CINEMA'S OTHER TONGUE:

AN ANALYSIS OF THE USE OF ENGLISH IN HINDI CINEMA

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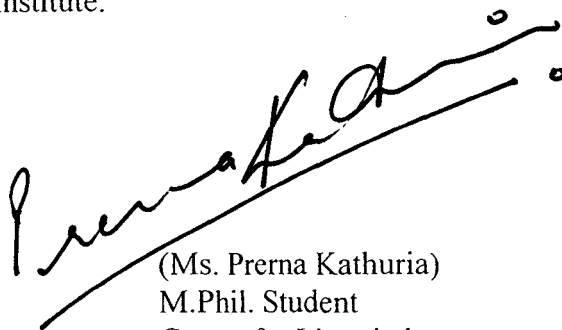
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This dissertation titled "**Cinema's *Other* Tongue: An Analysis of the use of English in Hindi Cinema**" submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institute.

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For my Families

The Kathurias, The Maliks and The Singhs

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Social Sciences and the Creative Arts have long engaged with the idea of the *Other* and have comprehended and explained it differently. Yet, the pervasive definition, which has remained at the epicenter of these theories, perceives the construction of the *Other* as a foil through which the *Self* distinguishes and in the process defines itself. In Post-colonial discourse (the underlying theoretical premise of this research) the *Other* is variously seen as 'barbaric', a 'threat', 'responsibility' and an 'alter ego' to and of the *Self*. The *Other* and the *Self* exist in binaries—of the excluded and the included, of light and dark, of superior and inferior— placing the *Self* constantly in positions of physical, material and cultural authority, while the *Other* remains language-less (silent), culture-less and thus face-less without an identity or history.

Language plays a crucial role in defining these binaries. Said (1978) explains that the 'truths' about the *Other* were in fact "like any truths delivered in language" (203). Shapiro (1989) too asserts that "The other is located most fundamentally in language, the medium for representing self and others" (28). Evidently, knowledge is created (manufactured) about the *Other* and in turn about the *Self* in and through language. At the same time, knowledge must be read as interchangeable with power for it was the very ability of the *Self* (West) to define the oblivious *Other* (Orient) which gave the *Self* a right to power over the *Other*.

The *Self* created the *Other* via a systematic production of knowledge in "a manner of regularized (or Orientalized) writing, vision, and study, dominated by imperatives, perspectives, and ideological biases ostensibly suited to the Orient" (Said 1978: 202). The knowledge about the *Other* was unveiled and discovered by a Western scholarship whose power was derived from the "ability to unlock secret, esoteric languages" (Ibid, 138). What prompted these discoveries, of the *Other* through its tongues, was the nineteenth century Humboldtian[1] view that propagated language as the very fabric of thought. Language became yet another site for exalting the *Self* as Western intelligentsia began to infer that the speakers of primitive languages were also intellectually primitive, justifying, therefore, the (natural) dominance of modern European language speakers over the natives. While on the one hand the West attained power through knowledge of the *Other's* tongues, it was the lack of

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[1] Discussed in details in Chapter 2.

knowledge of the western languages that made the *Other* passive, feeble and silent. It is, thus, evident why the entire civilizing mission was based on teaching the colonized *Other* their masters language; to bring them into light and generate consent regarding the West's divine right to rule over them.

In colonial India, English had a similar status, as the language of the 'civilized' masters, and served as a means to enlighten the 'savage' slaves. Over the years, the English language, expectedly, wove itself in what was a complex matrix of economic, political, cultural and social processes in (linguistic, ethnic and religious) the multiplicity of India. English maintained its presence even after India's independence and was given the status of Associate Official Language of India (officially granted in 1963 under the Official Language Act). Although, English remained a 'superior' language, many persistently believed that it was not the language of the Indian people. While it retained class affinities with the educated elite, English found itself sitting on the other side of the table.

Post-colonial India witnessed umpteen language debates and at the centre of these was the question of English; its status and position vis-à-vis other Indian languages. Ridiculed as unscientific[2] and derided as a colonial albatross by the extremists, the eminence of English was overturned, making it the '*Other* tongue' in India. The counter-*Othering* of the English language rested on numerous factors. To begin with, its standards were set by the erstwhile colonizers and continued to be so even in independent India, maintaining the exclusivity of the language. One must also take into consideration that English being the language of power was associated with the hegemony of the West and was also seen as a threat to the identity and ethnicity of the Indian speech communities.

Simultaneously, the story of English in India was taking yet another course, that of an appropriation[3] of English. As English became the *Other* in the 'orient' it also became an

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[2] One of the recurring motifs in the nation building process of India was India's glorious past before it was subjected to the atrocities of foreigners. During this time Sanskrit and Hindi were both hailed as legacies of this past. Constant efforts were made to highlight the scientificity of these languages, although often and purposely at the cost of English.

[3] The appropriation of English signifies a process of claiming ownership of the English language. Ownership of the language is asserted either through a thorough grasp of the language or through a process of nativization leading to demystification and decolonization of the language. Appropriation must be seen as an ongoing process which can be traced historically.

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'object' of study and observation for the 'erstwhile colonial subject' who now assumed the power to comment on, elaborate upon and appropriate the English language. It was Kachru (1982) who first identified the *'Otherization'* of English in non-English speaking countries who carry a historical baggage of the language of their rulers. For him numerous factors make English "the *Other* tongue", particularly in former British colonies, where the master's language became symbolic to their historical, social and cultural supremacy. In a post-colonial nation's imagination, English remained a remnant of colonial hegemony and a cultural alien to their multi-lingual and multi-ethnic societies. The use of English in these countries invariably reinstated the social hierarchies of class and caste, limiting the knowledge of English and access to associated opportunities to the elite.

Another scholar, writing in the wake of economic liberalization in India, Dasgupta (1991) too speaks of the *"Otherness* of English" and positions his study of English in a modern Indian context. His analysis of English in India is placed primarily in its functional aspects which he believes do not extend beyond technical terminologies. Dasgupta insists on the lack of creative impetus in the use of English in India, as Indians almost habitually copy the native speakers, visible the dearth of English literature, cinema and theatre written and performed in India. For Dasgupta, the use of English in India is, therefore, merely an instrument of politeness and creating distance.

Taking the notion of otherness of English further, this research proposes to historically re-analyze the presence of English in India, particularly its use in speech forms. The history of English in India begins simultaneously with that of the *Raj*. Vishwanathan (1987) points out that many Indians had started receiving English education by the end of the eighteenth century, revealing the presence of English among Indians for over 200 years. To understand this expansive history of English in India, one must bring into play the contestation between the centripetal and centrifugal forces of language[4]. While centripetal forces are at work through language nationalism and purism, for instance the almost militant advocacy of Hindi as India's national language, the centrifugal forces sunder such moves towards

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[4] Bakhtin (1975: 667-668) maintains that the centripetal forces of language tend to push for a unification and codification in language, while on the other hand centrifugal forces push everything away from the center, moving away from standardization and giving impetus to language mixing. See, Bakhtin (1975).

standardization through the process of language mixing and hybridization[5]. English's presence in India has predictably led to these processes which have unfolded a multiplicity and richness in rhetorical strategies and vocabularies.

While Bakhtin sees novels as the site for struggle among both the forces, I would like to look at film[6] language, through dialogues and song lyrics, as a similar site of conflict where a linguistic multiplicity tries to overcome the official unification and standardization of language. In this research, films and the language used in them will be observed as recorded texts representative of the socio-cultural, economic and political contexts of production as well as that of their participants (as speakers and hearers). Film language, in this research, will be studies keeping in mind the reciprocal relationship shared by cinema and language. While on one hand, language lends film narrative a cohesiveness which binds the sequences of images to form stories, on the other (along with reproducing local speech forms) cinema also reinvents language by adding new, creative usages that become part of conversations and gradually of the local speech forms[7] itself.

Cinema, therefore, makes for an important locale for the study of English use as its language not only replicates the language of its milieu but also becomes a space for articulating and negotiating contesting processes such as nation-building, propaganda, protest, identity, class and also desire. The following research proposes to historically study the use of English in Hindi film language through these complex socio-political matrices to understand the continued presence, evolution and acceptance of a tongue once foreign.

The research proposes, therefore, to diachronically explore the presence of English in Hindi cinema, despite being the cinema of a post-colonial nation and a major player in the process of nation-building. Further, one would like to analyse how Hindi films with the use of English challenge the accepted notions of purity in language. Another aspect that this

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[5] Bakhtin elaborates that hybridization "is a mixture of two social languages within the limits of a single utterance, an encounter, within the arena of an utterance, between two different linguistic consciousnesses, separated from one another by an epoch, by social differentiation or by some other factor" (358)

[6] Unlike the dichotomy between 'film' (as a singular unit) and 'cinema' (as a medium) in film studies, for the purpose of this research, these words would be used interchangeably.

[7] Since this research focuses primarily on the spoken form of language (of films in particular and social usages in general) , words such as 'speech forms' and 'language' will be used interchangeably to signify the speech mode in language.

research would like to dwell on is the relevance of speech in cinema particularly with respect to Hindi Cinema's use of the English language and the affect it has within and outside cinema, especially in context of the linguistic shift India has witnessed during the twentieth century.

This research would use concepts from Sociolinguistics, film history and film theory along with Post-colonial Studies as its theoretical framework and would be guided by the central tenet that language is not removed from (and is a product of) social, political, economic and cultural realms of its use. Towards this end, the research is grounded in theory of the disciplines mentioned above as well as in insight provided by researchers and academicians working on related fields. Although pre-independence Hindi films also provide important information they have been left out of the purview of the research as it is difficult to access them and also as definitive texts exist on these to enable gleaning of relevant information. The methodological approach adopted for this study will be diachronic and interpretive in nature and will use both qualitative data from secondary sources.

THE MANY TONGUES OF HINDI CINEMA

The linguistic medium of Hindi Cinema has undergone various transformational phases and the following section seeks to provide a brief overview of this cinema's interaction and play with north Indian languages.

The pre-independence Cinema produced in Bombay did not have a single language but rather was made in various regional Indian languages[8]. These films had made a niche in the Indian market and were gaining popularity despite the presence of both Hollywood and British motion pictures in India. Simultaneously however, Hollywood's almost hegemonic presence and growing popularity led to a decline in demand for British films both internationally and in the empire. India seemed like a viable market but despite many efforts (like the Cinematograph Films Act of 1927, whereby a quota of 7.5% was set for the exhibitors to show British films)[9] British films never gained popularity in India as they were culturally alien and full of derogatory racial content.

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[8] See, Barnouw and Krishnaswamy (1980)

[9] See, Jaikumar(2006: 65-103)

Thus, in order to control trade and censor, the British government required that the cinema produced in the Bombay area should have a standard language (so that production and the exhibition of films could be easily tabbed). This was the first phase of linguistic change in the burgeoning film industry as Hindi was zeroed in as its linguistic medium. This Hindi was a queer amalgam of Sanskritized Hindi, Urdu, Marathi and Gujarati[10].

Another phase in this cinema's linguistic transition came post-independence, when the members of the Progressive Writers Association began writing for Bombay Cinema. This period was marked by the extensive use of Urdu (popularly referred to as *Hindustani*, which is till date believed to be the language of this cinema) in dialogues and songs.

The 70s Hindi films marked the entry of the underdog and his struggles with the city, these characters from the 'chaste' hinterlands of India brought along varieties of or colloquial Hindi to the mainstream. While mainstream Hindi cinema spoke with an eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bhojpuri accent, the parallel cinema movement decided to purge Hindi from all local and foreign tongues and used its Sanskritized variety to reach its niche audiences[11].

During the 80's and the 90's Bombay city became the new focus of Hindi cinema. This shift gave birth to a new language *Bambaiya Hindi* (used in films like *Swami Dada* (1982) and *Rangeela* (1995) by a goon in the former and a ticket seller in the latter), a language of Bombay's underbelly and the outlawed. This Hindi was a melting pot of almost all languages spoken in urban Mumbai—Hindi, English, Marathi, Gujarati & Tamil—reflective of its metropolitan culture.

It was in the post-economic liberalization phase that the current linguistic transition (the excessive use of English) surfaces in Hindi cinema, a phenomena named by journalists as *Hinglish*[12] a word formed by combining Hindi and English. Indian directors have not only begun churning out films that are entirely in the English language but also weave into the dialogues of Hindi language films, English words that are effortlessly spoken by actors.

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[10] See, Trivedi (2006: 51-86)

[11] See, Trivedi (2006: 51-86)

[12] Although English had been code-mixing with Hindi since the colonial period, the words Hinglish (Hindi+English) only appears (in journalistic writing) in the 90s. It is probable that this coinage was inspired by its predecessors in other languages, like Franglais (French+ English, which came into mass usage after Miles Kinton's popular weekly article in Punch called *Parlez vous Franglais*) , Spanglish (Spanish+ English, coined by the Puerto Rican linguist Salvador Tio) or for that matter Indilish (Indian English).

Hardly incidental, this linguistic transition is symptomatic of the thematic shift that has taken place in Bollywood i.e. from the village to the metropolis and further from the national to the global.

Although, English is not new to Hindi Cinema as the language inevitably became part of the filmmaking jargon which was borrowed from the west along with the technique. Its use was not only limited to technical terminology but was widely used for film titles (*The Untouchable Girl, Guide, Victoria no. 203* to name a few), title cards in silent films and later in film scripts with the coming of the talkies.

English language's history in Hindi cinema dates back to the beginnings of Hindi cinema itself. Even during the period of silent cinema in the 1910s films were made with both Hindi and English subtitles. In the silent era of the 1920s, films with English titles and subtitles had become a trend; films such as *Light of Asia, Henpecked Husband, The Typist Girl, The Wild Cat of Bombay* and nationalist films such as the *Non-Cooperation* and *Bomb* are only a few examples.

With the coming of talkies in the 30s, many film makers (who wanted to target the international audiences, like Himanshu Rai) made English versions of their films. *Karma* directed by Himanshu Rai was the English version of *Nagin ki Ragini* which was one of the many English films like *Noor Jehan, Court Dancer, Melody of Love* and *Showboat* made around this period. V Shantaram's *The Journey of Dr Kotnis* was one of the popular English movies and also the few movies that were made during the 40s as the film industry suffered a slump due to the soaring cost of the raw stock (unexposed film reels) caused by the Second World War.

As cinema of a newly independent country, especially in the 50's, Hindi cinema was a part of India's nation building process. Although many films were made under English tiles, the mainstream Hindi cinema of this period indulged in a critique of the Western culture keeping its focus on the social issues of India. There were few exceptions such as Sohrab Modi's (1951) *Tiger and the Flame* and G.P.Sippy's (1953) *Queen of Araby*.

The 60s remained the formative years for this new cinema of an independent nation. Genres were being formed and dropped while the industry tried to organize itself. Most mainstream cinema was produced in Hindi; yet, the use of English could not be avoided to describe the urban experiences that formed the background for the films of this time. At the same time,

many English films were released made under joint banners of Indian and international production houses. This period is marked by the partnership of Ismail Merchant and James Ivory who made mixed language films (primarily English) like *Gharbaar* (The House-holder, 1963), *Shakespearewallah* (1965), and *The Guru* (1969). These movies catered mostly to international audiences and remained at the margins in India appealing to only an elite audience.

During the 70's and early 80's English remained at the peripheries due to the resurgence of linguistic nationalism and was used merely to comic effect. Around this period, Sanskrit and Hindi became symbolic to India's glorious past and their studies as scientific languages took a forefront. This led to a roaring critique of English and films became a perfect medium to make it a butt of all jokes. English at this time also became distinguished as the language of the minority communities of Christians and Parsees who were taking centre stage in film narratives, which was moving towards a realistic portrayal of its times. However, these characters gave way to comic stereotypes and language played an important role in their development. Humor was derived from their use of the odd mixed language, a hodgepodge of English, Hindi, Marathi and Guajarati.

The 90's ushered in a trend favorable to the language and its presence was again felt in the industry. This was the time of India's economic liberalization which not only brought in an economic boom in the industry but also a change in its formation and themes. Like India its cinema was no longer inward looking but had become global in its approach (both thematically and in terms of its audiences). At the same time the increase in the Non-Residential Indian (NRI) population, heightened the demand and appeal of Hindi cinema. Foreign locales became more accessible and the presence of an English speaking characters, convincing. This new linguistic turn is believed to represent and attract the educated middle and upper class audience which formed 90% of the (revolutionary) multiplex audiences while simultaneously capitalizing on the global appeal of the language.

TRACING THE USE OF (ENGLISH) LANGUAGE IN FILMS IN EXISTING LITERATURE

Language in the cinematic medium, till recently, was confined to its structuralist definition as a system of signs. Following the Saussurean view that language or linguistics is a master

semiotic system upon which all other systems are modeled, film scholars began to use language as a tool to compare and analyze the cinematic image. Studying cinema in terms of its 'filmic syntax'[13] and 'semantics' had became common place and scholars began to describe the cinematic image in terms of 'phrases' and 'sentences'.

In his seminal work *Language and Cinema* (1974), Metz, influenced by Saussure, takes on the task to decipher the "cinematic language" based on a notion of the singularity of the system of the film text. Taking linguistics as an entry point into cinema, Metz poses a distinction of "text/textual system". The "text", similar to the Saussurean concept of *parole* (an utterance), is the actual film, "an object 'of the real world.'... a given" and a creation of the filmmaker. The textual system on the other hand, just like *langue*[14], is not the text but its system, its structure, constructed by the analyst from the text.

Language, thus, remained a mere reference point than a tangible entity in all these years of film scholarship. Language, either written or spoken, was seen as limited and unnecessary as film makers and scholars in the west insisted that communication in cinema could only happen via the image. The cinematic narrative was believed to transcend language when the original written form was converted into a film, then discourse of the film was conveyed to the viewers in visuals at a metaphorical and analogical level.

Modern film scholars, however, are trying to reinvent and reanalyze the relevance of language in film diegesis. Chion (1999) points out that the aural complexity of the cinematic experience is typically overlooked in more visually driven analyses. His work primarily underscores the power of the human voice and its manipulation in layering film narrative, delimiting language to acoustics and the effect it produces on the hearer.

At the same time it is in and through language[15] that the narrative discourse, content, style and form of a film are revealed. Dissanayake (2008), while making a case for the significance of language in film diegesis, highlights that the forward movement of a narrative demands a verbal intent to reinforce the visual one. Apart from establishing a speaker(s)-viewer/listener relationship, language opens up psychological, socio-economical, ideological and political

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[13]A term used by Russian Formalists who studied literature, language and cinema as purely an assemblage of artistic devices *sans* historical, sociological or political context.

[14]Although Metz compared language with cinema, he believed that cinema unlike language is not a singular, well-organized system but a shared one.

[15]Here referring to a vocal and a spoken form and not as a structural or written form.

depths in to the character, society and the epoch of a film. Despite the fact that film language becomes a socio-historical instrument in the understanding of a particular culture, its relevance has been unexplored.

In cultures such as India which are primarily based on oral narratives, a verbosity and effusiveness in language become vital tools in storytelling. Its cinema too, unlike the visually driven narratives of Hollywood, is driven by language used in narration. Hindi film songs and dialogues form a crucial part of the film viewing experience and were remembered and reproduced with great zeal. Actors were hailed and became popular more for their oratory than for their looks, while every film production unit had a special section devoted to writing film dialogues.

However, film language has received little attention from Indian film academia, where it merely has a superficial presence amidst presumably graver debates around genre, auteur, stardom, film history and theory. Nevertheless, academicians from language studies such as Trivedi (2006 & 2008) have elaborated upon language change along with historically tracing language use in Hindi films. While in *All kinds of Hindi: the evolving language of Hindi Cinema*, Trivedi (2006) marks out the historical development of Hindi in Hindi films, in *From Bollywood to Hollywood: The Globalisation of Hindi Cinema*, Trivedi (2008) suggests that the advent of English in Hindi films is a symptom of globalisations effect on the its production processes. Yet, such works mark only the beginning of the field, yet to be investigated, where language change in the cinematic medium needs to be studied in tandem with social, cultural, economic and political changes within a nation it is a product of.

On the other hand, this contemporary trend of language mixing in Hindi films has received a lot of attention in journalism. Film journalists have been tracking the trend, of Hinglish films, since the early nineties. These articles speak of a sudden emergence of English in the Indian film scene in congruence with the other developments in mass media. But mostly this vogue is merely explained but not engaged with as journalists only lay out the changes that are taking place but not the reasons or the repercussions of this change.

However, the academic work that guided the preliminary research for this dissertation was the inquiry into film language undertaken by Giest (1991) in *English in non-English language films*. This paper sets out to with a presumption that in particular cultures, foreign languages have a significance, in and of themselves, and their use in cinema becomes integral to the meaning of films in a particular milieu and time. Giets suggest that while the use of a

second/foreign language in a film becomes symbolic of a meaning recognizable by the audience, even though they might not know the language. At the same time, it is also used as a cinematic devise by the film maker to make statements, his own language would otherwise not allow.

This research proposes to follow a similar route and a similar presumption, where along with tracing the history of English in Hindi cinema one would also analyze into its evolving meaning in cinema along with the society it operates in.

STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

While providing an outline for the intended research project, the aim of the **Introduction** was to highlight the core issues leading to this study. The brief history of Hindi cinema and its changing language expects to suggest a process of continuous language change that takes place in this language based medium, a research into which has not yet taken place. At the same time the literature review wishes to bring forth the lack of available literature on the proposed study.

In **Chapter II,** one seeks to trace the history of English in India from pre-independence to the post-liberalization phase. This chapter will highlight the various conflicts and controversies that have revolved around English, at the same time, through this study one also wants to understand the relevance of English in reinstating or subverting economic and social hierarchies in a developing country. This chapter will also alongside map the reasons for its continued presence, its changing meaning, its use and the trend towards its hybridization.

Taking from the outcome of the prior chapter, **Chapter III** will seek to understand the presence (if at all) of English in Hindi cinema beginning from post–independence period till the end of 1960s. In keeping with the socio-political changes taking place in India— formation of a national democracy, modernization, industrialization etc—this chapter will draw from these historical changes to map the language change taking place in films of this period.

As a continuation of the prior chapter, **Chapter IV** provides a historical overview of Hindi cinema's language of the period starting from 1970 till the end of 2009. This period is also marked by the increase in the use of English (as claimed by journalist) and therefore the

chapter will explore its reasons while at the same time analyzing another development, the shift of film language form Hindustani to Hinglish. This chapter also seeks to understand whether the use of English in cinema has lead to a percolation of English to the grassroots due to cinemas mass appeal.

Finally, the **Conclusion** will recapitulate the starting positions of this research and the primary questions to check their validity based on the emerging information and analyses. The conclusion would then use the research findings to answer the basic research questions.

Chapter II

ENGLISH IN INDIA: MEANINGS, CONFLICTS AND EVOLUTION

If languages come to distinguish nations, it is in part because nations

are made by turning languages into distinctive national markers.

(Pollok, 2003)

Recently the World Classical Tamil Conference[16] took off in Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu, celebrating Tamil identity and the antiquity of its language and literature. As an ethnic group in India, the Tamils, since the sixties, have insisted on their ethnic identity[17] based on the classicism of the Tamil language. The reason for drawing attention to Tamil identity is to emphasize how language has evolved into a "well-bounded" (Manjali 2006: 144) entity, delimited by either demography or geography, as nations not just mark their territory but also identity through language. This boundedness of language is also forced by a codification which stands as a defence from all kinds of pollution, giving language of a people exclusivity and many a times a supremacy.

Before modernity, Foucault believes "the whole world spoke a common discourse which could be interpreted in terms of a close grid of similarities" (Manjali 2006: 143). Plato in *Cratylus* ponders over the association of 'names' with 'things', whether language arbitrarily assigned meaning to things in the world or did these things have an intrinsic connection with

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[16] The ninth World Classical Tamil Conference was held in Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu from 23rd to 27th June, 2010. Tamil speaking scholars spread across the globe attend the conference which is held roughly at every three year interval. For further details see, Language and Rhetoric (June, 25 2010). Editorial, *Indian Express*.

[17] The militant insistence of the Maharashtra Navnirman Sena about the use of Marathi by all residents of Maharashtra irrespective of region too was a claim to a distinct ethnic identity, although the issue was layered with the Marathi masoos (man's) sense of being displaced in Maharashtra's economy by outsiders. Language became the most sure shot means to gain attention as well as ethnic stronghold [amongst the Marathi people] in a political structure based of regional and caste motivations.

language; where did the origins of meaning lie, in 'convention' or in 'nature'? He concluded that language was associated with things through a network of similarities between the word and the world. Till the end of sixteenth century, Foucault insists, that "meaning in and of language was primarily experienced in terms of 'resemblance'" (Manjali 2006: 143).

Language remained an object among others in the world, open to interpretation, until the seventeenth century when Descartes associated language with 'human' rationality. No longer shackled by stimulus, the main difference between humans and animals according to Cartesian rationality, language could be used creatively to signify ideas and emotions and not merely tangible entities.

The harbinger of scientificity and empiricism, eighteenth century modernism attempted to objectively study language. It was declared an autonomous object beyond human control and was believed to hold within it the secrets of human thought and by extension their existence. Linguists during this epoch maintained that only through comparative and historical analysis of languages one could interpret individual and societal characteristics which laid the grounds for the field of 'Philology'[18].

Language became coterminous with human cognition and behaviour, as Humboldt, a pioneer in the field of Philology, explains "they (languages) are hieroglyphs in which each individual [whether a person or a people] imprints its imagination and the world". This need to historicize and compare languages developed simultaneously with the European expansionist project and soon on the basis of grammar civilizations were classified as superior or inferior[19] while reinstating the classical and justifying their divine right to rule.

These developments must be read in conjunction with the beginnings of the 'nation' and 'national consciousness' in nineteenth century Europe. Language, more precisely "print-language" which was the "earliest form of capitalist enterprise" (Anderson 1999: 37) in the sixteenth century, was pivotal in the fabrication of the modern nation-state. Anderson (1999)

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[18] According to Manjali (2006: 151), the field of philology, in the nineteenth century, had developed into the study of world cultures based on linguistic characteristics of a community.

[19] Humboldt has argued that languages with an inflecting languages, such as German, English and the other Indo-European languages were the most perfect and superior languages which explained the dominance of their speakers over the speakers of less perfect languages. For further details see, Humboldt, On Language: the diversity of human language-structure and its influence on mental development (1988 edn). Cambridge. Cambridge University Press (220-237).

maintains that the advent of printing in Europe created a "unified field of exchange and communication" (44) which led to the formation of an exclusive community of readers now mutually intelligible to each other and also distinguishable from other [national] communities.

At the same time, printing the language gave it "fixity" (Ibid, 44), a certain permanency leading firstly and most importantly to a stable, standardized version of the language for future reproduction. Secondly, it lent a sense of antiquity to the notion of the imagined nation as it made an older body of literary work in the language available in the modern period, historically consolidating the language and by extension also the nation.

The stability in the printed form of language created the "languages-of-power" (Ibid, 45) that managed to oust vernaculars and circulate the dominant forms. A process very similar to "Sanskritization" where inferior forms begin assimilating into the perceived superior language (or class) since the epicenter of power, therefore identity, opportunity and access, lie therein.

The twentieth century saw the making of many a nation(s). An erstwhile colony, India too initiated the process of nation-building via an imagined *lingua franca* Hindi. Met with much resistance, obvious in a multilingual and multiethnic country, India, to make amends and appease the non-Hindi speakers, opted for a second official language, English. This brings us to the moot point of this discussion which is English in post-colonial India.

Unlike other post-colonial nations which carry the baggage of their former master's tongue, India is a peculiar case. Albeit a language that still holds the same supremacy, owe and status as it did as the colonizer's language, India has managed to appropriate English lexically and grammatically. Moreover, due to the multiplicity of speech forms in India, English has assimilated with most regional languages giving rise to forms such as *Tamilish* (code-mixing of Tamil and English), *Malluish* (code-mixing of Malayalam and English), *Bambayya* (code-mixing of Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi and English), and *Hinglish* (code-mixing of Hindi and English). Interestingly, English transgresses all forms of language boundedness in India; English is not only displaced geographically, demographically but also grammatically. This evolution of English in India and the historicity of its status becomes the focal point of the following section leading to the arrival of *Hinglish* as a popular cultural phenomenon.

ENGLISH IN INDIA: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The true cure for darkness is the introduction of light.

(Charles Grant, 1792, p. 81)

The language policies of British India must indubitably be read in congruence with policies of economic and cultural expansion in the colony. Both the Orientalist school of thought which wanted to initiate the west and reintroduce the culturally depraved natives "to the vast literary treasures of the East" (Vishwanathan 1987: 4) and Anglicism which insisted on the spread of European knowledge to bring civilization to the world, were rooted deep into capitalist and political moorings of the British rule in India.

Until the end of eighteenth century, British did not feel the need to introduce English education in India. It was believed that an "efficient Indian administration rested on the understanding of Indian culture" (Ibid, 4). Thus, eighteenth century saw great Orientalist scholars and a British government which, in the words of Governor-General Hastings (1974-85), wanted "a hold on their (natives) sympathies" and "a seat in their affections". Such a policy not only planned to acculturate the British administrators to an Indian way of life but at the same time wanted to generate consent by appeasing the Indian populace through the generosity of the British masters.

Only around late eighteenth century, also the beginning of the Anglicist school of thought in India, evangelist Charles Grant (1746-1823) foresaw the prospects and advantages of English education in India. He prepared the first blue print on language and education for India in the treaties called *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals: and the Means to improving it* (1792) in which he declares:

> They are our own, we have possessed them long, many Englishmen reside among
> the natives, our language is not unknown there, and it is practicable to diffuse it
> more widely.

(pp 81-2)

The practicality of providing western knowledge in the English language, as Grant saw it, was not only for the "communication of our knowledge" which would open the "mental bondage in which they (natives) have long been holden"(Ibid, 82). Through European

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knowledge imparted by means of English, Grant also aimed at political, economic and religious returns for the British Government.

Grant believed that the English language was necessary to bring rationality and morality among the natives, although the real motive was to support the ongoing missionary activities in India. The "alliance between the church and culture" (Vishwanathan 1987: 16) was to serve as a double edged sword, not only would Christianity be propagated but, through the teachings of the gospel, it would politically strengthen the rulers by spreading the ideas of duty and loyalty among the ruled[20].

On the other hand, much before Macaulay, Grant was able to see the rise of a professional middle class, due to an English education, which would be "driven by the impulse to imbibe western modes" (Raina 1991: 273). Thus, English education was to make Indians greater (and more docile) contributors to colonial capitalism, both as producers of goods for the European market (needing therefore a cheap, minimally educated but docile work force) and as upper and middle class consumers of European goods (the new consumer society which would emulate the British lifestyle and have money to afford it).

Grant's observations led to a crucial event in Indian education history, the passing of the Charter Act of 1813. While the act renewed the East India Company's charter for commercial operations in India, it also brought about two significant changes with respect to Britain's role in India. Firstly, restrictions on missionary work in India were relaxed and secondly, the company was ordered to assume a responsibility, that of native education and to direct "a sum of not less than one lakh rupees each year" for the purpose. According to the 13th resolution[21] of the charter, England was obligated to promote the 'interests and happiness' of the natives and that the measures were to be taken 'as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement'.

British parliament's direct control over the education policies in India was the first step to challenge the unchecked supremacy of the East India Company. At the same time, the British government started taking keen interest in the political affairs of India paving the way for the

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[20] In Britain, education was not a state responsibility and till the beginning of the nineteenth century it was fully integrated with the church. The church was responsible for character formation and to impart the teachings of moral laws and responsibilities. Although the upper-classes were also taught the classics, the lower classes only had access to religious studies. See, Vishwanathan, G (1987: 16-17)

[21] For more details see, Vishwanathan, G (1987: 4)

demise of the East India Company and birth of free trade. The keen interest in Indian affairs, albeit commercial, must be seen as an attempt by England to consolidate the British Empire and 'a nation'. Anderson (1999) remarks that even till the nineteenth century "English had not yet become an 'English' language" (90), therefore suggesting more than capitalist intentions in sowing the English seeds in India.

While it divided the society into the rulers and the ruled and carried the 'white man's burden', Anglicism bore what changed the Indian education system forever, Macaulay's Minute of 1835. One of the propagators of the "civilizing mission", Macaulay proposed a European model of education for the Indian subjects in the tongue which was believed to be "pre-eminent even among the languages of the west" (Bureau of Education 1920: 110) English, which he believed had the necessary vocabulary for teaching modern science, philosophy, law, and history.

The main context for Macaulay's Minute was the existence of a fund which according to the charter of 1813 was to be "applied for the revival and improvement of literature" and "the introduction and promotion of knowledge of the science". He insisted that all funds shall be spent on English education alone which meant the teaching the natives, literature and sciences, in the English language. Through Macaulay's attitude towards vernacular languages of India, one can easily deduce how English was put on a pedestal as the language of modernity almost by arrogantly defaming the native tongues. He exclaims that literature in Sanskrit is "less valuable" than the "most paltry abridgment used at preparatory schools in England". Macaulay remarks that "the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude" that European knowledge imparted in them will make intellectual improvement impossible.

As Grant had envisioned, Macaulay worked to build "a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, English in taste, in opinions, in morals and intellect". This class was not only going to serve the commercial interests of the British but was also to act buffer zone between the masses and the British. Once English was established as the language of education in 1835, its status as the official language of Indian government soon followed in 1837. By 1844 following the declaration of the Governor General Lord Hardinge, only those candidates who had been educated in modern English institutes would be accepted for Government jobs, making English the language of "good appointment." (Ram 1991: 36)

Raina (1991) emphasizes that English education policies from the very outset were to be "confined to the upper and middle classes of urban society", reflected in the Wood's Despatch of 1854. This detailed education policy insisted "English language to be the medium of instruction in the higher branches"[22] which would produce young men of intellectual and moral fitness on whom the government would "with increased confidence commit offices of trust" (Bureau of Education, 1922). Yet again through its education and language policies the British government ensured the "inexhaustible demand for the produce of English labor" (Ibid, 365) by educating their future consumers, the elite.

Almost foretelling the future of English in India, the Report of the Indian Education Commission of 1882 stated that by the end of nineteenth century "an English education started to be recognized as an assured means of livelihood" (Ibid, 15). While English become etched in the Indian consciousness as a symbol of modernization and a key to success and mobility, it remained a tool in the hands of the rulers as "a means to promote colonial capitalism" (Pennycook 1998: 90). Like Macaulay had once predicted, English continued in India as the language spoken by the ruling classes as also a language of the seats of government and law. It was not long till it also became "the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East" (Bureau of Education, 1920: 110).

ENGLISH IN POST-COLONIAL INDIA

> To speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp a morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization.
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> (Fanon 1967: 17-18)

The post-colonial aspiration is an aspiration of identity. An identity lost to hegemonic regimes and to be sought in and through a recreation/re-presentation of cultural history of the

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[22] The Despatch of 1854 states that the medium of instruction in lower branches to be vernacular languages to ensure minimal access to the lower classes and securing "a large and more certain supply many articles necessary for our (British) manufactures". See, Bureau of Education (J.A. Ritchie, ed) (1922) Selections from Educational Records, Part II: 1840-59, Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing (p. 365) as appeared in Pennycook (1998).

once colonized. Ngugi (1987) sees language as central to such an aspiration as "Language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orator and literature, the entire body of values by which we perceive ourselves and our place in the world" (15-16). Evidently enough, post-colonial nations, in literature and politics, articulate their identities in language as the choice of language invariably becomes intertwined in one's choice of identity.

Post-colonial nations, at the time of consolidating their nationhood based on shared ethno-cultural histories, are often faced with the dilemma posed by the colonizer's tongue. The master's language remains enmeshed with the cultural history of the post-colonial, as on some it was imposed and the others received it as an inheritance. Speaking about English imperialism, Pennycook (1998) exclaims that the meaning and choice of English was double edged as English was both "the language that will apparently bestow civilization, knowledge and wealth on people and at the same time is the language in which they are racially defined" (4).

At this juncture I would like to bring into play the theoretical paradigm that Ashcroft *et al* (1989) build, with regards to post-colonial literature, to understand the erstwhile colony's impasse on the language question. The linguistic choice, then, becomes one of rejection and subversion or "abrogation and appropriation" (Ashcroft *et al* 1989: 38-39). A choice on the one hand of "decolonizing" (Thiong'o 1986) by returning to their native tongues, acknowledging and communicating their continuing presence and on the other hand of conquering the imperial language[23].

ENGLISH IN INDIA: A RELUCTANT ABROGATION

As a prerequisite for a modern nation, India too wanted to base its nationhood on the precincts of a common language. The multiplicity of Indian tongues along with English placed India right at the centre of a linguistic conundrum where the "the problems of language were an everyday affair" (Austin 2008: 45). India was divided at many levels over the language question; firstly, what was going to be the national language of the country which would link the entire nation? Secondly, since India had already created linguistic

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[23] While considering the question of the presence of the English language in former colonies, Rushdie maintains that "to conquer English is to complete the process of making ourselves free". See Rushdie (1992)

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states, what would be the status of these regional languages both at state and national levels? And thirdly, what would be the status and function of English in India?

From the very outset English had divided the house into a pro-Hindi and a pro-English lobby. Although a debated issue after India's independence until the end of the sixties, the English language had been the centre of much discussion even prior to 1947. Gandhi remained the forerunner in the critique of the English language as he, like Fanon, was aware of the chasm the language created between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'.

While Gandhi and Premchand became flag bearers of Hindi nationalism, vehemently asserting how English had enslaved the Indian mind, Nehru and Raja Rao, on the other hand, maintained that English was the language of their intellectual make-up. Consequently, Nehru (1937) turned into the *de facto* leader of the English lobby when he insisted that "English will invariably remain an important language for us because of our past associations and because of its present importance in the world" (243-4).

Apart from the English lobby, Nehru gained leadership of an independent India and undertook the task of nation-building. Nehru insisted on the stability and security of the country and aimed at establishing a sovereign nation-state. India was to step into the world as a secular modern nation whose roots lay in democracy, scientificity and industrial development. This was to be a daunting task for a nation which had several other nations emerging within it and as Raina (1991) points out "Nehru was to see the best guarantee of a unified nation in the continuance of English (287)."

Thus, in the language provisions of the constitution English retained its official status for the initial period of fifteen years after which the 'official language' of the union Hindi was to supplant it. However, English was to be retained for use in the courts and for official texts after the expiration of the fifteen year period and until parliament otherwise legislated. The constitution categorically mentioned that "the language of supreme courts, high courts[24], the authoritative texts of bills, act ordinances, etc, should be English and for fifteen years no bill to alter this provision could be introduced" (Austin 2009: 79).Moreover, the provincial

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[24] This provision continued in the Official Language Act of 1963 (as amended in 1967), although under pressure from regional agents a change was made. According to the official language act the High courts were authorized to use the official language of the state (presently the case in Tamil Nadu) for adjudication and other legal orders accompanied by an English translation of the same.

governments were permitted to choose one of the regional languages, or English, to conduct their own affairs. This came as a balm to the enraged non-Hindi speakers and supporters of the English language.

These provisions led to major controversy in the house and to the split in the assembly between the extremists and the moderates. The central issue of the controversy was the length of time English should continue to be used as the language of the government. The extremists or the pro-Hindi lobby believed that Hindi had an inherent superiority over other Indian languages and should not only be the 'national' language but also that it should replace English for official union purposes immediately. These extremist also demanded a propagation of Hindi in the provinces so that soon Hindi should replace English as their second language.

Moderates on the other hand demanded that English, as a *de facto* national language, should be replaced very, very slowly and cautiously. Nehru joined by several other assembly leaders, led this group. This lobby was also joined by non-Hindi speaker of the various religious communities and the southern provinces who saw Hindi as a threat and an imposition. Many among them were not in favour of supplanting English with Hindi at both union and state level and insisted its continuance even after the interim period[25].

At the same time, the unending language problem in India and an indecision regarding the status of other Indian languages forced the Indian government to adopt the constitution in English even though it was under immense pressure from the Hindi extremists. At the same time since the constitution was based primarily on a western model the terminology and technicality of the model demanded the language to be English. Even though attempts to translate the constitution were undertaken in later years, most Hindi translations were rejected due to their incomprehensibility as the language was overtly Sanskritized. Since neither Urdu nor Hindustani was seen as languages of the learned or for that matter scientific, Sanskrit was used to counter English, albeit fruitlessly.

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[25]Prominent members of the then madras province, K Santhanam, A.K. Ayyar and later C.Rajagopachari led the provincial moderates. They were also joined by the likes of Frank Anthony from the Anglo-Indian community to challenge every extremist move. See Austin (2009)

The 'Munshi-Ayyangar[26] formula' led to umpteen debates making the language issue more and more fraught. But by 1959 the fate of English was more or less becoming clear when in a parliamentary debate Prime Minister Nehru declared that English would continue as an associate or an additional language for an indefinite period or as long as the non-Hindi speakers wanted it. Nehru in this debate insisted that English was a useful key to all modern, scientific and technical knowledge and shutting ourselves to it would not only be dangerous but would also shut a "window to the modern world"[27].

This led to the passing of the Official Language Act of 1963 (as amended in 1967)[28] which granted the "continuation of English language for all official purposes" alongside Hindi. This act reinstated the articles 345 and 346 of the constitution which provides the liberty for any state to legally adopt one or more languages to be used for official purposes, clarifying that the English language shall continue to be used for those official purposes within the state for which it was being used immediately before the commencement of this constitution (Basu 1996).

English Language, though made an associate language in 1967, had consciously not been included in the Eighth Schedule. The reservations against the language were made clear when the move to include English in the Eight Schedule in 1959 was resisted on the grounds of English not being an Indian language. Nehru too considered this move inappropriate and during the debate on the Official Languages Amendment Bill 1967 that a member of the parliament pointed out that 'the languages in the schedule should be the language of the country, language used for communication, for conduct of business affairs'[29].

The road to 'stability' was all but easy; the extremist still unsatisfied with the status of Hindi and instigated by Hindu fanatical forces continues the anti-English protest way into the 90s. As mentioned earlier, prior to India's independence Gandhi (1908) was one of the most vehement critics of English as he insisted that "The foundation that Macaulay laid of education has enslaved us" (5). Even before the extremists began to slogan the *Angrezi Hatao* movement, Gandhi in 1918 declared "that unless we give Hindi its national status and the

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[26]Members of the constitutional drafting committee, who dealt with the Indian language question. See Austin (2009)

[27] For more details see, This Day That Age (2009, August 8). English in India. *The Hindu*

[28] Find out website.

[29] See, Proceeding of the Official Languages Amendment Bill, 1967, p. 6092

provincial languages their due place in the life of the people, all talk of *Swaraj* is useless"[30]. He believed that true independence would be, to be free from "under the spell of English".

Throughout the history of India, Hindi was pitched against the colonizers tongue as a language that represented the Indian consciousness. Gradually albeit strategically, Hindi became rooted and symbolic to a [presumed] pan-Indian tradition and English became the harbinger of the 'evil' modern. Hindi propaganda in guise of educational establishments were set up throughout India, interestingly there was also a *Dakshin Bhartiya Hindi Prachar Sabha* founded by Gandhi in 1918 for the proliferation of Hindi in the southern states.

Although consistent the Anti-English movement or the *Angrezi Hatao Andolan* gained impetus under the leadership of Rammanohar Lohia in the sixties. Incidentally, Lohia's critique of the Nehru government and his pro-English policies came simultaneously with the anti-Hindi agitation in the southern states. Raina (1991) emphasizes that lohia perceived "the dominant congress model of nation building as indistinguishable from the colonial model" (289). Seeing a tie-up between neo-colonial forces and the English language Lohia (1972) elaborates:

> "a foreign language, when it becomes the instrument of government and scholarship and public life generally, is an unmitigated curse. Particularly so is the case, as in India, when those who know the foreign language are one in hundred of the population. The chasm that separates man from man on account of birth, riches, caste, or education become terrifying and wholly unbridgeable on account of the public use of a foreign language. Some kind of secret learning or secret language comes to prevail...which is utterly incomprehensible to the people, as though they were listening to some charms and invocations of some superstitious lore" (106-7).

Gandhi's fears and then Lohia's were not all that unfounded, English till the end of the 20th century remained shackled to the elites just as it did during the British reign. The 'conquest of the colonizer's language' was limited to a peculiar class backed by an education system still carrying the baggage of its precursors. Post independence education policies were divided into a lower and a higher level. At the lower level education (in vernacular languages) was

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[30] In a speech to the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at Indore, reproduced in *Thoughts on National Language* (1956: 14, Ahmadabad: Navajivan Press). See, Austin (2009: 48)

aimed at developing a skilled labour class necessary for the industrialization process in India. On the other hand was the higher level whose goal was "to expand a liberal education in English-medium such as could yield a class guaranteed to uphold the new democracy" (Raina 1991: 288)

English's elitist credentials were often recalled. In 1982, the West Bengal government decided to remove English language education in primary classes as the ruling left believed "foreign language teaching" was "elitist", this decision was only revoked in November 2007. Another instance of Indian states refusing to accept English (mostly as guise for political aims) came in 1990s when Hindi protagonism took surge in the states of Bihar[31] and U.P. [32] as what Raina (1991) calls "the second anti-colonial movement" (293).

ENGLISH IN INDIA: THE APROPRIATION

"As long as English language is universal, it will always remain Indian......It would be then correct to say as long as we are Indians ? 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 a friend, but as one of our own, of our own caste, of our own creed, our sect and our tradition".

(Raja Rao 1978: 421)

Despite constant parliamentary unrest and an anti-English nationalist upsurge, English maintained its stronghold over India. To say it was merely a colonial legacy and that its

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[31]Although, the then Chief Minister of Bihar, Lallu Parsad Yadav did remove English from school curricula, in 1993 he reversed his policies and asked for a reintroduction of English as a compulsory subject in schools of Bihar. This was largely a move to increase his vote bank and support among the aspiring backward class youth. However, opposition within the party forced him to further maintain silence on his decision regarding English. See, Sonntag (2009)

[32] Mulayam Singh Yadav, on the other hand, as a chief minister of Uttar Pradesh called for a replacement of English wherever it is used. It was to be replaced by Hindi in schools, administration and also at the level of State-Centre correspondence. At the same time, for inter-state correspondence Yadav insisted on direct translation from the state mother tongue to Hindi. The Language debate turned out to be very expensive for Yadav as in the consequent election he suffered major setbacks and his party was ousted. See Sheth (2009)

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perpetuation lies in its century long hold over us, would be a rather simplistic presumption. English, indubitably, has anchored itself into the power structures of India. It has transmuted into the language of cultural and economic capital which opens "the linguistic gates to international businesses, technology, science and travel" (Kachru B. B 1986: 1). Since the Nehurivian era had already catapulted the significance of English as a pathway to modernization, industrialization and scientificity, English remained the language of power as it invariable controls and symbolizes 'knowledge'. Its use in the fields of science, law, mathematics and philosophy has made its study indispensible, drawing its power from the domains of its use.

Apart from bringing to India an "administrative cohesiveness" (Ibid, 2), English is also the language of India's education and legal institutions. Moreover, after independence it served as a means for intra-national communication and as mentioned above international communication as well. However, the raison d'être of English's undaunting presence in India is its image as a neutral language in Indian pluralism. Kachru (1986) believes that "English has acquired 'neutrality' in a linguistic context where native languages, dialects and styles have acquired undesirable connotations" (5).

Languages in India are both ethnically and religiously bound, whereas English [in India] does not have an anchor in any[33]. Kachru (1986) explains that neutralization is "a linguistic strategy used to "unload" a linguistic item from its traditional, cultural and emotional connotations by avoiding its use and choosing an item from another code" (5). A case in point is the English-Hindi tussle. The 19th century Hindi movement linked Hindi to hard-line Hinduism and since has been seen as the language of discourse among the Hindus. English on the other hand, apart from its colonial lineage which has more or less disappeared, comes across as culturally neutral language and is thus accepted by the (threatened) non-Hindi and non-Hindu speakers.

Before entering the various debates around 'Indianization' of English, it is necessary here to make a note on language planning in the education system to round off our understanding of

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[33] At the same time language is bound by caste and class which determines—in turn to the language and hence to power—access. It would be very difficult to ignore English's compliance with both, as till the end of 20th century it had been associated with the elites (the access to English reflected their high class and caste status). It is only after liberalization or more accurately at the beginning of the 21th century that English has made its inroads into popular culture which could finally be accessed by the masses.

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the continuation of English at the socio-political levels. As noted earlier, the means to the spread of English in India had been through the education policies[34] of the Raj. After India's independence, the system more or less remained the same except for mother tongue and Hindi medium education being introduced after 1956.

Under the recommendations of the All India Council for Education, a Three Language Formula (TLF)[35] was set in place. Since education was a state responsibility, many southern states, while adhering to mother tongue language teaching, chose English over Hindi medium education. Brass (2009) explains that "in India, English has been supported for advanced education in non-Hindi speaking states in order to equalize the life chances of the regional elites against the elites from Hindi speaking areas (190)"

The socio-economic advantages of English are reflected in the number of English language speakers as second or third language in the 1991 Indian census. One can see that the number of speakers of English figure is 90,042,487, outnumbering the number of speakers of Hindi as second or third language (70,744, 505) by approximately 20 million[36]. Reinstating a fact dating as far back as the colonial period, English proves to be a language that symbolizes better life chances and thus not only remains "a principal second language for bilinguals in every state of the Indian union" (Ibid, 191) but also woven into the market forces that forge the socio-economic, cultural and political setup of this country.

Taking the debate of appropriation further, one would like to discuss the notions of 'Indianization of English'[37] and for that matter of Indian English. Indigenization is seen as one of the most obvious ways of assimilating a particular language in the socio-cultural milieu of a society. Yet, the very idea of indigenization poses various questions; how is the

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[34] Here one would recall Vishwanathan (1987) who states that, English education made its way into the education system of India in as early as the early 19th century. Although, it was not until the passing of the English Education Act of 1835 that "officially required the natives of India to submit to its study" (13). In the beginning the curriculum was mainly devoted to language studies in the area, but the British began to fear dissent from the educated Indians and prescribed English literature written by their "standard writers" to adopt the "feelings and sentiments" of subservience to the Raj (14).

[35] This formula suggested that medium (and also language studies) for education in India should be conducted in three languages that are: pan-Indian languages Hindi and English and mother tongue or the regional language of the states.

[36] Census of India, 1996, pp 11-12.

[37] A phrase coined by Kachru (1983).

process of indigenization defined? Is it possible to pinpoint the uniqueness of this process? And finally, does indigenization always take into account the *a priori* 'standard' from which it is believed to have originated.

The English language spoken in India, in scholarly discussions, has been christened 'Indian English' by some while at the same time many use the less tangible version 'English in India'. Despite various enquiries into 'Indian English' no scholar has yet been able to arrive at a descriptive framework. Many attempts have been made by scholars such as Dastoor (1968), Nihalani (1979), Kachru (1983, 1986, and 1994) and Agnihotri (1994) but little knowledge about the language has surfaced.

Many researchers (Nihalani *et al*, 1979 and Agnihotri *et al*, 1994) have resorted to divide 'Indian English' into the written and the spoken mode and have concluded that the indigenous model is applicable to the latter as the written one is more or less standard. It is also believed that "Indianness" in English is the result of "acculturation" (Kachru B. B 1983: 1-14); this process is the adaptation of a language in a culturally and linguistically pluralistic context.

Later, Kachru (1988 & 2005) attempted to explain the spread of English as a global language through his 'concentric circles model' encouraging another premise of native and non-native language varieties. The model presented three circles, the inner circle referred to the areas where English is the mother tongue, the outer circle represents the spread of English in countries where English is the second or additional language (India) and finally the expanding circle where English remains a foreign language. At the same time there were also other studies such as those by Dastoor (1968) and Tirumalesh (1990) who reinstate the differentiate between native and non-native varieties of English on the basis of acquisition, where the later is learned in school through book and therefore is an 'interlanguage' which can never approximate the native variety.

Problematic as they are, these views have been critiqued on more than one level. To begin with most of these studies have acquired their research material from printed texts such as English language Indian novels, newspapers and calendars etc, with almost no data on first hand speech. Secondly, most researches have not or selectively dealt with the historical processes that might have led to the emergence of such a variety (if at all) in a complexity of a multilingual context. Thirdly, and most importantly, all the above studies have fallen into the trap of a native–non-native paradigm whereby a western model becomes the norm and

rest mere deviations. Finally such description also leads to an insistence of a "uniqueness"[38] and a "standard Indian English" (Mukherjee 1971: 214), trying not only to demarcate a national variety but also a language that is still evolving.

On the other side of this dialogue is Dasgupta (1993) who speaks of 'English in India'. Seeing English as the vehicle of post-independence social and economic development, Dasgupta declares it to be "a language of technical expertise" (214-218). Unlike earlier scholars, he refuses to believe that English in India has truly assimilated as it lacks a creative core and points out that English is like a "combat gear" so that one is always ready to replicate Anglo-American technical idioms. Dasgupta instead likes to look at English as an "Auntie Tongue", as opposed to mother tongue, whose role is merely to be polite to "acquaintances and guests who are not regarded as true relations" (218).

One must consider that most of these enquiries about English had taken place either prior to or around India's economic liberalization. This period marks the arrival of internet, international (American) television and cinema, multi-national companies and a greater access to global information and knowledge through the English language. By the end of the twentieth century, English was not only the language of the 'global superpower' America, but had already received global consent as the language of international business. When India opened its doors to international business, the doors to a greater acceptability and necessity of English opened automatically.

ENGLISH IN INDIA: THE CHANGING DYNAMICS

The post-liberalization phase is particularly important to our study of appropriation of the English language in India. To begin with it was Indian's knowledge of the English language which helped us intervene and participate in the global market processes. Moreover, the booming television industry increased the accessibility and an ease with the language, as international (American) entertainment became 'a click of a button' away.

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[38] Singh (as quoted in Krishnaswamy and Burde, 1998: 45) critiques the Kachrus for their insistence on the recognition of English as a "non-native outer circle variety" and wants to know where the "uniqueness" (which in the first place makes it different from the native variety) of this so called language lies.

At the same time, this period also witnessed a revolution in Indian media and literature which not only began to experiment with the narratives but also with the language of its narration. The two decades that followed liberalization, reflected in linguistic changes in the Indian media, demonstrate a confidence with and an acceptance of English as it began to play a creative part in the production of Indian popular culture.

Prior to the advent of private players in Indian television, television was a state-run, single channel apparatus. *Doordarshan* was primarily established to disseminate the Indian states ideology and programming was restricted to education, health, agriculture and political commentary. In 1961 the channel expanded to include musical programs and old U.S and British tele-serials, although it was only in 1982 that *Doordarshan* gained national coverage and broadcasted the ongoing Asian games in colour[39]. Right around the same time the channel began to commercialize and open up to entertainment based programming and advertising.

However, *Doordarshan* soon began to lose ground to international satellite television. It all began with the telecast of the Gulf War in 1991 on CNN, which was made available through cable. Soon Hong Kong based Star TV (now owned by Rupert Murdoch's News Corp.) started broadcasting five channels into India using the ASIASAT-1 satellite. By early 1992, nearly half a million Indian households were receiving Star TV telecasts. This trend encouraged the growth of indigenous satellite channels which were launched between 1991 and 1994, prominent among them Zee TV became the first Hindi satellite channel.

The television boom and its mass reach were made possible by the small-scale cable-system operators who had mushroomed across the country. It was noted that by the end of 1994 some 60,000 of such operators were already running in the country with their numbers only increasing rapidly. Functioning illegally, the cable operators were brought under the scanner in 1995 under the Cable Television Networks (Regulation) Act which ordered "No person shall operate a cable television network unless he is registered as a cable operator under this Act"[40]. This was no deterrent for these systems for they were in great demand, redistributing the satellite channels to their customers at rates as low as Rs 150 a month.

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[39] See Bagchi, J. (2001: 129)

[40]See Bagchi, J. (2001: 129)

What further changed the face of Indian television was an Indian Supreme Court verdict in 1995. In a case against Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India filed by the Cricket Association of Bengal, the court urged "that there is no exclusive privilege or monopoly in relation to production, transmission or telecasting and such an exclusive monopoly, if claimed, is violative of Article 19(1) (a)..."[41]. Soon after international players like Turner Broadcasting, Time-Warner and ESPN joined in. By the end of 1996 BBC, Discovery channel, MTV and Channel V had entered the Indian market making English shows such as *Santa Barbara*, *The Bold and the Beautiful* and *Oprah* commonplace in middle class afternoons.

When launched in India, international channels were yet to indigenize their programming; most channels such as Discovery, Star Plus, MTV Asia and Channel V International (both these channels had international VJs, to name a few: Danny McGill, Angela Chow, Asha Gill, and Adrian Da Silva) were only available in English. Once the channels set office in India the programming format changed from all English to "Hinglish" and finally, in some cases, all Hindi. As a result a peculiar development took place in Indian television programming, which targeted a larger audience base; this was the hybridization and "deshification"[42] of English.

Ashish Patil, general manager and vice president, MTV India states, "We came up with programs like 'Made in India', retired 'international' VJs like Danny McGill and changed our storyboard to all things *desi*"[43]. Indian VJs began taking over music based channels and even Star Plus which started out in 1992 as an entirely English channel started incorporating Indian soap operas and by 2000 had become a Hindi channel.

Clearly in the beginning the target audience was the upwardly mobile middle classes, they were the new consumers and English (anything) had an exalted status within this class. Although with time media language underwent a change to absorb Hindi words into primarily English sentences to reach audiences in semi-urban and rural areas. Such mixing was presumably becoming popular firstly, because parts of the English vocabulary had already

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[41]See Bagchi, J. (2001: 130)

[42]The term "deshification" is used by Doniger in context of a counter to Srinivas's "Sanskritisation", here Sanskrit assimilates the local popular traditions similar to what is happening to English in the context of this discussion. See, Doniger, Wendy (2009: 4-6)

[43] See interview with, Roy, Priyanka (August 27, 2008)

percolated downwards (political and technical terms) and secondly, because English became the language of aspiration for every class and as Nandan Nilekeni, former head of Infosys points out "the lack of English is lack of access".

A case in point would be the change in advertising during this period; when compared to the taglines of the mid-80s, the products advertised in the 90s used local languages mixed with English. As mentioned above pre-liberalized India followed a protectionist policy, foreign produce in the form of Fast Moving Consumer Goods (FMCGs) were kept at bay to promote locally made consumable products. Moreover, consumerism was at a nascent stage and the market for such products were mainly, as the advertising of this period indicates, catered to educated youth and upper classes (see, App I: Fig. 1).

Chauhan (2009) maintains that "back in the eighties English was English and Hindi was Hindi. *Thums Up* was singing in a *propah* Brit Gary Lawyer-ish accent 'Happy days are here again!' Gold Spot[44] was doing a Riverdale High-inspired 'As crazy as crazy as we're about Gold Spot, the zing thing' and Enfield was saying in chaste hinterland Hindi '*Yeh* Bullet *meri jaan, manzillon ka nishaan* (This Bullet is my life, a mark of the miles I have travelled)'".

Similarly, Amul butter, launched in 1966 carries the same tagline till today "Utterly Butterly Delicious, Amul" and Uncle Chips launched sometime in the 80s was advertised as "So fresh, every munch packs a bigger crunch!". It is clear that unlike the Enfield, Hindi advertisement which was directed towards rural areas (the motorcycle was promoted as a sturdy means of transport made for rough roads) most of the other products were produces for the urban markets and thus, the use of English (see, App I: Fig 2).

After liberalization, while multinational jobs ensured "more money and more purchasing power" (Dash, 2005) to the middle class, consumer products began to flood the Indian markets. It can be deduced that these products would have easily found a market in the urban centers, but these consumer brands were at the same time looking to warm up to the masses. O'Barr (2008) highlights that "When addressing India's elite, advertising uses English. When speaking more colloquially to the masses, it uses one of the many local languages. In northern India, Hindi is widely used in ads but it is not useful in southern India where it is

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[44]Carbonated beverages namely, *Thums Up, Limca* and *Gold Spot* were launched in India only after the ouster of *Coca Cola* from India in 1977

seldom spoken. Some advertisements combine English and Hindi in a mixture known locally as *Hinglish*."

The use of a mixed language began when Lehar Pepsi India co. entered the Indian markets with its new drink in 1991, *Pepsi* and the punch line "*yahi hai* right choice baby, aha (This is the right choice, baby aha)". This was followed by Coke which re-entered the Indian market in 1993 buying out Parle (gradually taking out of the Indian markets the former popular drinks *Gold Spot, Thums Up* and *Limca*) and launching *Coca Cola* with a "Hinglish" slogan "life *ho to aisi* (This is how life should be)". *Uncle Chips* too was taken over and under Lehar foods, the product was reinvented with a new marketing slogan (in 2000) "*bole mere* lips I love uncle chips".

While reflecting on the trend of using "Hinglish" in advertising Chauhan (2009) opines "The language clicked because it reflected reality. That was the way we all spoke anyway". The onset of Y2K (year 2000), mixed language advertising became almost a fad for advertising gurus. Popular campaigns, such as Domino's "Hungry *Kya*? (Are you hungry?)" and McDonald's "what your *bahana* is? (What's your excuse?)", were launched in 2004 to reach a larger, varied customer base. These were followed by many more of such advertising campaigns such as Fevicol's "no *jhigg jhigg*, no *chip chip* (No sticky feeling)" and Chocolibe sweet's quirky tagline "don't *atko*, Chocolibe *gatko* (Stuck, swallow everything with a Chocolibe)".

Concurrently, India in the mid-90s witnessed the arrival of internet. Introduced on August 14th, 1995, VSNL (Videsh Sanchar Nigam Limited) provided internet to six cities via dialup connections across India. A year later the first cybercafé opened in Mumbai and by 1998 cybercafés were mushrooming all over the country once the government introduced the new ISP (Internet Service Providers) policy whereby the monopoly of VSNL was withdrawn and access nodes were opened for private companies. By the year 2000 foreign portals started entering the market, Yahoo and MSN were the first to set shop in India providing Indians with faster e-mailing, online chatting and search engines.

It must be noted that information or access of the internet was only possible in English during this period. It was hugely popular among the youth and the moneyed classes as owning a computer itself was a luxury. Around this time computer training schools such as NIIT opened in various urban centres catching the fancy of the middle class and computers,

internet and later the IT sector came within reach due to urban India's knowledge of the English language.

The IT industry too began to expand around this time and by the mid-90s India had already begun to attract outsourcing companies. One of the first outsourced services was medical transcription, it was only towards the end of the 1990s outsourcing of business processes like data processing, medical billing, and customer support began to set foot in India. Soon the Indian outsourcing market extended beyond American Express, GE Capital and British Airways to becomes a thriving industry by the end of the 90s and early 2000 as MNCs began to own multi-process enterprises.

Although cheap labor was always one of the key reasons for starting operations in South Asia, but one of the major factors for making India an outsourcing hub was the availability of skilled, English-speaking manpower[45]. These MNCs or the commonly called Call Centres did not hire on the basis of exceptional qualifications but rather on the ability to speak good English. Once hired the employees were trained in American and British accents depending upon the clientele of the company (see App I: Fig 3).

Fresh graduates, young professionals and aspiring lower middle classes all eyed these high paying jobs. This competitive atmosphere gave rise to a new phenomenon that of the English language training institute. These institutes, which grew rapidly in urban and semi-urban areas, provided training in spoken English and sometime even in accents to call center aspirants and professional who wanted to make a mark in an industry which primarily catered to the first world in the 'first language' (see App I: Fig 4 & 5).

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[45]For details see, http://www.outsource2india.com/why_india/articles/outsourcing_history.asp

THE MIXED LANGUAGE DEBATE: HINDI, ENGLISH AND HINGLISH

A demythologizes linguistics would be an investigation of the renewal of language as continuously creative process.

(Harris, 1981)

Fixity in and of language, as mentioned earlier, is artificially manufactured under pressure from political and cultural unification forces. However, in the absence of such forces, which Bakhtin calls the centripetal processes, the multiple languages of a culture constantly interact and mix to give way to the process of hybridization. The contestation between artificial and natural forces in language is of much relevance to understand the process of language mixing in India where multiple tongues exist in such close proximity.

Vanita (2009) traces the history of mixing languages in India through the alternate language of poetry in the Islamicate; *Rekhti*[46].Primarily the speech of women folk and a language common to the *bazaars*, *Rekhti* had various lexical influences from co-existing languages in the north Indian region. Urdu, which was otherwise a language of diplomacy and sophistication, when used in poetry, restrained itself from expressing extreme emotions. On the other hand *Rekhti* portrayed an unabashed openness and was used to articulate emotions of sensual love and brought into play in poetry to tease, chide, curse and seduce.

Language mixing in India can also be historicized through the model adopted by Kachru (2006) to study cultural "transitions" in India based on three vital temporal junctions namely, *Sanskritization* (see, Srinivas 1989), *Persianization* and *Englishization*[47]. Throughout these

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[46]*Rekhti* or 'women's speech' was the non literary language of everyday speech which incorporated words and idioms from north Indian languages, as opposed to *Rekhta* (suffix –a is the Urdu masculine gender marker, a man's speech), the language of the poetry which had a preponderance of Persian and Arabic lexical items. Later, *Rekhti* too became a language of poetry and revelled in the fact that it was the language of the private (domestic realms) and the public (marketplace). The use of *Rekhti* in poetry allowed writers, such as Sa'adat Yar Khan (1755-1835) and Mir Yar Ali 'Jan Sahib' (1817-1896), a space to write about erotic love and emotions which was otherwise restricted in literary Urdu.

[47] The first phase, Sanskritization was a process whereby the lower classes adopted the practices and also linguistic elements of the upper classes to claim a higher status in the society. Similarly, Persianization, the phase prevalent during the Islamicate, saw the Persian influences on local culture and languages. The final

three phases a process of cultural assimilation took place with the classical, elite or with the culture that exemplified power and higher status. As suggested earlier, since cultures manifest themselves in languages, it is only obvious for languages to alongside undergo assimilation. In these contexts the process was of two kinds, while on one hand local languages assimilated linguistic elements (lexemes) of the elite language, on the other, a counter process of the elite assimilating the popular[48] was taking place simultaneously.

Bakhtin (1975) too insists that languages are constantly changing and mixing. Language change, he explains, is the result of 'hybridization' which "is a mixture of two social languages within the limits of a single utterance, an encounter, within the arena of an utterance, between two different linguistic consciousnesses, separated from one another by an epoch, by social differentiation or by some other factor" (358). According to Bakhtin language change is often unintentional when various language co-exist "within the boundaries of a single dialect, a single national language, a single branch, a single group of different branches or different groups of such branches, in the historical as well as paleontological past of languages" (358-59).

Language mixing, albeit used loosely, is thus a historical process that takes place in bilingual or multilingual situations. Scotton (2003) enumerates the two different outcomes in such situations: lexical borrowings and general convergence. General convergence, she explains, is "a linguistic configuration in a language with parts of the abstract lexical structure configuration from the other language, but with all the surface level morphemes from the first (recipient) language" (73). Lexical borrowing on the other hand refers to the incorporation of content words in one language from the other.

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phase and the most recent, Englishization refers to the influence of western cultural moors in India. Kachru (2006) insists that code-mixing in India and the birth of Hinglish is but an effect of Englishization in India.

[48]Here one would like to restate the above mentioned process of "Deshification" (Doniger, 2009: 6) where Sanskrit traditions and by extension language absorbs from local or popular traditions and languages (also referred to as "popularization" and "oralization"). Doniger insists on the simultaneity of "Sanskritization" and "Deshification" and on the fact that both the processes beget each other as socio-cultural changes might lead to their constant replacement. The example of Rekhti shows a similar attribute as it (structurally Urdu) drew much of its vocabulary from local speech forms, a process that took place alongside the process of Persianization.

Borne out of a long contact between English and Hindi, Hinglish is a historical product of a bilingual situation. Although insisting that all languages are not "Mixed Languages", Matras and Bakker (2003) suggest that "one seldom encounters a language that is not in some way mixed" (1). Similarly, the contact between Hindi and English show umpteen signs of mixing without bearing a separate or converged speech form and suggesting the emergence of "mixed" (Ibid, 1) or "split" (Ibid, 73) language. Mixing in the context of Hindi and English has, instead, taken roots in 'lexical borrowings' and 'code-switching and mixing' (natural in situations where the speaker are equally competent in both languages).

Lexical borrowing, as explained in Routledge Dictionary of Language and linguistics, occurs when a word and its meaning are taken into the language and used either as a foreign word or as an assimilated loan word. These cross-linguistic borrowings arise in situations where "no term exists for the new object, concept or state of affairs" (Ibid, 139). Hindi has borrowed many terms from English used for new age technology brought in from the west. No longer considered foreign, these words have become part of daily parlance: phone, computer, film, cricket, rail etc, compound formations such as rail *gaadi*[49] (train) and cinema *ghar*[50] (theatre) suggest assimilation leading to word formation.

The converse process of lexical borrowing from Hindi into English has been equally generous and also well documented. These borrowings had begun as early as the end of eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-English Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymology, Historical, Geographical and Discursive*, authored by Henry Yule and Arthur C. Brunell and published in 1886 provides an array of words which became part of English after coming in contact with the Indian subcontinent[51].

More recently, *Hanklyn-Janklyn? A Rumble-Tumble Guide to Some Words, Customs, Quiddities Indian and Indo-British* by Nigel B. Hankin (1992) bring forth many contemporary words that circuit both Indian and British English. However, many Hindi words have been absorbed in English[52] to the effect that they are used to refer to everyday

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[49]Formed by adding rail (from railways) to *gaadi* (vehicle).

[50]Formed from adding cinema to *ghar* (house); literally, a place where one houses films.

[51]The glossary includes words not only from present day India but the entire Indian empire which stretched from Afghanistan till East Asia.

[52]Here used as a cover term for all kinds of Englishes.

items without seeming foreign; jungle, pyjama, shampoo, chit, cot, punch and Cheetah all have their etymological roots in North Indian languages.

Similarly, words such as *Guru, Pundit, Juggernaut, Dharma* and *Karma* have made their way into western scholarly and philosophical debates. Many words that had gone out of usage after the end of the British Empire have recently moved out of hibernation and made their way into mainstream English. *Guru*, mentioned earlier, was once spelt "gooroo" in its 1800 entry and since 1940 came to be interpreted as mentor. In its modern sense of expert in some field, it was first used in reference to Marshall McLuhan, the media *guru*. *Mantra* is another word that has been resurrected and has become indispensable in corporate media lingo. Interestingly, the Oxford Dictionary of English in 2005 revealed its new cache of linguistic treasures which included many India words such as *bindaas, tamasha, mehndi, desi* kity-party and *lehnga*.

Moving on to the other "consequence of convergence" (Gupta 1991: 205), code-switching and mixing is believed to have led to the processes of 'Englishization of Indian languages' and conversely a 'Nativization of English'. Haugen (1970) remarks that "in the world of the bilingual, anything is possible, from a virtually complete separation of the two codes to their virtual coalescence" (Gupta 1991, 214) . Clearly, in the case of India, the interaction between the two codes namely, English and Hindi have paved the way for the emergence of a mixed code (which might have led to the so called Englishization and Nativization) subverting the practices of standardization.

As is evident language mixing is not an isolated or unique phenomenon, on the contrary it arises from socio-cultural usages of language in everyday life. At the same time, code-switching, unlike code-mixing occurs only in situations where the speaker is competent in both the languages in question, hinting at the verbal behaviour of educated Indians[53]. Code-mixing, on the other hand, is rarely dependent on education but purely on linguistic acquisition, instinct and the functionality of both languages in a speaker's day-to-day communications. Therefore, even those sections of societies who are bereft of formal

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[53]Brass (2009) suggests that "elite bilingualism" (which leads to code-switching) has particularly arisen among people who occupy the higher rungs and classes in society as they have often "enhanced their status by acquiring English" or the language of power and fiscal growth, be it English in the colonial or post-colonial Indian or for that matter Persian during the Islamic rule.

education acquire Hindi (or other Indian languages as mother tongue) and also English due to its pervasive use in everyday life.

Interestingly, Gumprez (1982) refers to unconscious code-switching in conversation as 'metaphorical' code-switching, which takes place in speech domains of educated bilinguals. He saw the chosen language becoming a metaphor for various kinds of 'semantically significant information' that speakers wish to convey, among these was the 'we-they' dichotomy. Singh (1983) elaborates that the second or official language (in the case of India, English) could become the 'we' code if people wanted to distinguish themselves from others who did not know or use the second language. Whereby, setting themselves apart from the 'they' code on the lines of class, education, status etc.

On the other hand, Annamalai (1978) highlights that "mixed language can be said to have prestige, since the amount of mixing corresponds with the level of education and is an indicator of membership in the elite group". He further elaborates that most people with no or little education chose to throw in English words in their speech to "sound educated". At the same time he insists that the use of English is also a tool to delink or withdraw affinities from a particular class and caste spurred by an ascendant economic status and social inequality. A case in point is the appropriation of the English language by the *dalit* intelligentsia who believe, that the use of English is a new way of going beyond class oppression and exclusion while at the same time providing a solidarity and communicative network among them across regions[54].

Hinglish as an instance of code-mixing in India illustrates both of Annamalai's claims, that of sounding educated and upward mobility, in addition to a necessity of its use due to its sheer functionality in urban and semi-urban life. The mixing of English with Hindi or Hinglish is not just confined to everyday communication but has overstepped its domain to "international and interregional communication" (Brass 2009: 195-196). Hinglish has also come to dominate all forms of Indian popular media such as TV, radio[55], print and electronic advertising, cinema and also literary works.

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[54] See Dasgupta (2000)

[55] Other than AIR, the FM waves are also shared by private radio channels as well. These channels target mostly the young middle class masses by playing popular Bollywood and their cover versions to max their advertising revenues. Since Hinglish represents the 'cool and popular', these channels deliver an identical fare of the "same breezy Hinglish" even reflected in their names like 'Radio Mirchi'. See, Kasbekar (2006, 136)

Brass (2009) declares Hinglish as a "wonderful language that combines English and Hindi noun and verbs in a single sentence" (195). It is important to note that this very simplicity, albeit patterned and well structured, give it the potency and productivity for creative purposes. The components of Hindi or English that get inserted in sentences can range from a single lexical item (content words) to an entire clause:

Samples taken from an educated informant[56]:

- *Arrey* (come on), I was leaving for home *jab* (when) he entered.
- *Yaar* (pal), please *chalo* (let's go) from here.
- We were at dinner, *jab uska* phone *aya* (when he called).
- What's the score? I hope India *jeet jaye* (wins).
- *Chalo* (Ok) need to sleep will talk *kal* (tomorrow).
- *Meine apko kal hi kaha tha* (I told you yesterday), this is impossible but *apne kahan suna* (you never listened).

Samples from an uneducated informant[57]:

- *Didi dekhna* top *ki sabzi banegi.* (just wait and see it will be a top class preparation)
- *Usko dekh ke mujhe to* shock *ho gaya.* (I was shocked to see him)
- *Ab mujhe thodha* doubt *ho raha hai.* (Now, I am able to guess)
- *Har* time, light *chali jati hai* (Most of the time there is no current)
- *Kitna accha ladhka that, itna* handsome, *ab dekho.* (He was such a good boy, so handsome, now look at him)
- *Mein ek* minute *mein safai kar dungi* (I will clean everything up in one minute)
- *Aaj meine alag* design *se khana banaya hai* (I have tried a new way of cooking today)

To begin with, these examples highlight the misnomer (as suggested by Brass) that Hinglish is limited to merely word replacement. Also, one can see that although mixing takes place in both cases, the educated informant's uses it more vigorously. At the same time, code mixing

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[56] Informant information: Female/22/student/upper-middle class

[57] Informant information: Female/35/domestic help/working class

• by the uneducated informant suggests the percolation of English to the grassroots which goes beyond its technical or functional use.

Moving beyond the spoken form, code-mixing has also entered the domain of written language perpetuating its existence. Examples of the use of Hinglish in advertising have been mentioned earlier, although apart from television these advertisements also appear in print via newspapers, hoardings and billboards, and painted on walls and shop shutters. Interestingly, in print or written advertising code-mixing is taken to another level as not only is the language mixed but also the script as in many cases Hindi words are written in English and vice versa (see App I: Fig 6).

On the other hand, Indian literature too, known for digressing the norms of Standard English, is dabbling with Hinglish. A perfect and oft quoted example is the late eighties novel by Upamanyu Chatterjee, *English, August* (1988) which opens almost unabashedly with the words "*Hazaar* fucked", a lethal combination of Urdu and American English. At the same time this trend has been rather popular with the 'bestseller' genres, writers such as Shobha De[58] and Chetan Bhagat[59] are few of the most visible authors writing in Hinglish.

Alongside, Hinglish has become a usual practice among writers of popular magazine. Highlighting the presence of code-mixing in popular journalism, Viswamohan (2010) points out that "the supposed indigenization of language is aimed to be more 'inclusive'[60] of the reader" (35) as opposed to only English exclusiveness. At the same time, he notes that the use of Hinglish brings "informality"[61] to the language making it more accessible to the readers.

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[58] Kasbekar (2006: 93) notes that De who evolved the genre of "airport" and "sex and shopping" novels has also been credited with introducing Hinglish into Indian English novels.

[59] His novel *One Night @a Call Center* is narrated in "colloquial [sic] English, the lingua franca of urban middle class" (Satchidanandan, August 2006) and most characters of his later novels, set within similar class settings, continue to use Hinglish as a medium of expression.

[60] Magazines like *Stardust* even supported the cause of Hinglish which they believed made the reading of English simpler and more fun, particularly for those, whose command of English was tenuous. Since the 1980s, all magazines, including political journals, write easy-to-digest Hinglish, bringing to the practice "a certain ethnic-urban chic". See, Kasbekar (2006: 117)

[61] Here one would like to bring to notice the use of Hinglish on the internet. The "informal" Hinglish language is a usual lingo of social networking sites and internet chats, which have replaced the notions of social communication via formal letters and e-mails to a relaxed and open forum to express political and linguistic choices.

On the other hand, it displays a "near-native-like control over the English language" which lends journalists the confidence to mould and experiment with the language.

CONCLUSION

In the three hundred years old history of English in India, English has never been so much an Indian language as in the past two decades. About Indian's use of English, David Crystal notes "They're bending and breaking the rules. They're being creative because they're confident. That's evidence that they now feel they 'own' the language rather than are just borrowing it" (Dhillon, 2004). The operative word in his comment "own", although reinstates English in a bounded frame, illustrates the acceptability and appropriation of English as no longer the alien 'other' but instead 'power'.

This is not merely the 'power' of the English language, but more so, the power over the language most effectively exhibited in the use of Hinglish. Mindful of the claim that 'power begets power' or more clearly how English remains delimited to the whims of a peculiar class, I argue that the use of its code-mixed variety Hinglish transgresses all such assertions. This is peculiarly evident in its use in Hindi cinema, a popular cultural medium accessed by all segments of the society. Since, cinema shapes and is shaped by the language of people as it is by their narratives, its choice of language becomes reflective of the linguistic (and in turn socio-politic and economic) choices made by a nation and people. The historical use of English alongside Hindi in Hindi films (details in later chapters) presents how power equations are reversed bringing the debate around India, power and the English language a full circle.

Chapter III

CINEMA TALKS BACK –I

PAST AND PRESENT OF ENGLISH IN HINDI CINEMA

(1947-1970)

> Language itself *is* content, a referent for loyalties and
>
> animosities, an indicator of social statuses and personal
>
> relationships, a marker of situations and topics as well
>
> as social goals....

<div align="right">(Fishman, 1971, p 219)</div>

While placing cinema in the midst of social dynamics of a people, Dissanayake (2008) holds forth on the varying relationships between language and cinema in different cultural geographies. Albeit the similarity in cinemas across the world as a structural and technical medium, it is language that enables the communication of the narratives in culture-specific ways.

South Asian cinema generally and Hindi cinema specifically privileges, unlike the linearity of Hollywood, a rather circular and episodic development of its plots. Segments are loosely connected, often with separate lives of their own and interrupted (Gopalan, 2008) by song and dance, fight and comic sequences. These independent segments are connected and made cohesive with the means of dialogues.

Dialogue writing in Hindi films is an art form by itself and has a cult like following as well as a star system of its own, K.A. Abbas, Salim-Javed, and more recently Vidhu Vinod Chopra and Jaideep Sahni are a few writers who have risen to fame with their powerful writing. The

dialogues become the life force of a film and also take on an autonomous life, as the audiences valorize, memorize and reproduce[62] these dialogues time and time again. With their own recognizable 'conventions', 'linguistic registers', 'tropes' and 'idioms', the dialogues build a connection between the film and the audiences, becoming a part of their collective memory.

Hindi cinema's relationship with language must be seen in continuum with the various dramatic forms that have preceded it and have served as its formative influences. Such an enquiry cannot but begin with the "pan Indian meta-texts" (Mishra, 1985), *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, epics which have engulfed not only Indian cinema but are also a precursor of all dramatic art forms of the country. Rooted in the discursive paradigm of the epics, Hindi cinema and its influences, namely, Sanskrit theatre, Folk theatre and Parsi theatre took from the epics their multi-plot narratives. All these dramatic forms were highly stylized, emphasized on spectacle and were marked with umpteen interruptions, some for comic relief and some for the sheer dramatics of the trade.

The resemblance and the influence that is of great interest to us is the use of language in these plays that shaped the mode of storytelling in Hindi films. Language in all these forms of theatre was not merely the binding force of the narrative but combined with it a power and grandiloquence of speech to communicate the dramatic experience. At the same time this rhetoric used a variety of colloquial forms of speech as a reflector of its own social trajectories.

Sanskrit theatre used a combination of both Prakrit (used by women and lower castes) and Sanskrit (used by kings and Brahmins) as a marker of social hierarchies in the plays (Gandhi 1993: 124). Folk theatre, on the other hand, was a continuation of the classical theatre as it recreated the Sanskrit plays in local languages and an iconography familiar to the people. Parsi theatre, in a sense the true forerunner of Hindi cinema, spoke in many languages like Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Gujarati and English[63] along with creating a mixed language which included all the above.

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[62] Cassettes of dialogues were commercially circulated just as those of film songs.

[63] See, Trivedi (2006)

Just like the earlier dramatic traditions, Hindi cinema's choice of communication with the audiences too was based on socio-political dynamics of the country. (Silent)Films in India[64] were produced in all major business centres, Bombay, Calcutta and Chennai. It would not be presumptuous to say that the advent of talkies divided the industry into regional pockets, as every centre made films keeping the regional audience in mind, a fact evident through film names and the language used in the title cards. Thus, what the arrival of sound did was allow the film industry to make a, socio-economically and politically, profitable linguistic choice.

Calcutta and Chennai had, by default, a linguistic area to cater to; the Eastern and the Southern provinces respectively. The Hindi belt comprising the northern and the central provinces was a large and important market which fell in the laps of Bombay filmmakers, an industry later christened *Bollywood* by journalists.

This linguistic choice was not merely coincidental; Congress under Gandhi's urgings had decided to use local languages for party proceedings in a new constitution adopted in Nagpur, 1920. The Northern provinces were then to use *Hindustani*[65], a language Gandhi[66] and Nehru[67] had envisioned as the probable national language of an independent India, later recognized as the official language of the Congress in 1934. Thus, the initial apprehensions in the film industry regarding the kind of Hindi[68] to be used were put to rest with Hindustani coming as a welcome solution, even though propelled by the political will of a few Indians.

It is the nature of this language that is of much significance to this research. Hindustani, as a language, does not have a formal definition or as such a distinct history. Rai (2003) states that the colonial origins of the name are well-known, "it seemed entirely logical for the colonizers to assume that the people of the place that they had conquered—Hindustan—should have a

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[64]Films were also being produced in other regional pockets such as Punjab, Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Assam and Orissa.

[65]A mixed language which Grierson (1916) in *Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol. 9, part 1:50) declared to be " so well-known a language that it would be a waste of space to give more than the merest sketch of its grammar"

[66]Made a demand for national status to be conferred on *Hindustani* as a means to *purna Swaraj* (complete independence) in a speech delivered at the *Hindi Sahitya Samelan* in Indore, 1918.

[67]In the Nehru Report, which was headed by Nehru, the authors were categorically of the opinion "that every effort should be made to make *Hindustani* the common language of the whole of India as it is today of half of it" (p-62)

[68]This was a linguistically chaotic area as variants of Hindi were spoken throughout its geography.

language that could be called Hindustani" (139). It came to represent a common language of intercourse, although undefined.

During the peak of India's freedom struggle, while the political dissentions were gaining momentum, Gandhi reinvented Hindustani as a pan-Indian language. Hindustani came to denominate "the terminological compromise" (Ibid, 140) advocated by Gandhi and it was he who defined the language for the Indian masses in *Harijansevak* (1947) as:

> "This Hindustani should be neither Sanskritised Hindi nor Persianised Urdu but a happy combination of both. It should also freely admit words wherever necessary from the different regional languages and also assimilate words from foreign languages, provided they can mix well with our national language. Thus, our national language must develop into a rich and powerful instrument capable of expressing the entire gamut of human thoughts and feelings. To confine oneself exclusively to Hindi or Urdu would be a crime against the intelligence and the spirit of patriotism". (174)

This indeed was the language adopted by Hindi cinema, a mixed medium which not only was a "happy combination" of Hindi and Urdu but also of the local tongues along with a foreign language English. As foreseen by Nehru (1937), English inevitably remained an important language for the Indian polity and its cinema "because of our past association and because of its present position in the world" (143-4). An enquiry into this language with the specific interest in its use of English becomes the thrust of the following discussion. The following pages map the role of English as it becomes ? in Hindi cinema? a motif, a statement and a referent of the changing cultural moors of India.

ENGLISH AND HINDI CINEMA   •

India was introduced to motion pictures on 7th July 1896 by the Lumière Brothers. The event, *Cinèmatographe*, was held at the Watson Hotel in Bombay and was described in *Times of India*[69] as "living photographic pictures in life size reproduction". The audiences[70], despite low priced tickets and *purdah* (veil) seats for women, were mainly British residents and few Indian elites "of the educated class".

The magic of the moving pictures was such that films began to be imported to India. *Life of Christ*, *The Queen's Funeral Procession* and *Assassination of President McKinley* were the few popular ones which opened the gates to film exhibition as an enterprise in India. The first ever cinema hall, Elphinstone Picture Palace, was built in Calcutta by J.F. Madan[71] in 1907. It was obvious that imported films mainly catered to the Anglicized urban elites as the lower classes neither had the money or time for such extravagance, nor could they relate to the imagery of these films.

Around the beginning of the twentieth century, few enterprising Indians inspired by the Lumière brothers and impressed by the technology began experiments in film[72] making. Initially these filmmakers shot plays, boxing matches, trains arriving at railway stations, circuses and other social events. Bhatvadekar, a pioneer in this field, began his carrier with pieces such as *Poona Races '98* and *Train Arriving at Bombay Station*. These film makers and studios were especially hired by the Indian and British elite to shoot their *durbars*, royal visits, festivals, tea parties and events of the state.

It was not until 1913, when D. G. Phalke heralded the arrival of the Indian Silent films with the release of his first full length film *Raja Harishchandra*. Films makers across the country, especially Calcutta, followed suit and began to churning out full length films. Phalke was the

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[69]Times of India, July 27th, 1896

[70]Initially these shows had attracted people from all backgrounds. It is highly likely that the many people were unable to relate to these films as they were all shot abroad.

[71]He was a film mogul of the silent film era in India and had built an empire, as a film exhibitionist and in distribution, in and outside India.

[72] These were short films; full length silent films in India were not made until 1912.

first to use of title cards[73] in his films, a trend which soon caught up with other film makers. The beginning of Cinema in India was truly then the beginning of the use of English in this medium. Chatterjee (2003) points to the use of various local languages in these title cards, depending upon the region the film was made in, and always a second language, English. *Raja Harishchandra* itself had its title cards in both Hindi and English.

Prior to the silent feature film era, most silent short films had English names or titles, 'Wrestlers' or 'Man and the Monkey' made during the late 1890s to name a few. Later short narrative films kept up with the trend and many English titled films were produced during this time such as 'Delhi *Durbar* of Lord Curzon' in 1905, the 'Great Bengal partition movement and other processions' and the 'Fugitive Lama's flight to Darjeeling and processions' in 1910. English names for these shorts were hardly a surprise since the audiences for such films were mostly British or educated natives. Surprisingly, despite a change in the target audience, this trend was to stay on and become a part of Hindi Cinema.

It might be said that filmmakers of the silent period paved the way for future filmmakers by using English for film titles or names. Interestingly, other than Phalke's films, most films produced during the silent period had two names; one in the local language and the other in English. Promoted as the first Bengali film *Bilet Pheret* (1921) directed by Dhiren Ganguly, was also known as 'The England Returned'. Many other popular films such as *Pati Bhakti* (1922), *Kala Nag* (1924), *Cinema ki Rani* (1925), *Mojili Mumbai* (1925), *Prem Sanyas* (1925), *Telephone ni turni* (1926), *Savkari Pash* (1926), *Balidan* (1927), *Gun Sundari* (1927), *Mumbai ni biladi* (1927), *Parapanch Pash* (1929), *Uday Kal* (1930) and *Diler Jigar* (1931), were also popularly known by their alternate English names, 'Human Emotions', 'Triumph of Justice', 'Cinema Queen', 'The Slaves of Luxury', 'The Light of Asia', 'The Telephone Girl', 'Indian Shylock', 'Sacrifice', 'Why Husbands go Astray', 'Wildcat of Bombay', 'A Throw of Dice', 'Thunder of the Hills' and 'Gallant Hearts' respectively.

These titles were official English names[74] of the films and rarely ever translations. These were mostly used by the producers to advertise in English language newspapers and for other promotions such as banners and posters. Apart from having alternate English titles, many

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[73] These were cards that were used between scenes to explain the turn of events, written on them, in the films.

[74] See footnote, Barnouw and Kishnaswamy (1980); *Indian Film*; New York, Oxford, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, p-33

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Indian silent films also had only English titles, Typist Girl (1927), Cinema Girl (1930), Daily Mail (1930) and Miss 1933 (1933) were a few that became early box office hits of that period.

The use of English titles in the silent era had more to it than merely advertising or attracting the urban elite audiences. Barnouw and Krishnaswamy (1980) opine that this was a rather logical choice because in films with English names the drama rested in the "transfer to an Indian world of elements of western life"[75]. At the same time most narratives were placed in the context of urban spaces, since English language had and has always served as a symbol of a westernized society, also marking the onset of the cultural change India was witnessing.

Apart from India being in a state of flux, the steep prices of the raw film stock and heavy taxation on its export led to a lull in the Indian film scene during the Second World War. Although *Alam Ara* in 1931 flagged off the era of speaking films in India, it is the post-independence films[76] that not only revived but also gave us the Hindi cinema we recognize today. This cinema became a cultural bastion of modern India and played an important role in the shaping and building of the Indian nation.

While Hindi cinema was aspiring for the national status, it gradually became the site for contestation and reflection of mainstream India's social make-up which was still unstable and stirred in various directions. These contestations and reflections were vocalized through language as films began to use the spoken discourse as symbols of unity and differences. Moreover, with the arrival of the talkies, Indian linguistic trends and politics also began to manifest themselves in film narratives in the form of dialogues.

By the time India gained independence, it had already been established that the English language would remain an integral part of its system. India had borrowed (inherited) all of its state institutions from the West, these state institutions worked and were defined in English making it the language of the modern Indian nation state. The developments at the state level could also be seen in Cinema. It must be insisted that film making was a borrowed technical medium and thus came with its own terminology. Influenced and modelled primarily along

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[75]Though this remark holds true for most English title films, the authors particularly make this statement while discussing Chandulal Shah's film the Typist Girl. See Barnouw and Kishnaswamy (1980:34)

[76] The sound films that were roughly made during the years after 1947 till the end of 1950s are called Post-independence films; these will be the focus of this chapter.

the lines of its American counterpart, English became a central part of film grammar and vocabulary.

Since it has already been established that English was being used for film titles, a trend that later also became a vogue in 2000s, it would be eminent to highlight other forms of written English in Hindi films. The Hindi film credits roll is an important evidence of how English cinematic terminologies are central to Hindi Cinema. As the credits roll in the beginning and the end of films, technical words such as directors, producers, cinematographers, choreographers, editors, sound recordist, actors and actress appear on screen along with the film title[77] in the English language[78]. Even in experimental credit rolls where the narrators have spoken the credits, instead of them appearing in the written form such as in *Bawarchi* (1973) and Paa (2009), the technical terms remained in English.

As Hindi cinema began to circle the international circuits, its language started becoming sophisticated and certain international usages replaced the old ones. 'Cinematographer' or 'Director of Photography' replaced 'cameraman', 'Choreographer' replaced 'dance director' and 'story and dialogue writers' were replaced by 'screenplay writers'. On the other hand there also have been debates regarding the use of these technical terms vis-à-vis their intended meaning. The use of the word 'Actor' instead of 'actress' was spurred by one such controversy where it was believed that 'Actor' was a gender neutral term and should signify the performing artist irrespective of her gender just as other artists like painters or singers. It is needless to say that debates[79] regarding how the English language is used in Hindi film industry reveal its aspiration of becoming part of the world cinema circuits where English is the sole medium of exchange.

Another aspect of the interface between English and Hindi cinema is English's persistent presence in Hindi film dialogues. Geist (1991: 264) highlights that film makers often avail themselves of second language just as they avail themselves of visual or other aural motifs to make statements in their films. Hindi cinema becomes a case in point, as right from the very

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[77] Although before late 1980s film title used to appear in all three languages Hindi, English and Urdu, lately it appears only in English.

[78] Films where credits rolled in Hindi script, and terms like *nirmata* (producer) and *nirdeshak*(director) were used, became exceptions to this rule, example Basu Chatterjee's Baton Baton Mein(1979)

[79]Words like 'hero' or 'heroine' are not part of such debates, despite being English words, as they have been appropriated for popular or mass usage and remain unnoticed by film intelligentsia.

beginnings of cinema in India film makers used the English language as a metaphor of a certain duality in Indian society.

The use of English was never specific to any particular film genre, although since English became symbolic of modernity and education, its use remained limited to urban narratives. Hindi films peppered the dialogues with English to depict the multitude of differences India was made up of. The modern and the traditional, East and the West, the moral and the immoral[80], village and the city, educated and the uneducated and finally the poor and the rich were all portrayed in language as much as in the cinematic image.

English had become so undoubtedly entrenched in India's spoken variants that even if the meaning of English words were lost sometimes on some of the audiences, its use carried a meaning. As explored later, this meaning kept changing with the socio-political and economic changes in the country. Throughout these changes the use of the English language remained constant and important for Hindi cinema along with the speaker [81]and listener as symbolic and immediately recognizable to their own lives and times.

POST-INDEPENDENCE HINDI FILMS[82]

After India's independence, Nehru envisioned a modern nation that combined the traditional value of the land with the spirit of science, harmonizing the essence of tradition and modernity. Raghavendra (2001-2) highlights that the "Nehruvian ambition to modernize and develop Indian society was scripted and broadcast, radiating outward across villages" (77). The cities were reinvented and recreated as "the symbol of a new sovereignty but an effective engine to drive India into the modern world" (Khilnani 1998)[83].

However, another desire was harbouring the consciousness of India which aspired to sublimate this traditional and decry the modern. Chatterjee (1997) states that this contesting politics of nationalism "glorified India's past and tended to defend everything traditional and

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[80] English during this period was typically associated with the language of the oppressor, the colonizer, the villain and the vamp.

[81] A Film has multiple speakers. Apart from the apparent actors, the writer, filmmaker and the social context all become speakers in a film.

[82] This period started immediately after 1947 and lasted till the end of 1950s.

[83] As quoted in Ragavendra (2001-2: 78)

all attempts to change customs and lifestyle began to be seen as aping of western manners and thereby regarded with suspicion". This view re-produced the Village as pure, moral and the spiritual inner core and pitted it against a rather artificial, immoral and material outer core. These were the same grounds that also set the spiritual East as a foil of the dissipated West.

Based in the city, the Hindi film industry not only engaged in the task of nation building but now also became a vehicle for India's aspired modernity. Post-independence cinema became a site for contestation between the modern and the traditional, a backdrop for the material and the spiritual to collide, a space which manifested the multiple nationalisms that plagued a nation in the making. These anxieties translated themselves in film narratives of this period, which exhibited the dichotomies in bipolar contexts leading to a dilemma of choice for the protagonist.

'*Barsaat*' (1949), released two years after India's independence embodies this conflict most efficiently in its language. The film at the very onset declares its politics in an argument between the two protagonists who personify the 'modern' and the 'traditional'. Reiterating the mindset of a city dweller the modern man exclaims *Duniya mein agar taraki karni hai to materialist angle se duniya dekho* (if you want to be successful in this world, then you must be a materialist). The traditionalist retorts *tumne abhi vahi ek* angle *dekha hai Gopal, kisi ke sache jazbaat nahi dekhe* (it seems you have only seen one angle of life and not the true and pure humane side of it) stressing the difference between the two not just in their beliefs but in the use of language. The modern man wants nothing to do with emotions and refutes the traditionalist's comments as *lecturebazzi* [84](sermonizing) and calls himself a "free lancer" who does not belong anywhere and fulfils his needs anywhere.

The purity of the spiritual realm is set against the material one where one finds "clubs", "dances", "cabarets" and club hopping "Lilly(s)" and "Suzie(s)" in abundance. The film manages to depict, in the language and verbosity of the modern man, a loss of one's inner self as he moves from women to women asking "can I have the pleasure of this dance, ma'am" just like the city, without an 'essence'-tial core.

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[84] The word is formed by adding *bazz* (expert) to lecture. Lecture*bazz* is, then, a person who is an expert in giving sermons and Lecture*bazzi* is the act of sermonizing.

'*Anhoni*' (1952) presents a biting critique of such a society by portraying it as a caricature of the West. This society is inhabited by the educated elite of the country. This society addresses each other as 'Mr' and 'Miss' or 'ma'am' and 'sir' and their day begins with 'Good mornings' and ends with 'Good nights' . They go to 'birthday parties' and sing "happy birthday to you" and at 'dance parties' greet each other by saying "hello", "how are you" and "pleased to meet you".

The bigamy of this society is revealed when an educated but poor man tries to gain entry into it. A "birthday party" held at Roop's (female protagonist) house brings all kinds of characters from this "modern society" under one roof for a glimpse of flimsy, materialistic life. *Vidyasagar*, the comic is a caricature of the erstwhile colonizer in a khaki dress as he has just returned from shooting game, enters the party and exclaims "Hello everybody, I am *Vidyasagar*....bring' em back alive". *Laddan*, the villain, is a progeny of a landlord but is now a pauper come to the parties in search of prospective heiress and rich men to manipulate. He enters the party claiming to have misplaced the "invitation card" that was never sent to him and mingles with the lot by bragging about being "*poplar*" (popular) among the people. This "fashionable society" has no room for the protagonist "*Raj Kumar Saxena,* B.A. LLB, Advocate, High court" whose education means nothing to a people for although he has the language he does not have money.

Since the focus of the nation was gradually shifting towards development in the country, Hindi films too, around the middle of 1950s, began to look inwards. The action took place within the city, in the lives of its inhabitants who belonged to all kinds of classes and professional backgrounds. These people must now learn the superior techniques (science, technology, rational forms of economic organization and modern methods of statecraft) of organizing material life and incorporating it within their own culture. These techniques bring with them the knowledge of English (as it is only in English that these techniques are taught and also dispersed) which creeps in the speech of the city dwellers as there is no other way of verbalize their daily experiences.

Raghavendra (2001-2) notes the strange fascination of Hindi cinema with the city "evidenced by the numerous films of the period that proclaim themselves through English titles, terms with Urban associations? 'Passport', 'Paying Guest', 'Howrah Bridge', 'Black Market', 'New Delhi', 'Taxi Driver', 'Footpath', 'House Number 44', 'CID' and 'Railway Platform'" (78).

This encounter with the modernity of the city is epitomized in the song *Yeh hai Bombay meri jaan*, from the film *CID* (1956), which sets the tone for a nation and a language in transition. In the city there are buildings, trams, cars and mills, and it is hardly an accident that these are all referred to by their English names? *kahin* building, *kahin* tram*ein*, *kahin* motor, *kahin* mill. Evidently these things are not available outside the city space and its language.

The working classes and their lives become a recurring theme in the films of this epoch. The film *Taxi Driver* (1954) becomes an interesting case study as it encompasses an entirety of symbols Hindi cinema produced to translate the experience of the city in its films. Street smart, cocksure working class characters, Christians, migrants and the dancing girls or the vamps become figures integral to city based narratives with their speech as the most defining feature.

The protagonist of the film, a taxi driver popularly known as 'Hero' by his friends, is the archetypical working class hero[85] who has learnt to survive in the vicious, cruel and greedy city. He negotiates the city spaces daily picking and dropping off passengers, technical terms of his profession 'passenger', 'meter', 'motor', 'hood', 'tire', 'radiator' and 'carburettor' have become a part of daily speech. At the end of the day's drudgery he often visits the local 'club' and does not shy away from doing a *'hulia*-tight' (get into a fight) of whoever comes in his way. True to his name, 'Hero' saves a [migrant] girl from some goons and begins to help her find the *'mujic dector'* (music director) who had promised her work when he came to her village. 'Hero' houses her and she begins to learn the way of the big bad city under *'drever'* (driver) *saahab*'s guidance.

The fifties also gave birth to the figure of the 'Vamp'; she was the dancing girl and a the loose woman who recurred in Hindi films till the end of the 70s as a foil to what Hindi cinema upheld as the ideal Indian woman. Often named Lilly, Suzie, Rita or Sylvie (as in *Taxi Driver*), her domain were the night clubs which were no glamorous space but decidedly sleazy in which the dancer is apparently trying to create the illusions of the west. They reproduce the western values not only in their clothes and the provocative behaviour but also in their language. Their use of English establishes their distance and alienation from the Indian value system making them cultural and social misfits

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[85] This working class hero is a recurring character in Hindi films and is also the prototype for the *bhai* or the local ruffian after the 70s.

Another image that continuously reappeared in Hindi films was that of a Christian, with alcohol as his aide and a Hindi mixed with English words as his signature. In 'Taxi Driver' the Christian is the club owner Mr. D'Mello who is in love with the dancer "Sylvie darling" and promises to revamp the club in every encounter they have "*tum fikr mat karo* Sylvie, don't worry at all, *is baar mera ghoda* race *mein aa gaya to* hotel *chamka dunga*" (don't you worry Sylvie, if my horse wins the derby this time I will revamp the entire hotel), only to receive a "oh shut up" in return from her.

Cinema of this period also brought to the fore the strenuous relationship between the rich and the working classes. What defined class in films was not only the presence/absence of images grandeur and extravagance around them, but also education and language. *Awara* (1951) uses English to mark the difference between the rich, educated female lead (Ritu) and its male protagonist (Raju). This difference is established at the very onset of the film when both Raju and Ritu are children and Raju visits Ritu's house for her birthday party. While she is taking to Raju in Hindi her language changes when a friend comes and tells her "Ritu your father is calling you" to which she responds "coming". She goes inside the house along with Raju and greets everyone with a confident "hello daddy, hello uncle" while Raju utters a coy *Namaste* (greetings) exposing his lack of familiarity with the class and their language.

Mr&Mrs 55 (1955) falls in the same league of films although it seeks to expose the arrogance and misplaced values of the rich. The film opens with a woman reading out aloud an English newspaper while in the next room a "meeting" goes on about the "divorce bill" headed by the family matriarch and feminist *Sita Devi*. The help who is addressed as "nanny" complains that "*sab angrez ho gaye hain*" (everybody has turned English) as she hears gibberish in English from the newspaper and the meeting.

Class distinctions are emphasized with the occasional thank you(s) and sorry(s) and the way authority is exercised in English with terms like "get out", "you shut up", "come in" and "don't be silly". The speech of the female lead, the niece of *Sita Devi* is also peppered with English words; she exclaims "wonderful" and "excellent" at a "tennis match", sighs a "thank god" at not being caught while sneaking out without permission, utters a "how interesting" at a marriage proposal and a reluctant "as you please" when asked to obey orders.

It had already been established that English was a language of the modern state mechanisms along with being a language of technology. English words related to journalism such as "front page news", "editor" and "press reporter" or to the courts like "case", "jury", "judge",

"my lord", "your honour", "order", "proceed", and "your witness" appeared in film dialogues along with term of professional address like, doctor, nurse, lawyer, judge, magistrate and solicitor etc.

Interestingly many words were also used which seemed to be derived from combining elements of English, Hindi and Urdu. In a court scene from 'Paying Guest' (1957), the lawyer addresses the jury as *memberaan-e-jury* (members of the jury) which is clearly a word made by adding the Urdu plural suffix *aan* to the word member and adding and *e* which literally in Urdu means 'of', between the two. Another such term that comes to notice, again used in a cour scene in *"Dilli ka* Thug" (1958) was "dramaai takneek" (dramatic tactics) that the prosecutor used to disorient the court. Here the Hindi adjectival suffix *ai* is added to drama and *takneek* is the Hindi appropriation of the word technique. At the same time there seemed to be dialogues that appeared to be direst translation from Hindi into English, a dialogue from *Chalti ka Naam Gadi* (1958) is one such example:

> Villain: Hello boys! Good luck Prakash?
> Prakash: All the best, sir

The goon here wanted to ask his accomplice if he had any luck nabbing the man who had seen them commit the murder; Good luck sounds like a translation of *kya tumhari kismet achi thi* (was your luck good today) and the reply seems like a translation of *bahut acchi* (it was the best).

Fifties also saw Hindi cinema's greatest comic talents at their peak, Kishore Kumar and Johnny Walker. Both used English extensively as a comic device for the language became part of their urban characters. Walker was known to plays roles of the common man, he was a drunk, a *pakit maar*[86] (a common thief) or even a journalist, Kumar on the other hand was the rebel son of a rich father, a working class character or an educated, unemployed man; all these characters were ordinary to city life.

Mr&Mrs 55 stares Walker (Johnny) as a journalist who is friends with the unemployed protagonist of the story. A scene between the doctor (who is called to check on the health of the protagonist) and Johnny is one of the comic scenes among many where English is used:

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[86]Another word derived from combining English and Hindi words, here *pakit* (pocket where you keep the purse) + *maar* (cut) means a thief who steals purses.

Johnny: *"Doctor Sahib andar ka michinry to chalu hai na"* (Doctor is the inside machinery working fine).

Doctor: *Hmmmm, kya iske joote do mahine mein ghis jaate hain* (Do the souls of his shoes wear off in two months)

Johnny: *dedh mahine mein pandra din to* cardboard *daal ke chalata hai,* poor chap! (Out of one and a half months, for fifteen days the poor chap has to put cardboard in his soles)

Doctor: *jab ye* cigarette *pita hai to udhar.* (When he needs to smoke he borrows one)

Johnny: there you are! *woh bhi Chaar Minaar.* (That to *Chaar Minaar)*

Although a pointed critique at the protagonist's state of unemployment, the English words not just add to the irony of the situation but also humour. Another instance of comic use of English in the film was when Johnny tries to acts fresh with an office colleague, teasing the woman in Hindi would be too crass:

- Front, first class
- Profile, super class
- Excuse me, miss

(The girl turns to him and stares hard)

(Hides his face with his hands)

- Thank you (Runs away)

Kumar's films on the other hand had little to do with social messages but were primarily comedies like *New Delhi* (1957), *Chalti ka Naam Gadi* (1958), *Dilli ka Thug* (1958) and also *Half-Ticket* (1961). To set the mood his films often began with creative credit rolls like in *Chalti ka Naam Gadi* (1958) where the credit roll begins with interesting animations using cartoons and clever humour like jumbling names to denote the kind of work one has done in the film, the editor's name was *Tipnis* but is jumbled to make 'snip it'.

The narratives of these films were full of mixed language one line rib ticklers: "invitation *ka* show *hai"* (an invitation to a show, *Chalti ka Naam Gadi,* 1958), "what do you think I am *ullu* type?" (Do I look like a fool) and *"tussi* great *hai"* (you are great) both from *Dilli ka Thug,* (1958) and "after all I am the mental doctor of your whole family", *"pehle mein* half ticket, half man, half mad *tha agli bar milunga to* full *samajhiyega"* (Earlier I was half ticket,

half man and half mad, next time I meet you think of me as full) from *Half-Ticket* (1961) which, although, made in the 60s was rooted in the sensibility and style of the films of the 50s. The following lines of a popular song from the film *Dilli ka Thug* (1958) is but an illustration of the changes in film language in the coming years:

R. A. T, Rat; rat *mane chuha*, C.A.T, Cat; cat *mane bili, dil hai tere panje mein to kya hua*

M.A.D, Mad; mad *mane pagal*, B.O.Y, Boy; boy *mane ladka matlab iska tum kaho to kya hua.*

(You have stolen my heart, now what to do)

(You are a mad boy, do you understand)

HINDI FILMS IN THE 1960s

With the passing of the Nehru era and the immediate concerns with Indian nationhood, Hindi films too began to change its ideological leanings. By the end of the fifties, cinema's interest in the national was gradually giving way to that of the individual, turning to personal identities while moving away from, once the need of the hour, the idea of national identity. Hindi cinema of the 60s entered both (domains) the popular and the global, as it bore 'the romantic hero' and brought home the coveted images of the west for the very first time.

Hindi films in the 60s reinvented the image of the hero; he no longer represented the nation but rather a culture. As Nandy (as quoted in Chakravarty, 1996: 200) points out the Hindi film hero could "simply be Mr Rakesh, Mr Raj or Mr Ashok? surnameless and thus regionless, casteless, ethnically non identifiable and ultimately ahistorical". The filmmakers of this period refrained from giving their protagonists a fixed identity? the heroes of hit films such as *Love in Shimla* (1960), *Dil Ek Mandir* (1963), *Love in Tokyo* (1966) and *An Evening in Paris* (1967), were named Mr. Dev, Dr. Dharmesh, Mr. Sam and Mr. Ashok respectively? lest the image of the idealized Indian man be lost.

The choice of Mister instead of the Hindi address term *Shree* or the Urdu *Janab* was a peculiar one. *Prima facie* the choice seemed obvious; English was an alien tongue in India and unlike the Indian languages did not represent a region or religion. However, Hindi films of the 60s began to churn narratives with upper class characters, albeit caste and regionless, the use of Mister along with the visual motifs of the aforementioned films functioned as codes to situate the heroes in the upper class and a western education and upbringing. A fact

well established in the film Guide (1965) for as soon as Raju, who was once a tourist guide, rose to eminence he begins to be addressed as Mr. Raju.

Chaudhary (2000) opines that "The use of language is undoubtedly fraught with the question of power and authority. Implicit in this is why people learn languages and how they use them"(226). While the colonizer learnt the native tongue to "dominate, subjugate, command, threaten and denigrate" (Ibid, 227), the natives, on the other hand, acquired English in an aspiration to acquire the power it signified. In post-colonial India, English, although a subject of much debate, became an expression of authority and also of protest. Around the late fifties, Hindi cinema too began to appropriate the English language.

While Hindi film industry alienated itself from the Indian states nationalist assertions, it began preparing to take upon itself the task of culturally refurbishing India's image. India had a sense of being watched internationally and so did its cinema, thus, through language and content it manufactured the Indian consciousness for the outsiders. Its beginnings can be traced with the release of Mehboob Khan's, otherwise village centered Hindi film with an English title, *Mother India* in 1957. Epitomized as the very hallmark of Indian culture, (the English title of the film) *Mother India* was seen as postcolonial India's response to Mayo's[87] thoroughly colonial thesis. Mehboob Khan also produced a special brochure in English with illustrated pictures and short essays, proposing to explain and contextualize Indian traditions to the film's foreign audiences.

By the sixties Hindi cinema started exploring the West as romance shifts from national to international locations. The west no longer remained an internationalized presence/absence in the Indian subconscious for they became the backdrops for Hindi films fantastic romances as the exotic other[88]. Staring with *Sangam* (1964), which was shot partly in Paris and Switzerland, the 60s churned out a league of films ? *Love in Tokyo* (1966), *Aman* (1967, shot in Japan), *Around the World* (1967, shot in parts of Europe and Japan), *Night in London* (1967), *Jewel Thief* (1967, shot in Sikkim which was not a part of India until 1975), *An Evening in Paris* (1967), *Spy in Rome* (1968), *Ankhen* (1968, shot in Honk Kong and Japan) and *Pyar ka Sapna* (1969, partly shot in Britain) ? which attracted Indian masses with sights

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[87]'Mother India' was a book by the American journalist, Katherine Mayo, published in the 1920s. Gandhi dismissed it as "the drain inspector's report" as it was believed to be a racist and colonial interpretation of the Indian culture.

[88] See, Chakravarty, Sunita (1996: 210),

and sounds of foreign lands. In this "domestication" of the West, Hindi cinema finds its footing and confidence in its ability to use the English language. Apart from the fact that these films mostly had English titles, dialogues generously used English despite the locale of the films.

In Paris, on a boat ride on the river Seine, the protagonist Sunder (Raj Kapoor) of *Sangam* (1964) exclaims his delight as being on "top of the world my dear, top of the world" and when in Switzerland lives the European life with "cocktails and dance in the casino" and "dinner by candle lights and Champagne". Similarly *Love in Tokyo* (1966), which is largely shot in Japan, sprinkles its dialogue with English words and not Japanese. The protagonists have "grand ideas" to go to "departmental stores, *Geisha* houses and malls" and even converse with the Japanese in English.

Set against a Parisian and Swiss backdrop, *An Evening in Paris* (1967) is another example of code-switching and mixing. Deepa (Sharmila Tagore) goes to Paris in search of true love for she believes that the men in India ? "I hate boys, one and all"? were only after her father's money. Her father's manger gets her a flat in the "best locality" of Paris and a "companion" named Honey to live with. When Honey suggests that, to find "romance", Deepa should pretend to be a poor Indian girl, Deepa screams out in excitement "what an idea, Honey you are a darling" and changes into plainer clothes. She meets a Mr. Sam (Shammi Kapoor) who plans to change her opinion and again believe in love and the "romantic nonsense" she hates.

Words such as fantastic, darling, impossible, arrangement, kidnap, casino, dancer, skiing, speedboat along with utterances like "let's go", "of course", "tomorrow morning", "top secret", and "oh god" were interspersed in Hindi dialogues throughout the film. Although in vogue during the 2000s, songs in this film also used English like the song *leja leja mera dil* begins with "My name is Suzie" and again in the middle of the famous *asman se aaya farishta* the lyricist has Deepa singing "you are silly, don't be silly".

The class, which took over the reins of power from the erstwhile colonizers, became the upholders of Victorian politeness in post-colonial India. Words such as 'please', 'thank you' and 'you are welcome' were etched in their vocabulary and would remain so for generations to come. This 'English speaking gentry' also exercised authority through language, once used to receive orders, English began to be used to give orders and abuse those who were subordinates in class, caste, status and education.

The knowledge of English came with a certain power and supremacy, since it was still an educated elite's tongue in this period, it was used to dominate and silence. Hindi cinema has reiterated this fact often in its films by establishing education, class and westernization of a community through its use of language. The Hindi films made during the 60s provide few early instances of how English was used to express anger, command, assert and patronize.

Love in Shimla (1960) revolves around an elite family of Shimla hosting a suitor for their daughter. The film despite being made in the 1960 used a language very similar to contemporary films, code mixing and switching between English and Hindi. At the same time English's use to command were very visible with utterance such as those to the servants "out out". Sonia (Sadhna) the female lead of the film yells a "go to hell" and "shut up" to the Hero Mr Dev. He is also ordered a loud "get out" when he ends up bursting crackers in the party hall to liven the place up.

On the other hand, in *Sangam* (1964) the protagonist uses English to assert his return from the war, while leaving for the front he looks into the heroine's eyes and forcefully declares "I will come back". Official orders of the Air Force too came in English, "bail out pilot, I command you to bail out". Similarly *Mera Saya* (1966), a popular court room drama, uses English to establish the seriousness of the matter when they warn the protagonist *Thakur* Jai Singh (Sunil Dutt) "you will be held up for the contempt of this court". *Thakur* himself yells out an agitated "What do you mean?" when asked to remove his shirt in front of the entire court.

However, a potent illustration of the authority that English possesses comes through in the film *Guide* (1965). The film is a tale of a famous tourist guide of Udaipur, Raju (Dev Anand), who attracts the tourists with his charm and that fact that he speaks many tongues. He falls in love with a dancer and turns her into a national sensation while himself entering into high society and wealth. He is convicted for forgery and when released, out of shame, does not return home but becomes a wanderer. Some people mistake his for a saint and he goes along with the idea for the sake of shelter and food.

His popularity begins to irk the local priests who challenge him to translate a Sanskrit *sloka* to test his knowledge. When he is unable to translate they insult and laugh at him only to hear "don't laugh like two fools, you are a couple of crackpots and for generations you have been fooling these innocent people and it's about time you put a stop to it". The priests are dumbfounded and become a village joke for their inability to understand English.

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CONCLUSION

Hindi cinema in its formative years experimented with language while drawing from the society it represented. The growing use of English in films was in tandem with the changes in the language of its audience. The presence and consistency of English's use in films suggest that it was no alien to Hindi cinema and by extension the Indian polity. However, as is evident from film texts it was primarily the language of the elites. Simultaneously, during this period English was taking over the education system while sidelining the Indian languages, it began to represent a formality and scientificity which no other language could match, just like Raju's repartee.

Chapter IV

CINEMA TALKS BACK-II

PAST AND PRESENT OF ENGLISH IN HINDI FILMS

(1970-2009)

With the turn of the century Hindi cinema's love affair with the west was wearing off. Although just like in the 50s Hindi films began to reclaim India's spiritual nature against the degeneration of the west in films such as *Purab Aur Paschim* (1970) and *Hare Rama Hare Krishna* (1971)[89]. However, the cinema of the 70s and early 80s were driven towards a different aesthetic and audience. The films of this period spoke to the middle classes and brought the realism of everyday life to the screens[90].

Apart from being spectators of this new cinema, the middle class became a part of film narrative which portrayed their growing anxieties. Films of this period deal with consolidating the peculiar middle class identity, as a mediator between the classical and the folk and the modern and traditional[91], and also of preserving it from the threats of the outside or the westernized world. Simultaneously, Hindi films were also beginning to reclaim their nationalist agenda and churned out various narratives on regional and religious reconciliation.

MIDDLE CLASS CINEMA OF THE 70s AND 80s

These two decades were particularly turbulent in India's modern history. They were not only politically and religiously unsettling but also inflamed the [already sensitive] linguistic

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[89]Partly set abroad, the films were a critique of the Hippie subculture and also of 'brain drain' which was at its peak during this time. The films depict West as a society rid of all values and East as a place to salvage oneself spiritually and morally.

[90] Prasad (1998) opines that the cinema of this period [70s and 80s] was committed to realism, in aesthetics and content, and was addressed to the middle class audiences.

[91] See, Nandy (1995:201)

debates. Despite much objection from the traditionalists, the Indian government in a 1968 Amendment Act declared the official status of English. Alongside, in southern India, an anti-Hindi agitation was in full swing, which unlike their counter parts in the northern regions of Indian gave full support to English.

Hindi films promptly reflected on the language issues and political sentiments attached with them. The various opinions were reiterated in film narratives which would sometimes sermonize about the language in question and at others mock it. *Purab Aur Paschim* (1970) in its opening scene itself, a dance show, reproduces a linguistic agitation. As the emcee begins to introduce the show in Hindi, a half of the audience beings to slogan "we want English". The emcee then decides to continue in English but before he knew it another half of the audience begins to scream "Hindi *mein bolo*" (speak in Hindi). Suddenly the sloganeering turns into a confrontation between the two groups giving way to violence. Unable to control the masses, the presenter, as suggested by the protagonist Bharat, begins to speak in both languages, simultaneously translating his speech into English and Hindi in order to appease both the groups.

Bawarchi (1972) portrays the language debate on another level, that of family and class. The film deals with a middle class family and their familial crises. The chaos in the family is resolved by a do-gooder who to live with them, posses as a *bawarchi* (a cook). The narrative unfolds in a typical educated middle class family, the men of the family are all professionals, the eldest a head clerk at a government office, the middle one an English teacher and the youngest a music director (who listens to English songs and uses their music for Hindi ones); all these men use English in their official spaces. The films itself is full of English words and sentences, to mark a verisimilitude with most families of this class and background.

Yet, the film depicts a conflict between the traditional and the modern within the household. The threat [of westernization] to the middle class morality most efficiently rests in the use of language. Significantly, in the song that marks the reunion of the family the youngest brother also the most anglicized begins to sing in English and is interrupted by his father with "*apni bhasha mein*" (sing in our own language) clearly states the politics of this class:

Good Morning..............

Good Morning, Good Morning to papa,

Good Morning,

Good Morning Good Morning to Everybody.....

Beta (son, the father interrupts),

Yes daddy

Barkhurdar (son),

Yes papa

Apni bhasha mein (in your own tongue)

Namaste

Namaste hai sab ko

Nanaste Namaste,

The morning rays are coming, the happy days are coming

Oh ho ho ho phir bool gaya (oh no! I forgot again)

Subah ki kirne aati hai khushiyan hi khushiya lati hain

(The morning rays bring happiness to our lives)

This conflict also comes to fore through the daughter of the eldest son, who represents the modern lifestyle of dance, parties and consumer products. Once she is humbled and brought back into the fold of domestication, a change occurs not just behaviorally but also linguistically. Now instead of going to a "birthday party" she runs to the *rasoi ghar* (kitchen) and wears her hair straight instead of "buffo" and most importantly begins to call her father "*babuji*" in place of "daddy".

Another interesting example from this period is the film *Chupke Chupke* (1975). The protagonist of the film plays around with all three official languages to aid the film's comic narrative but particularly pokes fun at English. The protagonist poses as a driver, who only uses *shudh* Hindi, to enter his brother-in-law's house as part of a practical joke.

The scene of his arrival sets the comic tone of the film, mainly at the cost of English which is misinterpreted, ill pronounced and marked with overtones throughout the film. As will be

evident from the dialogues below, English was being derided as an unscientific language in comparison to Hindi. Reiterated by Amitabh Bachchan in *Namak Halal* (1982) that "English is a very funny language", this was the very argument made famous by traditionalist scholars during this period on the basis of linguistic principles.

Brother-in-law: *safar mein koi takleef to nahi hui, khana khaya.* (Was the journey alright, have you eaten?)

Pyaremohan Alahbadi (the driver): *ji bhojan to humne lopatgami sthal pe hi kar liya tha* (I ate at the railway station)

Brother-in-law: *kya?* (What)

Pyaremohan Alahbadi (the driver): *ji hum lopatgami Agni Rath se aayein hain na* (I have come by train (*Agni Rath*))

Brother-in-law: *oho* train *se aye ho* train *se* (oh! You've come by train)

Pyaremohan Alahbadi (the driver): *ji Hindi bolte samay hum hagrezi shabdon ka prayog nahi karte.* (I don't like using English words while talking in Hindi)

Brother-in-law: (wife starts laughing) *ismein hasne ki kya baat* hai (what is there to laugh about), what nonsense?

Pyaremohan Alahbadi: What nonsense *nahi kya bakwas hai kahiye, Hindi bolte samay angrezi shabdon ka upyog uchit nahi* (don't say what nonsense, it is best not to use English while speaking in Hindi)

Brother-in-law: *Angrezi jante ho* (do you know English?)

Pyaremohan Alahbadi: *Nahi sahib ye bhasha humein pasand hi nahi* (I do not like this language)

Brother-in-law: *Kyon?* (Why)

Pyaremohan Alahbadi: *Bahut hi avigyanik bhasha hai*, C.U.T cut *hota hai* P.U.T put; T.O to, D.O do magar G.O go *ho jata hai*, goo *kyon nahi hota sahib* (it is a very unscientific

language, if C.U.T is cut then how come P.U.T is put and if T.O is to and D.O is do then why is G.O go and not goo[92] sir)

Although ingrained in the consciousness of urban educated India, the debates around the English language did not rest even into the 80s. The southern states of India were still up in arms against Hindi and a resolution nowhere in sight. It was during this period that the blockbuster *Ek Duje Ke Liye* (1981), a love story of a Tamil boy and a north-Indian girl, hit the screens. The love is shown to blossom despite all odds, the quarrelling parents who symbolized the conflict between north and south and the obvious language gap.

The lovers choose English to communicate with each other, before they begin to learn each other's language, and the language becomes the evident solution pitched by the film to resolve the language dispute. The language of the film is a heady mix of Hindi and English with instances of Tamil conversations between the boy and his parents. This film was probably the first instance of a Hindi film song almost entirely in English.

Hum bane tum bane ek duje ke liye,

We are made for each other, *samjhe.*

I don't know what you say,

I don't know what you say.

Tum ho budhu jaan lo,

You are handsome, *maan lo.*

I don't know what you say,

I don't know what you say.

But I want to sing and play,

I want to play the game of love,

I want you in the name of love.

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[92]Incidentally, *'goo'* in Hindi means cow dung, the dialogue while deriding the English language very cleverly uses humor so as to not instigate any linguistic debates.

Hey come here.......

Not here there up in the sky,

Come with me I want to fly.

Don't stop let the whole world know,

Don't stop let the whole world know,

Come fast, don't be slow.

We are made for each other, *samjhe*.

We are made for each other, *samjhe*.

It was in the 70s and the 80s that the street smart working class characters made his return to the silver screen. Coolies, taxi drivers, construction workers, bus conductors, local gang lords and small time crooks began to appear as central characters in film narratives. As in the 1950s these were city based characters and spoke in a hybrid language mixing local dialects with English. Intriguingly, screen writers never used this mixed tongue in the dialogues of the climax or serious scenes, instances of code mixing and switching were primarily used to derive humor often characters were spun around the comic use of language.

In *Bombay to Goa* (1972), a love story which takes place on board a bus shuttling passengers from all backgrounds from Bombay to Goa, the bus conductor (Rajesh) and the bus driver (Khanna) are comics who use a mixed language to generate humor. Comic sequences such as when a passenger boards the bus with a hen the conductor warns her, "bus *mein murgi lana* allowed *nahi hai*, bus *mein murgi* not allowed". In another scene he calls a tall person blocking the bus corridor "Mount Everest *ki dukan*" (a shop atop Mount Everest). Similarly when two men get into a fist fight he calls the tall one *lamboo* (tall) jet and the fat one "jumbo jet". This kind of slapstick mixing of English appeared throughout the film and became common in many films that followed.

One of the many popular dialogues of *Sholay* (1975) too brings into play English, for Veeru's (Dharmendra) tomfoolery in the film. When refused the hand of his beloved in marriage Veeru climbs up a water tank and threatens to kill himself and bids his "*akhri salam* (last salute), goodbye, goodbye" :

Veeru: *mein vahi kar raha hoon, jo* Romeo *ne* Juliet *ke liye kiya tha*.....suicide.....suicide (I am doing what Romeo did for his love Juliet, committing suicide).

Village folk (Man 1): *bhaiya, ye susad kya hota hai* (What is this suicide?)

Village folk (Man 2): *Arrey jab angrez log marte hain to use susad kehte hain.* (When English people die, it's called a suicide).

Veeru: *dekh lena gaon wallon*, when I dead, police coming, police coming *budhiya* going jail, In jail *bhudiya chakki pees*ing and *pees*ing and *pees*ing (get one thing straight village folks when I die, police will come and arrest this old lady and she will spend rest of her life grinding flour in the jail).

In a similar humorous vain, Anthony's character (a Goan Christian and a local goodhearted goon) in *Amar Akhbar Anthony* (1977) uses a mixed language which later became stereotyped as the way of speech for all Christians. Amitabh Bachan as Anthony plays the role of a local alcohol manufacturer characterized by his speech used to comic effect all through the film. In one such scene, while he describes his imagined ladylove, his use of language replaces the accepted metaphors of love and also comically modifies the accepted language to express it, Urdu.

I mean father, *jisko dekh ke man ka* violin automatic *chalu ho jaye. Dimag ka ghanti khud-ba-khud bajne lage* ting tong, ting tong. *Jese koi janat ka pari*, plane *mein baith ke, mere dil ke* airport *pe* land *kar rahi ho*.

In the song "my name is Anthony Gonzalvez" he delivers almost in one breath a nonsensical, yet pompous sentence —"Wait, wait, wait.......you see the whole country of this system is the juxtaposition by the hemoglobin in the atmosphere, because you are a sophisticated rhetorician intoxicated by your own verbosity"— which although ludicrous had women swooning all over him.

Such a use of English by city wise ruffians remained popular throughout the 80s. In *The Burning Train* (1980) the protagonist poses as a roadside Romeo to help his friend get his ladylove and uses the peculiar street English, now stereotyped with such characterizations:

Hello flower!

My name, *bhavra* (honey bee)

Very funny, *hai na* (isn't it)

kya chalta hai tum (you have such a nice gait), what walking!

Similarly, Jaany's (Johnny, a criminal) character in *Karma* (1986) provides much needed comic relief in an otherwise revenge driven narrative. On a mission with Dada thakur (Dilip Kumar) Johnny and two other criminals come to a village to catch the murderer of *Dada thakur's* family. While in the village Johnny falls in love with a village damsel but since he saw no future with her plans to withdraw from her. Since his character is spun around ridiculous code mixing, even a serious dialogue comes across as funny, *Mein bahut hi bada frad* (I am a big fraud), danger *aadmi hoon* (a dangerous man), *mein tumhare kisi kaam nahi aa sakta* (I will only cause trouble in your life), out you go. You go, I not love, I not love, man order, order *ghar jaao, jao* (I order you to go home, go). As he leaves for a confrontation with the villain he sings to his beloved "Oh darling, don't cry, oh darling, don't cry, I going to die.....".

Yet again, in *Chalbaaz* (1989), which was essentially a comedy of the duplicate genre, one finds a taxi driver *'jagu'* mouthing code mixed dialogues (while convincing clients for commission on dance programs) *"sahib, sahib aapke* show *ke liye koi* dancing girl *chahiye to bas vo hi hai, vo gaati hai to* Silver jubilee, *nachti hai to* Golden jubilee, *aapka* show *to samajhiye* Diamond jubilee. Like in *Sholay* here too the present continuous –*ing* suffix is added to Hindi/English words to produce a comic effect, "*aaj mein tujhko* peeting *sach mein* peeting" (today I will seriously beat you up), "waiting, bringing, you drink, I drink whole *basti* (locality) drink" or for that matter by adding the feminine –*i* suffix with English words "*tere samne* all-India star, *manju* micheli jackson*i khadeli hai*".

The eighties was also the time for revival of Hindi in cinema and particularly parallel cinema. Their commitment to realism went hand in hand with narratives spun around rural India and a perception that Hindi was the language of the masses. Although certain off-beat films of this period, as their narratives were based in the city, did use English to generate humor it was mostly to reflect upon the intrusion of English in daily middle class lives.

Chashme Badoor (1981) tells the comic tale of three young men studying in Delhi University and their endless chases in life. The film gives an insight into the changing notions of love for there are "*hazaar* girls *yaar*" (many fish in the sea) and also its changing language which the film mocks at through a scene between a couple sitting in a park:

Man: Darling!

Woman: *haan* (yes)

Man: kuch nahi bas darling, darling. (Nothing just darling, my darling)

On the other hand *Jane Bhi Do Yaron* (1983), a satire about corruption in society, intersperses English in the lines of Mahabharata, while it was being performed on stage in the film, and turns it into a farce. To hide from the villains the film's protagonists enter the theatre and are mistaken for actors. The comedy of the situation unfolds when the entire plot is rewritten on stage; while *Bhim* proclaims himself as one of the "shareholders" of Draupadi, Dushasan exclaims "*meine chir haran ka* idea drop *kar diya ha*" (I have dropped the idea of raping Draupadi). Dritrashtra seeing the entire play collapse cries a "this is too much" and walks out on an audience roaring with laughter.

It must be highlighted that, unlike earlier films, in Hindi cinema of the eighties code mixing in narratives began to appear without being followed by translations. Phrases such as — "adjust *karo*" (adjust please), "depend *karta hai*" (it depends), "shutter down *ho chukka hai*" (the shop has been closed), "*grahak ko* attend karo" (attend to the clients), "blood pressure high *ho jayega*" (blood pressure will go up), "urgent *hai*" (its urgent), "*bahut* secret *baat hai*" (its very secret), "*bahut* exciting *kitab hai*" (it's a very exciting book), *aaj* last day *hai*" (today is the last day)— marked the beginnings of early Hinglish where only open class words in Hindi [nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives] were replaced by their English counterparts.

Throughout its history Hindi films, either via English speaking regional caricatures or working classes has produced comic relief. However, mixing English in Hindi dialogues to generate humor was not simply a harmless or an unintentional act. On the contrary, its deliberateness reinstated the sanctity of the English language (preserved by the uncompromising adherence to its grammar) and the fact that incorrectness in the same was looked down with disdain and scoffed at. However, the 90s were to bring about many changes particularly in the meaning of English for the Indian masses. Even though, English remained entrapped within a particular class, it variants reached the general populace. These variants gradually became popular among all classes of people, establishing itself as a *de facto lingua franca*, undercutting the hegemony of English.

LIBERALISATION, ENGLISH AND THE 90S HINDI FILMS

By the end of the cold war, India was already pushing an economic crisis. Its internal political turmoil ? and consequent assassination of its two Prime Ministers, Indira Gandhi and son Rajiv Gandhi? had already crushed the confidence of international investors. A final blow came with the disintegration of Soviet Union (second largest investor in India since 1965), leaving India nearly bankrupt. While it looked at IMF for a bailout, India was forced to abandon its socialist and protectionist economic policies and opened its market to private and multinational investors.

The Liberalization of the Indian economy in 1991 was a watershed moment in Indian history which alongside spurred multiple processes that changed the mode of cultural production in India. The early 1990s saw a transformation of the urban consumer and their aspiration to be part of the ICE (Information-Communication-Entertainment) age. It became a world obsessed with TV sets which showed MTV and *Santa Barbara*, radios with FM, the personal computer and the discovery of internet, digital gadgets, cameras, CDs: in other words, it was a world of new technologies looking onto a socio-cultural makeover.

This socio-cultural, political and economic revolution of India must be seen in conjunction with the changes it brought about at the level of class. Economic liberalization had massively empowered the Indian middle class, as Dash (2005) puts it:

> "Since the mid-1980s, Indian society has undergone a dramatic shift in social values. The traditional caste-defined view of Indian life, which undervalues social and economic mobility, and the dominance of the Brahmanical culture's disdain toward commerce have been challenged by the middle class in contemporary Indian society. Getting rich and enjoying a good life has become the new mantra of social existence for the Indian middle class. With more income and more purchasing power, the status-conscious Indian middle class now seek to buy good quality consumer products and spend more money on food and entertainment. In metropolitan cities, extensive foreign media exposure and the Internet revolution have contributed to the emergence of a new social attitude which accepts Western values and culture. The contemporary Indian society can be understood on the basis of a 70/30 dynamic. While 70% of Indians are still traditional, poor, and live in rural areas, 30% of Indians (more than 300 million people) have emerged as rich, modern, Western-exposed, English-speaking, urban dwellers (10),"

Language became the vehicle of middle class aspirations. This was not any language but the language of the global market, English, whose mastery was insisted on in middle class households from infancy. The various socio-economic forces that were in play at this time laid the grounds for a greater availability and the necessity of the English language. English and its hybridized varieties became part of the ordinary urban experience, albeit maintaining its affinities with education and one's standing in society.

At the same time Indian media, driven by post-liberalization market forces, was undergoing change. The media of the 90s became a by-product of middle class aspirations while at the same time feeding off the class's consumerist character. These changes made the global cultures far more accessible in turn altering Indian tastes and perceptions. This was the time when language of Indian media in particular and India in general, too underwent a change.

What could only be called a ripple effect, for (after the economic liberalization phase) English had became widely accepted among certain sections of the Indian masses and began to represent a zeitgeist India, film language too was rapidly changing. Imtiaz Hussain[93] (scriptwriter for *Astitva, Vaastava* and *Parinda*) opines that "Language is attached to life. A writer lives in the society and internalizes what he observes and that is bound to reflect in his writing". As mentioned earlier English always had a presence in Hindi films, then what is so significant about this linguistic change in films? The use of English in Hindi films was not merely an effect of contemporary India on films or vice versa. Interestingly English, during this period, began to be used to reflect India's national ideology[94] (Prasad 2003: 19) and not just in Hindi films but also in literature and mass media.

This was also the period when the Hindi film industry was rechristened as 'Bollywood'. This could presumably be the effect of; firstly, the accessibility of Hollywood films and their hegemonic influence on Hindi film narratives and secondly due to "the affectionate lampooning that the Anglophone middle class subjected the Hindi cinema to in its reviews, articles and private conversation" (Prasad 2003:18).

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[93] See interview, Chopra, Sonia (2003, January 3). Shudh Hinglish. *Screen Weekly. Indian Express*

[94] Prasad (2003:19) also exclaims how English has been able to replace Urdu, "a metalanguage in which alone the national ideology could be properly articulated"

The 'Bollywoodization'[95] of Hindi films also bears witness to linguistic change in the Indian nation state. English during this period established itself as the metalanguage in which the new global and post-liberalization national ideology could be articulated. In a similar pattern English displaced Urdu as the metalanguage of the Hindi film industry, paving a way for a cinema aspiring to find new audiences and enter the global market economy.

This was also the period when the NRI (non-resident Indians) begins to surface in the Indian consciousness. Scared of the neo-colonial forces, Indian government started appeasing the NRI population to lessen the dependency on foreign investors (Bhattacharjya 2009: 55). The Indian government began luring NRI investments with schemes such as the Foreign Currency (non-resident) Deposit Scheme (FCNR), a high rate of interest on foreign currency deposits; tax exemptions for interest on certain accounts earned by non-residents; enabling NRIs to stay in India up to 150 days per year without endangering their NRI status; and enabling NRIs with foreign citizenship to work in India for up to three years without having to repatriate their foreign assets (Manekar 1999: 745). Massive inflow of investment followed making NRI investments a major player in the success of Indian economy.

Indian film makers too could see the potential of the oversees market after four films ? Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge (DDLJ, 1995), Dil To Pagal Hai (DTPH, 1997) Kuch Kuch Hota Hai (KKHH, 1998) and Taal (1998) ? made "distribution history" (Rajadhyakya 2003: 26) grossing the highest oversees collections ever. This popularity of Hindi films was accompanied and to some extent was the result of the circulation of Hindi films in form of songs, gossip programmes or celebrity based television programming.

Music channels such as B4U (Bollywood for You), a 24/7 digital Hindi movie channel launched in 1999 in the United Kingdom (right before it was launched in India), became available on eight satellites in more than 100 countries in North America, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia. Popular Hindi channels such as Zee Network began producing shows such as Antakshari, an interactive game show on Hindi film music, which became an instant hit with the diaspora audiences. Star Plus, and Sony Entertainment were also not far behind to use Hindi film-based programming to reach an international market.

Bhattacharjya (2009: 56) postulates "The Indian government, already courting NRIs with attractive investment schemes, found films an effective means to advertise their adoption of

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[95]A term used by Ashish Rajadhyakshya (2003:25-39) to reflect on the effects of globalization in Hindi cinema.

NRIs as Indian cultural citizens." Thus, in 1998 the Union Information and Broadcasting Minister Sushma Swaraj announced at a conference on "Challenges Before Indian Cinema," that the government had decided to accord "industry" status to the business of filmmaking in India (Mehta 2005:136). The very next year in the Financial bill 1999 government proposed a reduction in import duties on cinematographic film and equipment and a 100% exemption on export profits, and other tax incentives[96]. In the following year, October 2000, under the Industrial Development Bank Act the filmmakers were eligible to take financial support from "legitimate" sources. This was followed by the visit of Sushma Swaraj along with a 25 member team to the Cannes film festival to promote the sale of Indian films.

In tandem with these developments, Hindi films saw the emergence of a new cult of directors (young, upper-class, and public-school educated) who digressed the mainstream Hindi film narrative and its language, making films that the new generation could relate to. This was also the period when a new form of exhibition, the multiplex[97], made its appearance in the city and gradually started replacing single screen theatres as they offered a variety of films and a unique film viewing experience.

HINDI FILMS AND THE DIASPORA

Economic reforms, the "courting" of NRIs by the Indian government (Bhattacharjya 2009: 55) and the privatization of the film industry motivated Indian film directors and producers to increasingly orient their films toward South Asian diasporic audiences. Ganti (2004) notes that the "oversees" market was redefined during this period as the distribution territories now included North America, United Kingdom, Gulf States and South Africa. As Hindi films transformed into a site for reproduction of the Indian culture for the NRIs, the film industry began churning out products that this new audience could relate too.

Mehta (2005) maintains "the narrative of Bombay cinema has become significant in accomplishing this task" (143). These texts now incorporated characters the lives of NRIs in the US or the UK and their imagination of India and its traditions. The Indian directors began

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[96] For more details see the I&B website, http://pib.nic.in/archive/ppinti/ppi99ib.html

[97] The first multiplex was inaugurated in 1997, *Anupam* PVR (Saket), was converted in to a four screen hall, two with a capacity of 300 seats and others with a capacity of 150 seats. See Sharma, Aparna (2003, May). India's experience with the multiplex. *Seminar 525: Unsettling Cinema*, p 43

to use Hinglish to relate the stories of these characters as dialogue were heavily interspersed with English words. Apart from the fact that this oversees market and the diaspora were primarily speakers of English, such a language also create a sense of verisimilitude and made the audience relate to the characters.

In *Dilwale Dulhani Le Jayenge* (DDLJ, 1995) the female lead (Simran, Kajol)complains to her friends after a chance encounter with her future lover and the male lead of the film while taking "Europe *mein ek* long holiday (a long holiday in Europe)", "*bethe bethe* bore *ho gayi thi, mujhe dekh ke* flirt *karne laga, wahi purani* line '*aapko kahin dekha hai*', I tell you *ye aaj kal ke ladke* (I was so bored sitting with him, then he began flirting with me 'I think I have seen you somewhere', boys these days are too fast, I tell you) ". While on that trip they get a "party ka invitation (an invitation to a party) and in excitement exclaim with loud cheers "there'll be singing, there'll be music, dancing and boys". This code mixing in dialogues could only be seen in the ones spoken by the younger generation. Language changes into a Punjabisized Hindi (since the family was from Punjab) in scenes with the family patriarch and the bastion of Indian customs and religion, revealing that the maintenance of the mother tongue holds deep sentiments along with being a mark of identity.

The 2000s brought an array of NRI dominate films with a focus on the lives of the youth and their cultural tussles. By this time code mixing between Hindi and English was comfortable ensconced in these film narratives. Take for example *Kal Ho Na Ho*(KHNH, 2003) which places its narrative in USA's vibrant city New York, the film begins with the protagonist's (Naina, Preety Zinta) voiceover about the city before the audiences get a glimpse of her presence "in fact, *kaha jata hai ki* New York *mein her chotha chehra Hindustani hai*.....(a woman jogging) oh by the way, *woh main hoon* (In fact it is believed that every fourth person in New York is an Indian.....(a woman jogging) by the way that's me)". Characters names such as "sweetu" and "Jazz" appear in her tale which uses a smattering of English words throughout. Even older characters like Naina's grandmother speak a mixed language, while exercising her vocal chords she says "hello" to Goddess Saraswati and "without any delay further" dedicates the song to her pious feet. The marriage bureau she has approached to get a groom for her granddaughter to has a Hinglish play in its jingle "*kudi kudi kudi* choose *kar le munda*, one, two *ya* three (girl girl girl, choose any boy, number one, two or three)".

Ganti (2004) conjectures that since the middle of the 1990s Hindi films have represented the NRI population as more traditional and culturally attuned to India than Indians themselves.

Driving home the point that Indian identity "is mobile and not tied to geography" (43) or for that matter language, as the NRI pride and love for their motherland was able to comfortably find expression in the English language in songs of this period such as "O mera India, I love my India" (*Pardes*, 1997).

At the same time, English also became a language of rebellion for the second generation NRIs as it accommodated desire, which had no space in patriarchal Indian traditions and by extension in Hindi. Mehta (2005:147) notes how Simran, the archetypal Indian daughter who respects for parental authority, adheres to norms of female modesty and is against premarital sex, ceases to speak Hindi the moment the Indian value system threatens to overpower her desires. The desire to love against her father's wishes finds articulation in English, "*mein aur kisi ki nahi ho sakti*, I love him ma, I love him (I can't be with anyone else, I love him)". In a similar vein, Akshay Khanna the protagonist of *Taal* (1999) resorts to English to assert his decision to marry the woman he loves "no tantrums, no fuss *lekin shaadi yehi hogi* (this is the girl that I will marry)". As a matter of fact, the age old rebellion in Hindi films against traditional values, romantic love or the "love marriage", could only be accommodated in English (Trivedi, 2008: 204).

THEY ALL SPOKE ENGLISH

English language films have been produced in India since the early 1960s. Although, based on Indian narratives these films were international projects, which began with Merchant Ivory Productions[98] and in the coming years were followed by filmmakers like Deepa Mehta and Mira Nair. These films did very well in the international circuits but attracted only a niche audience in India. Very few Indians (such as Aparna Sen) joined this league of international filmmakers and tried their hand in English language films until early 1990s.

Mid-1990s saw an plethora of English language films by NRIs and also Indian film makers such as Dev Benegal (*English, August*, 1995; Split Wide Open, 1999), Kaizad Gustad (*Bombay Boys*, 1998), Shyam Benegal (*Making of the Mahatma*, 1996), Mira Nair (*Kama*

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[98] Merchant Ivory productions was founded in 1961 by Ismail Merchant (an Indian producer and director) and James Ivory (an American director). This duo made several period films set in British India, The Householder (1961), Shakespearwallah (1963), Heat and Dust (1983), Cotton Mary (1999) and Before the Rains (2008) are few of their most celebrated works on India.

sutra, A tale of love, 1996) and Deepa Mehta (*Fire,* 1996; 1947 *Earth,* 1998) only to name a few. The onset of the 2000s was boom time for English language films as they found patrons in multiplexes which screened a number of films at the same time. About the 2003 production, *Being Cyrus,* Chatterjee[99] exclaims "No English-language Indian film has ever grossed as much as Homi Adajania's maiden feature in its opening weekend. The film mopped up a cool Rs 2 crore from 80- odd prints between March 24 and 26".

About the success of these films, director Dev Benegal declares "I just wanted to talk about my generation, and make a film that I and many like me identified with". The narratives of these films were cantered on the cultural and economic transition in the Indian society within and outside India. The central characters were invariably young professionals either in search of their roots or coping with the new era they have entered. Stories from the diaspora too paralleled these narratives as they spoke of second generation NRIs coming to terms with their Indian origins.

Like Indian English literature, these films too experimented with English language. Filmmakers gave special attention to the class and educational background of the characters before assigning dialogues to them. A case in point is the distinction between the speeches of characters in *Monsoon Wedding* (Mira Nair's 2001 international production), a film set in Delhi around the wedding of a upper class Punjabi family's daughter. The patriarch Lalit Verma (Naseerudin Shah) speaks a punjabized English unlike his public school educated children's impeccable English. Then there is the local wedding planner Dubey (Vijay Raaz) who speaks almost a colloquial [Bihari] English interspersed with swear words typical (according to the filmmaker) to street talk in Delhi "take it *eaji sar,* in 10 minutes approximately and *egjactly* I will be there *sar,* (take it easy sir I will be there in exactly ten minutes)"

Similarly, an Indian production by Aparna Sen's *Mr &Mrs Iyer* (2002) has the protagonist Mrs Meenakshi Iyer (Konkana Sen) speak English with a heavy Tamil accent. She is travelling from her hometown to join her husband and his family, her fellow passengers in the bus are mostly tourists and from different religious communities, who speak English according to their linguistic backgrounds. The Bengali couple speaks with a heavy Bengali twang, stereotypically converting there –wh(s) into –bh(s). The Punjabi men, travelling

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[99] See, Chaterjee, Saibal,(2006, Apr 09)

along, too speak in highly accented "Punjabi" English, "Oji, this is the back of the beyond, there will be no network here". Interestingly both films adhere to the stereotypes created around these speech communities and to a large extent, unknowingly, reinstate them.

As discussed earlier, the choice of language for diaspora films is none but obvious as their target audience were outside India. On the other hand, the choice to produce English films in a non-English speaking country reflects the class background of the film makers as well as the niche audience for such films. While discussing *The Last Lear* (2008), an English language film about a thespian, its producer Arindham Chaudhari[100] said "English is a part of middle class life in India. We talk, think and dream in English. That's why we wanted to do the film in English". The acceptability of these films also comes from the fact that apart from the educated, middle class, multiplex audiences in India these films are mostly premiered in international film festivals where English only increases their saleability.

HINDI CINEMA'S TRYST WITH 'HINGLISH'

"It's very simple, *jo zabaan roti kamaa ke nahi de sakti wo mar jaati hai* (the language that doesn't earn dies)"

? Sanjay Chhel[101] (2003), scriptwriter

Since the focus of cinema shifted to the cities, English invariably found its way into film narratives. 80s bears witness to this change and also to the focus of cinema on the young, their culture and struggles, where English becomes representative of the current trends and the way of speech of the Indian educated youth. The 90s and the 2000s retained this focus; the only change was the rather audacious and experimental use of the English language.

As discussed earlier English titles for Hindi films were not unusual but surely an exception till the end of the 1990s. However, the English by-lines only surfaces in the eighties and continues into the nineties, *Baaghi: the rebel in love, Prahaar: the final attack, Damini-lightning, Khamoshi: the musical, Gupt: the hidden truth* and *Vaastav: the reality* were few highest grossing films in the 90s with by-lines. Interestingly, most of such movies had Sanskritized names where by-lines would be an English translation.

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[100] See interview with Ramesh, Randeep (2008, Friday 24)

[101] See interview with Chopra, Sonia (2003)

English by-lines for Hindi film titles stayed in use in the 2000s too, although, Indian filmmakers had already begun experimenting with mixed as well as only English film titles ? *Mission Kashmir* (2000), *Ek Choti Si Love Story* (2002), *Rules Pyar Ka Superhit Formula* (2003), *Don: The Chase begins again* (2006), *Jab We Met* (2007), *Welcome to Sajjanpur* (2008), *What's your Rashee?* (2009), *Pyar Impossible* (2010) ? to the extent that post 2005 it had become a fad among filmmakers. In 2006 out of 80 film releases (approx), 35 (approx) had English or mixed titles, in 2007-8 the number increased to almost 60% and by 2009 every second film had an English or a Hinglish title.

Curiously, English words also made their way into Hindi song lyrics, a space dominated by Urdu. Suraj Jagan[102] (singer) notes, "Earlier there was a clear distinction between English and Hindi audiences. Now the two are merging and "Bollywood" is finding new ways to connect with its *junta* and it's working." It all began in early 2000s when specially diaspora films started adding an English line or two to songs, given the context, Kal Ho Na Ho's "it's the time to disco" (2003), *Salam Namaste*'s "My dil goes mmmmm (my heart goes mmmm, 2005)" or *Dostana*'s "My Desi Girl (My Indian girl, 2008), have been instant club hits primarily because of their catchy music and lyrics.

However, since 2008 lyricists have been using innumerable English words to comfortably combine with the Hindi ones. These songs are mostly targeted at the Indian youth and have great saleability as club music, take for example the song "Papu can't Dance Saala!" from *Jane tu ya jaane na* (2008), a story about two young lovers:

Tirkit daana tirkit daana,

Gee gee daana, lets dance..

Tirkit daana tirkit daana,

Gee gee daana, lets dance..

Hai muscular *hai* popular

Spectacular, is a bachelor,

He's a bachelor, he's a bachelor..

Pappu ki gaadi tez hai

Pappu kudiyon mein craze *hai,*

Pappu ki aankhein light blue,

[102] See interview with, Thomas, Sheena (2010, January 25)

Pappu dikhta angrez hai,

Angrez hai...

Rado *ki ghadi haathon mein*

Perfume Gucci *wala*

But *pappu* can't dance *saala! hoye hoye hoye hoye*

But *pappu* can't dance *saala! hoye hoye hoye hoye*

Haan pappu naach nahi sakta!

Wenna may I see you when you dance in the hall

And a wenna may I see you when you dance....hey!

Amusingly such mixing also takes place with varieties of Hindi like this song from the film *Tashan* (2009), again a chart topper:

White white face *dekde*

Dilwa beating fast *sasura*

dance *maare re*

arre..

white white face *dekhe*

dilwa beating fast *sasura*

chance *maare re........*

O very, o very

o very happy in my heart

dil dance *maare re*

very happy in my heart

dil dance *maare re*

dil dance *maare* dance *maare*

dil ye dance *maare*

o very happy in my heart

dil dance *maare re....*

I can't stop my feet,

can't stop my feet

julamwa kare hai zaalim beat

I can't stop my feet

julamwa kare hai zaalim beat

O very o very

o very happy in my heart

dil dance *maare re*

This shift from Urdu to English, lyricist Javed Akhtar[103] explains is because, "Films today are becoming big city centric. Hindi film producers are now concentrating on the metros, thanks to the business brought in by multiplexes. This explains the need to incorporate elements ? in script, in look and most importantly in language? that would appeal to the young crowds of the metro."

Almost consistent, this move is visible to a greater degree in film dialogues too as code mixing and code shifting have become conventions for scriptwriters. Sabrina Dhawan[104], scriptwriter for the 2001 film Monsoon Wedding, believes "if you want to make a film now which is authentic and truthful to the way urban Indians speak, it has to in some extent be in Hinglish". Imtiaz Husain[105] of *Vaastav* (1999) fame agrees and adds, "It is essential for the audience to identify with the characters and their language. They simply disconnect from the film, of they hear a smidgen of unreal dialogue".

Wake up Sid (2009), for instance, is a perfect ensemble of all of the above. The characters of the film are young, city-bred, educated professionals who have been exposed to English education, advertising, television, cinema and literature. This is the 'with it' crowd who believe that "who cares *kal kya* ho? (What happens tomorrow?) As long as we can have some fun tonight" and have a simple philosophy in life "it's all good *yaar*". Parents no longer give lectures but "full-on *pakao* (irritating)" the new generation whose sole aim is to "party-sharty".

At the same time the new brand of Hindi films produced after India's economic liberalisation and in the second half of the 90s and the 2000s portrays an India "surrounded by architectural landscapes that belong in a design catalogue." (Mazumdar 2007: 143) This complements the

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[103] See interview with, Roy, Priyanka (2008, August 27)

[104] See interview with, Qureshi, Bilal (2008, November 12).

[105] See interview with Chopra, Sonia (2003)

cosmopolitan identity of the characters that represent a "zone for individuals who are professional, creative, lifestyle-oriented, and 'cool'" (Mazumdar, 2007: 129) in a globalised India which often resembles the west. Such an appearance is made convincing by the Americanization of language of the characters in the films. For example, characters in *Dil to Pagal hai* (1997), *Dil Chahta Hai* (2001), *Wake up Sid* (2009), 'mom and dad' their parents and address their friends as 'guys', they no longer use Hindi swearwords in friendly discourse instead use "you son of a gun". Also, more often than not, Christ, Jeez [an American slang for Jesus], man and "are you kidding me" often begin their sentences, while they drop their T(s) (Don (t) be silly!) and roll their R(s) in the rest.

Another reason for the changing moors of film language is highlighted by Sudhir Mishra[106], veteran filmmaker, "it has a lot to do with filmmakers who think in English and somewhere it has become their first language" as he points towards the entry of a new band of young, non-Hindi speaking directors in the film industry. Filmmaker Mani Shankar[107] agrees "I write Hindi in Roman script. The dialogues for Hindi films too are written in Roman script. Most of the actors do not understand Hindi in Devanagari script." Then again these filmmakers understand the pulls of Hindi film economy and realize that the money is not in the rural market which is predominantly the Hindi belt but instead in the NRI and the multiplex markets, dominated by English speakers.

On a parallel level, this mixing of language runs deeper than its elitist pretentions and Hindi cinema highlights it in the use of street language in films. The working class, street smart goon of the late 50s and early 60s and then the late 70s reappears on the silver screen as the '*tapori*' by the end of 80s. Still the underbelly of Bombay city, he is more dangerous than ever on one hand and on the other a comic relief. Majumdar (2006) maintains that "The *tapori*'s language is entirely urban. The lack of sophistication and street speech is not introduced through village dialects but through a combination of English, Hindi, Gujrati, Marathi......." (445). This language, popularly called *Bambaiya*, counters Hinglish at two levels, firstly, Bambaiya most interestingly indigenizes English while at the same time it semantically reinterpreting it.

Rangeela (1995) gives a peek into the use of *Bambaiya* through the character of *Munna* who his friends believe "*thoda* daring *karne ko mangta hai* (must be gutsy)" to declare his love for

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[106] See interview with, Mazumdar, Ranjib (2010, April 5)

[107] See interview with, Salam, Ziya Us (2007, August 12)

a girl, where one is not daring but the act is. Similarly in Munnabhai M.B.B.S (2003), people's characters are described as 'danger' meaning a person one should beware of and 'solid' meaning one who is either strong or has a good personality. Satya (1998), a violent film about gang war, on the other hand had characters using terms such as "game bajana (to kill game)" before murdering someone. Similarly reinterpreting meanings of English words the film uses terms such as "top gear" when people start getting angry and "fast" when anyone tries to woe girls.

Similar processes of language mixing can be seen in films made in north Indian locales, as films begin to exalt the 'ordinary' into their narratives. The language of *Oye Lucky Oye* (2008), a film about a small time crook is the language of lower class Punjabi settlements in Delhi. Similarly, *Ishkiya* (2009) another film about petty thieves uses the language typical to Muslims in Bhopal. While the former placed its narrative in the urban and the latter in the rural, both films interestingly weaved English words in their dialogues. Since the stories revolved around lower class uneducated characters, their Hinglish too bore elements of their social and cultural backgrounds. On one hand, the crook in *Oye Lucky Oye* used typical West Delhi (a Punjabi dominated area) terms such as 'free fund' (to take advantage of someone/thing) and '*drame*' (an emotional person). Ishkiya, on the other, from the very outset declares its allegiance with Hinglish as the film begins with a Hinglish disclaimer. Throughout the film the thieves, who are on a run, speak a mixed language that could easily be heard on the streets of contemporary India, words such as 'problem', 'tight', 'border', 'settle', 'number', 'list', 'cigarette', 'red-light area' and even 'sex' appear in the dialogues, although with a localized twang.

CONCLUSION

The changes in film language, after India liberalized its economy, were an outcome of extra-linguistic factors that manifested themselves in the transforming cultural processes of this time. English, a constant presence albeit political and technical, entered the lives of the Indian middle class through electronic media. Mass accessibility and popularity of electronic media meant that people from the working classes also started looking at English as the means to upward social and economic mobility.

English entered the film industry with much gusto ·and replaced the long standing "metalanguage" of the Hindi film industry and the language of melodrama and love, Urdu. It became the most vital actor in reeling in a new audience core both from overseas and the younger Indian populace, refurbishing Hindi film's image as an international cultural product. At the same time, Hindi films also became synonymous with the continuous linguistic change that gave rise to Hinglish which can be only seen as the appropriation and reinvention of a once colonial tongue.

CONCLUSION

English in India has long since ceased to be a foreign language, as it appears (in one way or the other, either through technical terms or common words) in Indian vocabularies across classes. Furthermore, its transformation into the mixed tongue Hinglish has made it even more approachable negating the claims of English being the language of the Indian elite. Although, English still represents power and opportunity, its accessibility and tangibility has made it the language of aspiration for all classes.

This research sought to understand the evolving meaning and form of English in India. Cinema, as a popular culture medium, was chosen as a site to analyze the socio-cultural conflicts that lead to the changing connotations of English. Hindi films also became a space which best highlighted the relationship between politico-economic processes and language change. At the same time this research tried to comprehend the phenomenon of Hinglish and cinema's role in popularizing this mixed language and also whether the use of Hinglish in Hindi films made English easily available to the grassroots. ·

The choice of English as the medium of education in India was justified by the British on the grounds that it was a modern scientific language. This image continues to persist in the Indian consciousness even after the exit of the *Raj* from India. English maintains its official status in an independent India and remains the language of governance, commerce, industry, jurisprudence, diplomacy and even culture. At the same time, English was been vilified as a foreign language by Hindi chauvinists for whom Hindi is the imagined national tongue of India. The politics of contesting language claims led to the Indian intelligentsia's mistaken belief that the Western model of linguistic nation-states could be adopted without adaptation in a multi-lingual country

When proponents of 'so called' indigenous languages were engaged in no-holds barred contest for linguistic supremacy, English emerged as an acceptable middle ground and became the language of official discourse. That the constitution was created as an English document provided the language's official status greater legitimacy.

Yet, English's class affinities were often highlighted and its status in the Indian polity constantly challenged by Hindi nationalists. This perceived association of English with a

particular class can be traced to the failure of Macaulay's 'Filtration Theory' which was based on the notion that knowledge of English would percolate downwards from the positions of power. However, elites restricted the spread of English beyond their class so as to maintain the social order and to keep intact the feudal system.

Hindi Cinema in the period 1940 to early 1950s reflected these socio-political trends. Contrary to the belief of journalists that Hindi films began to use English from late 80s, English had been used in Hindi film dialogues even prior to India's independence. Films made immediately after independence revolved around the Indian elites who had taken to western values and rejected the Indian culture. Their use of the English language was represented as being symbolic of their class and its betrayal of the Indian value system. An intentional Hindi speaking cultural foil was always part of such narratives to contrast and deride the materialist western value system.

The 'Nehruvian' period, however, resurrected English's status as the harbinger of modernity and useful technology and science. English became the language of urban centres where the modernization project was being realized through industrialization. Hindi films of mid-50s, therefore, shift their focus to the lives and stories of the city. Interestingly, films of this period revolve around the underbelly of the city and centres around characters who had left their villages for a better life in the city. These films often used English words and phrases to relate tales of life the new urban centres with increasing reliance on new western technologies with their western names. While these specific English words become commonplace among Indian audiences (e.g. T.V, Radio etc), the increased use of English by the working class can be seen as an act of subversion as, where even if marginally access to hitherto exclusively elite English language became a reality.

The anti-English movement had again revived by the end of the 60s. This coincided with anti-Hindi movements led by proponents of regional languages such as the Tamils in the provinces. It was a volatile time for India's domestic politics and Hindi films acted as a pressure valve producing comedies by the dozen. Interestingly, much of the humour of this period stemmed from making fun of the English language. Concurrently, during this period the middle class had begun to assert itself as a class and after the emergency period made their presence felt in Hindi cinema as well. Since this was the educated working class, English was a part of their official and informal registers and therefore also appeared as part of characterization in films.

Simultaneously, in the 60s and the 70s, the multi-cultural character of India was being evoked in order to strengthen the new state's national integration project. Hindi cinema played a vital role during this period as it brought to the mainstream characters from minority communities. This period not only associated the use of English to Christians and Parsees but probably also established the use of a mixed language (mixed languages were always used in Hindi films, but now were highlighted when English began to be liberally mixed with Urdu and Hindi) in Hindi cinema.

During the 80s, English had already become a part of popular culture and was used extensively in advertising, radio and television. By this time English had seeped into Hindi film language and had also taken over film songs. Hinglish was still at an evolutionary stage and was mainly used in films targeting the youth.

The 90s was the period of economic and political transition in India. While on one hand India privatised and globalised its economy, on the other it was trying to establish alliances with the great powers in the West. The use of, and the need for, English increased significantly as it was India's knowledge of the language that made it a hub for outsourcing and IT operations. Urban centres become central to India's market economy and once again as a space for aspiration begin to attract educated professionals lured by higher standard of life. This is also the time when Indian languages began to widely interact with English, making the use of mixed languages such as Hinglish, Tamilish & Malluish part of daily interactions.

Television programming had a major impact on the spread of English, as with the advent of private channels English programs, music and films became easily accessible. At the same time the emergence of a local manufacturing base in electronic base, made it affordable to own televisions. The low costs of cable programming system further added to the popularity of television. Advertising too underwent a change during this period with multinational companies localizing their brands to target Indian consumers. This was also one of the factors that brought the use of Hinglish to the mainstream.

Although English had always existed alongside Hindi in the film industry, during mid-90s the trend of making Indian films in English began. These films were made by both Indians and diaspora directors and although the films were in English, this English reflected the life of India carried local flavours and stereotypes. At the same time, Hindi films were becoming increasingly popular among the NRI audiences. To ensure their continued patronage, films began to change their narratives. The language of Hindi films (Hindi, Hinglish and emerging

English) too underwent change as English became fully established as the second language of this cinema. One can infer that a sort of reverse capitalism was taking place in the Indian film industry as contemporary films largely represented a global society, both in terms of language and class, primarily to attract richer audiences in the west.

Since Hindi cinema and its music is widely circulated among all classes, due to its extreme popularity, it is evident that Hinglish as a counter to English has gained popularity across the viewing spectrum. The new cinema of India no longer valorises the NRI or the global but also weaves the ordinary Indian into the tales of this change. As films depicting the common man hit the screens one witnesses the use of mixed language as a common phenomena. While at one level certain socio-economic developments have turned English into a functional language (also accessible through the numerous English teaching institutes) relieving it from its former exalted status, on the other hand, cinema has made it available for subversion and appropriation by popularizing the mixed tongue, Hinglish, alike across classes.

In the twenty first century, Hindi cinema has come to acquire a clearly discernible Hinglish identity. However, Hinglish in Hindi films is neither a completely new phenomenon nor does it merely represent a sum total of its supposed Hindi, Urdu, Hindustani and English antecedents. Its evolution and entrenchment as the metaphor of the most popular form of Indian cinema is a process that has complemented and evolved with the larger political, economic and social trends in post-independent India. Globalization and liberalization have introduced new varieties to this cinematic language, the future trajectory of which remains excitingly uncertain.
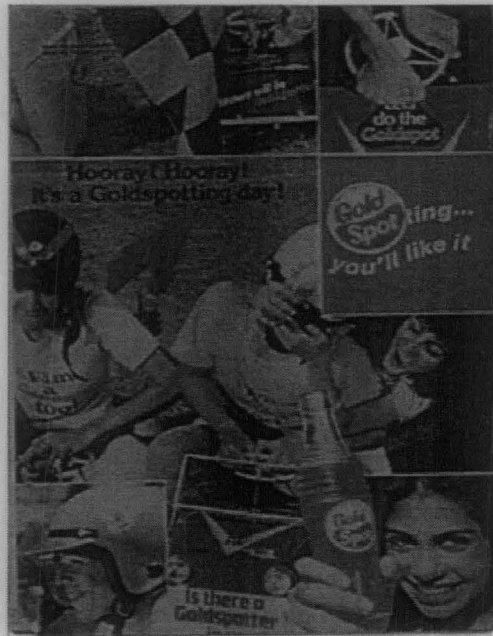
Figure 1: A youth oriented print advertisement for Gold Spot.

Figure 2: 'Only English' advertising before the advent of multi-national consumer goods.

Figure 3 : A call centre training institute in Bangaluru

Figure 4: A popular English language training institute in Indian cities, Roorkee, U.P.

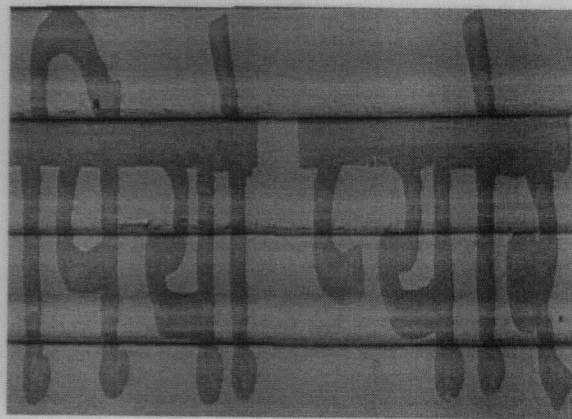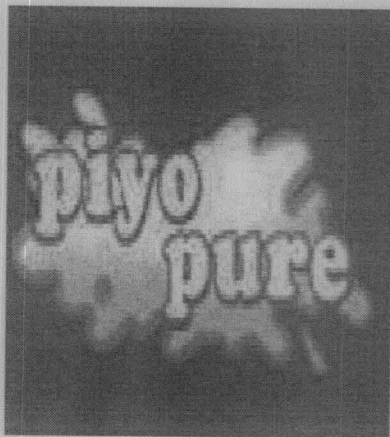Figure 5: An English language training school in Hisar, Haryana

Figure 6: Mother Dairy advertisements, from an English daily (left) and painted on the shutter of a franchise (right); notice the use of the Roman script to write Hindi and the Devnagri script to write in English.

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