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ИНСТИТУТ МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ**

Высшая школа иностранных языков и перевода

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Предлагаемое пособие охватывает круг проблем, связанных с отражением положения Индии в геополитическом пространстве мира, а также отражением индийской ментальности в английском языке и особенностей закрепления в неродном языке национально своеобразных форм мировидения индийского народа – носителя индийского варианта английского языка. В пособии показана роль английского языка в истории народов Индии и индийского государства – в смене политических режимов, развитии культуры, религии, образовании и т.п., рассмотрены закономерности эволюции индийского варианта английского языка, неоднородность языковой политики на территории Индии, современные проблемы общения в условиях полиэтнического социума и многоязычия.

Данное пособие представляет материал по курсу английского языка для студентов института международных отношений, изучающих английский язык и историю Индии, а также по сопоставительному языкознанию и межкультурной коммуникации для студентов лингвистических Университетов и Институтов Востоковедения. Пособие также может быть использовано при изучении политического устройства мира, вариантов английского языка по курсу лексикологии английского языка, на занятиях по страноведению и речевой практике, посвященных современным проблемам сохранения национальной идентичности в условиях глобализации.

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ПРЕДИСЛОВИЕ

В эпоху расширения международных экономических, дипломатических и культурных связей настоящей необходимостью становится изучение менталитета народов и его отражения в национальных языках, что обеспечивает более адекватное понимание народами друг друга, формирование чувства толерантности и уважения к чужой культуре.

Предлагаемая книга представляет собой учебное пособие к курсам по сопоставительному языкознанию и межкультурной коммуникации для студентов Институтов Востоковедения и факультетов международных отношений и политологии, изучающих английский язык и историю культуры Индии. Пособие может быть использовано при изучении политического устройства мира, а также вариантов английского языка по курсу лексикологии английского языка, на занятиях по страноведению и речевой практике, посвященных современным проблемам сохранения национальной идентичности в условиях глобализации.

Пособие может быть использовано также при написании курсовых и дипломных работ, при выполнении самостоятельных учебно-исследовательских заданий и при самостоятельной работе над языковым материалом.

Пособие охватывает круг проблем, связанных с отражением положения Индии в геополитическом пространстве мира, отражением индийской ментальности в английском языке и особенностей закрепления в неродном языке национально своеобразных форм мировидения индийского народа – носителя индийского варианта английского языка; затрагивает вопросы, касающиеся способов декодирования национально-культурной специфики языкового мировидения в условиях полиэтничного социума. В первой части пособия представлена роль Индии на геополитической карте мира, во второй и третьей – показана роль английского языка в истории народов Индии и индийского государства – в смене политических режимов, развитии культуры, религии, образовании и т.п. Четвертая и пятая части подробно рассматривают закономерности эволюции индийского варианта английского языка, неоднородность языковой политики на территории Индии, современные проблемы общения в многоязычном государстве.

Изложение теоретического материала в данном пособии определено практической необходимостью и целесообразностью и построено таким образом, чтобы сформировать у студентов полную картину положения Индии в мире, а также чтобы поуровневый анализ языковой системы индийского варианта английского языка показал его отличительные черты от британского варианта во взаимной связи и взаимной обусловленности с особенностями языковых систем национальных языков Индии.

В настоящее время исследователи все чаще приходят к выводу о том, что изучение языковых единиц без знаний культуры и истории, психологии и образа жизни народа, носителя языка, существенно усложняется. В этой связи практические цели учебного пособия предполагают ознакомление студентов с наиболее важными особенностями политической жизни государства, структурно-семантического строя индийского варианта английского языка в этнолингвокультурологическом аспекте, т.е. в контексте культуры и исторического развития Индии, а также современной языковой политики государства.

В пособии осуществлен единый подход к изложению материала, основной особенностью которого являются поэтапная проработка теоретических положений и контроль, осуществляемый посредством вопросов – теоретических и дискуссионных – и практических заданий. Соблюдение общего принципа организации материала способствует более эффективному усвоению всех включенных в пособие тем.

Практическая часть учебного пособия начинается с серии теоретических вопросов, развивающих умение анализировать политические и языковые факты на основе приобретенных знаний, которые даются после каждой части и построены в строгом соответствии с той последовательностью, в которой представлен теоретический материал.

Дискуссионные вопросы следуют после блока теоретических вопросов, что, безусловно, облегчает их обсуждение, поскольку данные вопросы способствуют не только повторению пройденного теоретического материала, но и концентрации внимания студентов на наиболее важных фактах истории и явлениях Индийского государства, английского языка и культуры Индии.

Учебное пособие завершается выполнением практических заданий по всему пройденному материалу, которые могут рассматриваться также как дополнительный иллюстративный материал к теоретическим положениям. Таким образом, выполняя задания, студенты развивают аналитическое мышление и умение обобщать и систематизировать конкретный материал, а также знакомятся с современными тенденциями в английской языковой системе.

PART I. INTRODUCTION

A Snapshot of India¹

India, a South Asian nation, is the seventh-largest country by area, the second-most populous country with over 1.38 billion people, and the most populous democracy in the world. India boasts of an immensely rich cultural heritage including numerous languages, traditions, and people. The country holds its uniqueness in its diversity, and hence has adapted itself to international changes with poise and comfort. While the economy has welcomed international companies to invest in it with open arms since liberalisation in the 1990s, Indians have been prudent and pro-active in adopting global approach and skills. Indian villagers have proudly taken up farming, advanced agriculture and unique handicrafts as their profession on one hand, while modern industries and professional services sectors are coming up in a big way on the other.

Thus, the country is attracting many global majors for strategic investments owing to the presence of vast range of industries, investment avenues and a supportive Government. Huge population, mostly comprising the youth, is a strong driver for demand and an ample source of manpower.

Location: India lies to the north of the equator in Southern Asia

Latitude: 8° 4' to 37° 6' north

Longitude: 68° 7' to 97° 25' east

Neighbouring Countries: Pakistan and Afghanistan share political borders with India on the West while Bangladesh and Myanmar stand adjacent on the Eastern borders. The northern boundary comprises the Sinkiang province of China, Tibet, Nepal and Bhutan. Sri Lanka is another neighbouring country which is separated by a narrow channel of sea formed by the Palk Strait and the Gulf of Mannar.

Capital: New Delhi

Coastline: 7,517 km, including the mainland, the coastlines of Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the Bay of Bengal and Lakshadweep Islands in the Arabian Sea.

¹ Last updated May 16, 2022 from <http://www.ibef.org/economy/indiasnapshot/about-india-at-a-glance>

Climate: Southern India majorly enjoys tropical climate but northern India experiences temperatures from sub-zero degrees to 50 degrees Celsius. Winters embrace northern India during December to February while springs blossom in March and April. Monsoons arrive in June and stay till September, followed by autumn in October and November.

Area: India measures 3,214 km from north to south and 2,933 km from east to west with a total area of 3,287,263 sq km.

Natural Resources: Coal (fourth-largest reserves in the world), iron ore, manganese, mica, bauxite, rare earth elements, titanium ore, chromite, natural gas, diamonds, petroleum, limestone, arable land.

Land: 2,973,190 sq km

Water: 314,070 sq km

Political Profile

Political System and Government: The world's largest democracy implemented its Constitution in 1950 that provided for a parliamentary system of Government with a bicameral parliament and three independent branches: the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. The country has a federal structure with elected governments in States.

Administrative Divisions: 28 States and 8 Union Territories

Constitution: The Constitution of India came into force on January 26, 1950.

Executive Branch: The President of India is the Head of State, while the Prime Minister is the Head of the government and runs office with the support of the Council of Ministers who forms the Cabinet.

Legislative Branch: The Federal Legislature comprises of the Lok Sabha (House of the People) and the Rajya Sabha (Council of States) forming both the Houses of the Parliament.

Judicial Branch: The Supreme Court of India is the apex body of the Indian legal system, followed by other High Courts and subordinate Courts.

Chief of State: President, Mr. Ram Nath Kovind (since July 25, 2017)

Head of Government: Prime Minister, Mr Narendra Modi (since May 26, 2014)

Demographic profile

Population: 1,380,004,385

Population Growth Rate: 0.99 per cent (2020)

Religions: Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, Buddhism, Jainism

Languages: Hindi, English and at least 16 other official languages

Literacy: Total population: 77 per cent

Male: 84.7 per cent

Female: 70.3 per cent

Suffrage: 18 years of age; universal

Life expectancy: 67.5 years (men), 69.8 years (women) (2022E)

Economic Profile

Indian Economy: India's gross domestic product (GDP) at current prices in 2021-22 is estimated to be Rs. 236.44 lakh crore (US\$ 3.05 trillion), as against Rs. 198.01 lakh crore (US\$ 2.56 trillion) in 2020-21, showing a growth rate of 19.4%.

Gross value added (GVA) quarterly estimates at basic prices in the second quarter of 2021-22 at constant 2011-12 prices are as follow:

- ***Agriculture, forestry & fishing:*** Rs. 663,037 crore (US\$ 85.78 billion).
- ***Mining & Quarrying:*** Rs. 79,832 crore (US\$ 10.32 billion).
- ***Manufacturing:*** Rs. 591,475 crore (US\$ 76.52 billion).
- ***Electricity, gas, water supply & other utility services:*** Rs. 74,222 crore (US\$ 9.6 billion).
- ***Construction:*** Rs. 266,947 crore (US\$ 34.53 billion).
- ***Trade, hotels, transport, communications & services related to broadcasting:*** Rs. 630,866 crore (US\$ 81.62 billion).
- ***Financial, real estate & professional services:*** Rs. 710,739 crore (US\$ 91.95 billion).
- ***Public administration, defence & other services:*** Rs. 508,670 crore (US\$ 65.81 billion).
- ***Forex Reserves:*** US\$ 617.65 billion, as of March 25, 2022.
- ***Value of Export:*** Overall exports between April 2021-March 2022 were estimated at US\$ 669.65 billion (a 34.5% YoY increase).

- **Export Partners:** US, Germany, UAE, China, Japan, Thailand, Indonesia and European Union. India is also tapping newer markets in Africa and Latin America.
- **Currency (code):** Indian rupee (Rs).
- **Exchange Rates:** Indian rupee per US\$: US\$ 1 = Rs. 77.47 as of May 10, 2022.
- **Fiscal Year:** April 01 - March 31.
- **Cumulative FDI Equity Inflow:** US\$ 572.81 billion (from April 2000-December 2021).
- **Share of Top Investing Countries FDI Equity Inflows:** Mauritius (27%), Singapore (22%), the US (9%), the Netherlands (7%), Japan (6%), the UK (6%), Germany (2%), the Cayman Islands (2%), the UAE (2%) and Cyprus (2%) from April 2000-December 2021
- **Major Sectors Attracting Highest FDI Equity Inflows:** Services Sector (16%), Computer Software & Hardware (14%), Telecommunications (7%), Trading (6%), Automobile (6%), Construction Development (5%), Construction Activities (5%), Chemicals (3%), Drugs and Pharmaceuticals (3%), Metallurgical Industries (3%), and Hotel & Tourism (3%) from April 2000-December 2021.

Transportation in India

Airports: Airports Authority of India (AAI) manages 153 airports, which include 29 international airports and 10 civil enclaves as defence airfields in the country.

International Airports: Ahmedabad, Amritsar, Bengaluru, Chennai, Goa, Guwahati, Hyderabad, Kochi, Kolkata, Mumbai, New Delhi, Thiruvananthapuram, Port Blair, Srinagar, Jaipur, Nagpur, Calicut.

Railways: The Indian Railways network is spread over 1,26,366 kms with 12,729 locomotives being operational. There are 13,169 passenger trains run daily through 7,325 stations, plying 8.08 million travelers and 3.32 million tonnes (MT) of freight daily.

Roadways: India's road network of 6.38 million kms is the second largest in the world. With the number of passenger vehicles growing at an

average annual pace of 3.6% between 2010 and 2020, Indian roads carry about 60% of freight and 87% of passenger traffic.

Waterways: 14,500 km

Major Ports of Entry: Chennai, Ennore, Haldia, Jawaharlal Nehru Port Trust (JNPT), Kolkata, Deen Dayal, Kochi, Mormugao, Mumbai, New Mangalore, Paradip, Tuticorin and Vishakhapatnam.

Role of India in the English-Speaking World

Other than the stereotypical notions people around the world have about India: elephants, snake charmers, and maharajahs, they are surprised that Indians speak fluent English. When they learn that it's the only language many people speak there except a smattering of Hindi there are even louder exclamations!

Some ten years ago the United States of America was the country with the largest English-speaking population. Today, with a population growth at a rate of three per cent per annum being added with a billion population, India has taken over that status. With roughly a third of its population - or more than 300 million – knowing the English language, India has more English speaking people than the US and United Kingdom combine. So India now has the status of highest English speaking population in the world.

One can undoubtedly claim that Indian's love for the English language and its increasing growth rate has not harmed the Indians, rather helped them instead in many ways. English continues to serve as the language of prestige. Efforts to switch to Hindi or other regional tongues encounter stiff opposition both from those who know English well and whose privileged position requires proficiency in that tongue and from those who see it as a means of upward mobility. Partisans of English also maintain it is useful and indeed necessary as a link to the rest of the world. They hold, too, that widespread knowledge of English is necessary for technological and economic progress, as English is the language of business in India and the large English speaking workforce is a benefit to investors and employers and so, reducing its role would leave India a backwater in world affairs.

It has been said that Indians have made English into a native language with its own linguistic and cultural ecologies and socio-cultural contexts.

Many Indians feel that the use of English should be actively encouraged because of the many advantages it confers – satellite television, movies and the Internet mean that more and more people in the sub-continent are exposed to English. Thus, its greatest advantage is its universal character. The Indian writer and philosopher Raja Rao wrote, “As long as the English language is universal, it will always remain Indian.... It would then be correct to say as long as we are Indian - that is, not nationalists, but truly Indians of the Indian psyche – we shall have the English language with us and amongst us, and not as a guest or friend, but as one of our own, of our caste, our creed, our sect and our tradition.”

From an Anglosphere perspective, India is both a great conundrum and a great hope. With a vast and growing population of English-speakers, it would be no surprise if it bears a dominant role in the growth and use of the language by century's end. It has supplied generations of brilliant academics, scientists, and writers to the Anglosphere. Its journalists and intellectuals draw upon the full range of debate across the Anglosphere, as a quick Google query will confirm. It has many reasons to want to leverage its strong ties to the English-speaking world, not the least of which is its democratic nature. Yet its national aspirations will no doubt lead it to arbitrage benefits from other large power blocs in Europe, Russia, and China. Unlike the other large English-speaking nations, it is a land of the colonized rather than colonizers. A century ago, proponents of Imperial Federalism went to great lengths to create exceptions for how India might be integrated with the rest of the English-speaking world. The appliqué of English common law and civil service in India (since the legislated demise of the East India Company in 1858) did not greatly affect the underlying cultures of the subcontinent, despite providing an inadvertent structure for the subsequent nation-state. India was not subject to the cultural clear-cutting of Russia, China, and Japan (plus the Japanese colonies). More than most nations in the 21st century, it must carry its past along with it.

India's role in the Anglosphere will be on its own terms, and based on the recent past, those terms will depend largely on the consensus created amongst its elite. Will those elite come from a small slice of India, or will it draw from a burgeoning middle class? Will it gravitate to rent-seeking (per

the McKinsey evaluations in Lewis's *Powers of Productivity*) or will it form market-dominant minorities (per Chua's *World on Fire*) that strangle the rate of economic development for the benefit of a few?

For a long time there have been discussions about many of the same economic and political topics that have fascinated Europeans and North Americans during the 20th century. The British could be blamed (in a multitude of ways, valid or not) for the stagnation of India in the first half of the 20th century. The legacy of colonialism, which carried forward until 1947, distorted Indian governance and economics in very different ways from the earlier British colonial nation-states of the 18th and 19th centuries. India's infrastructure in areas like railways and manufacture was always subject to different pressures than mere market need.

Through the years leading to self-determination, Indian intellectuals drew on British socialist (often Communist) traditions. Regrettably, India entered the mid-century with a set of economic ideas that were already about to take a tumble. As the US was about to depart from wartime era micromanagement (as exemplified by JFK's ambassador to India – John Kenneth Galbraith), India began adopting Five Year Plans with a heavy-industry approach to economic development. In 1950, the issue of whether communism or capitalism had the advantage in creating wealth was still an open question. India's choice was top-down economic administration. The result was a series of crises in each decade, culminating with the virtual collapse of external trade (and foreign reserves) in the early 90s. Even the much vaunted Green Revolution of the early Sixties, which allowed India to be self-sufficient in food, appears to have been in spite of much of the government rather than at its instigation. All this central planning, by very smart people, chopped overall annual economic growth in India in half between 1950 and 1980, when compared with the average (3% per annum) across the underdeveloped world.

The early decades of Indian independence also witnessed the coarsening of the country's political culture. By and large, the men (and occasional woman) drawn to public life under British rule represented the best educated and most idealistic in the land. But by the mid-1980s politics had become the vocation of choice for assorted crooks, sycophants and hucksters.

The prominence of ethnic Indians in international business, technology, academia, and the arts further distorts the picture. Over the past decade, India-born CEOs have led US Airways, the consulting firm McKinsey, the telecom giant Vodafone, PepsiCo, Standard Chartered Bank and Citibank. Sabeer Bhatia, the creator of Hotmail, and Vinod Khosla, the co-founder of Sun Microsystems, exemplify the Indian impact on Silicon Valley. Jagdish Bhagwati and Amartya Sen are among the most highly regarded economists alive.

The fact that India is a democracy is also a plus. The large NRI communities in the US and Europe (principally the UK) are a major asset. As a major successor state to the British Empire, India enjoys a special position in the English-speaking world. India's companies can internationalise easily. Many ethnic Indians hold senior positions in Western MNCs. While India is happy to strengthen its links with the US and Europe, it will never want to be too dependent on them especially for military technology. Looking ahead, India will be able to maintain good relations with all the major Western powers. This, in turn, will provide a better environment for peace and development in the subcontinent.

Industry

Code is among a growing number of Indian companies that are now developing and selling original software, instead of just supplying code-writing and other IT services to corporate clients. Until recently, many of the most popular software products from the likes of Microsoft and Oracle were made by Indians labouring in obscurity. But increasingly some of the world's best-selling software products are being made in India by Indian companies. Therefore, India has become a major exporter of software as well as financial, research, and technology services. Its software exports are growing at the rate 30-35 percent per year.

Meanwhile, a protectionist backlash against outsourcing is gaining momentum in America and Europe, and competition remains fierce in the off-shore IT-services market. Indian companies have already cornered 68% of that market, worth more than \$18 billion a year. But with competitors slashing costs and margins in services shrinking, companies are realizing that the high-

margin products business – where Indian companies have only tapped 0.2% of a \$180 billion global market-is the way to go.

Meanwhile, India is a rising power in the software, design, services and precision industry. There is no other IT sector in the world that can compare to or even hold its own against India. India is the heavy Industry producer. It is making industrial grade steel used in making skyscrapers, tanks and ships while its automotive industry is experiencing unprecedented growth.

Indian Economy Overview¹

India has emerged as the fastest-growing major economy in the world and is expected to be one of the top three economic powers in the world over the next 10-15 years, backed by its robust democracy and strong partnerships.

Market size

India's nominal gross domestic product (GDP) at current prices is estimated to be at Rs. 232.15 trillion (US\$ 3.12 trillion) in 2022. It is the third-largest unicorn² base in the world with over 100 unicorns with a total valuation of US\$ 332.7 billion.

India needs to increase its rate of employment growth and create 90 million non-farm jobs between 2023 and 2030s, for productivity and economic growth according to McKinsey Global Institute. The net employment rate needs to grow by 1.5% per year from 2023 to 2030 to achieve 8-8.5% GDP growth between 2023 and 2030. According to data from the Department of Economic Affairs, as of January 28, 2022, foreign exchange reserves in India reached the US\$ 634.287 billion mark.

Recent Developments

With an improvement in the economic scenario, there have been investments across various sectors of the economy. The private equity – venture capital (PE-VC) sector recorded investments worth US\$ 5.8 billion across 117 deals in February 2022, 24% higher than in January 2022. Some of the important recent developments in the Indian economy are as follows:

¹ Last updated May 16, 2022 from <https://www.ibef.org/economy/indian-economy-overview>

² In business, a unicorn is a privately held startup company valued at over US\$1 billion. The term was first popularised in 2013 by venture capitalist Aileen Lee, choosing the mythical animal to represent the statistical rarity of such successful ventures.

India's merchandise exports were at an all-time high of US\$ 417.81 billion in FY22. In April 2022, the Manufacturing Purchasing Managers' Index (PMI) in India stood at 54.7.

The gross Goods and Services Tax (GST) revenue collection hit an all-time high of Rs. 1.68 trillion (US\$ 21.73 billion) in April 2022. This is a 20% increase over the previous year.

According to the Department for Promotion of Industry and Internal Trade (DPIIT), FDI equity inflow in India stood at US\$ 572.80 billion between April 2000-December 2021.

India's Index of Industrial Production (IIP) for January 2022 stood at 138.4 against 136.6 for January 2021.

Consumer Food Price Index (CFPI) – Combined inflation was 2.9% in 2021-22 (April-December) against 9.1% in the corresponding period last year.

Consumer Price Index (CPI) – Combined inflation was 5.20% in 2021-2022 (April-December) against 6.6% in 2020-21

Foreign portfolio investors (FPIs) invested Rs.50,009 crore (US\$ 6.68 billion) in the Calendar year 2021.

The wheat procurement in Rabi 2021-22 and the anticipated paddy purchase in Kharif 2021-22 would include 1208 lakh (120.8 million) metric tonnes of wheat and paddy from 163 lakh (16.7 million) farmers, as well as a direct payment of MSP value of Rs. 2.37 lakh crore (US\$ 31.74 billion) to their accounts.

Government Initiatives

Numerous foreign companies are setting up their facilities in India on account of various Government initiatives like *Make in India* and *Digital India*. Prime Minister of India Mr. Narendra Modi launched the *Make in India* initiative with an aim to boost the country's manufacturing sector and increase the purchasing power of an average Indian consumer, which would further drive demand and spur development, thus benefiting investors. The Government of India, under *its Make in India* initiative, is trying to boost the contribution made by the manufacturing sector with an aim to take it to 25% of the GDP from the current 17%. Besides, the government has also

come up with the *Digital India* initiative, which focuses on three core components: the creation of digital infrastructure, delivering services digitally, and increasing digital literacy.

The Union Budget of 2022-23 presented on February 1, 2022, by the Minister for Finance & Corporate Affairs, Ms. Nirmala Sitharaman had four priorities – Inclusive Development, Productivity Enhancement and Investment and Financing of Investments. In the Union Budget 2022-23, effective capital expenditure is expected to increase by 27% at Rs. 10.68 lakh crore (US\$ 142.93 billion) to boost the economy. This will be 4.1% of the total Gross Domestic Production (GDP). The Government of India has taken several initiatives to improve the economic condition of the country. Some of these are:

- Under PM GatiShakti Master Plan the National Highway Network will develop 25,000 km of new highways network which will be worth Rs. 20,000 crore (US\$ 2.67 billion).
- In February 2022, Minister for Finance and Corporate Affairs Ms. Nirmala Sitharaman said that productivity linked incentive (PLI) schemes would be extended to 14 sectors to achieve the mission of AtmaNirbhar Bharat and create 60 lakh jobs with an additional production capacity of Rs. 30 lakh crore (US\$ 401.49 billion) in the next five years.
- In the Union Budget of 2022-23, the government announced funding for the production linked incentive (PLI) scheme for domestic solar cells and module manufacturing of Rs. 24,000 crore (US\$ 3.21 billion).
- In the Union Budget of 2022-23, the government announced a production linked incentive (PLI) scheme for Bulk Drugs which was an investment of Rs. 2500 crore (US\$ 334.60 million).
- In the Union Budget of 2022, Minister for Finance & Corporate Affairs Ms. Nirmala Sitharaman announced that a scheme for design-led manufacturing in 5G would be launched as part of the PLI scheme.
- In September 2021, Union Cabinet approved major reforms in the telecom sector, which are expected to boost employment, growth, competition, and consumer interests. Key reforms include rationalization of adjusted gross revenue, rationalization of bank guarantees (BGs), and encouragement of spectrum sharing.

- In the Union Budget of 2022-23, the government has allocated Rs. 44,720 crore (US\$ 5.98 billion) to Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited (BSNL) for capital investments in the 4G spectrum.
- Minister for Finance & Corporate Affairs Ms. Nirmala Sitharaman allocated Rs. 650 crore (US\$ 86.69 million) for the Deep Ocean mission that seeks to explore vast marine living and non-living resources. Department of Space (DoS) has got Rs. 13,700 crore (US\$ 1.83 billion) in 2022-23 for several key space missions like Gaganyaan, Chandrayaan-3, and Aditya L-1 (sun).
- In May 2021, the government approved the production linked incentive (PLI) scheme for manufacturing advanced chemistry cell (ACC) batteries at an estimated outlay of Rs. 18,100 crore (US\$ 2.44 billion); this move is expected to attract domestic and foreign investments worth Rs. 45,000 crore (US\$ 6.07 billion).
- Minister for Finance & Corporate Affairs Ms Nirmala Sitharaman announced in the Union Budget of 2022-23 that the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) would issue Digital Rupee using blockchain and other technologies.
- In the Union Budget of 2022-23, Railway got an investment of Rs. 2.38 lakh crore (US\$ 31.88 billion) and over 400 new high-speed trains were announced. The concept of "One Station, One Product" was also introduced.
- To boost competitiveness, Budget 2022-23 has announced reforming the 16-year-old Special Economic Zone (SEZ) act.
- In May 2021, the Government of India allocated Rs. 2,250 crore (US\$ 306.80 million) for the development of the horticulture sector in 2021-22.
- In November 2020, the Government of India announced Rs. 2.65 lakh crore (US\$ 36 billion) stimulus package to generate job opportunities and provide liquidity support to various sectors such as tourism, aviation, construction, and housing. Also, India's cabinet approved the production-linked incentives (PLI) scheme to provide ~Rs. 2 trillion (US\$ 27 billion) over five years to create jobs and boost production in the country.

- On January 29, 2022, the National Asset Reconstruction Company Ltd (NARCL) will acquire bad loans worth up to Rs. 50,000 crore (US\$ 6.69 billion) about 15 accounts by March 31, 2022. India Debt Resolution Co. Ltd (IDRCL) will control the resolution process. This will clean up India's financial system and help fuel liquidity and boost the Indian economy.
- National Bank for Financing Infrastructure and Development (NaBFID) is a bank that will provide non-recourse infrastructure financing and is expected to support projects from the first quarter of FY2022-23; it is expected to raise Rs. 4 lakh crore (US\$ 53.58 billion) in the next three years.
- In April 2021, Minister for Railways and Commerce & Industry and Consumer Affairs, Food & Public Distribution, Mr. Piyush Goyal, launched the 'DGFT Trade Facilitation' app to provide instant access to exporters/importers anytime and anywhere.
- India is expected to attract investment of around US\$ 100 billion in developing the oil and gas infrastructure during 2019-23.
- The Government of India is going to increase public health spending to 2.5% of the GDP by 2025.

In 2022-23 increased government expenditure is expected to attract private investments, with a production-linked incentive scheme providing excellent opportunities. Consistently proactive, graded, and measured policy support is anticipated to boost the Indian economy.

Road Ahead

Minister of Commerce and Industry, Consumer Affairs, Food and Public Distribution Mr. Piyush Goyal, on January 21, 2022 said that Indian industry to raise 75 unicorns in the 75 weeks leading up to the country's 75th anniversary next year.

Minister of Commerce and Industry, Consumer Affairs, Food and Public Distribution and Textiles Mr. Piyush Goyal said that India will achieve exports worth US\$ 1 trillion by 2030.

India's electronic exports are expected to reach US\$ 300 billion by 2025-26. This will be nearly 40 times the FY2021-22 exports (till December 2021) of US\$ 67 billion.

As per the data published in a Department of Economic Affairs report, in the first quarter of FY22, India's output recorded a 20.1% YoY growth, recovering >90% of the pre-pandemic output in the first quarter of FY20. India's real gross value added (GVA) also recorded an 18.8% YoY increase in the first quarter of FY22, posting a recovery of >92% of its corresponding pre-pandemic level (in the first quarter of FY20). Also, in FY21, India recorded a current account surplus of 0.9% of the GDP. The growth in the economic recovery is due to the government's continued efforts to accelerate vaccination coverage among citizens. This also provided an optimistic outlook to further revive industrial activities.

As per RBI's¹ revised estimates for July 2021, the real GDP growth of the country is estimated at 21.4% for the first quarter of FY22. The increase in the tax collection, along with the government's budget support to states, strengthened the overall growth of the Indian economy.

India is focusing on renewable sources to generate energy. It is planning to achieve 40% of its energy from non-fossil sources by 2030. In line with this, in May 2021, India, along with the UK, jointly launched a 'Roadmap 2030' to collaborate and combat climate change by 2030.

India is expected to be the third-largest consumer economy as its consumption may triple to US\$ 4 trillion by 2025, owing to a shift in consumer behaviour and expenditure pattern, according to a Boston Consulting Group (BCG) report. It is estimated to surpass the USA to become the second-largest economy in terms of purchasing power parity (PPP) by 2040, as per a report by PricewaterhouseCoopers².

Education

India's education system has proven to be very advanced. Indian Institutes of Technology (IIT) is a world prestigious institution that even rivals western universities at the quality of education it provides – churning out the engineers and IT professionals of tomorrow. Currently, India is the 2nd

¹ The Reserve Bank of India

² Read more at <https://www.ibef.org/economy/indian-economy-overview>. Last updated: May 16, 2022

largest producer of engineers, scientist and doctors. Other educational institutions like the Indian Institute of Science (IISc) and the Business school have all set standards as the world benchmark.

Outsourcing is no longer considered to be an option, but a necessity. The western companies are jockeying for a position in order to exploit the huge pool of educated talent available in India. India has the largest English-speaking talent pool in the world – over 4,40,000 engineering degree – and diploma-holders, approximately 2.3 million other (Arts, Commerce and Science) graduates and 300,000 postgraduates are added each year. McKinsey-NASSCOM report shows that “India will continue to stay on the top, maintaining its 46-per cent share of the global BPO market and its 65-per cent share in the IT offshore and outsourcing market through 2010”.

More recently, India has capitalized on its large pool of educated, English-speaking people to become an important outsourcing destination for multinational corporations.

India is the third largest English book producing country after the US and the UK, and a large number of books are published in English. Creative writing in English has been an integral part of the Indian literary tradition for many years. Many believe that is a challenge for Indian novelists to write about their experiences in a language, which is essentially ‘foreign’. However, Indian English has been used widely by several writers who have been able to successfully use the language to create rich and invigorating literature. India is rich with tastes, sounds, and sights that are any writer's dream and stylistic influence from local languages is a particular feature of Indian literature in English. Many perceive English as having released the local languages from rigid classical traditions that could be an obstacle while writing. It is Indian writers in English who have truly showcased India to the world not only in terms of understanding the country better, but also by establishing that the language no longer represents the western concepts of literary creativity as its ranges have expanded.

Unlike most poor countries, India can claim Nobel laureate economists and Booker Prize-winning authors.

Culture

India offers a number of Classical Indian dance forms, each of which can be traced to different parts of the country. Each form represents the culture and ethos of a particular region or a group of people. The main styles are Bharatanatyam, Ka-thak, Odissi, Yakshagana, Kuchipudi, Mohiniattam, Bhangra, Manipuri and Ka-thakali. Besides, there are several forms of Indian folk dances, and special dances observed in regional festivals.

Indian drama and theatre is perhaps as old as its music and dance. Kalidasa plays like *Shakuntala* and *Meghadoot* are some of the oldest plays from literary traditions. The tradition of folk theatre is alive in nearly all the linguistic regions. There is a rich tradition of puppet theatre in rural India. Group Theatre thrives in the cities, initiated by the likes of Utpal Dutt, Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, and still maintained by groups like Nandikar and Prithvi Theatre.

Bollywood is the informal name given to the popular Mumbai-based film industry. Bollywood and the other major cinematic hubs (Bengali, Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu) constitute the broader Indian film industry, whose output is considered to be the largest in the world in terms of number of films produced and number of tickets sold. In a year, it sold 3.6 billion tickets, more than any other film industry in the world. In comparison, Hollywood sold 2.6 billion tickets in a year). Apparently, Bollywood directors like Shekhar Kapur and Mira Nair have taken Hollywood by storm.

Bollywood films are usually musicals, though not in the Western sense of the word. Indian movies have a regular plot, with songs and dances interspersed to add to the entertainment value of the movie. Few movies are made without at least one song-and-dance number. Indian audiences want songs and dances, love interest, comedy and dare-devil thrills, all mixed up in a three-hour long extravaganza with an intermission. Such movies are called “masala movies”, after the Indian spice mixture “masala”.

Chess, commonly held to have originated in India, is also gaining popularity with the rise of the number of recognized Indian grandmasters.

A country's approach to sports also acts as a guide to its preferred method of problem solving. India's traditional invisibility at the Olympics—the gold and two bronzes won in Beijing mark its best ever performance—

can be viewed as a legacy of the flawed policies it pursued in the early decades after independence. For long an autarkic and socialist economy, India has lagged in establishing the competitive culture and market incentives that spur excellence in the developed world. At the same time, as a democracy, it has never had the option of emulating the intrusive controls and collective purpose that mark the authoritarian model.

India is a vast country with different languages in its different parts. These regional languages differ from each other so much that it is not possible to communicate with people of other regions without a common language. Further, India is growing on all fronts whether it is social or economic angle. India is on the road to become a strong and prosperous nation in the world. India is trying to maintain a good foreign policy. For all this, there is need of a common language, i.e. English. It is the language which is understood almost all over the region in addition to national language of Hindi, all schools and colleges teach English and mostly have it as a medium of instruction.

Thus, India has a unique position in the English-speaking world. It is a linguistic bridge between the major first-language dialects of the world, such as British and American English, and the major foreign-language varieties, such as those emerging in China and Japan. China is the closest competitor for the English-speaking record with some 220 million speakers of English, but China does not have the pervasive English linguistic environment encountered in India, nor does it have the strength of linguistic tradition that provides multiple continuities with the rest of the English-speaking world. India is much ahead in that respect. Still Indian English is something that many foreigners are unaware of and even if they are aware, they are unsure about its credibility.

Political System in India¹

Politics in India takes place within the framework of its constitution, as India is a federal parliamentary democratic republic in which the President of India is the head of state and the Prime Minister of India is the head

¹ Rajeev K. Political system in developing countries // International Journal of Enterprise Computing and Business Systems. – Vol. 5. – Iss 1, 2015. URL: <http://www.ijecbs.com/January2015/2.pdf>

of government. India follows the dual polity system, i.e. a double government which consists of the central authority at the centre and states at the periphery. The constitution defines the organization, powers and limitations of both central and state governments, and it is well-recognized, rigid and considered supreme; i.e. laws of the nation must conform to it. There is a provision for a bicameral legislature consisting of an Upper House, i.e. Rajya Sabha, which represents the states of the Indian federation and a lower house i.e. Lok Sabha, which represents the people of India as a whole. The Indian constitution provides for an independent Judiciary which is headed by the Supreme Court. The court's mandate is to protect the constitution, to settle disputes between the central government and the states, inter-state disputes, and nullify any central or state laws that go against the constitution.

The governments, union or state, are formed through elections held every five years (unless otherwise specified), by parties that claim a majority of members in their respective lower houses (Lok Sabha in centre and Vidhan Sabha in states). India had its first general election in 1951, which was won by the Indian National Congress, a political party that went on to dominate the successive elections up until 1977, when the first non-Congress government was formed for the first time in independent India. The 1990s saw the end of single party domination and rise of coalition governments. The elections for the 16th Lok Sabha, held from April 2014 to May 2014, once again brought back single-party rule in the country, with the Bharatiya Janata Party being able to claim a majority in the Lok Sabha.

Features of political parties in India

Compared to other democratic countries, India has a large number of political parties. It has been estimated that over 200 parties were formed after India became independent in 1947. Some features of the political parties in India are that the parties are generally woven around their leaders, the leaders actively playing a dominant role, and that the role of leadership can be transferred, thus tending to take a dynastic route. Such parties include both national and regional parties, such as the Indian National Congress (INC), which has been led by the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty since independence, beginning with Jawaharlal Nehru who dominated the INC and led it to victory in three consecutive elections, and continuing with, after a brief

interlude of the prime ministership of Lal Bahadur Shastri, Nehru's daughter, Indira Gandhi. After the split in the Congress party in 1969 she formed her own Indian National Congress faction called the Indian National Congress (Ruling). After a further split, she formed the Congress (Indira) or Congress (I). Indira remained the leader of the party until her death in 1984, handing power to her son Rajiv Gandhi, who, after his death, his widow Sonia Gandhi, the current leader of INC, took command. As a result of such dominance, the leaders of political parties of the country tend to take an autocratic tone.

One other major feature of the political parties is that, except for the communist parties, most of the political parties of India lack an ideological basis. Instead political parties in India are formed on the basis of race, religion, language, caste etc. factors, thus the high number of political parties.

Types of Political Parties

There are two types of political parties in India - National Party and Regional/State party. Every political party must bear a symbol and must be registered with the Election Commission of India. Symbols are used in Indian political system so that illiterate people can also vote by recognizing symbols of party.

In the current amendment to the Symbols Order, the Commission, has infused the following five principles, which, in its view, should govern the polity in the country, situate as it is in its present state:

1. Legislative presence is a must for recognition as a National or State party.
2. For a National party, it must be the legislative presence in the Lok Sabha and for a State party, the legislative presence must be reflected in the State Assembly.
3. In any election, a party can set up a candidate only from amongst its own members.
4. A party, that loses its recognition, shall not lose its symbol immediately, but shall be given the facility to use that symbol for some time to try and retrieve its status. [However, the grant of such facility to the party to use its symbol will not mean the extension of other facilities to it, as are available to recognised parties, like, free time on Doordarshan/AIR, free supply of copies of electoral rolls, etc.]

5. Recognition should be given to a party only on the basis of its own performance in elections and not because it is a splinter group of some other recognised party.

Criteria –

- A political party shall be eligible to be recognised as a *National* party if:

1. it secures at least six percent (6%) of the valid votes polled in any four or more states, at a general election to the House of the People or, to the State Legislative Assembly; and
2. in addition, it wins at least four seats in the House of the People from any State or States.

OR it wins at least two percent (2%) seats in the House of the People (i.e., 11 seats in the existing House having 543 members), and these members are elected from at least three different States.

- Likewise, a political party shall be entitled to be recognised as a *State* party, if:

1. it secures at least six percent (6%) of the valid votes polled in the State at a general election, either to the House of the People or to the Legislative Assembly of the State concerned; and
2. in addition, it wins at least two seats in the Legislative Assembly of the State concerned.

OR it wins at least three percent (3%) of the total number of seats in the Legislative Assembly of the State, or at least three seats in the Assembly, whichever is more.

At present there are 3 national parties and 57 state parties.

Alliances

There are three alliances on a national level in India, competing with each other for the position of Government. The member parties work in harmony for gratifying national interests, although a party can jump ships whenever it may deem fit. The three alliances - • National Democratic Alliance (NDA) - Centre-Right coalition led by BJP was formed in 1998 after the elections, NDA formed the government although the government didn't last long as AIADMK withdrew support from it resulting in 1999 general

elections, in which NDA won and resumed power. The coalition government went on to complete the full five years term, becoming the first non-Congress government to do so. In the 2014 General Elections NDA once again returned to power for the second time, with a historic mandate of 336 out of 543 Lok Sabha seats. BJP itself won 282 seats thereby electing Narendra Modi as the head of the government.

United Progressive Alliance (UPA) - Centre-Left coalition led by INC, this alliance was created after the 2004 General Elections, with the alliance forming the Government. The alliance even after losing some of its members, was reelected in 2009 General Elections with Manmohan Singh as head of the government.

Third front - The coalition of parties which do not belong to any of the above camps due to certain issues. They are not bound together due to any ideological similarities but primarily due to their stand of maintaining distance with both major parties. One of the party in the alliance CPI(M), prior to 2009 General Elections was a member party of the UPA. The alliance has no official leading party and generally smaller parties keep coming and leaving the alliance as per political convenience. Many of these parties ally at national level but contest against each other at state level.

BRICS-STEP at a Glance

BRICS has been quite successful in enhancing scientific collaborations among the member nations, as evidenced by scientometric analyzes. However, there is potential in BRICS to provide a platform for shaping the economic, social and political contours for a better world, accelerating transformation through Bold, Responsive, Inclusive and Cohesive Solutions. In spite of their inevitable developmental path dependencies, the commonalities of concerns and aspirations far outweigh differences: harnessing potential synergies, BRICS can address current regional and global concerns. The proposed BRICS S&T Enterprise Partnership (BRICS-STEP) will engage BRICSs' scientists in an enterprise mode that would be driven by S&T challenges, thus creating a new identity for BRICS. The BRICS-STEP pro-

grammes will be sustained based on compelling commonalities where synergistic partnership can significantly add value to national aspirations and provide global leadership.

BRICS-STEP will complement traditional discipline-driven collaboration with product-oriented programmes in priority and challenging areas, through sustained, critical effort and delivery mechanisms aimed at high impact. For implementation, BRICS-STEP should be created with an action-oriented structure. The management structure of BRICS-STEP should be designed to allow integration of thoughts and inputs from all the three tiers: policy makers, experts, and young scientists, who should be involved in the industry from the inception. These inputs will be used to design and drive the BRICS-STEP implementation, like choices and prioritization of projects. A project team will be created for each identified project through pooling of required resources from the participating members, ensuring end-to-end product and utilization. The entire process can be overseen by a BRICS-STEP Council. With the strong and growing evidence of scientific collaboration among its scientists and enthusiastic and energetic support of young researchers, BRICS can realize its potential with bold, responsive, inclusive and cohesive initiatives through an S&T Enterprise Partnership (STEP). In the process, BRICS can develop new ways to relate to the world, creating a model for other societies.

Prologue: BRICS and World Order

The emergence of BRICS has added new opportunities and dimensions for shaping the economic, social and political future of the BRICS nations and the world. The opportunities emerging are clear from the fact that the share of the world Gross Domestic Product of these five countries is almost steadily increasing. However, it is also an opportunity to look beyond; BRICS can now position itself to play a major role in alleviating the current global concerns through novel paradigms through Science, Technology and Innovation. However, major challenges remain. In spite of their growth stories, the BRICS nations still recorded poor Human Development Index in 2014, with Russia at 50, Brazil at 75, China at 90, South Africa at 116 and India at 130. The GDP of the BRICS nations as a percentage of

world GDP also showed a wide diversity in 2014 with Russia, Brazil, China, South Africa and India accounting for 3.1%, 2.6%, 17.4%, 0.6% and 7.2% of world GDP respectively. Similarly, GDP per capita in 2014 for Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa stood at 5.0, 25.2, 6.6, 15.1 and 13.2 respectively. Given this diversity, a natural question would be whether BRICS could provide a cohesive, effective and sustainable platform. Yet there is convergence, hope and great potential residing in the opportunities offered by synergetic science and technology. Although the BRICS countries have unique histories and thus natural developmental path dependencies, the commonalities in their development challenges and aspirations far outweigh their diversities. Many of these common aspirations, like meeting the challenges of climate change through Intended Nationally Determined Contributions or achieving the goals of sustainable developments, require strong and sustained S&T solutions. It is clear that any effective, synergetic and sustained efforts must be based on strong principles of commonality; it is equally important that the efforts go beyond discipline-driven, isolated activities. What is urgently needed is joint development of S&T solutions using their commonalities and greater flow of technology and knowledge. High level of scientific and technological research and innovation among BRICS can effectively contribute to the design and achieve sustainable development goals. However, this calls for a systematic and sustained effort. There is a close proximity between science and technology. While science remains an autonomous line of human excellence and many areas of contemporary science like cosmology and unified field theory are far removed from immediate technological concerns, there is a need to consider an enterprise for BRICS that involves both science and technology. The concept of a BRICS S&T Enterprise (BRICS-STEP) is founded on this premise. In practical terms, the capacities and the inclinations in the BRICS nations are 10 diverse, but they can be complementary, like China's global manufacturing capacity and India's leading supply of services. Similar complementariness exists in many areas; this makes the concept of a BRICS-STEP credible. BRICS-STEP will have certain clear advantages. BRICS, for example, have a better grasp on frugal innovation, informal innovation and of socio-economics of "bottom of pyramid" market. BRICS-STEP can

thus aim at dynamic new markets disrupting global corporate and locational hierarchies of innovation. Through BRICS-STEP, the BRICS platform could be given a new identity and a bigger responsibility. Underlying any science there exists a worldview, like reductionism. A worldview, and the science based on it, naturally encourages certain lines of investigation and interpretation and discourages or even shuns others. BRICS-STEP cannot only enrich the dominant worldview but can also add new dimensions of the investigation leading to transformative science. Multilateral cooperation can provide the BRICS countries with opportunities to address the perceived failures of their national innovation systems – through using cumulative expertise and resources, sharing best practices and coordinating their actions. Here BRICS-STEP can bring the desired change and therefore give BRICS a new identity. In particular, BRICS-STEP could revisit aspects of the nature of scientific activity and knowledge (constitutive aspects internal to science), social contexts of scientific activity and societal implications of scientific activity and accomplishments. The success of an S&T Enterprise, however, need careful detailing and integrated planning. This document attempts to highlight the major aspects of a proposed BRICS-STEP. However, the thoughts and the structure presented here are only indicative, aimed at fostering more in-depth discussions. The results of this initial attempt are, however, very encouraging. From the intense participation of the young scientists to the deep deliberations of the thought leaders and policy makers, BRICS-STEP emerges as not only viable but highly desirable.

BRICS: Emerging Reality The term "BRIC" was coined in 2001 by then-chairman of Goldman Sachs Asset Management, Jim O'Neill, in his publication *Building Better Global Economic BRICs*. The foreign ministers of the initial four BRIC states (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) met in New York City in September 2006 at the margins of the General Debate of the UN General Assembly, beginning a series of high-level meetings. A full-scale diplomatic meeting was held in Yekaterinburg, Russia, on 16 June 2009. BRICS is increasingly being recognized as a major scientific and economic block. OECD for example, in its report "Innovation and growth rationale for an innovation strategy" (2007) has called BRICS as the foremost significant

economies. China being a key driver of this rise but the other BRICS countries are also playing a key role. The emerging and growth-leading economies (EAGLEs) include Brazil, Russia, India and China as members, along with South Africa, are members of EAGLE's NEST a second set of countries. After the Yekaterinburg Summit, seven annual summits were held. India is hosting the eighth BRICS Summit during its Chairmanship which is scheduled to take place on 15-16 October 2016 in Goa. The theme of India's BRICS Chairmanship is building Bold, Responsive, Inclusive and Collective Solutions. The leaders of the member countries have been holding at least one annual meeting. In Durban Summit, the first cycle of summits was completed, each member country having hosted a meeting of leaders. In this period, BRICS has evolved in an incremental manner, in areas of consensus amongst its members, strengthening its two main pillars: (i) coordination in multilateral fora, with a focus on economic and political governance; and (ii) cooperation between members. Regarding the first pillar, efforts towards reforming the structures of global governance, especially in the economic and financial fields – Financial G-20, International Monetary Fund, World Bank– received a special emphasis, as well as the reform of political institutions, such as the United Nations. Intra-BRICS cooperation has also been gaining intensity: a broad agenda has been developed, comprising of areas such as finance, agriculture, economy and trade, combating transnational crime, science and technology, health, education, corporate and academic dialogue and security. The financial sector receives a special focus as a new front of BRICS cooperation. At its 6th Summit, the BRICS established the New Development Bank, aimed at financing infrastructure and sustainable development projects in the BRICS and other developing countries. BRICS has also agreed to create the Contingent Reserves Arrangement (CRA), a fund with an initial sum of US \$100 billion, which the BRICS countries will be able to use to forestall short-term liquidity pressures. The establishment of the Bank and the CRA conveyed a strong message on the willingness of BRICS members to deepen and consolidate their partnership.

Brave New World: Sociocultural and Philosophical Dimensions

The BRICS-STEP initiative is extremely important for reasons that go beyond the economic, political and the pragmatic. Perhaps most significantly, it is an assertion of new ways of understanding the world and the role of the human in it. In other words, while there are various practical benefits of this initiative, one of the most significant ones is to globally make visible the alternate cultures and philosophies of the BRICS nations and their people. The history of modernity has created an imbalance of influence of cultures. For various reasons, our modern sensibilities seem to be dominated by the worldviews, ambitions and purpose of a few dominant societies across Europe and North America. This singular approach to the world, and our place in it becomes homogenised and is accepted as part of the necessary ways of living today. One of the most important engines that drive this phenomenon is the belief in the ahistoricity and aculturality of science and technology. In contrast to what could be called the dominant European imagination, the multiple imaginations of societies and cultures in Asia, Africa and South America. India and China are striking examples of intellectual traditions that created powerful traditions in philosophy, arts, science and technology. Their approach to these activities, however, has been quite different from the way these developed in Europe. Brazil and South Africa may have had relatively longer 1 UNICEF Annual Report 2015 India Executive Summary In 2015, UNICEF India refined its focus around five priorities: reducing stunting, neonatal mortality and open defecation; ensuring that all children are in school and learning; and protecting children from violence and exploitation. Much progress has been made, with different manifestations at the state level. For example, the West Bengal Field Office collaborated closely with the District Magistrate of Nadia District (population 5.2 million), which led to it being declared open defecation-free (ODF) as part of a district-wide approach. To sustain momentum, the district Government has requested UNICEF technical support to research/evaluate additional ODF interventions. District-wide approaches are now being rolled out in at least eight other states. An analytical review of success factors in Nadia District will inform the ODF strategy at national level. UNICEF India also has

successfully leveraged high-level political support into a commitment to institutionalize group hand-washing with soap before the midday meal in all schools across India. The first conference on ‘Nourishing India’s Tribal Children’ brought together five Union Ministries to discuss tribal nutrition in nine high-burden states, with UNICEF India support. Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Rajasthan subsequently used emerging recommendations from the conference to issue specific nutrition strategies/schemes for tribal areas. In addition, the weekly Iron Folic Acid Supplementation Programme to reduce anaemia in adolescent girls, supported by UNICEF India, was scaled up to all states. Participants in the Global Meeting on Complementary Feeding, hosted by UNICEF India, adopted an agenda for action to improve complementary feeding of children. One more Nutrition Mission was established this year, totalling eight Nutrition Missions or equivalent structures nationally, to improve nutrition governance and coordination. The Call to Action Global Summit enabled 24 countries to take stock of progress, share best practices and forge alliances for ending preventable child and maternal deaths. It was hosted by the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare and Ethiopia’s Ministry of Health, the United States Agency for International Development, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Tata Trust and UNICEF India. The National Health Mission was supported to scale up online monitoring systems for more than 450 Sick Newborn Care Units in 109 districts across 17 states, with 750,000 newborns enrolled. Globally, this is one of the biggest real-time newborn databases, with potential to be adapted to other country contexts. Following polio-free certification in 2014, a priority for 2015 was keeping up the momentum for vaccination through a new communications strategy and high-quality immunization campaigns. With UNICEF India support, the Government of India launched an equity strategy, known as Mission Indhrahanush, in 201 high-priority districts with the aim of increasing full immunization from 65 per cent to 90 per cent by 2020. During four special drives in 2015, 7.5 million children were immunized (1.9 million fully immunized). Development of an innovative tool, the Digital Gender Atlas, by the Ministry of Human Resource Development in collaboration with UNICEF India is allowing the identification of areas in which 2 gender disparities in education

are particularly high, intersecting with other factors (child marriage, child labour). This is facilitating focused programming to reach excluded/marginalized girls and promote their education. A robust monitoring and evaluation framework has been developed to measure results and learn from implementation of child marriage and adolescent empowerment programmes in eight states. To further enhance work in cash transfer and social protection, UNICEF India collaborated with NITI Aayog, a newly created institution that replaced the Planning Commission, to host a Cash Transfer Workshop for Children, showcasing social protection programmes focused on the most vulnerable children in 10 states. Building on emerging lessons, potential scale-up models will be agreed with the central Government in 2016. With support from UNICEF India, the state Government of Bihar endorsed a Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) Roadmap in January 2016. This builds on adoption of the Sendai Protocol for Action, agreed at the Third World Conference on DRR, as well as on an already developed comprehensive state DRR plan for communities, schools and other public services. Increasingly, UNICEF India is playing a convening role as efforts towards convergent UNICEF programming with a child-centred and life-cycle approach significantly strengthen, for example, bringing the Tribal Ministry and local government representatives together to address specific bottlenecks affecting children/adolescents. Moreover, political support for reaching full immunization and ODF status within five years has strengthened, and UNICEF India is working hard to attain sustainable, long-term solutions. Nonetheless, internal and external challenges are still encountered, particularly due to the diverse nature of India; in turn, this has necessitated increasingly careful calibration of strategic engagement by UNICEF India to support national and state governments in achieving their goals. Humanitarian Assistance Through partnership with nine non-governmental organizations (NGOs), UNICEF India deepened its two-pronged strategy of direct humanitarian assistance and technical support to the state Government of Jammu and Kashmir for recovery following September 2014 floods that were the worst in more than 60 years. In the 10 worst-affected districts, 3,600 households received food and non-food items, winterized kits and shelter, while about 200,000 households benefited indirectly through the restoration of health

facilities. This contributed to ensure: • Child protection services for 29,491 girls and 31,230 boys through various programmes, including creation of 75 child-friendly spaces offering psychosocial and education support;

- Mortality and morbidity control, through safe drinking water and improved hygiene practices;
- More than 2,000 health workers receiving training to develop their skills for lasting impact, at the request of the state Government; and
- Facilitation to ensure children’s voices are heard in community hygiene improvement efforts.

This programme surpassed the plan of reaching 103,485 people with life-saving action by 45 per cent, since 149,825 people, including 49 per cent girls/women, benefited from UNICEF support. UNICEF also provided technical support for planning and coordination of humanitarian actors to enable the state Government to lead recovery action in the most-affected district, Srinagar. Four social sector plans – covering health, education, shelter and child growth/development – were formulated, leading to the creation of alliances among 16 NGOs, six corporate agencies and Government line departments. This substantially contributed to the mobilization and release of 3 about US\$2 million in assistance. More than 3,000 households were reached through these alliances with interim shelter/medical services, and many thousands benefited indirectly through investment in education and health systems. In response to the most severe floods in 100 years in Tamil Nadu in November–December 2015, affecting an estimated 1 million children in six districts, UNICEF India provided targeted support to ensure basic services by building on existing partnerships with state Government departments. The Chennai Field Office provided technical advice on emergency medical services to state Government Health Control Rooms, and a senior water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) consultant undertook a rapid needs assessment to advise district authorities. In addition, two experts in social-sector recovery planning supported the State Control Room with advice and supplies for immediate restoration of services in approximately 1,000 Anganwadi (community childcare) centres, which had stopped operations. UNICEF India financially supported NGO partners who were complement-

ing Government efforts through provision of essential WASH services, relief-item distribution, and creation of child-friendly spaces. UNICEF India has also engaged with state authorities to promote a comprehensive school safety programme, including protection, and is exploring ways for the state Government/NGOs to further integrate risk reduction/resilience into the recovery and rehabilitation process. In terms of disaster preparedness, UNICEF India and the World Health Organization jointly developed a Risk Communication Strategy Framework on Ebola for the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MoHFW), including a communication package for community-level audiences and media. Mass communication materials on swine flu were also developed and provided to the MoHFW. UNICEF India supported training of 11 high-quality disaster recovery coordinators through the United Nations Disaster Management Team. Since 2010, UNICEF India has piloted a community-based DRR programme in 255 villages of six districts in Bihar at school and village levels. In partnership with the state Education Department, the Bihar Field Office continued to support an expanded School Safety Programme covering 3,159 schools in six hazard-prone districts. This reached 1,220,627 children and 19,055 teachers. In July 2015, this initiative became the Chief Minister's School Safety Programme and is being scaled up by the state Government to cover all 73,000 public schools in Bihar. At village level, support was provided to establish Village Disaster Management Committees to implement the Bihar DRR programme. Task Forces, involving 8,644 participants, including children, adolescents and women, were formed to improve preparedness, prevention and mitigation of floods, earthquakes and health risks. Some villages developed a 'Vision 2020' to reduce vulnerabilities and underlying risks, through better education to eliminate child marriage; improved health access and monitoring of nutrition/child growth; and successful advocacy to end open defecation. In partnership with local NGOs, UNICEF India helped train 196 community catalysts in risk-aware planning and has engaged them to scale up the programme with district administrators to 1,300 other villages in these six districts (743,115 households). Strong capacities built under the community-based DRR programme in Bihar enabled Village Disaster Management leaders to mobilize US\$34.48 million by 31 August 2015, per the

latest available data. The return on investment, based on the ratio of UNICEF financial inputs to funds leveraged from the Government, is 1:191.

4 Mid-Term Review of the Strategic Plan Significant changes have occurred in the political and social policy context in India during the first half of the Country Programme, which have created an enabling environment for UNICEF to operate. The change in central Government in 2014 following the general elections has seen strengthened commitment towards economic and social development and disparity reduction. Introduction of a number of new initiatives, policies and schemes, particularly relating to social policy, have the strong potential to rapidly affect child well-being. For example, the Beti Bachao Beti Padhao scheme is aimed at reducing gender-biased sex selection in India and takes a multi-sectoral approach by bringing together different sectors, including education, nutrition and health. Other efforts that constitute the Government's social welfare agenda include the Jan Dhan Yojana programme, targeted at bringing millions of Indians without banking into that system, and the Aadhar card, a unique biometric identification card launched by the previous Government, and linked to the bank account opened for the individual. This structure indicates that cash transfers to individuals/families will be a primary component of the developing social protection system in India. A Mid-Term Review (MTR) was conducted through a consultative process involving a wide range of stakeholders in all 16 states where UNICEF is represented. The MTR reviewed the first 2.5 years of the 2013–2017 Country Programme, assessing progress towards planned results as outlined in the Country Programme Action Plan and determining if strategic shifts/modifications to expected results, strategies and content were necessary, based on the current country context. The MTR found that the Country Programme is aligned to UNICEF's 2014–2017 global Strategic Plan, contributing to all seven Outcomes and applying all Strategic Plan strategies. Furthermore, it was found that through the Country Programme's emphasis on a convergent, multi-sectoral approach to advance results for children and women, UNICEF's programming cooperation had increasingly focused on a core set of national priorities under the Government's 12th Five Year Plan, aligned to key national flagship programmes and schemes. The MTR agreed that this focus should continue to evolve at national and state

levels to ensure the most efficient and effective investment of UNICEF resources towards life-cycle and child-centred development in India. Notably, UNICEF cooperation continued to shift towards the provision of high-quality strategic and technical support for policy formulation and systems enhancement, including generating and promoting the use of data, new evidence and proven strategies from modelling over the first half of the Country Programme. The MTR recommended a more focused, rigorously applied approach involving the UNICEF global Strategic Plan's strategies, particularly those related to integration/cross-sectoral synergy, innovation and gender equality. More explicitly, it recommended: (1) promotion of country- and programme-wide convergent approaches to operationalize the national Child Policy, involving all relevant sectoral ministries; (2) full integration of social and behavioural change communication (Communication for Development, or C4D) and policy advocacy into programme planning, implementation and monitoring; (3) expansion of partnerships to harness innovation and leadership within India; and (4) increasing engagement of adolescent girls and boys, in terms of empowerment, quality education and life skills, to ensure their full participation in social transformation. The last recommendation also was particularly aimed at capitalizing on the central Government's large-scale initiatives to address gender inequalities. In turn, this age group is expected to contribute to sustainable impacts on children's/women's health, nutrition and overall well-being as rights holders. All this will help to bring UNICEF India further in line with UNICEF's global Gender Action Plan through a focus on three targeted gender priorities across Strategic Plan Outcomes: (1) promoting gender-responsive adolescent health; (2) advancing girls' secondary education; and (3) ending child marriage.

A World in Search of an Effective Growth Strategy.

For two decades now, the UNESCO Science Report series has been mapping science, technology and innovation (STI) around the world on a regular basis. Since STI do not evolve in a vacuum, this latest edition summarizes the evolution since 2010 against the backdrop of socio-economic,

geopolitical and environmental trends that have helped to shape contemporary STI policy and governance. More than 50 experts have contributed to the present report, each of them covering the region or country from which they hail. A quinquennial report has the advantage of being able to focus on longer-term trends, rather than becoming entrenched in descriptions of short-term annual fluctuations which, with respect to policy and science and technology indicators, rarely add much value. Jobless growth: an emerging concern For the first time in its history, India's economy grew at around 9% per annum between 2005 and 2007. Ever since, GDP has been progressing at a much slower pace of around 5%, primarily as a corollary of the global financial crisis in 2008, even though it did bounce back briefly between 2009 and 2011 India has experienced mixed fortunes in recent years. On the positive side, one could cite the systematic reduction in poverty rates, improvements in the macro-economic fundamentals that nurture economic growth, a greater flow of both inward and outward foreign direct investment (FDI), the emergence of India since 2005 as the world leader for exports of computer and information services and the country's evolution into a hub for what are known as 'frugal innovations', some of which have been exported to the West. On the down side, there is evidence of growing inequality in income distribution, a high inflation rate and current deficit, as well as sluggish job creation despite economic growth, a phenomenon that goes by the euphemism of 'jobless growth'. As we shall see, public policy has strived to reduce the deleterious effects of these negative features without imperilling the positive ones. India's foreign policy will not break with the past The Modi government's foreign policy is unlikely to depart from that of previous governments which have considered, in the words of India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, that 'ultimately, foreign policy is the outcome of economic policy.' In 2012–2013, India's three biggest export markets were the United Arab Emirates, USA and China. It is noteworthy, however, that Narendra Modi is the first Indian prime minister to have invited all the heads of government of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) to his swearing-in ceremony on 26 May 2014. All accepted the invitation. Moreover, at the November 2014 SAARC summit,

Prime Minister Modi appealed to SAARC members to give Indian companies greater investment opportunities in their countries, in return for better access to India's large consumer market. When it comes to innovation, Western nations will no doubt remain India's primary trading partners, despite India's ties to the other BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, China and South Africa), which resulted in the signing of an agreement in July 2014 to set up the New Development Bank (or BRICS Development Bank), with a primary focus on lending for infrastructure projects.⁵ Three factors explain India's continued reliance on Western science and technology (S&T). First among them is the growing presence of Western multinationals in India's industrial landscape. Secondly, a large number of Indian firms have acquired companies abroad; these tend to be in developed market economies. Thirdly, the flow of Indian students enrolling in science and engineering disciplines in Western universities has increased manifold in recent years and, as a result, academic exchanges between Indian and Western nations are very much on the rise. India is also collaborating on some of the most sophisticated scientific projects in the world. India's Atomic Energy Commission participated in the construction of the world's largest and most powerful particle accelerator, the Large Hadron Collider (LHC), which came on stream in 2009 at the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN) in Switzerland; several Indian institutions are involved in a multiyear experiment⁷ which uses the LHC. India is now participating in the construction of another particle accelerator in Germany, the Facility for Antiproton and Ion Research (FAIR), which will host scientists from about 50 countries from 2018 onwards. India is also contributing to the construction of the International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor in France by 2018. Indian science has nonetheless had its ups and downs and the country has historically given more importance to producing science than technology. As a result, Indian companies have had less success in manufacturing products which require engineering skills than in science-based industries like pharmaceuticals. In recent years, the business enterprise sector has become increasingly dynamic. We shall begin by analysing this trend, which is rapidly reshaping the Indian landscape. The three biggest industries – pharmaceuticals, automotive and computer software – are all business-oriented. Even

frugal innovation tends to be oriented towards products and services. Among government agencies, it is the defence industry which dominates R&D but, up until now, there has been little transfer of technology to civil society. That is about to change. In order to sustain India's high-tech capacity, the government is investing in new areas such as aircraft design, nanotechnology and green energy sources. It is also using India's capabilities in information and communication technologies (ICTs) to narrow the urban-rural divide and setting up centres of excellence in agricultural sciences to reverse the worrying drop in yields of some staple food crops. In recent years, industry has complained of severe shortages of skilled personnel, as we saw in the UNESCO Science Report 2010. University research has also been in decline. Today, universities perform just 4% of Indian R&D. The government has instigated a variety of schemes over the past decade to correct these imbalances. The latter part of this essay will be devoted to analysing how effective these schemes have been.

Trends in Industrial Research

Business R&D is growing but not R&D intensity overall. The only key indicator which has stagnated in recent years is the measure of India's R&D effort. Sustained economic growth pushed gross domestic expenditure on research and development (GERD) up from PPP\$ 27 billion to PPP\$ 48 billion between 2005 and 2011 but this growth of 8% per annum (in constant PPP\$) was only sufficient to maintain the country's GERD/GDP ratio at the same level in 2011 as six years earlier: 0.81% of GDP. India's Science and Technology Policy of 2003 has thus failed to realize its objective of carrying GERD to 2.0% of GDP by 2007. This has forced the government to set back its target date to 2018 in the latest Science, Technology and Innovation Policy (2013). China, on the other hand, is on track to meet its own target of raising GERD from 1.39% of GDP in 2006 to 2.50% by 2020. By 2013, China's GERD/GDP ratio stood at 2.08%. The Science and Technology Policies of both 2003 and 2013 have emphasized the importance of private investment to develop India's technological capability. The government has used tax incentives to encourage domestic enterprises to commit more resources to R&D. This policy has evolved over time and is now one of the most generous incentive regimes

for R&D in the world: in 2012, one-quarter of industrial R&D performed in India was subsidized (Mani, 2014). The question is, have these subsidies boosted investment in R&D by the business enterprise sector? Public and private enterprises are certainly playing a greater role than before; they performed nearly 36% of all R&D in 2011, compared to 29% in 2005. Approximately 80% of all foreign and domestic patents granted to Indian inventors (excluding individuals) went to private enterprises in 2013. As a corollary of this trend, research councils are playing a smaller role than before in industrial R&D. India is surfing the globalization wave to develop innovation Thanks to a surge in FDI in both manufacturing and R&D over the past five years, foreign multinational companies have been playing a growing role in innovation and patenting in India. In 2013, foreign companies represented 81.7% of domestic patents obtained from the USPTO; in 1995, they had accounted for just 22.7% of the total (Mani, 2014). The main policy challenge will be to effect positive spillovers from these foreign companies to the local economy, something that neither the Science, Technology and Innovation Policy (2013), nor current FDI policies have explicitly factored into the equation. At the same time, Indian companies have acquired knowledge assets from abroad through a wave of cross-border mergers and acquisitions. In the first wave, there was Tata's acquisition of the Corus Group plc (today Tata Steel Europe Ltd) in 2007, giving Tata access to car-grade steel technology; this was followed by the acquisition of German wind turbine manufacturer Senvion (formerly REpower Systems) by Suzlon Energy Ltd in December 2009. More recent examples are: n Glenmark Pharmaceuticals' opening of a new monoclonal antibody manufacturing facility in La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland, in June 2014, which supplements Glenmark's existing in-house discovery and development capabilities and supplies material for clinical development; n Cipla's announcement in 2014 of its fifth global acquisition deal within a year, by picking up a 51% stake for US\$ 21 million in a pharmaceuticals manufacturing and distribution business in Yemen; India has become a hub for frugal innovation Meanwhile, India has become a hub for what is known as frugal innovation. These products and processes have more or less the same features and capabilities as any other original product but cost significantly less to produce. They are most common in the health sector, particularly in the form of medical devices. Frugal innovation

or engineering creates high-value products at an extremely low cost for the masses, such as a passenger car or a CAT scanner. Firms of all shapes and sizes employ frugal methods: start-ups, established Indian companies and even multinationals. Some multinationals have even established foreign R&D centres in India, in order to incorporate frugal innovation into their business model. The government sector is the main employer of scientists. If you take a group of 100 researchers in India, 46 will work for the government, 39 for industry, 11 for academia and 4 for the private non-profit sector. This makes the government the main employer. The government sector also spends the majority of the R&D budget (60%), compared to 35% for industry and just 4% for universities. The government organizes its R&D through 12 scientific agencies and ministries. These have performed about half of GERD since 1991 but much of their output has little connection with business enterprises in either the public or private sectors. One-quarter of research in the government sector is devoted to basic research (23.9% in 2010). The Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO)¹¹ alone accounts for about 17% of GERD and just under 32% of the government outlay in 2010, twice as much as the next biggest agency, the Department of Atomic Energy, which nevertheless increased its share from 11% to 14% between 2006¹² and 2010, at the expense of DRDO and the Department of Space. The government has raised funding levels for the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) slightly (9.3% in 2006), at the expense of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research (11.4% in 2006). A first: defence technologies will be adapted to civilian use. Almost the entire output of defence R&D goes to the military for the development of new forms of weaponry, like missiles. There are very few recorded instances of defence research results being transferred to civilian industry, unlike in the USA where such transfers are legendary. One example of this wasted technological capability is the loss to India's aeronautical industry, where a considerable amount of technological capability has been built around military aircraft without any transfer to civilian craft. This state of affairs is about to change with the launch of a joint initiative in 2013 by DRDO and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) for Accelerated Technology Assessment and Commercialization¹³. The aim is to create a commercial channel for orienting technologies developed by DRDO towards

national and international commercial markets for civilian use. This programme is the first of its kind for DRDO. As many as 26 DRDO labs across India were participating in the programme in 2014, while FICCI assessed over 200 technologies from sectors as diverse as electronics, robotics, advanced computing and simulation, avionics, optronics, precision engineering, special materials, engineering systems, instrumentation, acoustic technologies, life sciences, disaster management technologies and information systems. A new Academy of Scientific and Innovative Research The CSIR has a network of 37 national laboratories which undertake cutting-edge research across a vast spectrum of fields, including radio and space physics, oceanography, drugs, genomics, biotechnology, nanotechnology, environmental engineering and IT. CSIR's 4200 scientists (3.5% of the country's total) bat above their weight, authoring 9.4% of India's articles in the Science Citation Index. The rate of commercialization of patents emanating from CSIR laboratories is also above 9%, compared to a global average of 3–4%.¹⁴ Despite this, CSIR scientists interact little with industry, according to the Comptroller and Auditor General. In order to improve its profile, the CSIR has put in place three broad strategies since 2010. The first consists in combining the skill sets in a range of its laboratories to create networks for the execution of a specific project. The second strategy consists in setting up a series of innovation complexes to foster interaction with micro-enterprises and SMEs, in particular. So far, three innovation complexes have been established in Chennai, Kolkatta and Mumbai. The third strategy consists in offering postgraduate and doctoral degrees in highly specialized fields where such training is not easily available in traditional universities; this led to the establishment of the Academy of Scientific and Innovative Research in 2010, which recently awarded its first master's degrees and PhDs in science and engineering. India's scientific councils can call upon the services of the National Research and Development Corporation (NRDC). It functions as a link between scientific organizations and industries eager to transfer the fruits of endogenous R&D to industry. The NRDC has a number of intellectual property and technology facilitation centres and, on campuses around the country in major Indian cities, university innovation facilitation centres. The NRDC has transferred approximately 2 500 technologies and ap-

proximately 4 800 licensing agreements since its inception in 1953. The number of technologies licenced by NRDC increased from 172 during the Eleventh Five-year Plan period (2002–2007) to 283 by 2012. Despite these apparent instances of technology transfer, NRDC is not generally considered as having been successful in commercializing technologies generated by the CSIR system. Plans to become a nanotech hub by 2017 In recent years, the government has paid growing attention to nanotechnology.¹⁹ A Nano Mission Project was launched in India by the Eleventh Five-Year Plan (2007–2012), with the Department of Science and Technology serving as a nodal agency. A sum of Rs 100 billion was sanctioned over the first five-year period to build R&D capabilities and infrastructure in nanotechnology. The Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2012–2017) aims to take this initiative forward, in order to make India a ‘global knowledge hub’ in nanotechnology. To this end, a dedicated institute of nanoscience and technology is being set up and postgraduate programmes in 16 universities and institutions across the country are due to be launched. The Nano Mission Project is also funding a number of basic research projects²⁰ centred on individual scientists: for 2013–2014, about 23 such projects were sanctioned for a three-year period; this brings the total number of projects funded since the Nano Mission’s inception to about 240. The Consumer Products Inventory maintains a live register of consumer products that are based on nanotechnology and available on the market (Project on Emerging Nano Technologies, 2014). This inventory lists only two personal care products that have originated from India and the firm which developed these products is a foreign multinational. However, the same database lists a total of 1 628 products around the world, 59 of which come from China. In 2014, the government set up a nanomanufacturing technology centre within the existing Central Manufacturing Technology Institute. In its union budget for 2014–2015, the government then announced its intention to strengthen the centre’s activities through a public–private partnership. In short, nanotechnology development in India is currently oriented more towards building human capacity and physical infrastructure than the commercialization of products, which remain minimal. As of 2013, India ranked 65th worldwide for the number of nano-articles per million inhabitants

PART II. HISTORY, ETHNICAL COMPLEXITY AND LANGUAGE

The History of Indina as a Key Contributor to Cultural and Lingual Diversity

Mark Twain once wrote: “India is the cradle of the human race, the birthplace of human speech, the mother of history, the grandmother of legend, and the great grand mother of tradition. Our most valuable and most astrictive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India only!”

In this day and age India is globally recognized as a nation of complex multiplicities. The population, estimated at 936.5 million in 2005, is not only immense but also has been highly varied throughout recorded history; its systems of values have always encouraged diversity. The linguistic requirements of numerous former empires, an independent nation, and modern communication are superimposed on a heterogeneous sociocultural base. Almost 8 per cent of the population, approaching 65 million people at the time of the 1991 census, belongs to social groups recognized by the government as Scheduled Tribes¹, with social structures somewhat different from the mainstream of society.

To gain even a superficial understanding of the relationships governing the huge number of ethnic, linguistic, and regional groups, the country should be visualized not as a nation-state but as the seat of a major world civilization on the scale of Europe, having several thousand communities, with numbers ranging from several million to under one hundred, pursuing their own style of dress, food habits, rituals and customs, patterns of housing, language, religion and identity.

India was founded in 2500 BC on the banks of the Lower Indus River in South India. Currently archeologists refer to this culture as Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro once two main cities are discovered on the excavations sites. Its people spoke various languages known as Dravidian or Dravidian family of languages.

Present-day historians still disagree over the year the North of the country was settled, but the majority concurs with the fact that it could be a

¹A *scheduled tribe* – a socially or economically backward Indian tribe, given special privileges by the government

century earlier or later. The inhabitants of that civilization are called the Aryans, since they migrated from the European mainland, especially the Caucasian mountainside and spoke a multiplicity of languages descending from the Indo-European family of languages.

Thus linguistically India splits up into two major language families, the Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian languages¹. The Indic (or Indo-Aryan) languages, a branch of the Indo-European group of languages, were the language of the central Asian peoples who invaded India. Most of Indian languages of the north belong to this group. The Dravidian languages, on the other hand (e.g. Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam) are native to south India (although they are influenced by Sanskrit and Hindi)². The country's geographical features, namely location of rivers, mountains, deserts and forests, facilitated a natural barrier between the south and the north making it difficult for those languages to mingle and assimilate. Even today, as one country, the languages and dialects spoken in India differ greatly from each other in terms of script, sounding, grammar, rhythm and pitch. Further, diversity of religions, gods and deities, caste system and other social and economical factors contributed to nurturing this wide range of language variants, dialects and accents within one country.

Sir George Grierson's twelve-volume Linguistic Survey of India, published between 1903 and 1923, identified 179 languages and 544 dialects. The 1921 census listed 188 languages and 49 dialects. The 1961 census listed 184 "mother tongues," including those with fewer than 10,000 speakers. This census also gave a list of all the names of mother tongues provided by the respondents themselves; the list totals 1,652 names. The 1981 census – the last census to tabulate languages – reported 112 mother tongues with more than 10,000 speakers and almost 1 million people speaking other languages. The encyclopedic People of India series, published by the government's Anthropological Survey of India in the 1980s and early 1990s, identified 75 "major languages" within a total of 325 languages used in Indian households. In the late 1990s, there were 32 languages with 1 million or more speakers.

¹Indian Culture.1998 (appendices 1 and 2).

²Culture on [commercenetindia](http://commercenetindia.com). 1998

The Indian constitution recognizes official languages. Articles 343 through 351 address the use of Hindi, English, and regional languages for official purposes, with the aim of a nationwide use of Hindi while guaranteeing the use of minority languages at the state and local levels. Hindi has been designated India's official language, although many impediments to its official use exist.

Hindi, the Official Language

Hindi descends directly from Sanskrit. More than 180 million people in India regard Hindi as their mother tongue. It belongs to the Indo-Aryan group of languages¹. It is, according to the Article 343 (1) of the Constitution, the Official Language of the Union².

But the trickier the position of Hindi as the Official Language of the Union becomes the far southwards in India one goes: while it is the predominant language in the north, only few people can speak it in the south. The most ferocious opposition toward the adoption of Hindi comes from the south; along with the strongest support for the retention of English³.

Many Indian nationalists originally intended that Hindi would replace English – the language of British rule – as a medium of common communication. Both Hindi and English are extensively used, and each has its own supporters. Native speakers of Hindi, who are concentrated in North India, contend that English, as a relic from the colonial past and spoken by only a small fraction of the population, is hopelessly elitist and unsuitable as the nation's official language. Advocates of English argue, in contrast, that the use of Hindi is unfair because it is a liability for those Indians who do not speak it as their native tongue. English, they say, at least represents an equal handicap for Indians of every region.

English continues to serve as the language of prestige. Efforts to switch to Hindi or other regional tongues encounter stiff opposition both from those who know English well and whose privileged position requires proficiency in that tongue and from those who see it as a means of upward mobility. Partisans of English also maintain it is useful and indeed necessary

¹Hindi. 1998

²India Constitution. 1998

³Culture on Commercenetindia. 1998

as a link to the rest of the world, that India is lucky that the colonial period left a language that is now the world's predominant international language in the fields of culture, science, technology, and commerce. They hold, too, that widespread knowledge of English is necessary for technological and economic progress and that reducing its role would leave India a backwater in world affairs.

In addition to the designation of Hindi as an official language and fourteen others as national languages, each state can choose its own regional language for use in local government affairs and in education among the languages spoken in its territory. India's constitution guarantees the right of all citizens to communicate in their own language with any governmental agency ¹.

Eighteen National Languages of India

Officially, 15 national languages are recognized by the Indian government. In many cases the State boundaries have been drawn on linguistic lines. The acknowledged languages are: Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. The constitution's Eighth Schedule, as amended by Parliament in 1992, lists 18 official or Scheduled Languages. They are Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu. Of the official languages, approximately² 403 million people, or about 43 per cent of the estimated total 2005 population, speak Hindi as their mother tongue. Bengali (7,5%), Telugu (7,4%), Marathi (7,2%) and Tamil (6,9%) rank next, each the mother tongue of about 37 million to 47 million people; Urdu (5,1%), Gujarati (4,2%), Malayalam (3,8%), Kannada (3,8%), Oriya (3,4%).³ are claimed by approximately 19 million to 28 million people; Bhojpuri, Punjabi, and Assamese by 1 to 2 per cent (9 million to 19 million people); and all other languages by less than 1 per cent (less than 9 million speakers) each.

¹ Bonvillain 1993: 304

² Precise numbers of speakers of these languages are not known and estimates are subject to considerable variation because of the use of multiple languages by individual speakers.

³India 2006:18

Since independence in 1947, linguistic affinity has served as a basis for organizing interest groups; the “language question” itself has become an increasingly sensitive political issue. Efforts to reach a consensus on a single national language that transcends the myriad linguistic regions and is acceptable to diverse language communities have been largely unsuccessful. In the early 1950s, the Indian government recognized a serious problem of linguistic and ethnic diversity. As a solution to the problem, states were established along linguistic lines, so that in all but two of India's eighteen states the majority spoke a common language¹.

Linguistic diversity is apparent on a variety of levels. Major regional languages have stylized literary forms, often with an extensive body of literature, which may date back from a few centuries to two millennia ago. These literary languages differ markedly from the spoken forms and village dialects that coexist with a plethora of caste idioms and regional lingua francas. Part of the reason for such linguistic diversity lies in the complex social realities of South Asia. India's languages reflect the intricate levels of social hierarchy and caste. Individuals have in their speech repertoire a variety of styles and dialects appropriate to various social situations. In general, the higher the speaker's status, the more speech forms there are at his or her disposal. Speech is adapted in countless ways to reflect the specific social context and the relative standing of the speakers.

There is an ongoing fear that Indian languages will be ignored as English is becoming more and more popular in India.

Nowadays, however, something is being done to keep Indian native languages alive. Computer applications, for instance, are appearing in Indian languages, and training centres have been set up to teach them to people in Indian languages²; three languages are taught in the schools; Regional Language for identity, Hindi for national pride and English to compete in the world of globalization.

Determining what should be called a language or a dialect is more political than a linguistic question. Sometimes the word language is applied to

¹ Bonvillain 1993: 303

²The Bline on Indiaserver. 1997.

a standardized and prestigious form, recognized as such over a large geographic area, whereas the word dialect is used for the various forms of speech that lack prestige or that are restricted to certain regions or castes but are still regarded as forms of the same language. Sometimes mutual intelligibility is the criterion: if the speakers can understand each other, even though with some difficulty, they are speaking the same language, although they may speak different dialects. However, speakers of Hindi, Urdu, and Punjabi can often understand each other, yet they are regarded as speakers of different languages. Whether or not one thinks Konkani – spoken in Goa, Karnataka, and the Konkan region of Maharashtra – is a distinct language or a dialect of Marathi has tended to be linked with whether or not one thinks Goa ought to be merged with Maharashtra. The question has been settled from the central government's point of view by making Goa a state and Konkani a Scheduled Language. Moreover, the fact that the Latin script is predominantly used for Konkani separates it further from Marathi, which uses the Devanagari script. However, Konkani is also sometimes written in Devanagari and Kannada scripts.

Regional languages are an issue in the politically charged atmosphere surrounding language policy. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, attempts were made to redraw state boundaries to coincide with linguistic usage. Such efforts have had mixed results. Linguistic affinity has often failed to overcome other social and economic differences. In addition, most states have linguistic minorities, and questions surrounding the definition and use of the official language in those regions are fraught with controversy.

States have been accused of failure to fulfill their obligations under the national constitution to provide for the education of linguistic minorities in their mother tongues, even when the minority language is a Scheduled Language. Although the constitution requires that legal documents and petitions may be submitted in any of the Scheduled Languages to any government authority, this right is rarely exercised. Under such circumstances, members of linguistic minorities may feel they and their language are oppressed by the majority, while people who are among linguistic majorities may feel threatened by what some might consider minor concessions. Thus, attempts to make seemingly minor accommodations for social diversity may have

extensive and volatile ramifications. For example, in 1994 a proposal in Bangalore to introduce an Urdu-language television news segment (aimed primarily at Muslim viewers) led to a week of urban riots that left dozens dead and millions of dollars in property damage.

Hinglish¹

The language Hinglish involves a hybrid mixing of Hindi and English within conversations, individual sentences and even words. An example: “She was *bhunno*-ing the *masala-s_ jub_ phone ki ghuntee bugee*.” Translation: “She was frying the spices when the phone rang”. What makes Hinglish especially quaint is its love of the continuous tense and the way it dispenses with articles like “the” and “a”.

It is gaining popularity as a way of speaking that demonstrates you are modern, yet locally grounded.

New research has found that while the hybrid language is not likely to replace English or Hindi in India, more people are fluent in Hinglish than they are in English.

English fluency is socially prestigious and important for job success and upward mobility. But, acquiring fluent English (or any language) requires rich and consistent language exposure. In India, this is largely limited to the urban upper classes. Together, these two factors – limited English access and the desirability of becoming an English speaker – could mean that communication styles which are more available to the masses, such as Hinglish, grow faster than English.

Shifts in use

As Hinglish is not yet an official language on census reports, we need to find other ways to assess the language shift. A new avenue is the statistical modelling of language competition. This helps explore and predict community-wide changes based on local cultural and social factors – for example, the number of languages taught in schools, what languages are useful in the job market and where specific languages are used.

¹ Chand V. The Rise and Rise of Hinglish in India. URL: <http://theconversation.com/the-rise-and-rise-of-hinglish-in-india-53476>.

Conflicts between the the desire for English fluency and the reality of limited English access and job opportunities make sense. While a small number of monolingual Hindi speakers may become fluent in English (shifting to the bilingual community), limited access to rich and consistent English language exposure will constrain this. Most will only learn some English, and move into the Hinglish community when they intermix this with their Hindi.

In the English job market, bilinguals who lose their jobs (and their need for fluent English), are likely to shift to Hinglish because of the local value associated with using the hybrid; but they are not likely to entirely lose English to become Hindi monolinguals – again because of the higher prestige of Hinglish.

Over time, the researchers suggest that all three speech communities will survive, and Hinglish is not likely to replace English or Hindi.

Yet broadly, the research suggests that the English/Hindi bilingual population has been overestimated in Indian census reports – Hinglish is actually overtaking full English fluency in India. The Hinglish population has evolved to fill a niche between monolingual Hindi and full bilingualism because Hinglish responds to the need for a modern, yet localised way speaking which is also available to the masses.

Language Families of India

The languages of India belong to four major families: *Indo-European* – the *Indo-Aryan* and *Germanic* – *English*, the *Dravidian*, the *Austroasiatic*, and the *Sino-Tibetan*, with the overwhelming majority of the population speaking languages belonging to the first two families. A fifth family, *Andamanese*, is spoken by at most a few hundred among the indigenous tribal peoples in the Andaman Islands, and has no agreed upon connections with families outside them. The four major families are as different in their form and construction as are, for example, the Indo-European and Semitic families. A variety of scripts are employed in writing the different languages. Furthermore, most of the more widely used Indian languages exist in a number of different forms or dialects influenced by complex geographic and social patterns.

About 80 per cent of all Indians – nearly 750 million people based on 2005 population estimates – speak one of the Indo-Aryan groups of languages. Persian and the languages of Afghanistan are close relatives, belonging, like the Indo-Aryan languages, to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. Brought into India from the northwest during the second millennium B.C., the Indo-Aryan tongues spread throughout the north, gradually displacing the earlier languages of the area.

Modern linguistic knowledge of this process of assimilation comes through the Sanskrit language employed in the sacred literature known as the Vedas. Over a period of centuries, Indo-Aryan languages came to predominate in the northern and central portions of South Asia.

As Indo-Aryan speakers spread across northern and central India, their languages experienced constant change and development. By about 500 B.C., Prakrits, or "common" forms of speech, were widespread throughout the north. By about the same time, the "sacred," "polished," or "pure" tongue – Sanskrit – used in religious rites had also developed along independent lines, changing significantly from the form used in the Vedas. However, its use in ritual settings encouraged the retention of archaic forms lost in the Prakrits. Concerns for the purity and correctness of Sanskrit gave rise to an elaborate science of grammar and phonetics and an alphabetical system seen by some scholars as superior to the Roman system. By the fourth century B.C., these trends had culminated in the work of Panini, whose Sanskrit grammar, the *Ashtadhyayi* (Eight Chapters), set the basic form of Sanskrit for subsequent generations. Panini's work is often compared to Euclid's as an intellectual feat of systematization.

The Prakrits continued to evolve through everyday use. One of these dialects was Pali, which was spoken in the western portion of peninsular India. Pali became the language of Theravada Buddhism; eventually it came to be identified exclusively with religious contexts. By around A.D. 500, the Prakrits had changed further into Apabhramshas, or the "decayed" speech. It is from these dialects that the contemporary Indo-Aryan languages of South Asia developed. The rudiments of modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars were in place by about A.D. 1000 to 1300.

It would be misleading, however, to call Sanskrit a dead language because for many centuries huge numbers of works in all genres and on all subjects continued to be written in Sanskrit. Original works are still written in it, although in much smaller numbers than formerly. Many students still learn Sanskrit as a second or third language, classical music concerts regularly feature Sanskrit vocal compositions, and there are even television programs conducted entirely in Sanskrit.

Around 18 per cent of the Indian populace (about 169 million people in 2005) speak Dravidian languages. Most Dravidian speakers, as mentioned above, reside in South India, where Indo-Aryan influence was less extensive than in the north. Only a few isolated groups of Dravidian speakers, such as the Gonds in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, and the Kurukhs in Madhya Pradesh and Bihar, remain in the north as representatives of the Dravidian speakers who presumably once dominated much more of South Asia.¹ The oldest documented Dravidian language is Tamil, with a substantial body of literature, particularly the Cankam poetry, going back to the first century A.D. Kannada and Telugu developed extensive bodies of literature after the sixth century, while Malayalam split from Tamil as a literary language by the twelfth century. In spite of the profound influence of the Sanskrit language and Sanskritic culture on the Dravidian languages, a strong consciousness of the distinctness of Dravidian languages from Sanskrit remained. All four major Dravidian languages had consciously differentiated styles varying in the amount of Sanskrit they contained. In the twentieth century, as part of an anti-Brahman movement in Tamil Nadu, a strong movement arose to "purify" Tamil of its Sanskrit elements, with mixed success. The other three Dravidian languages were not much affected by this trend.

There are smaller groups, mostly tribal peoples, who speak Sino-Tibetan and Austroasiatic languages. Sino-Tibetan speakers live along the Himalayan fringe from Jammu and Kashmir to eastern Assam. They comprise about 1.3 per cent, or 12 million, of India's 2005 population. The Austroasiatic languages, composed of the Munda tongues and others thought to be related to them, are spoken by groups of tribal peoples from West Bengal

¹ The only other significant population of Dravidian speakers are the Brahuis in Pakistan.

through Bihar and Orissa and into Madhya Pradesh. These groups make up approximately 0.7 per cent (about 6.5 million people) of the population.

Despite the extensive linguistic diversity in India, many scholars treat South Asia as a single linguistic area because the various language families share a number of features not found together outside South Asia. Languages entering South Asia were "Indianized." Scholars cite the presence of retroflex consonants, characteristic structures in verb formations, and a significant amount of vocabulary in Sanskrit with Dravidian or Austro-Asiatic origin as indications of mutual borrowing, influences, and counterinfluences. Retroflex consonants, for example, which are formed with the tongue curled back to the hard palate, appear to have been incorporated into Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages through the medium of borrowed Dravidian words.

Multilingualism in the Context of India

Core Contributors to Multilingualism in India

Linguistic diversity or multilingualism is found in most present-day nations. *The Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language* defines a *multilingual person* as "one able to speak more than two languages with approximately equal facility"¹. According to Fasold², there are four different kinds of historical patterns that can lead to societal multilingualism. These patterns are migration, imperialism, federation and border area multilingualism. In the context of India, it is reasonable to focus on the pattern of imperialism.

The subtypes of imperialism are colonization, annexation, and economic imperialism. Typical of any imperialist processes is that relatively few people from the controlling nationality take up residence in the new area. Former British, French, Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch colonies in Africa, Asia and South America can serve as examples.

Although relatively few people come to live in the subjugated territories, the language becomes very important in the territory. In annexation and colonization, the imperialist language is likely to be used in government and

¹ Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged, 1996: 940

² Fasold 1984: 9

education; in economic imperialism, the imperialist language is necessary for international commerce and finance: a foreign language will become widely used because of the economic advantage associated with it.

In India there are over 900 million people and more than one thousand languages; the area is thus one of the most diverse linguistic and cultural areas in the world. Thus, it comes as no surprise that there are many problems in classifying and labeling languages in India. One reason is that languages tend to fade into other ones, so that it is difficult to say which are different languages, or which are just dialects of one language.

In 1971, it was estimated that the rate of bilingualism in India was 13%. 99% of English speakers are second-language speakers, whereas in many other languages there are no non-native speakers at all (although there are large numbers of native speakers)¹.

Spolsky describes the situation on the Indian subcontinent as one highlighting the “multitude of problems facing a political unit that contains a great number of languages”. He further points out that it comes as no surprise that India has some difficulty in setting up a language policy: the constitution, for example, avoids choosing a single official language².

D.P. Pattanayak describes Indian shared multilingualism as a non-conflicting type, in which different languages are allocated different functions. He describes mother tongue as the “expression of primary identity and of group solidarity”. People are identified with certain linguistic, ethnic, religious or cultural groups through ones mother tongue. “Mother tongue anchors the child to culture”, Pattanayak continues. In his view of multilingualism, it can be successful only if there is respect for multiplicity, “respect for the different”, in a society³.

Spolsky points out that although there are so many languages in India, most of the people do not know any other Indian language than their own. English is most widely spoken second language, followed by Hindi. English is more useful as a "lingua franca"; the usefulness of Hindi as a lingua franca is regionally limited.

¹ Mahapatra 1990: 7

² Spolsky 1978: 42-43

³ Pattanayak 1990: viii-xii

The function of English in Indian Multilingual Background

English serves two purposes. First, it provides a linguistic tool for the administrative cohesiveness of a country, and, secondly, it serves as a language of wider communication. English functions in the Indian socio-cultural context to perform roles relevant and appropriate to the social, educational and administrative network of India.

English is used in both public and personal domains and its functions "extend far beyond those normally associated with an outside language, including the instrumental, the regulative, the interpersonal and the innovative, self-expressive function"¹. As pointed out before, the role of English is not replaceive: it overlaps with local languages in certain domains.

English is not classified as one of the 18 national languages of India². Although Hindi is the Official Language of the Union; provision was made in the Constitution that English would be used in official work until 1965, after which Hindi would replace it. Because of the opposition of the Dravidian south against Hindi, the Indians decided to further extend the role of English as an additional language with Hindi to be used for purposes of the Union and in Parliament. English is now recognized as an associate official language, with Hindi the official language. It is recognized as the official language in four states (Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Tripura) and in eight Union territories.

Various political and nationalistic pressures continue to push for the choice of Hindi as a national language. However, it is hard to remove English from its place as a language of wider communication, lingua franca, especially among the educated elite, or to replace the regional languages in mass communication by Hindi.

English plays a dominant role in the media; it has been used as a medium for inter-state communication, the pan-Indian press and broadcasting both before and since India's independence. The impact of English is not only continuing but increasing.

English in Education

¹ Kachru 1986a: 37

² The New Encyclopedic Britannica:286

English is taught as a second language at every stage of education in all states of India. But in India, as in other linguistically and culturally pluralistic societies, the position of English is determined by various political, cultural and social considerations. Kachru¹ sees primarily three questions which continue to be discussed. The first question concerns the position of English in early and in higher education. The second question is concerned with the roles of the regional language, Hindi and English. The third question deals with the model of English presented to Indian learners, and how that presentation can be made uniformly and effectively. The Government of India has primarily been concerned with the first two questions, which are directly related to language planning at both the national and state levels. There are, as yet, no acceptable answers to any of these questions².

In the 1960s a bitter conflict considering the status of various languages in India arose from concerns of the southern states (in which Hindi is not widely spoken) that the use of Hindi in the government services would disadvantage them for employment in those areas. They thought, also, that it was unfair for them having to learn both Hindi and English, whereas native speakers of Hindi would only have to learn English.

Consequently, the Three Language Formula was developed for the educational load to be more fair, to promote national integration, and, to provide wider language choice in the school curriculum³. According to the formula, people from non-Hindi areas study their regional language, Hindi, and English. Hindi speakers, on the other hand, study Hindi, English and another language. Baldrige quotes Kamal Sridhar (1989): "The Three Language Formula is a compromise between the demands of the various pressure groups and has been hailed as a masterly - if imperfect - solution to a complicated problem. It seeks to accommodate the interests of group identity (mother tongues and regional languages), national pride and unity (Hindi), and administrative efficiency and technological progress (English)"⁴.

¹ 1986b:20

² Kachru 1986b:20

³ Srivastava 1990: 43

⁴ Baldrige 1996: 12

Although the formula sounds fine in theory, Baldridge¹ states that the Three Language Formula has proved to be a failure in India as a whole, since it has not been followed in practice. Hindi states did not enforce the curriculum, and the anti-Hindi DMK government in Madras removed all teaching of Hindi from schools in Tamil Nadu.

Thus, in India, there is a great number of sociolinguistic pressures influencing the development of language education; Spolsky² has stated that the language policy of the school system is both a result of the pressures and a source of pressure itself. He, too, claims education to be the strongest weapon for enforcing language policy, listing the following pressures to have an effect on language planning in a society: family (attitudes at home), religion (if the maintenance of a language is based on a belief in a "holy tongue"), ethnicity, political pressures (aiming at establishing national unity; a language tradition is acknowledged as a powerful force within a nationalist movement), cultural pressures, economic pressures (which include commerce, advanced science and technology: the idea is that not all languages have modern technological vocabulary and it is more rational to adopt a language such as English for this purpose), the mass media (e.g., if there is no media in a particular language, there will be strong pressure to learn another language which is better provided), legal pressures (lack of the official language can often become the basis for discrimination), military pressure (desirability to use one common language)³.

Mark Tully⁴ points out that the elitist status of English in India creates problems for the economic development because that means that the education of the mass of people will be ignored. He argues that the solution for the situation would be that the spread of English throughout India would be encouraged so that it would become a "genuine link language of the country, not just, as it is at present, the link language of the elite".

Indian English Literature

India is the third largest English book-producing country after the United States and the United Kingdom, and the largest number of books are published

¹ ibid

² Spolsky 1978: 55-64

³ Spolsky 1978: 53-63

⁴ Tully 1997: 161-162

in English. Creative writing in English is considered an integral part of the literary traditions in South Asia. Indeed, according to the words of an Indian critic Iyengar three decades ago, quoted by Kachru, there seems to be an acceptance of Indian English literature as "one of the voices in which India speaks...it is a new voice, no doubt, but it is as much Indian as the others"¹. Sanyal claims, too, that Indian writing represents a new form of Indian culture. It has become assimilated and is today a dynamic element of the culture².

It can be said to be a challenge for the Indian novelist to write about his experiences in a language which has developed in a very different cultural setting; in a "foreign" language; how to create sense of reality and intensity of Indian life in the medium of English language³. The integrity of the writers writing in English is often suspect in their own country, and in other English-speaking countries they are treated as marginal to the mainstream of English literature (Kachru 1986b: 19). Indian English writers are sometimes accused of abandoning the national or regional language and writing in a western, "foreign", language; their commitment to the nation is considered suspect. Indian writing in English dates back to the 1830s, to Kashiprasad Ghosh, who is considered the first Indian poet writing in English. Sohee Chunder Dutt was the first writer of fiction. In the beginning, however, political writing was dominant⁴ (e.g. Rammohan Roy wrote about social reform and religion in the medium of English⁵).

Stylistic influence from the local languages seems to be a particular feature of much Indian literature in English; the local language structure is reflected as e.g. the literal translation of local idioms⁶. According to Kachru, however, South Asian novelists have not only nativized the language in terms of stylistic features; they have also acculturated English in terms of the South Asian context⁷.

A view of the mother tongue being the primary medium of literarycreativity is still generally held across cultures. Creativity in another tongue is

¹ Kachru 1994:528-529

² Sanyal 1987: 7

³ Sanyal 1987: 7

⁴ Kachru 1994: 530-531

⁵ Sanyal 1987:19

⁶ Platt et. al: 1984: 181

⁷ Kachru 1994: 530

often considered as a deviation from the norm. The native language is considered pure, it is treated as a norm. This causes difficulties for non-native writers of English: it is not rarely that they have to defend themselves writing in English¹.

The thematic range of literatures has been extended in India: in fact, Kachru points out that English has functioned "as the main agent for releasing the South Asian languages from the rigorous constraints of the classical literary traditions". English has created new experimentation in the field of Indian writing². Kachru points out that the linguistic centre of English has shifted. This means that English no longer only represents the Judeo-Christian traditions and Western concepts of literary creativity. The ranges of English have expanded, as the varieties within a variety have been formed³.

Comprehension Questions

1. How does the history of India facilitate the country's lingual and cultural diversity?
2. Give more examples of linguistic diversity in India.
3. What language families are presented in the territory of India?
4. Why did Indo-Aryan languages experience constant change and development?
5. What is the role of Sanskrit in present-day India?
6. What are the historical patterns leading to societal multilingualism?
7. What peculiarities does Indian multilingualism have?
8. What is the function of English in the history of India?

Questions for the Discussion

1. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the Three Language Formula?
2. In what ways multilingualism in Russia is different or similar to Indian multilingualism? Compare and contrast the language policy in both countries.

¹ Kachru 1997:66-87

² Kachru 1994: 535-536.

³ Kachru 1986a: 130-131

PART III. ENGLISH IN THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT

The Origins of English in India

The first speaker of English to visit India may have been an ambassador of Alfred the Great. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle states that in AD 884, Alfred sent an envoy to India with gifts for the tomb of St Thomas. His name appears in one later record as Swithelm, in another as Sigellinus. After this, there was little if any contact until the 16th century, when European commercial and colonial expansion began.

It was Vasco da Gama who, in 1498, came ashore at Calicut, and restored a link between Europe and the East. India was "a land of spices and of marvels" to European people. Portugal's control of the Indian Ocean lasted throughout the 16th century. The turning point came in the 1580s: in 1580 Portugal was annexed to Spain. Spain was not too interested in former interests of Portugal, and gradually the control of the East fell through their hands. The route to the East was opened to the Dutch and English. The Dutch were first ones to arrive in 1595. The Dutch objective was, plain and simply, the trade. They were not so interested in proselytizing people, or trying to expand their empire; they were monopolists rather than imperialists.¹

The document establishing the British contact with the Indian subcontinent was the Charter of December 31, 1600, granted by Queen Elizabeth I to a few merchants of London, giving them a monopoly of trade with India. It was the incident that formed the East India Company². The company's objective was actually the spices of Indonesia, but because of Dutch opposition (e.g. massacre of Amboina in 1623), they decided to change plans and go to India instead. The English won victory of some Portuguese in India as well, and the Mughal court, which resented the Portuguese, granted the English the right to trade and to establish factories in return for becoming the virtual naval auxiliaries of the empire³.

The English trade became more profitable than that of the Dutch, and the region gradually fell under British contact and domination. In 1818, the

¹ The New Encyclopaedia Britannica 1974: 392.

² Kachru 1982:353

³ The New Encyclopaedia Britannica 1974: 393.

British Empire became the British Empire of India, instead of the British Empire in India. The diplomatic settlement remained in force until 1947.¹

A question that has frequently been asked is: How was this sort of subjection of a whole subcontinent possible? Probably the answer lies in the innate divisiveness of Hindu society (class and caste divisions); for the Indians the neighbours were more unwelcome than outsiders; and the outsiders could actually help in defeating the neighbour. The outsiders were, in the end, accepted as masters; the Indians would rather be mastered by them than dominated by a rivaling family inside India.

Introduction of Bilingualism to India

Kachru identifies three phases in the introduction of bilingualism in English in India. The *first* one, the missionary phase, was initiated around 1614 by Christian missionaries. The *second* phase, the demand from the South Asian public (in the eighteenth century) was considered to come about through local demand, as some scholars were of the opinion that the spread of English was the result of the demand and willingness of local people to learn the language. There were prominent spokesmen for English. Kachru mentions two of them, Raja Rammohan Roy (1772-1833) and Rajunath Hari Navalkar (fl. 1770). Roy and Navalkar, among others, were persuading the officials of the East India Company to give instruction in English, rather than in Sanskrit or Arabic. They thought that English would open the way for people to find out about scientific developments of the West. Knowledge of Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic or of Indian vernaculars would not contribute to this goal².

A letter of Raja Rammohun Roy addressed to Lord Amherst (1773-1857) from the year 1823 is often presented as evidence of local demand for English. Roy embraced European learning, and in his opinion, English provided Indians with “the key to all knowledge - all the really useful knowledge which the world contains”³. In the letter Roy expresses his opinion that the available funds should be used for employing “European gen-

¹The New Encyclopaedia Britannica 1974: 401

²Kachru 1983: 67-68

³quoted in Bailey 1991: 136

tle men of talent and education to instruct the natives of India in mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, and other useful sciences, which the natives of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world”¹.

It was Roy's letter that has been claimed to be responsible for starting the *Oriental-Anglicist* controversy, the controversy over which educational policy would be suitable for India.

The *third* phase, the Government policy, begun in 1765, when the East India Company's authority was stabilized. English was established firmly as the medium of instruction and administration. The English language became popular, because it opened paths to employment and influence². English of the subject Indians became gradually a widespread means of communication.

During the governor generalship Lord William Bentinck in the early nineteenth century, India underwent many social reforms. English became the language of record of government and higher courts, and government support was given to the cultivation of Western learning and science through the medium of English. In this he was supported by Lord Macaulay.³

Early stages of Bilingualism

Lord Macaulay was a central figure in the language debate over which language(s) should be used as the medium of education in India. The Orientalists were in the favour of use of classical languages of Indian tradition, such as Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, which were not spoken as native languages. The Anglicists, on the other hand, supported English. Neither of these groups wanted to suppress the local vernaculars, mother tongues of the people. Both the groups agreed that education would be conducted in the vernacular during the first years of education. The Anglicist group included Charles Grant (1746-1823), Lord Moira (1754-1826) and T.B. Macaulay (1800-59); H.T. Prinsep (1792-1878) acted as the spokesman for the Orientalists group⁴.

¹ quoted in Kachru 1983: 68

² The New Encyclopaedia Britannica 1974: 406

³ *ibid*, 403.

⁴ Kachru 1986a: 35

The Anglicist group's views were expressed in the Minute of Macaulay, which is said to mark "the real beginnings of bilingualism in India"¹. According to the document, which had been prepared for the governor general William Bentinck, after listening to the argument of the two sides, a class should be formed in India, a group of people who would act as interpreters between the British and Indians, "a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect"²

Macaulay's proposal was a success; and the following year Lord Bentinck expressed his full support for the minute, declaring that the funds "administered on Public Instruction should be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language"³.

According to Bailey, in Macaulay's thinking Indian languages would be enriched by English, so that they could become vehicles for European scientific, historical and literary expression⁴. English gradually became the language of government, education, advancement, "a symbol of imperial rule and of self-improvement"⁵.

Macaulay justified the imposition of British power on the country by simply arguing that although this policy in India might seem controversial and strange sometimes, it can be so, for "the Empire is itself the strangest of all political anomalies...that we should govern a territory ten thousand miles from us. a territory larger and more populous than France, Spain, Italy and Germany put together...a territory inhabited by men differing from us in race, colour, language, manners, morals, religion; these are prodigies to which the world has seen nothing similar. Reason is confounded... General rules are useless where the whole is one vast exception. The Company is anomaly, but it is part of a system where everything is anomaly. It is strangest of all governments; but it is designed for the strangest of all Empires."⁶

According to Kachru, the Minute was highly controversial and far-reaching. It is said to be controversial because of the question of whether or

¹ McCrum et al. 1988: 325

² Bailey 1991: 138

³ *ibid*

⁴ *ibid*, 140

⁵ McCrum et al. 1988: 325

⁶ Bailey 1991: 137

not it was correct to impose an alien language on Indians. The Orientalists expressed their disagreeing view of the matter in a note dated 15 February 1835, but they could not stop it from passing, and had to give way¹. On 7 March 1835, the Minute received a Seal of Approval from Lord William Bentinck (1774-1839), and an official resolution on Macaulay's resolution was passed. This resolution "formed the cornerstone of the implementation of a language policy in India and ultimately resulted in the diffusion of bilingualism in English"².

There are many sharing the view of Alastair Pennycook that in fact both Anglicism and Orientalism really worked together towards the same direction. He rejects the view that Orientalism was somehow a "good and innocent project that only had the rights of the colonized people at heart". He claims that, in reality, Orientalism was as much part of colonialism as was Anglicism³. Although Orientalism is usually considered more sympathetic towards the local languages and cultures than Anglicism, it acknowledged the superiority of Western literature and learning, and it was a means to exercise social control over the people, and imposing of western ideas.

Pennycook claims, too, that although Macaulay is credited the most influential individual in the language question, the issue is more complex than simply Macaulay arriving in India, writing the Minute on education and then heading off back to England with having English firmly transplanted in the colony. In his view, then, it is important to understand that Macaulay just articulated a position which had been discussed for a long time already. He goes on further to argue that the Indian bourgeoisie was demanding English-language education as much as the missionaries and educators, seeing knowledge of English as an essential tool in gaining social and economic prestige.

In the following years, English was established firmly as the medium of instruction and administration by the British Raj (1765-1947). Indian education was ever greater anglicized as the English language became rooted in an alien linguistic, cultural, administrative and educational setting. The

¹ Kachru 1983: 68-69

² *ibid*, 68

³ Pennycook 1994: 103

first universities were established in India in 1857 in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. English became accepted as the language of the elite, administration, and pan-Indian press. English newspapers had an influential reading public. Indian literature in English was also developing¹.

English after Independence

The British were given a lot of political stature due to their political power, and they were required to adopt a pose that would fit their status. Language became a marker of the white man's power. Kachru quotes E. M. Forster in *A Passage to India*²: "India likes gods. And Englishmen like posing as gods". The English language was part of the pose and power. Indians accepted it, too.

English was used in India, and elsewhere in the colonies, as a tool of power to cultivate a group of people who identify with the cultural and other norms of the political elite. European values were, naturally, considered somehow inherently better whereas the indigenous culture was often considered somehow barbaric. English was considered as a "road to the light", a tool of "civilization". The Europeans thought that they can bring emancipation to the souls; they considered this as their duty. They sincerely thought they would contribute to the well-being of the native people in the colonies, and their language was elevated into being almost divine.

English provided a medium for understanding technology and scientific development. Non-western intellectuals admired accomplishments of the west. European literature was made available in colonies. Macaulay shows his ignorance towards the native languages in India by saying³: "I have never found one amongst them (the Orientalists) who would deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia."

In India, English gradually acquired socially and administratively the most dominant roles: the power and prestige of language was defined by the domains of language use. Ultimately the legal system, the national media

¹ Kachru 1983: 69

² Kachru 1986: 5

³ cited in Kachru 1986a: 7

and important professions were conducted in English. In the words of Kachru, skilled professional Indian became the symbol of Westernization and modernization. Raja Rammohan Roy was committed to the idea that the "European gentlemen of talent and education" should be appointed to instruct the natives of India. English came to be used by Indians, as well.¹

By the 1920s English had become the language of political discourse, intranational administration, and law, a language associated with liberal thinking. Even after the colonial period ended, English maintained its power over local languages².

English was eventually used against the Englishmen, their roles and intentions as it became the language of resurgence of nationalism and political awakening: the medium, ironically, was the alien language. Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869-1948), for instance, although struggled to create consensus for an acceptable native variety as the national language, expressed his message to the elite in English³.

Hindi vs. English

India, after becoming independent in 1947, was left with a colonial language, in this case English, as the language of government. It was thought that the end of the British Raj would mean the slow but sure demise of the English language in South Asia. This, of course, has not happened, for the speakers of the country's myriad tongues to function within a single administrative unit require some medium of common communication. The penetration of English in these societies is greater that it has ever been.

The choice of the tongue, known in India as the "link" language, has been a point of significant controversy since independence. Central government policy on the question has been necessarily equivocal. The vested interests proposing a number of language policies have made a decisive resolution of the "language question" all but impossible.

The central issue in the link-language controversy has been and remains whether Hindi should replace English. Proponents of Hindi as the link language assert that English is a foreign tongue left over from the British

¹ Kachru 1986a:7

² *ibid*, 8

³ Kachru 1986a: 8

Raj. English is used fluently only by a small, privileged segment of the population; the role of English in public life and governmental affairs constitutes an effective bar to social mobility and further democratization. Nationalist motivations were of the opinion that an indigenous Indian language should be adopted as the official language. Hindi, in this view, seemed most qualified for that, since it had more native speakers than any other Indian language, would be easier to spread because it would be more congenial to the cultural habits of the people and was already widely used in interethnic communication¹.

In addition, it was thought that linguistic unity was a prerequisite for political and national unity. Thus, Hindi was designated by the constitution as the language of communication between and within the states. It was to replace English within 15 years. The plan was that Hindi would be promoted so that it might express all parts of the "composite culture of India"².

There were, however, several problems with selecting Hindi, and since the protests were often violent (e.g. the riots in Tamil Nadu in May 1963, protesting against the imposition of Hindi), the government wanted to adapt a policy which would help to maintain the status quo. Firstly, Hindi is not evenly distributed throughout the country; e.g. in Tamil Nadu, in the south, only 0.0002 per cent of the people claimed knowledge of Hindi or Urdu, whereas in the northern states this figure can rise up to 96.7 per cent. Secondly, it was thought that the speakers of other languages would be offended by its selection; other Indian languages, for example Tamil and Bengali, had as much right to be national languages as Hindi. Dravidian-speaking southerners in particular felt that a switch to Hindi in the well-paid, nationwide bureaucracies, such as the Indian Administrative Service, the military and other forms of national service would give northerners an unfair advantage in government examinations. If the learning of English is burdensome, they argued, at least the burden weighs equally on Indians from all parts of the country. Thirdly, Hindi was thought to need vocabulary development before it could be used efficiently as a language of government.

¹ Fasold 1984: 24

² Spolsky 1978: 56

In spite of these problems, Hindi was chosen as the national language in the constitution, and English was to be replaced by Hindi in fifteen years' time. However, due to the continuous opposition in the south, this replacement was not politically possible. In 1967 a law was passed which allowed the use of both Hindi and English for all official purposes - and that situation still exists¹.

The controversy between Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani made the case for Hindi even worse. Support for Hindustani almost ended with independence; Hindi's supporters' enthusiasm was not, also, channeled in a constructive direction. As a result, English continues to be a language of both power and prestige².

In the meantime, an increasing percentage of Indians send their children to private English-medium schools, to help assure their offspring a chance at high-privilege positions in business, education, the professions, and government. There is little information on the extent of knowledge of English in India. Books and articles abound on the place of English in the Indian education system, job competition, and culture; and on its sociolinguistic aspects, pronunciation and grammar, its effect on Indian languages, and Indian literature in English. Little information is available, however, on the number of people who "know" English and the extent of their knowledge, or even how many people study English in school. In the 1981 census, 202,400 persons (0.3 percent of the population) gave English as their first language. Fewer than 1 % gave English as their second language while 14 % were reported as bilingual in two of India's many languages. However, the census did not allow for recording more than one second language and is suspected of having significantly underrepresented bilingualism and multilingualism.

The 1981 census reported 13.3 percent of the population as bilingual. The People of India project of the Anthropological Survey of India, which assembled statistics on communities rather than on individuals, found that only 34 percent of communities reported themselves as monolingual. An Assamese who also knew Bengali, or someone from a Marathi-speaking family living in Delhi who attended a Hindi-medium school, might give

¹ Fasold 1984: 24

² Kachru 1986a: 8

Bengali or Hindi as his or her second language but also know English from formal school instruction or picking it up on the street. It is suspected that many people identify language with literacy and hence will not describe themselves as knowing a language unless they can read it and, conversely, may say they know a language if they can make out its alphabet. Thus people who speak English but are unable to read or write it may say they do not know the language.

English-language daily newspapers have a circulation of 3.1 million copies per day, but each copy is probably read by several people. There are estimates of about 3 percent (some 27 million people) for the number of literates in English, but even if this percentage is valid, the number of people with a speaking knowledge is certainly higher than of those who read it. And, the figure of 3 percent for English literacy may be low. According to one set of figures, 17.6 million people were enrolled in English classes in 1977, which would be 3.2 percent of the population of India according to the 1971 census. Taking the most conservative evaluation of how much of the instruction would "stick," this still leaves a larger part of the population than 3 percent with some English literacy.

Some idea of the possibilities of studying English can be found in the 1992 Fifth All-India Education Survey. According to the survey, only 1.3 percent of primary schools, 3.4 percent of upper primary schools, 3.9 percent of middle schools, and 13.2 percent of high schools use English as a medium of instruction. Schools treating English as the first language (requiring ten years of study) are only 0.6 percent of rural primary schools, 2.8 percent of rural high schools, and 9.9 percent of urban high schools. English is offered as a second language (six years of study) in 51 percent of rural primary schools, 55 percent of urban primary schools, 57 percent of rural high schools, and 51 percent of urban high schools. As a third language (three years of study), English is offered in 5 percent of rural primary schools, 21 percent of urban primary schools, 44 percent of rural high schools, and 41 percent of urban high schools. These statistics show a considerable desire to study English among people receiving a mostly vernacular education, even in the countryside.

Today, in terms of numbers of English speakers, the Indian subcontinent ranks third in the world, after the USA and UK. An estimated 4% of the Indian population use English; although the number might seem small, out of the total population that is about 40 million people (in 2004). Although the number of speakers of English in India is somewhat limited (as compared to the total population), that small segment of the population controls domains that have professional prestige¹. English is virtually the first language for many educated Indians, and for many, who speak more than one language, English is the second one. Indian speakers of English are primarily bi- or multilingual Indians who use English as a second language in contexts in which English is used among Indians as a "link" or an "official" language. Only a minimal fraction of the English-using Indian population has any interaction with native speakers of English. According to Kachru's survey (the population of which was graduate faculty of English in the universities and colleges), only 65.64 percent had occasional interaction with native speakers of English; 11.79 percent had no interaction and 5.12 percent claimed to have daily interaction with native speakers of English.²

In higher education, English continues to be the premier prestige language. Careers in business and commerce, government positions of high rank (regardless of stated policy), and science and technology (attracting many of the brightest) continue to require fluency in English. It is also necessary for the many students who contemplate study overseas.

English as a prestige language and the tongue of first choice continues to serve as the medium of instruction in elite schools at every level without apology. All large cities and many smaller cities have private, English-language middle schools and high schools. Even government schools run for the benefit of senior civil service officers are conducted in English because only that language is an acceptable medium of communication throughout the nation.

Working-class parents, themselves rural-urban migrants and perhaps bilingual in their village dialect and the regional standard language, perceive English as the tool their children need in order to advance. Schools in which

¹ Kachru 1986a: 8

² Kachru 1986a: 110

English is the medium of instruction are a "growth industry." Facility in English enhances a young woman's chances in the marriage market – no small advantage in the often protracted marriage negotiations between families. The English speaker also encounters more courteous responses in some situations than does a speaker of an indigenous language.

Comprehension Check Questions

1. What incident triggered off the East India Company?
2. Specify the three phases in the introduction of bilingualism in India.
3. What are the differences between Orientalists and Anglicists?
4. What is the role of Lord Macaulay and his Minutes in the language policy of India?
5. What makes adopting Hindi as the national language difficult?
6. Why does English continue to be a language of both power and prestige?
7. Make comments on the results of the 1992 Fifth All-India Education Survey?

Questions for the Discussion

1. Why do you think the whole subcontinent is so easily subjected to the British?
2. How far do you agree with the opinion that English provided Indians with "the key to all knowledge"?
3. Why do you think Indians still speak English and don't want to switch to their native languages?
4. Do you think that all Indian schools should teach English or it must be limited to the elite schools only?
5. Give your pros and cons about adopting indigenous Indian languages as the national language of India?

PART IV. THE RISE OF INDIAN ENGLISH

Indianization of English

Indian nation features thousand communities, each practicing their own style of clothing, cooking, lodging, rites and traditions, patterns of tongue, religion and identity. But the overall underlying core value still is Indian.

The introduction of English to the Indian linguistic landscape, as mentioned above, opened with the dawn of the British colonial era, English began to develop roots in Indian education. A blueprint for India's educational policy was laid down in Lord Macaulay's Minute where he stated the mission for the British Raj to create "a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and intellect." At the same time Macaulay's attitudes toward Indian Languages and Educational Policy were as follows: "I have no knowledge of either Sanskrit or Arabic. But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value...I am quite ready to take the oriental learning at the valuation of the orientalist themselves. I have never found one amongst them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia."

Confronted with a new, exotic, and diverse culture, the British rulers were really at a loss to express themselves their own experience in India and to communicate effectively with the natives. Their subjects found themselves equally at a loss to communicate with them¹. Carrying the Indian Experience English had to change if it had to carry the Indian psyche and sociocultural experience in a meaningful way. It had to become one of the languages of India.

Raja Rao's once said on Indian English: "After language, the next problem is that of Style, The tempo of Indian life. Life must be infused into our India expression...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." And Raja Rao was not

¹An interesting record of earlier nuances of Indianization is found in Henry Yule, A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: the Anglo-Indian dictionary*. Ware: Wordsworth, 1996.

alone in pleading the Indian variety of English. Being a bi-product of the Indian cultural renaissance of the nineteenth century, Indianization of English has become a reality nowadays. Bilingualism/dialectalism, code mixing and code switching is a norm and mutual unintelligibility an exception: everyone is breaking the rules and being creative about how to use English. It is finally being claimed by Indians as their own, instead of a relic of the Raj.

Nationalization of Indian English

As a consequence 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. Braj B. Kachru uses the term 'nativization' to generalize the phenomenon in all 'non-native' varieties of English. This nativization is due both to transfer from local language and to the new cultural environment and communicative needs.¹

Indian languages also have cast a deep impact upon the English they use, resulting in the 'Indianization' of the English language and subsequently the emergence of a new variant of the English language. According to Ranjan Kumar Auddy, "the 'Indianization' of English is itself a process of decolonization, leading to the emergence of a separate variant of the English language called Indian English"².

Braj B. Kachru explains the phenomenon of 'Indianization' of the English language as "the acculturation of the Western language in the linguistic and cultural pluralistic context of the subcontinent" (³). Kachru uses the term both geographically and linguistically. Geographically, Indian English refers to the variety of languages that have developed in the Indian subcontinent and include Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan. In linguistic terms, the modifier *Indian* refers to the linguistic processes used by the Indians toward the Indianization of English which resulted in the *Indianness*

¹ Kachru, Braj B. Indian English: A Sociolinguistic Profile of a Transplanted Language. URL: <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED132854.pdf>

² Auddy R. K. In Search of Indian English: History, Politics and Indigenisation. Great Britain, Taylor & Francis Limited, 2021. Pp 3-8

³ Kachru, Braj B. Indian English: A Sociolinguistic Profile of a Transplanted Language. URL: <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED132854.pdf>

of English and is now explicit in the Indian English sound system, sentence construction, vocabulary, and meaning.

M. J. Warsi points to a number of key factors in the Indianization of the English media in India. These factors can be of communicative, socio-cultural, psycholinguistic and proper linguistic nature.¹

The communicative aspect involves convenience of communicating in the language. In a sense, the Indianization of English started as a matter of convenience, but soon it took on its own life and became an independent process with other primary purposes. One such purpose is ardently pursued by the English newspapers in India and other South Asian nations: communicating in a style and language that is easily understood by the growing reading public.

According to Anjali Puri, the rise of Indian English is also due to the success of writers like Arundhati Roy, Vikram Seth and Salman Rushdie: these writers have used English to portray Indian reality and it has given people the confidence to try out new words and play around with the language without fear of making a mistake². The language of English newspapers which is the media for communicating local, national, and international events is, therefore, a fascinating area underlying the formation of new expressions and styles which are intended to bring information within the reach of English news readers.

The sociocultural aspect of the Indianization of the English language reflects the need for verbalization of the concepts and realities inherent in Indian society.

Impact of socio-cultural norms

The Indian variety of English is significantly different from the native English varieties. In choices of words, in imagery, and in the nuances of meaning, the communicative strategy of Indian English have more or less an Indian flavor. Braj Kachru 1984, who has considered the process of In-

¹ Warsi M. J. Indianization of English Media in India: An Overview // Language In India. Vol. 4. Iss. 8. 2004. URL: <http://languageinindia.com/aug2004/indianizationofenglish2.html>

² Dhillon A. The Rise of Indian English. URL: www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1563290/the_rise_of_indian_english.html

dianization of English in detail, maintains that features of the English language in India have been considerably influenced by the Indian socio-cultural norms that stipulate rules by which word symbols are related to each other to transmit messages.

Importance socio-cultural associations

The socio-cultural association of lexical items is an important area of study in communication research. Native speakers of a language have a whole series of associations with certain items and these associations are common to the society as whole. Those who are not fully familiar with the socio-cultural norms of the society cannot fully appreciate these associations. Lack of acquaintance or inadequate understanding of these socio-culturally specific concepts reduces the communicative affectivity of a message.

Primary sources

Having made a research into the vocabulary of English newspapers in India, M. J. Warsi concludes: “These days the English news editors in India tend to use native words and this makes an interesting study. A close look at the Indian words used in leading English newspapers reveals that they are drawn mainly from two sources: (i) Hindi-Urdu, and (ii) the regional language. Interpolation of indigenous items especially where there are no near equivalents in English is a dominating phenomenon of the language of English newspapers. Words such as *Hawala*, *Lathicharge*, *Khadi*, *Satyagraha*, *bandh*, *dharna*, *gherao*, etc. are among the commonest of items in English newspapers. Note that such words come from a variety of meaning domains, not necessarily only from the political discourse. The interpolation of indigenous words in English dailies is a transparent phenomenon that no one can fail to notice.¹”

A complex network of relationships and meanings.

More often than not, word and meaning are interwoven into a complex network of relationship. Therefore, to appreciate an expression fully, a decoder must know not only what it refers to, but also where the boundaries are that separate form from the expressions of related meanings.

¹ Warsi M. J. Indianization of English Media in India: An Overview // Language in India. Vol. 4. Iss. 8. 2004. URL: <http://languageinindia.com/aug2004/indianizationofenglish2.html>

The importance of recognizing the boundaries between lexical items can further be illustrated by a brief look at polysemy: a term, which is used to describe a single word with several different but closely related meanings. Simply put, polysemy refers to any word having multiple meanings. In English, for example, we can talk about the 'head' of a person, the 'head of a pin,' or the 'head of an organization'. Knowing that a single word denotes a particular set of things in one language is, however, no guarantee that it will denote the same set of things in another language. And this assumption runs heavily through the Indianization process of English.

Code-mixing and code switching.

It is a common practice to code switch and code mix English words in Indian languages, e.g.

1. *Nene modhuve uutta **buffet style** ange **arrange** maadidharu* (Kannada)
– The marriage dinner was arranged in buffet style.
2. *Naale **extra** haalu thandh kodi.* – Tomorrow bring extra milk.

The use of Indian words in English is a part of pre-figurative force, which is also used as a strategy of communication. The application of this force makes the language use simpler, easily adaptable, and highly effective. It is a conscious effort of reducing incongruence. If we look at the examples from newspapers, the preference has been given to simple, adaptable, and highly communicative expressions like, *We have come to ask for Insaf. Vote for Vikas nothing else. Bandh disrupts life in the valley. Mulayam: An officer in the family of Jawans. I am protecting Izzat for everybody. Dumpy may have the reputation of being Goonda. Dharna against the construction of Tehri dam. Chandraswami gave Ashirwad to bride. Bandh cripples life in Darjeeling. A group of Sadhus to campaign against Pilot. Amarnath Yatra from August 16.*

The psychology behind Indianization

The notion of timelessness again goes in favor of these expressions because the mind easily selects it as a suitable label from the billions of traces stored in our minds. It also indicates that the management of the language of these newspapers is mainly based on the principles of accuracy, digging up of facts, and thoroughness of news coverage, rather than "proper" English usage. These newspapers have employed different mechanisms of

practical force to make their language simpler, adaptable, and highly communicative.

The term “recency of use” here refers to the expressions which are more recently used. The high frequency of occurrence of Indian words in newspapers as well as in everyday communication attests the hypothesis that Indian words have enough semantic potentialities to get across the inner feelings of language users.

Loan words

The most common mechanism is a straight borrowing from Indian languages. The news editors of English dailies seem to prefer these Indian words because of their brevity, wide currency, and ease in pronunciation. In some sense, these function more as idioms than as individual words. A few examples are: *dharma*, *fatwa*, *hindutva*, *hawala*, *bandh*, *manuwad*, *hartal*, *ashirwad*, *burkha*, *talaq*, *mazedar*, *swad*.

Borrowing

Borrowing to a greater extent is responsible for the blending of expressions. The process of blending is used in Indian English news media to nativize the expression. A foreign word along with the native word reduces the intensity of the foreignness of expression and thus becomes naturalized and nativized in course of time. Kachru¹ rightly observes that there are certain structural and contextual constraints on blended items. For example, in expressions such as Lathi-charge the Indianized element *lathi* cannot be substituted by another Indian expression *danda*. Nowhere in Indian English newspapers has an expression like *danda-charge* been used.

However, there are certain blended expressions where elements are interchangeable. For example, *police-station* and *police-thana* are equally acceptable in Indian English. Such expressions have become an integral part of the language of Indian English news media. Here are some more examples of blended expressions: *Perfect swad* for *Perfect Taste*; *Police chowki* for *Police Station*; *Police thana* for *Police Station*; *Mazdoor Union* for *Labour Union*; *Meat masala* for *Meat Spice*; *Rice thali* for *Rice Plate*; *Complete bandh* for *Complete Closure*; *Conditional samjhauta* for *Conditional*

¹ Warsi M. J. Indianization of English Media in India: An Overview // Language in India. Vol. 4. Iss. 8. 2004. URL: <http://languageinindia.com/aug2004/indianizationofenglish2.html>

Agreement; Nine puriah for *Nine Packet*; *Kitab* Centre for *Book Centre*; *Railway fatak* for *Railway Crossing*; *Political pandit* for *Political pundit*¹ (!); *Block parmukh* for *Head of a geographical Block*.

Loan Translation

Loan translation is a linguistic process that helps in lexical innovations in the language. An analysis of the English newspapers vocabulary reveals that loan translation helps in coining new expressions in Indian English through the process of imitation of Indian languages. For example, the expression like *dumb millions*, *any service for me*, *Rice eating ceremony*, *Bride showing*, *village elders*, *Marriage season*, etc., are literal translations of Indian expressions, and they have become expressive in the language of English news media.

The 50-year-old journalist said he was inspired by years of reading newspaper reports of politicians *air-dashing* to a destination, *issueless* couples (those without children) and people *preponing* (bringing forward) meetings. But such phrases are entrenched. A driver, when asked what he does, may refer to his occupation as *drivery*. He keeps his *stepney* (spare tyre) in the *dicky* (boot). Housemaids on their way to buy vegetables tell their employers they are going *marketing*. Receptionists ask callers, *what is your good name?* before informing them that the boss has gone *out of station* (out of town) with his *cousin-brother* (male cousin). A government official urged farmers in Rajasthan to grow *herbs in their backsides* (backyards)².

If spoken English can be curious, the written form is even more so. In railway offices, a standard opening line in correspondence is: *Dear Sir, with reference to your above see my below*. As in Britain, employers complain that the standard of English is so abysmal that recruits cannot write a sentence without three grammatical mistakes. One call centre executive in Bombay said a new recruit wrote an email that began: *I am in well here and hope you are also in the same well*.

Below comes a list of the latest lingo of loan translation as spoken on the streets of India: *Dear sir*, – popular opening line in official letters;

¹ pundit – пандит (титул, используемый в Индии в обращении к уважаемым людям); учёный индус; учёный муж

² Dhillon A. The Rise of Indian English. URL: www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1563290/the_rise_of_indian_english.html

Teachress – a female teacher; *Timepass* – a trivial activity that passes the time; *She freaked out last night* – she had a good time; *Your lyrical missive has enveloped me in the sweet fragrance of our love* - from a book advising lovers on how to write to girlfriends; *How often do you take sex?* – question from doctor to patient; *Pritam Singh has left for his heavenly above* - a death notice; *Hue and Cry notice* – title of police missing person newspaper advertisement; *Don't do nuisance in public* – government admonition against urinating in public.

Loan Creation

The mechanism of loan creation has also helped the language of English news media in India and South Asia to fashion new expressions that are stimulated by the needs to match the existing demand. For example, the expressions like *Goondaism*, *Nehru Socialism*, *Brahmanism*, *Mandalism of politics*, *Hinduism*, *Manuwad or Manuism*, have primarily been established in Indian English through the newspaper usage. Manipulating the Indian concept has created these expressions.

Structure of mental lexicon.

Mental lexicon of a human is highly organized and efficient. Psycholinguistic researches provide evidences that semantically related items are stored together. Most of the scholars appear to agree that those items are arranged in a series of associative networks. They are possibly organized in one large master file, and there is a variety of peripheral access file which contain information about spelling, phonology, and syntax. This is the reason why writers and news editors prefer all such expressions that can easily be recognized and retrieved.

Thus, a lexicon item, which occurs most frequently, enhances the communicability of expressions. The Indian expressions with high frequency of occurrence are therefore kept at the top of the pile in the minds of the news editors. *Recency of use* is another variable, which increases the use of these expressions in the language of English news media.

Regional Language Influence

According to recent surveys, approximately 4% of the Indian population use English. That figure might seem insignificant, but out of the total

population this represents 35 million speakers — the largest English-speaking community outside the USA and the UK. In addition there are speakers of English in other parts of South Asia, such as Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, where English plays a similar role. English is virtually a mother tongue for many educated South Asians, but for the vast majority it remains a second language. This means there are speakers whose spoken English is heavily influenced by speech patterns of their ethnic language, alongside those whose speech reveals nothing of their racial background and some who are ranged somewhere in between.

Jennifer Marie Bayer and Alok Gupta assert that English in India is heavily influenced by both the home languages and Asian languages. “Films, Television, and Print Media play with code mixing and code switching, thus creating Indian Englishes that most often is unintelligible to others. Yet people easily communicate with each other. High Tech Industry having multilingual local language workforce is wrestling with the problem of competing in the English-speaking business world from the point of view of productivity and knowledge.”¹ 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 Englishes².

South Asian English has developed to a more distinctive level than in other countries where English is used as a second language³. 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. These innovations have led to some problems related to pedagogical standards, national and international intelligibility and typology⁴.

¹ Bayer J.M., Gupta A. Englishes in India//Language in India. Vol. 6. Iss. 5. 2006. URL: <http://www.languagein-india.com/may2006/jenniferalokindianenglish1.html>

² Kandiah 1991: 275

³ Crystal 1988: 258

⁴ Saghal 1991: 303

A thorough analysis of the influences of Indian languages on Indian English is presented in the next section. Here we give several examples of Asian influence on Indian English.

There are a number of elements that characterize the more ‘extreme’ forms of South Asian English. In terms of pronunciation, many speakers do not differentiate between the sounds <v> and <w>. They might also replace <th> in words like think and this with a <t> and <d> sound, as no Indian languages contain these consonants. Under the influence of traditional Hindi grammar, speakers often use progressive tenses in statements, such as I am believing you or she is liking music. Anyone who has experience of speech in the UK's Asian communities will also have encountered the phenomenon of code-switching — mixing words, phrases or even whole sentences from two different languages within the same conversation. The occasional or even frequent use of a Hindi (or Urdu, Punjabi, Gujurati etc.) word or expression within an English sentence can communicate a great sense of shared identity or solidarity with other speakers. This characteristic feature of Asian speech has led commentators to coin popular terms, such as Hinglish (i.e. Hindi English) or Pinglish (i.e. Pakistani English).

The list below features some instances of pronunciations and grammatical constructions reflecting the natural reflexes of South Asian English.

Asian English Phonology

- retroflex tapped R <r> is pronounced by flicking (i.e. tapping) the tip of the tongue against the roof of the mouth – thus making only very brief and rapid contact – while the tip of the tongue is curled backwards in the mouth;
- unaspirated <p> there is no release of air when <p> precedes a vowel in words like pin and pot
- unaspirated <t> there is no release of air when <t> precedes a vowel in words like tin and top
- unaspirated <d> there is no release of air when <d> precedes a vowel in words like tin and top
- V~W merger <v> and <w> are pronounced interchangeably regardless of spelling

- TH-stopping <th> in words such as thumb and three is pronounced using a <t> sound and in words such as this and that using a <d> sound — there is often no release of air when <th> precedes a vowel in words like thick and thin
- rhoticity the <r> sound is pronounced after a vowel in words like hard, corn and nurse

Asian English Grammar

- **code-switching**: alternating (‘switching’) between different languages (‘codes’) as circumstance dictates, often within the same utterance: *Mum said, “Your father send you piyaar”; We didn’t have car, cardigans, but what we had, eh, shawls, you know, like what they call ‘chador’; And they start picking on those — I said, “Mum, they're picking our chil ghazah, you know — why?”; And, uh, specialised ice cream which you would call it ‘khulfi’;*
- **zero article**: the indefinite article, a or an, or the definite article, the, are often omitted: *“and then, uh, there was, uh, no fear of going to an Indian restaurants and sending your suit for a dry-cleaning _ next day, because they were well-ventilated etcetera and I’m, I’m very pleased that Indian food has come _ long way”;*
- **zero past tense marker** verbs are left unmarked for tense, although other signals (adverbs of time, such as yesterday, last week etc.) often give linguistic clues about the timing of an event: *So they send me photograph, which I approved and m, m, my wife, uh, pinched, uh, one photograph from the album, so obviously she like_, uh, the photograph*
- **lack of subject-verb concord** singular nouns are sometimes assigned a plural verb or plural nouns a singular verb: *My marriages was typical arranged marriages;*
- **simplified syntax** all unnecessary semantic content is omitted, but basic meaning is still communicated effectively: *but when we first came, _ few, few months later, _ didn’t want to stay, because _ no friends, no communication much;*
- **declarative word order in interrogative construction** ‘normal’ subject + verb word order is retained in statements using the question words

who, what, when, where, why, how etc.: *you know, when we see all these white people, you think, “Oh my God — who they are?”*

Thus, it has taken decades of struggle, but more than half a century after the British departed from India, Standard English has finally followed. Young and educated Indians regard the desire to speak English as it is spoken in England as a silly hang-up from a bygone era. Homegrown idiosyncrasies have worked their way into the mainstream to such an extent that only fanatical purists question their usage. For example, Penguin, the quintessentially British publishing house, has put the nearest thing to an official imprimatur on the result by producing a collection of some of the most colourful phrases in use - in effect a dictionary of what might be called Indlish. Its title, “EntryFrom Backside Only”, refers to a phrase commonly used on signposts to indicate the rear entrance of a building. Binoo John, the author, said young Indians had embraced the variant of the language as a charming offspring of the mingling of English and Hindi, rather than an embarrassing mongrel. “Economic prosperity has changed attitudes towards Indian English,” said Mr John. “Having jobs and incomes, and being noticed by the rest of the world, have made Indians confident – and the same confidence has attached itself to their English.¹”

Despite the changes, English has enjoyed phenomenal popularity over the past few decades. Good English can transform the lives of the impoverished - leading to a better job, a rich spouse, a more exciting social life, and social superiority. Couples who live on less than 25p a day will skip a meal to pay for their children to attend a school where they will be taught in English. The English-teaching industry is estimated to be worth £150 million. For the better off, fluent English and a good accent convey status faster than titles, names, addresses or offshore bank accounts.

Regional Dialects and Accents of Indian English

The Question of Standard

A standard variety has undergone at least some degree of regularization or codification, it is recognized as a prestigious variety or code by a

¹Dhillon A. The Rise of Indian English. URL: www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1563290/the_rise_of_indian_english.html

community, and it is used for high functions alongside a diversity of low varieties. It provides a means of communication across areas with various different dialects. According to Saghal, a rather nebulous educated Indian English variety close to the native standard is favoured as a model for Indian English by the general consensus.

According to Kachru, the spread of English and its intercultural uses raise questions concerning diversification, codification, identities, cross-cultural intelligibility and power and ideology. The ultimate danger could be decay or even loss of international intelligibility, some have argued¹. In the multilingualistic and culturally pluralistic context of India, the English language has developed its regional, social and occupational varieties: typically Indian registers of legal system, business, newspapers, creative writing.

The fact that English has acquired multiple identities and a broad spectrum of cross-cultural interactional contexts of use is, according to Kachru, "a purists' and pedagogues' nightmare and a variationists' blessing". As a consequence of the spread of English, there are "various semiotic systems, several linguistic conventions and numerous cultural traditions: English absorbs and unfolds meanings and values from diverse cultures"². Kachru points out that the contexts of diversification of English are not just deficiencies, but that there are deeper sociological, linguistic and cultural reasons. The diversification often, then, is symbolic of "subtle sociolinguistic messages"³.

Crystal points out that while, on one hand, English-speaking communities are striving to nativize the language to reflect their own experiences, on the other hand many are of the view that a universally intelligible, more or less standardized medium would be desirable. Not the least because "British English is now, numerically speaking, a minority dialect, compared with American, or even Indian English"⁴.

Samuel Ahulu suggests that the concept of Standard English be redefined. According to his view, Standard English is usually associated with

¹ Kachru 1987:220-221

² Kachru 1987: 207-211

³ *ibid*, 218

⁴ *ibid*, 10

British and/or American English. English, however, as an international language, has developed, and continues to develop forms or features divergent from British and/or American English. As arguments that any divergence from British or American English is an error appear unrealistic, Standard English, in Ahulu's view, should accommodate to the developments of new Englishes. The variability of non-native Englishes should, ideally, be seen as styles of speech or expression which makes a part of the speakers' repertoire; they should not be thought of as errors. English lacks standard codification which would reflect its international character adequately. Thus, one of the major problems with new Englishes appears to be the issue of codification¹, "The variation manifested in the use of English as an international language should be subsumed within the concept of "Standard English", and the divergent forms should be recognized as standard practice or styles of Standard English; styles of speech or expression to which speakers of English as an international language will be exposed, and which will constitute their repertoire."

Cheshire points out that sociolinguistic analyses can contribute to English language teaching issues "by ensuring that descriptions of world varieties of English have a sounder empirical base. Current descriptions are all too often given as lists of assorted departures from southern British standard English or American standard English with no attempt at determining the extent to which the local linguistic features function as part of an autonomous system"².

Modern linguistics distinguishes between Standard English, territorial variants and local dialects of the English language. Standard English is that variety of English which is usually used in print, and which is normally taught in schools and to non-native speakers learning the language. It is also the variety which is normally spoken by educated people and used in news broadcasts and other similar situations. It is the form of English which is current and literary, considerably unvarying and recognized as acceptable wherever English is spoken or understood. Standard English is the variety

¹ Ahulu 1997: 17-19

² Cheshire 1991:7

most widely accepted and understood either within an English-speaking country or throughout the entire English-speaking world.

Variants of English are regional varieties possessing a literary norm. There are distinguished variants existing on the territory of the United Kingdom (British English, Scottish English and Irish English), and variants existing outside the British Isles (American English, Canadian English, Australian English, New Zealand English, South African English and Indian English). British English is often referred to the written Standard English and the pronunciation known as Received Pronunciation (RP). Local dialects are varieties of English peculiar to some districts, used as means of oral communication in small localities; they possess no normalized literary form.

The term dialect (from the Greek word *διάλεκτος*, *dialektos*) refers to lexical as well as pronunciation differences between varieties of language, whereas accent refers solely to differences in pronunciation (although in *common usage*, *dialect* and *accent* are usually synonymous).

English presides over the global empire. Her heart is splintered into a million pieces, each differ from the other. In the spread of English across Asia, its varieties take on the nation's appendage so as to form Malaysian English, Philippine English, Chinese English, etc. This occurs owing to the fact that English is re-interpreted in terms of the mother tongues all over the world.

When Indians listen to spoken Indian English they often have this strange knack of identifying the place of origin and the home language of the speaker: the Malayali speaker of English, the Bengali speaker of English... Sheela Jaywant, a *Chillibreeze* author, writes along the same lines: "Working in a hospital is a good way to learn a couple of geography lessons. If a *daakter* (Hindi for doctor) asks for a *jesta* x-ray, he's from Tamil Nadu; a *chaste* x-ray would make him a Maharashtrian; a chest *eggs-ray* means he's a Keralite; and a chest *ekkas-ray* means he's from Delhi or beyond. The North-East has its own version: the *chess-ess-ray*. And if he *axes* for the x-ray, he's a Goan Catholic. *Eenjunctions* and *madiseens* are what finally *kewer* (cure) the patients".

English in India is heavily influenced by the home language. Indians speak and even write English affected by the vowels and consonants in their mother tongues. Films, Television, and Print Media play with code mixing

and code switching, thus creating Indian Englishes that most often is unintelligible to others. Yet do they communicate with each other.

Indian English comprises several dialects or varieties of English spoken primarily in India, and by first-generation members of the Indian Diaspora. This dialect evolved during and after the British colonial rule of India. English is the co-official language of India, with about 90 million speakers, but with fewer than quarter of a million calling it a first language. With the exception of some families which communicate primarily in English as well as members of the relatively small Anglo-Indian community (numbering less than half a million), speakers of Indian English have it as a second language, with an indigenous language such as Hindi as their native tongue.

Variations in the pronunciation of several phonemes are affected by the regional tongues across the Indian subcontinent. The greatest differences are between South Indian and North Indian varieties.

South India is the area encompassing India's states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu as well as the union territories of Lakshadweep and Pondicherry, occupying 19.31% of area. A majority of South Indians speak one of the five Dravidian languages — Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu and Tulu. South India ranks the highest in terms of social and economic development in areas such as fertility rate and infrastructure; the fertility rate of South India is 1.9, the lowest of all regions in India.

North India refers to a set of states in the non-peninsular region of the Republic of India including the area to the north of the Vindhya mountains, Narmada River and Mahanadi River, but excluding the states of Gujarat and Maharashtra in the west, West Bengal and Orissa in the east as well as the seven North-East states. New Delhi, the capital of India lies in North India

Thus within India itself there are regional varieties of English, it is “Hinglish” (Hindi + English); “Kanglish” (Kannada + English); “Tamilish” – (Tamil + English) or “Banglish” (Bangla + English), and it could go on and on. Every state (and virtually every Union Territory) in India has its own dialect of English, which is a product of many of the rules of pronunciation of the local language being applied to what is generally termed Indian English. The portrait that emerges out of this scenario is a spectrum complete with colour and variation.

Likewise, for all regional Indian Englishes the following features are deemed continuously common:

- simplification of consonant clusters;
- retroflexion;
- lack of aspiration of voiceless stops [p], [t], and [k] in stressed initial positions;
- lack of inter-dental fricatives and palatal affricates: nonexistence of the *th* sound in *the* [ð] and *thing* [θ] (as in British/American English and Arabic); dental [d̪] and regional variants are used instead;
- no distinction between /v/ and /w/
- monophthongisation of diphthongs and diphthongization of triphthongs, e.g. absence of diphthong in the short *o* ([ou]), as in *know*. The Indian short *o* ([ɔ]) is rather like the Scottish equivalent, only not as stretched.
- hard *ts* and *ds*;
- presence of *y* sound in *news*, so that it sounds like the British /nju:z/ rather than the American /nuz/;
- nonexistence of Western dark *l* [ɫ]; three of the four southern states use the retroflex *l* in their English in a slightly similar manner;

The term Indian English is widely used but is a subject of controversy; some scholars argue that it labels an established variety with an incipient or actual standard, others that the kinds of English used in India are too varied, both socially and geographically, and often too deviant or too limited, to be lumped together as one variety. They also argue that no detailed description has been made of the supposed variety and that the term is therefore misleading and ought not to be used. However, the length of time that English has been in India, its importance, and its range, rather than militating against such a term, make the term essential for an adequate discussion of the place of the language in Indian life and its sociolinguistic context.

General Indian English is the dialect of Indian English most common in the Indian media. It refers to both the accent and the formality of the dialect as displayed by mostly all senior (Indian English) journalists in the

country. It is akin to Received Pronunciation in Britain, more so in the context of it being fairly synonymous with the BBC in past times. General Indian English is even further similar to RP in that it has been noticed that most of the alumni of the Indian equivalent of British public schools are seen possessing this accent. Throughout the country, it is generally associated as being a product of upper-middle-class education. It is characterized by the following features:

Non-rhoticity, as with Standard British English. Which means that cars is pronounced /ka:z/ and parking, /pa:.kiŋ/, though not with as long an a as the British broad a ([ɑ:]). Moreover, unlike RP, there is neither the linking r ([°ɹ]) nor the intrusive r ([°ɹ]). *India and China* is not pronounced /ɪnd.ɜ̃ ʌŋdʒaɪn/ as it would in RP; the linguistic hiatus is always present. This may in part be because *rs* in this are generally the Sanskrit *r*, which is similar to the Spanish *r* ([r]), only not rolled ([*r]).

- The /t/s and /d/s that are commonly retroflex consonants in all other dialects of Indian English are much softer (alveolar); not to the extreme extent of them turning dental, however.
- Syllable-timing is never employed. Stress and intonation are used as normally as it is with British English.
- French words such as *cliche* or *bouquet* are generally pronounced as if they were native English words, i.e., with English phonology rules; but the upper-class English expects them to be pronounced with a French phonology and French stress.
- The /v/ is mostly pronounced with the Sanskrit equivalent of the consonant - as a result, (generally) *vine* and *wine* are homonyms, *verb* is pronounced ([wə:b]); however, words like *work* are always pronounced properly. Many highly-educated speakers of Indian English make no distinction between *w* and *v*.
- The regional and mother-tongue varieties in Indian English are often defined with reference to the first language of the speaker (Bengali English, Gujarati English, Tamil English, etc.) or in terms of a larger language family (Indo-Aryan English, Dravidian English). In this sense, there are as many Indian Englishes as there are languages in India.

Punjabi/Delhi English

Delhi English primarily refers to the sort of English spoken by college students in Delhi. Delhi, though a cosmopolitan city, has considerable Punjabi influences on it, and this is reflected heavily in the way students speak. Punjabi English itself is more than considerably influenced by the Punjabi language.

U.P./Bihari - Hindi English

The stereotype for a person who comes from the states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar is sadly not a very flattering one. In fact, the very word *bhaiyya* which means 'brother' in Hindi, is sometimes used as a derogatory term – stemming from the fact that U.P.-ites and Biharis use the word instead of *yaar* but with more respect and flexibility than just *mate*.

There is no established pattern of English of people that reside/originate from these states, as the reality is that in being the most populous, poor, and unemployment-ridden states of the country, in addition to being India's linguistic version of the Bible Belt, English hasn't much a place in their lives.

The other languages are: Assamese/Bengali English; Gujarati English; Maharashtrian English; Kannadiga English; Telugu English; Tamil English; Malayalee English, etc.

The Expansion of Hinglish

This highly popular mixing of both the languages in most parts of northern and central India has grown from the fact that English is a popular language of choice amongst the urbane youth who finds itself comfortable in its lexicon. It is already the medium for imparting education in many schools across the nation. The advent of cable television and its pervasive growth has seen the masses exposed to a wide variety of programming from across the world.

It should not be confused with Bumbaiya Hindi, which incorporates words and phrases from a number of other languages (including Marathi, Gujarati and Konkani). Both Hinglish and Bumbaiya Hindi have recently become popular in Bollywood movies.

Below you can find examples of some popular Hinglish expressions: *I've a feeling, August, you're going to get hazaar fucked in Madna.* (starting

line of English, August by Upamanyu Chatterjee); *Dad, time kya hua hai?* (Dad, what's the time?); *I have hazaar things on my mind right now.* (I have a thousand things on my mind right now.); *He's a postwalla* (He's a postman; *walla* = person); *Beta, slowly slowly jaana* (Son, go slowly); *What, yaar?* (What, man?); *Bechara fail ho gaya.* (The poor guy failed.); *Kya karoon yaar, control nahin hota!* (What to do, man, can't control it!); *Aaj mood nahin hai.* (I'm not in the mood today.); *Stupid jaisi baat mat kar.* (Don't talk like you're stupid.); *Come na!* (Don't be shy, come!); *T.V. on kar.* (Turn on the T.V.); *Bore mat kar.* (Don't bore me.).

The mix of Hindi and English is the language of the street and the college campus, and its sound sets many parents' teeth on edge. It's a bridge between two cultures that has become an island of its own, a distinct hybrid culture for people who aspire to make it rich abroad without sacrificing the sassiness of the mother tongue. And it may soon claim more native speakers worldwide than English.

Once, Indians would ridicule the jumbled language of their expatriate cousins, the so-called *ABCDs* - or *the American-Born Confused Desi*. (*Desi* means 'countryman'.) Now that jumble is hip, and turning up in the oddest places, from television ads to taxicabs, and even hit movies, such as *Bend it Like Beckham* or *Monsoon Wedding*.

But Hinglish isn't just a language spoken between the younger generations or amongst the rich elite who want to come across as more western. It is now being used extensively in marketing campaigns by large corporations.

Pepsi, for instance, has given its global 'Ask for more' campaign a local Hinglish flavor: *Yeh Dil Maange More* (the heart wants more). Not to be outdone, Coke has its own Hinglish slogan: *Life ho to aisi* (Life should be like this).

Domino's Pizza, which offers Indian curiosities such as the chicken tikka pizza, asks its customers *Hungry kya?* (Are you hungry?), and McDonald's current campaign spoofs the jumbled construction of Hinglish sentences with its campaign, *What your bahana is?* (*Bahana* means excuse, as in, *What's your excuse for eating McDonald's and not home-cooked food?*)

None of this would have happened 10 years ago, says Sushobhan Mukherjee, strategic planning director for Publicis India. "My grandfather's generation grew up thinking, 'If I can't speak English correctly, I won't

speak it,' says Mr. Mukherjee. "Now, power has shifted to the young, and they want to be understood rather than be correct".

The turning point that made Hinglish hip was the introduction of cable television in the mid-1990s. Eagerly anticipated music channels like MTV and its competitor, *Channel V*, originally provided only English music, presented by foreign-born Indian video jockeys who spoke only in English. Outside metro areas, the response was not encouraging. Then *Channel V* started a new campaign that included comic spoofs on the way Indians speak English. And by 1996 *Channel V's* penetration of the Indian market has been successfully accomplished.

Professor David Crystal, honorary professor of linguistics at the University of Wales and author of more than 50 books on English, says 350 million Indians speak Hinglish as a second language, exceeding the number of native English speakers in Britain and the US.

The growing popularity of Indian culture around the world, including Bollywood movies, may mean that Hinglish will soon become more widely spoken outside the continent. Some of the Hinglish words in vogue include: *airdash* – travel by air; *chaddis* – underpants; *chai* – Indian tea; *crore* – 10 million; *dacoit* – thief; *desi* – local; *dicky* – boot; *gora* – white person; *jungli* – uncouth; *lakh* – 100,000; *lumpen* – thug; *optical* – spectacles; *prepone* – bring forward; *stepney* – spare tire; *would-be* – fiancé or fiancée.

Indian expertise in writing computer software also means that Hinglish will spread via the internet. Certain phrases are bound to become global with so many Indians working in information technology. As more Indians talk in chat rooms and send emails, the phrases and words they use to describe their lives will be picked up by others on the internet, David Crystal says.

Hinglish contains many words and phrases that Britons or Americans may not easily understand, according to a report in *The Sunday Times*. Some are archaic, relics of the Raj, such as *pukka*. Others are newly coined, such as *time-pass*, meaning an activity that helps kill time. India's success in attracting business has recently produced a new verb. Those whose jobs are outsourced to India are said to have been *Bangalored*.

It is often wondered what language Indians will be speaking 50 years on. Looking beyond the horizon of current events, two trends look likely to

dominate our linguistic future. One, a rapid spread of English across India, including the aspiring lower middle-classes; the second – the unprecedented popularity of Hindi, even in the South, thanks to blockbuster Hindi movies and the universal appeal of Hindi TV programs like *Indian Idol* and *Kaun Banega Crorepati*.

At the intersection of these two trends is the fashionable collision of two languages. It's called Hinglish, but should in fact be called English because it is increasingly pan-India's street language. Mixing English with mother tongues has been going on for generations, but what is different this time around is that English has become both the sought-after language of the lower and middle middle-classes and the fashionable language of drawing rooms of the upper and upper middle-classes. Similar attempts in the past were considered downmarket, contemptuously put down by snob brown sahibs. This time, English is the stylish language of Bollywood, of FM radio and of national advertising. Advertisers, in particular, have been surprised by the terrific resonance of slogans such as, *Life ho to aise*, *Josh machine*, and *Dil mange more*. Radio Mirchi has found the same adoring response to: *Ladki ko mari line, girlfriend boli, I'm fine!*

Linguistic peculiarities of Hinglish

Hindi syntax affects Indian English syntax in several ways. The most outstanding features are summarized below.

Use of articles

There is a seemingly arbitrary use of the articles *a* and *the*, which do not have parallels in Hindi. Often, *one* is substituted for *a*; for example *And one black lady*.

The *and* and *a* are often dropped when they should be said and used when they should be left out. It is not uncommon to hear something like, *We are going to temple*. Whether or not these apparent misuses are actually arbitrary would require further study.

Emphasizing

Something which Indian English has that is not found in other varieties of English is the use of *only* and *itself* to emphasize time and place. It comes from the Hindi word *hi* and produces sentences like *I was in Toledo only* and *Can we meet tomorrow itself?*

Indian English speakers often use reduplication as a way of emphasizing an action – *I have been told before to come come! Sit sit!* Reduplication can also replace very for intensifying or extending something, as in *hot, hot water* and *long, long hair*. Such usage is common in spoken Hindi. Another thing Indian English speakers do is leave to out when giving a range of numbers. This often expresses exaggeration when larger numbers are used, as in *one hundred two hundred*.

Use of verbs

Certain verbs are used in Indian English in the same way they are used in Hindi. Indians use *kolna* and *bandh karna* when asking someone to turn a light on or off; the literal translation is retained, so some Indian English speakers say *open the light* and *close the light*. The same is true of *giving a test* (from the Hindi verb *dena*) rather than *taking a test*. *Take* means consume when used with food and drink items -- *Will you take tea?* The verb *lena* is the Hindi equivalent of this.

Indian English speakers often use certain verbs in ways that are confusing to speakers of other English varieties. *Keep* is used for *put*, so one finds Indians saying things like *keep the ball there* or *keep the ball back* to a person who is still holding the ball. *Leave* replaces *keep's* lost function of allowing something to remain somewhere. *Put* is often used without an explicit destination or direction, so an Indian might say, *Shall I put the tape?* or *-put an image*.

Tag questions

Another Hindi-based syntactic element is the tag question. For example *Yeah, like this guy Gotham felt like when he went back, no?* This use of *no* (and the expression *isn't it* in the same manner) stems from the use of *na* in Hindi: *...take care karje appli ker hai na?* This could be roughly translated as *...take care karje can be applied, can't it?*

Tenses

One of the most indicative signs of Indian English grammar is the use of the progressive aspect with habitual actions, completed actions, and stative verbs. This produces sentences such as *I am doing it often* rather than *I*

do it often; Where are you coming from? instead of "*Where have you come from?*"; and *She was having many sarees* rather than *She had many sarees*¹.

The word order

The word order of questions is often unique in Indian English. Sentences such as *What you would like to eat?* and *Who you will come with?* show the absence of subject-verb inversion in direct questions, e.g. *what is your companion*, in which an inversion does not take place where it should.

Use of adverbs

Another aspect of grammar that is often inconsistent is the use of *also* (a very popular word in Indian English). It can be found in various parts of a sentence, but it tends to be placed at the end, like *We never even used Hindi word also*.

As noted earlier, English is not appreciated by many Indians who consider it an elite, oppressive language. It is used by many upper class Indians to show off their status. Present-day Indians agree that while many people respect a person for being able to speak English, they also feel that English-speakers are snobbish. In fact, using English in the wrong situations can lead to a serious scolding

Certainly, English is the ticket to a good job and middle class status in India. It unites virtually all the social classes and almost every region in the country. At the same time, thanks to Bollywood, Hinglish is also increasingly popular. For many, the dominance of English raises questions about Indian national identity and the legacy of British colonialism. Meanwhile, language purists are concerned about the pollution of both English and Hindi. But as can be seen in Indian advertising and popular culture, English is catching on as a hip, updated version of older blends of the two languages.

Some items are directly related to characteristics of Indian languages. Indians will often ask *What is your good name?*, which is a somewhat literal translation of *Aapka shubh naam kya hai?* *Shubh* means auspicious or good, and it is basically used as a polite way of asking for someone's full name. An Indian English speaker says *today morning (aaj subha)* or *yesterday night (kal raat)* to mean this morning and last night. Indians also run the risk of offending U.S. Americans when they use certain literal translations which

¹ Trudgill & Hannah: 132

have the intended meaning, but which also have offensive connotations. Some Indian woman recalled that a U.S. American with whom she works told her that she was an abrasive woman because she told him to shut up. *Shut up* in Hindi is *chup bet*, which is generally used more casually (but which can be used offensively as well). Also, Indians commonly use *you people* when they want to address more than one person. They do not realize the belittling, racial connotations that it carries with it -- for them it is a simple translation of *aap log* or *tum log*.

Hindi terms and expressions used in Indian English

When Indians use English, it is often a mixture of English, Hindi, and other languages. This way of speaking is often called *kichiri*. *Kichiri* is a meal which is composed of several random ingredients - a rather accurate description of the way Indians often talk to one another. Even in pure Indian English, many Indian terms slip in frequently. Some expressions such as general *mai* (in general) and *ek minute* (one minute) are prevalent in Indian English e.g. a Gujarati expression *take care karje* (do take care). These mixtures come quite naturally when one is acquainted with two or more languages. Commonly used Hindi terms and expressions are as follows: *achcha* = good; *arrai* = hey; *bahut* = a lot; *bus* = that's it; *ek* = one (as a number); *ghotu* = one who reads a lot; *hajar* (*hazar*) = a ton (more than a lot); *ho gaya* = done; finished; *koi bat nahi* = no problem; *kya hall hai* = how are you; *lakh(s)* = one-hundred thousand; *lekhin* = but; *masala* = risqué; spicy; hot (like a film); *muthlab* = meaning; *paka* = pure; *teek hai* = okay (lit: it is right); *yaar* = buddy; pal.

These are just a few of the most common ones. One must be fairly conversant in these and other terms and expressions if one wants to follow a discussion between Indians completely.

The historical background of India is never far away from everyday usage. Three generations on after independence, both Indian English and Hinglish are still having trouble distancing themselves from the weight of its British English past. Many people still think of them as inferior, and see British English as the only 'proper' English. It is an impression still fostered by the language examining boards which dominate teachers' mindsets. At the same time, a fresh confidence is plainly emerging among young people,

and it is only a matter of time before attitudes change. It's a familiar scenario, for anyone living in Australia and New Zealand.

Indian Presence in English

Any language, under appropriate circumstances, borrows lexical material from other languages, usually absorbing the exotic items or translating them into native equivalents. The pre-conditions for borrowing are:

- close contact in especially multilingual situations, making the mixing of elements from different languages more or less commonplace;
- the domination of some languages by others (for cultural, economic, political, religious, or other reasons), so that material flows 'down' from those 'high' languages into 'lower' vernaculars;
- a sense of need, users of one language drawing material from another for such purposes as education and technology;
- prestige associated with using words from another language;
- a mix of some or all of these. Individuals may use an exotic expression because it seems to them to be the most suitable term available, the only possible term (with no equivalent in any other language), or the most impressive term.

With a culture and heritage as variegated and rich as India is, it is not surprising that the English language absorbed as many as five hundred words during this time, and continue to do so even today. The Oxford English Dictionary currently has 700 words of Indian origin.

All Indian borrowings possess certain characteristics that are easily recognizable. Firstly, most words do not have equivalents in English, such as *yoga*, *swastika*, *khaki*, *sari*, and *sati*. Secondly, some of the words are taken and given a different meaning, as *nirvana*, *kedgere*, *Jodhpur*. These words were hardly ever substituted for English ones, as Latin and French words in Old English and Middle English. Moreover, borrowings were used to embellish one's piece of writing or speech since they sounded different and fashionable. Ex: *pariah*, *pundit*, *pardah*.

Pronunciation also takes a different tone in these Indian loanwords. The important modifications are seen in *t* and *d* sounds. In North Indian languages *t* is mostly pronounced [θ], as in *thing*; while the *d* is pronounced

as [ð] in *this*. When a word from this region comes to English, the pronunciation comes with hard *t* and *d* as in *dungaree* (Hindi) and *swastika* (Sanskrit). And words from South Indian languages vice versa are pronounced with soft *t* and *d*, if at all: as in *cheroot* (Tamil *churuttu/shuruttu*). This seems to happen as South Indian languages tend to emphasize *t* and *d* sounds, which Europeans consider nasty to their ear.

Thirdly, there are some words which we hardly consider today as being of Indian origin, such as *ginger*. This word, though regarded at present as a Latin borrowing, actually has originated in Dravidian. Other words borrowed from French or Portuguese have their roots in Indian languages, such as *palanquin* and *indigo*.

New words that entered the English vocabulary contributed to the following areas of British culture:

Philosophical and Learned Terms

Aryan – Sanskrit *arya* means ‘noble. 1) A member of the people who spoke the parent language of the Indo-European languages. 2) In Nazism, a Caucasian Gentile, especially Nordic type. 3) Of or relating to Indo-Iranian languages.

Chakra – Sanskrit *chakram* – wheel, circle. One of the seven centers of spiritual energy in the human body according to yoga philosophy.

Dharma – Hindi *dharma*, from Sanskrit. 1) A Buddhist principle and ultimate truth. 2) Social custom and right behavior. 3) Hindu moral law.

Guru – Hindi/Punjab – guru (teacher), from Sanskrit *guruh* – weighty, heavy, grave. 1) A teacher and a guide in spiritual and philosophical matters. 2) A mentor. 3) A recognized leader in a field: "Fitness Guru".

Juggernaut – Hindi *Jaganath* – Lord Krishna, from Sanskrit *jaganatha*: *jagath*- moving/the world + *nathah* – Lord/God. 1) The name of the Hindu deity Krishna – Juggernath. 2) Something, such as a belief or an institution, that elicits blind and destructive devotion or to which people are ruthlessly sacrificed. 3) An overwhelming, advancing force that crushes or seem to crush everything in its path.

Mandala – Tamil *mutalai* – ball, from Sanskrit *mandalam* – circle. Any of various ritualistic geometric designs symbolic of the universe, used in Hinduism and Buddhism, as an aid to meditation.

Nirvana – From Sanskrit *nirvana*. *Nirva* – be extinguished + *nir-* out + *va-* to blow. 1) In Buddhism, the ineffable ultimate in which one has attained disinterested wisdom and compassion. 2) a transcendent state in which there is neither suffering, desire nor sense of self, and the subject is released from the effects of karma. It represents the final goal in Buddhism. 3) A state of perfect happiness.

Pariah – Tamil *pariah* – caste name which means 'hereditary drummer'. The caste system in India placed pariahs or untouchables very low in society. First recorded in English in 1613. 1) A social outcast. 2) An Untouchable.

Pundit – Hindi *pandit* – a learned man, from Sanskrit *panditah* – learned scholar, perhaps from Dravidian origin. 1) A learned person. 2) A source of opinion; 3) a critic, *a political pundit*.

Purdah – Urdu/Persian *paradah* – veil, curtain. *Pan-* around, over + *da-* to place. 1) A curtain or screen, used mainly in India to keep women separated from men or strangers. 2) The Hindu or Muslim system of sex segregation, practiced especially by women in seclusion. 3) Social seclusion: artists living in luxurious purdah.

Sati (suttee) – Hindi *sati*, from Sanskrit meaning 'faithful wife'. This practice was banned in India in the early 20 century, when the British ruled over India. However it continues even today, in under developed states and rural villages, such as Bihar (a state in North India). The former Hindu practice of a widow immolating herself on her husband's funeral pyre.

Sutra – Sanskrit – *sutram*, tread, string, manual: 1) a rule or aphorism in Sanskrit literature or a set of these grammar or Hindu law or philosophy. 2) In Buddhism – a scriptural narrative, especially a text traditionally regarded as a discourse of the Buddha.

Kamasutra – Sanskrit – *Kamasutram*: *kamah* – love, *sutram* – thread, string, manual. A Sanskrit treatise setting forth rules for sexual, sensuous and sensual love, and marriage: in accordance with Hindu law, made popular today by Western marital therapists and psychologists.

Swastika – Sanskrit *svastika* – sign of good luck: *Svast* – well being. 1) The emblem of the Nazi Germany, officially adopted in 1935. 2) In Buddhism and Hinduism, a religious symbol representing noble qualities and good luck.

3) An ancient cosmic symbol formed by a Greek cross with ends of the arms bent at right angles either clockwise or a counterclockwise direction.

Yoga – Sanskrit, literally meaning 'union', referring to the union of the mind, body and spirit. A Hindu spiritual and ascetic discipline, a part of which includes breath control, simple meditation and the adoption of specific body postures widely practiced for relaxation.

Clothes, Clothing and Fashion

Bandana (bandanna) – Portuguese from, Hindi *bandhunu* (tie dyeing) and *bandhana* (to tie). From Sanskrit *bhandhana* tying. A large handkerchief usually figured and brightly colored. This word was probably absorbed to Portuguese, when the Portuguese ruled over Goa, Bombay during the early part of the 17 century, and from Portuguese was absorbed to English.

Bindi – From Hindi *bindi*. Made famous in the West by pop music singers. A dot marked on the forehead, by Hindu wives, and sometimes men, to adorn or as a sign of the third eye – wisdom or God Shiva.

Bangle – Hindi *bungri* – glass. 1) A rigid bracelet or anklet, especially one with no clasp. 2) An ornament that hangs from a bracelet or necklace.

Cashmere – Named after the state of Kashmir in India, where these goats were found in abundance, and famous for woolen clothing during the British Raj. 1) fine downy wool growing in the outer hair of the Cashmere goat. 2) A soft fabric made out of this wool or similar fibres.

Chintz – Hindi *chint*, from Sanskrit *citra* – shiny, variegated. A printed and glazed cotton fabric, usually of bright colors. Cotton cloth, especially plain white or unbleached.

Cummerbund – Hindi /Urdu – *kamarband*, from Persian *kamar*- waist + *bandi*- band. a broad sash, especially one that is pleated lengthwise & worn as an article of formal dress, as with dinner jacket. The *sash* was formally worn in the Indian subcontinent by domestic workers and low status office workers.

Dhoti – From Hindi *dhoti*. 1) A loincloth worn by Hindu men in India. 2) The cotton fabric used for such loincloths.

Dungaree – Hindi *dumgri* – hard/coarse. 1) A sturdy, often blue, denim fabric. 2) Trousers or overalls made of sturdy denim fabric.

Gunny – Hindi *ghoni* – sack, from Sanskrit *gharati*-sack. A coarse, heavy fabric made of jute or hemp, used especially for bags or sacks.

Jute – Bengali *jhuto*, from Sanskrit *jutah* – twisted hair, probably of Dravidian origin. Either of two plants yielding a fiber used for sacking and cordage.

Jodhpurs – Long riding breeches, tight from the knee to ankle, named after the ancient city, Jodhpur in the state of Rajasthan in North India. Men in this state wear trousers akin to riding breeches, hence the name '*jodhpurs*'.

Khaki – Urdu *khaki* – dusty or dust colored, from Persian *khak* – dust. A light olive brown to moderate or light yellowish brown, sturdy cloth of this color. *Khakis* – trousers made from this cloth.

Musk – From Late Latin *miscus*, from Persian musk, from Sanskrit *muska* (scrotum). A strong smelling reddish brown substance which is secreted by the male musk-deer for scent making, which is also an important ingredient in perfumery.

Pajamas/pyjama – Hindi *paijama* – loose fitting trousers, from Persian *pai*- leg + *jamah* – garment. A loose fitting garment consisting of trousers and a jacket, worn for sleeping or lounging, often used in plural.

Sari – From Hindi *sari*. A garment consisting of a length of cotton or silk elaborately run around the body, worn by women in the Indian subcontinent. It has 6 yards of material, with 1.5 yards hanging from one shoulder down to the ground, intricately woven with bright or contrasting colors.

Shampoo – 1755-65; earlier *champo* to massage < an inflected form of Hindi *cāpo*, *cāpnā* to press. A liquid preparation containing soap for washing hair.

Words related to Food

Curry – Tamil – *kari*. 1) A heavily spiced sauce or relish made with curry powder and eaten with rice, meat, fish or other food. 2) A dish seasoned with curry powder – a mixture of various spices.

Ginger – Mid E *gingiveri* from Old E *gingifer*, from Old French *gingivre*, from Med Latin *gingiber*, from Latin *zungiberi*, from Greek – *zingiberis* from Palisingieram, from Dravidian (similar to Tamil) *inciver*, *inci* – ginger + *ver*- root. 1) a reedlike plant, *Zingiber officinale*, native to the East Indies but now cultivated in most tropical countries, having a pungent, spicy

rhizome used in cookery and medicine. 2) Any of various related or similar plants. 3) Informal. Piquancy; animation. plenty of ginger in their performance of the dance. 4) A yellowish or reddish brown.

Ghee – Hindi *ghi*, from Sanskrit *gharati* – sprinkles. A clarified, semi-fluid butter used especially in Indian cooking.

Kebab – Urdu/Persian *kabab* – roasted meat. Dish of small pieces of meat and/or vegetables, cooked on skewers

Kedgeree – Hindi *khicl*□, *khical*□ – butter rice. 1) *East Indian Cookery*. a cooked dish consisting of rice, lentils, and spices. 2) a cooked dish of rice, fish, hard-boiled eggs, butter, cream, and seasonings. 3) In North India kedgeree refers to a mixture of rice cooked with butter and dhal, with spices and shredded onions.

Mango – From Portuguese *manga*, from Malay *manga*, from Tamil *manaky* which means mango tree fruit. A fleshy yellowish-red tropical fruit, which is eaten ripe or used green for pickles.

Animal Names

Mongoose – Marathi *mangus*, of Dravidian origin. Any of various Old World carnivorous mammals having agile body and a long tail and noted for the ability to seize and kill venomous snakes.

Anaconda – Alteration of Sinhalese *henakandaya* – whip snake. A large non-venomous arboreal snake of tropical South America that kills its prey by suffocating in its coils.

Cheetah – Hindi *cita*, from Sanskrit *citrakaya* – tiger/leopard. *Citra*-variegated + *kaya* – body Miscellaneous. A long-legged, swift running wild cat of Africa and Southwest Asia, having black-spotted, tawny fur and non-retractile claws. The fastest animal on land can run for short distances at about 96km (60 miles) per hour.

Bungalow – Hindi *bangala*, Bengali *bungalow*, Gujarati *bangalo*. 1) A small house or cottage usually having a single story and sometimes as additional attic story. 2) A thatched or tiled one-story house in India surrounded by a wide veranda.

Bazaar – Italian *bazaro*, and Urdu *bazaar*, both from Persian. 1) A market consisting of a street lined with shops and stalls especially one in the Middle East. 2) A fair or sale at which miscellaneous articles are sold, often for charitable purposes.

Catamaran – Tamil *kattumaram*. *kattu*- to tie + *maram*- wood flog. tied wood. 1) A boat with two parallel hulls or floats, especially a light sailboat with a mast mounted on a transverse frame joining the hulls. 2) A raft of logs or floats lashed together and propelled by a paddles or sails.

Cheroot (*sheroot*) – French *cheroute*, from Tamil *curuttu/churuttu/shuruttu* – roll of tobacco. This word would have been absorbed into the French language during the early 16th century, when French were trying to get a foot hold in South India (Hyderabad), and from French would have come into English.

A cigar with square cut ends.

Coir – Origin from Malayalam *kayaru* – cord. Fiber from the outer husk of the coconut, used in potting compost and for making ropes and matting.

Coolie /coolly – Hindi and Telegu. *Kuli* – day laborer, perhaps from *kuli* – a tribe in Gujarat or Urdu *kuli* – slave. 1) *Offensive*. An unskilled Asian laborer; 2) *Offensive* A person from the Indian subcontinent. a person of Indian descent.

Dinghy – Hindi – *dimgi*, variant of *demgi* – float, raft. The 'gh' in English serves to indicate the hard 'g'. 1) A small open boat carried as a tender, lifeboat, or pleasure craft on a larger boat; 2) A small rowboat; 3) An inflatable rubber life raft.

Gymkhana – Probably alteration (influenced by *gymnastics*) from Hindi *gend-khana* – race court. *Gend*- ball + *khana* – house. Any of various meets at which contests are held to test the skill of the competitors, as in equestrian ship, gymnastics or sports car racing.

Indigo – From Portuguese *indigo*, via Latin, from Greek *Indikon*, from India, the River Iindus. 1) A tropical plant of the pea family, which was formerly widely cultivated as a source of dark blue dye. 2) The dark blue dye obtained from this plant; 3) A color between blue and violet in the spectrum

Loot (*n*) – Hindi *lut*, from Sanskrit *loptrum/lotrum* – plunder. 1) Valuables pillaged in time of war; 2) Spoils; 3) Stolen goods; 4) Goods illicitly obtained as by bribery. **Loot** (*v*) To pillage, spoil.

Palanquin (*palankeen*) – Portuguese – *palanquim*, from Javanese *pelangki*, from Pali *pallanko*, from Sanskrit *paryankah* – couch, bed. A covered litter carried on poles on the shoulders of two or four men, formerly used in Eastern Asia.

Polo – From Balti language (a Tibeto- Burman language) meaning ‘ball’ An ancient game of the East still played in upper Indus valley (extreme West of the Himalayas). Introduced first at Calcutta and a little later in Punjab and played first in England in 1871. A game resembling hockey, played on horse back with a long handled clubs and a wooden ball.

Teak – 1665–75; earlier *teke* < Pg *teca* < Malayalam *t□kka*. a large East Indian tree, *Tectona grandis*, of the verbena family, yielding a hard, durable, resinous, yellowish-brown wood used for shipbuilding, making furniture, etc.. 1) the wood of this tree. 2) any of various similar trees or woods.

More borrowings from Sanskrit

Sanskrit is an ancient Hindu language from Northern India. It is a member of the Indo-European family. The words from this language include Hindu religious terms (*ashram, guru, yoga*), precious stones (*beryl, opal*) and food items (*candy, orange, sugar*). Two words associated with Nazi Germany (1933 – 1945) are from Sanskrit (*Aryan, swastika*).

Ashram – hermitage. Hindu religious retreat.

Banyan – an East Indian fig tree, *Ficus benghalensis*, of the mulberry family, having branches that send out adventitious roots to the ground and sometimes cause the tree to spread over a wide area. Indian tree associated with the story of the Buddha.

Beryl – pale green stone containing the metal Beryllium.

Brilliant – cat's eye.

Buddha – enlightened one. Founder of Buddhism.

Camphor – White aromatic substance.

Candy – crystallized sugar. Used in USA in place of the UK word 'sweets'.

Crimson – deep red colour. One of many colour words from Sanskrit.

Hemp – name of an Indian plant used for fibre.

Lacquer – coloured varnish.

Mandarin – counselor. Used for a government officer and eventually became the name of a Chinese language.

Mantra – thought. Hindu chant.

Nile – blue. Egyptian river.

Opal – precious stone

Orange – citrus fruit and colour.

Pepper – berry. Aromatic condiment.

Raja – king. Indian king or prince UK rule in India became known as *The Raj*.

Singapore – lion city. Asian City State.

As we see borrowing is one of the ways for nominating objects unique to Indian culture. In these cases it was far easier to borrow the Indian term than to create a new one. Many Indian words have both phonetic and semantic features not occurring in English; therefore the words often changed considerably both in form and meaning in the borrowing process. The spheres of life represented by these borrowings show that the largest number of Indian loanwords are connected with the Indian institutions, civilization and everyday life.

Comprehension Check Questions

1. What are the main contributors to the Indianization process of the English language?
2. What are the code mixing and code switching? Give some examples.
3. What does the term “recency of use” mean and describe?
4. What similarities do all regional Indian Englishes have and in what way are they different from each other?
5. Why do news editors of Indian dailies in English prefer using Indian lexis?
6. Name the linguistic mechanisms leading to Indianization of English.
7. What are the main differences between southern and northern varieties of Indian English?
8. Who are the main users of Hinglish? Why is it so popular?

9. What are the preconditions for borrowing lexical material from other languages?
10. What are the characteristics of all Indian borrowings?
11. Which Indian languages contributed to enrichment of English vocabulary?
12. What is the largest number of Indian loanwords connected with?

Questions for the Discussion

Highlight pros and cons of code mixing and code switching for native speakers? Bring to mind some examples of code mixing and code switching in Tatar and Russian languages?

PART V. SALIENT LINGUISTIC PROPERTIES OF THE INDIAN ENGLISH

Indian English is the English language as used in the Republic of India, a South Asian nation and member of the Commonwealth. The term is widely used but is a subject of controversy; some scholars argue that it labels an established variety with an incipient or actual standard, others that the kinds of English used in India are too varied, both socially and geographically, and often too deviant or too limited, to be lumped together as one variety. They also argue that no detailed description has been made of the supposed variety and that the term is therefore misleading and ought not to be used. However, the length of time that English has been in India, its importance, and its range, rather than militating against such a term, make the term essential for an adequate discussion of the place of the language in Indian life and its sociolinguistic context. An estimated 30 million people (4% of the population) regularly use English, making India the third largest English-speaking country in the world. Beyond this number is a further, unquantifiably large range of people with greater or less knowledge of the language and competence in its use. English is the associate official language of India, the state language of Manipur (1.5 million), Meghalaya (1.33 million), Nagaland (0.8 million), and Tripura (2 million), and the official language of eight Union territories (at the time of writing): the Andaman and Nicobar Islands; Arunachal Pradesh; Chandigarh; Dadra and Nagar Haveli; Delhi; Lakshadwip; Mizoram; and Pondicherry. It is one of the languages of the *three language formula* proposed in the 1960s for educational purposes: *state language*, Hindi, and English. It is used in the legal system, pan-Indian and regional administration, the armed forces, national business, and the media. English and Hindi are the link *languages* in a complex multilingual society, in which English is both a *library language* and a *literary language*. The National Academy of Letters (Sahitya Akademi) recognizes Indian English literature as a national literature.

There are three major variables for Indian English: 1) proficiency in terms of acquisition; 2) regional or mother tongue; 3) ethnic background. In Indian English there is a cline from educated Indian English (the acrolect) to pidginized varieties (basilects) known by such names as *Boxwalla(h)*

English, Butler English, Bearer English or Kitchen English, and Babu English. The native-tongue varieties are often defined with reference to the original language of the speaker or in terms of a larger language family offering a huge number of Indian Englishes within one nation. There are, however, shared characteristics which identify Indian English speakers across language specific varieties. One variety, Anglo-Indian English, is distinctive, because it emerged among the offspring of British servicemen and lower-caste Indian women, and is sustained among other things by a nationwide system of long-established English-medium private schools known as Anglo-Indian schools. Generally, however, when Indian English is discussed, the term refers to the variety at the upper end of the spectrum, which has national currency and intelligibility and increasingly provides a standard for the media, education, and pan-Indian communication. In grammar and spelling, standard British English continues to have influence.

Supra-segmental features

Any of the native varieties of English is a stress-timed language, and word stress is an important feature of Received Pronunciation. Indian native languages are actually syllable-timed languages, like Latin and French. Indian-English speakers usually speak with a syllabic rhythm. Further, in some Indian languages, stress is associated with a low pitch, whereas in most English dialects, stressed syllables are generally pronounced with a higher pitch. Thus, when Indian speakers speak, they appear to put the stress accents at the wrong syllables, or accentuate all the syllables of a long English word. The Indian accent is a "sing-song" accent, a feature seen in a few English dialects in Britain, such as Scouse and Welsh English.

Indian accents vary greatly from those close to a pure British (RP) to those leaning towards a more 'vernacular' (Indian language)-tinted speech. It is this diversity that gives the Indo-English language its flavor. It is slowly evolving into a dialect of its own, and thanks to the television, may rapidly mature into a language.

Peculiarities of Indian English Grammar and Syntax

Most Indians accept that they speak English in a different way, which amounts generally to acknowledging a difference in accents; seldom are they aware of the difference in the use of grammar. Meanwhile linguistic

researches show that there is great variety in syntax, from native-speaker fluency to a weak command of many constructions. This chapter represents a widespread middle level.

Questions

No Indian language requires us to do anything more than insert the equivalent of *why* when moving from a statement to a question. The arrangement of words in a statement remains unaltered, except for such insertion. Thus the arrangement in *Tumhuss rahay ho* (you are laughing) remains unaltered when we place *kyon* (why) either before or after *tum*: *Tum kyon huss rahay ho?*

But English demands a bit more than that. The auxiliary verb must switch position with the subject, when we frame a question: You are laughing must change to Why are you laughing? Because no Indian language requires such subject/auxiliary inversion, a common error is to frame questions without it. For example: *What I can do for you? What your name is? What you would like to buy? Why you are crying? Why then are we in this mess? Where you are going? Who you will vote for? Who you will come with?*

Another difference in the use of questions is yes and no agreeing to the form of a question, not just its content, for example:

1. *A: You didn't come on the bus?*

B: Yes, I didn't.

2. *A: Didn't I see you yesterday?*

B: Yes, you didn't see me.

Actually the word order can be used in a wrong way not only in questions but also in affirmative sentences, for instance: *My all friends are waiting. That only is the problem. They're late always. Any minute he will come. All of these languages we speak at home. His friends know that her parents, he doesn't like at all. I wonder where does he work.*

Question tags

Using question tags is widely spread in Indian English. This comes from the habit of adding a question tag to a sentence, common to all Indian languages: *hai na?* (Hindi), *taina?* (Bengali), *allay?* (Malayalam), *illiya?* (Tamil), *alwa?* (Kannada), etc.

As we know the idiomatic English question tags are subject and verb-specific: *She is rather pretty, isn't she? They sound angry, don't they? I'm rather good at conning, aren't I?*

The difference in the Indlish version of using tag questions is that they are generalised and are tagged on to questions indiscriminately. For example: *This variety of rice is very good, isn't it? You're going, isn't it? (instead of You're going, aren't you?) They are coming tomorrow, isn't it? (instead of They are coming tomorrow, aren't they?) You said you'll do the job, isn't it? You have taken my book, isn't it?*

It's interesting that *yes* and *no* are also used as question tags in Indian English. *Na* often replaces *no*, which is 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, e.g.: *You like him very much, no? He's here, no? She was helping you, no? Yeah, like this guy Gotham felt like when he went back, no? He is coming, yes?*

Tense usage

One of the most indicative signs of Indian English grammar is the use of the progressive aspect with habitual actions, completed actions and stative verbs, which is an influence of traditional Hindi grammar and more common in northern states, e.g.: *I am doing it often. (instead of I do it often) Where are you coming from? (instead of Where have you come from?); She was having many sarees. (instead of She had many sarees); Are you having a cold? (instead of Have you got a cold?); I am not understanding exactly what you mean? (instead of I dont understand...); She is knowing the answer. (instead of She knows the answer); Lila is having two books. (instead of Lila has two books); You must be knowing my cousin-brother Mohan. (instead of You must know...)*

Such a wide usage of continuous forms may be jarring to the Standard English ear, but the meaning is perfectly clear.

The second peculiarity in the use of tenses in Indian English is the usage of present or past perfect rather than simple past, for example: *I have bought the book yesterday. (instead of I bought...); I had gone. (instead of I went).*

Emphasizing

All Indian languages permit some words or suffixes for emphasis, for example: *-hee* (Hindi: as in *yehee hai* right choice baby); *-ei/etai* (Bengali: as in *eai ucheet* — this is the right thing to do); *-ay* (Kannada: as in *ad-hay/heegay/avanay* — that only/like this only/he only); *-taan* (Tamil: as in *avan appidi taan*— he is like that only); *-tannay* (Malayalam: as in *adu tannay/avan tannay* — that only/like this only/the only).

The immensely flexible syntax of Indian languages creates a need for emphasis that the rigid syntax of English does not require. As the sentence word order in Indian languages can be changed over and over again with no modification of meaning, Indians are left with the feeling that a sentence they have uttered does not quite emphasise what they had in mind. And they add a word or phrase that they feel would highlight the point better.

One of the prominent features which Indian English has, but not found in other varieties of English, is the use of reflexive pronouns like *myself, himself, herself, itself, ourselves, themselves*, etc to accentuate time and place. This peculiarity comes from the Hindi word *hi*. In standard British English these pronouns are used to show that the action of the verb affects the subject (person) who performs the action (*I hurt myself/She cried herself to sleep/He drank himself silly*). But due to their flexible syntax, it is a common practice in all Indian languages. And this results in translating the usage into English and coming up with the following non-idiomatic expressions:

- *Can we meet tomorrow itself?*
- *It was Gods order itself* instead of *It was Gods own order*;
- *That book is in our college library itself* instead of *We have that book in our college library*;
- *This itself proves his guilt* instead of *This proves/establishes his guilt*;
- *They said the place itself was terrible* instead of *They felt the place was a hell-hole/mess*.

The use of *only* for putting emphasis is **not** idiomatic English. In Standard English *only* is used first and foremost for exclusion of something as in *He drinks only rum / I need only this bit of information*, where the sense is: ‘*this/that and no other*’. The use of *only* exclusively for emphasis is rare, and mostly amounts to the redundancy permitted in conversation as in *we’ve*

only just begun. But the use of *only* for emphasis is a characteristic of Indlish in the south, for example: *I was in Toledo only. They live like that only.* (instead of *That is how they live*). *They are like that only.* (instead of *That's how they behave*). *Children behave like that only.* (instead of *But that's how children do behave*). *That only is the problem.* (instead of *That's the problem*). *Was she only who cooked this rice.* *But* is also used in the same meaning, e.g.: *I was just joking but.*

Also Indian English speakers often use reduplication as a way of emphasizing an action. Reduplication can also replace *very* for intensifying or extending something, e.g.: *Come come! Sit sit! I bought some small small things. Why you don't give them one one piece of cake? She has curly curly hair. You are showing your hairy hairy legs. Different-different things.*

Another aspect of grammar that is often inconsistent is the use of *also* (another very popular word in Indian English). It can be found in various parts of a sentence, but it tends to be placed at the end, e.g.: *We never even used Hindi word also.*

The Indian usage of *what*, *when* and *why* is also has its own peculiarity, e.g.: *What for I am reading this book I do not know.*

All languages have conversational props people fall back on when they grope for the right word or expression. In India they are: *yeh/woh/woh kya hai* (Hindi); *eeaye/eta holo giye* (Bengali); *idu/adu* (Kannada); *ida/ada* (Tamil and Malayalam), etc. None of these props mean anything more explicit than *err.../umm...* even though *yeh/woh* and *idu/adu* are translated into *this/this thing* and *that/that thing* in a regular conversation. Translating the prop into *this thing/that thing* has become a widespread habit, especially among those who speak Hindi.

Those who argue that Indian English should have its own flavour would then find *You are very that thing* an acceptable equivalent of the Bollywood coy-girl pout: *Aap bade woh hain*, and *Lover, you are very that thing* as acceptable Indian English for the film song *Balmaa, tu bada woh hai*. Perhaps because such Indlish is gaining currency, a Hindi-speaking woman said to another at a husband-bashing session in Indlish: *You know, my husbands that thing is very this thing* (when the context required something like *You know, my husbands temper is something nasty*).

Conversational English has many such props: *er.../ umm.../ you know.../ well.../ like.../ kinda.../ sort of...* But if such props are translated, some meaning can intrude into where it was never intended. And this could lead to absurdities.

Articles

As we have already said Hindi syntax affects Indian English syntax in many ways. There is a seemingly arbitrary use of the articles *a* and *the*, which do not have parallels in Hindi. *The* and *a* are often dropped when they should be said and used when they should be left out, e.g.: *It is the natures way. Office is closed today. We are going to temple.* Often, one is substituted for *a* or *the*, e.g.: *He gave me one book.*

To sum up, we can highlight ten major peculiarities of Indian English grammar. These are:

1. Interrogative constructions without subject/auxiliary inversion: *What you would like to buy?*
2. *Yes* and *no* as question tags: *He is coming, yes?; She was helping you, no?*
3. *Isnt it?* as a generalized question tag: *They are coming tomorrow, isnt it?*
4. Stative verbs given progressive forms: *Lila is having two books; You must be knowing my cousin-brother Mohan.*
5. Present perfect rather than simple past: *I have bought the book yesterday.*
6. Reflexive pronouns and only used for emphasis: *It was Gods order itself It was Gods own order, They live like that only That is how they live.*
7. Reduplication used for emphasis and to indicate a distributive meaning: *I bought some small small things; Why you dont give them one one piece of cake?*
8. *This thing/that thing* used as discourse-makers.
9. Definite article often used as if the conventions have been reversed: *It is the natures way; Office is closed today.*
10. *One* used rather than the indefinite article: *He gave me one book.*

The given analysis of Indian English grammar proves the fact that English, which is the most widely spread language in the world, when brought in other countries can not stay unaltered and would certainly gain peculiarities of the native language. This is a normal process, but at the same

time we should be very careful while using Standard English and English of foreign speakers, Indian English in our case, in order not to lead the conversation to absurd. And it is certainly the duty of someone travelling from one country to another at least to get acquainted with the peculiarities of English spoken in a new place.

Peculiarities of Indian English Lexis

Peculiarities of Indian English Morphology

Indian English morphology is very creative and filled with new terms and usages. It uses compound formation extensively, for example the compounds *cousin-brother* and *cousin-sister* allow the Indian English speaker to designate whether their cousin is male or female – a function which is inherent in the terminology of most Indian languages. Others include *chalk-piece*, *key-bunch*, *meeting notice*, *age barred*, and *pindrop silence*. A quintessential Indian English term which comes from compound formation is *time-pass*, which denotes something as non-exciting, as in *That movie was real time-pass*. It can also indicate the act of passing time without a specific purpose or motivation.

Indians also shorten many words to create commonly used terms. *Enthusiasm* is called *enthu*; as such, it can be used in new ways. One can say, *That guy has a lot of enthu*. While this is simply an abbreviation, *enthu* can also be used as an adjective where *enthusiasm* cannot, as in *He's a real enthu guy*. The same applies for 'fundamentals', which is shortened as *fundas*: *She knows her fundas*. What is interesting about *fundas* is that when the *-as* ending is dropped and *-u* is added, it takes on a new meaning and can be used in a new way. *Fundu* basically means wonderful or brilliant. One can say *He is a fundu person* or even *He is fundu*.

Indians also pluralize many English mass nouns *litters*, *furnitures* and *woods*¹. Alternatively, some words which should be pluralized are not as in *one of my relative*. When bringing Indian words into English, terms such as *roti* (bread), which are already plural, will be pluralized for English by the addition of *-srotis*.

¹Trudgill & Hannah, 129-130.

English suffixes are also appended to Indian terms, for instance Bombay-dwellers tend to add *-fy* to a Hindi word to indicate that an action is being done to someone by someone. From the Hindi word *muska*, *tomuskafy* means *to flatter* somebody or *tobutter them up*. Similarly, *to pataofy* is the action of wooing someone. Other suffixes such as *-ic* (*upanishadic*), *-dom* (*cooliedom*), and *-ism* (*goondaism*) are used to create new usages for Indian terms. Prefixes can also be used in new ways. In Indian English, *pre-* is substituted for *post-* in *postpone* to create *prepone*, which indicates, for example, that a meeting has been moved to a sooner time.

The Indian English lexicon has many distinct terms which are commonly used by its speakers. Some arise through the use of old and new morphological features. Others come from acronyms and abbreviations. Many terms from Indian languages are utilized, and new usages for English words or expressions are created. It must be noted that many of these terms and usages are specific to the population of Indian English speakers who are currently between twenty and thirty years of age. Examples of the use of acronyms include the following: *MCP* = Male Chauvinist Pig; *FOC* = Free Of Charge; *MPK* = Maine Pyar Kiya (a popular movie); *QSQT* = Qayamat Se Qayamat Tak (a popular movie); *ILU* = I Love You (from a song; pronounced *ee-lu*); *ABCD* = American Born Confused Deshi (native of India); *FOB* = Fresh Off the Boat; *FOB* is actually used by American-born Indians against Indian-born Indians who come to America and tease them for being ABCD's.

Other acronyms stem from entire Hindi sentences. Many abbreviations used by Indians are as follows: *Jan* = January; *Feb* = February; *subsi* = subsidiary; *supli* = supplementary; *soopi* = superintendent; *princi* = principle; *Gen. Sec.* or *G. Sec.* = General Secretary; *Soc. Sec.* = Social Secretary; *lab ass* = laboratory assistant; *ass wardi* = assistant warden.

Vocabulary: loans

Loanwords and loan translations from other languages have been common since the 17 century, often moving into the language outside India:

1) Words from Portuguese (*almirah*, *ayah*, *caste*, *peon*) and from local languages through Portuguese (*bamboo*, *betel*, *coir*, *copra*, *curry*, *mango*).

2) Words from indigenous languages, such as Hindi and Bengali. Some are earlier and more Anglicized in their spelling: *anna*, *bungalow*, *cheetah*,

chintz, chit/chitty, dacoit, dak bungalow, jodhpurs, juggernaut, mulligatawny, pice, pukka, pundit, rupee, sahib, tussore.

Some are later and less orthographically Anglicized: *achcha* all right (used in agreement and often repeated: *Achcha achcha, I will go*), *basmati* a kind of rice, *chapatti* a flat, pancake-like piece of unleavened bread, *crore* a unit of 10m or 100 lakhs (*crores of rupees*), *goonda* a ruffian, petty criminal, *jawan* a soldier in the present-day Indian Army, *lakh* a unit of 100,000 (*lakhs of rupees*), *lathi* a lead-weighted stick carried by policemen, *masala* spices, *paisa* a coin, 100th of a rupee, *panchayat* a village council, *samo(o)sa* an envelope of fried dough filled with vegetables or meat, *Sri/Shri/Shree* Mr, *Srimati/Shrimati/Shreemati* Mrs.

- 3) Words from Arabic and Persian through north Indian languages, used especially during the British Raj: *dewan* chief minister of a princely state, *darbar* court of a prince or governor, *mogul* a Muslim prince (and in the general language an important person, as in *movie mogul*), *sepoy* a soldier in the British Indian Army, *shroff* a banker, money-changer, *vakeel/vakil* a lawyer, *zamindar* a landlord.
- 4) Words taken directly from Sanskrit, usually with religious and philosophical associations, some well known, some restricted to such contexts as *yoga*: *ahimsa* non-violence, *ananda* spiritual bliss, *chakra* a mystical centre of energy in the body, *guru* a (spiritual) teacher (and in the general language a quasi-revered guide, as in *management guru*), *nirvana* release from the wheel of rebirth, *rajas* a state of passion, *samadhi* spiritual integration and enlightenment, *sattwa/sattva* a state of purity, *tamas* a state of heaviness and ignorance, *yoga* a system of self-development, *yogi* one who engages in yoga.
- 5) Calques from local languages: *dining-leaf* a banana leaf used to serve food, *cousin brother* a male cousin, *cousin sister* a female cousin, *co-brother-in-law* one who is also a brother-in-law.

Vocabulary: hybrids, adaptations, and idioms

The great variety of mixed and adapted usages exists both as part of English and as a consequence of widespread code-mixing between English and especially Hindi:

- 1) Hybrid usages, one component from English, one from a local language, often Hindi: *brahminhood* the condition of being a brahmin, *coconut paysam* a dish made of coconut, *goonda ordinance* an ordinance against goondas, *grameen bank* a village bank, *kaccha road* a dirt road, *lathi charge* (noun) a charge using lathis, *lathi-charge* (verb) to charge with lathis, *pan/paan shop* a shop that sells betel nut and lime for chewing, wrapped in a pepper leaf, *policewala* a policeman, *swadeshi cloth* home-made cloth, *tiffin box* a lunch-box.
- 2) Local senses and developments of general English words: *batch-mate* a classmate or fellow student, *body-bath* an ordinary bath, *by-two coffee* (in the south) a restaurant order by two customers asking for half a cup of coffee each, *communal* used with reference to Hindus and Muslims (as in *communal riots*), *condole* to offer condolences to someone, *England-returned* used of one who has been to England, for educational purposes, a been-to, *Eve-teasing* teasing or harassing young women, *Foreign-returned* used of someone who has been abroad for educational purposes, *four-twenty* a cheat or swindler (from the number of a section of the Indian Penal Code), *head-bath* washing one's hair, *interdine* to eat with a member of another religion or caste, *intermarriage* a marriage involving persons from different religions of castes, *issueless* childless, *military hotel* (in the south) a restaurant where non-vegetarian food is served, *out of station* not in (one's) town or place of work, *outstation* (*cheque*) a cheque issued by a non-local bank, *prepone* the opposite of postpone, *ration shop* a shop where rationed items are available, *undertrial* a person being tried in a court of law.
- 3) Words more or less archaic in BrE and AmE, but used in Indian English, such as *dicky* (the boot/trunk of a car), *needful* ('Please do the needful, Sri Patel'), *stepney* a spare wheel or tyre, and *thrice* ('I was seeing him thrice last week').
- 4) The many idiomatic expressions include: *to sit on someone's neck* to watch that person carefully, and *to stand on someone's head* to supervise that person carefully; *Do one thing, Sri Gupta* There is one thing you could do, Mr Gupta; *He was doing this thing that*

thing, wasting my time He was doing all sorts of things, wasting my time.

Usage

It is not easy to separate the use of English in India from the general multilingual flux. In addition to code-mixing and code-switching, other languages are constantly drawn into English discourse and English into the discourse of other languages, especially Hindi. In the English-language press, hybrid headlines are common: *JNU karamcharis begin dharna* (The Statesman, New Delhi, 12 May 1981), *Marathwada band over pandal fire* (The Indian Express, New Delhi, 9 May 1981), and *55 Jhuggis gutted* (The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, 3 May 1981).

Matrimonial advertisements in the English-language press are equally distinctive: ‘Wanted well-settled bridegroom for a Kerala fair graduate Baradwaja gotram, Astasastram girl ... subset no bar. Send horoscope and details’; ‘Matrimonial proposals invited from educated, smart, well settled, Gujarati bachelors for good looking, decent, Gujarati Modh Ghanchi Bania girl (25), B.A., doing the M.A. and serving’.

PART V. TIPS FOR CROSS CULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN INDIA

Conversation in India

Of all the cultural influences that most impact Indian business culture, hierarchy plays a key role. With its roots in Hinduism and the caste system, Indian society operates within a framework of strict hierarchy that defines people's roles, status and social order.

For example, within companies manual labour will only be carried out by the "peon" (roughly equivalent to a 'runner'). It is not uncommon for the moving of a desk to take hours. This is because no-one in the office will carry out the task but the "peon", who, if otherwise engaged can not do so.

It is not impolite to be curious in India, and in fact to ask extremely personal questions. You may be questioned about your own lifestyle quite rigorously. If unmarried, you may elicit a certain amount of pity!

You will very likely be asked about your family, your position in life, even your salary. Do not be offended, since this curiosity works both ways, and an Indian will be very happy to answer your questions about his culture and his personal life, thereby enriching the experience for both of you.

Most Indians enjoy good conversation on a variety of topics. Even in business meetings, it is common and normal to start discussions with 'small talk' on other unrelated issues. In fact, this is seen as a way of building rapport and trust.

In general, Indians are open and friendly, and compared to many countries in the West, have a lesser sense of privacy. It is not unusual for a stranger to start up a conversation with you on a flight or a train journey.

Sometimes, Indians ask questions which can be seen as too personal and intrusive. However, one must remember that discussing one's family and personal life is normal among Indians. In fact, often enquiring about the other person's family is seen as a sign of friendliness.

Conversation in India is as much an exchange of views as it is a mode of building and strengthening relationships. Consequently, complimenting and showing appreciation are quite normal among Indians.

Indians seldom express their disagreement in a direct manner; open disagreement is likely to be interpreted as being hostile and aggressive though expression of disagreement by someone who is superior or elder is, by and large, acceptable. Normally, disagreements are openly expressed only with those with whom one has built a trusting relationship. Otherwise, disagreements are expressed in an indirect manner. In most cases - unless, it is a crucial issue - it is advisable to avoid expressing direct disagreement.

It is common courtesy to initiate any conversation with general questions as to health, work, relatives, even to the extent of enquiring, "How's everything?" You never enquire about female relatives, wives, sisters, and daughters. Tea will compulsorily be offered, and should be accepted gracefully.

Addressing Others with Respect

Status in India is determined by age, university degree, caste and profession. So Indians revere the professional titles such as 'Professor', 'Doctor' and 'Engineer'. It is advised for foreigners to use these titles wherever possible. If one's Indian counterpart does not have a title, it is advisable to prefix the name with the honorific title Mr., Mrs., Miss (depending on their marital status), or Sir, Madam unless the person asks you to refer to him by his/her first name. Mr and Mrs are often applied as common nouns for a wife or husband, for example, Jyotis Mr stopped by yesterday or My Mrs is not feeling well. Ms (also Mr, Mrs) are used with first name, for example, Swathi Ashok Kumar might be addressed as Ms Swathi instead of Ms Kumar. This is logical and perhaps the only possible correct usage in South India, especially in Tamil Nadu, where most people don't use a surname. In general, people are addressed by their name without the prefix only by close acquaintances, family members, or by someone who is older or superior in authority.

The naming conventions in the southern states of India like Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, and Kerala are different when compared to other parts of the country. Though it is often broadly referred to as North India, it also encompasses the eastern and western regions of the country.

In North India, most people have a family name e.g., Sharma, Patel, Singh, etc., and the names are written in the western style – firstname followed by the surname. Sometimes, there may also be a middle name, such as Chandra, Kumar, Prasad, etc. For instance, Mr. Praveen Chandra Kulkarni will be addressed as Mr. Kulkarni or as Praveen, if the relationship is informal.

In contrast, in southern states, men do not have a family name. Instead, the name of one's father and/or the ancestral village/town is used for the purpose. These are normally abbreviated and prefixed before the first name. For instance, a south Indian name Kamundari Ranganathan Gurumurthy will be written as K. R. Gurumurthy, signifying that the person's ancestral place is Kamundari, father's name is Ranganathan, and his first name is Gurumurthy. He will be addressed as Mr. Gurumurthy - or if the relationship is informal, as just Gurumurthy.

Due to assimilation in the local culture, often even non-Hindu communities follow the same naming conventions in the southern states. For instance, the President of India, Dr A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, is a Muslim from southern India, and the initials in his name are an abbreviation of his lineage Avul Pakir Jainulabdeen.

One more special word in Indian English is *guru*, which means teacher, guide, and mentor. *Wallah* denotes occupation or doing of/involvement in doing something, as in *The taxi-wallah overcharged me; The grocery-wallah sells fresh fruit or Hes a real music-wallah: his CD collection is huge.*

Women normally adapt the husband's name after marriage usually family name in North India, and first name in southern India. It must be mentioned that with time and social mobility, the naming conventions are also changing. For instance, many south Indian families have started adapting the north Indian naming conventions. Since the family name in north India also denotes the person's caste - and therefore, place in the social hierarchy – some liberal-minded north Indians do not use the family name or use their father's name instead. There is an increasing trend among educated professional women of keeping their maiden name after marriage

Referring to elders, strangers or anyone meriting respect Indians add *jee/ji* (Hindi: जी used as a suffix) as in *Please call a taxi for Gupta-ji* (North,

West and East India) or use prefixes *Shree/Shri* (Devanagari: श्री meaning Mister) or *Shreemati/Shrimati* (Devanagari: श्रीमती meaning Ms/Mrs): *ShriRavi Shankar* or *Shreemati Das Gupta*. As with *Shree/Shreemati*, suffixes *Saahib/Sāhab* (Mr) and *Begum* (Mrs)(Urdu) are used as in *Welcome toIndia, Smith-saahib. or Begum Sahib would like some tea.*

It is common to use the English words *uncle* and *aunty* as suffixes when addressing people such as distant relatives, neighbours, acquaintances, even total strangers (like shopkeepers) who are significantly older than oneself. E.g., *Hello, Swathi aunty!* In fact, in Indian culture, children or teenagers addressing their friend's parents as *Mr Patel* or *Mrs Patel* (etc.) is considered unacceptable, perhaps even offensive—a substitution of *Sir/Maam* is also not suitable except for teachers. On the contrary, if a person is really one's *uncle* or *aunt*, he/she will usually not be addressed as *uncle/auntie*, but with the name of the relation in the vernacular Indian language, even while conversing in English. For example, if a woman is one's mother's sister, she would not be addressed by a Hindi speaker as *auntie* but as *Mausi* (Hindi: मौसी), by a Kannada speaker as *Chikkamma* (Kannada: ಅತ್ತೆ). It is interesting to observe that calling one's friend's parents *auntie* and *uncle* was also very common in Great Britain in the 1960s and 70s but is much rarer today.

Indians tend to use *Respected Sir* while starting a formal letter instead of *Dear Sir*. Again, such letters are ended with non-standard greetings, such as *Yours respectfully*, or *Yours obediently*, rather than the standard *Yours sincerely/faithfully/truly*. In lengthy texts, such as newspaper articles, a person is referred to with his name, position, department and company without prepositions and often without the first name spelled out, leaving just the initial: *D. Singh, manager, department function (tech sales), company name*. In South India, especially in Tamil Nadu, where surnames are not used, the initial stands for one's father's first name, e.g., in *M. Karthik*, the initial *M* could stand for *Mani*, *Karthik's* father's first name.

The expression *my dear*, used as an adjective to refer a likeable person. As in *He is a my dear person* very common in Bihar.

Your good name please? (What is your name?) carries over 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-namaye* instead of the simple *namaye* when referring to their own name.

Casual References

Casual use of words *yaar* (Hindi: यार meaning - friend, buddy, dude, man, mate), *bhai* (Hindi: भाई meaning - brother) and *bhaiyya* (Hindi: भैया meaning - elder brother) much as with the American English man or dude, as in *Arey! Cmon, yaar! Dont be such a killjoy!, Long time no see, bhai.orAy, 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*.

Indians are inclined to use informal and sometimes coarse assignments of familial relationships to friends as *alliyann* in Kerala, *machan* in Chennai, *mama* in Hyderabad literally meaning uncle and *sala* (Hindi: साला) in Mumbai literally mean brother-in-law, but are informally used by the youth to refer to each other. Targeted at a stranger, such words may take a derogatory meaning (like sleeping with your sister). Use of *Baba* (father in its original sense, but colloquially meaning *buddy*) is customary while referring to any person, such as *No Baba, just try and understand, I cannot come today*.

Interjections of Indian origin

While speaking English Indians often code mix with interjections of Indian origin. For instance they use *Arey!* (Hindi: अरे) and *acchha!* (Hindi: अच्छा) to express a wide range of emotions, usually positive though occasionally not, as in *Arey! What a good job you did!, Accha, so thats your plan. Or Arey, what luck/bad luck, yaar!*

The word *chal* (Hindi: चल - Imperative of the verb to walk) means the interjection Ok, as in *Chal, I gotta go now* at the end of a phone call. Use of *T-K* (Hindi: ठीक है Transliteration: *Theek Hai*, literally meaning fine is, meaning okay) is habitual in place of O.K. when answering a question, as

in *Would you like to come to the movie? --- T-K, Ill meet you there late. T-K* is a anglophonic homophone of the Hindi phrase *Theek hai* similar to the French *Ça va* similar to the English phrase *Alright then*.

Oof! (Hindi: ऊफ़ - an interjection in Hindi) shows distress or frustration, as in *Oof! The babys crying again!*. Along with *oof!*, there is also *off-oaf!* [of.fof] 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 *Aiyo!* [əi:jo], (Kannada: ಐಯ್ಯೋ) expanded to *Aiyaiyo!* (Kannada: ಐಐಯ್ಯೋ) in proportion to the provocation. The latter phrase is the trademark of the South Indian, as caricatured in Hindi movies.

Wah (Hindi: वाह) expresses admiration, especially in musical settings, as in *Wah! Wah! You play the sitar so well! Chumma chumma* (Tamil: சும்மம் means simply) is used at the beginning of a sentence. (eg. *Chumma chumma dont talk*).

Use of English words as Interjections

English words can also switch into interjections in Indian English, e.g. *just* and *simply* are used in a seemingly arbitrary manner in southern India, especially Kerala. e.g.: *Q: Why did you do it? A: Simply! or Just I was telling to [sic] him.*

Indians also overuse the word *please* as an interjection often overstressing the vowel. This could stem from *please* being implied within the grammatical verb conjugation in Hindi, causing speakers to overcompensate for its absence in English.

There is unnecessary repetition of words *yes, no, right, ok* etc to stress on the general idea. For example: *A: Did you finish reading the book? B: Yes yes !!! It is generally accompanied by an emphatic shake of the head.*

Peculiarities of Naming Conversation

Some peculiarities of naming conversation in Indian English are caused by religion, social class, and region of the country. The following are some basic guidelines to understanding the naming conventions.

Hindus. In the north, many people have both a given name and a surname. In the south, surnames are less common and a person generally uses

the initial of their father's name in front of their own name. The man's formal name is their name s/o (son of) and the father's name. Women use d/o to refer to themselves as the daughter of their father. At marriage, women drop their father's name and use their first name with their husband's first name as a sort of surname.

Muslims. Many Muslims do not have surnames. Instead, men add the father's name to their own name with the connector *bin*. So, for example, *Abdullah bin Ahmed* is Abdullah the son of Ahmad. Women use the connector *binti*. The title *Hajji* (m) or *Hajjah* (f) before the name indicates the person has made their pilgrimage to Mecca.

Sikhs. Sikhs all use the name Singh. It is either adopted as a surname or as a connector name to the surname.

Comprehension Check Questions

1. How does Sahitya Akademi recognize Indian English literature?
2. What is the controversy over Indian English?
3. What are the distinctive phonological features of Indian English?
4. What are the syllable-timed languages similar to?
5. Can we change the word order in Indian English? Give some examples.
6. What are the Indian English acronyms? Give some examples
7. How do English tag questions differ from Indian ones?
8. How can we explain the emphatic side between Indian and English languages?
9. How do Indians build up conversations? What issues do they prefer to talk on?
10. How can we prove that hierarchy plays an important role in Indian culture?

Questions for the Discussion

1. Can we consider Indian English as a legitimate and unique style of English as is American English spoken and written in the U.S.? Why/why not? Justify your answer giving examples.
2. Do you think that Indians learn English because of necessity or love of this language? Justify your answer giving examples.

PART VI. EXERCISES

Task 1. Read the letter of application below in English written by Indian English speaker. Find the Indianisms in a) spelling, b) morphology, c) grammar and syntax, d) lexis and explain their usage.

The Person: (name)

The Background: Nestled in the supine, sepulchral but salubrious & snug backwaters of the womb, I debuted in this wondrous world, that's, but a stage (a la shakespeare) when the 19th dawn of (year) was still trying to disenchant itself from the innocent enticements of its dusky, star swathed sweetheart - the night, reluctantly bidding it au revoir. Post the clinical confines of the natal nursing unit, I entered into the home, hearth & hearts of Mr. (name), presently a Sr. Manager with the (organization), Mrs. (name), a homemaker, who also make us love life, & my elder sister, Ms. (name).

After a sweet sojourn in Lucknow, we were rivetted to Roorkee where I took in the sights & sounds, falvours & fragrances, tastes & tangs, caresses & caprices of my chunk of this prolific planet, before returning to Lucknow in the early 90's. The cushy kidhood evanesced & I traipsed into a tremulous teenhood. Here, I relished my rainbow reveries & revved upto rife raggings, had my measures of mellow mush & moony muses, fervidly faced the facts of life while still fawning over fantasies & craved for my candyfloss crushes besides calculating my career concerns.

Now, waiting to excel & exhilarate.

The Education: I've been schooled at an institution of repute, St, Ann's Convent, Roorkee, which is famed not only for the impeccable ideals it instills in its alumni but also for its avant garde avenues to academics... .

The Experience Professional: I jumped the gun on the job bandwagon when I was in my last semester at school, ie the early '95, as an Astd. at my aunties dress-designing outlet.

Between the hiatus of passing out of school & going for my grad levels, in the latter half of '95, I signed up with (organization) as a Mktg. Executive. Last year, was appointed a Teacher in English at the American Centre for Languages. Am freelancing as a Copywriter for an ad-agency....

The Experience (Amateur): Compering - I posses a flair for. Have always been compering at school shows, alumni meets, college socials & inter & intra University dos & functions moving on to anchoring youth fests & cultural bashes organized by city-based youth outfits.

I am majorly into Music - especially the western solo genre, have netted prizes at multifarious music competitions at school/college platforms, later taking on the stage at events of local culture groups.

Poetry has been a prime pursuit, has become almost a second nature. Also, creative writing of all conceivable colours. Have done some deft dress-designing which has been accepted by the trends boutique. Captained the school basketball team for the session '94-'95.

Task 2. Do you think the applicant will get a job in Britain or America? Why/why not? Give your reasons.

Task 3. The extracts below are taken from Frances Hodgson Burnet's novel "A Little Princess". Read the extracts and highlight all language items reflecting Indian culture. Elucidate their function in the text.

EXTRACT 1

The lamp was flushing the room, the fire was blazing, the supper was waiting; and Ram Dass was standing smiling into her startled face.

"Misee sahib remembered," he said. "She told the sahib all. She wished you to know the good fortune which has befallen her. Behold a letter on the tray. She has written. She did not wish that you should go to sleep unhappy. The sahib commands you to come to him tomorrow. You are to be the attendant of misee sahib. Tonight I take these things back over the roof."

And having said this with a beaming face, he made a little salaam and slipped through the skylight with an agile silentness of movement which showed Becky how easily he had done it before.

At this moment she was remembering the voyage she had just made from Bombay with her father, Captain Crewe. She was thinking of the big ship, of the lascars passing silently to and fro on it, of the children playing about on the hot deck, and of some young officers' wives who used to try to make her talk to them and laugh at the things she said.

Principally, she was thinking of what a queer thing it was that at one time one was in India in the blazing sun, and then in the middle of the ocean, and then driving in a strange vehicle through strange streets where the day

was as dark as the night. She found this so puzzling that she moved closer to her father.

"Papa," she said in a low, mysterious little voice which was almost a whisper, "papa."

"What is it, darling?" Captain Crewe answered, holding her closer and looking down into her face. "What is Sara thinking of?"

"Is this the place?" Sara whispered, cuddling still closer to him. "Is it, papa?"

"Yes, little Sara, it is. We have reached it at last." And though she was only seven years old, she knew that he felt sad when he said it.

It seemed to her many years since he had begun to prepare her mind for "the place", as she always called it. Her mother had died when she was born, so she had never known or missed her. Her young, handsome, rich, petting father seemed to be the only relation she had in the world. They had always played together and been fond of each other. She only knew he was rich because she had heard people say so when they thought she was not listening, and she had also heard them say that when she grew up she would be rich too. She did not know all that being rich meant. She had always lived in a beautiful bungalow, and had been used to seeing many servants who made salaams to her and called her "Misse Sahib", and gave her her own way in everything. She had had toys and pets and an ayah who worshipped her, and she had gradually learned that people who were rich had these things. That, however, was all she knew about it.

During her short life only one thing had troubled her, and that thing was "the place" she was to be taken to some day. The climate in India was very bad for children, and as soon as possible they were sent away from it – generally to England and to school. She had seen other children go away and had heard their fathers and mothers talk about the letters they received from them. She had known that she would be obliged to go also, and though sometimes her father's stories of the voyage and the new country had attracted her, she had been troubled by the thought that he could not stay with her.

"Couldn't you go to that place with me, papa?" she had asked when she was five years old. "Couldn't you go to school too? I would help you with your lessons."

"But you will not have to stay for a very long time, little Sara," he had always said. "You will go to a nice house where there will be a lot of little girls, and you will play together, and I will send you plenty of books, and you will grow so fast that it will seem scarcely a year before you are big enough and clever enough to come back and take care of papa."

She had liked to think of that. To keep the house for her father; to ride with him and sit at the head of his table when he had dinner-parties; to talk to him and read his books – that would be what she would like most in the world, and if one must go away to "the place" in England to attain it, she must make up her mind to go. She did not care very much for other little girls, but if she had plenty of books she could console herself. She liked books more than anything else, and was, in fact, always inventing stories of beautiful things, and telling them to herself. Sometimes she had told them to her father, and he had liked them as much as she did.

"Well, papa," she said softly, "if we are here I suppose we must be resigned."

He laughed at her old-fashioned speech and kissed her. He was really not at all resigned himself, though he knew he must keep that a secret. His quaint little Sara had been a great companion to him, and he felt he should be a lonely fellow when, on his return to India, he went into his bungalow knowing he need not expect to see the small figure in its white frock come forward to meet him. So he held her very closely in his arm as the cab rolled into the big, dull square in which stood the house which was their destination.

EXTRACT 2

What Melchisedec Heard and Saw

On this very afternoon, while Sara was out, a strange thing happened in the attic. Only Melchisedec saw and heard it; and he was so much alarmed and mystified that he scuttled back to his hole and hid there, and really quaked and trembled as he peeped out furtively and with great caution to watch what was going on. The attic had been very still all the day after Sara had left it in the early morning. The stillness had only been broken by the pattering of the rain upon the slates and the skylight. Melchisedec had, in

fact, found it rather dull; and when the rain ceased to patter and perfect silence reigned, he decided to come out and reconnoiter, though experience taught him that Sara would not return for some time. He had been rambling and sniffing about, and had just found a totally unexpected and unexplained crumb left from his last meal, when his attention was attracted by a sound on the roof. He stopped to listen with a palpitating heart. The sound suggested that something was moving on the roof. It was approaching the skylight; it reached the skylight. The skylight was being mysteriously opened. A dark face peered into the attic; then another face appeared behind it, and both looked in with signs of caution and interest. Two men were outside on the roof, and were making silent preparations to enter through the skylight itself. One was Ram Dass, and the other was a young man who was the Indian gentleman's secretary; but of course Melchisedec did not know this. He only knew that the men were invading the silence and privacy of the attic; and as the one with the dark face let himself down through the aperture with such lightness and dexterity that he did not make the slightest sound, Melchisedec turned tail and fled precipitately back to his hole. He was frightened to death. He had ceased to be timid with Sara, and knew she would never throw anything but crumbs, and would never make any sound other than the soft, low, coaxing whistling; but strange men were dangerous things to remain near. He laid close and flat near the entrance of his home, just managing to peep through the crack with a bright, alarmed eye. How much he understood of the talk he heard I am not in the least able to say; but, even if he had understood it all, he would probably have remained greatly mystified.

The secretary, who was light and young, slipped through the skylight as noiselessly as Ram Dass had done; and he caught a last glimpse of Melchisedec's vanishing tail.

"Was that a rat?" he asked Ram Dass, in a whisper.

"Yes; a rat, Sahib," answered Ram Dass, also whispering. "There are many in the walls."

"Ugh!" exclaimed the young man, "it is a wonder the child is not terrified by them."

Ram Dass gestured with his hand. He also smiled gently. He was in this place as the intimate exponent of Sara, though she had only spoken to him once.

"The child is the little friend of all things, Sahib," he answered. "She is not as other children. I see her when she does not see me. I slip across the slates and look at her many nights to see that she is safe. I watch her from my window when she does not know I am near. She stands on the table there and looks out at the sky as if it spoke to her. The sparrows come at her call. The rat she has fed and tamed in her loneliness. The poor slave of the house comes to her for comfort. There is a little child who comes to her in secret; there is one older who worships her and would listen to her for ever if she might. This I have seen when I have crept across the roof. By the mistress of the house who is an evil woman— she is treated like a pariah; but she has the bearing of a child who is of the blood of kings!"

"You seem to know a great deal about her," the secretary said.

"All her life each day I know," answered Ram Dass. "Her going out and her coming in; her sadness and her joys; her coldness and her hunger. I know when she sits alone, learning from her books; I know when her secret friends steal to her and she is happier – as children can be, even in the midst of poverty – because they come and she may laugh and talk with them in whispers. If she were ill I should know, and I would come and serve her if it might be done."

"You are sure no one comes near this place but herself, and that she will not return and surprise us. She would be frightened if she found us here, and the Sahib Carrisford's plan would be spoiled."

Ram Dass crossed noiselessly to the door and stood close to it.

"None mount here but herself, Sahib," he said. "She has gone out with her basket and may be gone for hours. If I stand here I can hear any step before it reaches the last flight of the stairs."

The secretary took a pencil and a tablet from his breast pocket.

"Keep your ears open," he said; and he began to walk slowly and softly round the little room, making rapid notes on his tablet as he looked at things.

First he went to the narrow bed. He pressed his hand upon the mattress and uttered an exclamation.

"As hard as a stone," he said. "That will have to be altered some day when she is out. A special journey can be made to bring it across. It cannot be done tonight." He lifted the covering and examined the one thin pillow.

"Coverlet dingy and worn, blanket thin, sheets patched and ragged," he said. "What a bed for a child to sleep in—and in a house which calls itself respectable! There has not been a fire in that grate for many a day," glancing at the rusty fireplace.

"Never since I have seen it," said Ram Dass. "The mistress of the house is not one who remembers that another than herself may be cold."

The secretary was writing quickly on his tablet. He looked up from it as he tore off a leaf and slipped it into his breast pocket. "It is a strange way of doing the thing," he said.

"Who planned it?"

Ram Dass made a modestly apologetic obeisance. "It is true that the first thought was mine, Sahib," he said, "though it was naught but a fancy. I am fond of this child; we are both lonely. It is her way to relate her visions to her friends. Being sad one night, I lay close to the open skylight and listened. The vision she related told what this miserable room might be if it had comforts in it. She seemed to see it as she talked, and she grew cheered as she spoke. Then she came to this fancy; and the next day, the Sahib being ill and wretched, I told him of the thing to amuse him. It seemed then but a dream, but it pleased the Sahib. To hear of the child's doings gave him entertainment. He became interested in her and asked questions. At last he began to please himself with the thought of making her visions real things."

"You think that it can be done while she sleeps? Suppose she awakened," suggested the secretary; and it was evident that whatsoever the plan referred to was, it had caught and pleased his fancy as well as the Sahib Carrisford's.

"I can move as if my feet were of velvet," Ram Dass replied, "and children sleep soundly—even the unhappy ones. I could have entered this room in the night many times, and without causing her to turn upon her pillow. If the other bearer passes to me the things through the window, I can do all and she will not stir. When she awakens she will think a magician has been there."

He smiled as if his heart warmed under his white robe, and the secretary smiled back at him.

"It will be like a story from the 'Arabian Nights'," he said. "Only an Oriental could have planned it. It does not belong to London fogs."

They did not remain very long, to the great relief of Melchisedec who, as he probably did not comprehend their conversation, felt their movements and whispers ominous. The young secretary seemed interested in everything. He wrote down things about the floor, the fireplace, the broken footstool, the old table, the walls—which last he touched with his hand again and again, seeming much pleased when he found that a number of old nails had been driven in various places. "You can hang things on them," he said. Ram Dass smiled mysteriously. "Yesterday, when she was out," he said, "I entered, bringing with me small, sharp nails which can be pressed into the wall without blows from a hammer. I placed many in the plaster where I may need them. They are ready."

The Indian gentleman's secretary stood still and looked round him as he thrust his tablets back into his pocket.

"I think I have made notes enough; we can go now," he said. "The Sahib Carrisford has a warm heart. It is a thousand pities that he has not found the lost child." "If he should find her his strength would be restored to him," said Ram Dass. "His God may lead her to him yet."

Then they slipped through the skylight as noiselessly as they had entered it. And, after he was quite sure they had gone, Melchisedec was greatly relieved, and in the course of a few minutes felt it safe to emerge from his hole again and scuffle about in the hope that even such alarming human beings as these might have chanced to carry crumbs in their Pockets and drop one or two of them.

Task 4. Read the extracts and highlight all language items reflecting Indian and British culture. Elucidate their function in the text.

The Indian Gentleman

"There is such a yellow gentleman next door, Sara," Lottie whispered at the French class afterward. "Do you think he is a Chinese? The geography says the Chinese men are yellow."

"No, he is not Chinese," Sara whispered back. "He is very ill. Go on with your exercise, Lottie. 'Non, monsieur. Je n'ai pas le canif de ton oncle'."

That was the beginning of the story of the Indian gentleman.

There were fine sunsets even in the square, sometimes. One would see parts of them, however, between the chimneys and over the roofs. From the kitchen windows one could not see them at all, and could only guess that they were going on because the bricks looked warm and the air rosy or yellow for a while, or perhaps one saw a blazing glow strike a particular pane of glass somewhere. There was, however, one place from which one could see all the splendour of them: the piles of red or gold clouds in the west; or the purple ones edged with dazzling brightness; or the little fleecy, floating ones, tinged with rose-colour and looking like flights of pink doves scurrying across the blue in a great hurry if there was a wind. The place where one could see all this, and seem at the same time to breathe a purer air was, of course, the attic window. When the square suddenly seemed to begin to glow in an enchanted way and look wonderful in spite of its sooty trees and railings, Sara knew something was going on in the sky; and when it was at all possible to leave the kitchen without being missed or called back, she invariably stole away and crept up the flights of stairs, and, climbing on the old table, got her head and body as far out of the window as possible. When she had accomplished this, she always drew a long breath and looked all round her. It used to seem as if she had all the sky and the world to herself. No one else ever looked out of the other attics. Generally the skylights were closed; but even if they were propped open to admit air, no one seemed to come near them. And there Sara would stand, sometimes turning her face upward to the blue which seemed so friendly and near—just like a lovely vaulted ceiling—sometimes watching the west and all the wonderful things that happened there: the clouds melting or drifting or waiting softly to be changed pink or crimson or snow-white or purple or pale dove-grey. Sometimes they made islands or great mountains enclosing lakes of deep turquoise-blue, or liquid amber, or chrysoprase-green; sometimes dark headlands jutted into strange, lost seas; sometimes slender strips of wonderful lands joined other wonderful lands together. There were places where it seemed that one could run or climb or stand and wait to see what next was

coming—until, perhaps, as it all melted, one could float away. At least it seemed so to Sara, and nothing had ever been quite so beautiful to her as the things she saw as she stood on the table—her body half out of the skylight – the sparrows twittering with sunset softness on the slates. The sparrows always seemed to her to twitter with a sort of subdued softness just when these marvels were going on.

There was such a sunset as this a few days after the Indian gentleman was brought to his new home; and, as it fortunately happened that the afternoon's work was done in the kitchen and nobody had ordered her to go anywhere or perform any task, Sara found it easier than usual to slip away and go upstairs.

She mounted her table and stood looking out. It was a wonderful moment. There were floods of molten gold covering the west, as if a glorious tide was sweeping over the world. A deep, rich yellow light filled the air; the birds flying across the tops of the houses showed quite black against it.

"It's a Splendid one," said Sara softly to herself. "It makes me feel almost afraid - as if something strange was just going to happen. The Splendid ones always make me feel like that."

She suddenly turned her head because she heard a sound a few yards away from her. It was an odd sound, like a queer little squeaky chattering. It came from the window of the next attic. Someone had come to look at the sunset as she had. There was a head and part of a body emerging from the skylight, but it was not the head or body of a little girl or a housemaid; it was the picturesque white-swathed form and dark-faced, gleaming-eyed, white-turbaned head of a native Indian - "a lascar", Sara said to herself quickly - and the sound she had heard came from a small monkey he held in his arms as if he were fond of it, and which was snuggling and chattering against his breast.

As Sara looked toward him he looked toward her. The first thing she thought was that his dark face looked sorrowful and homesick. She felt absolutely sure he had come up to look at the sun, because he had seen it so seldom in England that he longed for a sight of it. She looked at him interestedly for a second, and then smiled across the slates. She had learned to know how comforting a smile, even from a stranger, may be.

Hers was evidently a pleasure to him. His whole expression altered, and he showed such gleaming white teeth as he smiled back that it was as if a light had been illuminated in his dusky face. The friendly look in Sara's eyes was always very effective when people felt tired or dull.

It was perhaps in making his salute to her that he loosened his hold on the monkey. He was an impish monkey and always ready for adventure, and it is probable that the sight of a little girl excited him. He suddenly broke loose, jumped on to the slates, ran across them chattering, and actually leaped on to Sara's shoulder, and from there down into her attic room. It made her laugh and delighted her; but she knew he must be restored to his master - if the lascar was his master - and she wondered how this was to be done. Would he let her catch him, or would he be naughty and refuse to be caught, and perhaps get away and run off over the roofs and be lost? That would not do at all. Perhaps he belonged to the Indian, and the poor man was fond of him.

She turned to the lascar, feeling glad that she remembered still some of the Hindustani she had learned when she lived with her father. She could make the man understand. She spoke to him in the language he knew.

"Will he let me catch him?" she asked.

She thought she had never seen more surprise and delight than the dark face expressed when she spoke in the familiar tongue. The truth was that the poor fellow felt as if his gods had intervened, and the kind little voice came from heaven itself. At once Sara saw that he had been accustomed to European children. He poured forth a flood of respectful thanks. He was the servant of Misse Sahib. The monkey was a good monkey and would not bite; but, unfortunately, he was difficult to catch. He would flee from one spot to another, like the lightning. He was disobedient, though not evil. Ram Dass knew him as if he were his child, and Ram Dass he would sometimes obey, but not always. If Misse Sahib would permit Ram Dass, he himself could cross the roof to her room, enter the window, and regain the unworthy little animal. But he was evidently afraid Sara might think he was taking a great liberty and perhaps would not let him come. But Sara gave him leave at once. "Can you get across?" she inquired. "In a moment," he answered her.

"Then come," she said, "he is flying from side to side of the room as if he was frightened."

Ram Dass slipped through his attic window and crossed to hers as steadily and lightly as if he had walked on roofs all his life. He slipped through the skylight and dropped upon his feet without a sound. Then he turned to Sara and salaamed again. The monkey saw him and uttered a little scream. Ram Dass hastily took the precaution of shutting the skylight, and then went in chase of him. It was not a very long chase. The monkey prolonged it for a few minutes evidently for the mere fun of it, but presently he sprang chattering on to Ram Dass's shoulder and sat there chattering and clinging to his neck with a weird little skinny arm.

Ram Dass thanked Sara profoundly. She had seen that his quick native eyes had taken in at a glance all the bare shabbiness of the room, but he spoke to her as if he were speaking to the little daughter of a rajah, and pretended that he observed nothing. He did not presume to remain more than a few moments after he had caught the monkey, and those moments were given to further deep and grateful obeisance to her in return for her indulgence. This little evil one, he said, stroking the monkey, was, in truth, not so evil as he seemed, and his master, who was ill, was sometimes amused by him. He would have been made sad if his favourite had run away and been lost. Then he salaamed once more, and got through the skylight and across the slates again with as much agility as the monkey himself had displayed.

When he had gone Sara stood in the middle of her attic and thought of many things his face and his manner had brought back to her. The sight of his native costume and the profound reverence of his manner stirred all her past memories. It seemed a strange thing to remember that she the drudge whom the cook had said insulting things to an hour ago—had only a few years ago been surrounded by people who all treated her as Ram Dass had treated her; who salaamed when she went by, whose foreheads almost touched the ground when she spoke to them, who were her servants and her slaves. It was like a sort of dream. It was all over, and it could never come back. It certainly seemed that there was no way in which any change could take place. She knew what Miss Minchin intended that her future should be.

So long as she was too young to be used as a regular teacher, she would be used as an errand girl and servant, and yet expected to remember what she had learned and in some mysterious way to learn more. The greater number of her evenings she was supposed to spend at study, and knew she would have been severely admonished if she had not advanced as was expected of her. The truth, indeed, was that Miss Minchin knew that she was too anxious to learn to require teachers. Give her books, and she would devour them and end by knowing them by heart. She might be trusted to be equal to teaching a good deal in the course of a few years. This was what would happen; when she was older she would be expected to drudge in the schoolroom as she drudged now in various parts of the house; they would be obliged to give her more respectable clothes, but they would be sure to be plain and ugly, and to make her look somehow like a servant. That was all there seemed to be to look forward to, and Sara stood quite still for several minutes and thought it over.

Then a thought came back to her which made the colour rise in her cheek and a spark light itself in her eyes. She straightened her thin little body and lifted her head.

"Whatever comes," she said, "cannot alter one thing. If I am a princess in rags and tatters, I can be a princess inside. It would be easy to be a princess if I were dressed in cloth of gold, but it is a great deal more of a triumph to be one all the time when no one knows it. There was Marie Antoinette when she was in prison and her throne was gone and she had only a black gown on, and her hair was white, and they insulted her and called her Widow Capet. She was a great deal more like a queen then than when she was so gay and everything was so grand. I like her best then. Those howling mobs of people did not frighten her. She was stronger than they were, even when they cut her head off."

This was not a new thought, but quite an old one, by this time. It had consoled her through many a bitter day, and she had gone about the house with an expression in her face which Miss Minchin could not understand and which was a source of great annoyance to her, as it seemed as if the child were mentally living a life which held her above the rest of the world. It was as if she scarcely heard the rude and acid things said to her; or, if she

heard them, did not care for them at all. Sometimes, when she was in the midst of some harsh, domineering speech, Miss Minchin would find the still, unchildish eyes fixed upon her with something like a proud smile in them. At such times she did not know that Sara was saying to herself:

"You don't know that you are saying these things to a princess and that if I chose I could wave my hand and order you to execution. I only spare you because I am a princess, and you are a poor, stupid, unkind, vulgar old thing, and don't know any better."

This used to interest and amuse her more than anything else; and queer and fanciful as it was, she found comfort in it and it was a good thing for her.

While the thought held possession of her, she could not be made rude and malicious by the rudeness and malice of those about her.

"A princess must be polite," she said to herself.

And so when the servants, taking their tone from their mistress, were insolent and ordered her about, she would hold her head erect and reply to them with a quaint civility which often made them stare at her.

"She's got more airs and graces than if she comes from Buckingham-Palace, that young one," said the cook, chuckling a little sometimes. "I lose my temper with her often enough, but I will say she never forgets her manners. 'If you please, cook'; 'Will you be so kind, cook?'; 'I beg your pardon, cook'; 'May I trouble you, cook?' She drops them about the kitchen as if they were nothing."

The morning after the interview with Ram Dass and his monkey, Sara was in the schoolroom with her small pupils. Having finished giving them their lessons, she was putting the French exercise books together and thinking, as she did it, of the various things royal personages in disguise were called upon to do: Alfred the Great, for instance, burning the cakes and getting his ears boxed by the wife of the neatherd. How frightened she must have been when she found out what she had done. If Miss Minchin should find out that she Sara, whose toes were almost sticking out of her boots – was a princess – a real one! The look in her eyes was exactly the look which Miss Minchin most disliked. She would not have it; she was quite near her, and was so enraged that she actually flew at her and boxed her ears - exactly

as the neatherd's wife had boxed King Alfred's. It made Sara start. She wakened from her dream at the shock and, catching her breath, stood still a second. Then, not knowing she was going to do it, she broke into a little laugh.

"What are you laughing at, you bold, impudent child?" Miss Minchin exclaimed.

It took Sara a few seconds to control herself sufficiently to remember that she was a princess. Her cheeks were red and smarting from the blows she had received.

"I was thinking," she answered.

"Beg my pardon immediately," said Miss Minchin.

Sara hesitated a second before she replied.

"I will beg your pardon for laughing, if it was rude," she said then, "but I won't beg your pardon for thinking."

"What were you thinking?" demanded Miss Minchin. "How dare you think? What were you thinking?"

Jessie tittered, and she and Lavinia nudged each other in unison. All the girls looked up from their books to listen. Really, it always interested them a little when Miss Minchin attacked Sara. Sara always said something queer, and never seemed the least bit frightened. She was not in the least frightened now, though her boxed ears were scarlet and her eyes were as bright as stars.

"I was thinking," she answered grandly and politely, "that you did not know what you were doing."

"That I did not know what I was doing?" Miss Minchin fairly gasped.

Task 5. Make a list of Indian loanwords from extracts above and explain their origin. Use *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language* to help you.

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