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**Language of nobody, language of everyone:  
Hinglish as *lingua franca*  
in a new rising community of India.**

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*A language is not just words. It's a culture, a tradition, a unification of a community, a whole history that creates what a community is. It's all embodied in a language.*

Noam Chomsky  
in *We Still Live Here* - *Âs Nutayuneân*, 2010



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## **Notes on transliteration**

Transliterations from Hindī are in accordance with the internationally accepted scientific system, keeping as a reference McGregor (2002).

We applied this method to peoples' proper names, cities and states, and languages names when we used their Hindī version. This does not apply to the Indian authors we quoted and to any quoted text.

All the names of Hindī films and songs (see chapter 4) are reported with the names by which they were originally released in India, thus following the Indian transliteration system of common use.

## **Introduction**

Although Hindī and English have been coexisting in India since the colonial era, it is in recent decades that the pressure of English on Hindī has noticeably increased, as a result of the dynamics of globalisation. This process has gradually led to the birth of a new hybrid linguistic variety known as Hinglish. This lect, differently from Indian English, is not only characterised by a strong influence of the local language on English's phonetic structures and grammar, but it also presents frequent phenomena of code-switching and code-mixing. Hinglish plays a particularly important role in the multilingual context of the Indian Subcontinent, as it seems to be capable of functioning as a lingua franca for a composite community, and it can therefore encourage a discourse about its potential ability to negotiate the duality between Hindi and English in their role as official languages of India, which has remained critical despite the dictates of the Constitution.

In our analysis of the development of Hinglish, therefore, we will start in the first chapter from evaluating the problem of establishing a national language in India at the moment of Independence. The choice of a national language, in fact, is generally one of the crucial steps in the processes of nation building which follows decolonisation. In the case of India, it is important to notice that several factors impinged on the choice of a unifying language at the time of Independence. Firstly, the existence of the English educational and administrative system had been institutionalised due to Macaulay's 1835 Minute on Indian Education: this made English the language of prestige, associated with governmental elite, but at the same time it gave space to the perception of it as a language of subjugation. Secondly, the extreme internal fragmentation of independent India, in terms of social structures and religion and, consequently, of language, represented a further obstacle to the definition of a single national language. In fact, on which basis should a single language be elected to the role of national language, without causing any dispute between linguistic communities? And, in the event that this choice could be implemented, how could the

educational system effectively mediate between the citizens' need to receive education in their mother tongue, and the necessity to spread the official language? Moreover, some languages more than others were progressively becoming vehicles of strong nationalist ideologies. This is the case of Hindī, which in fact at the time of Independence had come to be a marker of Indian, Hindū identity in contrast with its twin language, Urdū. In an attempt to promote an official language which could be autochthonous but at the same neutral, not associated with religious ideologies and excessively nationalistic, the Constitution established that the official languages of India would be Hindī and English, the latter as an auxiliary language for a limited period of time, at the end of which it was supposed to be definitively replaced by Hindī. At this point, having established a sort of equality between Hindi and English, it is interesting to see how, and if, language policies for the one and the other language were implemented, i.e. which are the foundations for an increasingly widespread bilingualism which led to contemporary phenomena such as Hinglish. Our study will therefore focus on the description of some theoretical patterns of linguistic policy and language planning, with the aim of establishing which language policies have been pursued on English and Hindī, and to which extent they have been successful.

A further step in the evolution of the relationship between Hindi and English is constituted by a change of trend around the Seventies. From different studies, in fact, it emerges how during the Seventies English was well established in the Indian linguistic scene, unlike during the years which immediately followed Independence, when its role was still under discussion. In the second chapter, then, we will briefly analyse the existent literature on Indian English, dating back to the Seventies and Eighties: our crucial observation will be that, given the abundance of studies on Indian English as a linguistic variety in itself, English by that time was not only an integral part of the linguistic scenario, and therefore intended to keep its primary role, but also it had already undergone dynamics of mutual influence with Indian languages. In this regard, it will be important to analyse the role of media in the spread of English throughout the subcontinent, as

starting from the Seventies India witnessed a boom in the diffusion of these means of communication, which allowed the population to come into contact with a global, extra-national dimension. It is exactly the impact of globalisation on Indian society that on one hand made English a marker of social status, symbol of an increasingly urbanised, rich class which needed to follow modern trends, and on the other made necessary the birth of a linguistic variety which could negotiate between a globalised identity and a local one. In support of this thesis we will analyse the role of television and especially advertising in the construction of a common imagination which could bring together different aesthetics and lifestyles, and of the linguistic variety which could express them, namely Hinglish.

Nowadays, when to cinema and television has been added a further means of communication, the Internet, the use of this hybrid variety has become the norm, especially in those contexts where the middle class feels the need to use English in order to demonstrate their membership within a dynamic community, while not renouncing the local language. At the same time, though, Hinglish allows lower social groups, who do not have a good control over English, to enter a communication network in which bilingual speakers are privileged. In the third chapter we will analyse the aspects of inclusiveness which can be found in Hinglish, and we will try to outline its main features. Given that we are not analysing a standardised language, we will rather highlight some patterns of hybridisation between Hindī and English instead of looking for a univocal definition of Hinglish. For this reason we will centre our analysis on authentic linguistic material (songs, films, video interviews to actors) with the aim of exploring Hinglish's creativity rather than collecting quantitative data. We will look for a connection between the high productivity of this linguistic variety within the domains of pop culture and its inclusiveness: it seems that those speakers who are constantly exposed to the media are actually linked among each other by Hinglish, irrespective of their social status, within the boundaries of a speech community which is defined by its access to determined cultural devices.

## भूमिका

अंग्रेज़ी उपनिवेश की स्थापना के समय से भारत में अंग्रेज़ी और हिंदी भाषा साथ में मौजूद थे और उन्होंने दोनों एक दूसरे को प्रभाव डाला है। लेकिन पिछले कुछ दशकों से हिंदी पर अंग्रेज़ी का प्रभाव बढ़ा गया है। इस स्थिति की एक उचित वजह भूमंडलीकरण है। वर्तमान काल में अंग्रेज़ी सबसे महत्वपूर्ण अंतरराष्ट्रीय भाषा है। इस प्रक्रिया के द्वारा भारत में जितने विशेष रूप से अंग्रेज़ी फैलाया, कि बीसवीं सदी के सत्तर दशक से भाषाविज्ञान में "इंडियन इंग्लिश" के बारे में विचार-विमर्श चल रहा है। इंडियन इंग्लिश ब्रिटिश इंग्लिश से काफी अलग है। उदाहरण के तौर पर, इंडियन इंग्लिश में उच्चारण काफी अलग है, कुछ शब्दों का अर्थ भी अलग है, और इंडियन इंग्लिश में कुछ शब्द ऐसे हैं जो ब्रिटिश इंग्लिश में नहीं हैं। फिर भी, जो लोग अंग्रेज़ी को बोलते या समझते हैं, वे आसानी से इंडियन इंग्लिश भी अधिकतर समझ पाते हैं।

परंतु भारत में भाषा की एक दूसरी श्रेणी है, जो वैज्ञानिकों से "हिंग्लिश" के नाम से पढ़ी जाती है। हिंदी और हिंदी का मिश्रण हिंग्लिश का अर्थ है, क्योंकि इस प्रकार की भाषा तब देख जा सकती है जब एक हिंदी वाक्य में कई अंग्रेज़ी शब्द हैं, या एक अंग्रेज़ी वाक्य में कई हिंदी शब्द हैं। अक्सर कौनसी भाषा में एक वाक्य कहा जाता है या लिखा जाता है, यह स्थापित करना कठिन है। भाषाविज्ञान के अनुसार इसको कहते हैं "कोड-स्विचिंग" और "कोड-मिक्सिंग"। चूंकि भारतीय संविधान के अनुसार हिंदी भारत की राजभाषा है, और अंग्रेज़ी को सहायक राजभाषा का स्थान दिया गया है, इसलिए हिंग्लिश में बहुत दिलचस्पी है। इस शोध में हम इस बात को समझने का प्रयास करेंगे, अगर हिंग्लिश एक उपयोगी

लोकभाषा हो जो हिंदी बोलने-वाले और अंग्रेज़ी बोलने-वाले लोगों के बीच कोई अच्छा संबंध बना सके।

पहले अध्याय में हम भारतीय स्वतंत्रता के समय पर जो अत्यंत मुश्किल निर्णय करना था, अर्थात् कौनसी भाषा राष्ट्रभाषा बना सकती थी, उसके बारे में हम विवाद करेंगे। हम हिंदी से सम्बंधित विचारधाराओं का वर्णन करेंगे, ताकि उस वक्त हिंदी, दूसरे भारतीय भाषाओं और अंग्रेज़ी के बिच जो संबंध था, वही स्पष्ट हो। हम यह भी विश्लेषण करना चाहते हैं, कि राजनीति और भाषाओं में किस प्रकार का संबंध था, और अंत में सविधान के द्वारा हिंदी क्यों राष्ट्रभाषा नहीं, राजभाषा हो गया। दूसरे अध्याय में चर्चा का मुख्य विषय भाषा की नीति होगी, अर्थात् भिन्न-भिन्न राजनीतिक कार्यक्रमों ने शिक्षण और संचार मध्यम में अलग भाषाओं की व्यवस्थित कैसे की। यह चर्चा विशेष रूप से हिंदी और अँग्रेज़ी के विकास पर केंद्रित होगी।

इस शोध के तीसरे भाग का मुख्य विषय भारत में अँग्रेज़ी का विस्तार होगा। हम अँग्रेज़ी के विस्तार और विकास के प्रधान कारणों की पहचान करने की कोशिश करेंगे, और "इंडियन इंग्लिश" के लक्षणों का विवरण करेंगे। इस अध्याय का एक महत्वपूर्ण भाग में दूरदर्शन, रेडियो, सिनेमा और विज्ञापन पर भूमंडलीकरण के प्रभावों का जांच करेंगे। अंत में चौथे अध्याय में हमारे शोध का केंद्र हिंग्लिश ही होगा। हम हिंग्लिश बोली और हिंग्लिश बोलने-वाले लोगों के मुख्य समाजिक लक्षणों के विवरण करने की कोशिश करेंगे और हम हिंग्लिश के विकास-विस्तार में इंटरनेट के कार्य को स्पष्ट करेंगे। हिंग्लिश के विवरण करने के लिए हम

संगीतों, फिल्मों और अभिनेताओं के कुछ साक्षात्कारों में जो भाषा का प्रयोग होता है, उसके कोई नमूने लेकर विश्लेषण करेंगे।

हमारे शोध का पहला लक्ष्य यह है, की हिंग्लिश महत्त्व और लोकप्रियता स्पष्ट करें। शुद्ध हिंदी, "शुद्ध अंग्रेज़ी" और हिंग्लिश के बिच में से लोगों के लिए कौनसी भाषा अधिक उपयोगी है, यह भी हम समझ सकते हैं। इसलिए, हमारा दूसरा लक्ष्य जो है, हिंग्लिश का उपयोग कौन-कौन करता है, और समाज में हिंग्लिश का योगदान क्या है, वही है।

## Chapter 1

### **Hindī vs English: linguistic ideologies and the choice of a National Official Language in post-Independence India**

#### **1.1. Theory of decolonisation and nation building**

The first half of the twentieth century witnessed decolonisation processes and nation-building processes in various contexts of the world. Aftermaths of old colonisation patterns, along with new globalisation demands, led to the necessity of postcolonial reinvention and nation-building. "Nation" itself is a quite ambiguous word: reconfigurations of national boundaries, controversies on the recognition of sub national communities, and ethnocentric drifts developing from nation-state ideals, should convince us to acknowledge the fluid nature of nationality. Starting from this analysis, it has been a long established trend among scholars to understand identity as something we (re)construct and (re)negotiate throughout our life. As the aim of this study is not to develop a critical approach to the concept of nation, nationalism and nationality,<sup>1</sup> but rather to identify some patterns of relationship between language and identity, we will start from the observation of language as a variable of central importance in the formation of any national identity. If there are circumstances in which nationalist ideology seeks its legitimacy on the basis of the previous existence of a national language, other cases see the planned construction of a national language as part of the nation building process.

In the context of decolonisation, at least two further elements have to be taken into consideration, namely 1) the link between one or more native languages and the language of the colonial hegemony, and 2) the potential hierarchy among different native languages that, after the building of a new independent nation, have to coexist within new boundaries.

With regard to the first point, major questions arise: how do the newly independent nations have to deal with the colonial language, which, within re-

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<sup>1</sup> On the history and implications of the concepts of nation and nationalism, see among others Fishman, 1968 and Joseph, 2004.

negotiated boundaries, still embodies an amalgam of mindset, governance and educational system? How to conciliate the necessity of self (re)construction, for which a universally recognized national language can be of great help, with the pressure of an increasingly globalised environment? On the power of English in the postcolonial situation, for example, it has been noticed (Lin & Martin, 2005: 3) how it «[...] has often been perceived as an indispensable resource which many postcolonial peoples and governments seek for themselves and their younger generations in their respective socioeconomic contexts». Thus English is seen as a "full package" medium in order to access economic development and modernisation. A newly built cosmopolitan and multilingual elitist community can easily find its place in the global market, gaining not only trans-social, but also transnational mobility; those locals who are not catching up with the new language of globalisation are excluded from mobility at any level.

Coming to our second issue, the question becomes even more complicated: in a multilingual situation, different languages could embody different ideologies, related to similarly different levels: religion, ethnicity, social class identity, trade affinity. In such a scenario, which are the parameters to be followed in order to establish a unifying national language?

## **1.2. Independent India and linguistic problems in the nation-building process**

Coming to the focus of this study, India is an example of how the issues introduced above could both not only coexist, but especially influence each other. On August 15th, 1947, India was set up as an Independent Dominion by an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.<sup>2</sup> But, as properly pointed out by Guha (2007), the newborn was an «unnatural nation». Unnatural, first of all, since deprived of the essential part that had just become Pakistān, and thus run by multidirectional conflicts. Without examining in depth the consequences of

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<sup>2</sup> The original text of the Indian Independence Act and its dispositions can be consulted at [http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1947/30/pdfs/ukpga\\_19470030\\_en.pdf](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1947/30/pdfs/ukpga_19470030_en.pdf). Retrieved 10/06/18.

Partition between India and Pakistān and the resulting civil war,<sup>3</sup> nevertheless we can identify some main patterns of fragmentation within the layout of newly born India: religion, social classes, language. India, at the time of Independence, was an extremely multilingual country: already in 1928, through his colossal *Linguistic Survey of India*, Grierson classified 179 languages and 544 dialects within the then undivided India. According to the 1921 census (as reported by Consolaro, 2003: 10), 188 language and 49 dialects coexisted in the Indian Subcontinent. Furthermore, it can be easily imagined how the categorised languages not only existed *per se*, but also interacted in a dynamic of mutual contacts all over the Subcontinent linguistic area.<sup>4</sup>

Given these basic facts, should one assume that just before Independence no link language existed in the Subcontinent, and that British education could arrogate the creation of a common identity? Undoubtedly, English was the obvious choice as the language of education in order to serve the interests of the colonial government. After 1835, English even replaced Persian as the official language of the East India Company. According Macaulay's celebrated formula (*Minute Upon Indian Education*, 1835), English was the elected medium for the creation of a new class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.<sup>5</sup>

In opposition to the coloniser language, at the time the first movements for independence arose, the common language for North India was Hindustānī. This language had been cultivated since the decades between the 18th and 19th centuries in North-Western India regions. Developed especially in the context of Panjāb and Uttar Pradeś Islamic communities, it had soon become a common language for both the Islamic and the Hindū communities, linking them in a shared linguistic identity. The definition of Hindustānī can be critical, as its

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<sup>3</sup> Indo-Pakistan conflicts in all their historical, social and identity implications cannot be inserted into the boundaries of this study. For a further investigation, see Guha, 2007; Bhatt, C., 2001; Cohen, 2013.

<sup>4</sup> With the notion of "linguistic area" we refer to a group of languages of different origin (in the case of India, for example, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asian or Tibeto-Burman) that become similar to each other in terms of phonetic aspects, morphological, syntactic and lexical characteristics, due to the mutual geographical proximity. For a comprehensive view on the phenomenon, see Emeneau, 1980.

<sup>5</sup> On the consequences of Macaulay's *Minute*, and on the further development of English education, see Ghosh, 2013.

perception changed through the decades and according to literary communities.<sup>6</sup> There is no doubt, though, about its inclusive power: it was the expression of a mixed and popular culture, in which Perso-Arabic and Sanskritic elements coexisted, along with local vernacular structures. Gaining its place in the literary scene, it was equally recognized (also by the British governance, who believed in its efficacy as a popular link language) in two varieties, Hindī and Urdū, which shared a common lexicon but were clearly distinguished on script basis. They were written respectively in Nagārī, a simplified version of the Sanskrit writing system, and in Nastalīq, of Persian origin. As pointed out by Montaut (2003) «Le langage commun du Nord de l'Inde, au moment où naît le mouvement indépendantiste, cet hindoustani dont on attribue volontiers le nom aux colonisateurs, est bien plus qu'une *lingua franca* ou une langue de contact sans prestige social ni littérature». The first independence slogans were launched in Hindustānī, a perfect emblem of the unity of two apparently distant communities against the colonisers and their language, English. This is remarkable, to the point that Gāndhī himself, on the occasion of the Second Gujarāt Educational Conference (1917), asserted that «I come now to our Musalman friends. They know the vernaculars of their provinces as a matter of course and Urdu in addition. There is no difference whatsoever between Hindi and Urdu or Hindustani (...) the three words Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu denote the same language ».<sup>7</sup> Apparently, then, Hindustānī was likely to become, in a near future, the national language of independent and united India: being recognized by the British governance, easily handled by citizens, possessing a prestigious literary status, it was the perfect link in order to keep together religious, social and economic domains on a potential pan-Indian level.<sup>8</sup> The latent duality of Hindustānī, though, had already started to sharpen, diverting towards strong ideological implications. Consolaro (2003: 26) notices how, already in the 1860s, a progressive systematisation of knowledge gave place to a strong unilateral connection between Urdū and Islamic heritage on one side, and between Hindī

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<sup>6</sup> See Consolaro, 2003:154-160. For a collocation of Hindustānī in the development process of Indo-Aryan languages, refer to Masica, 1991.

<sup>7</sup> Montaut, 2003:134.

<sup>8</sup> On the role of Hindustānī during pre-Independence and post-Independence movements, see Lelyfeld, 1993.

and Hindū culture on the opposite side. When the time came to build the new independent nation of India, Hindī, purged of any Islamic (i.e. Urdū, which had to become the Pakistān National Language) elements, was conceived as the only admissible choice within the planning of a national language.

### ***1.2.1. The ideological weight of Hindī within Independence policies***

Despite the classification of Hindī suggesting the idea of a homogeneous linguistic belt, it has rather to be taken into account in relation to a linguistic area in which Hindī, as a distinct lingua franca compared to local varieties, has played a prestigious role in specific historical moments. In order to come to a better definition of Hindī, it is necessary to have a close look at the dynamics of purification and of nationalist ideology which developed during the decades that preceded Independence.<sup>9</sup> The history of differentiation between the languages nowadays classified as Hindī and Urdū is very complex, and it has been problematic starting from the beginning of the twentieth century. *In nuce*, a critical approach to the Hindī-Urdū question can already be found in Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India.

The Indian subcontinent became *de facto* a colony of the British Empire in 1858, when, resulting from what is known as the "1858 Government of India Act", the East India Company handed its authority over the Indian Subcontinent to Queen Victoria, crowned Empress of the Indies in 1877.<sup>10</sup> The impact of British governance on the administration and education systems implied major changes, especially in the territory of the so-called United Provinces (corresponding roughly with nowadays Uttar Pradeś and Uttarākhaṇḍ): here schooling affected mainly the Muslim former ruling class, and it is here that Hindus felt a stronger discomfort in recognising themselves in a defined identity, while sharing a literary and cultural Urdū, therefore Islamic, heritage. Thus, it is in such a social context that we set the beginning of Hindī - Urdū controversy, which soon found scholarly

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<sup>9</sup> For a deeper analysis of the development of Hindū nationalism, see Bhatt, C., 2001.

<sup>10</sup> This stance being a direct consequence of the First War of Independence of 1857, also known, according to the colonial nomenclature, as the Mutiny.

supporters and developed at the same pace as nationalist movements were gaining popularity.

A two sided clarification has to be provided about the meaning of nationalism in this context. On one side, pre-Independence Indian nationalist movements looked at national integration as the key process towards Independence and nationality building. As suggested by Brass (1974: 4-10), national integration starts from a) examining how loyalties transcending those to primary groups (local communities, religious or cultural institutions and so on) are built, and b) understanding how these loyalties, evolving in an attachment to the state institutions, are developed among diverse peoples. This is the only way to lead the awareness of a common identity towards the building of nationality and nation, while maintaining the peculiarities of each and every community. In the case of India, a country characterised by multiplicity on various levels, national integration should have been the successful path to follow in order to sketch the independent nation.

On the other side, nation building was also elaborated through a westernised and pro-authoritarian lens, according to which loyalties transcending the central governance are divisive and detrimental.<sup>11</sup> Thus, skipping the step of national integration, nationalism was directed to the exaltation of the nation-state as the right pattern to face modernity. Building a nation-state means that the modernising elite transforms mass values to make them compatible with its own aspirations. Within this background, we can easily understand how nationalism could be related to language purism, namely the process of defending, demarcating and protecting the boundaries which constitute self identity.<sup>12</sup> Purification of any linguistic variety has a strong political connotation (where "political" has to be considered primarily according to its etymology, as anything related to the city/state organisation): it leads to the identification of certain members of the community within a linguistic caste, while keeping others excluded from this membership. This movement of identification and

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<sup>11</sup> It is undeniable that the colonisation process is involved in the exporting of the post-Industrial Revolution idea of nation-state to India. For a discussion on the conflicting forces engaged in the Indian Subcontinent's delicate transition from colony to independent nation, we refer to Brass, 1974 and Chandra, Mukherjee & Mukherjee, 1991.

<sup>12</sup> We are following here the theoretical background proposed by Jernudd, 1988.

differentiation certainly has an effect on social processes, as the members of the pure and/or purified linguistic community tend to assume a position of moral superiority.<sup>13</sup>

Thus the promotion of Hindī and Urdū as separate linguistic entities in the name of nation building neither has a neutral connotation, nor conveys a mere patriotic feeling. Instead, Urdū starts to be depicted as a foreign language, which is associated with strong moral connotations: as the idiom spoken by the Muslim "invader", it is extraneous to what is considered to be the traditional Indian social and cultural context. It represents impurity and its literary expression is a celebration of obscenity and decadence. On the other side Hindī, in its Sanskritised variety, loses its connotation of neutral medium to enter a dynamic in which language is seen as discourse, thus shaping any linguistic practice. Moreover, the extremist drift of nationalism not only goes to the detriment of Muslim communities, but also of those non-Hindī speaking communities which have a strong historic, cultural and linguistic identity. Such slogans as "Hindī Hindū Hindustān", created by Pratāp Nārāyaṇ Mīśra in the name of anti-British fight, looked not only restrictive, but also discriminatory against, for example, South Indian citizens. They could not recognise themselves within the boundaries of a Hindī speaking and Sanskrit heritage-based elite and felt thus excluded from the national project.

### ***1.2.2. The creation of a "purified" Hindī***

One of the main promoters of the "purified" namely Nagārī Hindī is considered to be Śiv Prasād Siṃh: nearly twenty years before becoming a member of the Indian Educational Service, already in 1868 he composed two *memoranda* on Hindī and Urdū linguistic domains. If in the first pamphlet he admits the existence of a common "Indian" language, which can be written indifferently according to both the Nagārī or the Nastalīq script, he then speaks in favour of a purely Hindū language: Hindī is used herein to define all the different dialects spoken in the

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<sup>13</sup> On language purism, see also Saphiro, 1988.

Indo-Gangetic Plain, including Bihar, The United Provinces, Rājasthān, Pañjāb and part of the Central Provinces (Consolaro, 2003:28). The condemnation of Islamic culture is even more evident in a work which will be adopted as a text book in the United Provinces till 1884, *Itihās Timirnāśak*. Written in Hindī and subsequently translated into English and Urdū, thus apparently assuming an impartial stance, this text first of all marks a change of course in historiography, hitherto prerogative of the Perso-Arabic language. It also ascribes to the Islamic presence in India such a negativity that, as admitted by the author himself, can only be resolved by the establishment of peace and unity through British imposition (*ibidem*). Given these premises, at this point it is interesting to notice how the actual grammar text written by Simh - *Hindī Vyākaraṇa (Hindī Grammar)* - was published in Ilāhābād in 1875 with this same Hindī -English bilingual title, as if seeking British support to the Hindī cause. In the same year another brief text of prescriptive character is published, the *Prathama Hindī Vyākaraṇa (First Hindī Grammar)*, by Bhārtendu Hariścandra. The author emphasizes the importance of an Indian vernacular language, in contrast with both Persian and English, and highlights the importance of a deep link between Hindī and self realisation: «Progress in one's language is the source of all progress; if you know not your own language, your heart cannot be pure» (adapted from Bhārtendu Samagra in Orsini, 2002).

Among the authors who wrote on the model of Śiv Prasād Simh, it is worth mentioning Śyāmsundar Dās (1875-1945), especially for the role that he will assume inside the organization of *Kāśī Nāgarīpracāriṇī Sabhā*. This association, founded in Vārāṇasī in 1893, along with the Hindū Banaras University (BHU) is one of the main spots for development, incentive and diffusion of purified (namely sanskritised) Hindī. From Sabhā's declaration of intent we immediately notice which ideological line was to be pursued:

«The chief duty of members of this Sabha will be to learn the Nagari language, to use the same language in conversation and correspondence, and to advance its cause among the circle of their friends.

Members of this Sabha will translate books from other languages into the Nagari language themselves, or have others to translate them.

Members of this Sabha will frequently write articles on the subject of the progress of the Hindi language for publication in Hindi newspapers» (Orsini, 2002: 28).

In order to incentivise Nagārī Hindī, the Association established literary prizes, offered patronage to authors and, starting from 1910, sketched annual lists of the best published book; obviously, they would be texts written according to the dictates of the purified language. But above all, if the intention was to create a standard for the new Nagārī Hindī, two cardinal points had to be fixed in order to reach the goal: the drafting of a dictionary and the drafting of a grammar. It is precisely this issue on which the forces of the association were more concentrated. The drafting of a grammar was entrusted in 1915 to Kāmtā Prasād Gurū. This work, exhaustively entitled *Hindī Vyākaraṇa* (Hindī Grammar), reaches the final point in the context of Hindī-Urdū controversy, for the precise reason that it is commissioned with the declared intention of definitively establishing both what Hindī is, and how this language should be used. Therefore, Gurū has a dual approach in composing his Grammar, both descriptive and prescriptive.<sup>14</sup> In the introduction, after having expressed his adhesion to the Sabhā and to its principles, the author exposes his own declaration of intent and explicitly declares that his grammar is written following for the most part the style of English grammars. What could be the main reason behind this apparently contradictory decision? If Hindī has to be the elected medium for Hindū identity, fixing an ideological boundary between itself and both Hindustānī and English, why does its founding grammar book adopt English patterns? We think that the praise of English models could be, besides an undoubted appeal to practicality (given the complexity of Sanskrit models, unlikely to be suitable for wider divulgation), a sort of *captatio benevolentiae* towards the new government élite: the fact of being able to produce an authoritative text, which can be easily consulted while preserving its scientific accuracy, in accordance with the modern western literary trends, and which can be also recognized and widely used by the British ruling

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<sup>14</sup> This text was published in a historical moment in which nationalism linked to Nagārī Hindī was stronger than ever: in 1910 the first branch of the *Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan* (Association for Hindī Literature) was set up in Vārāṇasī. Its aim was to establish "good" Hindī, get rid of the term Hindustānī (which according to the president, Madan Mohan Mālaviya, was then used only by English administration), and purify the most beautiful among Sanskrit's daughters (Consolaro, 2003:155).

class, would be an overwhelming victory over Urdū. The latter would thus be now assigned to the lower status of mere (and, to be honest, unwanted) Islamic past heritage and popular, almost folk, environment. Twenty years after the publication of Gurū's *Hindī Vyākaraṇa*, the division between Hindī and Urdū will be taken for granted. The Independence of India will be getting closer, and along with it the rivalry between the Hindū community and the Muslim community will be exacerbating, especially in the North-East and North-West of the country.

As a result of Indian Independence and of the simultaneous Partition from Pakistān, Hindī and Urdū rose permanently to the status of Official Language and National Language respectively of the one and the other state. Thus we come to the final step of the ideological association of language and nation, which is still debated and problematic for the Indian Subcontinent: while the Constitution of Pakistān clearly asserted an unambiguous bond between Urdū language and the concept of nation,<sup>15</sup> the Constitution of India established Hindī to be the Official Language of the Union, yet without confirming any explicit nationalist implication in the usage of this language. All over the Indian Union a new issue will arise: namely, as we mentioned in the introductory remarks, the role of Hindī (as local language) and English on both administrative and cultural level, and their relationship with the other Indian languages.

As an input to get closer to our next analysis, it is now appropriate to recall the position on Hindī and English stated by the Indian Constitution,<sup>16</sup> applicable since 29 January 1950:

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<sup>15</sup> According to the Article 251 of the Constitution of Pakistān,

(1) The National language of Pakistan is Urdu, and arrangements shall be made for its being used for official and other purposes within fifteen years from the commencing day.

(2) Subject to clause (1), the English language may be used for official purposes until arrangements are made for its replacement by Urdu.

(3) Without prejudice to the status of the National language, a Provincial Assembly may by law prescribe measures for the teaching, promotion and use of a Provincial language in addition to the National language.

([http://na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1333523681\\_951.pdf](http://na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1333523681_951.pdf). Retrieved 10/06/18).

<sup>16</sup> [https://www.india.gov.in/sites/upload\\_files/npi/files/coi\\_part\\_full.pdf](https://www.india.gov.in/sites/upload_files/npi/files/coi_part_full.pdf). Retrieved 10/06/18. For the Hindī version, see <https://www.india.gov.in/hi/my-government/constitution-india/constitution-india-full-text>. Retrieved 10/06/18.

Article 343 (1)

"The official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script. The form of numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Union shall be the international form of Indian numerals. "<sup>17</sup>

Article 343 (2)

"Notwithstanding anything in clause (1), for a period of fifteen years from the commencement of this Constitution, the English language shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before such commencement.

Provided that the President may, during the said period, by order authorise the use of the Hindi language in addition to the English language and of the Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals for any of the official purposes of the Union."

Article 343 (3)

"Notwithstanding anything in this article, Parliament may by law provide for the use, after the said period of fifteen years, of—

(a) the English language, or

(b) the Devanagari form of numerals,

for such purposes as may be specified in the law."

Article 345

"Subject to the provisions of articles 346 and 347, the Legislature of a State may by law adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that State: Provided that, until the Legislature of the State otherwise provides by law, 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."

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<sup>17</sup> In the Hindī version of the Constitution, the equivalent word for "Official Language" is rājabhāṣā, while "national language" would have been rāṣṭrabhāṣā.

## Article 351

"It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages."<sup>18</sup>

### **1.3. Language ideology and beliefs: what Hindī and English represented during the first post-Independence decade**

When the Constitution came into application in 1950, the Indian linguistic situation could have already been summarized following quite a similar classification as the one Spitzbardt (1976: 16) proposed several years later: a) local languages or dialects; b) state languages; c) the federal or union Official language, that is Hindī in Devanāgarī script. It is clear, though, that the official union language did not hold its position alone as English was sharing its importance as a language of national relevance. It is also obvious, even if not explicitly declared, that some languages were more important than others within the organisation of a linguistic policy and that at the top of the hierarchy were Hindī and English. This scale is directly established by the language planner authority, which in such a case is the one in charge for the fulfilment of building a new born nation. For this reason, the decision about the importance of one language rather than others does not take into any account linguistic reasons themselves. In fact the case of the Indian Constitution is in perfect agreement with what we can consider a universal trend in the processes of language planning: according to Cooper (1989). they are

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<sup>18</sup> As for the regional states Official Languages recognised by the Eighth Schedule, fourteen of them were initially included (Assamese, Bengoli, Gujarātī, Hindī, Kannada, Kaśmīrī, Marāthī, Malayalam, Odia, Panjābī, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Urdū). Subsequently, through different Amendments, Sindhi was added in 1967; Konkani, Manipuri and Nepali were added in 1992; Bodo, Dogri, Maithili and Santali were added in 2003.

typically carried out for the achievement of non linguistic aims, whether they are national integration, political control, economic development, scientific exchange, creation of new elites or stabilisation of old ones, etc. In this sense language planning can also be considered as marketing, since language planners may need to promote the product, namely language, irrespective of any spontaneous demand coming from the "consumers", namely of course language users. In order to clarify this concept, Ferguson's remark could be useful: «all languages *change* in the course of time, and all speech communities change through time in respect to the functional allocations of the varieties of language used in them» (Ferguson, 1979: 9). While most of the change is unconscious, much of it, and the fastest and most efficient part, is related to users' evaluation.

Evaluation is a key issue in language planning, which is not to be considered within a moral perspective, but rather as a relevant factor for the definition of social markers and identity labels. Given that «all users of language in all speech communities *evaluate* the forms of the language(s) they use» (Ferguson, 1979: 9), they sometimes explicitly, sometimes unconsciously call attention to particular language features (like, more obviously, to orthography, lexicon or grammar; or less obviously, to registers) as signal of group identity. For example, if we recall the previously described Hindī-Urdū controversy, speakers of each single community could identify as social marker the use of the Sanskrit lexicon in place of the Perso-Arabic one, or vice versa. Language planners, on their side, may want to produce either positive or negative evaluation in order to respectively promote or discourage the use of a certain language. Coming to the standardised Hindī as it was promoted by the Indian Constitution, we can start making sense of its weight on post-Independence linguistic policy from the very point of view of its evaluation.

The first issue had to do with the label which was assigned to Hindī, and we can look at it keeping in mind the metaphoric relation between language planning and marketing. Thus, Hindī was sold as a product that was supposed to build a national identity which could transcend local loyalties (see 1.2.2.). The main problem with this label came from the fact that loyalty (that means also membership) to the Hindī community did not necessarily represent national

loyalty but national loyalty existed, obviously, even outside the boundaries of the Hindī speaking community. In the multilingual situation of the Indian Subcontinent, a univocal link between language and nationality not only was new, but was also felt as threatening for the concept of (local) community identity.<sup>19</sup> We can also add that language identity, i.e. mother tongue identity, in a multilingual country is expressed as a concomitant part of one's identity with a caste group, a religious group, a regional group and/or any other tangible group; the language label thus becomes an index of loyalty (see Pandit, 1979). The federal structure of the Indian state tended precisely to preserve these kinds of local allegiances, limiting the authority of the national parliament and investing the states with a significant degree of autonomy. Given this duality of authority, a main critique to the newly established union language was legitimate: why did Hindī alone have to gain the popularity of a national language? Within a diversified speech community, the evaluation of the appropriateness of Hindī as a language capable to unify the nation was obviously negative.

It was also claimed that Hindī was not as well developed a language as some others, like Tamil and Bengoli, and for this reason it should not deserve the role of pan-Indian language. Actually Nagārī Hindī, which was still undergoing a process of standardisation, was a quite young (if not artificial, too) language, with a considerably short literary tradition. Apart from this variety, which and how many languages were still labelled as Hindī by their users themselves? According to 1951 census, the figure of Hindī speakers counted 50 millions (as reported by Apte, 1976a: 148), that is 42% of the registered population, but that included Hindustanī, Urdū, Panjābī, and various so-called dialects. Given that, Hindī was evaluated as not efficient in terms of unifying the whole Subcontinent, not even mentioning a possible consistency in usage on an international level. We should remember that, in the context of an ongoing decolonisation process, language policies direct their efforts to the development of a language which could also favour a wider dynamic of national development. We will further discuss national development and its implication (see chapter 3.), but some assumptions about language development (Krishnamurti, 1990: 15-16), even if limiting, can be

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<sup>19</sup> For a clarifying analysis of hierarchy of identities in a multilingual context, see Bayer, 1990.

explicatory of the link between the developing stage of a language (Hindī, in our case) and its evaluation:

- there are primitive societies, but no primitive languages - leaving aside the anthropological inaccuracy of this statement, it leaves space for positive evaluation of any language;
- language is a vehicle of communication and a cultural institution, so «[...] living languages with centuries-old literary traditions cannot [...] be relegated to a secondary status [...]» - according to this assumption, Marāthī, Tamil or Bengālī are to be preferred to Hindī;
- language develops registers, as language development and language use go hand in hand;
- «Language development in new domains occurs if and only if necessary and sufficient conditions are created (by planners and policy makers) for its uninhibited use (by its speakers for a considerable period of time. This means that any normative measures taken for language development turn out to be counter-productive»;
- standardisation should follow and not precede the extensive use of any language in domains where it was not used before - which means, standardised Nagārī Hindī is not efficient;
- language development and vitality are measured in terms of the range of domains in which it is used;
- language development leads to educational advancement and to economic, cultural and political development, which means national development;
- if education is imparted exclusively through a foreign language, it will be hard for the nation to be economically and industrially advanced - we will come back later to this point which, applied to the delicate balance between Hindī and English in their role of Union language, seemed to confirm the defeat of English. It also represents an explicit evaluation of English, which brings us to examine the other side of the coin.

In the transitional period we are taking into consideration, English as well was a crucial subject matter in the discussion about language efficiency.

On one side, keeping pace with the nationalist movements, it could be labelled as a foreign language to get definitively rid of. A main example of this trend was the "Banish English Movement", launched by Dr Rām Manohar Lohiā, an eminent member of the Congress Party who was developing his own more Socialist oriented political line. This movement, started in the late 1950s, seemed to be open to the acceptance of other languages than Hindī at governance level, provided strong local forces like Tamils supported the banishment of English at every level (see Dua, 1996). However, it not only failed in convincing the pro-English community (both non-Hindī speakers and elites who wanted to preserve their power and status quo, assured by an identification with the English speaking community), but also prepared the field for further conflict between Hindī and non-Hindī forces. In this regard, we find it interesting to quote here two stances that can clarify such a climate of tension. In 1958, on the occasion of the All India Language Conference, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, then former Premier of the Madras state Presidency, Governor of West Bengal, Minister for Home Affairs of the Indian Union and Chief Minister of Madras state, intervened on the question affirming that «Hindi is as much foreign to the non-Hindi speaking people as English to the protagonists of Hindi» (Das Gupta, 1970: 192,193). On the same occasion Frank Anthony, nominated representative of the Anglo-Indian community in the Parliament of India, labelled Hindī as a symbol of all that was reactionary and retrograde in the country, of mere religious communalism and oppression of minority languages. He also noticed that not even one percent of the so-called Hindī speakers used the same language that was then promoted as Hindī by All-India Radio.<sup>20</sup> In this sense, then, English seemed to be the perfect medium for the expression of a national loyalty, which could preserve community identities while transcending mere regional pride.

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<sup>20</sup> Consider that All-India Radio started in 1949 the broadcasting of Hindī Lessons and highly sanskritised Bulletins (Das Gupta, 1970: 175).

## Chapter 2

### **Patterns of language policy and language planning applied to independent India**

#### **2.1. Defining language policies and language planning**

We have seen how language is a key factor in any nation building process and how different approaches to nationalism can interfere with language practices. In this chapter we are going to develop a structured analysis of such "interference" dynamics, which are in fact studied within the theory of language planning and language policies. Thinking about how the Hindū nationalist movement engaged with Hindī promotion and development, we find extremely significant one of the key concepts in the language planning process, that is what Spolsky (2004: 8) refers to as «intervention». Intervention occurs whenever a person or group directs efforts into manipulating any language situation. These efforts can be made explicit or established by an authority, but they exist even where this does not happen. At the same time, the presence of a formal, written language policy (recorded for example in the Constitution, as it is in India) does not guarantee a consistent effect on language practices.<sup>21</sup> It is clear, though, that the intervention is directed towards different components of a speech community: language practices, language beliefs and ideologies (see 1.3.), language domains. As suggested by Haugen (1971), language policies and language planning, in fact, function in the complexity of a linguistic and non-linguistic ecology, namely the combination of interactions between any given language and its environment. In any linguistic ecology there are dynamic non-linguistic forces at work, which are more powerful than ideologically motivated policies. Within this theoretical

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<sup>21</sup> For a complete definition of language practices in relation to speech communities, see Spolsky, 2004.

Within our study, suffice it to say that by language practices we mean the sum of sound, words and grammatical choices that an individual speaker makes, either consciously or unconsciously. These include for example language registers, differentiation between levels of formality, conception of "good" and "bad" language, or appropriateness of each language in a multilingual society. Language practices shape the boundaries of the speech community, members of which will thus share specific language choices in order to mark their membership.

background we can now understand which social forces had gone beyond, or even contradicted, the language policy which had been clearly established by the Indian Constitution. By this we mean that in the long term the planning of a nation-unifying language in India had rather to evolve into a delicate language management of Hindī, English and single state languages. This led to the development of a linguistic continuum which includes bilingual and trilingual (where not even multilingual) speech communities and new hybrid language varieties like Hinglish.

To summarise, we can assert that language practices and language beliefs are not merely side factors to language policies, being rather a basis on which linguistic modification can be planned, and at the same time issues that could prevent and slow it down, or favour it according to circumstances. Both these factors, though, could be difficult to identify as per their own nature they are generally inexplicit. When it come to explicit policies, on the other hand, they seem quite easy to describe and classify, but still, even when it is possible to delineate some main patterns, we should remember that there is never an obvious answer to what the language policy of a specific nation is. Also, a causal direction will be slippery and difficult to ascertain in the relation between any given social category and its way of speaking, and vice versa. Language policies can certainly work in this direction, in an attempt to standardise ways of speaking in accordance with social groups, but the very non-linguistic factors we mentioned above can always intervene against this process.

Coming to a definition of explicit language policies and planning, we can start from the assumption that language policy and planning is directly linked to power: central power (whether governance itself, or any other form of dominant discourse) is reinforced by these, and they require the existence of a central power to be implemented and reiterated. Within this dynamic of forces, we can classify four main functions of governmental language planning, namely a) indicative; b) regulative; c) productive) and d) promotional. Function a) consists in prescribing certain language practices, starting from a previous assessment of the present language situation and the changes that are believed to be necessary for promoting

social development. As a consequence, b) is required in the form of sanctions and, in general, authoritative actions that could encourage the specific use of indicated language practices. At the same time, the language policy should be able to cope with increasing demands coming from defined domains, thus c) producing valid alternatives for the diffusion of the planned language. Production goes then along with d) promotion, as language use needs to be encouraged among the same domains, like administration, education, mass media. Keeping in mind these functions, how do they come into reality through language planning? In Cooper (1989: 30) we find twelve definitions of language planning, which in our opinion can be summarised as follows: language planning is a normative work, carried out in order to obtain a deliberate change in the linguistic behaviour of a group of people. This change can happen thanks to a systematic selection of language practices and political and administrative activities. Language planning is meant and displayed by its authors as a solution to any language problem required by circumstances.

At this point, some major questions arise (as suggested in Spolsky, 2004): first of all, who are the above mentioned authors of language planning, what and how do they actually plan? We can individuate the authors in governments, government-authorized agencies or even spontaneous activities, who can receive economic support from the government itself. In these cases there will be official acts, documents and laws to specifically state the terms and the range of the language policy. What is generally planned is the creation of a new set of linguistic corpus and linguistic status, that is the creation of a spoken or written code and its allocation to given communicative functions. This set (which can be either totally new to the social context, or based on already existent patterns), needs of course to be acquired by the speaking community. Acquisition, thus, needs to be planned as well, and it is measured in terms of proficiency (how appropriately the adopter of a new linguistic corpus can use it<sup>22</sup>) and usage (the actual frequency with which this innovative element is used), which obviously means also an increase in users. This leads to further issues to be analysed: for whom is the planning project carried out, and where? It is easy to imagine how the location of language

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<sup>22</sup> Appropriateness being referred to both the use of a named variety of language, and the choices to be made of specific linguistic elements whenever the same variety is used (Spolsky, 2004:11).

planning is social space, therefore target population and target place actually coincide. It would be better to affirm that language planning operates through a «communication network» (Cooper,1989: 38), that is a set of verbal interactions among people (or, as we said, among a speech community), within given social and spatial domains.

In the next pages we will try to apply this whole theoretical background, in order to sketch an analysis of language planning in the Indian Subcontinent, within the given limits of the relation between Hindī and English set by the Constitution.

## **2.2. Explicit language policy: institutions and documents**

As a first general remark it is interesting to notice how, despite the existence (as stated by the Constitution) of an explicit fifteen-year deadline for the switching from Hindī-English coexistence to Hindī "monopoly", already from the first years after Independence neither had governance pressure been applied in carrying out the constitutional proposal, nor urged in implementing it. Actually, the promotion of Hindī through an organised policy resulted in a less extensive project than what was expected and wished for before Independence. This was mostly due to the existence of a strong network of regional and social identities reflected in a language variability that, as we saw, could not be smoothed through the institutions of a single national language.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, some institutions and acts had been part of a systematic planning of Hindī.

One of the first acts of planning consisted in the foundation of the University Grant Commission (UGC) in December 1953. This institution was meant for the coordination, determination and maintenance of standards of teaching, examination and research in university education. In 1956, an Act of Parliament officialised UGC as a Statutory Organization of the Government of India, thus

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<sup>23</sup> After all, the formation of distinct regional states had already been officialised in 1920, by the Nagpur Session of the Congress. This provision enabled the distinct states to maintain administration in their own language, thus promoting the economic and social interest of particular language groups. It also contributed in reducing the number of linguistic minorities. One of the intentions of this political move was also strengthening the national unity of India, as respect of internal diversity could assure the central governance a wider loyalty (on the side effects of the Session resolutions, see Srivastava, 1988 and Montaut, 2005).

assigning productive and promotional functions to it. In the meanwhile, in 1955, the Home Ministry developed an official Hindī Training Scheme, which provided for compulsory teaching of Hindī to Central Government employees. After five years, Hindī training was made compulsory for every government employee, and the progressive use of this language was recommended for official transactions. By the 1960s, in fact, the administrative organ had realised that only five years remained before the deadline imposed by the Constitution, and it was therefore necessary to increase the pace of centralised language planning. As a consequence of a Presidential Order,<sup>24</sup> in 1960 two main institutions were created: the Central Hindī Directorate, and the Commission for Scientific and Technical Terminology (established 1961). Das Gupta (1977b) reports how the aims of the Hindī Directorate were the publication of language materials, the promotion of Hindī through education and other means, and the coordination of various Hindī-related operations within the Ministry of Education. The Commission, on the other hand, had a strictly corpus-producing function: it was created in order to formulate clear leading principles for the evolution and/or creation of a standardised terminology for science and technology, as well as humanities and social sciences. This terminology had to be incorporated in mainstream text books and dictionaries to be distributed all over India .

It is worth noticing how important sectors of Hindī promotion and development still laid outside the control of the Ministry of Education, as they were under the auspices of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Law and Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. It was precisely the Ministry of Law to establish the Official Language (Legislative) Commission, in 1961. Reinforcing the line of Central Hindī Directorate, this Commission worked on three main issues, namely 1) preparing a standard legal terminology, primarily in Hindī and secondarily in all Indian languages; 2) preparing authoritative texts in Hindī of all statutes, rules and laws; 3) making arrangements for the translation of Central Enactments in the official languages of the states.

Despite the institutionalised language management and the publication of a number of Hindī books, dictionaries, lectures and encyclopaedias (these especially

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<sup>24</sup> See <http://rajbhasha.nic.in/en/presidents-order-1960>. Retrieved 10/06/18.

thanks to the promotion of associations and agencies: see 2.2.), «[...] none of these impressive gains in Hindi production and development could be said to be directly related to the question of bringing Hindi closer to the unrivalled role of the official language of the Union» (Das Gupta, 1976: 202). Hindī's rival, easy to guess, was English, which had been already developing its own role in the national context. What the Constitution had stated was not able to (or, maybe, did not want to) take into account the power English represented in a rapidly developing dynamic of world globalisation. In 1956 the British Council (having already established its branch in India in 1948, by Nehru's invitation) released the Teaching of English Overseas Report, which highlighted the economic and political advantages lying in the spread of English as a *lingua franca* throughout the Subcontinent. According to the Report, as observed by Dua (1996), many different initiatives had been developing which involved joint programs between UK and USA universities and Indian universities, such as Kānpur, Ilāhābād, Madras and Hyderābād. It was exactly in Hyderābād that two years later, in 1958, the Central Institute of English was founded. The agenda of this institution was well organised, and some items were extremely significant in order to develop and promote the use of English as a medium for upper level education (Kachru, 1978: 517):

- develop "register-oriented" teaching materials;
- train teachers of English at all levels in contemporary methods of language teaching;
- reorganise graduate and undergraduate programs in English, keeping an eye on contemporary innovations;
- reduce the distance between language-oriented and literature-oriented faculties;
- assume a realistic attitude towards teaching of English literature in India;
- develop debate and cooperation in Indian universities among literature scholars and language specialists.

The parliamentary debates on linguistic issues were themselves focused on the role of English. From an interesting study of the parliamentary debates which took place between 1952 and 1960 (Apte, 1976b), it emerges that despite the emphasis

put on Hindī by north Indian Prime Ministers (especially concerned about its development in various domains in order to replace English), the total time of Hindī reporting was rather limited. For example, during the biennium 1952-1954, Hindī reporting average was around 40 minutes out of a daily session average of five hours. On the contrary, it was common to find a significant switching from English to Hindī and vice versa. Moreover, passionate debates still concerned the definition of Hindī as compared to Urdū: protagonists of sanskritised Hindī expressed strong dissatisfaction with those who, according to them, were speaking Urdū. This long-standing diatribe had clearly an ideological weight, rather than being based on purely linguistic terms, and in the evolving political context "pure" Hindī advocates did not find much support. Demonstrative of this trend can be the fact that in the 1962 General Elections the Congress Parliamentary Party lost thirty-five members from Hindī states, while gaining twenty-four non-Hindī members, and at the same time opposition parties gained importance in non-Hindī speaking states (Das Gupta, 1970: 235).

Ultimately, the status of English as official language had to be accepted and institutionalised. Article 343 of the Constitution had authorised the Parliament to provide laws for the use of English after the fifteen-year deadline<sup>25</sup>, and this happened through the 1963 Official Languages Act, applicable starting from January, 1965<sup>26</sup>. As a further implementation to this policy, in 1967 the Official Languages (Amendment) Act stated that

«[...] Notwithstanding the expiration of the period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution, the English language may, as from the appointed day, continue to be used in addition to Hindi, -

a) for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before that day; and

b) for the transaction of business in Parliament [..]».<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> See 1.2.2.

<sup>26</sup> The full text of the 1963 Act is available at <http://rajbhasha.nic.in/en/official-languages-act-1963>. Retrieved 10/06/18.

<sup>27</sup> Das Gupta, 1970:271.

The Amendment Act determined a crucial point in the evolution of language planning in India, since, as a matter of fact, it put an end to any further limitation on an even and simultaneous development of both Hindī and English.

### **2.3. Explicit language policy: agencies and associations involved in the promotion of Hindī**

We have seen which major state institutions and parliamentary Acts had been expression of an explicit language policy during the Fifties and the Sixties. We shall now briefly consider which government-dependent agencies and which associations contributed in reinforcing especially the productive and promotional aspects of Hindī planning. From the interesting studies conducted by Das Gupta in the late Seventies (Das Gupta, 1977a and 1977b), it emerges how these associations were involved in a kind of planning that turned out to be self-referential rather than effective on a large scale.

Subject of a first study were the Central Hindī Directorate, the Commission of Scientific and Technical Terminology and the Official Language Commission of the Ministry of Law. The analysis covered the period over 1971 and 1972 and was focused on how thirty-nine leading members of these institutions themselves interpreted their agenda and their role as Hindī developers and promoters (Das Gupta, 1977b). Interviewed about the main purposes of their work, most of the members mentioned primarily education, followed by language planning and national integration. It is worth noticing how education came in the first place: we can assume that Hindī was therefore meant as the medium of education par excellence and that its promulgation was intended to happen mainly through schooling and/or training. Actually, this same trend is confirmed by the fact that the representatives identified the target population of their endeavour with government personnel, college and university students, and school students. Despite these clear intentions, members did not declare any specific interest or study background in language policy or in language related research, but rather in

philosophy, history or literature. Related to this, from Das Gupta's analysis we can have an idea of the hierarchic structure of the institutions in question, which leads us to imagine them as extensive bureaucratic systems more than academy-based organisations. Moreover, apparently the reports of board meetings did not circulate much outside the network of these three institutions themselves, and representatives of the public media and client groups were not allowed into the board meetings. From these data, we can sketch a trend that seems certainly to favour a centralised intervention over language, but does not take into any account the actual outcome of intervention in the social context and also, probably, lacks of coordination with the educational system.

Following the same pattern, Das Gupta moved his attention to those spontaneous (yet government sponsored and therefore later institutionalised) associations which were born in order to create an authoritative Hindī corpus, to subsidise Hindī authors and, in general, to promote the use of Hindī: the Kāśī Nāgarīpracāriṇī Sabhā (see 1.2.2.), the Hindī Sahitya Sammelan,<sup>28</sup> the Dakṣiṇ Bhārat Hindī Pracār Sabhā,<sup>29</sup> and the Raśtrabhāṣā Pracār Samiti.<sup>30</sup> The survey has been conducted on sixty members of these associations, over the period 1970-1972 (Das Gupta, 1977a). As for the executive committees members' background, most of them came from upper classes, higher castes or higher educated (and Sanskrit educated) categories, and they often covered important positions at the top national level. It is interesting to notice how only 8% of them were forty-five years old or younger, while the overwhelming majority were over sixty-six. Divergent data emerged about the intended role of these associations: while members asserted that the main aims consisted of literary, cultural and educational activities, and that English had to be replaced by Hindī as the national language especially within these three domains, the role of nationalist logic in these

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<sup>28</sup> This association was first set up in 1910, in Vārāṇasī. It was later declared an institution of national importance through the «Hindī Sahitya Sammelan Act, 1962» (full text available at <https://indiacode.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/1416/1/196213.pdf> - Retrieved 10/06/18).

<sup>29</sup> The "South India Assembly for Hindī Diffusion" was started in 1918 by Mahatma Gandhi's effort, in order to unite the northern and southern states. The Sabhā was founded in Madras (Chennai), where its headquarters are still operative.

<sup>30</sup> Started in Vardhā, 1936, thanks to the joint efforts of Gāndhī, Rājendra Prasād, Puruṣottam Dās Tandan, Javāharlāl Nehrū and others.

associations was often omitted. In our opinion, this may be part of an intentional understatement: these associations wanted first of all to present themselves as institutions centred on culture promotion and literacy encouragement, rather than governmental agencies. In reality, they were committed to politics: as we have just seen, executive members were often entrusted with important political roles and they could work on making Hindī language policy one of the main issues on the national agenda. Nevertheless, most of the members sought to appeal to the educated elite rather than to the general masses: for example, only seventeen percent of them thought that media publicity (thus ensuring the possibility of reaching a wide public) could be a valid support for the promotion of Hindī. This leads us to two considerations: first, it seems so far that, until the late Seventies, the role of mass media as perhaps the most significant dominion for language planning was still neglected. Secondly, as in the case of the above-mentioned government institutions, these spontaneous associations appear to lack a practical attitude towards language planning, keeping it more related to a literary context than accessible to the general public.

#### **2.4. Domains of language policies**

We have tried to outline who were the main authors of language planning in post-Independence India, but according to our theoretical background (see 2.1.), it is left to analyse for whom the planning project was carried out, and where, keeping in mind that language planning happens within social space, therefore target population and target place actually coincide. Rather than space and population per se, in fact, we are going to analyse social and spatial domains.

On a first level, language planning always happens within the family, home being a concept that varies in major dimensions. Family communities each have their own specific language practices, language ideologies and language management. These three elements undergo the same main conditions that we can find in any other linguistic domain, namely proficiency in language, desire to achieve advantage by stronger language, and desire to achieve advantage by

accommodating to the audience (Spolsky, 2004: 42). In the context of a family, for example, a child is subjected to language planning whenever his or her parents act in order to make him/her obtain a proper language proficiency. At that same moment the child understands that through proficiency his/her parents' attention can be attracted, thus gaining advantage in the communication with them. A further example of language management and language ideology can be found in what parents establish to be "good" and "bad" language: a child, thus, will be able to intentionally avoid certain words. In contexts other than the family, though, like a group of friends, he/she could use the same words to accommodate his/her audience, namely to be accepted as a member of that specific speech community. Moreover, in a family more complex social dynamics can come into play, like intermarriage, emigration or immigration, and social acceptance. We can therefore reflect on both critical relevance of decisions that happen inside the family and external pressures. In the case of national, centralised language policies, though, the family is not a primary domain of planning. It could rather be a domain of *a posteriori* field study, in order to understand whether national planning had worked, how long it had taken to succeed and which social strata had been affected by this.

If we widen the range of our analysis, we find that at least four other domains of language planning are worth taking into consideration, namely a) workplace; b) religion and religious organisations; c) educational system; and d) media.

Coming to case a), especially in the context of a very formal and/or institutional workplace a strict language planning can be launched so that the workers use a uniform linguistic register, linguistic variety or language. In India, we have seen how in 1955 the Home Ministry developed an official Hindī Training Scheme, which provided for compulsory teaching of Hindī to Central Government employees<sup>31</sup>: besides being a move directed to the promotion of Hindī at a transnational level, it also represented an important effort to level the language of government employees, in order to reinforce the relationship between central state and official language. We will later further develop the issue of workplace as a

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<sup>31</sup> See 2.2.

domain of language planning, in particular through an analysis of the relationship between language management and language prestige.

As regards case b), the linguistic situation in post-Independence India is quite clear. Processes of colonisation and decolonisation had led to a strong ideological conflict, which by the time of Independence had already crystallised religious communities around language, creating the monads of Urdū-Islām-Pakistān and Hindī (and Sanskrit)-Hindū-India. This process actually flattened and completely dismissed an ancient tradition of multilingualism and multiplicity of literary histories, which did not exclude by any means the existence of syncretic literary cultures.<sup>32</sup> Therefore it should not be necessary to insist on how radical environments, on the Hindī side as well as on the Urdū side, connected religion to language as signs of cultural identity even more than national identity. In this sense, we can assume that in post-Independence India's religious organisation language planning was not even an issue to be discussed, as languages of religion had already been standardised.

Coming to the educational system and media as domains of language policy, the question become more complex. In the next pages we are going to analyse some major trends of language planning applied to education and media.

#### ***2.4.1. Education***

Within the process of building a nation after decolonisation, education is considered fundamental since it can help develop both a sense of national pride, and at the same time the necessary skills and knowledge required to go at the same speed as the industrial economy. In this sense, the medium of education gains an exceptional importance and becomes part of language policy. As noticed by Spolsky (2004: 46), «When and where schools exist, they take over from the family the task of socialization, a central feature of which is developing the

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<sup>32</sup> For a narrative of composite culture and literary self-representation, which obviously includes a fluid relationship between religion and identity, see Orsini, 2010 and Pellò, 2012.

language competence of young people». Planning of language acquisition and language education therefore comes to assume a fundamental role in building up any social fabric, but its downside could be the fact that the medium of education planning, in certain contexts (as a multilingual country like India can be), leads to the creation of a gap between the family language (which does not necessarily mean the mother tongue, and this makes the issue even more complex) and the language that everyone is motivated to acquire by the educational system. This gap will be wider in relation with more accentuated processes of urbanisation and migration, as in the same social spaces more languages, dialects and linguistic registers will coexist.

Various education committees and commissions were constituted by the government immediately before and after Independence, to make recommendations on education policy at specific levels, including the medium of education. Annamalai (2003, 2005) notices how the main Indian languages had been optional media of education since the Twenties, when Indian political parties had to share power with the colonial government: why, then, was a specific policy for the education medium required after Independence? We suggest a two-sided approach to this issue. First, it was obviously necessary to have a medium of education which could unify the country, and therefore it had to be developed in accordance with what had been established by the Constitution in terms of Official Language. However, the promotion of Hindī alone as medium of education would have accentuated the intra-national conflicts between Hindī-speaking states and non Hindī-speaking ones. This leads us to the second aspect: at least at upper levels of education, a middle language was needed to be able to launch the nation on a global stage, where a consistent stock of technical skills and knowledge was required. Starting from these premises, a brief history of education policies can clarify the complexity of this context.

In 1956, the Central Advisory Board of Education planned a so-called Three-Language-Formula, which was modified, simplified and elaborated many times before being approved by the Conference of Chief Ministers in 1961, and subsequently adopted in 1968. The three languages in question were Hindī,

English and any one of the state official languages. As clarified by Pattanayak<sup>33</sup> (1970, in Spitzbardt, 1976: 69) the Formula established equality with regard to the study of languages between the Hindī and non-Hindī areas, since it recommended that, besides Hindī and English, another Indian language should be studied in the Hindī areas, given that pupils in the non-Hindī areas had to learn Hindī as a third language. However, such a policy soon encountered some major difficulties against its implementation: first, the opposition to a heavy load of language study, and a prevailing lack of motivation in Hindī areas about learning another Indian language. Secondly, it also met the resistance to Hindī of non-Hindī areas, and, as a general trend, the reluctance to bear the cost and the effort involved in teaching the third languages. Moreover, in the Formula no specification was given about the period within which these changes had to be adopted, and the ambivalence of the policy at tertiary level (it did not specify, in fact, which language had to be preferred for college and university education) affected the choice of medium at lower levels (see Annamalai, 2005): for example, if students with English medium at the lower level proved to be advantaged at the higher level, this tended to encourage the English medium also in lower classes, reverting the effort of the promotion of regional languages. It seems, then, that the implementation of the Formula had been critical since its very adoption. Pattanayak himself (1970, in Spitzbardt, 1976:70) recognises some limits within the Formula and proposes a few guidelines for its implementation:

- in terms of importance in the curriculum, Hindī should be second only to the mother tongue;
- English will continue to enjoy a high status;
- it is necessary to provide qualified language teachers;
- teaching three languages should be compulsory from the Lower Secondary stage; and
- at no stage should the learning of a fourth language be compulsory.

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<sup>33</sup> D.P. Pattanayak was appointed by the Ministry of Education and Youth Services of the Government of India with the task to edit a series of documents concerning language policy and language planning. His work was published by the Ministry itself in 1970.

Therefore, the three languages should be, in order of importance, the mother tongue or the regional language,<sup>34</sup> the official language of the union or the associate official language as long as it exists (namely, Hindī or English), and a modern Indian (different from the regional language or from Hindī) or foreign<sup>35</sup> language.

Although the Three-Language-Formula seems a quite clear solution to the choice of a medium of education within a multilingual context, continuous renegotiations of language policies did not come to a precise agenda. A Report of the Education Commission on the period 1964-1966 (as reported by Pattanayak, 1970 in Spitzbardt, 1976: 62) produced new General Recommendations of Language Policy:

- the advantages of education through the regional languages are real;
- UGC (University Grant Commission) and universities should work out a change-over programme to take place within ten years;
- a clear policy needs to be formulated;
- all-India institutions will admit students from different parts of the countries, so English should continue undisturbed to be the medium.

It is clear how, besides the absence of coordination between institutions, a proper language policy had still to be decided. Moreover, despite the affirmation of the importance of regional languages as medium of education, English seemed to be constantly gaining ground. We can get a confirmation of this trend by the words of Pattanayak himself, who stated the role of English as a « library language [...] that is, a language which can serve as a vehicle for acquiring a substantial part of the current and rapidly expanding stock of world knowledge» (Spitzbardt, 1976: 66). Apparently Hindī, as well as any other Indian language, needed to be enriched before becoming a library language.

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<sup>34</sup> This option already leaves place for further ambivalence, as the mother tongue does not necessarily coincide with regional language. In the moment the regional language is officialised as education medium, a wide segment of the young population cannot receive an education in their mother tongue (thus widening the linguistic gap mentioned in 2.4.).

<sup>35</sup> It is interesting to notice how Russian enjoyed a privileged state over any other foreign language. It can be explained if we consider that by the Sixties the Soviet Union was looked at as a potential model by India (see Guha, 2007). According to Schiffman, one of the main mistakes made by Indian language planners was exactly the effort to apply the Soviet model to the context of post-Independence India (Schiffman, 1996).

After the 1967 Official Languages (Amendment) Act, this critical relation between English, Hindī and regional languages as medium of education seems to be left definitively unsolved. The implementation of the Three Language Formula clearly did not gain any advantage from that, despite being applicable from 1968. As an example, we can consider the report Spitzbardt (1976: 49) gives us of a paper presented by Professor L.M. Khubchandani in that same year at the Seminar on Historical Survey of Language (Medium of Instruction) Controversy, held under the auspices of the National Institute of Education at Shantiniketan, New Delhi. Khubchandani, on that occasion, highlighted how the role of English in education could no longer be overlooked:

- states had the provision of using mother tongue or their language of formal communication up to the Lower secondary stage. English, however, still continued to be the sole medium of education for higher education, thus it was going to occupy a significant functional position in national life;
- local governmental agencies were keen to discard the colonial-dominating language, while on the other hand many agencies of trade and technology judged the professional profile of an individual on the basis of English;
- states were supposed to provide socio-economic opportunities and incentives so as to motivate learners to opt for the medium of instruction according to national purposes. Anyway, it would not be possible to cause any change against the social trends;
- as for subjects dealing with physical nature, they were not a part of Indian linguistic tradition, thus English should inevitably have been the main medium for that field;
- a process of modernisation of Indian languages could be carried out in two ways: classicalisation or westernisation. The chances of success of the first, besides being considered dubious, were to be avoided («Present tendency to coin lofty terms, while sitting in ivory towers, needs to be discouraged» Spitzbardt, 1976:57).

As we can see, Khubchandani did not really take a stance about the controversy between English and Indian languages, while he recognised advantages on both sides. The solution he proposed, namely changing the domination role of English

into its equal participation, along with developing Indian languages, in the multilingual communication network, turns out to be a final compromise rather than a clear programme. In general, it seems that by giving a statutory recognition to Indian languages as the medium of education, nothing was done in practice to support their actual use, since English had already been invested with the role of universal language of knowledge.

#### **2.4.2. Mass Media**

Coming to a brief analysis of media as a domain of language planning, it seems useful to call attention to a simple, yet incisive remark which Das Gupta used in 1977 to describe the situation of language policy in relation to media: he noticed how, although both radio and television broadcasting constituted in the Sixties a federal monopoly administered by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, which is supposed to actively promote and develop Hindī,<sup>36</sup> a link was lacking between agencies of language planning and the field of broadcasting (see Das Gupta, 1977b: 64). However, it is necessary to make a distinction between the role of the two main modern media, namely radio and screen (we use this generic term to refer to both television and cinema) in language planning.

On one hand, at the time of Independence radio already had a history in India, and, as noticed by Das Gupta, it was much more controlled by the Government itself. A first pioneering effort of radio broadcasting began with Madras Presidency Radio Club in 1924, but the move towards a regular broadcasting service was made in 1927 by the Indian Broadcasting Company in Bombay and Calcutta. In April 1930 the Government of India took broadcasting under its direct control and called it Indian State Broadcasting System. This was the first nucleus of what in 1936 was given its present name, All India Radio (AIR).<sup>37</sup> By 1950, the number of broadcasting centres was to reach twenty-five, covering 21% of the population and 12% of the total area within which broadcasting happened. In the

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<sup>36</sup> Information and Broadcasting Ministry notified that all routine circulars would be in Hindī after January 26, 1965 (Das Gupta, 1970: 237).

<sup>37</sup> *ibidem*

moment All India Radio became *de facto* expression of Government monopoly, it played an important role in promoting Hindī as the official language. As we mentioned before (see chapter 2.1), in December 1949 it started a programme of Hindī lessons to be broadcast in non-Hindī areas.<sup>38</sup> In the same year, news bulletins started to be highly sanskritised and their nomenclature itself changed from "news in Hindustānī" to "news in Hindī" (Das Gupta, 1970:176). In 1952, B.V. Keskar was assigned the office of Minister of Information and Broadcasting, and this was a further step towards sanskritisation of All India Radio programmes: «he made it his personal mission to rescue the general public from the vulgarities of Indian film songs» (Kasbekar, 2006: 133), vulgarity due to the use of a hybrid Hindustānī.

On the contrary it seems, indeed, that language policies of immediate post-Independence neglected the potentiality of television and cinema in the process of national language promotion, or at least did not ascribe to it much importance on a level of explicit language management. For example, looking at the inaugural speech of the Central Institute of Indian Languages, opened under the auspices of the Union Minister for Education and Youth Services in 1969, we notice how closed circuit television and films were still meant only as a technical aid for language teaching (Pattanayak, 1970 in Spitzbardt, 1976: 75). It is also true that television started gaining popularity during the Seventies, while beforehand most Indians had no radio, and were still infrequently exposed to movies or public broadcasts (see Friedrich, 1962). A pilot television centre began broadcasting in Delhi in September 1959, as part of a development program destined especially to implement literacy in rural areas. This experimental project was also aided by UNESCO funds and began gradually to increase its broadcasting time and reach. By 1965, it had become a regular service (Butcher, 2003: 52). The subjects chosen for broadcasting were mainly related to public order (issues of health and hygiene,

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<sup>38</sup> The programme was actually discontinued in 1962 and this discontinuation did not raise any protest, thus indicating that it was not very successful (Das Gupta, 1970: 175).

manners of an upright citizen), but they also included programmes for women, children and youth, broadcast both in English and Hindī.<sup>39</sup>

The state increasingly invested in television when nation development started being seen as definitively linked to technological progress and to the power that technological communication could have in the social building of a newly independent country. Thus the role of mass media evolved exponentially from the early Seventies, laying the foundations for new communication networks and, as a consequence, of a new kind of speech communities (see chapters 3 and 4).

## **2.5. Limitations in the planning of a *National Official language* in post-Independence India.**

Throughout this chapter, we have tried to identify some major trends of language policy and language planning in the context of post-Independence India. During the Fifties and the Sixties the debate around linguistic issues was passionate, due to the fact that, within the process of post-decolonisation nation building, the establishment of one or more national languages could not be excluded. We have seen how debate was supported by acts of explicit linguistic policy, and, to a certain extent, by organised language planning. As a summary remark, one main issue is left to be decided upon: to which extent has language planning been actually determinant in shaping the Indian linguistic scenario, especially with regard to the relationship between Hindī and English as Union Official Languages? Have these processes of language policy and language planning been successful in the long term?

If we consider language planning in terms of an exact actualisation of what the Constitution established in 1950, the immediate answer is no. Hindī did not gain the primacy role of Official Language alone, and neither satisfied the nationalist quests becoming the favourite medium of expression for all the elements of Indian culture. After all, the inevitable influence of English on different levels was accepted and institutionalised already in 1967, through the Official Languages

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<sup>39</sup> This data is extracted from: *Mass media in India 1978*. Editorial Management. Research and Reference Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.

(Amendment) Act, thus proving that any radical language policy could not work in post-Independence India. In this sense, Indian language planning turned out to be flexible and appropriate to the Indian context, since it «has not followed a theory of planning where goals are assumed to be given and the planners' job is merely instrumental» (Das Gupta, 1976: 210): in this case national goals have been recognised in the context of the early years of Independence, and then modified according to the contemporary necessities of the national community, in order to conciliate the contending demand groups.

Nevertheless, language policies in India had to deal with composite problems: the presence of a network of regional and social identities, the consequent existence of language variability, the understanding of English as the only valid vehicle of scientific and technological knowledge, and code mixing and code-switching seen as markers of undeveloped languages. Trying to satisfy a sense of nationalist pride and to create a national unity, language planning tended to level all these factors through the control over national and regional languages, thus expanding centralised authority (Das Gupta, 1977: 77). The negative aspect of language planning, therefore, consisted in its being more politically and ideologically conceived than actually evaluated in terms of linguistic, economic and communicational criteria. This made it a huge bureaucratic procedure, which still lacked an organised coordination. It is also true that problems of security, productivity, welfare and integration impinged on the national policy at the same time, and that controversies of political and economic origin found in linguistic differences a pretext for institutionalised conflicts. As noticed by Friedrich (1962), every member of every known culture speaks at least one language, but the existence of a national state with full bilingualism, to say nothing of trilingualism, is very problematic, and in India dozens of mother tongues were spoken belonging to different linguistic families.

The main attempt to create a national unity was probably made at the level of the educational system, but it is especially there that language planning revealed its limitations. First of all, the choice of an Indian language as education medium at the tertiary level of education was made unattractive by the implementation of English medium, which proved to be more competitive in a growing economic

environment. Moreover, the unsteady implementation of the Three Language Formula, instead of encouraging a linguistic unity, contributed to the increase of phenomenon like diglossia, especially in terms of institutionalised languages against mother tongues.

Last, but not least, the concept of "developed language" has to be taken into consideration (see 2.1.) as a determining factor for the success of language planning in India. As a point of disadvantage for Hindī, it was considered as lacking sufficient prestige. The official figure of 160 million Hindī speakers actually included a plethora of Hindustānī, Urdū, Panjābī and other dialects (see Friedrich, 1962: 548), and obviously the progressive implementation of Nāgarī Hindī was widely understood as an artificial process, rather than a proper language development. In the South, as well as in the East, the common thought was that the Hindustān area itself was backward: Friedrich reports that Rajagopalachari, speaking in Calcutta in 1959, said «The new Hindi, as it continues to develop, is not a language but a burlesque».<sup>40</sup> In fact, also the creation of millions of technical terms in science and other academic subjects, law and administration, in order to prepare Indian languages to replace English, was a development lacking actual use. Planning language development, in this sense, did not help Indian languages to play the role of English: during the Sixties, even Communist intellectuals were grateful to English for enabling them to attend international conferences (Friedrich, 1962). To conclude, we can affirm that after the 1967 Act the great intensity of passion in linguistic matters was dissipated, and the Parliament itself appears to have diverted its attention to other issues. Language planning slackened its pace and the relationship between Hindī and English, especially in the North, started developing in accordance with the rise of new communication networks.

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<sup>40</sup> Rajagopalachari, *Tamil Culture*, 1959, p. 210, as quoted in Friedrich, 1962: 552.

## Chapter 3

### Languages of national development: from local to global

#### 3.1. Patterns of English spread in independent India

We have seen how in independent India the lack of an effective coordination between the educational system and the language policy designated governmental Acts, and the coexistence of powerful linguistic ideologies not only made it impossible to exclude English from the main domains of communication, but indeed contributed to reinforcing the role of English as an extra-regional link language. However, some voices were still supporting the assumption that the command of this foreign language was only useful for a small intellectual elite, and that the masses could be mobilised against this trend. According to Spitzbardt, in the run for the role of leading link language the chances were on Hindī, as long as English had the status of an L2 language<sup>41</sup> for those who had to use it, and since Hindī was the language of the most powerful mass media, namely cinema (Spitzbardt, 1976). He judges as «too short sighted» the vision of a group of German scholars who, in 1970, thought that the only effective solution to India's language problems would be recurring to what they called "Indian English" (Spitzbardt, 1976: 18). As a matter of fact, he neglected two major factors in his analysis, namely that Hindī as well was an L2 for at least half of the population of the Subcontinent, and that English was becoming one of the essential world languages for other countries as well as for India, and thus it was indispensable to preserve it in order to keep pace with scientific and technical innovations. The fact that in 1970 English books covered 33% out of the total production of books in India, and that the number of English daily newspapers overtook Hindī ones (as reported by Kachru, 1978a: 158), is symptomatic of a progressive rise of a specific set of linguistic beliefs on English, namely the appreciation of its role of national and international language, which could bring progress in education,

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<sup>41</sup> By L2 we mean *second language*, namely a language which is not native for the speaker but it is currently used by other speech communities in the same locale as that speaker.

technology and economy: in one word, India's development. Such beliefs were especially boosted by a political discourse that appealed to the young middle class: Sonntag (2000: 139,140) notices how, after Indirā Gāndhī's centralised and authoritarian rule during the early Seventies, Rājīv Gāndhī's rhetoric played the card of communalism and appealed to the urban middle class, which, embedded in a «yuppie» (*ibidem*: 140) mentality, played a key role in the association of English with social prestige. We are not claiming that alternative discourses, supporting especially Hindī against English from a rigid nationalistic perspective, disappeared. On the contrary, suffice it to say that in the Nineties a revival of the Hindutva ideology led to new anti-English movements, which claimed the necessity of building India as a modern and prosperous nation on the basis of Hindū cultural nationalism (*ibidem*: 148). This renovated instability of language policy also led to new proposals in order to implement the use of Indian languages as medium of education.<sup>42</sup> However, what was playing in favour of English was a set of extra-national factors: the spread of English was an international trend which came alongside the dynamics of globalisation. Hence, for a decolonised country like India, the choice between Hindī and English was not only determined from national policies, and determinant for national equilibrium, but also crucial in establishing India's role in a game of international powers.

When we talk about globalisation, we should invoke the concept of language spread, since it affects the communication network of a global community. Following Cooper (1982: 6), we assume that language spread is «an increase, over time, in the proportion of a communication network that adopts a given language or language variety for a given communicative function». In the context of a narrow communication network, for example, language spread could have the functions of intra-national communication; but if we consider a worldwide

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<sup>42</sup> Krishnamurti, for example, recommends an articulate series of educational steps which could contribute to the replacement of English (Krishnamurti, 1990: 23). Among others, we find interesting the proposal of extending regional language media to all levels, avoiding any exclusive stress on the creation of stagnant terminologies and rather allowing teachers and students to freely use different varieties and styles for the study of modern knowledge, thus implementing linguistic evolution through borrowings and semantic extensions. This project seems quite far-sighted, as it contemplates the creation of a sort of lingua franca to be used in different fields of education and research. However, Krishnamurti does not suggest any plan in order to actually make this project effective: once again, as happened with previous language planning agendas, the theory seems to have lacked a strong operational apparatus.

network we can understand how language spread happens most probably in the form of lingua francas, which allow the widest communication possible. Now coming to English, it is clear that its spread happened due to an original situation of linguistic imperialism and to its consequent acquisition by speakers of those languages which Spolsky defines as peripheral, namely spoken only for local communication (Spolsky, 2004). The gradualness and complexity of this process are theorised by Kachru by means of a model which he called «the three circles of world Englishes» (Kachru, 1992). The "drawing" of these circles takes into account former notions in terms of study on English as a Foreign or Second Language, but it also follows the historical evolution and the sociolinguistic implications of English presence all over the world. The Inner Circle refers to the spread of English across the world in its first diaspora. This Circle thus includes Australia, New Zealand, and North America, countries where English has been established from the beginning as the only language of administration, education and society in the wider sense (with the exception of Canada). No language planning was required in these cases, as English was the mother tongue shared by the entire population (taken for granted that the native population, especially in the case of North America, had already been annihilated). The Outer Circle has been produced by the colonisation of Asia and Africa. In the colonies, although the number of English users was relatively small and despite their being out of their linguistic context, the imposition of political, military and economic rule made it possible for English to be adopted as an additional language by the local speech communities, with the consequence that we have seen, in the case of India. As well as in the countries of the Inner Circle, in the Outer Circle English developed some peculiar characteristics which distinguished it from British English. The peculiarity of this process in the Outer Circle, though, was that it often happened thanks to the contact between English and multilingual contexts, where the culturalisation and nativisation of this imported language led to the creation of extremely differentiated varieties. Moreover, Outer Circle speakers found themselves negotiating between different collocational devices, namely their local language/s and a language which was perceived as either extraneous from their own cultural context, or acceptable, depending on the speaker's social

context itself (see 3.1.2.). Lastly, the Expanding Circle comprehends those territories which are reached by the more recent diffusion of English in East Asia, Middle East, Latin America and Europe, favoured by the political and economic influence of the United Kingdom and, even more, of the USA: here the use of English is limited to specific domains of public life, like higher education, science and technology. Within the environments of the Outer and Expanding circles, a further issue has to be considered in order to better specify the status of English spread: the evaluation of range and depth of this spread (see Kachru, Y. and Nelson, C.L., 2006). Range refers to the functions which English has actually acquired in a given communication network, in different domains. Depth is meant in terms of social penetration, therefore it indicates the availability of a number of uses of English according to the speaker's social context: for example, a well-educated academic could have an advanced control over English, different from the level of proficiency and from the semantic domains which could be controlled by a doctor, a shopkeeper, or a taxi driver. It is easy to imagine how the more widespread English became in India, the more it was exposed to variation, adapting to the linguistic peculiarities of local languages and different contextual settings. The result of this process was a linguistic continuum that included those registers and styles used by speakers of English who had a restricted control of the language (who used varieties known with the names of Butler English, Babu English, or Kitchen English since the colonial era<sup>43</sup>), but also the so-called Indian Educated English. The study of Indian English as a variety per se has gained popularity since the Seventies, as English spread was becoming an increasing phenomenon worldwide and English varieties constituted an interesting field for sociolinguistics, ethnolinguistics and anthropology of language.<sup>44</sup> In the next pages (3.1.1.) we will try to outline the most remarkable features of this variety, while collocating it in a wider theoretical framework of commodification of English in a global network (3.2.).

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<sup>43</sup> See *Indian 'Butler English'*. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications, No. 14, *A Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages* (1975), pp. 617-618. University of Hawaii Press - as reported in KACHRU, 1978.

<sup>44</sup> A few examples of this trend are Bhatia, 2009; Kachru, 1983 and 1986; Worsley, 1984.

### ***3.1.1. Defining Indian English***

The linguistic variety known as Indian English has already been analysed in depth within an extended literature, which includes pioneering studies which date back to the first decades of the Twentieth century. These works regard purely linguistic aspects of Indian English, like its phonetics, phonology and morphosyntax, but they focus on sociolinguistics as well, especially for what concerns the processes of nativisation and culturalisation of this variety.<sup>45</sup> Our work, then, does not claim to be fully exhaustive, but it intends to highlight those features of Indian English which either are symptomatic of this variety's adaptability, or reflect new patterns of linguistic identification between a speech community and the social context in which it is embedded.

We have just mentioned the concept of culturalisation as one of the focal points in the studies on Indian English. What we mean by that is the process through which English adapted to the Indian cultural environment, at the same time in which Indian speakers accommodated this language while re-interpreting it after native cultural traits. The main problem in delineating this process arises firstly from the fact that finding a univocal definition of culture is itself quite complex, and secondly because it is not easy to identify those English cultural aspects which could have potentially influenced the Indian context. Moreover, since India was in and of itself a multicultural and multilingual environment on a macro level, trying to outline any fixed model of mutual culturalisation between English and Indian languages would be limiting, as well as worthless. In this sense, we find that the concept of a plurality of Indian Englishes, rather than a generic Indian English, would better describe the linguistic variation which involved English within the Indian context:<sup>46</sup> the differences between Englishes are determined by geographical, social and demographical characteristics of various speech communities. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that some peculiarities in pronunciation, word usage and grammar, along with the use of semantic

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<sup>45</sup> See Sailaja, 2009: this work, besides being a rich descriptive account of English as it is used in India, also provides a huge survey of previous works on Indian English, classified according to the main topic they develop.

<sup>46</sup> This approach can already be found in Dasgupta, 1993. *The otherness of English: India's auntie tongue syndrome*. New Delhi/ Thousand Oaks/ London: Sage.

collocations that are embedded in Indian culture and have no equivalent in British or American English, are shared by all the Indian Englishes and thus contribute to the definition of a standard recognised Indian English. We are thus considering a few variables in order to define the main features whose presence in an English variety leads the outsider listener to identify it as Indian:

- 1) variation in phonetics and phonology;
- 2) variation in morphosyntax;
- 3) collocational deviation and semantic shift.

In the first case variations are determined by the phonetic and phonological structures of L1 and concern both segmental phonemes and non-segmental phonemes (see Kachru, 1978a: 487). Variations of segmental phonemes consist, for example, in the lack of distinction between /v/ and /w/ which results in the labio-dental approximant sound /ʋ/, or the replacement of the sounds /θ/ and /ð/ with the respective dental plosives and the replacement of /t/ and /d/ with the retroflex consonants /ʈ/ and /ɖ/. Hindī areas speakers may typically have a problem distinguishing /s/ and /ʃ/, just as they may assimilate /f/ with /ph/ and modify the clusters *sk*, *st* and *sp*, when they occur in initial position, through a euphonic /i/ which makes them result in *isk*, *ist* and *isp*.<sup>47</sup> Non-segmental phoneme variation, on the other hand, affects stress, rhythm and intonation.

Variations in morphosyntax may depend on the absence of a parallel category of the English article in Indian languages, on the different use of modal verbs, and on the different formulation of negative and interrogative clauses. Especially, English can be affected by the SOV (subject-object-verb) word order, typical of Indian languages.

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<sup>47</sup> Some of the words which are affected by this modification are widespread in the daily common language of Hindī speaking areas, to the point that they can be considered established loans: it is the case of *iskūl* (for school), *isteṣaun* (for station), *istāil* (for style) and even *isprāit* (for Sprite, the soft drink). However, the productivity of this phenomenon is remarkable, and can also lead to problems in the communication between an Indian speaker and an outsider: we personally experienced this issue during the autumn of 2016, when in Bombay we had to take a taxi from the airport to our hotel, which was in the city centre. The driver knew that area well, but of course he could not remember the location of each hotel over there, so he decided that we would reach the neighbourhood first, and then ask someone for the right place. When we arrived, he asked a guy on the street, but neither he, nor the guy could understand the name "Strand Hotel". The problem was our pronunciation, which made it impossible for them to identify the cluster in the initial position. After a few tries, when we finally pronounced the name as "Istrand", the situation was immediately solved.

As for the third aspect, namely semantic variations, it has been noticed how one of the "Indianising" lexical devices in Indian English is to invest a common English word or phrase with special, extra-dictionary meaning not to be found in any other variety (Mehrotra, 1989: 426). These kinds of expressions, which often appear as literal translations from an Indian language into English, may be classified, according to Kachru (1978a: 499), as a) having a collocation which exists in English, but assumes a particular meaning in the Indian context (for example, Merhotra mentions the expression "cow-worship", in which the two parts themselves are obviously meaningful in probably any other English variety, but they assume a specific semantic role in the Indian context); b) fully lexicalised and contextualised in an Indian collocation (for example, in Kachru we find the swear word "sister-sleeper", which is actually an almost literal translation of an abusive expression commonly found in different Hindī-area languages, and works only in this specific collocation); and c) expressions whose collocation may present no difficulties for a Standard English speaker, but turns out to be deviated from the English standardised collocation, thus representing a proper semantic shift (like in the Indian English word "colony", which means "residential area").

As Indian English evolved these peculiar characteristics over the years, it increasingly gained its own status as a lect, well distinct from «broken English» parlance (this definition is found in Merhotra, 1998: 101), especially thanks to the success of Indian English literature on the global market. At the same time, though, this juxtaposition of the adjective "Indian" also gave rise to the language beliefs that the necessity of labelling this variety as Indian was denigratory to a certain extent, since it was describing it as not able to compete with its "original" variety on the international level.<sup>48</sup> This was also due to defects in the educational system which, during the Seventies (see Spitzbardt, 1976), was still privileging the teaching of English through literature and practice in translation, thus creating a bracket of English-educated people who did not have a real control over communication skills and might be encouraged to adopt the language through fixed patterns, but without really acquiring it. A further plan for improving English learning and teaching, the CBSE-ELT (Central Board of Secondary

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<sup>48</sup> In Kachru we read that for an educated speaker «to have one's English labelled as Indian was an ego-cracking linguistic insult» (Kachru, 1983: 156).

Education-English Language Teaching) Project 1989-1997, was launched in Delhi during the Eighties (see Gargesh, 2009: 98). The Board remarked the importance of cooperation between the NCERT<sup>49</sup> (National Council of Educational Research and Training) and other institutions, in order to improve English language students' proficiency through a particular focus on the development of communicative skills.

It is also true that the literature on English varieties itself encouraged the diffusion of a similar evaluation of Indian English, propagating some veritable «myths» on this language (D'Souza, 2006). In D'Souza five major conceptual issues are analysed and confuted, namely 1) the definition of Indian English as a non-native variety; 2) the belief that it has no standards and that 3) it lacks creativity; 4) the exclusive association of Indian English with a small but dominant elite; in the end 5) the assumption according to which «English is the cause of most of the problems in India and in the world» (*ibidem*: 311). As for this last point, it does not stay within the aims, nor the boundaries of our study to decide upon its validity. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the global spread of the English language and of the values it conveyed affected the world in terms of culture, communication, aesthetics and economy, provoking epochal changes. In the case of India, these changes have been generally labelled with the encompassing concept of Westernisation, to be looked at from an optimistic or pessimistic point of view, depending on the situation (we are going to further develop the discussion on the impact of globalisation on the Indian context in 3.2.). Coming back to the other points, if 4) was true, it would be also true that all the powerful and rich people in India speak Indian English and/or all speakers of English in India are powerful and rich, which does not correspond to the reality (*ibidem*: 319). Rather than considering Indian English as a privilege of a few people, we should highlight the fact that it became a powerful means of social climbing and redemption.

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<sup>49</sup> The NCERT is an autonomous organisation set up in 1961 by the Government of India to assist and advise the Central and State Governments on policies and programmes for qualitative improvement in school education. Major objectives of the Council are to undertake, promote and coordinate research in areas related to school education; prepare and publish model textbooks and supplementary material; manage teachers' training of teachers; collaborate with state educational departments, universities, NGOs and other educational institutions. ([http://ncert.nic.in/about\\_ncert.html](http://ncert.nic.in/about_ncert.html). Retrieved 10/06/18)

Issues 1) and 2) are strictly related, as the standardisation of a language depends, among other factors, on the importance that the speaking community assigns to that same language within a local, native context, and the definition of Indian English as native or non-native variety depends exclusively on what we mean by "native". Merhotra, for example, does not hesitate in defining Indian English as a non-native variety on the basis that he considers British English as the native varieties, from which Ind. E. developed different and original features in accordance with a peculiar socio-cultural context (Merhotra, 1998). On the other hand, D'Souza argues that in the case of American and Australian Englishes, even though they developed original features as well, and even if English was spread in those locales through colonisation processes that overpowered indigenous languages, nativeness is never questioned. We would also add that English is actually a native language for a part of the post-Independence second generation of Indians, who receive a bilingual education. Moreover, the Anglo-Indian community has to be accounted for in our definition of native variety: by Anglo-Indian we mean people who are descendents of English and Indian parents, or who are British by birth, but have been living in India for a long time.<sup>50</sup> Coelho (1997) remarks that whether some authors use the term "non-native" with the intention of deliberately excluding native speakers from their discussions, or because they do not believe that native speakers exist, the fact that native speakers do exist makes this term inapplicable as a general label, thus it would be more appropriate to speak of a variety which has both native and non-native speakers. He also highlights how members of this community have continued to emigrate in large numbers to Australia and Britain, a fact which contributes to the enrichment of Indian English and its export in an international speech community<sup>51</sup>. Since we

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<sup>50</sup> The Constitution of India defines Anglo-Indians as follows:

Art. 366(2) "an Anglo-Indian" means a person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent but who is domiciled within the territory of India and is or was born within such territory of parents habitually resident therein and not established there for temporary purposes only.

([https://www.india.gov.in/sites/upload\\_files/npi/files/coi\\_part\\_full.pdf](https://www.india.gov.in/sites/upload_files/npi/files/coi_part_full.pdf). Retrieved 10/06/18).

<sup>51</sup> According to the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India, the Indian diaspora by December 2017 consisted of around 31.2 million people residing outside India. In this count are usually included persons classified in three different categories, namely Non-resident Indian (NRI), which legally refers to the tax status of a person; Person of Indian Origin (PIO), which identifies a person who has foreign citizenship, but holds an Indian passport, or whose spouse/parents/grand-parents/grand-grand-parents were born and resident in India; and Overseas

established the nativeness of Indian English, the existence of its standard variety is consequently proved. Teachers of English are Indians, standard textbooks and didactic materials are locally produced, thus «English in India is acquired by Indians from other Indians» (D'Souza, 2006: 313), and it is accepted and appreciated even if it differs from standard British English.

A final aspect of Indian English is left to be analysed, namely its 3) apparent lack of creativity. Given the fact that an Indian fiction literature in English exists and has dealt with a rich range of topics in describing the Indian situation, this charge cannot be held. The fact that Indian writing in English does not boast centuries of history, if compared to classical Indian languages, is not synonymous with less "greatness" or banality. It has also to be remembered that Indian writers, from the pre-Independence period till we would say the Nineties, had to deal with the contrasting issues of chauvinism on one side, which labelled English as an extra-Indian language (to be allocated, if necessary, to the domains of administration, trade, economics or sciences, but not to literature), and the neutrality of English on the other, which allowed them not only to produce an intra-national literature, free from regionalist ideologies, but also to present the same literature to an international public, in order to popularise and attract interest in it.

The ability of Indian English writers lies in the fact that they actually conducted a linguistic experiment which has been nothing but extremely creative: the nativisation of English has happened through the transfer of the Indian local cultural traits and semiotics into a powerful literary medium. Among the authors who succeeded in this process, scholars often mention Arundhati Roy, Taslima Nasreen, Salman Rushdie and Vikram Seth, mainly for their worldwide fame. An interesting study (Bandyopadhyay, 2010) on the lexical features of the Indian English novel highlights how not only collocational deviation and semantic shift are used to nativise English, as we saw, but also Indian words are borrowed whenever certain objects or actions cannot be easily described by any English name, in order to reproduce unique local colour in the written form. For example, in Vikram Seth's *A Suitable boy* and in Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's children*,

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Citizenship of India (OCI), a kind of pseudo-citizenship conferred to PIO or NRI which has restrictions on voting rights and jobs. ([http://mea.gov.in/images/attach/NRIs-and-PIOs\\_1.pdf](http://mea.gov.in/images/attach/NRIs-and-PIOs_1.pdf). Retrieved 10/06/18).

Bandyopadhyay locates about three hundred and fifty Indian words, mainly of Hindī and Urdū origin (Bandyopadhyay, 2010: 77). She also mentions a frequent use of Hindī/Urdū suffixes in combination with English words, the formation of the plural of Hindī/Urdū words by the English ending "-s", and other expression of a process which she defines as «blending» (*ibidem*). This kind of mixture between the two languages is a stylistic device which perfectly reproduces the typical features of the local speech, which is characterised by the blending not only between English and Indian languages, but also among Indian languages themselves. The merit of the Indian English novel, thus, consisted also in the diffusion of these hybrid expressions in the written register.

### ***3.1.2. From Indian English to further hybridisation: some remarks on Contact Languages***

The presence of hybrid formations in Indian English was already reported in the first studies on this variety published during the Seventies, anticipating its formalisation through the work of the above-mentioned authors. In Spitzbardt (1976:17) we read that not only were commonly used English words, especially those pertaining to daily routine (like bicycle, bus, station etc.), were inserted in the local speech and used «without any inhibition», but also English linguistic devices were often adopted as stems for original formations. Kachru (1978a: 500) speaks of «hybrid (or *Mixed* formation)» in the presence of any expression composed of two or more elements, of which at least one is from English and one from an Indian language. This kind of mixing/hybridisation, though, does not concern exclusively Indian languages and English: manifestation of mixing codes happens in case of any language or dialect contact, thus it is extremely prone to be productive in a multilingual and multidialect environment such as India (Kachru, 1978b). In a bilingual or multilingual situation the mixing and shifting of different lects is a spontaneous process, as speech communities share languages or dialects, even if in separate communication domains.

The 1961 Census (Mitra, 1964 in Khubchandani, 1978: 234) tried to record this phenomenon, starting from the collection of data on bilingualism. Although such data excluded dialects of the same mother tongue, as the informant was required not to indicate more than two languages other than the tongue which he used best, we can elaborate some interesting information from that. The census reported four types of linguistic contact: 1) basically missing, in the case of that 80% of languages which were confined to their home states (e.g. Assamese, Kashmiri); 2) spilling over neighbouring states, in the case of languages which belonged to the same linguistic region (e.g. Gujarātī, Panjābī); 3) contact due to languages which spread beyond their home region (e.g. Hindī/Urdū); 4) contact due to the diffusion of supra-regional languages (e.g. English and Sanskrit). As a first assumption we can say that 3) and 4), from the perspective of intergroup communication, can be regarded as potentially pan-Indian languages, or link languages, which brings us back to the Hindī-English controversy. This is actually confirmed by the fact that census data rendered a uniform pattern for the distribution of the languages which were indicated as second language, or contact language, by the speakers: Hindī/Urdū had the supremacy in Panjāb, Gujarāt, Mahārāṣṭrā, Madhya Pradeś and Bihār; English in Delhī NCR and, a bit surprisingly, in Uttar Pradeś and Rājāsthān; State Language in Orissa, Andhra Pradeś, Tamilnadu and Mysore. What is extremely interesting, though, is the fact that the North-Central region, which linguistically appeared to be the most heterogeneous (especially for the remarkable presence of minority communities, whose figures were between the 15% and the 58% of the total population), claimed the lowest proportion of bilingual speakers, namely 5,9%. We propose two interpretations of this phenomenon. Firstly, we can consider the existence of rural communities, whose participants are not exposed to a proper bilingual education, nor to the extensive linguistic contact which could be provided, for example, by mass media. As a second hypothesis, we can explain the low trends of bilingualism by the fact that a considerable portion of the population, although being exposed to a second language (for example, English for Hindī area residents) within a few domains of their social life, could not use it with proficiency enough to acknowledge that the exposure to that same language could affect their mother tongue.

With regards to this aspect, a later analysis of the functions of English in India can be further clarifying. Srivastava notices how English in India used to have four main functions, not necessarily to be meant as distributed over a period of time (whether happening in a timeline, or coexisting in the same period), but pertaining to specific contexts and domains (Srivastava, 1994: 92) . English was first of all an «auxiliary» language, namely a library language, reserved to academics, formal education and administration. Its second function was «supplementary», since it was a vehicular language which created unstable bilinguals (as we have just noticed in the context of a low bilingualism rate. Furthermore, English was also «complementary», which means that it was used as a link language, especially used in well defined social contexts and/or between people of different linguistic areas (typically, Northern and Southern Indians). We have been using the past tense in referring to these different functions: it is not the case that they are not meaningful and applicable any more, but what we notice is the increasing hegemony of a fourth function of English in Indian society, namely the «equative» one. English is being progressively used as an alternative language in *all* the domains where a first language, whether the mother tongue or an institutionalised regional language, is used (*ibidem*, italic is ours) . The step from the complementary to the equative stage is a crucial one, since if we could establish when it happened, due to which factors and in which social ranks, also the creation of hybrid varieties like Hinglish can be understood. In fact, the ambivalent use of both Hindī and English within certain shared domains is not only due to a standardised bilingual education, but also to functional and pragmatic reasons related to language. A clarification is needed about what we mean by "ambivalent use". In our opinion, this concept cannot exclude the existence of diglossic situations, where each language has its specific purpose and one language is inappropriate outside its contextualised collocation: for example, it will be hard for English to ever acquire an equative function in the domain of religion or classical sciences, due to boundary maintenance, which does not allow language shift (Srivastava, 1988: 248). The ambivalence is located in the speaker's capacity to have an even control of both the languages, irrespective of the communicative context, to the point that he/she may switch more or less

consciously from English to an Indian language and vice versa, without feeling any embarrassment or linguistic purism concern. Merhotra (1998: 14) notices how following this process hybrid lects like Hinglish and Tamlish were born, and have become an integral part of educated Indians' speech. Clearly, the transition from one function to the other is gradual: at the beginning, variations would affect the language of few people. A change in the communicative devices can be attested only when it is regularly found in the daily speech, without any significant variant (see Labov, 1972). The choice itself of one version rather than another one, is mainly due to linguistic evaluation (see 2.1) and social motivations, which are not explicit, but have a major significance for the evolution of the language.

### **3.2. English as a modern commodity**

In the previous sections we have tried to trace the main features of English spread all around the "Three Circles" and the consequences of this process on the Indian multilingual environment. A newly built nation, which still had to find an internal balance between various linguistic ideologies, found itself projected towards a global stage where the main actors used English as the most prestigious medium. For this reason English was invested with the role of national development marker, and by national development we mean first and foremost the increase in rates of economic growth, the establishment of specialised occupational categories, the mass mobilisation by the Central Government in order to become a competitive country and get rid of a heavy colonial past. The two languages of the central administration, as we saw, had been established in Hindī and English. But while Hindī was recognised as tracing back to ancient roots, to traditional domains of culture and folk heritage, English alone was conceived as the device which could fill the gap between India and the "modern", "Western" world. According to Ferguson's analysis (Ferguson, 1979), any development process requires one or more languages which should be separated from the ordinary domains of communication and from the religious discourse. In this sense we also claim that English contributed to the building of a laic facade of the nation, a

process that also fostered the diffusion in Western countries of the collective image of a "contradictory India", where spirituality and technocracy face each other. Actually, the image of a leading country in the fields of technology and science was a perfect letter of presentation for a nation to be imagined as an emerging market. Once the language of development is decided, Ferguson adds, it tends to become the major source of lexical expansion, exactly because it will be the language of innovation and modernity, and this can also lead to the intensification of social tensions, as users of traditional and/or classical languages may be labelled as backward-looking persons, when not illiterate. The bright side of the relationship between development processes and languages is that the existence of a privileged linguistic variety, among others, tends to produce bilingualism or at least the existence of multiple registers (*ibidem*).

Even though the choice of English as the language of development did not happen with the main purpose of implementing national cultural integration, if we consider it in the context of globalisation, it is undeniable that it still played a crucial role in a new kind of integration, namely «class culture» (Annamalai, 2003: 31). Sharing a class culture means sharing group behaviour and points of view. English became a cross-linguistic marker of group identity and solidarity for the educated segment of the Indian population, which consisted of middle and upper classes. English allowed a further integration, namely the possibility for these groups to have their identity recognised within a global culture, which went beyond the national and ethnic boundaries of India. In this sense, the role of globalised culture assumed a kind of colonial power: its control was not physical or political, but it was put into practice through an economic dynamic of supply and demand: globalisation offered access to superior technology and innovation, and English was the easiest way to be part of the global scenario, becoming the favourite instrument of tacit power. From the language of oppression of the colonial era, English seemed to have become the language of self-realisation.

Given this scenario, do we have to assume that English was the only possible marker of a global-oriented identity? Was Hindī going to eventually be replaced, following an inverse tendency? This assumption would be true, if we believed language to be a marker of fixed identity, capable of implanting a cultural set in

the individual according to the communicative network which he/she uses. Das (2000) notices how invader populations had come to India several times, and they stayed, they were assigned a sub-caste and they became Indian; but the British did not, as their heritage was still alive within the mechanism of global economy. He finds that since Indians were used to living with pluralism, they might also be able to negotiate the effects of globalisation. Looking for a more precise explanation, we need to clarify the relationship between language and identity.

The concept of identity is a critical one. Its definition is under constant examination in the social sciences, as it is often related to different categories of analysis. Brubaker and Cooper notice how «"Identity" [...] tends to mean too much (when understood in a strong sense), too little (when understood in a weak sense), or nothing at all (because of its sheer ambiguity)». In the first case, identity is conceived basically as nothing more than "sameness", hence as something that every person and every group has, even without being aware of it: it implies strong homogeneity, which results in self-imposed or over-imposed boundaries. On the other hand, the weak notion of identity assumes that identities are constructed, unstable, prone to a continuous negotiation as a result of context changes or other variables. Given these conditions, the notion of identity can be used as a basis for political action (for the construction of nationality, ethnicity, or other group affiliations), for the circumscription of selfhood and for the identification of sameness-otherness criteria (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000). Actually, sameness and difference are not objective states, but they emerge from social interaction: for example, identity can mean sameness among the members of a group, but at the same time difference between the single individuals and between the insiders and the outsiders. Bucholtz and Hall develop this concept, stating that «*identity is the social positioning of self and other*» (Bucholtz and Hall, 2010), and this positioning is constituted by linguistic interaction. They find five principles for the study of identity in relation to language:

- the «emergence» principle, according to which identity is an emergent product of self-conceptions entering the social world, and not a pre-existing source of linguistic acts;

- the «positionality» principle, which sees identity as the result of social contexts, and not of static social categories. According to this point, identity is based not only on macro categories, but also on local, specific, temporary and interactional situations;
- the «indexicality» principle, which starts from the creation of semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings. Indexicality becomes extremely important in identification processes, because associations between language and identity depend on the speaker's cultural beliefs and values. Indexical associations can also be imposed by language planning authorities or by the media. This principle, besides regulating micro linguistic structures, can also affect entire linguistic systems like languages or dialects;<sup>52</sup>
- the «relationality» principle, which consists in the fact that identities are never autonomous or independent, they cannot exist but in relation to other social actors;
- the «partialness» principle, which founds its validity on the fact that any representation of any culture is inevitably partial, at least because it is in part decided by others' representations.

Within this theoretical framework, we can re-collocate the notion of global-oriented identity of English educated middle and upper classes. The choice of English as an identity marker did not exclude the "Indianness" of the speakers, nor the maintenance of local languages in specific contexts of daily life. This brings us back to the equative function of English spread (see 3.1.2.), but at the same time reaffirms the symbolic value of English within a linguistic economy: the adoption of English as a means to obtain social prestige, more than identifying a member of the modern, developed, globalised environment, distinguished an *Indian* member of that same environment from other Indians, who could not afford the access to such a privileging context.

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<sup>52</sup> With regard to indexicality, Johnston remarks how it is almost impossible to find a linguistic form which indexes to a specific, single social identity, as indexicality can not only construct identities, but also evoke other ones. People hear indexical meanings in linguistic variants by being told that univocal indexes exist, and they continue to share this idea (Johnston, 2010).

### 3.3. Mediating local and global through television

We have previously mentioned the role of media in language planning and in the promotion of Hindi and English respectively (see 2.4.2). We should now briefly analyse the importance of media for the elaboration of a collective imagination which had to be mediated from the globalised cultural set, and the local one. Thanks to its wide diffusion among the upper-middle class, it was television to assume a central role in this process: the importation and distribution of English language serials meant of course the simultaneous diffusion of Western aesthetics, lifestyles and commodities in the Indian mindset.

The nascent state television network, Doordarshan (DD), received consistent incentives from the fourth and fifth Five-Year-Plans,<sup>53</sup> between 1969 and 1978, gaining the opportunity to overtake even radio broadcasting (in Butcher, 2003: 52). The investments in this field were a direct consequence of the authoritarian turn taken by Indira Gandhi's Government, in particular during the period of the Emergency (1975-1977),<sup>54</sup> when Doordarshan became an established governmental institution: Indira Gandhi explicitly stated that television was a government organ whose primary functions were to give the views of the government (Butcher, 2003: 54). In 1975 occurred the launch of the India's first local satellite programme, Satellite Instructional Television (SITE): broadcasts included rural developing programmes, children's programming and general entertainment. The Seventies mark a step in the development of India's television

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<sup>53</sup> The Five-Year Plans were centralised national economic programs. The First Five-Year Plan, presented to the Parliament by the first Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, was launched in 1951 and it mainly focused on the development of the primary sector (see Guha, 2007:215-218, 436-440).

<sup>54</sup> Indira Gandhi announced the imposition of the Internal Emergency on 26 June 1975, after a period of economic and political crisis. A marked deterioration of the economic situation had already started in 1971, when to the costs of the Bangladesh war had to be added the burden of sheltering millions of refugees. The shortage of grain reserves was worsened by the paucity of monsoon rains for two years, in 1972 and 1973, with consequent fall in agriculture production and demand for industrial goods. To this we have to add the consequences of the world oil prices increase in 1973. The internal order increasingly deteriorated during 1974 and 1975, with strikes, protests and food riots often turning violent. Major agitation occurred in Gujarāt and Bihār, where eventually the resignation of the Congress government was demanded. Moreover, on 12 June 1975 the Allāhabād High Court convicted Indira Gandhi for corrupt campaign practices, declaring her election invalid, an just a day later the Gujarāt assembly election results stated the majority for the opposition party, the Janata Party, which demanded Indira Gandhi's resignation. The imposition of Emergency came as a direct response to this situation (see Chandra, Mukherjee & Mukherjee, 1991:311-316).

thanks also to the introduction of advertising in 1976: commercials of a maximum length of ten seconds started to be broadcasted before and after programmes (*ibidem*). The government pushed the increase of television ownership through tax reduction on imported devices and investments in the construction of a local one. This set of state-generated activities was clearly oriented to the implementation of political propaganda, but also to the creation of an audience open to national economic development. As the access to television-generated imagination increased, debates began to take shape, concerning the relationship between television and its cultural impact. The most critical issues were state propaganda, presence of violence and sex in the popular cinema, and the commercialisation of television, which was gradually losing its primary declared educational intent and was increasingly gaining popularity in urban India, mining the integrity of Indian identity (Butcher, 2003: 61). In this sense television was acquiring a crucial role in the process of definition, understanding and maintenance of the concept of what "being Indian" meant.

The impact of globalisation had caused points of collision between different cultural sets, which resulted in the consciousness of the existence of possibilities outside the immediate context of individuals. The adoption of a modern identity was attractive, as it made young generations and new classes identify themselves as increasingly successful citizens of a developing world. Television created «limit images» (Butcher, 2003: 22) which marked a multiplicity of social spaces, thus allowing the individual to collocate or be collocated in them: one could choose to embrace the new but at the same time keep continuity with the pre-existent cultural network. Bhatia (2009: 156) notices how «glocalization» would be a proper definition for the solution of the polarity between globalisation and adaptation of images in India as well as in other South Asian countries. If on one side globalisation meant homogenisation in language, daily-usage goods, brands and marketing messages (in a «'one-size-fits-all' approach»), on the other side adaptation meant the customisation of global trends with the aim of attracting in the global market the highest number of consumers. "Glocalization", instead, was a process of fusion and hybridisation of cultural forms while still preserving their cultural specificities, which resulted also, in the Nineties, in the «fusion and

hybridization of linguistic forms, which is unprecedented in the history of global English» (*ibidem*:158), particularly evident in the same field of advertising which was so often criticised during the Seventies. It is actually interesting how the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, in the 1978 report on the mass media situation,<sup>55</sup> allocates an entire chapter to advertising. Although the report does not provide any information about the role of television commercials, it asserts that investing in advertising is essential to accelerate the pace of progress in the country: «advertising, as it happened in several other countries, can play a constructive role in motivating people towards greater achievements in all fields of life and also in bringing about desirable changes in their behaviour, attitudes and norms». Particular attention is paid to the «Outdoor Publicity», described as the oldest form of advertising in India and extremely important for its capacity to reach all economic and social groups, both literate and illiterate people. The variety of the advertising forms which are contemplated is noticeable: from transport advertising hoards to enamel boards and even match box advertising. As for the role of television advertisements in building a "glocalised" identity during the Seventies and the Eighties, Cayla and Koops-Elson (2006) notice how, even before reaching the linguistic level, hybridisation was clear in the juxtaposition of cultural traits well embedded in the Indian mindset with messages of innovation and modernisation which came from the global market. For examples, the commercials for Bajaj scooters and motorcycles, which launched the slogan "Hamārā Bajāj", presented the image of a patriotic Indian man who was attached to his roots but looked towards modernity (*ibidem*: 154-156). We found something similar in the Amul advertising boards from the Seventies, which mostly play with the ambiguity of the juxtaposition of English slogans and images which are clearly embedded in the Indian collective imagination. For example, in one of the posters for the Amul advertisement campaign of 1979, people could see the stylised picture of a girl, standing in the rain wearing a trendy raincoat. The girl was spreading some Amul butter on a slice of bread and the slogan said: "A coat for all seasons!", thus playing with the meaning of "coat" and at the same time

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<sup>55</sup> *Mass media in India 1978*. Editorial Management. Research and Reference Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.

presenting a clear reference to the monsoon season, which who, better than an Indian, could understand? (see Appendix). In this way other commercials managed to gradually propose new interpretations of "Indianness".

Liberalisation of the economy after 1991<sup>56</sup> led to the validation of a greater diffusion and consumption of cultural products such as media (Butcher, 2003: 64-73). Doordarshan transmission had increased enormously since the expansion of television services during the Asian games in 1982 (Srivastava, 1994:101) and in 1991 transnational television was introduced to India as well, first with CNN and immediately after with STAR TV from Hong Kong. The diffusion of transnational television had in mind an upper-middle class audience: only viewers who could afford the appropriate technology, thus belonging to specific social segments, could then access a variety of famous foreign shows and interact with various expressions of pop culture. In the early 90s, Star India included Star Plus, an English-language entertainment channel, Prime Sports and MTV, but all its programming was in English. When in 1992 Zee TV was added to India's media landscape, its advantage consisted in the fact that its daily broadcast of three hours in Hindī had an immediate success. This means, first, that even the literate, urban middle-class was not ready and willing to accept a total English-controlled media (as stated in Kasbekar, 2006: 156), and, second, that a differentiation between Hindī area audience and non-Hindī area audience had occurred.<sup>57</sup> When Sony Entertainment Television (SET) launched its channel in 1995, it was a Hindī one. In October 1996, STAR TV followed this choice of localising television broadcasting, beginning Hindī programming between seven and nine p.m. By 1999, it had turned into a Hindī channel, while the English programming shifted to STAR World (Butcher, 2003: 71). However, it interesting to notice that the inaugural slogan of the new STAR Plus Hindī channel was an example of linguistic hybridisation: "*Āpkī bolī. Āpkā Plus Point*" (Your Speech. Your Plus

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<sup>56</sup> In 1991 India was undergoing a fiscal crisis which was an aftermath of previous decades' protectionist policies. This situation convinced the government to implement a series of economic reforms which were intended as a booster for independent enterprises and as the attainment of those aims of industrialisation and self-reliance which had been proclaimed since Independence (see Chandra, Mukherjee & Mukherjee, 1991:475-486)

<sup>57</sup> The equivalent of STAR Tv and Zee Tv for the Tamil audience was launched in 1993 (Sun Tv).

Point) (*ibidem*). The publicity of the local language-speaking channel was proving that the local language (or, more precisely, the language of the average audience) was nothing but a hybridised lect, perfectly in line with the "glocalised" Indian identity.

## Chapter 4

### **Hinglish: a democratic device or a marker of privilege?**

#### **4.1. Locating Hindī and English in the urban linguistic market**

We have seen how the advent of technical innovations and globalisation started massive changes in Indian society. After the liberalisation economy of the Nineties, moreover, India entered the global market as a protagonist, and in such a context Indian citizens were seen first of all as consumers. As the ruling language of this market was English, its desirability in order to promote national pride and progress definitively modified way the post-colonial idea of national development: if till the Seventies the idea of empowering India was not exclusively associated to the spread of English in the country, and the debate on specific linguistic policies about English, Hindī and different Indian languages could still be stimulating, in the context of economic and cultural globalisation English transcended any project of language planning and spread by means of what Annamalai (2003: 31) defines as a «soft power», namely its capacity to convey the ideology of modernisation and development. We have presented the concept of English as a commodity (see 3.2.), which became a luxurious identity marker when owned by the determined social categories which could afford a good control over it. But we should bring our analysis to a further level: English not only was the exported product of globalisation, it also represented the direct route to access that same global market. We can imagine it as a big company's share, which represents a valuable good, but can only be acquired by employing the same currency which establishes its value. This is a very pragmatic metaphor, but we can instead find a better theoretical explanation of this dynamic in the concept of linguistic market (*marché linguistique*) proposed by Bourdieu (1982). He describes each act of language as a conjunction of causal factors: on one hand, we have the linguistic habitus, which implies a certain inclination to speak and to say determinate things, and is defined by the linguistic capacity to produce infinite grammatical coherent discourses, and by the social capacity to adequately use the linguistic competence within a specific contextual situation. On the other hand,

there are the structures of the linguistic market, which impose a system of sanctions and censorship through a symbolic dominion. This means that the speaker does not acknowledge any constriction, but in reality he/she chooses a habitus in accordance with the laws of the linguistic market. If we apply this theory to English in India in the era of globalisation, it is clear how in the linguistic market English represents the powerful component, to which the speaker is persuaded to conform.

Annamalai (2003) claims that the power of English was reinforced by the instability and ambivalence of language policies, which led to the imposition of English as the preferred medium of education, without a real enquiry into the needs of different communities in terms of accessing education through their own mother tongue. The number of English medium schools, in fact, grew exponentially during the Nineties, partly because of the liberalisation of private education between 1992 and 1997, through the Eighth Five-Year-Plan (as reported by Ghosh, 2013: 228), and partly because of the consequent Government investments in information technology, which became, along with engineering, one of the fields in which India produces worldwide esteemed professionals. The kind of English teaching which is used in this context provides communicative and productive linguistic skills, which is transferred to daily life communication among the upper-middle classes, but remains inaccessible for those segments of the population which do not take part in this kind of education. Annamalai (2005) notices how private English-medium schools please the needs of urban upper-middle classes, but they also attract the demand of urban working classes and rural classes, who see in the higher classes a model for success. Minority communities, who have the freedom to choose a curriculum which includes their mother tongue as the medium for education, opt for English anyway, as it represents a further advantage for minority students over the students who are educated in the official language. This mechanism can be seen as leading to the creation of two nations, separate on the basis of language, with different aspirations, mindsets and attitudes, and, according to Annamalai (*ibidem*), a new elite comes to life, who does not care about mediating with the masses. Moreover, the obsession for English-medium education often causes the sacrifice of quality

in teaching, in those contexts where this language is a mere element of status symbol, but not a real necessity. Let us further develop this aspect. Montaut (2004) brings attention to the fact that, although English cultural domination through globalisation imposed a deep change in the cognitive schemes, English itself was not really necessary in the world of work, which was dominated by local languages and local pidginised varieties. The trend changed when small, local companies, in competition with each other and with the multinational corporations, started playing the card of "western style". This tendency clearly emerges from a study conducted among a sample group of young women professionals in Delhī (Sandhu, 2016), who report how finding a job in local enterprises is paradoxically more difficult than being hired by international firms. The problem lies in the fact that small companies look for a specific appearance in their employees: in the case of woman employees, they have to be dressed according to the appealing aesthetics of western magazines and they should demonstrate a confident attitude towards men. While job advertisements generally require a BA degree, they do not mention any necessary level of proficiency in English, but during the interviews a good control over English guarantees the applicants priority over people who, despite having a higher level of education, come from Hindī medium. This mechanism seems to be the norm in urban environments, especially in the Capital and in other megalopolises all over the country, where the main variable would only be the local language background of workers, but the ideologies and beliefs about English will be basically the same.

To have an idea of the extent of this mindset, we should consider the features of urbanisation in India. The urban population at the beginning of the twentieth century amounted to only 25.8 million, which constituted around 10% of the total population (data for 1901, in Bhagat and Mohanty: 2009). In 2001 the proportion had increased to 28%, with the decennial growth rate reaching a peak of 46% between 1971 and 1981. Migration from rural areas to the cities, easy to imagine, was drawn by the high job supply. In 2006, the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA or MGNREGA, as it was renamed after Mahāmā Gandhī) was launched as a solution to this migratory movement, since one of its main objectives was the provision of locally available work in rural areas

(Kumari, 2014). However, according to the data recorded by Bhagat and Mohanty (2009), in 2009 out of the total of urban residents, nearly 40% lived in cities whose population exceeded 1 million. Clearly, there are major differences between a context created by one million people and one created by ten million. Consider, for example, that as per Census 2011, the population of Delhī as on 1st March 2011 was 16.75 million, while the population of a city like Laḡhnaū, the capital of Uttar Pradeś, was 4.6 million.<sup>58</sup>

The speakers' concept of the relationship between Hindī and English, thus, is very differentiated not only on the basis of urban-rural contexts, but also depending on the urban context which is taken into consideration. LaDousa (2002) presents the case in which Hindī-medium schools become the centre of the linguistic market, and English-medium schools come to represent not only the foreign, but even the unpatriotic, thus becoming the periphery of the linguistic market: this reverts the situation which we have so far analysed. She observes the linguistic valuation in Vārāṇasī, which can be summarised in three levels of the same tendency to prefer Hindī to English. On one hand, we have people who acknowledge the configuration of English as global because they feel its necessity in order to «'go outside' (*bāhar jānā*)» (LaDousa, 2002: 218), whether for leisure, study or work, since it guarantees access to a wider range of job opportunities. Students who study in English-medium schools, indeed, establish as a main goal the possibility of travelling outside the city. On the other hand, we find those who believe that English embodies a series of values which is not local, thus not even necessary to Vārāṇasī social space. The extreme of this ideology is represented by the Hindī-medium school run by the nationalist group of RSS (*Rāṣṭrīya Svayamsēvaka Saṅgha*)<sup>59</sup>. In such a nationalist ideology, Hindī is obviously the centre of the

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<sup>58</sup> [http://delhi.gov.in/DoIT/DoIT\\_Planning/ES2012-13/EN/ES\\_Chapter%202.pdf](http://delhi.gov.in/DoIT/DoIT_Planning/ES2012-13/EN/ES_Chapter%202.pdf);  
<http://www.censusindia.gov.in/pca/SearchDetails.aspx?Id=165058>. Retrieved 10/06/18.

<sup>59</sup> RSS is a Hindū nationalist, paramilitary volunteer organisation. It was founded in 1925 by Keśāv Balirām Hedgevār, with the aim of organising the empowerment of the Hindū community, within the Independence movement (for a critical analysis of the story of this organisation, see Aditya Mukherjee, Mridula Mukherjee, Sucheta Mahajan. 2008. *RSS, School Texts and the Murder of Mahatma Gandhi: The Hindu Communal Project*. SAGE Publications India. To date, the RSS declares that «For the welfare of entire mankind, Bharath must stand before the world as a self-confident, resurgent and mighty nation. Even at the inception, the Sangh was viewed by its founder not as a sectoral activity, but as a dynamic power-house energizing every field of national activity. Expressed in the simplest terms, the ideal of the Sangh is to carry the

linguistic market, as it represents the nation itself. Students of this school consider English-medium students to be even not really Indian, as they focus on a foreign culture which still recalls colonial domination. Nevertheless, marketing laws have a weight also in such a Hindī-centred environment as Vārāṇasī. Advertising underlines the difference between government administered schools and private schools (*ibidem*: 221): private schools do not limit advertising to signs near the entrance gates, but they use public spaces and they make sure that the fact they use English-medium is well known. The peculiarity of urban situations is that many different social groups, which are defined by different backgrounds and origin, interact with each other in an environment which is already undergoing external influences, namely, the massive impact with globalised culture. Therefore, even if markers of social identity differ, like in the case of English and Hindī as symbols of separate linguistic economies, a common network of communication takes shape in which linguistic exchange is needed. On one hand, then, language represents a «territorial imperative», as suggested by Seidlhofer and Widdowson (2009), which encloses and protects the groupness identity, assuming a rigid indexicality (see 3.2.) which excludes the outsiders. On the other hand, language needs to be constantly adapted and potentially modified in order to communicate with other identities. The criticality of this ambivalence lies in the fact that it is necessary to find the most effective communication device so as to create a good balance between reducing and enhancing the boundaries of the contrasting identities. Seidlhofer and Widdowson introduce as a possible solution the «idiom principle» (*ibidem*), according to which users of different languages employ a shared phraseology to accommodate to each other. In those contexts where Hindī and English coexist, the natural results of this accommodation are code-switching and other forms of language hybridisation. According to Bhatt (2008) code-switching can be viewed as cohabitation of linguistic acts, rather than resistance. Speakers who embody defined social identities transform those which can be seen as fixed categories into something fluid and adaptable. The creativity in communication leads to the development of a new linguistic habitus which is the reflection of a new social structure. The social structure at issue is defined as

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nation to the pinnacle of glory through organizing the entire society. Verily this is the one real national as well as global mission. If ever there was one.» (<http://rss.org/> - Retrieved 10/06/18).

«third space» (Bhatt R. M., 2008; Bhabha, 1994), namely a social representation which is discursive, and thus shared by those who conceive themselves as neither traditional, nor modern (even though both these concepts can be broken down), neither global, nor local, or, to say it the other way round, in a more creativity-oriented perspective, both traditional and modern, both global and local. In the case of English-based speech communities and Hindī-based ones, the third space finds its language of expression in Hinglish.

#### **4.2. Looking for a definition of Hinglish**

We have clarified the relationship between Hindī and English within the linguistic economy which was a consequence of the impact of globalisation in a country like India, where a national unity was still under construction after decolonisation. What we have tried to explain is the fact that linguistic hybridisation, besides being a necessary device for inter-group communication, especially in urban contexts where group identities are extremely varied, is also, and most interestingly, the expression of a particular negotiation between potentially opponent memberships, namely a local against a global community. But which are the features of this negotiation? What do we mean when we talk about Hinglish being a hybrid linguistic variety? A definition of this phenomenon is actually being widely discussed on different levels, which vary from the studies on mixed languages, to the analysis of language in Indian media. The question of defining Hinglish, both in terms of purely linguistic features and of its social role, is particularly difficult to solve for three interdependent reasons. Firstly, the evolution and the development of this linguistic variety is still ongoing in the moment we are writing this dissertation. Not only is it adapting to diversified communication needs, but it is also responding to increasingly multilingual environments, starting from the biggest cities in India where university campuses attract an intra-national and international public, to the NRI communities<sup>60</sup> all over the world. Secondly, the very nature of this hybrid variety makes it limiting

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<sup>60</sup> We are using here NRI as a generic indexical for the expatriate communities of people whose origins can be traced to the Indian Subcontinent. For a formal classification see 3.1.1.

to establish its features within the boundaries of permanent categories. Thirdly, as a consequence of both the previous aspects, no standardised version of Hinglish exists: it is not a language yet, no one would define him/herself as a Hinglish speaker, even though its users acknowledge its existence as a linguistic set which is different from both English and Hindī. On one hand, this indeterminateness is fascinating and it opens many possibilities of investigation; on the other hand, though, it can leave space to discordant understandings of Hinglish, which tend to relegate its nature to a mere stylistic choice or, in a derogatory sense, to a corruption of both of the source languages and/or a macaronic lect. The aim of our study is not to define the formal features of this variety; however, it is necessary to delineate some main patterns which characterise it, in order to contextualise its usage within the speech community. In the foreword to one of the more comprehensive studies on Hinglish, which is Kothari's and Snell's *Chutnefying English*, Harish Trivedi tries to answer a set of basic questions about Hinglish, in order to define it (Trivedi in Kothari and Snell, 2011). For example, does its definition depend on who is asking the question? When did it come into existence, and which needs did it serve? As for this last question, it is impossible to establish the exact period of coming into existence of any linguistic hybrid variation: the initial phases of the variation are not noticed by the speakers who use it, but once it becomes a subject of study it is already formed, or at least it has already reached a level of development which allows it to be identified as a different variety from the standard one. We can however identify some factors whose relevance within the social context could encourage the normalisation of the variation, allowing its spread. In the case of India, for example, cinema constituted an extremely important factor in the spreading of hybrid formations. Trivedi and other scholars (Trivedi, 2011; Gera Roy, 2013; Kasbekar, 2006) agree on the fact that the first examples of Hinglish, meant as a fusion of English and Hindī words, appeared during the Seventies in the gossip column "Neeta's natter", edited by Śobhā De in the film magazine *Stardust*. This magazine was founded in 1971 in Bombay by Nari Hira, who was an advertising agent. His idea was to publish something similar to Hollywood's gossip magazines, whose readership could be an urban upper-middle class. *Stardust's* articles and advertisements created a collective

imagination made of sparkling lifestyle, luxury goods and modern facilities. We have seen (3.3.) how the context of advertisements managed to create a local globalised identity set, which was expressed through hybrid aesthetics and linguistic codes. This magazine, partly due to its first editor's background and consequently to its content, benefited from the techniques and the rhetoric of advertising, and started using «non-standard varieties of English with the odd Hindi, Marathi, or Gujarati word or phrase inserted» (Dwyer, 2001: 261). This linguistic mixture was, actually, a natural feature in the multilingual environment of Bombay and especially of the cinematographic industry, since this industry had a national market which attracted talents from all over the country, included non-Hindī areas. We can say that cinema reflected multilingualism and at the same time reinterpreted it through features which could be made easily accessible and popular, and this is the reason why most of the studies on hybrid varieties, and Hinglish above all, are grounded in film language and its diachronic evolution (see among others Roy, 2013; Kothari, R. and Snell, R., 2011; Orsini, 2105; Si, 2010; Trivedi, 2006). The preponderant role of cinema in Indian society is indeed undeniable, not only as the entertainment means par excellence, but also as creator of collective imagination (Vasudev, A and Lenglet, P, 1983). Cinema's role is evident in daily life nowadays, as it was by the time studies on Hinglish began to spread, from the giant film hoardings on the buildings, to the constant broadcasting of the soundtrack songs from the latest hits whether in a taxi, in a cafe or in a brand new mall, whether in Delhī, in a town of the Uttar Pradesh countryside, on Marine Drive in Mumbai or in Chennai's city centre. This medium has an extraordinary capacity to encounter the manifold requests of its audience, keeping pace with society's evolution and changes. It can portray significant social traits and it can be thought of as a «collective fantasy» (Sudhir Kakar, in, Vasudev, A and Lenglet, P 1983:90-97) whose images and protagonists become models to which daily life is adapted: from fashion, to attitude and, of course, language. However, the limit of cinema as a valid source of linguistic information lies in the fact that, obviously, films have a fixed script, so the language which they display cannot be considered as a spontaneous linguistic manifestation. A script can be written according to specific language policies, its author can

intentionally avoid or stress the usage of specific expressions and make this choice look as natural as possible. Within the limits of this study we will not be able (neither is it our aim) to establish whether it is real life language which adopts some patterns of films' language, or, vice versa, screenwriters reproduce specific trends. But given the extraordinary role that cinema has in shaping some of the characteristics of Indian identity, and in being shaped by it, we assume that the presence of certain linguistic trends in the language of cinema means at least the existence of a socio-cultural discourse which includes them. For this reason we find valid the above mentioned approach to the study of Hinglish through film language.

Coming back to the first question proposed by Trivedi, namely whether the definition of Hinglish would change according to the background of the person who is looking for it, we need once again to take into consideration the hybrid nature of Hinglish. The fact that this linguistic variety is the result of an accommodation of English to Hindī and vice versa tends to allow different speech communities and different speakers themselves to label as Hinglish a continuum of linguistic acts which goes from a more generic Indian English to a strong code-mixing. In this sense, we found it interesting to look for what public opinion defines as Hinglish. We made a brief research on the internet, just to see which are the main topics of the discussion about this lect outside the academy. What we discovered are two main trends: on one hand, especially in the international press, Hinglish is described as a not better defined fusion between Hindī and English, while on the other hand, and exclusively in Indian sources, it is the name which describes Hindī written in Roman script. A separate understanding of Hinglish is that which uses this term to refer to a particular movie genre, namely consisting in either Indian movies with foreign production or movies whose title is an actual mix of Hindī and English, which probably, not necessarily, is a symptom of a mixed script as well. Let us analyse these aspects, starting from the last one.

The Indian website List.ly<sup>61</sup> presents a list of movies «which are titled in Hinglish which means Hindi + English». Among them we find "Jab We Met" (whose translation is "When we met", "jab" being the Hindī word for "when"), "Ek

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<sup>61</sup> <https://list.ly/list/VNF-hinglish-bollywood-movie-titles>. Retrieved 10/06/18.

Villain" ("ek" meaning "one/a"), and Shuddh Desi Romance (whose English translation "A proper local romance" does not really sound great in English, while the adjective "desī" in Hindī is extremely relevant, as it indicates something local, autochthonous, definitely embedded in the Indian context). On ScreenDaily<sup>62</sup> the concept of Hinglish as a genre appears in an article from 2003, entitled "Sex, History and Hinglish-Bollywood's new genres". This article does not really provide a definition of what a Hinglish movie should be, apart from presenting half English and half Hindī in its title, but it suggests the idea of something modern and innovative.

Coming to Hinglish described as a fusion between English and Hindī, some articles maintain a kind of scientific rigour (see "The rise and rise of Hinglish in India", an article published on the online magazine "The Conversation" in 2009, which speaks about Hinglish in terms of a « hybrid mixing of Hindi and English within conversations, individual sentences and even words [...] that demonstrates you are modern, yet locally grounded»<sup>63</sup>), while others do not make any distinction between what can be undoubtedly defined as Indian English and various degrees of English-Hindī mixing.<sup>64</sup> The British channel BBC, in March 2018, produced an interesting piece on the fact that Portsmouth's College is offering the first Hinglish course in the country, in order to teach students «India's business language of choice».<sup>65</sup> Despite the very didactic content of this piece, we find it interesting as long as it brings Hinglish to the attention of an international public. Lastly, a few words about the trend of labelling Hindī written in Roman script as Hinglish. We found two books which both, ironically, claim to be "the first Hinglish novel" ever published<sup>66</sup>: in reality, they are nothing more than short Hindī novels written in Roman script, not even following a scientific transliteration, but rather adopting the commonly used one, of course accessible to a wider public. A further confirmation of the popular belief according to which

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<sup>62</sup> <https://www.screendaily.com/sex-history-and-hinglish-bollywoods-new-genres/4012473.article>. Retrieved 10/06/18.

<sup>63</sup> <http://theconversation.com/the-rise-and-rise-of-hinglish-in-india-53476>. Retrieved 10/06/18.

<sup>64</sup> See <https://www.indiatoday.in/education-today/grammar-vocabulary/story/8-hinglish-phrases-made-and-used-by-indians-only-236936-2015-01-22>. Retrieved 10/06/18.

<sup>65</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GTqvzmlffqw>. Retrieved 10/06/18.

<sup>66</sup> They are *Hinglish Love Story*. Khumar Diraj, 2015. New Delhi: Educreation Publishing; and *The Beautiful Roses: India's first Hinglish book (Hindi Language English Script)*. Swapna Rajput, 2015. Quills Ink Publishing.

Hinglish is just Hindī written in "English style" comes from a video, uploaded on YouTube with the title "Hinglish language kya hai? Aap use bhi kar rahe hai" (What is Hinglish language? You are using it, too)<sup>67</sup>, whose author intends it to be explicative on the question. Before we proceed with any further consideration about it, we copy here the transcription of the first sentences (from min. 00:11 to 00:32 and from 00:51 to 00:59):

*«To āj maim āpko koī aisi language ke bāre mem batāne jā rahā hūm, jo āp use bhī karte hoṅge par āpko patā nahīm us language kā nām kyā hai. To āp jānte haim, jo āp Whatsapp pe, Facebook pe, Twitter pe, yahām tak Google pe āp search bhī karte hoṅge, YouTube mem search karte hoṅge, par āpko us language kā nām patā nahīm hogā. To maim batā rahā hūm Hinglish language ke bāre mem. [...] To yah sab Hindī hai, par likhā gayā hai, English words ke dvārā. To is language ko ham Hinglish bolte haim.»<sup>68</sup>*

This passage has clearly a Hindī base, but it is characterised by the presence of several English words, which, except the names of the social media, have a relevant semantic weight. We propose the following translation:

So today I'm going to speak with you about such a language which you use for sure, but you don't know the name of. So you know the language you use on Whatsapp, on Facebook, on Twitter, the language you use even here to search on Google, on YouTube, but you may not know its name. So I'm talking about Hinglish language. [...] So this is all Hindī, but it has been written by means of English words: we call this language Hinglish.

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<sup>67</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KXZhr6tovnI>. Retrieved 10/06/18.

<sup>68</sup> In this passage we underlined English words, while we choose to keep "Hinglish" in italics as we consider it both a Hindī and English word.

The author of this video is clearly explaining that Hinglish is the language which is used daily on different social media, without any difficulty, to the point that its users themselves do not really have any awareness about the fact that what they are using can be defined as a different language. He describes this language as Hindī written "by means of English words", which means using the English alphabet, but he does not focus on the fact that language mixing is implied in this process. Instead, he is including in its speech a number of English words, apparently without even noticing it. If we look at the language he is using himself, though, it is exactly what scholars mean by the label of Hinglish.

#### ***4.2.1. Patterns of code-switching and code-mixing in Hinglish***

Considering the ambiguity of the term "Hinglish" and its multiple indexicality, the question arises whether it is possible and legitimate to look for a unique, uncontroversial definition of this linguistic phenomenon, or it is better to keep Hinglish as a generic cauldron in which different levels of mixing and fusion between English and Hindī can coexist. We think that, given the inclusive nature of this variety, any attempt to find a categorical definition not only would flatten its features, but would actually be unsuccessful, as the combinations of the two source languages are not fixed, but rather extremely unpredictable. We can instead identify the main patterns according to which these combinations come into existence, and establish the presence of which patterns, in any linguistic act, marks that same act as a Hinglish occurrence. Given these clarifications, we claim Hinglish to be a linguistic continuum, whose extremes are borrowings on the lowest level, and code-mixing on the highest one. In the middle we find code-switching, which in turn can occur with different frequency and intensity. In the next pages we will undertake an analysis of this continuum, keeping as a pattern the terminology and the definitions of different levels of mixing as they are suggested by Auer (1999). We will also combine this theoretical background with a few exemplifying cases, each of which constitutes authentic linguistic material, transcribed and translated by the author. Our analysis does not mean to be a

quantitative one, but rather a qualitative one, in order to highlight the creativity of Hinglish and its merits in the expression of particular speaking communities.

The first level of Hindī-English combination<sup>69</sup> is constituted by lexical borrowings, which can be both conventionalised or nonce-words. The first occur whenever the Hindī equivalent of an English term, mainly a noun or an adjective, either does not exist or is itself a loan from Sanskrit. Therefore, the English term is acquired within the Hindī linguistic system and treated to all purposes as a Hindī word: borrowings adapt phonologically to Hindī language and they comply with Hindī grammar i.e. they are assigned a gender (m/f) and follow the inflection. For example:

*Āmir, filmoṃ ke alāvā, what are the other things that excite you?*  
Āmir film-s apart from  
film:OBL-PL (< Hindī)

Āmir, apart from films, what are the other things that excite you?<sup>70</sup>

Here the word "film", although it has English origin, does behave exactly as any other Hindī word. Other common conventionalised borrowings, which are found in dictionaries (see McGregor, 2002; Jagannathan, 2009) according to the localised spelling, are *aspatāl* (< "hospital"), *āiskrim* (< "ice cream"); *kampanī* (< "company"); *kalej* (< "college"); *kaimrā* (< "camera"); *kriket* (< "cricket"); *gilās* (< "glass"); *telīvijon* (< "television"); *ṭaiksī* (< "taxi"); *ṭren* (< "train"); *ḍāḱṭar* (< "doctor"); *ḍrāivar* (< "driver"); *nambar* (< "number"); *pulis* (< "police"); *foṭo* (< "photo"); *bas* (< "bus"); *boṭal* (< "bottle"); *reḍiyo* (< "radio"); *sāikil* (< "cycle"); *sigreṭ* (< "cigarette"); *sinema* (< "cinema"); *skūl* (< "school"); *ṣṭeśan* (< "station"); *helo* (< "hello"); *hoṭal* (< "hotel").

Nonce-borrowings, on the other hand, are nouns, adjectives and adverbs whose Hindī equivalent exists, but for different motivations is neglected by the speakers who choose the English term. The borrowing in this case is casual and not

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<sup>69</sup> We are using the not purely-linguistic term "combination" as "switching" and "mixing", given their technicality, can be misleading in this context. We will apply them to the analysis of specific structures.

<sup>70</sup> From an interview to the actor Āmir Khan, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MRDkFV1X4hk>. Retrieved 10/06/18.

predictable, it does not present any standardised spelling and it may or may not adapt to Hindī inflection. The choice of a nonce-borrowing can be due to the use of a personal linguistic register, or to specific linguistic evaluation in terms of modernity and simplicity. As an example we choose a couple of lines from the song "Tune maari entriyaan", from the 2013 film "Gunday":<sup>71</sup>

<i>Tūne</i>	<i>mārī</i>	<u>entriyāṁ</u>	<i>re /</i>	
you:ERG	hit:PAST-F-SG	entri-es entry:F-PL (<Hindī)	oh	
<i>dil</i>	<i>mem bajī</i>	<i>ghantiyām</i>	<i>re</i>	
heart	in ring:PAST-F-PL	bell:F-PL	oh	
<i>Dil</i>	<i>kī</i>	<i>sun</i>	<u>commentriyāṁ</u>	<i>re /</i>
heart	of:GEN-F-SG	listen:IMP-SG	commentari-es commentary:F-PL (<Hindī)	oh
<i>pyār</i>	<i>kī</i>	<u>guarrantiyāṁ</u>	<i>re</i>	
love	of:GEN-F-SG	guarantee-s guaranty:F-PL (<Hindī)	oh	

Oh! You made entrance / and bells started ringing in my heart  
 Oh! Listen to the commentaries of my heart / I guarantee my love for you.

A peculiar feature of Hinglish, moreover, is the nonce-borrowing of English nouns in order to create nominal verbs. In Hindī nominal verbs are created by composing a noun of Persian or Sanskrit origin with the verb *karnā* (to do) or *honā* (to be). For example, *ārambh karnā* = to begin (lit.: to make beginning): where *ārambh* is from Sanskrit, and *śurū karnā* = to begin (lit.: to make beginning): where *śurū* is from Persian. When the borrowing is from English, though, what is used as the nominal part is actually an infinitive, which is used in the function of a noun, like in *try karnā* = to try, *convince karnā* = to convince, *select karnā* = to select. This process is extremely productive and it can occur regardless of the existence of a Hindī equivalent in the commonly used register. An example of this productiveness can be found in the song "Main tera boyfriend", from the film "Raabta", released in 2017.<sup>72</sup> This song is extremely interesting in terms of language hybridisation, as it contains Hindī, English and

<sup>71</sup> Transcribed from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2I3NgxDaiQE>. Retrieved 10/06/18.

<sup>72</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FQS7i2z1CoA>. Retrieved 10/06/18.

Panjābī elements, but in this context we are considering only the presence of the verb "hug *karnā*":

<i>Duniyā</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>khūd</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>alag</i>	<i>karke</i>	/
world	ACC	self	from	separate	make:GER	
<i>Rakh</i>	<i>lūmgā</i>			<i>tujhko</i>	<i>main</i>	<u><i>hug</i></u>
keep	take:FUT-M-SG			you:ACC	I	<i>karke</i>
						make:GER
<u>I wanna say you /</u>						
<i>main</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>rahnā</i>	<i>soniye</i>	[ <i>tere</i>	<i>nāl nāl dī</i> ] <sup>73</sup>	
I	then	stay:FUT	love:VOC-SG	you:GEN	with	

I'll separate myself from the rest of the world / and I'll hug you,  
I want to tell you / that I will stay by your side, my love.

A further level of Hindī-English contact is represented by code-switching, namely, in this case, the speakers' switch from one language to the other within the same conversation. In code-switching, the contrast between one code and the other is meaningful, as it can be an intentional strategy to convey linguistic evaluation, especially if the speaker is a fluent bilingual: through the choice of one language or the other, speakers express a preference, and their departure from the standard language of interaction can mark a kind of otherness from the established speech community. It must be specified that code-switching is different from a diglossic situation for the main reason that it is a very context-dependent linguistic device, and contexts are theoretically innumerable, while diglossia works in the presence of standardised contexts. Switches mostly occur at clause or sentence level; thus, while speakers may be proficient in both languages, code-switching is possible even with a limited knowledge of one of the two, as switching to the language over which the speaker has more control can cover the lack of proficiency, and at the same time, when the switching happens from the well known language to the other, this can represent a mere stylistic choice. Usually a distinction is made between alternational and insertional switching, the first constituted by an even alternation between the two languages, the second by the momentary insertion in the code of an isolated word or expression belonging to the other. In this case, we can also recur to the categories which Rubdy (2014: 49-

<sup>73</sup> This portion is actually an example of code-switching involving Panjābī.

50) defines as «English matrix with Hindi words» and «Hindi matrix with English words»: when switching is insertional, it is easy to distinguish which language functions as the main communicative ground.

The first example we chose in order to exemplify code-switching is a dialogue extrapolated from a movie, which allows to understand switching in a highly interactional communication. "July" is a 1975 movie which presents quite early occurrences of Hinglish, which are easily explained by the fact that the protagonist is an Anglo-Indian girl, whose bilingualism is well developed due to her socio-cultural background. At minute 43.29,<sup>74</sup> the dialogue between Richie and July is characterised by code-switching and borrowings:

R: Come on let's go!

J: Don't touch me.

R: *Tum ko kyā ho gayā* July?  
 You to what happen:PAST-M-SG

What happened to you, July?

J: *Mujhe choḍ do!*  
 me:ACC leave:IMP-SG

Leave me!

R: Ok, *choḍ diyā.*  
 leave:PAST-M-SG  
*To hamāre sāth dance bhī nahīm karegī āj?*  
 then we:GEN with even not make:FUT-F-PL today

Ok, left. So you're not even dancing with me tonight?

J: Dance karne kā mood nahīm.  
 make of not

I don't feel like dancing.

The second example is constituted by a monologue, in order to recognise a very typical switching structure within the language of a single speaker. This is extrapolated from an interview to the actor Āmir K̄hān<sup>75</sup>:

*To mujhe laga tha ki hamne ek acchi film banai hai,*  
 So to me seem:PAST-M-SG that we:ERG one good:F-SG film prepare:PAST-F-SG

<sup>74</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rg5GgvUfdMY>. Retrieved 10/06/18.

<sup>75</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yzIXg93UOIM>. Retrieved 10/06/18.

I was very happy and proud you know,

*jo Rājū ne film banai hai*  
which Rājū ERG. film prepare: PAST-F-SG

I was very happy with it.

So it seemed to me that we have made a good film, I was very happy and proud you know, I was very happy with the film which Rājū has prepared.

The transition from code-switching to mixing may happen both on the level of an individual speaker, and on that of a whole speech community. Switching and mixing can coexist for prolonged times, as the latter is a result of an increased frequency of the former. The reason for an increasing of code-switching is that at some point it becomes more important as an identity marker than as an individual style choice: it typically occurs when a bilingual group needs to define its identity in relation with both the source-language speaking groups. In the case of Hinglish, while switching from English to Hindī does not necessarily imply the acquisition of hybrid cultural sets, mixing proves the adoption of both the codes by the speaker, and his/her ability to re-interpret them producing a new linguistic variety. If in the presence of switching, as we saw, it is possible to recognise the matrix language in which the other code is inserted, or at least distinguish two separate communication sets. Code-mixing makes this process more complex. As an example, we chose a video from the YouTube channel "Jeheranium", based in Delhī, which proposes short investigative reports (non-professional, yet didactic and accessible to a wide public) about different topics, based on public reactions which are collected around the city. In the following lines code-switching is evident, but a matrix language is not totally recognisable as Hindī structures adapt to English ones and vice versa, constituting a proper code-mixing:

So guys *āj ham logon se bāt karenge*  
today we people:OBL-M-PL with talk make:FUT-M-PL  
about the recent Cobrapost exposé<sup>76</sup> regarding all the media houses.

*Kyā hamāre deś meī ab news sources credible haim?*  
our country in now be:PRES-SG

<sup>76</sup> The topic in question is an investigation about the relationship between media and political parties, carried out by the independent television channel Cobrapost (see <https://cobrapost.com/>).



A fourth and final example presents a similar process of adaption to Hindī grammar by an English word:

<i>Tū</i>	<i>ā jā</i>	<i>mere</i>	<u>close</u> , <i>miltā</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>maukā</i>	<i>roz /</i>
you	come:IMP	me:GEN	meet:PRES-M-SG	not	chance	daily
<u>I want you</u>	<u>may baby</u> ,	<i>mujhe</i>	<i>de de</i>		<u>love dose</u> .	<sup>81</sup>
		to me	give:IMP-SG			

Come close to me, you don't get the chance every day / I want you my baby, give me a love dose.

What we find extremely interesting in this case is the occurrence of the expression "*mere close*", which means "close to me". In a regular Hindī sentence, the form "*mere pās*" would have been used, in which "*pās*" is indeed the Hindī adverb which translates the English "close". But in Hindī, the full structure "close to  $\kappa$ " is only rendered through the structure " $\kappa$  *ke pās*", where "*ke pās*" is a compound postposition whose two morphemes cannot be separated. Here, for example, it is combined with the personal pronoun "me", in Hindī "*maim*", which followed by the postposition changes according to the inflection (*maim + ke pās = mere pās*). Therefore, the substitution of "*pās*" with "*close*" does not represent a simple code-switching, as the insertion of the English word actively modifies a construct whose meaning depends on the exact combination of two invariable morphemes. Code-mixing and fused lects can be quite similar from a formal point of view, but the passage from mixing to fused lect happens when the juxtaposition of two languages assumes stabilised patterns. While mixing allows variation and individual context related expressions, in a fused lect the choice of a particular combination of the two languages is obligatory. The unpredictability of code-mixing is lost, since alternatives are removed from a structure which becomes gradually standardised, through the simplification of grammar and/or the creation of specialised structures which are neither typical of one language, nor of the other. Within a context of code-mixing, speakers tend to modify the patterns of juxtaposition of the two languages, within a natural process of language evolution which can lead to the birth of a fused lect. The first signs of a similar process can

<sup>81</sup> From the song "Love dose", by the famous hip-hop singer Yo-Yo Honey sing. Transcribed from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TvngY4unjn4>. Retrieved 10/06/18.

be found in the particular usage of discourse markers, adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions and modal verbs. In a song title like "Let's naco"<sup>82</sup>, for example, *nāco* is the imperative form of the verb *nācnā* = to dance. This form in Hindī has the same function of the English "let's", as it is used to give suggestions to a group in which the speaker is included. The juxtaposition of these two equivalent devices seems to reduce the English part to a mere emphatic function. We do not intend to further analyse here the possibilities for Hinglish to develop into a fused lect, but the presence of different levels of creativity within this linguistic variety is noticeable in order to define Hinglish's productivity. The fact that this linguistic continuum is characterised by different levels of proficiency and ability to elaborate the language is symptomatic of the great differentiation of its speakers, even if they belong to the same "third space" discussed above (see 4.1.).

#### **4.2.2. Whose lingua franca?**

Throughout the last pages we have tried to delineate the terms in which Hinglish can be considered the expression of the speakers' effort to negotiate between different communicative intentions. From the cases of code-switching, where the juxtaposition of two languages is locally meaningful to a specific communicative network, to more complex mixing, in which the negotiation is a recurrent pattern, Hinglish is a device which allows the speaker to re-interpret the identity of his/her speech community. In fact, recalling the idea of language economy (see 3.3. and 4.1.), it is easy to understand the value of Hinglish as a "currency" which allows access to both English's and Hindī's economies, and to place oneself in a privileged position between the global and the local networks. Myers Scotton (1979: 76-77) claims that code-switching can be considered as a «safe choice». Any language choice is actually determined by the «desire to attain as high rewards as possible and as low costs as possible» (*ibidem*), since in every communicative act speakers tend to the achievement of advantage by the use of the stronger language, and by accommodating to the audience (see Spolsky, 2004,

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<sup>82</sup> From the film "Kapoor and sons", 2016.

as already discussed in 2.4.). The possibility of switching between two or more languages guarantees a "reward" from the usage of at least one of the chosen languages. This reward is assigned by other speakers in terms of positive evaluation and of recognition of a particular social role. However, there is a risk even in this apparently safe choice, namely the fact that the members of neither of the two speaking communities may perceive the hybrid speaker as a proper member of their community. For example, Chand (2009) notices how Hinglish is differently perceived by young speakers and the older generation in Delhī. While youngsters, both students and professionals, acknowledge code-switching and use the term Hinglish without any negative value (on the contrary, they use it as a confirmation of their Indianness within a changing cultural framework), their parents criticise it as «messy» (*ibidem*: 173) and prefer the "pure" variety of both English and Hindī. Ironically, though, the older generation use Hinglish, despite their evaluation. So, why does Hinglish prove to be winning irrespective of this evaluation? Or, if we want to consider this issue the other way round, by which factors is this evaluation justified? The answer to both is relatively simple. We have highlighted how Hinglish, given its fluid nature, is an extremely inclusive label which can be applied to different degrees of language mixing. At the same time, though, this fluidity results in a remarkable unpredictability of the structures involved in linguistic hybridisation: Delhī middle-upper class parents find their daughters and sons' language «messy» because they cannot have successful expectations about the patterns of switching and mixing which they are going to use in daily communication. This is not a negative evaluation *per se*, but an evaluation of the ambiguous efficiency of Hinglish. A further element should be considered, namely the fact that older speakers may not have the same proficiency either in English or Hindī, due for example to different education, different linguistic ideologies and variability in the cultural background. Therefore, the Hinglish they speak may be characterised by a very basic level of code-switching and code-mixing if compared to the variety spoken by younger people.

At this point the factor of fluidity of Hinglish becomes critical: is it really conferring inclusivity to this linguistic variety, thus characterising it as a kind of lingua franca which can promote the social integration of the local and the global;

or is it rather as exclusive as English can be, since the control over "proper Hinglish" seems to remain a privilege for a limited section of an already determined urban middle class? The differentiation between "Hinglishes" in terms of social backgrounds is a crucial point for the observation of this variety. One of the most interesting studies on this aspect was conducted between 2011 and 2012 on the participants of the programme "Big Boss" (Parshad, Chand, Sinha and Kumari, 2014). This study identified three categories of speakers, namely a monolingual Hindī group whose English is limited to borrowings, a Hindī-English bilingual group who can produce both the languages separately, or opt for a combination, and a third group whose members were exclusively belonging to urban environments, who normally used Hinglish without deviating to monolingual speech, even if they were perfectly able to produce it. Confronting this data with a series of interviews conducted on rural speakers belonging to the Hindī belt, the authors suggested that monolingual Hindī speakers who wish to acquire the evaluation of prestige and modernity associated with Hinglish can actually shift towards it if they interact with Hinglish speakers (*ibidem*). The first acquisition of English borrowings and basic code-switching, allows these speakers, who do not have a real control over English, to reach a communicative level at which Hinglish speakers can adapt in order to mediate the interaction. The main issue, however, consists in the fact that it is not clear how the interaction between Hinglish speaking urban classes and Hindī speaking rural classes can happen. Rural communities who remain isolated in their environment will not be reached by Hinglish, except perhaps for a few occurrences conveyed by advertising, the only means whose extensiveness is relatively easy to achieve (see 3.3.). A very different scenario of interaction is represented by increasing urbanisation: as rural residents migrate to the cities, they are exposed to Hinglish, both through the direct interaction with local residents and the access to mass media. In this respect, Trivedi (foreword to Kothari, R. and Snell, R., 2011) claims that the media par excellence, namely cinema, is becoming a luxury good. The social place where Hinglish first came to the collective imagination, a place, he claims, which was accessible to everyone irrespective of their socio-economic condition, where even *riksā-vāle* (rickshaw drivers) could afford a seat, is

transforming into multiplexes where only the middle-upper class goes. This is undoubtedly true: the new model of cinema is based upon offering the public a unique experience, where a five-hundred rupee ticket assures any kind of snacks delivered directly at your comfortable, reclining seat, air conditioning and the latest generation screens. After all, the film industry needs to appeal to a new public through unique commodities, since in the era of streaming providers and pay TVs cinema halls are not competitive any more. Nevertheless, Trivedi (and in general most of the literature on Hinglish) leaves out from his analysis another powerful media, which is actually overtaking the others: the internet. Kumar (2007) notices how India reacted to the «Information Revolution» the best way possible, creating an extremely wide new market in which citizens are first of all consumers. It can be claimed that access to the web is still a privilege, and therefore it is not a determinant factor in making Hinglish accessible to the lowest classes. We are not assuming, indeed, that a rickshaw driver can afford a Smartphone, let alone a computer. Nevertheless, the degree of diffusion of cheap Smartphones has noticeably increased in the last decade, as proved from the number of devices shipped to India counted to 2017.<sup>83</sup> In 2016, the company Ringing Belles announced the launch of the model Freedom 251, which was supposed to be sold at the ridiculously low price of 251 rupees:<sup>84</sup> this project turned out to be controversial and of realistically fraudulent nature, but it still demonstrated that the market was ready to accommodate such a competitive device. If a rickshaw driver cannot afford a Smartphone, on the other hand a taxi driver who works through transportation network companies such as Uber or Ola, which represent decent job opportunities for low-to-middle class members, has to own one in order to assure the best service to his clients. This becomes his easiest means to get in contact with a global oriented community: if a phone can support the transportation app, it can also support two social media like Facebook and Instagram, whose Indian users are estimated to number around respectively 270

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<sup>83</sup> <https://www.statista.com/statistics/298097/smartphone-shipments-india/>. Retrieved 10/06/18.

<sup>84</sup> <https://www.theverge.com/2016/3/18/11260488/india-ringing-bells-4-dollar-smartphone-controversy>; <https://qz.com/608005/india-has-overtaken-the-us-to-become-the-worlds-second-largest-smartphone-market/>. Retrieved 10/06/18.

million and 69 million (monthly).<sup>85</sup> This way he can have access to basic English communicative skills, which allow him to interact through hybridised forms, as we can see in the following examples:<sup>86</sup>

Gate     *ko*     *zārā*     *baṁd*     *kar*                     *dījiye*                     sir *jī*.  
                  ACC     please     close     do:vb stem                     give:IMP-HON

Please close the door\*, sir.  
 (\*"gate" is a lexical inaccuracy committed by the speaker, since it is referred to a car's door. We can identify this use as Indian English.)

*Apne*     location                     *āp*     *se*                     *āp*     *batāiye*                     ma'm.  
                  your     you     by                     you     tell:IMP-HON

Device     *ko*                     *koī*     *thoḍā-sā*                     problem                     *hai*.  
                  to                     some     small-a bit                                         be:PRES-M-SG

Please tell me your location yourself, madam. The device has some little problem.

In this sense Hinglish can be considered a democratic linguistic device, as it allows intercommunication between different social classes, providing the speakers are able to use a shared set of code-switching and code-mixing variables. This set is continuously enhanced by the work of the media, which are the major relevant factors in the implementation of language spread. Among the media, we claim that the internet is nowadays the most important means for the spontaneous development and spread of linguistic varieties, for two main reasons: it allows access to a huge variety of information within the shortest amount of time, and it is hardly susceptible to the massive intervention of language policies which could determine specific changes in the language. Therefore we can assert that Hinglish, despite not being a (standardised) language, acquires the role of a lingua franca for a community whose members share specific values, aesthetics and ideologies which pertain to the global network and are conveyed by the media. This community, in turn, identifies itself through this linguistic variety, whether it is acknowledged by the speakers themselves as Hinglish, or merely as a particular

<sup>85</sup> <https://www.statista.com/statistics/268136/top-15-countries-based-on-number-of-facebook-users/>; <https://www.statista.com/statistics/578364/countries-with-most-instagram-users/>. Retrieved 10/06/18.

<sup>86</sup> These sentences have been recorded by us during our stay in Delhī in the summer of 2017.

linguistic style which, while remaining grounded in the local, allows the speaker to be projected towards a global network.

## **Conclusive remarks: Will India be speaking Hinglish one day?**

Through our analysis we have attempted to delineate a comprehensive overview of the historic and socio-cultural aspects which subtended the development of Hindī-English bilingualism in India, from the opponent roles which these two languages performed over the period of decolonisation, to their hybridisation within a new, creative linguistic variety as Hinglish is.

We have noticed how, immediately after Independence, the relationship between Hindī and English was an explicit part of the political discourse, since it represented a central factor in the building of the new nation. The introduction of explicit language policies by the Government was regulated by a triple objective: on one hand, the promotion of Hindī as a marker of national loyalty, on the other hand, the maintenance of intra-national balance between different speech communities, and, as a third element, the promotion of English as a library language which could solve the controversy between Hindī and other Indian languages while allowing India to enter an international network of advanced knowledge. However, we observed that language policies were not effective alone, since external factors were shaping the linguistic scenario: English confirmed its importance as the language of scientific progress, innovation and modernity, projecting India towards an increasingly wider network which transcended national boundaries, and thus relegating Hindī to the local level. In this sense we introduced the concept of linguistic economy, which makes possible the interpretation of Hindī and English in terms of the social advantages which they could assure, and of the linguistic ideologies and beliefs which started being associated with their respective speaking communities. English became a marker of social status, while Hindī progressively assumed the connotation of a local language, no longer competitive and thus definitively not apt for the national development, both in terms of linguistic unification of India, and of launching the country on the international network. The impact of globalisation on Indian society set a new issue which could further destabilise the relationship between these two languages, namely, the choice of an integrative view of globalisation rather than an exclusive one. Perceiving globalisation as a mere threat to the local

dimension would have meant the exclusion of certain cultural models and therefore the refusal of English as expression of cultural hegemony. On the other hand, embracing imported mindsets for the mere reason that they were modern and westernised would have meant the monopoly of English in the linguistic economy, to the detriment of local languages. The winning dynamic, as we saw, was the ability to intermediate between these two extremes, allowing the rise of a new hybrid identity which was the perfect re-interpretation of new cultural inputs through the pre-existent ones. Translating identity into language, Hinglish was the natural result of this contact.

The fact that Hinglish is an evolving, non-standardised variety, makes difficult the identification of the boundaries of its speaking community, as different degrees of Hindī-English mixing are describable as expressions of this same linguistic variety. This implies that Hinglish speakers, as well, can diversify from one another on the basis of socio-cultural and economic background, education and consequently proficiency in Hindī and English respectively. The coexistence of these factors within the same linguistic scenario leaves space for both negative and positive interpretations of the nature of Hinglish as an inclusive device. It can be argued that it is not as inclusive as it seems to be, since the occurrence of different levels of switching and mixing of the two source languages apparently suggests the creation of different varieties within Hinglish itself, some related to a mere communicative necessity and others characterised by real creativity as a result of proper bilingual fluency. It can be added that people who have a limited access to English would not be affected by the benefits of speaking Hinglish, thus reinforcing the role of Hindī as a local identity marker, and at the same time English-medium educated classes would instead not be interested in the adoption of Hinglish, since English itself guarantees social privilege. As for the first point, we agree on the existence of different "Hinglishes": the creative, captivating language of songs and advertisements is certainly different from a basic code-switching which can be used for daily interaction. It is also true, though, that the simple insertion of frequent lexical borrowings allows a less creative speaker to interact with one who has a better mastery of the mixed code, thus inducing the former to the acquisition of new patterns of linguistic hybridisation. As for the

second point, we claim that a limited access to English may not exclusively mean the reinforcing of Hindī-speaking communities' boundaries, but also the diffusion of Hinglish itself: for example, a kid who studies in a Hindī-medium school would still more probably come into contact with some basic English knowledge which allows him/her to become a member of the Hinglish speaking community, rather than aspire to proficiency in standard English. On the other side, it is improbable that a English-medium educated person, even though this becomes his/her daily used language, never comes into contact with Hindī. The trend that we have tried to highlight is that a monolingual-oriented speaker can still produce Hinglish, and a fluent bilingual speaker, despite his/her ability to keep distinct the two languages, would choose the mixed lect for interaction between a speech community which shares the same collective imagination. In fact, Hinglish is the «safe choice» (Myers Scotton, 1979: 76-77) which allows belonging to both the monolingual communities and at the same time confers the membership to the hybrid one.

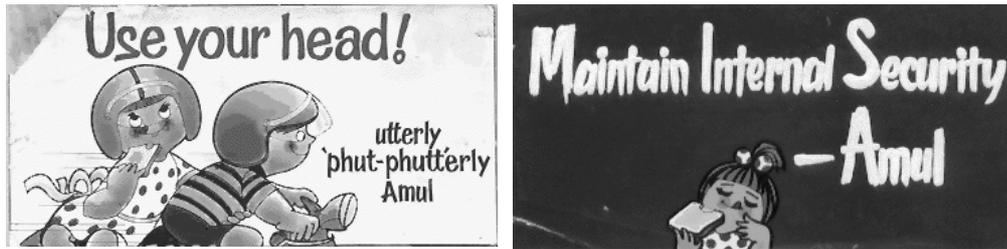
Hinglish seems then to be the winning choice, which can assure social mobility and success, so the question may arise, whether Hindī and English are destined to be outcompeted by this variety on different levels. The scenario we assume as more likely to evolve is indeed the coexistence of these three speech communities, which are actually dependent one on each other. The very nature of Hinglish, which is of a non-standardised lect, represents its value, its success and its creativity, but at the same time does not allow it to perform an equative function (intended according to the definition given by Srivastava, 1994: 92) in the Indian multilingual environment. If we interpret it as a linguistic register, though, we can hypothesise that it will assume increasingly standardised features and its catchment area will extend to include further communication domains. For example, it will be interesting to observe which language will be spoken by the children of nowadays Delhī's youth who at home use a «messy» language (Chand, 2009: 173) which is not approved by their parents.

A further consideration can be made around the potentiality of Hinglish as a unifying language also on an intra-national level: Given that Hinglish loosens both the formal structures and the ideologies of Hindī, could it be a valid means

for pan-Indian communication? Will India be speaking Hinglish one day? We propose a double answer. India is already speaking Hinglish, if we mean this linguistic variety as a metaphor for any process of destruction of hegemonic language structures. The same process of hybridisation which happens between English and Hindī happens between English and other Indian languages, since it is the natural negotiation between linguistic identities in an environment which has been also historically exposed to multilingualism. Moreover, we cannot exclude even the hybridisation between different hybrid varieties in the future, as the lack of purity of a mixed lect allows the free adoption of different variables. And India will speak Hinglish, if we remove any geographical and nationalist connotation from the idea of India and see it as a speech community whose speakers are regularly subjected to popular shared culture. Hinglish cannot be the lingua franca for a nation, but it is for a community which is defined by the same cultural references and which expresses itself within the same common imagination.

## Appendix

Examples of Amul advertising boards, 1975



Examples of Amul advertising boards, 1979



<http://www.amul.com/m/amul-hits?s=1976>. Retrieved 10/06/18

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