SPEAKING IN TWO TONGUES: THE STATUS OF THE HINDI-ENGLISH MIXED CODE IN RADIO PROGRAMMES

Dissertation submitted to the Jawahar Lal Nehru University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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DEDICATED

.

to

BABON & MUM

"Your dream comes true"

Lots of love Mousona



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This Dissertation entitled "Speaking in Two Tongues: The Status of the Hindi English Mixed Code in Radio Programmes" submitted by Ms.Soheli Kar, Centre of Linguistics & English, School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full for any other degree or diploma of any other University.

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CHAPTER 1

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation investigates the phenomenon of code switching in the programmes aired by All India Radio (FM). Some typical examples are given below-

- 1. Cool guys cool! **yeh hai gaana** number two...... (.....this is song Two....)
- to yeh tha programme Matinee Mazaa ,phir milenge jaldi hi, (So this was, again will meet soon,' till then, be good, have fun, have safe fun yesss!

.....)

3. agar aap naye naye gaano se ho gaye hai tang, to (If you new new songswith have become tired, then suniye oldies ka yeh song

Listen......(gen.)this......)

[if you are tired of new songs, then listen to this old one]

These utterances involve the phenomenon of code mixing or code switching and this is largely the necessary way in which discourses are constructed in the programmes aired by AIR (FM). Given these necessity conditions, it is then important to ask whether this phenomenon can be described using the code mixing analysis or whether it is necessary to set up a category of a mixed code. There are various theoretical and conceptual issues that emerge from the nature of the code used here formulable as at least three distinct questions:

- (a) Is this mixed code entirely amenable to a description as code mixing or does it have certain autonomous linguistic and sociolinguistic properties?
- (b) How is the choice of the two codes that enter this mixed code determined? English is a language of power and prestige in India and so what linguistic and sociolinguistic consequences does the choice of this code have for the status of the mixed code? Hindi too has varieties, the high Sanskritised variety and the more colloquial Hindustani variety. What are

the factors that determine the choice of only one variety?

(c) What implication does this kind of discourse structuration have for the status of English in India, particularly in terms of World Englishes Project by Kachru (1986)?

In the discussion that follows, I discuss each question in return.

1.2 MHE: PANDIT'S ARGUMENTS

Much of the literature on Hindi English code mixing attributes a distinct (socio) linguistic status to the mixed code.

Ira Pandit (1981) defines mixed Hindi English (MHE) as "consisting of frequent and rapid switching between Hindi and English". She observes that not all the users of MHE switch codes in the same way. Some switch to English only below the sentential level. Pandit speculates that speakers from the higher socioeconomic background are more likely to characteristically switch to English both at and below the sentential level because they are likely to have greater contact with English than those from the latter socioeconomic background are likely to characteristically switch to English both to English below the sentential level because they are likely to have greater contact with English than those from the latter socioeconomic background are likely to characteristically switch to English below the sentential level only, because they are likely to have relatively lesser contact with English.

Pandit's argument is a "frequency" argument, but she nuances it with socioeconomic factors, which determine linguistic choices. According to Pandit's analysis, MHE is a marker of educatedness and socioeconomic class and is used mainly in informal registers, and that MHE as a variety can be treated at par with Hindi and English. She states that-

"One consequence of this approach is that a distinct communicative role is assigned to the mixed variety. In this sense, this variety could be treated on a par with Hindi and English."(1981:71).

This accordance of a distinct linguistic status to MHE is however dubious as there appears to be no core linguistic properties that are autonomous of the variety of Hindi and Northern Western Indian English (NWIE). Moreover, constraints and facilitators for the switching between the two varieties can be explained entirely by very general constraints on code mixing. For instance, let us take two situations A and B.

1.2.1 SITUATION-A

The following is the opinion expressed by a speaker in favour of daughters –in-law who set up their own separate homes to nurture their individuality. Considering Pandit's analysis, since the speaker switches to English only below the sentential level we can consider her to be from a relatively lower socioeconomic class.

E.g. pichle das saalo me jis tarah kii life humne lead kii hai (last ten years in the way(gen.) we done har field me, vo progress huyii hai aur jitni and whatever has been done in every in that unke saath rahne se nahi ho sakti thi with them stay +past negative would possible be (past)

[whatever progress has taken place in the last ten years in our lives, wouldn't have been possible if we stayed with them.]

1.2.2 SITUATION-B

Here the speaker describes an incident where she was almost involved in a car accident. Since the speaker switches at and below the sentential level, she can be considered (according to Pandit's analysis) to belong to the higher socioeconomic background.

E.g. I had gone to Kamla Nagar – Mrs. Puri ke saath....

(Gen.) company

as it is my husband is very nervous **jahaan tak merii** driving **ka** to the extent my (Gen.)

sawaal haai... I don't tell him in the morning kii main car le jaa question is that I am take go rahi huu...

Present continuous

[I had gone to Kamla Nagar with Mrs. Puri..... My husband is very nervous about my driving... I don't tell him in the morning that I am taking the car along.]

What distinguishes the two discourses, to me, is the degree of bilingual control exercised by speaker A vs B.Both speakers preserve the host's syntax (Hindi) and switching takes place at the phrasal boundaries only. Also it can be observed that there is no difference between the two speakers in the ability to switch, but only in their performances. By this analysis there is thus no distinct linguistic mixed code. Pandit(1981:70) proposes that "Hindi English code switching of the type under discussion be treated as a distinct mixed variety characterized by rapid and frequent switching between the two languages" In order to resolve whether there exists a mixed code in radio programming, let us take Pandit's definition into its component parts and list the properties of MHE.

- MHE is a distinct code because of frequency of switching: This is a robust characteristic and RADIO(MHE) also shares this character. AIR(FM) programmes employ frequent mixing of Hindi and English.
- MHE has distinct linguistic properties: It has been observed in situation A&B that there is no difference between the two speakers in the ability to switch- the difference is only in their performance. Also, no structural properties of MHE can be observed. Even in the instances mentioned as situation A and B, it can be observed that switching takes place at phrasal boundaries only and the host's syntax (Hindi) is preserved. Hence, I argue that MHE does not have any distinct linguistic properties.
- MHE is a marker of education and socioeconomic class: Insofar as knowledge of English is a marker of these, degrees of bilingualism in English affect the nature of the code produced. Considering situationA and B again,I suggest that degrees of bilingualism may effect switches at the sentential level. Radio (MHE) has an audience from all sections of the society and hence, is not confined to the educated section only.

MHE is a marker of Informal contexts: MHE was a marker of informal contexts in the late seventies and before that but at present in the programmes aired by AIR(FM), MHE is used to "informalize" what were formerly "formal" contexts.So, MHE is no longer a marker of informal contexts. Radio (MHE) is used in many formal programmes like the News (in the FM channel) and some of the programmes in Vividh Bharati.One of the instances where MHE can be seen being used in a formal situation is as follows-E.g. PROGRAMME, AIR(FM):

[Did you ever have the feeling that because of your eyes you were left behind in the race of life.....]

Pandit also assumes that if one is an educated urban bilingual, then MHE will be the "normal" way of speaking. It can be considered "normal" only in one sense i.e. if a person claims membership of a bilingual or a multilingual speech community or fellowship. In that case, codemixing becomes the property of the bilingual speaker. In radio though, the audience is constituted exclusively from that community or fellowship yet, MHE is used. Whenever MHE is used in such programs, there is an immediate translation, presumably to establish intelligibility Eg.

.....do not forget to send...to aap bhejna na bhuliye is pate par.....

(..... so you send not forget this Address in.....)

[do not forget to send in this address.....]

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It is important to note that Pandit's study describes the status of MHE in the late seventies and when compared to the status of MHE at present, all her observations do not match.Gupta(1978) states that MHE is the result of the contact between Hindi and English and that it is a mixture of Hindi and English which the Indian bilinguals often use in a variety of domains and situations, both informal and semiformal. According to Gupta (1978:44) the linguistic repertoire of the 'educated' urban native speakers of Hindi consists of a set of rules for Hindi (L1), a set of rules for English(L2), and yet another set of rules for MHE(L3).Even Gupta's observations regarding the class character of MHE do not match the characteristics of Radio(MHE) today. According to Gupta(1978), the English that was used in the mixed discourse was Indian English and therefore, the phonetic description he provides of MHE consists of description of Indian English phonetic system.

As we shall see in this dissertation, Radio(MHE) adopts certain values of the phonetic system of American English such as the pronunciation of *lekin(but)* as *leikhin(but*).

I will argue that MHE is a distinct code only in terms of its sociolinguistic status and that there are few, if any, distinct linguistic properties that characterize Radio(MHE).Moreover, any independent linguistic property which is distinguishable such as phonetics, does not affect the core structural properties of the two codes that are used in a mixed discourse. Rather, what is involved in according MHE a distinct status is a generalized use of already existing strategies of code mixing available to bilingual speakers of the two codes.

1.3 ENCODING STRATEGIES

This section deals with the encoding strategies of the mixed discourse in AIR(FM) and answer the questions:

- How is the choice of each variety of the two codes determined?
- Which variety of English is chosen and why is a particular type of Hindi, which is not, Sanskritised used in the mixed discourse?

Hindi speakers manipulate at least two distinct varieties of Hindithe High Sanskritised and the colloquial Hindustani variety which ranges from Eastern to Western colloquial Hindi.The radio programmes in AIR(FM) use Western colloquial Hindi and Vividh Bharati uses the high Sanskritised variety. In the next two sub sections, I discuss each question in turn.

1.3.1 ENGLISH IN THE MIXED CODE

English within a social organisation, plays an important role in constituting and perpetuating certain social relations. It is a fact that English enjoys a prestigious status globally. Jacobson () studies socioeconomic status as a factor in the selection of encoding strategies in a mixed discourse of English and Spanish. Jacobson cites earlier studies() in intrasentential code switching where it has been suggested that there may be a correlation between the *"bilingual's encoding strategies and his/her membership in a given socioeconomic class."* One of the studies was conducted in the following fashion- A set of recorded sentences was categorized in three ways---

- (a) Frame A sentences in which English segments were embedded in a Spanish frame.
- (b) Frame B sentences in which Spanish segments were embedded in an English frame and
- (c) Frame AB sentences in which English and Spanish structures were each holding its own, so that neither was felt to be subordinated to the other.

It was argued that the preferential attitude toward one of this frames , was correlatable to the speaker's membership in a socioeconomic status-group such that lower socioeconomic

status speakers preferred to select Frame-A , middle socioeconomic status speakers preferred Frame-AB and upper middle socioeconomic status speakers prefer Frame-B sentences. Jacobson observes that, *"the attainment of preference for Frame-B seemed to be an educational as well as a socioeconomic achievement in view of the fact that the speaker has not lost his/her ability to use the other frames but merely* assigns priority to the English frame deliberately rather than out of necessity." Jacobson also suggests that it is necessary to explore how code switching operates linguistically and why it is psychologically and socially justifiable. Apart from this, he also feels it is important to know "who the switcher is in terms of his or her socioeconomic, educational and to some extent, personal background as well as which the mutual relationship is between the chunks of language in either code." According to Jacobson.bilingual socioeconomic class determines the intrasentential codemixing. Though there is still a huge degree of intrasentential code mixing in Radio-codemixing, in principle, it targets more than one socioeconomic class. The use of the word 'deliberately' in Jacobson's statement is the key word because the use Radio MHE seeks to privilege those speakers who are bilingual between Hindi and English and consequently is given the strona correlation between this bilingualism and socioeconomic class. In India. English is associated with educatedness, socioeconomic prosperity, modernity and upward mobility. Radio MHE is a consequence of this status and it imparts to the audience of AIR (FM) the illusion that the tag of upward mobility can be attached to them because they are the audience to Radio MHE which indicates bilingual competence and includes all the virtues and prestige attached to English. MHE too is not distinct in its politics from English. It only gives the illusion of being a reflection of the normal native speaker's repertoire. In fact, inheritor to the earlier power of English.

1.3.2 THE POLITICS OF ENGLISH

The choice of MHE is not a marker of educatedness rather, the choice is determined politically just as the choice of English, Sanskritised Hindi or Upper class Tamil etc..

Kachru(1986) in his article, "The power and politics of English" deals with the issues related to power and politics of the English language. He discusses this aspect specifically with regards to the global spread of the language. Kachru warns that "questions about language and power need not necessarily involve linguistic issues. The issues go beyond linguistics into the realm of history, sociology, attitude studies, politics and into very mundane

economic considerations". Kachru defines "power" as "an attainment of various types of "control" and "politics". According to Kachru signifies "the processes and strategies used fore this control". Kachru (1986) suggests that linguistic power is either "intrinsic" or "acquired". In the case of English, the first hypothesis claims that English intrinsically possesses certain linguistic and other characteristics, which make it an internationally preferred language. Such a condition, according to Kachru, may seem similar to claims of racial superiority to some people. Kachru also states that English as a language is perceived by others to symbolize some powers such as:

- Enlightenment in a religious sense
- Marker of the "civilizing process"
- Distancing from native cultures
- Acquisition of various spheres of knowledge
- Vehicle of pragmatic success
- Marker of modernization
- Master's code of conduct

Kadt (1993) suggests using Luke's characterizations that linguistic power consists of both overt and covert power. Overtly, linguistic power manifests itself in two ways- "Pragmatic power" based on communicative dimensions of a language and " Symbolic power" drawing on the emotive and symbolic aspects of a language. Kadt adds that pragmatic power is important and cannot be judged merely by the number of the people who speak the language but is much more decisive like the answers to Fishman's famous questions,

"Who speaks what language to whom and when?"

According to Kadt, "for a language to attain significant pragmatic power, its speakers will have to have a significant political and economic power.....on the other hand, the symbolic power of a language which estimates and explains the esteem in which a language is held, derives in the ma8in form the interpretation of the language as a symbol".Kadt also adds to the list of Kachru's symbolic components of English which he uses to justify its global domination and says that, "the perception of a language as a bearer of negative forces could also lead to a symbolic power with negative implications: in parts of post colonial Africa,English is seen as a symbol of colonialism and has been rejected." Though Kachru says that English is sometimes seen as a tool of "economic exploitation and domination" he adds that there are other dimensions of the legacy of English too : as a tool of national identity and political awakening , a window on the world and a link language..."

How a language is perceived, depends on a number of factors and therefore, even if English is the globally dominant language, I feel, at least in the Indian context, its success derives more from a strategic than a qualitative one. I will argue that the choice of Radio MHE or MHE is actually equivalent politically to the choice of English itself, but there is an additional advantage to the choice of MHE, it has wider intelligibility, which is supplemented by immediate translations of the English words used in Radio (MHE).

1.4 OUTLINE OF CHAPTER 2

In chapter 2, I discuss how the role of MHE is derived from the role of NWIE which is linked with the role of English as a global language. I also discuss Kachru's World Englishes project and his perspective on MHE. In this chapter, I discuss the complex relation between NWIE with World English where I show that upholding the Indian's of English in fact is not at variance with a conceptualization of its role in establishing global and local economic orders.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 Contents of the Chapter

In this chapter, I discuss the special social and linguistic status of Radio (MHE), which I argue is derived from the prestige of Indian English, which in turn, is linked with the role of English as an international language. I discuss Kachru's World Englishes project and critique the notion of "Non native speaker" and "Acculturation" of English presented by Kachru. I also show that upholding the "Indianness" of English is not different from its role in establishing and perpetuating conceptualizing international and local economic orders. Section 1 deals with the status of English in India and Section 2 explores the (socio) linguistic properties of the Mixed code. In Section 3, I discuss the apperently special linguistic properties and show that the distinctiveness is actually a mere generalization of already available strategies of code mixing. The sociolinguistic status of Radio (MHE) is discussed in Section 4 and in Section 5, the relationship between Radio(MHE) and consumerism is discussed. In Section 6, I describe the properties of the programmes aired by Vividh Bharati and discuss the difference between the properties of the programmes aired by AIR (FM) and AIR(Vividh Bharati).

2.2 ENGLISH IN INDIA

Kachru (1996) discusses a "process of change" that he claims English has initiated in other languages of the world. According to Kachru, this is just one of the two faces of the impact of World Englishes. The first face i.e the "process of change" is "Englishization". The second face is that of "Nativization" and "Acculturation" of English which he defines as, "the processes of change that localized varieties of English have undergone by acquiring new linguistic and cultural identities." By this statement, Kachru is asserting the inherently "foreign" identity of English, which, even as it "assimilates" to the local custom, retains a distinctiveness from other languages of that speech community.

My understanding of the Indianness of English is however different from that of Kachru. Although it is true that English in India has a very unique sociolinguistic status, in that it is associated with modernity, educatedness and upward mobility in Indian society. This sociolinguistic status is determined almost entirely internal to the speech community, it is also a fact that for many millions of speakers, English is a code like any other code in a bilingual's repertoire. Therefore it cannot be accepted that Indian English speakers are "Non native speakers" of English who indigenises the language (Kachru:1996). As Mahalaxmi (1998:27) observes : "the term 'indiginisation' has a social implication that the native speaker is conscious of the foreignness of English and that the process is as conscious as it is political. The term lacks explanatory depth as it cannot explain why the indiginisation process is restricted to some areas of grammar.....It every native speaker indiginised English, the strategies would be transferred at all levels of grammar to the same extent." Mahalaxmi is right in her argument that it is not an individual's conscious decision to indiginise another language to sound like his own. Rather, the Indianness of English derives from the fact that Indians acquire and speak it both as one of their first languages and as one of their auxiliary languages.

The question that arises now is that if English is like any other Indian languages, then why is code mixing with it often assumed to have an autonomous status? Actually, this claim is largely unsubstantiated, as a whole range of properties are equally instantiated in code mixing between Bangla and Hindi as they are in code mixing between Hindi and English.

Eg. In Hindi- Bangla code mixing-

aami oderke kitnii baar bolechhi aamake

[I them how many times told to me

tang naa korte.

disturb not do]

{I have told them so many times not to disturb me} In Hindi English code mixing-

maine unko kitnii baar kahaa not to disturb me.[I them so many times told ------]{I told them so many times not to disturb me }

Sankoff and Poplack (1980) refer to an "equivalence constraint" or rule which states that bilinguals in uttering sentences may use constituents of one language at one point and those of another at another point as long as the order of these constituents is shared by the two languages (in the study of Spanish English mix codes)" (Duran; 1994).

Poplack (1980) also discusses two grammatical constraints on code mixing- (a) **A free morpheme constraint** which states that a switch cannot occur between a lexical form and a bound morpheme unless the former has been phonologically integrated into the language of the latter and

(b) The equivalence constraint rule.

Sridhar and Sridhar (1980) cited in Duran (1994) argue that intra sentential code mixing is a case where guest elements, which have their own internal structure, occur in the sentences of the host language, obeying the placement rules of the host language or the matrix language(seen in the study of Kannada/English mix).

Grosjean and Soars(1986) cited in Duran(1994) propose a "base or matrix language and then the bringing in of the other language by either code switching through the word, phrase, clause or sentence level or through borrowings".

Woodford (1983) cited in Duran(1994) states that code mixed sentences result from a mixture of phrase structure rules extracted from the two languages and argues that phrase structure rules of the two languages can be freely mixed in the construction of the tree diagrams of code mixed sentences.

As shown in the examples() both the Hindi and Bangla mixed sentence and the Hindi and English mixed sentence, the switching takes place intrasententially and is governed by the phrase structure constraints imposed by Hindi and Bangla respectively. It is apparent that the worldness of English is of no relevance and there is no difference in the process of code mixing per se even when one of the codes is English. This view is however different from Kachru's approach to indiginisation of English, as in my view, the properties that characterize Indian English fall out as properties resulting from contact between English and Hindi, just as Hindi's contact with another language results in changes in the lexis of Hindi. Therefore, we can come to the conclusion that MHE too shares the normal linguistic characteristics of a mixed code. The next section delineates these properties.

2.3 <u>R ADIO MHE</u>

In section 2 we have seen that MHE in India has a specific sociolinguistic status. Initially, it appears that Radio MHE too does have a special status marked by some linguistic reflexes which can be briefly listed as follows-

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(a) Frequency of switch-- The frequency of code mixing is very high in Radio MHE which sets it apart from normal MHE .Eg.

.....well hum is baat se bilkul ittefaaq nahi rakhte hai

that Urmila is not beautiful leikhin haa,

......But yes.....

jahaa tak yeh baat hai ki khoobsuratii kaa.... agar parameters

To the extent the fact (be) that beauty (gen.).. If

....

koi niirdhaarit kiyaa jaaye...... to

any decide do(past cont.)

I guess then Aishwarya falls into the trap very beautifully....)

[well, I don't at all agree that Urmila is not beautiful but if we look into the parameters of beauty, then Aishwarya falls into the trap very beautifully]

But in normal MHE, the frequency of code mixing is less.

Eg.

I mean mature **jo honge** they will be having a really good sort of relationship.

[I mean those who are mature will have a good sort of relationship.] (Pandit, 1986:50).

(b) <u>Phonetics\ Phonology of Radio MHE shows some</u> <u>distinctiveness</u>. For eg. Often, the word **lekin** (but) in Hindi is pronounced as **leikhin** (but) and the Hindi word **to** (SO) is often pronounced as **thou**(so).

(c). In Radio (MHE), immediate translations of English words are very frequent, again not a property of ordinary code mixing. For eg. What can we do? fir ab kyaa kar sakte hai? [now, what can we do?]

(d). In Radio MHE, switching can be observed within an idiom/ proverb.

For eg. milk KA milk , water KA water.

(gen.) (gen.)

In normal MHE, there are no immediate translations or mixing within a proverb or an idiom. This indicates that these are not normal properties of the mixed code. Yet, the occurrence of these properties can be explained. It can be observed that these properties do not affect the observance of the constraints on code mixing listed in the previous section.

For eg. MHE sentences do not violate the structural pattern of the governing language of the sentences.(Pandit ,1986:P,99).We

can see that even Radio (MHE) does not violate the structural pattern of the governing language-

Eg. shaam ka jo baaki hissa hai, usme kuchh (evening (gen.) the left over portion (be) in that some aur khatte aur mithe rang bharne ke liye, more sour and sweet colours fill for that...... She is going to be here for the zero hour show- mujhe diijiye ijazat...

permission)

[To fill up the rest of the evening and to add some more sweet and sour colours to it, she is going to be here for the zero hour show, so please give me the permission (to leave)].

The other three properties of Radio (MHE) can be similarly explained. Before I explore these further, however, it is important to note that these properties are really just tendencies, rather than invariant rules. For example, within a discourse, neither American phonology nor frequency of switch or immediate translation occur in every eligible context.

Eg.

Moreover, translations are from English to Hindi only rather than the bi-directional translation we would expect. There are also idioms without switches. Eg. My analysis of Radio (MHE) suggests that it is basically code mixing between Hindi and English with the generalisation of already available strategies.

- Phonetics and Phonology: Normal code mixing does not generally force just one phonetic or phonological system onto the speaker. For Eg., when a speaker switches between Tamil and Hindi, both phonetics and phonology are maintained in his/her discourse. MHE speakers make use of the linguistic phonetic and phonological requirements of the governing language to borrow into the mixed code a third articulatory paradigm altogether. This explains why sometimes in Radio (MHE) LEKIN (but) becomes LEIKHIN (but).
- Immediate Translation: the immediate translations are done to convey the relevant message to the audience who don't have the bilingual proficiency and hence they fail to understand the message.
- Code mixing within a proverb: In the example Water KA water, Milk KA Milk, the switch occurs at the phrasal boundary which is allowed. Therefore there is no linguistic prohibition against the given example.
- Frequency of switch: Human multi/bilingual abilities pose no restrictions on the frequency of switching although the sociolinguistic import of the message is altered in a way that

we return to raise the question that how and why are these unusual generalisations of code mixing adopted in Radio (MHE)?

Kachru would suggest that it is because of Englishization ,but that cannot be correct. The reasons why I don't agree with Kachru's idea of Englishization are listed below.

- If Englishization is a valid process, why is it restricted in both frequency of occurance and scope? Why are not all constructions in language. 'A' entirely Englishized and why do not these strategies then enter ordinary MHE?
- 2. Why is the phonetics and phonology of American English used more rather than British English though Indians had more contact with British English?
- 3. If Englishization is a regular process, what is the need for immediate translation?

This suggests that the choice for these three or four properties lie in the sociolinguistic political content of the message rather than in the linguistic content. The next sections examine this question.

2.4 THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC STATUS OF RADIO(MHE)

I suggest that the properties of frequency of mixing, the immediate translations, the borrowing of American English phonetics and phonology and phonology and the relaxation of pragmatic constraints, all derive from the sociolinguistic status of MHE in India and the properties of MHE are derived from the sociolinguistic status of Indian English.

Indian English in India is a language of power and prestige and denotes urabanness and upward mobility. The traditional speakers of Indian English are associated with educatedness, modernity and socioeconomic prosperity. Therefore, the ability to speak MHE indicates that the speaker is a Hindi-English bilingual and it naturally follows that he/she is from the urban educated class. The informality of MHE indicates modernity, upward mobility and a sense of control over circumstances. The choice of MHE for Radio participates in creating the illusion that the entire audience belongs to the urban educated and modern class. The association of MHE with informal registers further this sense of \overline{a} inclusion and participation. It is then probable that all properties of Radio (MHE) mentioned in the previous section like the frequency of switch, use of interjections like "Wow!" and "Definitely!" etc. inbetween Hindi sentences, relaxation of pragmatic and aesthetic constraints and the use of American English articulatory patterns actually emphasize and reinforce feelings of a group membership that translates into an imagined class membership. The

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immediate translation of English words into Hindi then, serves to establish intelligibility because the anchors of the programmes do not belong exclusively to the group or class of Hindi English bilinguals, so they translate.

It has been observed in my data that when an interlocutor is speaking only in English, there are no Hindi interjections or any attempt to make the speaker switch to Hindi an attempt which is resisted by most speakers. Only translation of English words or sentences can be observed. The code of the translation is colloquial Hindustani. Then, it can be assumed that the mixed code is clearly perceived to have a lower prestige value than Indian English.

In sum, then, the four distinguishing properties of Radio (MHE) can be argued to be simply generalizations of available strategies of code mixing. These generalizations are driven by the need to induce the perception of shared class membership. The discussion in the next section explores what I believe to be the primary motivation for the creation of this perception.

2.5 RADIO (MHE) AND CONSUMER MARKETING

The questions that arise now can be summed up as follows:

- (a) Why is only MHE used in the Radio Programmes?
- (b) Why are there no distinct Programmes for Hindi and Indian English and some programs for MHE?

(c) Why does AIR (FM) use MHE through out?

The reason is the relation of the media, in our case, radio programming, advertising and marketing. The increase in the use of Radio (MHE) and also the use of MHE in television programmes is concomitant with the opening up of the Indian economy to global interests. Chomsky (1996) comments that the United states exports its values of *"free competition, fair rules and effective enforcement to a world still fumbling in the darkness"* i.e the third world. The values that the first world countries like the USA export to the third world countries, use language as a medium and it is then that English gets its global character. These values are directly related to the world economy and hence, English becomes a vehicle for furthering their own economic interests and ideology, typically in the field of advertising.

This has affected the mode of programme construction and presentation, for instance across radio and T.V programming the intermission between the parts of a single programme is part of the programming in that it is always announced by the anchor with great emphasis and advertiser's names are used to label sections of programmes Eg. *"Maruti Suzuki Traffic beats"* etc..

Now, the choice of exclusive Indian English or Hindi restricts the market as the groups that have native competence in either language are much smaller than the potential market. On the other hand, the mixed code with its wider intelligibility and supplemented with translations etc.. capture a wide audience or consumer class. One measure of the success of this strategy is evident in the kind of advertisements in this type of channels.

2.6 VIVIDH BHARATI

In this section I discuss the properties of the programmes aired bye Vividh Bharati and differentiate it with that of AIR (FM). The programmes aired bye Vividh Bharati employ a very formal register, both Hindi and English as the intention clearly is to maintain a formal distance from the audience and the speaker. The use of MHE is almost next to new and even the word "break" is very rarely used. Rather the norm is the following set of utterance:

chayagiit karyakram ka shesh bhaag aap sunenge

(Chayagiit Programme (gen.) leftoverportion you will hear is antaraal ke baad

(be) break after)

[You will hear the rest of the portion of Chayagiit programme after the break]

The choice of code is determined here by the register; the News delivered in Sanskritised Hindi and the other programmes use Hindustani. As already observed, the word "break" is used very rarely. If the three varieties i.e. Indian English, MHE and the language used in the radio programmes in Vividh Bharati are compared, the variety that would be adjudged as the highest one in the audience's repertoire would be that of Vividh Bharati.

The difference between Vividh Bharati and AIR (FM) lies in the fact that Vividh Bharati is not a commercial channel, but a state sponsored official channel. Hence, they use the official language for their purpose. While this detracts from the informality / intelligibility of radio programming, this variety is infact neutral to all classes, unlike AIR (FM). By using official languages like Sanskritised Hindi, Vividh Bharati constructs the audience as "standard Hindi speaking Indian". The absence of any variety here is therefore, an expression of Indian state's constitution of its subjects as Indian- This fact is most reinforced in the News or the formal registers but it is largely maintained even in the film programmes.

To sum up, this chapter exposes the fact that the special social and linguistic status that MHE enjoys actually derives from the prestige of Indian English and the status of English as an international language. Also, in this chapter we have seen how the linguistic properties of AIR (FM) and Vividh Bharati differ from each other and also that there is a relationship between Radio (MHE) and consumerism in India. In Chapter 3 I do a discourse analysis of programmes from both AIR (FM) and Vividh Bharati.

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CHAPTER 3

In this chapter, I analyse the properties of Radio MHE and compare them with those of Vividh Bharati. I also do a discourse analysis of three programmes from each channel. Section-1 deals with the basic underlying principles that are necessary to analyse a discourse. Section-2 compares, describes and analyses the discourses from AIR (FM) and Vividh Bharati. Section-3 discusses the properties of Radio (MHE) in general and on the basis of the underlying principles mentioned in Section-1.

3.1 The underlying principles that govern a discourse analysis

In order to analyse the discourses, one has to draw a few parameters on the basis of which the discourses can be analysed. Three questions should be answered to provide a clear analysis of the Discourses namely:-

- 1. Where and why does code mixing take place?
- 2. What influence or effects does the switch intend to have on the discourse?
- 3. How are the potential problems in speaking in mixed tongues taken care of?

The answer to the first question could be the following. A bilingual mixes codes mainly for the following reasons-

- a) To indicate a shift in the topic
- b) Because the speaker finds the alternative to the language semantically, pragmatically or sociolinguistically inappropriate.
- c) Because there is no equivalent in the host language and it can be borrowed.

d) Code mixing can be random as a bilingual can use either word e.g.
 KITAAB (book) or book.

The second question can be explained by the following description of effects.

The effects that a switch intends to have on a discourse can be listed as-

- a) Register related effects In this the switches can be used to formalise / informalise a discourse. In MHE the function is largely to informalise the register hence, a sentence typically begins with a switch.
- b) Participant related effects: This can be explained as the in-group and out-group effects. In the case of MHE, it is also to include audience in upward mobility.
- c) Discourse related effects A switch (in a contentful expression) often signals that the response to the switch should be in the language switched to.

The third question which seeks to know the probable way of tackling potential problems speaking in mixed tongues can be answered by first going deep into the probable causes .Problems can arise from the differences in the structure of the two languages or the narrative style or sociolinguistics of the two languages. For instance, in the general observations about MHE listed in Section-3, the 'need NAHI BALKI greed' structure as well as rhyming structures indicate that English, being an Indian language, is perfectly at home in traditional strategies used for introducing texts/performances. In Hindi, Rhyming introductions are very common.

E.g. MEHARBAAN, KADARDAAN etc...

Once such an explanation is derived, potential problems of speaking in mixed tongues can be taken care of. In the following sections, I explain and describe the tendencies of code mixing by picking up the salient properties of each discourse. This in turn shall answer the three main questions and provide a clear analysis.

3.2 <u>DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PROGRAMMES FROM AIR(FM)</u> <u>AND VIVIDH BHARATI</u>

3.2.1 FIRST DISCOURSE: <u>PROGRAMME (HELLO FM HOT LINE) [CHAT]</u> <u>RADIO CHANNEL: AIR(FM)</u>

1. ANCHOR: Hello listeners! hum aur aap hazir hai hello FM hotline me and of course this is Tuesday special as all of you must be knowing.

(Hello listeners, we are here to listen to 'hello....hotline')

It can be observed here that the beginning of the programme i.e. the greeting is in English and then Hindi is used followed by English again. Here, code mixing is for establishing informality of register. The alternative of "Hello listeners!" is "namashkaar" which would be pragmatically and sociolinguistically inappropriate in this context. Also, this is done to provide an in-group effect. Both Participant related effect and Register related effect can be noticed.

2. Har baar dosto, ek khaas pehchaan liye hue ye karyakram hum sabo ko thora aur sajag banane ki cheshta karta hai

(every time friends, this programme tries to make every one more alert by presenting itself with a new identity) 3. To chaliye shuru karte hai apna safar par jaisa ki hum sabo ko malum haai ki FM mei koi bhi safar giito ke bina to ho hi nahi sakta to chale, ek khoobsurat sa giit ka saath nibhaane?

(and so let's start this voyage.but as we all know that our voyage can't start without a song...shall we proceed to give company to a beautiful song?...)

In both 2 & 3, no code mixing is required because this is basically a Hindi programme and also the topic is presented in Hindi. 2 & 3 are the continuation of the topic and therefore is presented in Hindi.

(SONG)

4. ANCHOR: Aur issi giit ke saath hum apne safar ko aage badhaate haai(n) aaj ki hamaari guest Anuradhaji hai

(and with this song we proceed with our journeyand today our guest is Anuradhaji) In this, the word "guest" is used to informalize the context because the Hindi equivalent of "guest" is too formal. Also it serves the purpose of providing an in-group effect, which means it has a Participant and Register related effect on the discourse. A Discourse related effect can also be observed because by using the term "guest" the anchor signals that the response should preferably be in English.

5. jo ki visually handicapped hote hue bhi bahut si social activities se judi huii hai.

(who inspite of her visual handicap is engaged in a lot of social activities)

In this discourse, "visually handicapped" is used because the speaker finds the alternative to this in Hindi pragmatically and sociolinguistically inappropriate in this context. But the use of "social activities" is because it is semantically more contentful than its Hindi alternative. *isi kaaran aaj ke hello FM hotline mei hum Anuradhaji se hum baatchiit karte hai(n).*

(and that's we are going to talk to her in this programme....)

6. ANU: dhanyabaad rupa ji

[thank you, Rupa ji].

7. ANCHOR: to anuradhaji kya aap bataayenge ki abhi tak aap ko life mei(n) kya kabhi aapko aisa mehsoos hua hai ki aankho(n) ki vajah se aap kisi daur mei(n) piiche hai(n) aur we would like to know ki aapka bachpan kaise biita?

[so, Anuradhaji, in your entire life did you ever feel that you were left behind others because of your handicap? Also we would like to know about your child hood..]

Here the shift to English is deliberate to maintain the bilingual nature of the programme and to induce a note of informality.

8. ANU: mera bachpan khoobsurat tha jaise duusre bachho(n) ka hota hai.

[I had a beautiful childhood just like any normal child]

Here the main content is delivered in Hindi but there is a switch to maintain the bilingual nature of the programme again. It can be observed that the switch occurs at the CP boundary and so, the continuity of English is maintained.

9. ... mai(n) bilkul anjaan thi ki meri koi problem hai ya mai(n) blind ho gayii huu(n).

[I was completely unaware of my disability or that I was blind.....]

Here the word "blind" is used because the Hindi equivalent is pragmatically and sociolinguistically inappropriate.

10. lekin mujhe is baat ki jo samajh hai jo hosh hai, wo mujhe college mei(n) jaise hi enter kii tab ayii.
[but I realized this fact as soon as I joined college....]

Here "college" is a borrowed word and is therefore used. In this the use of "enter kii" is to emphasize the beginning of the programme. It is an inchoative expression.

11. kyo ki college me jaise hi main enter kii to logo ne mere saathiyo ne meri jo nazar thi use lekar ke point karna shuru kiya,

[because as soon as I entered college my friends pointed out my visual handicap....]

Here the use of "point" is because semantically more contentful.

12. mai college pahunchti thi to mujhe cherte the.

(....when I would reach college they would tease me...)

13. to mai roj sochti thi ki mai aaj college nahi jaauungi mai ghar baithkar padhungii

(then I used to think everyday that I won't go to college todayI would sit and study at home....)

14. lekin phir mere apne saathi the ---aur mere achche teachers--mujhe unki yaad aati aur mai unka saath nahi chor sakti thi, mai kisi bhi kimat pe

(...but I had some friends and some good teachers...and I didn't want to lose their company at any cost...)

Here "teachers" is a borrowed word.

15.phir mai bas subah hoti thi--- taiyaar hokar college jaane ke liye phir se shuru ho jaati thi aur pahunch jaati thi apne college me......

(so the next morning I would get ready to go to college.. and I would reach my college.)

16. pehla varsh bahuut hi sangharsh mai tha.

(... in my first year there was a lot of struggle...)

17. ANCHOR: uske baad.....?

(after that?...)

18. ANU: uske baad wo sab thik hone laga, jab maine apne aap ko ek syawam hi student ke taur par

(after that things started getting alright when as a student I...)

Here "student" is a borrowed word and is used mainly because the speaker is bilingual and finds the the use of of this word more appropriate in this context 19. ANCHOR:..... establish kiya...[established yourself?..]

In this, "establish kiya" is a case of typical code mixing. It's a conjunct verb i.e. English + verb "do" in Hindi.

20. ANU: establish kiya....anya jo college ki activities hoti hai, usme bhag lena shuru kiya.

[..established myself and started participating in the other activities of the college]

Here "college" is a borrowed word and "activities" is used because it is a more contentful expression and the speaker finds the Hindi alternative semantically inadequate

21. ANCHOR : and Anuradhaji, sorry to cut you short here but one thing is very interesting about you is that, you told me about yourself the other day that you were equally very much interested in politics, to aap kis tarah se matlab ...apne aappolitically matlab kis tarah se yeh rujhaan aap me aaya aur phir kis tarah se aaapne is ruuchhi ko zindaa rakkha...you were a student leader out there?

[.....how...I mean, how....did you get inclined to politics?....]

Here the use of English is deliberate and has a Register related effect. The anchor code mixes, which is mainly to create a shift in the topic. The mixing also has a Participant related effect and when the anchor switches to English in the last sentence a Discourse related effect can be noticed.

22. ANU: ji mai student politics ke andar active ho gayii thi (I joined student politics...)

Here, the use of "student politics" and "active" is because the Hindi equivalents are too formal and also because it has a Participant related effect. Moreover, the semantic and pragmatic content of these words are more than the Hindi equivalents.

23. kyo kii jin dino mai college ki student thi , un dino bahut hi raajniti ke andar pragatishiil vichaar dhaara ka wo zamaanaa tha

(because those days, there was a lot of progressive ideology and liberalism within politics...)

24. ANU: seventies se lekar mid eighties tak aur unse achhute shaayad koi bhi hamaare yahaa pe nahi rahte the.....

(in the seventies and the eighties there was hardly anyone who was not in touch with politics.....)

Here the speaker uses the word "seventies" and "mid eighties" because the Hindi equivalents are pragmatically and sociolinguistically inappropriate.

25. punjab mei kaafi active the log aur pragatishiil vichaaro ne bhi mujhe prabhavit kiya aur mai samajhtii huu ki vai pravaabh aaj bhi mere upar hai.

(In Punjab people were very active and I was influenced by the progressive ideology ... and I believe the influence is still there ..)

Here, the use of "active" is because this is a semantically more adequate expression.

26. aur mai achhuti nahi huu...mere aakho mei joti nahi hai lekin aise samaaj ka sapna zaroor hai jahaa samaanta ho logo ke biich mei.....

(even if I am blind so what?...I still dream of a society where there is equality amongst people...)

27. unke maansik aur jo bhed bhaav hai uske aadhaar par logo ke status antar na ho kyo kii mere nazar me har kaam bahut mahatwapurn hai.....

(And there is no mental and intellectual differentiation and there is no difference in the status of the people because in my opinion every work is equally important...)

28. samaaj ke andar jo bhi vyaktii hai wo bahut hi mahatwapurn bhumika niibhaa rahaa hai aur hum ek dusre par aassrit hai.....

(Every individual is important and is playing an important role and we all are dependent on each other)

29. aur hamara jo vaarchaswa hai ye isliye hai ki hum bahut upabhoktabaadi samaaj me rahte hai......

(if we have an edge over others in terms of education or status it is because we live in a very materialistic society...)

30. mai to sapney aaj bhi ek aise samaaj ki dekhtii huu jahaa par mahilaa hone ke naate, viklaang hone ke naate ya rang ke chalte aapke saath bhed bhaav na ho.....

(I still dream of a society where because you are a woman or because of your colour, you are not differentiated)

31. aur aise bhed bhaav se door samaaj ki mai kalpanaa kartii huu aur mujhe ummid hai ki vai samaaj zaroor ekdiin banegaa. (and I firmly believe that that society will be born one day.]

32. ANCHOR: kya baat hai aur hum bhi ummid karte hai ki apkii apnii jo koshish hai is tahat, zaroor usmei rang laayegii

[what a say! we also hope that your efforts in this direction will surely bear fruits ...]

The guest speakers Hindi has forced the anchor to maintain the conversation in Hindi.

33. to anuradhaji aapko kyaa lagtaa hai ki aaj ki jo shtitii hai vikalaang logo ki wo pahle se behtar hai, jaagruktaa zyaadaa aayii hai, people are still very, you know, they are hardly bothered about the people who are disabled or suffering from any kind of disability...aisaa kyaa aapko mehsoos hotaa hai?

(so, what do you think..... today the condition of the disabled is better than before...are people more alert for their causes do you think people are not actually bothered....)

Here, there is actually a translation of meaning in English when the anchor says "...people are still...... disability". Also, the anchor brings in a tone of casuality and informality by using the term "you know......"

34. ANU : rupajii agar hum viklaang logo ke jiivan ke itihaas dekhe to zaroor badlaav aaya hai aur bahut positive changes aaye hai......

[Rupaji, if we look at the life history of the disabled people then we can notice a lot of positive changes ..]

Here the use of positive changes "positive changes" is because it is more semantically contentful and the Hindi equivalent is too formal.

35. aur maine to pichhle das saalo mei hi bahut positive changes dekhe hai...

[I have seen a lot of positive changes in the last ten years]

36. aaj hum ek aise daur mei aye jahaa aise maanne lage ki jio vyakti viklaang hai, unhe samaaj ki aashray ki avashyakta ki zaroorat hi nahi hai......

[and people now believe that disabled people need not depend on others now..]

37. **ANCHOR**: Thank you Anuradhaji ... well friends, that was Anuradhaji and I am your young at heart RJ Rupa Jha signing off for tonight....

Here, the anchor ends the programme on a very casual note e.g "..... your young at heart......". This is a register related effect and the contrast in speech pattern of the Anchor is highlighted here. This shows that irrespective of the speech attitude of the guest speaker, the anchor is deliberately using the casual form of address and is using only English to informalize the context by using it casually as a discourse strategy.

In the first discourse of AIR(FM), we observed that the anchor though uses the standard Hindustani language, yet, NWIE is also being used to explain and describe concept terms like 'Visually Handicapped' etc.

Most interestingly, the anchor fills up the pauses of the guest speaker by supplying English words like 'establish..' without any provocation whatsoever from the guest speaker specially when the guest speaker sticks to formal Hindi. The guest speaker very rarely uses English words and in the entire discourse recorded, she uses only six English words . This establishes the fact that the use of NWIE and specially the vocal interventions in English by the (FM) anchors are nothing but a strategy to display the power and prestige of English. This is substantiated by the fact that in none of the discourses, do we find a single instance where a speaker while speaking in English is being interrupted in Hindi. In this discourse we have seen that the guest speaker who is otherwise speaking only in Hindi uses the English word "college". The use of "college" is because the Hindi equivalent of the word is too formal and sanskritised and also because it is borrowed. Similarly the use of "visually handicapped" is because calling somebody "ANDHAA" in Hindi is considered impolite i.e. the speaker finds the alternative to the language pragmatically and sociolinguistically inappropriate as mentioned in Section-1. The use of "College ME enter KII" is a translation of the English phrase 'entered college" and is acceptable because there is no informal equivalent of this. i.e. code mixing can be random and therefore 'establish KARNA' can be accounted for.

Also, various effects can be noticed in this discourse which are the cause of the switch. The refusal of Anuradha (the guest of the show) to switch is not so much due to the Register related effects but it is more because of Pariticipant related effects and also a refusal to accept the Discourse related effects.

3.2.2 SECOND DISCOURSE : FILM SONG AND CHAT

PROGRAMME

PROGRAMME: "SUR SANGAM" (VIVIDH BHARATI)

1. ANCHOR: sur sangam mei aap sab shrotaao kaa swagat hai...is karyakram me sabse pehle hum se baat kar rahi hai...

(The audience is invited to the programme SUR SANGAM and first we are talking to...)

The mode of address in this programme is in stark contrast with that of AIR (FM). Here the anchor uses a purely formal register which includes use of the high variety of Hindi.

2. CALLER: ji mai shila matre bol rahi huu mujhe ek gaana sunna hai...

[I am Shila Matre speaking I want to listen to a song...]

3. ANCHOR : Kaun saa gaana?

[Which song?]

4. CALLER: Mere piya ka ghar hai ye raani huu mai, raani huu ghar kii...

[...this is my husband's house and I am the queen of the house....]

5. ANCHOR: haa, wo to hai hi aap--helllo?--ye gaana kyo pasand hai aapko?

[yes that you are of course! ... but why do you like this song?]

6. CALLER: mere piyaa mujhe bahut pyaar karte hai naa, isiliye...

[because my husband loves me a lot.. that's why..]

7. ANCHOR: achchaa ji, lekin aap ye bataayiye aap dono(n) ek dusre sepyaar karte hai ki nahi karte?

[OK, but tell me this,do both of you love each other or not?]

8. CALLER: haa, bahoot pyaar.... mai to bachpan se hi issi aadmi se pyaar kartii huu ...mujhe aapki aawaz bahoot pasand aati hai zyaadatar wo jo bioscope me sunaate hai naa, picture ki story vagheraa wo bahoot pasand aata hai mujhe...

[yes...we love each other a lot....] love this man since my childhood ...I like your voice a lot specially the stories of films you tell in the bioscope... I like them a lot.....]

Here the caller uses three English words like "bioscope", which is a borrowed word and which displays the rural urban divide. This word is associated only with a rural background and as evident the caller is from a village. The other two words "picture" and "story" are also borrowed and the usage of these two words denotes the fact that the rural people too want to be included into the upper crust of the society and they use English merely as a symbol of prestige and upward mobility.

9. ANCHOR: to matlab vividh bharati ko aapne apni sakhi banake rakkha hai...

[that means you have made Vividh Bharati your girlfriend...]

10. CALLER: haa...

[yes]

11. ANCHOR: usi ke saath baat kartii hai?....wohi aapka manoranjan bhi karta hai, dil bhi bahalataa hai hai na?...

[do you talk to her?...she is the one to entertain you and to pamper you isn't it?]

12. CALLER: Haa Haa

[yes yes]

13. ANCHOR: matlab, Vividh Bharati apne naam ko saarthak kar rahi hai...aur iskaa jo hai apne...sab rango ke saath aap tak pahuunch jaati hai..

[that means, Vividh Bharati is living up to it's name isn't it?...and it reaches you with all its colours...]

13. CALLER: hamaara gaao bhi bahut sundar hai ...hamaare gaao me ek mandir hai

[our village is beautiful.....we have a temple in our village]

14. ANCHOR: achchaa achchaa...

[OK OK...]

15. CALLER: jahaamatlab shivji ka mandir hai wo chaaro taraf se paani hai matlab barah mahiine paani rehtaa hai us mandir me....

[where...I mean.. there is a temple of Shivji . .1 mean there is water all round it and there is water through out the year...] 16. ANCHOR: achcha achcha ...

[Ok, OK...]

17. CALLER: hamara gaao ke log atyant bhole hai....

[people in our village are extremely innocent....]

18. ANCHOR: wo to samajh me aa rahaa hai

[that is understood......]

19....to shilaaji aapne hume phone kiyaa hume bahut khushii hui aapka awaaz aur andaaz bhi bahut pyaara hai.....

[OK Shilaji, I am very pleased that you had called your voice and your style is very sweet ...] Here the word "phone" is a borrowed one and the anchor uses it because the Hindi alternative is too formal even for the standard Hindi speakers.

to hum ye kahenge ki bas issi tarah...se ...jaise aapne kaha hai ki bachpan se vividh bharti ko aapne sakhii banaake rakkha hai

[just like this, as you said you have made Vividh Bharati your girlfriend since your childhood,.....]

aage bhi aap ise sakhi banaaye rakhiye aur is sakhi se aapko aage bhi bahut kuch milegaa

[in future also keep this friendship steady because you will gain a lot from this friendship..]

khaas taur se aap kabhii udaas hongi to aapke har lamhe ko ye khushgawaar banaa degii....

[this will make your moments very happy.. specially when you feel sad......]

suniye apni pasand kaa ye giit.

[now listen to your favorite song...]

In this discourse from Vividh Bharati, there is an absence of switiching. The caller who is evidently from a village brings to use only a few English words like "bioscope" and "picture" while speaking. On the other hand, the Vividh Bharati interlocutor does not switch even once and neither does he use a single English word. There is however, a clear distinction between high and low varieties of Hindi and also between Sanskritized and colloquial variety, as we shall see in the other discourses also.

3.2.3 <u>THIRD DISCOURSE:</u> <u>PROGRAMME: CITY-LITES [AIR(FM)].</u> <u>TOPIC: (FILM SONGS.)</u>

1. ANCHOR: In the program CITYLITES aaj mai huu aapke saath nimi rastogi, well, tell me by the way, have you been to India gate recently? Well if you have, then you know that this glorious monument which is the pride of our city look even more gorgeous after the lighting of it has been renovated after a gap of twelve years. This newly installed lighting has been designed and installed by a major light manufacturer iske liye unhone baahar ki taraf India Gate par high pressure sodium vapour lamps AUR metal lamps lagaaye gaye hai aur andar ki taraf low volume Halogen lamps lagaaye gaye hai taaki lighting ki intensity different ho jaaye aur india gate kii khoobsurti aur bhi nikharkar saamne aye..ab india gate ke lawns me shaam ke waqt picnic manaane ka mazaa aur bhi badh jaayega.....

[.....today I am Nimi Rastogi with you.....for that they have put outside India gate high pressure sodium vapour lamps and metal lamps and on the inside low volume Halogen lamps have been put so that the intensity of the lighting becomes different and the beauty is amplified ...now during the evenings it is more fun to have a picnic in the lawns of India gate...]

Here it is evident that code mixing is a strategy of AIR(FM) to begin a programme of the nature of an informal chat. In this case the topic is casual and therefore, the chunk of the monologue is in English.

[SONG]

2. ANCHOR: A new designer café is also being set up in our city aur is cafe me hamaare desh ke top designers ki creations rakkhi jaayegii

[....and in this café the creations of the top designers of our country will be kept...]

Here, the topic is introduced in English but the content is repeated in Hindi. Also, these announcements are for an intended audience who belong to an educated, elite background and therefore there are no immediate translations of words like "designer café", "creations" etc.

3. aur iske alavaa hamaare padosi desh PAKISTAN aur BANGLADESH ke clothes bhi rakkhe jaayenge..

[and apart from that, creations from the designers of our neighbouring countries Pakistan and Bangladesh will also be displayed]

Here the use of "clothes" and "elite" show that the anchor does not put any effort to change the standard of English and the code mixing has a register related effect, which in turn produces an in-group effect. 4. waise aap soch rahe honge ki aisi jagah aam logo ke pahunch ke baahar hai aur elite hoti hai par at the same time it is also a matter of prestige for our city...

[You must be thinking that these places are out of reach of ordinary people but]

[SONG]

5. ANCHOR: to bhai sunne me ye aaya hai ki hamaare shahar ko sundar banaane aur tourism ko badhawa dene ki uddeshya se elaborate plans banaaye gaye hai...

[so brother, there is this gossip that to make our city more beautiful and to boost tourism, elaborate plans have been made...]

Here, the topic is introduced in Hindi to create a Register related effect i.e. to create an in-group effect but at the same time, the use of "elaborate plans" without any translations shows that the programme is directed towards the previously defined intended audience.

6. unhi plans me se ek hai rajpath ko yamuna nadike kinaare tak extend karna aur rashtrapati bhawan se yamuna nadi ke front tak ek green stretch of land develop karna hai......

[one of those is that Rajpath should be extended till the Yamuna river and to develop a stretch of land till the front of Yamuna river.....]

In this the concept of Mahatma Gandhi forces the anchor to use Hindi but she immediately switches to English while describing the landscapes etc. because in this informal context, the use of English for the description of the garden is more pragmatically and sociolinguistically appropriate.

7. Stretch ke end me hoga ek elevated area jahaa par mahatma gandhi ki murti sthapit kii jaayegii iske alaava waahaa banenge artificial lakes beautiful parks, landscapes, gardens and also musical fountains. This apart from being a musical delight would also create an environment of peace and tranquility and dignity right at the heart of the city. Sounds very interesting ... but how on earth are we going to maintain it?

[at the end of this stretch there will be an elevated area where a statue of Mahatma Gandhi will be erected and a spinning wheel will also be set up ...apart from this artificial lakes......will also be made.......]

[SONG]

8. **ANCHOR:** Well keep listening to the programme CITYLITES and this is about you guys your places and your people... so try to be a part of it.. this is Nimi Rastogi now taking your leave.

The anchor uses very casual English here and that is to create a Register related effect by providing an in-group feeling to the audience. Also, the use of English also helps her to maintain the informality of the programme.

In the film song programme CITYLITES, the announcer uses NWIE with an American accent through out a huge chunk of the programme. Also, she uses English to 'Inofrmalize' the programme. The announcer while ending the programme says '...this programme is for you guys...etc.' which marks the informal context. Also throughout the

programme, when she is speaking English she maintains her adopted American accent.

In this discourse, the mixing of the codes can be attributed to a large extent to the motive of indicating a shift in the topic and also because Codemixing can be random. In other words, the anchor mixes the codes either to highlight the shift in the topic or she randomly mixes because she is a bilingual and therefore proficient in handling both the languages with equal ease. Also, in this discourse, Register related effects and Participant related effects are more evident. Also, the anchor switches in order to create an in-group effect and include the audience in upward mobility. For instance, "waise aap soch rahe honge ki aisi jagah aam logo ki pahunch ke bahar hai, par at the same time, it is also a matter of prestige for our city...."

3.2.4 <u>FOURTH DISCOURSE</u> <u>PROGRAMME: CHAYAGIIT (VIVIDH BHARATI)</u>

1. namashkaar, ye All India Radio ka vividh bharati prasaran sewa hai. prastut hai karyakram chayagiit.

[(Greetings) this is All India Radio Vividh Bharati broadcast service we present the programme CHAYAGIIT]

The very formal mode of greeting contrasts this programme from that of AIR (FM). This is to distance itself from the audience and maintain a strict formal register.

2. sab se pahle suniye kishore kumar aur lata mangeshkar ka gaya hua "abhimaan" film ka ye geet aur is film ke sangiitkaar hai S.D. Burman..... [first, listen to a song sung by Kishore Kumar and Lata mangeshkar from the film "Abhimaan". The music director of the film is S.D. Burman.]

In this the announcer uses the word "film" which is a borrowed word because the Hindi equivalent is normally not used even in very formal contexts.

(SONG)

.....(FOLLOWED BY ANOTHER SONG).....

3. "ANAND" film se Lata Mangeshkar ke gaye hue is giit ke baad ab aap suniye Asha Bhonsle ka ye giit film ka naam hai "Judaai" aur ise sur pradan kiya hai Laxmikant Pyarelal ne.

[After the song sung by Lata Mangeshkar from the film "Anand", Now listen to this song by Asha Bhonsle from the film "Judaai". The music has been provided by Laxmikant Pyarelal.]

4. Mohammad Rafi aur Asha Bhonsle ka gaaya hua "PYAAR KII JIIT" film ka ye giit suniye, sangitkaar hai, Madan Mohan.

[listen to a song by Mohd. Rafi and Asha Bhonsle from the film "PYAAR KII JIIT". The music director is Madan Mohan]

In this discourse, it can be observed that unlike the AIR (FM) film song discourse, the formality is strictly maintained. Apart from the word "film" no English word has been used. The announcements are made in standard Hindustani with the only variance of word order change. This deliberate formality exercised by the Vividh Bharati announcer, act as an aid to keep the audience at a distance and also this helps to

maintain the neutrality of the announcements. Sociolinguistically, this is relevant because unlike AIR(FM), the audience is not included or targeted as a particular socioeconomic class.

3.2.5 <u>FIFTH DISCOURSE.</u> <u>PROGRAMME: NEWS AIR(FM)</u>

NEWS READER: Before we have some more music let me tell you what's happening in the world....Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee again rejected the Congress demand for deletion of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's name from the book of charge sheet, the Congress mounted pressure on the government both from inside and outside the parliament to do so...while MLAs inside the parliament emotionally broke down while participating in the debate on the Orissa cyclone calamity...cutting across party lines, they demanded that it be declared a national calamity and the nation should stand by unitedly in the hour of agony of the people of Orissa....The BJP leader Mr. K.L.Sharma has ruled out any fall out in the Uttar Pradesh unit of the party following the suspension of the former chief minister Mr. Kalyan Singh...In Maharashtra, a strike by the resident doctors continues for the eighth day today with no solution in sight and Sports news, India bagged nine gold medals at the international competition in Canada.....At one 'O' two point six Mega hertz FM those were the news headlines.....

Here it can be observed from the mode of beginning the news that with in English also, there can be informality. In this, the beginning itself is very informal. Instead of using a formal phrase like '... This is All India Radio (FM), and this are the news headlines....' Or something similar which is more formal, an informal beginning to the news is given for instance, '... before we have some more music, let's hear the news headlines'. But through out the rest of the news the standard formality is maintained. The accent is to some extent made up ,but it can be said that the news is the only programme in the FM channel which is the least informal.

3.3 <u>GENERAL PROPERTIES OF RADIO(MHE) AND THE</u> <u>UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES.</u>

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In general, the code mixing in Radio (MHE) follows the pattern of general code mixing as shown by Gupta (1978) and Pandit (1986) where they almost uniformly state that MHE is spoken by people from a higher socio economic background and are educated and that no linguistic constraints are violated by the use of MHE. The general observations about Radio (MHE) are listed below:

- (a) There is almost total absence of code mixing in the Vividh Bharati programs.
- (b) Apart from the News program, AIR (FM) uses code mixing as a discourse strategy in all the other programmes, but this involves generalizations of already available strategies. The effect is not in the meaning either of Discourse related or Register related effects but has the objective of creating an in-group or out-group effect or to make the other speaker switch to the language switched to by the anchor and has very few instances where objectives other than reinforcing this and the register are used.

- (c) The Vividh Bharati programmes are socially neutral in that they do not have any motive to divide the audience socio-economically or create the illusion amongst the audience that they belong to a socio-economically prosperous and educated class.
- (d) The strategies used by Radio(MHE)can be divided into two groups
 - Phonetic strategies—This includes rhyming between English and Hindi words e.g.

agar aap naye naye gaano se ho gaye hai tang.....

to lijiye aap suniye oldies ka ye song......

[if you are tired of hearing new songs.....here is an old one] Often American interjections like "wow!", "oh,yes!", "definitely!" are incorporated into the Hindi speeches of the anchors of AIR (FM). Gemination of words final consonants can also be observed and Hindi words are often spoken in the perceived American accent of the anchor, for e.g. –

'.....I am sure you must be knowing..... leikhin film ka naam music Director kaun the wo aapko likh kar ke bhejnaa hai Yesss!!!

Usually, the whole address is read out by the anchor of AIR (FM) in English with an accent which comprises of a blend of American and British English. For e.g. "Matinee Mazaa", Poust Bax, **paanch sou tiin...**

Here, the Hindi words "**paanch sou tiin**..." are also spoken in that accent. Given below is a table showing the pattern of the accented pronunciation by the anchors of AIR (FM)

Words in Indian English	Anchor's pronunciation	
w ɛl	Well	
Intensiti	Intensidi	
mattər	Mædər	
post	Poust	
Вэх	Bax	

- Morpho syntactic stratégies— In this rhymed idioms occur as a strategy. For e.g. "need nahi balki greed", "aapka host and dost Narendra Joshi'. These utterances use productive Hindi morpho syntactic processes.
- (e) Free borrowing of collocated expression in English is done in Radio (MHE) for e.g. "inko proper platform kaun pradaan kar saktaa hai ?"
- (f) Usually, Hindi is used as a strategy to induce a note of formality in the discourses except in some instances of Radio (MHE) where Hindi creates some informality in the discourse. For e.g. 'Well there is a very famous saying...fragrance always clings to the hands that gives you roses...aur issi ko charitaarth karte hue we have on line....'

These were some of the observations of the code mixing done in the AIR (FM) channel. It is evident that the code mixing is done only to informalize the programmes and target the general audience by creating an illusion that they too belong to that section of the society which has power, prestige, education and class and market the values, ideas, and products of the capitalist first world countries , mainly the U.S.A.

The occurrence of these observations can be explained with the help of the underlying principles mentioned in Section –3.1 i.e. the reasons for which a person chooses to mix codes, the influence/ effects a switch has on the discourse and how the potential problems of speaking in mixed tongues are taken care of. For example, Rhyming within a code mixed sentence indicates that English being an Indian language, is perfectly at home in traditional strategies. In Hindi, Rhyming introductions are very common as also mentioned in Section-3.1.

It is evident now that the code mixing in the programmes aired by AIR(FM) are a discourse strategy. This in turn serves to indicate the powerful and prestigious position of English in India and in the world. Also, it is clear how using a language as a medium, the first world countries like the USA are trying to smuggle in their values and ideas to the third world countries like India and exploiting them commercially.

Vividh Bharati, the state sponsored channel, on the other hand maintains a neutral and formal stand even in informal registers thereby forbidding code mixing of any kind. Only a distinction between the high and low variety and the Sanskritized and the colloquial variety of Hindi can be observed. This effort can be attributed to the need to maintain uniformity in the presentation of the radio programmes and keep them formal.

CHAPTER-4

CONCLUSION

Codemixing or Codeswitching, is a widespread phenomenon in the speech patterns of the Hindi-English bilinguals generally constituted by the urban educated populous in India. This linguistic phenomenon is a result of the speakers bilingual competence and the choice of the two codes that the speaker employs is determined socially and politically rather than linguistically.

The media plays a vital role today in reflecting the Social tendencies and preference and it also acts as an instrument to highlight certain attitudes and values mainly for political reasons. The AIR(FM) radio channel is one such instrument which uses language as a medium to foster western thoughts and ideas with the motive of exploiting the third world market commercially. AIR Vividh Bharti on the other hand is the state sponsored channel which maintains a distance from the audience and is completely formal and traditionally 'Indian' in its approach and presentation.

The most important fact to be noted in the presentation of programmes by AIIR (FM) is the encoding strategy they employ. India being a multilingual country does not have a dirth of language, rather there are many varieties of a signal language. Hindi itself has the High Sanskritized variety, The Hindustani variety, the colloquial variety etc. But AIR(FM) chooses English as the other code. This choice is deliberate and determined politically.

In this dissertation, we have looked at the various theoretical and conceptual issues that emerge from the nature of the code employed. While studying the phenomenon of Codemixing, we looked into the status of the mixed code .e. whether the Hindi-English mixed code has an autonomous status or it is entirely amenable to a description as Codemixing. The inference that we draw after studying the phenomenon of Codemixing in the radio Programmes aired by AIR (FM) is that, Radio (MHE) does have an autonomous status but it is not a linguistic but a sociolinguistic one.

In the study of Radio (MHE), it has been observed that apart from enjoying a sociolinguistic status it also has a special status marked by a few linguistic reflexes like Frequency of switch, Phonetics/Phonology of Radio (MHE) which includes usage of American phonology/phonetics for Hindi words and sentences and Switching within an idiom/proverb. However, it is not a new linguistic property because no linguistic constraints are violated in the process. At most, we can call it is a violation of pragmatic and aesthetic constraints which is permissible as it does not alter the structural pattern of either language. Sociolinguistically though, Radio (MHE) certainly enjoys an independent autonomous status. The use of Radio (MHE) particularly denotes bilingual proficiency which in turn includes the audience into upward mobility and provides the tag of educatedness, modernity, and socioeconomic prosperity along with it. Though the inclusion of the general audience is through an illusion, yet, the use of MHE certainly has the desired effect. The reason for this is the status of English in India. Much has been said and written about this aspect by many linguists but may of them are of the firm opinion that there is a distinction in the varieties of the World Englishes. American, Australian & British varieties are considered native and Black English, Indian English, Singaporean English or other South Asian varieties of English are considered to be the non native varieties. This clearly depicts a racist undertone and is not logically acceptable either. But it cannot be denied that English is a language of prestige and power. This choice of English as the other code has a lot of sociolinguistic consequences as already stated briefly. However, the factors for the choice of this particular code is obviously its global importance and the related causes.

As seen from the study, the implication this kind of discourse structuration, has for the status of English in India,

particularly in terms of the World English project by Kachru (1986) is that, English enjoys a global identity and is considered a marker for modernity and upward mobility. Also in English in India is a vehicle to transfer the Western ideas and values.

From this research it has emerged that MHE is exclusively used in the radio programmes instead of separate programmes in Indian English and Hindi and this is because there is a close relationship of media, in this case, radio programming, advertising and marketing. In other words, the exclusive use of MHE in both radio and television is concomitant with the opening up of the Indian economy to global interests.

The basic difference between Vividh Bharati and AIR(FM) is that the former is a non commercial channel where as the latter is a commercial one. The employment of a very formal register by Vividh Bharati substantiates the fact that Vividh Bharati maintains a formal distance from the audience. The use of MHE is next to nil in the Vividh Bharati Programmes.

A few other facts have also come across while doing this research, specifically the discourse analysis. The analysis of the discourses provided answers to the three basic questions that form the underlying principles. The answers to the three basic questions, namely, why code mixing takes places, what effects or influence a switch intends to have on the discourse and how the potential problems in speaking in mixed tongues are taken care of are the basis of the analysis that has been presented in this dissertation.

One can come to the conclusion that a bilingual mixes codes mainly for four reasons-either to bring about a shift in the topic, because the speaker does not find a semantically, pragmatically and sociolinguistically appropriate word in the base language, because of dirth of equivalent words in the host language and there is a provision of borrowing or because code mixing can be random as a bilingual is equally proficient in both the languages. Also, various effects can be inflicted by a switch on a discourse, namely, Register related effects where switches can be used to formalise or informalise a discourse. In MHE, the function is basically to informalise the register. The other effects include Participant related effects which can also be described as the ingroup / out-group effects and the Discourse related effect- which means, a switch (in a contentful expression) sometimes signals the preference that the response should be in the language switched to.

Inference can also be drawn on the fact that problems in speaking in mixed tongues can arise from the differences in the structure of the two languages, the narrative style or the sociolinguistics of the two languages. All the observations made about the general properties of the mixed discourses in Radio(MHE) have been explained on the basis of the aforesaid principles. In the Vividh Bharati programmes, though there is no code mixing observed in the discourses, there is a clear distinction between the high and low varieties of Hindi and a hierarchy is maintained between the high Sanskritised variety and the low colloquial variety.

One of the most important part of any research is the methodology that is used for the purpose. In this case, the methodology that has been adopted constitute of tape recording of the programmes of both the radio channels i.e. AIR(FM) and AIR(Vividh Bharati), transcribing them and then subjecting them to analysis. For the purpose of this research, three cassettes each of ninety minutes duration have been used for over a period of three months to collect data in the form of radio discourses-which have provided rich outcome and a fertile field for research.

This research however does not encompass all the aspects of the phenomenon of code mixing in radio programmes due to constraints imposed by time and scope.

It can be concluded that MHE has undergone a transient phase and therefore, the status of MHE, both linguistically and sociolinguistically has changed enormously over the passage of time. Earlier studies indicate the near absence of Radio(MHE) as here is no mention of it in any of the previous works completed about two decades ago.

Hence, further research would certainly provide more interesting and better insight into this very rich and interesting linguistic phenomenon.

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APPENDIX

KEY TO PRONUNCIATION

Α	as in	son
Aa	as in	far
I	as in	pin
li	as in	heed
U	as in	book
Uu	as in	fool
E	as in	make
Ai	as in	bad
0	as in	bolt
Au	as in	Saw
С	as in	much
Ch	as in	church-hill
J	as in	jaw
Dg	as in	hedgeing

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