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The Hidden Hand: English Lexis, Syntax and Idiom as Determinants of Modern Hindi Usage

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What is This?

THE HIDDEN HAND: ENGLISH LEXIS, SYNTAX AND IDIOM AS DETERMINANTS OF MODERN HINDI USAGE

Rupert Snell

During a public speech in the 1989 election campaign, Rajiv Gandhi found himself saying *cāhe ham jītĕ yā lūzĕ...yānī hārĕ* [1] ('whether we win or lose'), in which the spontaneous coining of *lūznā* from English 'to lose' was hurriedly substituted by *hārnā*, a verb of more conventional pedigree. Rajiv's howler illustrates both the gulf separating a Doon School alumnus from the real lives of India's less privileged electorate and the extent to which English has permeated certain registers of modern Hindi—with important implications for the perceptions of Hindi-speakers, -readers, and -writers as to their view of themselves and of the world they inhabit. This paper, whose starting point is a recent analysis of the constituents of modern Hindi/Urdu prose,[2] assesses in broad terms some of the linguistic and social factors involved in the development of 'Anglo-Hindi'.

The paper does not aim to analyse the situationally determined choices and interactions which characterise all types of language use, nor does it seek to locate the position of specific examples of English influence in terms of such clines as formal/informal or written/spoken. Rather it attempts, in defining the parameters of that influence, to clear the ground for a discussion of aspects of identity within the Hindi speech community and within the smaller inner circle of producers and consumers of Hindi literature.[3]

'Mere jūte haĩ jāpānī' : loanwords in Hindi
Indian languages are well known for their ability to assimilate loanwords—a necessary and natural process, made relatively complex by the various possible sources of loans available to expand the vernacular lexicon. The eleventh and final volume of the standard dictionary *Hindī śabd-sāgar* embraces words in the alphabetical sequence *skaṁk* to *hvel*; and a large proportion of English loans relate

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[1] *India Today* 15.12.89, p. 8.

[2] C. Shackle and R. Snell, *Hindi and Urdu since 1800: A Common Reader* (London, 1990). I am grateful to C. Shackle for his comments on the present paper.

[3] Recent parallel discussions of other languages include: Christopher Shackle, 'Some Observations on the Evolution of Modern Standard Punjabi', Joseph T. O'Connell et al., (eds.), *Sikh History and religion in the Twentieth Century* (Toronto, 1988), pp. 101-109; Gabriella Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi, 'The Influence of English on Serious and Humorous Tamil speech', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 140: 1, 1990, pp. 80-95.

similarly to items as far removed from first-hand Indian experience as these skunks and whales.

The most obvious level at which English has taken root in Hindi is that of the individual loanword, usually a noun: words like *kriket* (or metathetical *kirket*), *film* (or *filam*), *kampanī, sāikil* etc. are assimilated into the language to the extent that many Hindi speakers would hardly think of them as 'loans' at all. English is merely another loan language, to be added to the already broad range of vocabulary sources such as the tatsama and tadbhava, Perso-Arabic, and Portuguese lexicon. The necessity for a spontaneous choice between these various possible sources tends to cause an instability of lexis, in which the existence of a choice between, say, *pustak* and *kitāb* ('book'), readily admits the possibility of *buk* as a (third) loan.

Even assimilated loanwords mostly remain readily recognisable as the Indianised offspring of their European parents. Only in certain specific social situations has the need for a basic communicability led to a kind of pidginisation at the level of the phrase. Thus nineteenth-century Indian army usage included such assimilations as *aj-vār* from 'as you were', *hukamdār* from 'who comes there?', and even *āpkā sulūk* from 'half cock fire lock',[4] while conversely, memsahibs allegedly gained their first (and perhaps final) initiation into Hindustani through such cute assimilations as 'there was a banker' (for *darvāzā band kar*, 'close the door'), 'banker dear' (for *band kar diyā*, 'I've closed it'), and 'there was a cold day' (for *darvāzā khol de*, 'open the door') .

The extent to which English loanwords show phonetic assimilation to Indo-Aryan patterns varies with register and also with time. Words which have gained widespread currency are obviously more prone to becoming naturalised than words whose use is confined to westernised bureaucracies. London, usually known as *laṇdan* in nineteenth century sources, has with increasing familiarity acquired the dentalised spelling *landan* (though dissimilation from *laṇd*, 'penis'— or rather 'prick', may be involved here). Rāmcandra Varmmā, author of an influential manual of Hindi usage first published fifty years ago, advocates the use of such disingenuously assimilated words as *atlāntak, avalā̃ś, antimetham* for 'atlantic, avalanche, ultimatum';[5] translators are skilled in finding Indian names for Shakespearian characters, rendering Antonio as 'Anant' and Solanio as 'Salone';[6] in spoken Hindi one sometimes hears such delights as *paramānand* for 'permanent' or *aṭak-maṭak* for 'automatic' (but with the sense 'immediate(ly)'), while further examples such as *vṛkhabhān* for 'brake-van', *rāy-barelī* for 'library', the ingenious *ras-bharī* for 'raspberry' and the ingenuous *prayog-rām* for 'programme' are also

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[4] Tej K. Bhatia [quoting Gilchrist], *A History of the Hindi Grammatical Tradition* (Leiden, 1987), p. 87).

[5] Rāmcandra Varmmā, *Acchī hindī*, 6th edn., (Banaras, 1950), p.354.

[6] Viśvanāth Miśra, *Hindī bhāṣā aur sāhitya par aṅgrezī prabhāv (1890-1920)*. (Dehradun, 1963), p. 272.

reported.[7] Folk etymologies may play their part here, as in a fanciful derivation of *kamkrīt* 'concrete' from *kamkar* 'pebble' + *īt* 'brick'. Conversely, the conscious Anglicisation of Indian words underlies some contemporary Hindi slang—especially where westernisation suggests raciness, as in the nickname of Shatrughna 'Shotgun' Sinha, archetypal baddie of the Hindi movies.

Some once-current loans have become rare since 1947: *hāthīcok,*[8] *kvekar-oṭ* and *jāmpap*[9] (artichoke, Quaker Oats, jam-puff) have probably disappeared from the Anglo-Indian menu, but *ḍabal roṭī* ('fat bread', i.e. the English loaf) is still available, whether as *ṭosṭ* or *(i-)slāis*. Some loans have been borrowed into Hindi with Indian English meanings at deviance from standard English usage: *śifṭ karnā* 'to move house', *riḍyūs karnā* 'to lose weight, slim'. And as British English examplars recede into history, Indian English pronunciations may take over: Gilchrist was referred to as *gilkrisṭ* by his Fort William contemporary Lallūlāl, but now appears in Hindi sources as *gilkrāisṭ.* V. R. Jagannāthan (whose pioneering work provides Hindi with its first Fowler or Partridge) reports an unusual orthographic dissimilation of meaning in the Hindi uses of English 'pound', allegedly spelt as *pauḍ* when meaning 'pound sterling' but as *pāūḍ* for 'pound imperial'.[10]

In certain loanwords, dental consonants derive from contact with Portuguese rather than English originals: thus *agast* 'August', *sitambar* 'September', *kaptān* 'captain', *tauliyā* 'towel', *patlūn* 'trousers', *pādrī* 'priest', *botal* 'bottle'. Loans from languages other than English regularly show dental consonants: *bāstīl, vietnām, perestroikā,* (even though English may have played a part in the process of transmission).

Though loanwords will normally follow Hindi inflexional patterns, forming obliques such as *sineme mẽ* and plurals like *lāibreriyā̃,* they are not productive of a wide range of derived forms; occasional spontaneous coinings such as *lūznā* and *boriyat* ('boredom') hardly represent a major trend, and are slow to gain formal acceptance. The possibilities of phrase verb combinations with *karnā*— *disṭarb/fiṭ/risarc/ṭāip/ karnā* etc.—are, however, more or less infinite, as are intransitive combinations with *honā,* based on either intransitive or transitive English verbs: *pās/fel/bor honā* , 'to pass, to fail, to become bored'. The common usage *dīpẽḍ karnā* 'to depend' shows a rather surprising transitivity. Genders either follow final vowels (*lāibrerī* 'library' f.; *baksā* 'box' m.), or assume the gender of a Hindi synonym (as in *baccõ kī luk-āfṭar karnā* 'to look after the children' (cf. *dekhbhāl* f.)).

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[7] Kailāścandra Bhāṭiyā, *Hindī mẽ āgrejī ke āgat śabdõ kā bhāṣā-tāttvik adhyayan.* (Allahabad, 1967), p. 345.

[8] T. Grahame Bailey, 'The Development of English *t, d,* in North Indian Languages', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* IV-V, 1926-28, pp. 325-9.

[9] T. Grahame Bailey, 'English words in Panjabi', *BSOS* IV-V, 1926-28, pp. 783-90).

[10] V. R. Jagannāthan, *Prayog aur prayog* (Delhi, 1981), p. 209.

Compounds with Indian words, such as *nem-ṭem* [11] 'calendrical observances' (Sanskrit *niyam* + English 'time') are few and far between; the example approximates to the type of the generalising reduplication which produces such jingle-compounds as *mīṭiṅg-śīṭiṅg, biskuṭ-viskuṭ,* and, with inverted echo, *amanelā-samanelā (aṇḍō mĕ bhī yah sab amanelā-samanelā hai* 'and eggs are full of salmonella and God knows what'); cf. the phrase *sāikil kā pamp aur lamp* [12] 'bicycle pump and lamp'.   Adjectives and abstract nouns are often formed with suffixed *-ī,* e.g. *fīmlī* 'from the films', *līḍarī* 'politics'. Postpositions such as *ke thrū* 'through [the agency of]' and *ke aṇḍar* 'under [the supervision or authority of]' have some currency in the bureaucratic contexts which form the natural breeding-ground for function-specific words of this sort. Sometimes an English loan substitutes a Sanskritic loan which has itself substituted a Perso-Arabic loan, as in the progression *ke khilāf* > *ke viruddh* > *ke agĕsṭ.*

Sanskritisation

This last example is part of a general pattern in which Sanskrit loans take the cuckoo's role in ousting Perso-Arabic loans from their long-inhabited nest, achieving for Hindi a deliberately chosen Sanskritic identity. In terms of this process and of the equally common 'upgrading' of tadbhava words in the direction of real or imagined tatsama etymons, the tendency towards Sanskritisation (here meant in its pre-Srinivas linguistic sense) is a conspicuous feature of modern Hindi usage. But here too English has been an important catalyst for change, for in helping to neutralise the Persian element in Hindi it has opened the door to wholesale importation of Sanskrit loans and neologisms. It is significant that while an educated Hindi-speaker would readily recognise a word such as *buk* or *kitāb* as a loanword, a Sanskrit loan such as *pustak* is granted full and unconditional membership of the 'Hindi' lexicon; in terms of traditional values, *śuddha* or 'pure' Hindi is that from which 'foreign' (i.e. Perso-Arabic, English, Portuguese etc.) loans have been excluded, necessarily to be replaced either by real Sanskrit words or by Sanskrit-based neologisms. The concept of *ṭheṭh hindī* —the unadulterated vernacular, unmixed with artificially introduced loans and neologisms from whatever source— can hardly compete in terms of prestige with that of *śuddha hindī* with its allusive, sonorous and grandiloquent Sanskritic register. Unsurprisingly perhaps, linguistic pedigree is perceived in terms of a simple vertical hierarchy. And Hindi is now causing its own neologisms to oust earlier ones from their currency in other Indian languages: in Maharashtra, Sanskrit-based Marathi *pant-pradhān* for 'prime minister' is being or has been replaced by Sanskrit-based Hindi *pradhān mantrī.* [13]

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[11] Phaṇīśvarnāth Reṇu, *Pratinidhi kahāniyã*, 2nd edn. (Delhi, 1985), p. 41.

[12] Amṛt Rāy, *Sargam* (Allahabad, 1977), p. 145.

[13] Madhav M. Deshpande, *Sociolinguistic Attitudes in India: an Historical Reconstruction* (Ann Arbor, 1979), p. 98.

Words which can genuinely be described as 'loans' from Sanskrit are those with attestation in Sanskrit usage. The lower ordinal numbers are a good example, and are common in the higher registers as attributive adjectives (though their take-up as predicatives is less certain). A Sanskrit loan may form a doublet with a Hindi derivative, as in the example of Hindi *khet* 'field' and its Sanskrit etymon *kṣetra* whose Hindi use as 'field' is restricted to the metaphorical sense, and which otherwise means 'area'. Another type of loan is that on to which a completely new application has been imposed, such as *upanyās* 'setting down', used for 'the novel' (vs. Urdu *nāval*), or whose sphere of reference has been made to match an English equivalent, e.g. *sāhitya* 'literature', *prakāśak* 'publisher', *saṅgīt* 'music', *dharma* 'religion', *kalpanā* 'imagination'.

Vast numbers of Sanskrit-based neologisms are coined in imitation of English words. Prefixes such as *an-*, *up-*, provide convenient parallels for English un-, sub- etc.; and the suffix *-(ī)karaṇ* translates '-isation' in words such as 'modernisation' (*ādhunikīkaraṇ*). But familiarity with the Sanskrit lexicon is no guarantee that neologisms will be automatically comprehensible, unless the underlying English model can be perceived: thus it is may only be clear from context that *yantrasth* means 'in the press', said of a book before it is *prakāśit*, 'published'.[14] A Sanskritised register often necessitates a direct or indirect gloss in English: *kuch prādhyāpak bandhuõ ne mujhse kahā ki 'aṃgrejī haṭāo' mẽ se niṣedhātmaktā kī gaṃdh ātī hai. yah 'nigeṭiv' nārā hai.*[15] 'Some academic colleagues said to me that "Get rid of English" has a whiff of prohibitionism about it; it is a "negative" slogan'.

The fundamental point here is that though Sanskrit and English may seem odd bedfellows in the context of modern Hindi, their illicit relationship is proving extremely productive to an extent which would have been unthinkable for either one of the pair acting alone. Given the absolute requirement for the coining of countless new words if Hindi is even partially to replace English in all technical registers, this partnership has no real alternative; for though existing words may be given new meanings, the insatiable demand for neologisms calls for tatsama roots.

Loan-translations
There is of course much variation in the take-up rate of neologisms: *dūrbhāṣ* has made little headway against the preferred *(ṭelī-)fon* , but *dūrdarśan* and *ākāśvāṇī* are enjoying some success as 'television' and 'radio' respectively, largely through being adopted as the name of the Indian broadcasting channels; and the Indian press, with its *stambh-lekhak* ('columnists') so often dependant on English models for their copy, have played a major part in the establishing of loan-translations in the accepted style of modern prose.

The process of borrowing extends beyond the level of the individual word, and is at its most creative at the level of the phrase and/or idiom. If both parties in a

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[14] Cf. the extended sense of the Hindi verb *nikalnā* 'to come out' in this context.)

[15] Vedpratāp Vaidik, *Aṃgrejī haṭāo: kyõ aur kaise* (Delhi, 1973), p. 1.

conversation are familiar with English, there is little restriction on the degree to which idioms can be calqued in a kind of coded language; and gradually the calques become established loans. At one end of the scale there are such self-consciously calqued expressions as the tongue-in-cheek euphemistic request *kyā maĩ āpke ghar ke sabse choṭe kamre kā istemāl kar saktā hū̃?* [16] 'Can I use the smallest room in your house?' whereas less self-conscious, if equally transparent, usages are exemplified by the following (in which references are given for literary sources):

kāvya sandhyā	'poetry evening' (cf. Urdu's analytical *faiz kī śām* 'Faiz evening')
adhohastākṣarī	'the undersigned'
viśeṣ ākarṣaṇ kā kendra [17]	'a special centre of attraction'
śuruāt	'starters, entrées' (in restaurant menu)
cīthṛā [18]	'rag' (in the sense 'cheap newspaper')
śubh rātri	'Good night'
safed jhūṭh	'white lie'
indirā gāndhī rāṣṭrīy khulā viśvavidyālay	'Indira Gandhi National Open University'
apnī zindagī kā sarvaśreṣṭha bhāg [19]	'the best [='better'?] part of my life'
pūrva-niścit hatyā [20]	'pre-meditated murder'
ek taklīfdeh saccāī [21]	'an uncomfortable truth'
gāṛī pakaṛnā	'to catch a train'
maĩ dillī se ātā hū̃	'I come from Delhi'
māf kījie	'Excuse me' (as conversation opener)
itihās apne ko dohrāyegā [22]	'history will repeat itself'
prem mẽ girnā [23]	'to fall in love'

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[16] See below for a discussion of this new usage of *saknā*.

[17] COI Training Commission Leaflet, (London, 1988).

[18] Śrīlāl Śukla, *Rāg darbārī*, p. 336.

[19] Nirmal Varmā, *Dūsrī duniyā* (Hapur, 1978), p. 215.

[20] Śrīlāl Śukla, *Sīmāẽ ṭūṭī haĩ* (Delhi, 1983), p. 41.

[21] Ravīndra Tripāṭhī, '*Hindī ke lie ek aur pahal*', in *Dinmān* 31.12.88, pp. 75-76.

[22] Śrīlāl Śukla, *Rāg darbārī*, 2nd edn. (New Delhi, 1985), p. 139.

[23] Varmā, *Dūsrī duniyā*, p. 259.

rikārḍ bajānā[24]	'to play a record'
lār se bigaṛā huā larkā[25]	'a boy spoiled by affection'
tathyō ko jhuṭhlānā[26]	'to falsify the facts'
apnī kursī majbūt karne ke lie[27]	'to strengthen his [parliamentary] seat'
kauve urnevālī lakīr ko pakare[28]	'going as the crow flies'
naye khūn ko protsāhit karnā[29]	'to encourage new blood'
maĩ apne mahattva se bharā thā[30]	'I was full of my own importance'

pitājī munśī-ḍesk ke fāyde batāte na thakte the[31]
    'Father never tired of telling us of the advantages of a clerk's desk'

bhāṣā ke sāth majhab ko jor kar bhārtīy rājnītijña ghṛṇā kā ek nayā adhyāy śurū kar rahe haĩ[32]
    'by linking language and religion, Indian politicians are starting a new chapter of hatred'

unke yugal-band rikārḍ...garam samose kī tarah bikte haĩ; bhārat ne āp ko padmabhūṣaṇ padvī se ābhūṣit kiyā[33]
    'his duet records...sell like hot cakes; India decorated him with the Padma Bhushan award'

cunāv kitne niṣphal hote haĩ yah to bhaviṣya hī batāegā[34]
    'history alone will tell how ineffective the elections are'

The tendency is hardly a new one. Examples reported from the Hindi press in the first half of this century include:

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[24] Nirmal Varmā, *Merī priya kahāniyā̃*, 3rd edn. (Delhi, 1977), p. 14.

[25] Amṛt Rāy, *Sargam*, p. 142.

[26] V. P. Vaidik, *Aṃgrejī haṭāo*, p. 5.

[27] Anil Ṭhākur, *'Aur ab urdū kā lǎlīpǎp'*, *Ravivār*, 1-7.10.89, p. 69.

[28] Śukla, *Rāg darbārī*, p. 333.

[29] Śukla, *Rāg darbārī*, p. 37.

[30] Jainendra Kumār, *Tyāg-patra* (Bombay, 1954), p. 58.

[31] Harivaṃśrāy Baccan, *Kyā bhūlū̃ kyā yād karū̃*, 5th edn. (Delhi, 1973), p. 171.

[32] Anil Ṭhākur, *'Aur ab...'*, p. 69.

[33] Iśvardatt Nandlāl, *Bhārat kī saṃgīt kalā.* (Vakoas [Mauritius], 1972), pp. 83, 85.

[34] Candraśekhar, *Merī jel ḍāyrī* (Delhi, 1978), p. 721.

jhagre kī haḍḍī [35]	'bone of contention'
is pāgalpan ke pīche ek paddhati hai [36]	'there is (a) method in this madness'
nissandeh yah līg ke pākistānī kaphan kī dūsrī kīl hai [37]	'indubitably this is another nail in the shroud [sic] of the League's Pakistan'
ānand-ratan [38]	'Gladstone'

...and so on. Forced as these calqued idioms may seem, not all such correspondences between Hindi and English idiom are to be dismissed so lightly. An expression such as *kām karnā* 'to work', when meaning 'to function' as in *yah maśīn ṭhīk se kām nahī kartī* 'this machine does not work properly', is hard to assess in terms of its dependance on an English model. Many usages are genuinely parallel, the verb *cunnā* for example, extending over a similar semantic range to that of 'to choose, pick', including the sense 'to pick a flower'; *hāth ānā* 'to come to hand' is a long-attested Indian idiom; *jhukāv* has long had the range of metaphorical senses that apply with English 'leaning, inclination, bent'; *ghariyāl ke ā̃sū nikālnā* 'to shed crocodile tears', an expression which earns Varmmā's scorn, may well derive from English idiom, but overlays the Persian *aśk-i-temsah* (itself based on an Arabic usage of ancient pedigree); and the expression *safed-poś* for 'white-collared worker', though a calque in its idiomatic application, is also an established Persian compound. Conversely, the translator has to beware the *faux amis* in idiomatic expressions such as *parīkṣā/imtahān denā* literally 'to give an exam', i.e. 'to take an exam' (versus ~ *lenā* 'to set an exam, examine'), *dā̃t dikhānā* 'to smile ingratiatingly' (not 'to bare the teeth'); and *bāl kī khāl khĩcnā/nikālnā* 'to go into fine details' does not have the derogatory implication of pedantry implicit in the English 'to split hairs'. Some authors are all too aware of the extent to which idiom is culture-bound: Kailāścandra Bhāṭiyā notes that the expression 'to kill two birds with one stone' typifies the violent tendencies of the English, whereas non-violent India prefers the more emollient *ek panth do kāj* ('one path, two tasks').[39]

Even though second-hand, loan expressions such as the ones listed above can be said to enrich the language after a fashion; and the process is, after all, parallel to that by which European languages have passed expressions to and fro for centuries. Yet the process of translation from English to Hindi may tend to overlook the

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[35] Rāmcandra Varmmā, *Acchī hindī*, p. 185.

[36] Varmmā, *Acchī hindī*, p. 185.

[37] Varmmā, *Acchī hindī*, p. 184.

[38] Viśvanāth Miśra, *Hindī bhāṣā ...* , p. 160.

[39] Kailāścandra Bhāṭiyā, *Hindī mẽ aṃgrejī ke āgat śabdõ kā bhāṣā-tāttvik adhyayan* (Allahabad, 1967), p.239.

culturally distinct natures of the two languages, resulting in infelicities of style: *bas sevā* seems inappropriate for a mundane 'bus service'; *sajjan kī sāikil* infers 'the bicycle of a gentleman' rather than the intended 'gent's bicycle'; *pratinidhi kahāniyā̃*, a noun-compound title adopted for a series of 'representative short stories' by the Delhi publisher Rājkamal Prakāśan, suggests rather the literary career of a 'representative'; and *hṛday parivartan*, title of a short story by Śāntipriya Dvivedī, evokes images of a transplant operation rather than the intended metaphorical 'change of heart'. Compare also the confusingly recycled usage of the word *paṇḍit*, used in Hindi journalism in the English sense 'expert'—*rājnītik paṇḍitõ kā yah kahnā galat nahĩ hai...*[40] 'the political pundits are not wrong in saying...'.

Considerations such as these have led Hindi stylists to avoid excessive blind copying from English. Varmmā, writing in 1946, was impatient with the perpetrators of the more banal examples, and accurately anticipated worse to come with the continuing development of the language. He pointed out the inappropriateness, in the Indian context, of such Eurocentric terms as *nikaṭ/ madhya/ sudūr pūrva* ('Near/Middle/Far East'), preferring instead *paścimī/ madhya/ pūrvī eśiyā* ('Western/Central/Eastern Asia')   But the incursions of English influence are insidious to a degree, and even such cautious linguists as Varmmā cannot escape the irony that the conceptual perspective from which they view their material, the linguistic analysis with which they approach it, the terminology with which they discuss it, and even the institutional structures in which their ideas are postulated, are all irreversibly imbued with European conceptions and attitudes. Consider the vocabulary used recently in *Dinmān* in discussing Hindi-medium science teaching: *yah ek mith hai ki vijñān ke viṣayõ se sambamdhit ucc śikṣā hindī ke mādhyam mẽ nahĩ kī jā saktī hai. lekin...miśan kī bhāvnā jarūrī hai*[41] 'it is a mith that higher education in scientific subjects cannot be given in Hindi medium...but an attitude of mission is necessary'. The attempted replacement of English with Hindi generates many such ironies; the Hindi term for 'loan translation', *udhār anuvād*, is after all an example of its own class.[42] Expressions such as *ṭāip-rāiṭar kī dṛṣṭi se vicār kījie*[43] (lit. 'consider from the view of [i.e. the question of] the typewriter' betray the thinness of the Hindi overlay in much technical writing; and the syntax of Varmmā's statement *[is] prakār kī racnā param parakīya aur phalataḥ tyājya hai*,[44] with its paired Sanskritised predicates, is a transparent calque of the syntax of an English construction on the lines of 'this kind of construction is wholly alien and accordingly to be abandoned'.

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[40] '*Kãgres banām kãgres*', in *Ravivār*, 1-7.10.89, p. 11.

[41] Ravīndra Tripāṭhī, '*Hindī ke lie ek aur pahal*', *Dinmān* 31.12.88, pp. 75-76.

[42] V. R. Jagannāthan, *Prayog*, p. 63.

[43] Rāmcandra Varmmā, *Acchī hindī*, p. 369.

[44] Varmmā, *Acchī hindī*, p. 238.

Code-mixing and code-switching

Code-switching is endemic in Indian languages, and we are all familiar with such virtuoso performances as the following:

> maĩ to pure hindī hī bolnā like kartī hũ, mix karne kā to question hī nahĩ uṭhtā.
>
> apnī daughter aur sons ko bhī pure hindī bolne ko encourage kartī hũ. [45]

Similar examples may be found in any Indian language, even from considerably earlier parts of the century: In the 1920s Grahame Bailey recorded the Panjabi sentence merā fādarinlā merī vāif nũ barā bædlī ṭariṭ kardā e, noting laconically that 'such Panjābī does not help us'.[46] Hindi-English code-switching and -mixing is only one aspect of a complex pattern of language use which may also involve, for example, pairs such as Hindi and Panjabi, standard Kharī Bolī Hindi and a dialect such as Bhojpuri, Sanskritised Hindi and Persianised Hindi-Urdu, etc. The brief discussion here considers only the Hindi-English phenomenon.

Much of the literature on code-switching is concerned to analyze motivations for the phenomenon and the constraints on its use. Braj Kachru considers there to be three motivations: 'role identification, register identification, and desire for elucidation and interpretation',[47], and notes that 'the available studies seem to confirm that in India, and in other multilingual areas, the devices of code-mixing and code-switching are being used as essential communicative strategies with clear functional and stylistic goals in view'.[48] A fourth function of code-switching, noted elsewhere by Kachru[49] is that of 'neutralisation', in which speakers wish to conceal clues as to social and regional identity.[50] In an examination of perceptions of identity, it is this fourth function which is the most revealing, and it is equally in evidence in both the 'communalist' context of modern India and in its moderated form as reproduced in the diaspora. Simply put, the English lexicon is seen as culturally neutral, being free of the cultural and religious associations of (Hindu) Hindi and (Islamic) Urdu. An interviewee on Channel 4's Bandung File, speaking about the Satanic Verses affair, was able to say kisī holī parsan ko gālī na denā 'Do not abuse any holy person', in which the English component perfectly caught the necessary ecumenical register. Other more mundane examples are the names of artifacts, qualities, concepts or social constructs whose Indian and western

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[45] Ira Pandit, *Hindi English Code Switching: Mixed Hindi English.* (Delhi, 1986), p. 22. (Transcription standardised.)

[46] T. Grahame Bailey, 'English words in Panjābī', in *BSOS* IV-V, 1926-28, pp. 783-90.

[47] Braj B. Kachru, 'Towards Structuring Code-Mixing: an Indian Perspective', Braj B. Kachru & S.N.Sridhar (eds.), *Aspects of Sociolinguistics in South Asia.* [*International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 16] (The Hague, 1978), pp. 27-46.

[48] Braj B. Kachru, *The Indianization of English: the English Language in India.*(Delhi, 1983), p. 205.

[49] Kachru, *The Indianization of English*, p. 198.

[50] A similar function in Tamil is described by Ferro-Luzzi, '*The Influence of English*', pp. 86-87.

manifestations are similar in function but distinct in style: thus words like 'kitchen', 'family', 'friend', 'husband', 'office', 'classical', though readily expressible in either vernacular or Sanskritised or Persianised Hindi, are often subjects for English code-mixing because of the obvious or subtle distinctions of meaning implied by the various Indian and English terms.[51]

The function of trigger-words such as *ki* is an important aspect of code-switching, especially given the importance of parataxis in Hindi grammar: when clauses are autonomous, switching is facilitated. Conjunctions therefore represent positions of extreme instability. The results are plain to see both in Hindi-governed code-mixed sentences and also in Indian English, which may maintain a superfluous English or Hindi conjunction. The sentence 'I asked him where Saral was' may be represented as follows:

> *maĩne usse pūchā ki saral kahā̃ hai.*
>
> *maĩne usse pūchā ki* where is Saral.
>
> I asked him that/*ki saral kahā̃ hai.*
>
> I asked him that/*ki* where is Saral.

Grammatical Influences

While examples of loans, calques, and code-switching tend to be fairly conspicuous, more deep-seated English influences are also to be detected in the actual syntax of certain styles of modern Hindi, particularly in journalism.

1   Changes of word or phrase or clause order following English norms, especially with subordinate clauses: *maĩ hī pīche kyõ rahtā yadi uske lie apne ko mānsik rūp se taiyār kar pātā* [52] ('I myself would hardly have lagged behind if I had managed to prepare myself for it mentally'), in which the subordinate 'if' clause follows the main clause (and the conjunction *to* is dispensed with altogether).

2   A tendency for relative-correlative constructions to imitate the English pattern: *laṛkā jo dillī se āyā hai vah merā bhāī hai* [53] 'the boy who has come from Delhi is my brother'.

3   A growing preference for shifted tenses in reported speech: the sense of 'I asked him what he wanted' is increasingly likely to be rendered by *maĩne usse pūchā ki usc kyā cāhie thā* rather than by *maĩne usse pūchā ki tumhẽ kya cāhie*, with its

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[51] At the other end of the scale it is precisely the culture-bound nature of a concept which requires a switch of code, whether within a Hindi-governed sentence involving switches to English, or an English-governed one involving switches to Hindi. A friend recently relating some problematic marriage negotiations epitomised the situation in a sublime synthesis of North India and South London, with 'I tell you, yār, our izzat's down the f****** drain'

[52] Candraśekhar, *Merī jel ḍayrī* (Delhi, 1977), p. 293.

[53] Prem Sagar Bhargava, 'Linguistic Interference from Hindi: Urdu and Punjabi and Internal Analogy in the Grammar of Indian English' (PhD thesis, Cornell University, 1968), p. 118

embedded original question 'What do you want?'. (As noted earlier, the Hindi pattern commonly governs Indian English sentences: 'It was Savitri who told him that "take this hundred rupees" ').

4   Increased use of abstract nouns as 'countables', admitting plural forms e.g. *śaktiyã, sundartãẽ* 'powers, beauties'.

5   Increased use of continuous tenses, especially on the model of the English progressive; e.g. expressions such as *hindī āndolan kā svarūp bhī badalne jā rahā hai* 'the form of the Hindi movement too is going to change'.[54]

6   Use of English loans as determined by borrowed English syntax: *maĩ bahut leṭ hũ* 'I am very late' (vs. periphrastic expressions such as *mujhe bahut derī ho rahī hai*).

7   Encroachment of the postposition *ke sāth* into contexts generally covered by *se* : *bhāratīya saṃskṛti...kā unhõne gaharāī ke sāth adhyayan kiyā hai* [55]'he has studied Indian culture...with depth'; *maĩ ek din śānti ke sāth so rahā thā* [56] 'I was sleeping peacefully one day' (and not 'I was sleeping with Shanti', as it first appears).

8   Supplanting of active intransitives with passive transitives; and the specifying of an agent (with the postposition *ke dvārā*) in passive constructions.

9   As pointed out by Nicole Balbir,[57] deductive reasoning on the western model has led to an increased use of concessive and other subordinate clauses, typically introduced by such words as *yadyapi/ hālāki* 'although', *tāki* 'in order that', etc.

10   A range of new idiomatic usages of Hindi words (particularly verbs):

lenā, 'to take': this has proved very productive in the calquing of phrase verbs. Examples are: *phoṭo lenā* (vs. ~ *khĩcnā*); *bhāg/hissā lenā* (a usage much disapproved of by Varmmā, but now widespread); *kā rūp lenā* ;[58] *klās lenā* ;[59] *lenā* as 'to take X amount of time' (supplanting *lagnā* expressions);[60] *lenā* as to react/respond', e.g. *na jāne vah use kis rūp mẽ lẽ* 'there was no knowing how she might take it';[61] *cāy lenā* etc. Varmmā is critical of the expansion of this verb, citing numerous examples, but later declares *ab muhāvare lījie* 'now take idioms...'.[62]

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[54] Hazārī Prasād Dvivedī, *'Hindī kā varttmān aur bhaviṣya'*, in *Kuṭaj evaṃ anya nibandh* (Varanasi, 1964), p. 143.

[55] Publisher's preface to H. P. Dvivedī, *Aśok ke phūl*, 9th edn., (Varanasi, 1968), p. 3.

[56] Rāmcandra Varmmā, *Acchī hindī*, p. 202.

[57] Nicole Balbir, 'La modernisation du Hindi', István Fodor and Claude Hadège (eds.), *Language Reform: History and Future*, Vol. I (Hamburg, 1983), p. 122.

[58] Kṛṣṇa Baldev Vaid, *Merī priy kahāniyã* (Delhi, 1978), p. 56.

[59] Śrīlāl Śukla , *Rāg darbārī*, p. 27.

[60] Mohan Rākeś, *Kvārṭar tathā any kahāniyã* (Delhi, 1972), p. 173.

[61] Ilā Dālmiā, *Chat par aparṇā* (Delhi, 1988), p. 19.

[62] Rāmcandra Varmmā, *Acchī hindī*, p. 198.

dekhnā 'to see': *ham dekhẽge (hamẽ dekhna hai/hogā)* 'We'll see (We'll have to see)'; these are expressions which, though long-established, seem to have derived support from parallel English usages. There are also examples of *dekhnā* being used as 'to visit' (English 'come and see me'), supplanting *milnā*.

saknā 'to be able to', encroaching on the use of a subjunctive verb to suggest possibility. Thus *kyā maĩ āpkī madad kar saktā hū̃?* 'Can I help you?'—a question which, logically, the questioner alone is qualified to answer. Also *saknā* + negative, or equivalents such as *asamarth honā* 'to be incapable of', are taking over the role of negative passive with agent in privative sense.[63]

ek 'one, (a)': increasingly used superfluously as an equivalent for the English indefinite article. The statement *maĩ ek ṭīcar hū̃* 'I am a/one teacher' seems to raise questions as to how many teachers one might reasonably expect to be.

11   Use of pre-modifying adjectival phrases in place of relative-correlative constructions (in written registers): *amgrezī ke mādhyam se kām karnā cāhne vālõ ke lie*[64] 'for people wishing to work in the English medium'; *amtarrāṣṭrīy kūṭnīti ke ām taur par śānt māhaul mẽ bhī*[65] 'even in the usually calm atmosphere of international diplomacy'. (Constructions of this type are popular in newspaper headlines, because of space restraints[66]). Sanskrit participial adjectives, typically in -*it*, (*likhit, sthit, sthagit*) form convenient translations for the English equivalents in '-en', '-ed' etc. ('written', 'situated' 'postponed'), to which they approximate more closely than Hindi constructions using participle plus auxiliary—*likhā huā* etc.

Orthographic Conventions

1   Hindi has long since adopted many of the conventions of English typography, including the full range of punctuation (though the colon is little used because of potential confusion with *visarga*), the use of italic and other stylised fonts (including some imitating the shapes of the Perso-Arabic script, e.g. in Devanagari cover designs for books of Urdu verse), and so on. The Roman full stop is now increasingly replacing the Devanagari *khaṛī pāī*. A usage which falls headlong into the conceptual gulf between the Roman and Devanagari scripts is that in which a sequence of dots indicating an incomplete sentence is set at the level of the Devanagari headline, and immediately followed by a fullstop aligned with the base of the character, thus—

न जाने क्या होगा ⋯ .

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[63] Balbir, 'La modernisation du Hindi', pp.101-126.

[64] Jagannāthan, *Prayog,* pp. 138 and 7 respectively.

[65] '*Kūṭnītik kauśal kī kamī*' [editorial], *Iṃdiyā Ṭuḍe* [Hindi edn. of *India Today*] 15.8.89, p. 9.

[66] B. Lakshmi Bai, 'Syntactic innovations in newspaper Hindi', Bh. Krishnamurti and Aditi Mukherjee (eds.), *Modernization of Indian Languages in News Media* (Hyderabad, 1984), pp. 20-28.

Limitations imposed by the restricted mechanics of the typewriter are now being visited upon typeset Devanagari, so that *buddhi* (बुद्धि) for example is sometimes written बुद्घि, and *tra* and *tta* (त्र, त्त) are written त्र, त्त.

2   The replacement of Devanagari numerals with the Arabic set has official sanction; and English numbers are very commonly used in speech, particularly in the quoting of telephone numbers, year dates, and the like.

3   Devanagari characters on the model of English '(a) (b) (c)' are used to designate successive paragraph headings etc. A sequence may start with the consonants, (क) (ख) (ग), or with the vowels, (अ) (आ) (इ).

4   Usages such as १ ला   for '1st' are occasionally found.

5   The pronounced and written values of some Indian names indicate their status as re-imports: 'Tagore' is *ṭaigor* rather than original *ṭhākur*, and in conversation 'India' is more commonly *iṇḍiyā* [67] than either *bhārat* or *hindustān*.   The short vowel following a final conjunct consonant in a name such as 'Gupta' (गुप्त) becomes lengthened to a (feminine!) *-ā* in the spelling *guptā*.

6   The Hindi press is increasingly coining acronyms (which Jagannāthan calls *praś*, itself an acronym for *prathamākṣarik śabd* [68]), mostly in the names of organisations and institutions: *iṃkā* (for *indirā kaṅgres*, 'Congress I'), *bhālod* (*bhāratīy lok dal*), etc.

7   The Hindi convention for abbreviations, using the first syllable of the word, is inexorably yielding to a transcription of the pronounced value of the English initial letters: thus वि॰ प्र॰ for *vi(śvanāth) pra(tāp)* becomes वी॰ पी॰ *'vī. pī.'* (and serves as a spoken as well as a written convention). The small circle which follows the Devanagari abbreviation is now often dropped in Hindi journalism, as in the headline वी पी सिंह सी आइ ए के एजेंट हैं .[69]

Literary and Journalistic Hindi

Earlier this century, Tagore noted that 'the foundation of all modern Indian literature is absolutely European—in fact, none of its literary genres, e.g. fiction, poetry, drama, is orientated by the Ars Poetica of the ancient Orient.'[70] While Indian literature has established its own credentials very substantially since Tagore's day, it has continued to feel the influence of English language and literature, as for example in the appearance of new sub-genres such as Candraśekhar's 'jail diary' quoted elsewhere in this paper. Some writers freely admit that 'we Indians of to-day think

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[67] This usage is an example of the 'neutralizing' function of code-mixing discussed below, avoiding as it does the various implications of Sanskrit *bhārat* and Persian *hindustān*.

[68] Jagannāthan, *Prayog,* p.219.

[69] Headline in *Ravivār,* 1-7.10.89, p. 43.

[70] Quoted by Lothar Lutze, *Hindi writing in post-colonial literature: a study in the aesthetics of literary production* (Delhi, 1985), p. 24.

in English and then coin words in Sanskrit'.[71] The results of this process are to be seen in some of the examples already quoted above, and are commonplace in the works of many authors such as Premcand, whose writing is thick with examples of calqued English.[72]

Yet it is in the columns (*stambh*) of Hindi newspapers that Anglo-Hindi really comes into its own. The extent to which it extends also into the mass media is an enormous and as yet unanswered question. Journalism depends largely on English-language sources; small wonder, then, that much of the Hindi press seems so hurried a calque of its English exemplars. A joke syndicated through various local papers provides a useful example:

> *adhyāpak:' rājū, bure bacce kahā̃ jāte haĩ?'*   *rājū: mandir ke pīche.'*
>
> Teacher: 'Raju, Where do naughty boys go?'   Raju: 'Behind the temple.'

The 'temple' here is surely the 'gym' transmogrified, and though the joke deals with universals, its 'Scripture class' context (not to mention its eschatology) is imported.

'phir bhī dil hai hindustānī...': The Survival of Hindi

The question of style and lexis in Hindi is largely the preserve of those already committed to a process of Sanskritisation on an English-influenced base. The generation of scholarship equally at home with the Persian and the Sanskrit components of Hindi is gradually disappearing[73], and as Hindi becomes more and more narrowly defined as a Hindu language, Perso-Arabic vocabulary is increasingly regarded as alien to its character. F. S. Growse, in an 1866 article entitled 'Some objections to the modern style of official Hindustáni',[74] criticised the Persianising tendency of the bureaucratic register; his arguments apply with reference to Hindi today, reading 'Sanskritising' for 'Persianising'. Some Hindi writers are themselves vocal in their criticisms of current trends in language use: S. H. Vātsyāyan 'Ajñeya'

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[71] Kākāsāheb Kālelkar, *'Viśva-bhāṣā ke sandarbh mẽ hindī'*, Sarojinī Mahiṣī, ed., *Viśva hindī darśan* (Nagpur, 1975), p. 117.

[72] For example, one may wonder what if anything is Indian about a clause such as *jab parīkṣā-phal nikalā aur prakāś pratham āyā*   'when the examination result came out and Prakash came first' ('Mā', in *Mānsarovar* I (Allahabad, 1980), p. 59.) [Some edns. read plural *nikale* for singular *nikalā*.]

[73] Awareness of Persian norms of word order is similarly in decline. That it was once very much stronger is evident from Grierson's discussion: 'The subject [in Hindi prose] *must* precede the predicate, the governed word *must* precede the governing (*us ke bād,*—never *ba'ad us ke*, which is Urdū), the adjective *must* precede the substantive with which it agrees and, most fixed of all, the verb *must* be the last word in the sentence. If these rules are broken a Hindū says that the sentence ceases to be Hindī, it has got the Persian infection and has become a Muḥammadan. It is Urdū, even though it may not contain a single Arabic or Persian word.' G. A. Grierson (ed.), *The Satsaiya of Bihari* (Calcutta, 1896), p.13.

[74]*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* XXXV, I, pp.172-181.

has bemoaned the fate of Hindi as India's new sacred cow, coralled but not nourished by its keepers, for whom sanctity rather than function is a priority;[75] and he laments an accompanying change amongst the constituency of modern India 'from the illiterate educated audiences of yesterday to the literate uneducated public of today and tomorrow'.[76]

The Constitution of India makes a specific recommendation as to the development of Hindi:

> It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, whenever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages. [77]

The apparently increasing dependence of Hindi on the English model, not simply as a source of loans but more importantly as an influence on the deeper levels of syntax and idiom, infringes this cautious stipulation that assimilation should not interfere with the 'genius' of the language. While it is obviously the case that the modernisation of Hindi calls for a substantial amount of borrowing (primarily from English and Sanskrit), the pell-mell urgency of this process has led to a situation in which the criterion of appropriateness is in danger of being lost, and the true sense of 'enrichment' obscured. In many registers of modern Hindi usage the diaphanousness of the Indian veneer reveals more than it conceals of underlying English thought-patterns; such language, coined by the small élite of English-educated Hindi-speakers, is of little use as a means of communication for the majority of the Hindi-speaking population, whose world is remote from the sources of allusion and reference of Anglo-Hindi. Furthermore, the willingness of Hindi writers to westernise their language appears to set little store by the notion that attitudes and beliefs are themselves linguistic constructs, and that many questions are begged by the ready adoption of a foreign idiom. There is a need to consider the cultural implications for the character of Hindi once the Trojan horse of English becomes an accepted part of its heritage.

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[75] Ajñeya, *Ātmanepada* (Banaras, 1960) p.130. I owe the reference to Rev. Roger Hooker.

[76] Lutze, *Hindi writing*, p. 15.

[77] C.L. Anand, *The constitution of India*, 2nd edn. (Allahabad, 1966 [with 1974 supplement]), p. 534; discussed by Alfred Pietrzyk, 'Problems in language planning: the case of Hindi', Baidya Nath Varma (ed.), *Contemporary India* (London, 1964), pp. 247-70.