrases are heavily influenced by the way Indians express these ideas in their languages.

"Your good name please?": "What is your name?", carryover from Hindi expression "Shubh-naam", literally meaning "auspicious name." This is similar to the way Japanese refer to the other person's name with an honorific "O-" prefix, as in "O-namee" instead of the simple "namee" when referring to their own name. It is also an indication that the questioner wants to know the person's formal or legal name, as opposed to his or her nickname, which are commonly used among friends and family.

"That is besides the point."

"Out of station" to mean "out of town."

"Join duty" to mean "reporting to work for the first time". "Rejoin duty" is to come back to work after a vacation.

"Deadly", "hi-fi", "sexy" are used in idiomatic ways as adjectives. Deadly means intense, "hi-fi" stylish or beyond the perception of the
average person and "sexy" excellent or extremely cool. Examples are "That movie was deadly, yaar; what an action scene!", "Your shoes are hi-fi. Where'd you get them?" and "That's a sexy car, man!"

- "Hello, What do you want?": used by some when answering a phone call, not perceived as impolite by most Indians.
- "Tell me": used when answering the phone, meaning "How can I help you?"
- "send it across" instead of "send it over", as in "send the bill across to me" instead of "send the bill over to me."
- "order for food" instead of "order food", as in "Let's order for sandwiches."
- "What a nonsense/silly you are!" or "Don't be doing such nonsense anymore.": occasional - idiomatic use of nonsense/silly as nouns (although this is not uncommon in British English.)
- "pindrop silence" literally means that such a silence should be maintained that even a pindrop can be heard.
- "back" replacing "ago" when talking about elapsed time, as in "I met him five years back" rather than "I met him five years ago." (Though this too is not uncommon in British English)
- "freak out" is meant to have fun, as in "let's go to the party and freak out."
- "pass out" is meant to graduate, as in "I passed out of the university in 1995."
- "go for a toss" is meant to go haywire or to flop, as in "my plans went for a toss when it started raining heavily."
- "funny" is meant to replace not only "odd"/"strange" but "rude"/"precocious"/"impolite" as well. "That man was acting really funny with me, so I gave him a piece of my mind."
- "on the anvil" is used often in the Indian press to mean something is about to appear or happen. For example, a headline might read "New roads on the anvil."
• "Unless and until". This is called as Indianism by many native speakers. This is uncommon in British English as these two words are not used at the same time.

• Use of redundant words like "I am feeling much better". Here "much" is a redundant word. Though this part is influenced by American English.

Interjections and casual references

• Casual use of words yaar (friend, buddy, dude, man), bhai (brother) and bhaiyya (elder brother) much as with the American English 'man' or 'dude', as in "Arey! C'mon, yaar! Don't be such a killjoy!", "Long time no see, bhai." or "Ay, bhaiyya! Over here!" Yaar is the equivalent of mate in Australian and British English. The word boss is also sometimes used in this way, among friends but also to male strangers, as in "How much to go to the train station, boss?", or "Good to see you, boss."

• Use of interjections Are! and accha! to express a wide range of emotions, usually positive though occasionally not, as in "Arey! What a good job you did!", "Accha, so that's your plan." or "Arey, what bad luck, yaar!"

• Use of T-K in place of O.K. when answering a question, as in "Would you like to come to the movie?" -- "T-K, I'll meet you there later." ("theek hai", literally; actually meaning okay)

• Use of oof! to show distress or frustration, as in "Oof! The baby's crying again!"

• Along with "oof!", there is also "oh foe!" which is in a more whining voice which kind of means "oh, no!". Not many Indians will say this, but it is used widely in Hindi movies or soap operas. The South Indian equivalent is "Aiyol", expanded to "Aiyaiyo!" in proportion to the provocation. The latter phrase is the trademark of the South Indian, as caricatured in Hindi movies.
• Use of "Waah" to express admiration, especially in musical settings, as in "Waah! Waah! You play the sitar so well!"
• "Hotel" means "restaurant" (as well as specifically "big hotel") in India: "I ate in the hotel". "Lodge" is used to refer to small hotels. Sometimes "Lodge" refers to Place where you stay (in rooms) and "Hotel" refers to a place where you eat.
• "specs" means spectacles (as in colloquial UK English).
• "cent per cent" means "100 per cent" as in "He got cent per cent in maths."
• "centum" is also frequently used to refer to 100.
• Overuse of the word "Please" as an interjection, often overstressing the vowel. This could stem from the lack of a separate word for "please" in Hindi (please is implied within the verb conjugation). This could cause speakers to "overcompensate" for this word.
• High-End : (Supposedly) of very high quality (used sarcastically for work and people.)
• n - Many (He takes n troubles to stay neat.)

Anomalous usage
• The word "marriage" used to mean "wedding." ("I am attending my cousin's marriage next month.")
• The word "holiday" used to mean any day on which a person is not at work, including official holidays, vacations, sick leave, weekends, etc. ("Sunday is my holiday.")
• Treatment of the phrase "I don't think so" as a unit, as in "I don't think so I can do that" instead of "I don't think I can do that."
• The word "gheraoh" (meaning forcefully restraining a person by surrounding him but not touching him) used as a verb as in "The minister was gheraoed by the public today."
• The word "meat" is used to mean the flesh of any mammal, fish, bird, shellfish, etc. Fish, seafood, and poultry are not treated as categories
separate from "meat," especially when the question of vegetarianism is at issue.

- The word "mutton" is used to mean goat meat instead of sheep meat (and sometimes in a broader, euphemistic sense to mean any red meat, i.e., not poultry or fish)

- The word "hero" is used to mean a male protagonist in a story, especially in a motion picture. The protagonist need not have any specifically heroic characteristics. More significantly, "hero" is used to mean a movie actor who is often cast in the role of the protagonist. Thus, "Look at Vik; he looks like a hero," meaning "he is as handsome as a movie star."

- The word "dialogue" means "a line of dialogue" in a movie. ("That was a great dialogue!" means "That was a great line!") "Dialogues" is used to mean "screenplay." In motion picture credits, the person who might in other countries be credited as the screenwriter in India is often credited with the term "dialogues."

- The verb "repair" in southern India is used as a noun for a broken object as in, "The TV became repair." The same word is used for saying when the broken object is fixed: "The TV is repaired and now it is working properly."

- The word "stay" used for "live" or reside at": "Where are you staying?" meaning not "Where are you temporarily lodging" but "Where is your residence?" (though this is normal in Standard Scottish English)

- The word "damn" used as an intensifier, especially a negative one, far more frequently and with far more emphatic effect, than in international English.

- The word "healthy" to refer to fat people, in North India in general and in Bihar in particular as in "His build is on the healthy side" to refer to a positively overweight person. It is used because most people who are thin often suffer from many diseases. People presume that if a person is
in a financial position to get fat he musn't suffer from diseases i.e. he must be healthy.

- The expression "my dear", used as an adjective to refer a likeable person. as in "He is a my dear person."

- The word "dear" used as a term address of pleasant (male) companionability equivalent to "mate" in Australian English and presumably used as yaar would be in Hindi/Urdu.

- The word "dress" is used to refer to clothes for men, women, and children alike: "She bought a new dress for her son."

- The word "cloth" usually refers only to any clothes or fabrics that are not wearable, like "waste cloth": "Use that cloth for cleaning."

- "Cloth" and "clothe" are used interchangeably. 'Clothe' is sometimes regarded as the singular form of 'clothes.'

- "Shirtings and suitings" used for the process of making such garments

- "saloon" instead of salon, as in "I will visit the hair saloon."

- "Bath" and "bathe" are also used interchangeably.

- Greetings like "Happy Birthday" are used even to say that "Today is my happy birthday"

- Intensifying adjectives by doubling them. This is a common feature of most Indian languages. For example: "She has curly-curly hair"; "You are showing your hairy-hairy legs; "We went to different-different places in the city in search of a good hotel; "You will get used to the humidity slowly-slowly". An extreme example is the use of the phrase "simp-simply" by Kannada speakers to mean "without any reason", obviously mirroring the Kannada "sum-sumne."

- Use of "colour" to imply "colourful"; often doubled in usage as in the previous item. "Those are colour-colour flowers."

- Use of "reduce" to mean "lose weight." "Have you reduced?"

- Use of "this side" and "that side" instead of "here" and "there." "Bring it this side." "We went that side."
• Use of "engagement" to mean not just an agreement between two people to marry, but a formal, public ceremony (often accompanied by a party) where the engagement is formalized. Indians will not speak of a couple as being "engaged," until after the engagement ceremony has been performed. Similar to the use of term "marriage," a person may say "I am going to attend my cousin's engagement next month." Afterwards, the betrothed is referred to as one's "would-be" wife or husband. In this case, "would be" is used to mean "will be" in contrast with the standard and American and British connotation of "wants to be (but will not be)."

• The word "marry" used to mean "arrange or organize a wedding for," as in "I will be marrying my daughter next month" (meaning: "I will be hosting/organizing my daughter's wedding next month."

• "Graduation" used to mean completion of a bachelor's degree: "I did my graduation at Presidency College" ("I earned my bachelor's degree at Presidency College.")

• Word order following who, what, where, when, why, or how. In standard American and British English, the following are correct

"Where are you going?"

"Tell me where you are going"

In Indian English, however, a speaker will tend to choose one or the other word order pattern and apply it universally, thus:

"Where are you going?" and "Tell me where are you going."

or

"Where you are going?" and "Tell me where you are going."

• It is very common to notice Indian speakers adding "no" as a suffix at the end of a sentence to emphasize a particular point.:For example, "I told you no?!" in Indian English means "Didn't I tell you?"

• The use of phrases such as "today morning" or "today evening" instead of "this morning" or "this evening."
3.3.4 Gender and Politeness Codes in Indian English

English in India represents a network of socio cultural relations. The users of English in India have both linguistic and cultural accent, as they are not only bilinguals but also biculturals. So they use Indian English as a vehicle of Indian culture to express culturally determined behavior, linguistic as well non-linguistic, that is typically Indian.

Politeness codes are invariably found to be culture-based. Gender differentiation in the use of politeness codes usually occurs because each gender's behaviors pattern is linked with the social and cultural variable model of appropriate male and female behavior. Lakoff has defined politeness as follows:

There are many types of behaviour that can be called polite. Some forms of politeness are linguistic, some purely nonlinguistic and many mixed, some are polite in some settings, neutral or downright rude in others.^^

Trudgill's investigation into this aspect of gender differentiation in British English reveals the feminine tendency of using socially "better" linguistic behavior than men. The female speakers also have a tendency of using more polite forms than men. In Indian English context, being polite means being courteous, gracious, civil and deferential. Sometimes it means adhering to formalities and avoiding a core language or leaving a decision open and not imposing one's views on anyone else. Indian society is marked by a big social difference between men and women. Women are generally relegated to a secondary status as compared to that of men. So they are expected to be more polite within the family where they receive less polite speech and offer more. This social fact gets reflected in the more polite social behavior of female characters in Indian English fiction. Though male characters, too, are found to use politeness codes, yet they do so in different context and situations and in significantly different ways.
Linguistic Politeness Codes

In Indian English fiction the politeness codes are contextual and occur in the texts in the form of requests and apologies. It is generally believed that politeness is a property of an act and it is the hearer who assigns politeness to any utterance. So the linguistic codes used by the male and female characters in the novels are found to be different in their tone. Male forms are usually more assertive and female forms more submissive.

Here are some examples of apologies used by the male and female characters in the novels:

(a) Apologies

Male form:

“I didn’t know you’d been ill, “Kachru continues, “I am sorry I had no idea ... You had every right to be annoyed, Sonali, I am sorry they picked me to replace you...” (Nayantara Sehgal, Rich Like Us, 58)

“Sorry to disturb you, Savitri, but we thought you might again get lost, and not find the doorway of Girton” (Raja Rao, The Serpent and the Rope, 175)

Female form:

The female forms are marked by a typical feminine submissive tone:

“She could come to me-her voice lifting up with excuses, with implorations of forgiveness”. ‘Did I make u wait very long?’ (The Serpent and the Rope, 174)

The above form of apology is in interrogative. It conforms to Tannoury’s concept of feminine politeness and tentativeness in women’s questions.

(b) Requests

Request is another politeness code used by both male and female characters in India English novels, though differently.
Male form

Male forms of requests are generally found to be imperative and assertive in their tone.

"Won’t you sit down, Sir", Lala Kanshi Ram said. (Chaman Nahal, Azadi, 146)

Female form

The female forms of requests are found to be deferential in tone:

She bent down in front of him and touched her forehead to his feet, “Please Robi-Kakus”, she said, “Please just, this one. If you don’t like it we’ll leave. I promise.” (Amitav Ghosh, The Shadow Lines, 84)

The above examples lend support to Fraser’s theory of deference viz.; deference is a symbolic subordination of the speaker to the hearer. As Indian women are subjected to a secondary status, they become more deferential than men while using politeness code.

(c) Other Devices

In Indian English fiction there are also other interesting examples of male and female politeness codes. For example, one can notice a tendency of belittling oneself or using honorifics in order to verbalize respect. For that purpose suffixation of honorific morphemes, drawn from Indian languages, is used or the expression is marked by the vocative “Sir”.

(i) Belittling oneself

Masculine way:

“Is that your son?” the superintendent asked. “No, Sir, No. He is your son only”, Lala Kanshi Ram replied. (Chaman Nahal, Azadi, 26)

Feminine way:

“With your blessings he has five acres, well, two bullocks and a brick house.” (Rama Mehta, Inside Haveli, 147)
(ii) **Verbalization of respect**

As an expression of over-politeness for the men of superior social status, masculine politeness markers such as honorifics ‘sahib’ and ‘huzor’ are used.


(iii) **Suffixation of honorific morpheme drawn from Indian languages**

The Hindi morpheme ‘ji’ is used in Indian English as a marker of politeness, but its use as a politeness marker is in feminine speech:

“Rosiji, please come to tea this evening”, came Mona’s familiar summons over telephone. (Nayantara Sehgal, *Rich Like Us*, 182)

(d) **Non-linguistic forms of politeness**

In the non-linguistic domain, the distinction between men and women in the use of their politeness codes is even more obvious. Their gestures and non-verbal behaviour clearly reveal this aspect of gender differentiation. It is believed that a polite gesture is a form of expression, which is related to the sense of appropriateness as expected by a particular society. Indian society expects women to be docile, demure and deferent in their gestures. On the contrary, it expects men to be generally assertive and dominant. Indian English fiction presents this aspect of societal behavior authentically.

(i) **Female non-linguistic forms of politeness**

Just then aunt Parvati came in demurely and gave boys some almonds and pistachio and sat down like a mouse at the feet of the big bed.

(Mulk Raj Anand, *Morning Face*, 128)

Mother had prepared food and was beginning to bake chapatis on girdle. But she waited in vain for father to grace the kitchen, because he came and lay down, on his bed... “Come then and eat”, mother whispered respectfully.

(*Morning Face*, 366)
Indian society expects women even to laugh and eat quietly:

Then her composure dissolved and she began to laugh. She has to hold a pillow over her face so that my grandmother wouldn’t hear her...

(Amitav Ghosh, *The Shadow lines*, 118)

Our relative smiled and bit into a thin arrowroot biscuit decorously, covered her mouth with the back of her hand as she chewed...

(*The Shadow Lines*, 135)

It is observed in Indian English fiction that women generally shy away from the presence of men other than their father and brother or husband and son. This also is considered to be expression of politeness in the Indian cultural context:

She knew there was another person with Arun, a stranger ...Only she covered her face upto her eyes with her dopatta. (Chaman Nahal, *Azadi*, 180)

During the last seven years that Sunanda Bala had been a daughter-in-law in this house, no one has seen much of her ... She even appeared before the womenfolk of the house only occasionally. (*Azadi*, 151)

(ii) *Male non-linguistic forms of politeness*

In Indian English fiction male characters have been generally portrayed as assertive and dominant in their gestures also. But here in this domain sometimes, education and class status play an important role and bring about a significant change in their non-linguistic behavior. Educated urbanite male’s gesture of restricting themselves from smoking and talking irrelevantly in the presence of women may also be considered as an expression of politeness.

In fact there was little conversation. Anuradha and the young girl were the only ones to talk. Aftab did not smoke but neither did he talk. (Arun Joshi, *The Last Labyrinth*, 50)
In Indian English fiction Indian male characters are often shown as possessing double standards of politeness. They become dominant in the presence of their wives, whereas they try to appear over-polite while interacting with their beloved:


Our analysis of Indian English novels shows that politeness is simply doing what is socially acceptable and expected. It also reveals that in the linguistic and non-linguistic domains of Indian English fiction both men and women use politeness codes but it is women who are more polite. The logic behind this social reality is that as women are expected by Indian society to be more polite and deferent than men and are assigned a secondary status in society, they, adhering to the social norms, become more polite than men. Their over-politeness is an expressing of their given position in Indian society. The correlation between gender and politeness codes in Indian English fiction reveals the relative social status of Indian men and women. The patterns of politeness codes vis-à-vis gender differentiation in the Western society are most likely to different.

### 3.3.5 Reduplication in Indian English

The fourth characteristic that of reduplication, is both syntactic and semantic, entailing reduplication of items belonging to various word classes. It might be mentioned here that Indian English users, for example, share this characteristic with the users of West African English and Black American English. In the spoken form it is not uncommon to come across examples such as he sells *different different* things, I have some *small small* things, give them *one one* piece. In the written form one can provide a large number of examples from, among others, Raja Rao or Mulk Raj Anand, e.g., *hot, hot coffee* (*The Cow of the Barricades*, 1); *long long hair* (*The Cow of the Barricades*, 71.) The reduplication is used for various syntactic and semantic reasons. In Hindi-Urdu, the reduplicated items fall into two main categories.
In one there is a choice between selecting a reduplicated item or a non-reduplicated item, with the choice entailing no semantic difference. In the second category no such choice is involved, since the reduplicated or non-reduplicated items do not have semantically 'identical' functions. Consider, for example, the following:

1. ram ne khate khate kaha ki...
   Ram said while eating that...
2. ram ne khate hue kaha ki...
   Ram said while eating that...
3. ram ne calte calte kaha ki...
   Ram said while walking that...

The above (1) and (2) are understood in the same way, but there are two interpretations for (3) and (4). In Indian English reduplication is used for emphasis and to indicate continuation of a process. Raja Rao seems to use it for intensification of a situation, or to underscore an act, for example: 'With these very eyes, with these very eyes, I have seen the ghosts of more than a hundred young men and women, all killed by magic, by magic...'. In this example the reduplication of a phrase provides the effect of colloquial speech, as well as giving linguistic clues to mark a character type.

The high frequency of reduplication of items (often in the spoken medium) is usually noticed as an Indian English marker by the L1 speaker of English. The reason for the reduplication of the verbs and nouns (and other items, too) is again the underlying structure of the Indian languages. This is a typological feature, which all-Indian languages share.

Reduplication is used by writers to represent the tempo and flavor of Hindi speech. Consider the following examples:

"They was big big books" (The Mystic Masseur, 11)
“You and me going to get on good good” (The Mystic Masseur, 20)

“...and all that people say about Indians not being able to keep their house properly is true true” (A House for Mr. Biswas, 349)

Partial Reduplications is also used by the writers. Examples are: “Stop this bickering-ickering, paddling-addling, apologize-alogize, puss-fuss (to indicate whispering).

The two types of reduplication have different functions in Indian languages and these are imported into the English of the characters, as well. Thus, full reduplication serves to emphasize or intensify the meaning or scope of the reduplicated element where partial reduplication has a generalizing (“and so an and so forth”) function.

Passé gives the following examples from Lankan English showing the transfer from Sinhalese: punci punci keel ‘(to cut into) small, small pieces’; unu unu ‘(to eat something) hot, hot’; hemin hemin ‘(to proceed) slowly, slowly’; andaa andaa yanavaa ‘to go crying crying’; monava monava ‘What and what (did he say) ?’; kavuda kavuda ‘who and who (came to the party)?’ It is not rare to find, for example, that Hindi; Telugu or Kashmiri speakers transfer this feature into their English.

3.3.6 Use of Myths in Indian English

Images and myths are significant building blocks with the help of which writers are able to give an expression to the individual experience and the collective unconscious. These devices help integrate the two in a harmonious whole. Raja Rao’s images such as helpless as a calf, as honest as an elephant, as good as kitchen ashes, lean as an areca-nut tree, a crocodile in a lion cloth, are typical of the Indian context and are part and parcel of day-to-day conversation. At a more literary level we have images used by Upamanyu Chatterjee and O.V. Vijayan, for example, Chatterjee talks of eyebrows...like worms in one’s shit; thoughts that scurried in his mind uncontrollably, like rats in a damp cavern, office-goers hanging out of the door like tongues out of
canine mouths, the woman ... as loose as a tooth about to fall and as pleased as pimp; persons trotting behind the car like some eighteenth century runners... accompanying a queen's palanquin, and so on. An addition of such images is definitely a positive gain for English. This also holds good in the case of myths. Myth has been defined as "an art of implicit metaphorical identity." Rushdie's novels illustrate how mythical motifs and references can extend the creative frontiers of literature. The mythical elements in his novels taken from diverse sources including Hindu, Greek, pre-Islamic, Islamic, Sufi, Christian and Persian mythologies have broadened the dimensions of literature. As Keith Wilson remarks, "While Midnight's Children will undoubtedly have resonances for an audience very familiar with Indian history and mythology that are missed by a reader who lacks that familiarity, it is significant that Rushdie makes explicit, both in factual statement and metaphor, so much of the Indian material ... all these automatic associations are made very specific in Midnight's Children and therefore easily accessible to an audience untutored in Indian lore." The associational shift and mythological extension must be an enriching experience to Rushdie's non-Indian readers. By making an extensive use of myths in their fiction Indian English writers have not only broadened the dimension of their works from the immediate to the everlasting but has also added a deeper significance to the characters and events contained in them. Myths serve as a narrative strategy in their fiction.

Rushdie has used the technique of mythical chapter heading in Midnight's Children such as "Many-headed Monsters" and "Revelations." The chapter called "Many headed Monsters" recalls the evil deeds of Ravana, the mythical monarch of Lanka, as also the feats of Hanumana. Rushdie has given a new orientation to the myth of Hanumana who is instrumental in burning down the godown of Ahmed Sinai. By using the myths of Ravana and Hanuman, Rushdie effectively deplores partition and the concomitant violence and communalism. "Revelations", the title of another chapter, implicitly refers to

Characters bearing mythical names such as Padma, Shiva and Parvati point out religious and mythical dimensions of the novel and carry allegorical and symbolical overtones.

The conglomeration of various myths in *Midnight’s Children* creates complex patterns through the use of condensation and fragmentation. According to John J. White, condensation “refers to a pattern where a number of separate prefigurations all relate to the modern event or a single character.” These patterns are richer in *Midnight’s Children* than in *Grimus*. The myths appearing in the pattern of condensation are Shiva and Shakti. In the character of Shiva, who predominates in a large section of the novel, more than two characters are intermingled - Shiva the “most ferocious and powerful of the children” (282) affecting the course of Indian political and social history has an outstanding gift of war - a combined process of “Rama, who could draw the undrawable bows of Arjuna and Bhima... of Kurus and Pandavas....” (200) The common element of Shiva and the mythical characters fusing in him is strength, warlike qualities and ferocity. Rushdie has fused different mythical figures into one character to support and supplement each other, not for contradiction but for making their functions more complicated.

Rushdie’s use of the Shakti-myth is another apt example of condensation. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, by description of an incarnation of Kali, is shown as one who aspires to dominate the faiths of religious people who worship different gods and goddesses. The Lady hand tries to inculcate faith in one goddess:

But I was brought up in Bombay, where Shiva Vishnu Ganesh Ahuramazda Allah and countless others had their flocks... “what about the Pantheon, I argued, the three hundred and thirty million gods of Hinduism alone? And Islam, and Bodhisattvas...?” And now the answer: “Oh, Yes! My God, million of Gods, you are right. But all are manifestations of the
same OM. You are Muslim. You know what is OM? Very well. For the masses, Our Lady is a manifestation of the OM.” (438)

The Prime Minister is called the Widow, the goddess of death for Indians, who attempts to fuse different religious faiths and combine innumerable gods and goddesses into her. Her role during the Emergency is equivalent only to the most ferocious aspect of Kali, Rushdie makes a pertinent reference to the temples of Kali in the Sunderbans with its “towering statue of a black dancing goddess... fecund and awful, with the remnants of gold paint on her teeth.” (366) In addition to these myths, other mythical and religious allusions like Olympus and Mount Kailasa (94), and Jesus Christ and Krishna (103 and 194) are Rushdie’s attempts at harmonizing contradictory religious faiths.

The myths of Ganesh, Ravana and Diana thus create a pattern, which is fragmented and complex, but the images created by them, their significance in the respective contexts, and their “catchment-area” can be safely detected. Rushdie uses most of these myths in the form of metaphors. The presentation of the myth of Ganesh in metaphorical form highlights the significance of the myth in the context of the state of the nation and historical forces operating in the oppressive era of the Emergency. Besides Saleem “who is... Ganesh-nosed…”(195), his son is described as “born with ears which flapped so high and wide that they must have heard the shootings in Bihar and the screams of the lathi-charged dock-workers in Bombay....” (420) The symbolical meanings of these metaphorical images with the state of the nation and the atmosphere of Emergency are pertinent.

The second mythical reference occurring in the form of metaphor is that of Lakshmi-Narayan. Having been named after the lotus goddess whose most common appellation amongst village folk is “The one who possesses Dung,” (24) Padma has been lent a divine status: “The lotus goddess of the present,” (150) “Dung Goddess” (31-32), “dung flower” (106) and so forth. She is living with Saleem Sinai, the narrator, even when he is “unmanned,” (39) nursing him in illness and looking after him. Saleem’s birth is forecast by
Ramram Seth in a “room on whose walls are pictures of Vishnu in each of his avatars.” (84) Rushdie’s presentation of Saleem Sinai as narrator and Padma as chorus-character and audience make the narration of *Midnight’s Children*, raising its level to the status of myth as if Vishnu is narrating to Lakshmi.

Rushdie has selected quite a few significant myths from the *Ramayana* and used them under the garb of subtle metaphors to crystallize his ideas into tangible images. The myth of Ravana is the first such metaphor. Secondly, the high ideals engendered by Rama and Sita are beautifully used metaphorically to tackle the grave question posed by the Sabarmati case. The affair between Commander Sabarmati and Homi Catrack is explained through the metaphorical presentation of the love of “Rama and Sita” (259) and the entire Sabarmati case (Nanavati Case) gives a glimpse of the mixture of myth and cheap tricks of Bombay cinema: “In the Sabarmati case, the noble sentiments of the Ramayana combine with the cheap melodrama of the Bombay talkie....” (262) The legal case of Commander Sabarmati poses great questions in the Rashtrapati Bhawan where his advocate has appealed for pardon. Mythical past and democratic system contend with each other:

...is India to give her approval to the career... is India to give her approval to the rule of law, or to the ancient principle of the overriding primacy of heroes? If Rama himself were alive, would we send him to prison for slaying the abductor of Sita? (264)

The metaphor is presented with exactitude to highlight the novelist’s ethical and moral viewpoint.

The metaphor of Shiva, operating as an extended metaphor in the novel, is used for Shiva-the-character who is modelled on “Shiva, the god of destruction, who is also most potent of deities, Shiva greatest of dancers, who rides on a bull, whom no force can resist....” (221) Apart from his destructive function, which has already been mentioned he stands for procreative function also:
Shiva the destroyer of Midnight's Children, had also fulfilled the other role lurking in his name, the function of Shiva-lingam, Shiva-the-procreator, so that at this very moment in the boudoirs and hovels of the nation, new generation of children begotten by Midnight’s darkest child, was being raised towards future.(444-41)

The metaphorical reference to the Mahabharata war explains the topsy-turvy conditions of social and political life in India in the early years after Independence. Mary’s belief in the rumor of Mahabharata war happening in Kurukshetra and the place where an old Sikh women witnessed “the chariots of Arjuna and Karma” and truly wheel marks in the mud” (245) amply prove that post-Independence turmoil of India was reinforced by her mythical past, and the shadows of great war over recent Indian probably indicate future failure of Indian political and social set-up leading to all-pervading chaos like the aftermath of the Mahabharata war.

The most important myth form the Mahabarata occurring in the form of metaphor is that of Brahma, which supports the very structure of Midnight's Children; Saleem’s imaginary friends assembling and forming a conference in his mind is metaphorically described as the “dreamweb” of Brahma. Saleem asks:

Do Hindus not accept-Padma-that the world is a kind of dream; that Brahma dreamed, is dreaming the universe; that we only see dimly through that dream-web, which is Maya... If I say that certain things took place which you, lost in Brahma’s dream, find hard to believe, then which of us is right? (211)

The metaphorical presentation of the myth of Brahma provides an answer to the improbable world created by Saleem in the novel, pointing out the fact that Midnight’s Children and their conference form a part of Maya created by Brahma.

Rushdie has used the Shakti-myth as simile and also as metaphor in the context of “too much women” (406) that figure in Midnight's Children right
from Reverend Mother to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. On the mundane plane they are “the multiple faces of Bharat-Mata” (406), and on the higher level they are “the dynamic aspect of maya as cosmic energy, which is represented as the female organ.” (406) Connecting earthly women to the goddesses Saleem asks:

Too many women are they—all aspects of Devi, the goddess-who is Shakti, who slew the buffalo demon, who defeated ogre Mahisha, who is Kali Durga Chandi Chamunda Uma Sati and Parvati... and who, when active, is coloured red? (406)

Rushdie conceives post-Independence India as Kali-yuga, which also accounts for his extensive use of Hindu myths. The myth of Kali-yuga is metaphorically introduced to find out a satisfying explanation to the novelist’s grief over the evils existing in post independence India. The evils are the evils of Kali-Yuga (the Age of Darkness) hovering over free India:

Kali-yuga the loosing throw in our national dice-game, the worst of everything, the age when property gives a man rank, when wealth is equated with virtue, when passion becomes the sole bond between men and women, when falsehood brings success, is it any wonder, in such a time, that I too have been confused about good and evil? (194)

Indian English writers present myths in metaphorical form and deftly integrate them into the structure of the novel that they do not all appear to be impose upon incidents and characters. The myths appearing in the forms of precise chapter headings, Mythically strengthened but fictional characters, chequered patterns and lovely metaphors tend to provide a definite mythical framework of values to their fictional tour de force, with the help of which they are able to analyze the complex nature and movement of history in the Indian subcontinent.
3.3.7 Caste in Indian English

The references to the Indian caste system in English (not only in Indian English) show how the items of a foreign language may be used to describe an entirely alien contextual unit. The contextual unit of caste in the typical Indian sense is absent in British culture, and any reference to it may mean either a lexical borrowing from Indian languages or an extension of the collocability of the lexical items of British English. It may also entail a rank-bound or a rank-changed transference from Indian languages.

In Indian English fiction or newspapers (especially legal and administrative reporting) we observe that, over the years, a restricted language of the caste system has evolved. In English the item caste or the caste system is used in any of the following senses:

1. for reference to the hereditary classes of the Hindu society (i.e., Brahmana, Ksatriya, Vaisya, Sudra);
2. for reference to social grouping, in any culture, on the analogy of the Indian caste system; and
3. for reference to the sub-castes in any of the four castes in (1).

In Indian English the item caste, when treated as a mode of a collocation, collocates with the following items:

**Items following 'caste':**

- basis (Hindu, Nov. 25, 1963); -brotherhood (The Big Heart, 125); -dinner (Kanthapura, 89); -distinction (Untouchable, 210); -elders (He Who Rides a Tiger, 17); -feast, -feeling (Untouchable, 193); -less (Untouchable, 143); -mark (Remember the House, 204); -proud (He Who Rides a Tiger, 171); -sanctity (He Who Rides a Tiger, 155); -well (Untouchable, 33);
- union (Music for Mohini, 190); -vermin (Untouchable, 68); - waif (He Who Rides a Tiger, 203)
In modes of address/reference in the caste system the following items are used:

(a) for upper caste: high-born; high-caste (He Who Rides a Tiger, 94); twice-born (Untouchable, 14), upper-caste (Untouchable, 33)

(b) for lower caste: caste-less (Untouchable, 299); low-caste (Untouchable, 67); lower-caste (The Cow of the Barricades, 9); untouchable (Untouchable, 177)

In the social roles also items of different ranks in Indian English are used for the two main castes, the upper caste and the lower caste. For example, there is an ordered series of word restricted to the upper caste in which the item Brahmin precedes:

Brahminhood (The Serpent and the Rope, 20); -corner (Kanthapura, 106); -guru (The Serpent and the Rope, 223); -house (The Serpent and the Rope, 28); -priest (Remember the House, 106); -land (The Serpent and the Rope, 285); -quarter (Kanthapura, 132); -role (He Who Rides a Tiger, 109); -street (Kanthapura, 21); -section (The Serpent and the Rope, 50)

Then we have another series in which Brahmin is modified by words like sacred, e.g., sacred Brahmin (The Serpent and the Rope, 11). In the context of the upper caste a large number of items are assigned restricted semantic areas: e.g., forehead-marking (Mr. Sampath, 206); nine-stranded thread (He Who Rides a Tiger, 45); red-paste trident (He Who Rides a Tiger, 98)

The following sets are used for the lower caste:

(a) chamar woman (He Who Rides a Tiger, 107), -people (He Who Rides a Tiger, 107);
(b) pariah children (Kanthapura, 225), -girl (Kanthapura, 219), -kids (Kanthapura, 219), -looking (Kanthapura, 242), -mixer (Kanthapura, 63), -polluter (Kanthapura, 127), -quarter (Kanthapura, 19), -street (Kanthapura, 219), -woman (Kanthapura, 219);
(c) sudra corner (Kanthapura, 118), -lines (Kanthapura, 242), -street (Kanthapura, 31), -woman (Kanthapura, 24), -quarter (Kanthapura, 25)

In some formations one component may be the item caste which may help in contextualizing a text and assigning it to the proper contextual unit. The difficulty arises when L2 items like defile, pollute, touch, etc., are used contextually and collocationally in an unEnglish sense. The following three ‘sets’ will make this clearer:

1. Defile: touched me and defiled me; the defiled one; defiled by contact; defiled my house; defiled my religion; ...feet become defiled; defiling distance.

2. Touch: the touched man; touch- purify; fear of touch; untouchable; touched the dust of his feet; touched me and defiled me; touched each other while dining; touched our low-caste feet.

3. Pollute: polluting myself; polluting kitchen; fear of pollution; pollution of progeny; our community polluted; pollute the food; polluting distance.

These items could then be termed context-specific items since the contextual unit in which they operate essentially determines their meaning. Once the contextual unit is changed they become unintelligible to a native user of English.

“Indian Literature has thus always presented a panorama rather than a scene,” in a very graphic and precise manner the former president of Sahitya Akademi of India, Krishna Kripalani, describes its characteristics, “one has to look around and up and below, to see its many landscapes in proper perspective. If India is a land of contrasts, of sweltering heat and perennial snow, of fabled ease and brutalizing want, of the wisdom’s calm and the clamor of ignorance,
so is its literature many-faced, many-voiced, here primitive, there sophisticated, now inspired, now imitative, at once sublime and grotesque, exhilarating and trite. It is not easy to answer the question: what is modern Indian literature like? It is like literature nowhere else. A pantheon of many gods, with some of the gods many-headed and many armed. Kripalani’s words about Indian literature can be fully applied to the characteristic features of Indian English literature.¹⁰³

To conclude we may say that, having inherited from the West, new forms and genres, Indian English literature has remained mostly Indian in essence - in content as well as in style. The specific characteristic of the present Indian literature consists in the fact that the English language is only the outer cover of expression, and that the literary philosophy and evocative system remains essentially Indian.
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3. Ibid. p. 154.


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102. Wilson, K. “*Midnight’s Children* and the Reader Responsibility.”