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The Past, Present, and Potential of Hinglish in India

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Abstract

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This paper examines the current status of Hinglish as a developing bilingual mixed language, as determined by its grammatical complexity, creation as an identity marker for a bilingual speech community, and use throughout all domains of life. To speculate on the future of Hinglish in India, I look at the history of Hindi and Urdu as an indicator of issues likely to be important in the society's evaluation of a contact language's development. I also identify rural villages, south India, and government institutions as possible key players in the acceptance or rejection of Hinglish as an official language that would ease both regional linguistic tensions and educational hurdles posed by the heavily Sanskritized Hindi currently in use.

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1. Introduction

This study aims to assess the history and current state of Hinglish in India and speculate on its future.

First, to define Hinglish and its status as a language: Hinglish is a bilingual mixed language, though it is currently considered a sociolect. It has monolingual and native speakers, is used in a large variety of media and contexts, etc. While it fits many definitions of a creole, it is more like a developing bilingual mixed language for a few reasons. Regardless of its exact linguistic designation, I will focus more on how its status changes in response to social and political attitudes in India. Hinglish is still in the process of standardization but there is some reason to believe that will happen.

In speculating on the future of Hinglish in India, I will focus heavily on national language attitudes, non-linguistic factors that influence linguistic decisions, and historical trends set by a previous language-contact situation in the region-- the Mughal invasion of India. Comparison to the similar language-contact situation involved in the creation of Urdu- and its unignorable counterpart, Hindi- in the same region and under very similar circumstances can indicate which aspects of language planning are important in the modern political climate.

Urdu developed upon the Mughal invasion of India, with the commingling of Perso-Arabic with Hindi in informal social settings as well as significantly by government employees. It was a prestige variety used mainly by the educated upper class, then became associated with Islam and spread to other classes as its

reputation as an identity marker grew. It became standardized and separated from Hindustani via its opposition to Hindi and later its designation as the official language of Pakistan.

Hinglish checks much of the same linguistic boxes as Urdu in terms of its historical development, distinctiveness as a language (as opposed to a dialect), and strong association with social groups (religion, class), with the only difference being that Urdu was politicized, whereas Hinglish has not yet undergone that process. To speculate on the probability of this happening to Hinglish, I will also look at the current status of Hinglish in various domains as well as the nationwide attitudes towards both Hindi and English.

It is possible that Hinglish becomes accepted by the higher echelons of Indian government for a few reasons: its technological adaptability, the regionlessness of English in India, especially to appease south Indians who feel strongly that Hindi doesn't represent them, and the stubborn legacy of Gandhi and Nehru that argues for an indigenous language as the sole official language of India.

Because many south Indians still learn some Hindi in school, and Bollywood has a strong hold on the pan-Indian public, and because most of the modern southern opposition to Hindi is focused on the excessive Sanskritization of government speeches and class curricula, etc., I have reason to believe that Hinglish will be a much more palatable alternative to Hindi in most of South India, while still maintaining touches of both the modern global potential of English and the cultural connections of Hindi. We are already starting to see a wider acceptance of Hinglish in newspapers, political speeches, and inter-government communications.

Lastly, in response to the question of whether English could completely overtake Hinglish, I say it's not likely: one, because a very small amount of Indians speak English fluently and there are no signs of a successful widespread reform of educational practices that would change this; most learn basic terms in school/ from other media but cannot speak it without crutching heavily in Hindi (or their other native language). Two, simply because Hindi in some form, to varying degrees of English influence, is still so strong in India, being used at home, in movies, newspapers, books, etc; taught in school; and heavily supported by the government.

2. A Short Linguistic History of North India

Sanskrit was brought to North India by the Indo –Aryans of central Asia around 1500 BCE (King 2001, 45). It became the major language of North India by 300 BCE, though it continued to diversify into regional dialects, called Prakrits, which are the precursors to most modern North Indian languages (45). Sanskrit significantly influenced both the northern and southern languages (Sachdev and Bhatia 2013, 143). The most widespread alphabet for writing Sanskrit, known as Brahmi, also evolved into most of the scripts used to write these Prakrit descendants (King 2001, 49). Among these Brahmi descendants is Nagari, also referred to as Devanagari, the alphabet of modern Hindi and Sanskrit.

Among the regions of modern-day north India and Pakistan, some of these Prakrits developed into a language commonly called Hindustani, Hindi, Hindavi, or Urdu. For decades, these labels were used interchangeably even for different varieties, though eventually the terms developed very specific definitions of lexicon,

script, and other sociolinguistic considerations. For clarity and consistency, then, I will call this general spoken language Hindustani. Highly Persianized and Sanskritized varieties of the language were also subject to this inconsistency of labeling in both primary and secondary sources, but will be uniformly referred to here as Urdu and Hindi, respectively.

The 1902 British census defines Hindustani as “the well-known literary language and lingua franca of almost the whole of India” (Rahman 2011, 37). While it differs significantly from the Dravidian languages of the south, Hindustani was somewhat exposed to southern Indians through the Persianized Urdu spread throughout the country by 17th century Mughals (King 1994, 24). Hindustani was indeed the language of a vast swath of the Indian subcontinent, encompassing a variety of mutually intelligible dialects and scripts, and malleable to input from other languages. Tariq Rahman describes the uneven distribution of “unstandardized, mutually intelligible varieties of a language which can be called Hindi-Urdu” across Pakistan, Punjab, Gujarat and the Deccan (Rahman 2011, 3). British administrator William Darlymple also included “Haryana, Delhi, U.P and some parts of Madhya Pradesh and Bihar” in the geographical outline of Hindustani (Rahman 2011, 184).

Also contained within the term Hindustani are dozens if not hundreds of dialects that existed by the 11th century. These included Khari Boli, which was used around Delhi, and Braj Bhasha, spoken in Agra (Rahman 2011, 65-68; Forster 2012, 17). The Kaithi script, as well as Nagari, was also commonly employed in eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar for writing in these dialects (King 1994, 16). Braj Bhasha, a

popular language for poetry, was identified as the Hindustani component of Urdu, while Khari Boli, after some debate, was declared the dialect that would form the basis for modern Hindi literature (King 1994, 24-25; Rahman 2011, 66).

A succession of mostly Persian-speaking Muslim rulers, starting with the Ghaznavids, made contact with India as early as the 11th century (Rahman, 2002, 42). They brought with them not only Arabo-Persian vocabulary but also the Nastaliq script, which itself had been adopted from Arabic. As their political hold on the region expanded, Persian made its way into the education systems and Hindustani speech of upper-class Indians (Rahman 2011, 80). Because fluency was required for government employment, Persian became a language of both power and high status. The last of these Muslim empires was the Mughals, for whom Urdu became the popular language of informal speech, although they still conducted official business mostly in Persian (King 2001, 46).

In the early 17th century, traders of the British East India Company (EIC) made contact with India and maintained a strictly commercial relationship for over a hundred years (Johnson 2017). The EIC ventured into political dealings to “[establish] military supremacy over rival European trading companies and local rulers” in the 1740s as part of a war between France and Britain (Makepeace). The political clout of the East India Company grew throughout the 18th century as it faced and defeated insurgency and expanded its power over the region (Johnson 2017). The Mughal Empire was waning; British traders began to take control of

Mughal land through financial settlements and military conquests, though it kept many administrative policies (Fisher 1993, 54-61). As the EIC's sovereignty grew, the British Parliament placed a Board of Control in charge of administrative and political affairs, eventually taking control after the bloody Indian Rebellion of 1857 (Makepeace, Johnson 2017). Despite this transfer of power to the British crown, the imperial system remained unorganized and uncentralized, allowing provincial government leaders to make inconsistent or contradictory laws regarding language policy (King 1994, 54).

The new British rulers switched the official language of the courts from Persian to English and Urdu in the 1840s, favoring Urdu especially in areas with a numerous or influential Muslim population (King 1994, 17, 53). In doing so, the government both reinforced the association of Urdu with Muslims and helped to maintain the Muslim monopoly on Persian- or Urdu-mandatory administrative employment. The religiously separated British categorization of Urdu and Hindi did much to both solidify religious boundaries and associate language with religion (Rahman 2011, 40).

Rahman locates the deviation of Urdu from Hindustani in the late 1700's. While the language mixing was indeed expedited in the melting pot of Mughal military camps, the myth that they were the "birthplace" of Urdu is misleading because its ancestor, Hindustani, had already existed in the region for some time. Furthermore, Rahman theorizes that the markets, Sufi Khanqahs, and other non-military daily interactions played a greater role in fostering the development of a

Persian-Hindustani hybrid. Other theories place the creation of Urdu in Agra, Akbar's capital during the 14th or 11th centuries; Punjab some time before 1200 CE; Lahore or Gujarat and the Deccan in the 11th century; or Sindh sometime after the 10th century (Rahman 2011, 41-45, 72-74).

Debate also remains regarding the creators: George Grierson, head of the British *Linguistic Survey of India*, asserts that the Hindu upper class contributed to the creation of Urdu by combining the Persian words and script of their workplace with their mother tongue, Hindustani. Hindi Historian Amrit Rai, on the other hand, insists it was the work of early 18th century Muslim courtiers (King 1994, 10, 176).

The domain in which Urdu developed is most relevant in its linguistic classification: if it began as a lingua franca between traders or soldiers, neither of whom spoke the other's language, then it would have started as a pidgin and developed into a creole. However, there is also proof that powerful Afghans, Persians, and Turks spoke Hindustani in their private life, which suggests more conducive circumstances for the creation of a bilingual mixed language (Rahman 2011, 65-67). In terms of script, Nastaliq was altered slightly to accommodate the aspirated and retroflex consonants of Urdu phonology, but retained the core alphabet, spelling of loan words, and name of its Persian origin.

The work of author and linguistic experimenter Insha Allah Khan marks, for many scholars, the beginning of deliberate differentiation of Persianized and Sanskritized Hindustani: his *Rani Ketki Ki Kahaani* ('The Story of Queen Ketki,' written in 1803), for example, features a purposeful lack of Perso-Arabic diction. However, such linguistic exclusion did not become a consistent practice until later.

Texts from as late as the 19th century contained an amalgam of local dialects, written in Nagari no matter the language of its loan-words and grammatical constructions, or religion of origin of its themes. One of the most famous writers of the early 1900s in either language was Devki Nandan Khatri, who wrote in a similar style using well-known Perso-Arabic vocabulary in Nagari (King 1994, 28-32).

To use the term of linguist Javed Majeed, the formation of Urdu took the pattern of “leaky diglossia,” where words and grammatical structures of the high variety infiltrate the lower variety of a language. Tariq Rahman refers to this process as “Islamization,” in which Sanskritic and local vernacular diction was replaced with Persian terms, and Indian literary themes replaced with Iranian or Islamic settings, symbols, and conventions. The purge of Sanskrit-based vocabulary contained mostly obsolete words, although several common Hindi words were also included. Rahman also notes that the Islamization of Urdu was not, for the most part, a conscious movement at this time; instead, the change in vocabulary was brought about by a general reorientation of literary norms toward Islamic cultural references (Rahman 2011, 26, 89, 102-105).

However, while heavily Islamicized Urdu dominated north Indian literature, other academic domains and discussions employed a middle ground of Urdu that was closer to spoken Hindustani (Shackle and Snell 1990, 18). Furthermore, while the use of Persian words in Hindustani dialects had become common by the 17th century, Urdu had not yet become so exclusive or standardized as to prohibit most Sanskrit-based words, pronunciation patterns associated with Hindi, or Hindu literary techniques (Rahman 2011, 89). The Urdu linguist Sirajud-Din Ali Khan Arzu

pioneered the cause of Persianized Urdu, exemplified in his treatise, *Musmir*, in the early 18th century (Rahman 2010, 93). Despite the opinion of many critics that this mix was distasteful in its distance from classical Persian, this dialect soon became the language of Muslim poetry in the region (5-18).

Urdu literature quickly became subject to the highly Persianized standards of the Islamization movement, as the amount of classical Persian diction and literary techniques were considered integral to the quality of a contemporary work. Saiyid Fazl 'Ali Fazl's *Karbal Katha* (1733) is one of the first texts to exhibit consistent use of Perso-Arabic vocabulary and literary strategies as well as Islamic themes. Because of its newfound patrons in the Muslim community, Urdu flourished as a literary language in the 18th to 20th centuries (Rahman 2011, 88-90, 121).

The purposeful removal of Sanskrit- based words gathered momentum as the Mughal empire declined, possibly as an attempt by wealthy Muslim Persian speakers to maintain perceived linguistic superiority (King 1994, 12; Rahman 2011, 108). By the end of the 19th century, several non-governmental organizations had formed to standardize and campaign for the wider use of Urdu, such as the office of Tasnif-o-Talif (writing and compilation), which was founded to spread Urdu in official settings in Kashmir (Rahman 2011, 202). Whether due to such efforts or to the natural intermingling of language contact situations, the 1911 census reported a tendency, especially in Kashmir, to mix Persian and Hindustani even in everyday speech (203).

The increasing levels of Persian in Urdu concerned many, as it grew in both unintelligibility and difference from spoken Hindustani and increased difficulties for non-Persian-educated Indians seeking government employment. The majority of middle-caste Hindu majority, educated in Hindi-medium schools, in an attempt to level the linguistic playing field, fueled a movement to promote Hindi in the Devanagari script instead (King 1994, 114).

Before the Hindi movement became synonymous with Nagari, a smaller debate waged over the dialect and script it would represent. Braj Bhasha, which already had an established poetry tradition dating back centuries, was a popular contender (King 1994, 25). However, Khari Boli, as the dialect of the educated upper class the most widely used language of prose in the area, triumphed; it was also less contestable because its existing literature, unlike that of Braj Bhasha, had not yet been compromised by controversial religious or erotic texts (Rahman 2011, 103-104; King 1994, 36-37).

The Hindi-Nagari proponents began to organize in the late 1860s, growing from a provincial to a national movement in the early 19th century (King 1994, 118). Spurred on by the use of Sanskritized Hindi in school textbooks, the Sanskritization process reached the same levels of excessiveness and unintelligibility as Persianization (King 1994, 107; Rahman 2011, 233). The teaching of Hindi as a language in schools also contributed to its standardization (Forster 2012, 29). This includes attempts at inventing new words for modern things and ideas, although many were nonsensically long and complicated (Vajpeyi 2012, 99). The Nagari Pracharini Sabha ('Society for the Promotion of Nagari') was established in 1893

with the mission of distinguishing Hindi (specifically written in the Nagari script) from Urdu (King 1994, 142- 148).

Proponents of Hindi such as the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, in attempts to assert it had a rich literary tradition, went as far as to lay claim to the literature of many varieties of Hindustani, including Braj Bhasha, all called “Medieval Hindi” (Shackle and Snell 1990, 4). Once they declared Khari Boli the sole base for Hindi literature, however, no more non-Khari Boli dialects were accepted as Hindi works (Rahman 2011, 70).

Slowly, Hindi began to overtake Urdu in popularity: in 1900, the government made fluency in both Persian and Nagari mandatory for employment (King 1994, 155). Later, 1918 became the first year Hindi newspapers outsold Urdu ones despite a much higher production cost (Rahman 2011, 267).

As the Sanskritized Hindi movement gained traction, it began exerting pressure on Hindustani litterateurs. Even Munshi Premchand, called “the most celebrated artist of Hindi-Urdu,” could not rely on his fame and skill to sell his Urdu books; the invisible hand of the Hindi nationalist consumers forced him to switch to Hindi writing around 1915 (Forster 2012, 37).

One of the most famous writers and directors of Hindi theater, Harischandra, also known as “the inventor of the Hindi prose essay,” campaigned heavily for the development of a “Hindi public sphere,” which resulted in a significant growth of Hindi-language magazines in the 1970s (Forster 2012, 40). Similarly, J.R. Ballantyne Head of the English Department at Banaras College, aimed to further the cause of

Hindi literature by publishing translations from Sanskrit, though he found neither success nor support (King 1994, 90-91).

Universities, especially British-run institutions, began forcing the standardization of Hindi and Urdu literature due to a need for language class textbooks. The development of modern high Hindi was a task assigned to Lalluji Lal and Sadal Misra of Fort William College in the early 19th century (Rahman 1996, 61). In what Tariq Rahman calls a “pioneering work of what later became Modern or Sanskritized Hindi,” Lal wrote *Prem Sagar* (‘Ocean of Love’) in Devanagari using a Persian-free Khari Boli (Rahman 2011, 33-34). *Prem Sagar*, a novel based on scripture about the Hindu god Krishna, was shortly followed by Misra’s *Batiyal Pachisi* (‘Twenty-Five Tales of Batiyal’) (34). While much of the language resembled Hindustani, the nature of writing the texts for either Hindi or Urdu language classes makes it hard not to label each individual text as one of the two languages. Furthermore, these British-initiated texts paved the way for more non-pedagogic Hindi and Urdu publications (King 1994, 26).

In 1835, the Government of India established English-medium education and introduced English in the higher courts (Shackle and Snell 1990, 9). In 1872 the historically Urdu-favoring Government of India authorized the permissive- but not exclusive- use of Hindi in Nagari for “processes, notifications, proclamations, and other types of official documents” (King 1994, 71). However, this did nothing to reduce the amount of Persian influence in court language (71). Not until 1990 was

Hindi in Nagari acknowledged as “equal to Urdu in the provincial courts and offices” (18).

In 1885, India’s independence movement began organizing in earnest with the formation of the Indian National Congress (Agnihotri 2007, 187). The very Hindu INC encountered resistance on many issues from the All-Indian Muslim League, prompting measures such as a 1925 declaration that Hindustani discourse should be attempted at congress meetings (Forster 2012, 59). This had little effect on the increasingly heated discourse of Hindi and Urdu.

Therefore, when the government established All India Radio (AIR) in 1930, the Hindi-Urdu debate promptly took over the airwaves. AIR was producing programs in English and 13 other Indian languages by 1937, but the language debate continued, spurred on by AIR’s “high-ranking, pioneering official” and high Persian aficionado, Syed Zulfiqar Ali Bukhari (Rahman 2011, 290). While AIR went on to hire large numbers of Hindu workers and engineers in an attempt to balance the religious representation of its staff, the lack of moderate Hindustani on its programming (despite an official mandate) eventually led to the need for two programs, one in Hindi and one in Urdu, in 1945 (292-295).

The diverse Constituent Assembly of India was created in 1946 with the goal of reaching an agreement on linguistic and other political issues (Rahman 2007, 187). However, the heated debates in the Constituent Assembly only added fuel to calls for two different independent countries (190). The lack of progress on the issue of Hindi and Urdu, as well as the Muslim League’s call for a Muslim Pakistan, resulted in the liberation of two sovereign nations in 1947. Thus on the eve of

independence Pakistan and India separated, in an event referred to commonly as “partition” (191). The history of British language policies in India ends with the recognition of Hindi and Urdu as two separate languages, an “admission that the policy of a ‘common language’ had failed” (King 1994, 106).

Upon achieving independence, India declared English and Hindi co-official languages of the national government until Hindi could be spread sufficiently throughout the country to be accepted as sole official language (King 1994, 6). However, this has still not been achieved and southern opposition to Hindi has not been fully resolved. This is evidenced by violent protests (resulting in riots, dozens of deaths, and two self-immolations) in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu in 1965 after attempts to establish Hindi as the sole national language (6).

In 1961, India adopted the three-language policy, in which children are to be taught Hindi, English, and another Indian language (usually the regional language, in non-Hindi-speaking areas). This policy has been both slow in uptake by many states and difficult to achieve; however, the latter problem may be more indicative of educational shortcomings than political or linguistic obstacles. Rahman blames faulty school infrastructure and outdated approaches to language education for the failure of many schoolchildren to learn the languages (Rahman 2007, 197).

3. Hinglish

Tariq Rahman claims that the first records of what one may call Hinglish are from factory records of the 1600s, which contain liberal use of Hindustani

vocabulary within an English framework (Rahman 2011, 175). Hindustani was first transliterated into Roman script by Christian missionaries and army officers in the 19th century, both because it was easier for them to read and, supposedly, it cost less to print (181). The *Hobson-Jobson* Anglo-Indian Dictionary, published in 1886, provides further documentation of Hindi-English mixing, though still from the perspective of Hindi-origin words entering the English lexicon (Yule and Burnell 1996).

English words began entering variations of Hindustani in the 19th century, especially in military camps. For example, Indians in the British military at Kanpur borrowed English words such as *camp*, *barrack*, *boat*, and *appeal* (Rahman 2011, 41-42). English loans were entered into dictionaries as early as 1840, when the Persian poet Mir Ali Ausat Rashk (admittedly fond of writing in the vernacular) included, among others, *pencil* in his Urdu lexicon (Rahman 2011, 42; Mirza 2015; Das 2005, 542).

Hinglish also featured in one 19th-century anti-government poem by Hindi poet Ayodhya Prasad Khatri:

Rent Law ka gham karen ya Bill of Income Tax ka?

Kya karen apan nahiin hai sense right now-a-days.

Darkness chaaya hua hai Hind mein chaaro taraf

Naam ki bhi hai nahiin baaqi na light now-a-days (Patel 5).

‘Shall we miss Rent Law or the Bill of Income Tax?/ What shall we do, we have no sense right now-a-days./ Darkness has veiled all four sides of Hindi/ Not even its name nor light remains now-a-days.’

Notable about this poem is Khatri's use of English both for loan words with no simple Hindustani equivalent (*Rent Law, Bill of Income Tax*), as well as terms with common Hindustani translations (*darkness, now-a-days*). However, Khatri's Hinglish poem may have been a rare stylistic choice given the topic of his poem, as Hinglish writing of any genre did not become common until the mid- 20th century (Patel 5).

3.1 Description of Hinglish

While significant variation exists in lexical origin and syntactical rules, Hinglish is already starting to show some consistency in the patterns in which speakers combine Hindi and English elements. Hinglish, though still unstandardized, has begun to show general grammatical rules—as Cornell linguists Goyal et al. put it, “a certain regularity in observing constraints on structure” (Goyal et al 2003, 2).

‘Hinglish’ as it pertains to this study refers to a specific variation of Hindustani characterized by frequent and uninhibited use of English words and morphemes within the larger matrix of Hindustani grammar (Goyal et al 2003, 1). Aung Si notes several examples of Hindi words used in an otherwise English-based sentence, mainly nouns, adverbs, and adjectives. However, she admits these constructions occur “with much reduced frequency.” Therefore, the matrix language of the majority of the overall conversation is Hindi; English sentences with Hindi content words may simply be code-switches. Furthermore, none of these English-heavy sentences occurred in the Hinglish of younger speakers, which suggests that this type of mixing is becoming obsolete (Si 2010, 396-398). Dey and Fung's findings

that 67.7 percent of the Hinglish lexicon in informal speech is of Hindi origin support the claim of Hindi as the matrix language (Dey and Fung 2014, 2412).

The lack of official standardization in Hinglish creates an unclear line between the bilingual mixed variety and a Hindi dialect with many English loans. The question of labels is further complicated by the idea of heteronomy: the tendency of speakers of a dialect to identify with one umbrella language as opposed to another, regardless of linguistic similarity. For instance, Chambers and Trudgill, authors of *Dialectology*, report dialects of Dutch which may be closer to standard German, but whose speakers consider themselves to be speaking Dutch due to political and cultural loyalties (Chambers & Trudgill 1998, 99). Similarly, some Indian language varieties may meet the criteria of Hinglish but maintain the label of Hindi. Given the potency of script in defining Hindi and Urdu, the difference between Hinglish and heteronomous variations of Hindi may possibly come down to the script adopted but its users (King 1994, 107).

Regardless of the name assigned to the language, there are certain ways to distinguish linguistic aspects of Hinglish from Hindi. The proportion of English words to Hindi words, though imprecise, is a popular factor to measure in this pursuit (Parshada et al 2016, 381). A combination of morphemes from both Hindi and English can be telling in a Hinglish sentence, as well as sentence structure that reflects English word-order rules. Hinglish can also be signaled by English phonetic influence, even in Indian-origin words. Finally, while Devanagari is still often used

for writing Hinglish, the use of Roman characters to express ideas in a Hindi-matrix language is a good indicator of Hinglish.

Morphology

Hindi words are prone to certain English grammatical endings, especially the plural *s*, as in *masalas* ('spices') or *bhaiyyas* ('brothers') (Chand 2016). Yule addresses the adoption of Hindi imperatives into English stem verbs, such as *bunow* and *lugow*, 'to fabricate' and 'to lay alongside' (Yule and Burnell 1996, xx). These Hindi imperative forms are then frequently attached to English affixes in Hinglish, such as in "*she was bhunno-ing the masala-s:*" 'she was frying the spices (to release their oils)' (Chand 2016).

Adjectives and abstract nouns are signaled in Hindi with a long /i/ suffix; English words undergo the same process, as in the production of the adjective *filmi*, meaning 'from the films,' or, colloquially, 'dramatic' (Snell 1990, 56). English loans are also very prone to jingle-compounds, which are repetitive constructions used to convey a dismissive tone; examples include *English-Vinglish* and *talking-shalking* (Snell 1990, 56; L.M, 2011).

Gender and Case

The most common use of English-origin terms in Hinglish is a lone noun, which will often assimilate into Hindi inflectional rules (Snell 1990, 54-55). For example, *cinema*, under Hindi pronunciation and inflectional contexts, becomes

sineme; *library* in the plural, *laibreriyān* (55). Gender is assigned based on either the final vowel of the English word (as it is marked in Hindi) or the gender of its Hindi synonym (Si 2010, 55). Occasionally, English loans will take on irregular affixes, such as the Urdu formation in *boriyat*, 'boredom,' though this is rare (55).

Syntax

One of the most productive Hinglish constructions is the formation of a compound verb using an English bare verb or noun plus a Hindi verb like *karna* ('to do'), *paana* ('to manage'), *banana* ('to make'), *hona* ('to be'), etc. (Verma 1976, 163). For instance, the Hinglish *organize karna* means 'to organize' (160). Dey and Fung also found examples of English gerunds in such compound verbs, such as *surfing karna*, 'to surf.' (Dey and Fung 2014, 2412). Similarly, Hindi post-positions are usually in the pattern *ke liye* ('for'), *ke neeche* ('between'). Hinglish postpositions, then, are built in the same manner: "*ke thru*, 'through (the agency of)' and *ke andar*, 'under (the supervision or authority of)'" (Snell 1990, 56).

Head nouns, specifically, as well as adjectives, commonly employ English, while the least common English grammatical categories are pronouns, determiners, and genitives. For example, *mera hometown* ('my hometown') would be a typical Hinglish phrase consisting of a Hindi determiner and English noun; *Jay ka hometown*, 'Jay's hometown,' is a similar example showcasing Hinglish's use of Hindi genitives (Dey and Fung 2014, 2411-2412).

Hinglish is also more likely to follow English phrase-order norms, even in a sentence containing only Hindi words. Snell gives the example of the conditional *if* and relative-correlative constructions:

“mai hi piche kyo rahta yadi uske lie apne ko mansik rup se taiyar kar pata (‘I myself would hardly have lagged behind if I had managed to prepare myself for it mentally’), in which the subordinate ‘if’ clause follows the main clause (and the conjunction *to* is dispensed with altogether” (Snell 1990, 63).

For comparison, “pure” Hindi grammar rules, in which the conditional clause is followed by *to* (‘then’) plus the main clause, would result in a sentence more like: *yadi uske lie apne ko mansik rup se taiyar kar pata to mai hi piche kyo rahta.*

Other examples of Hinglish sentences employing English constructions include the use of the continuous tense of *go* as a progressive. For example, Hinglish allows a sentence such as *homework karne ja rahi hoon* (‘I am going to do my homework’), where Hindi rules would mandate the future tense, as in *homework karungi* (‘I will do my homework’). Hindi abstract nouns are increasingly pluralized as if they were countable (e.g. *shakti*, ‘power,’ becomes *shaktiyan*, ‘powers’) in Hinglish. Hinglish phrases that employ the versatile postposition *se* are more also likely to substitute a calque, or translation of an English loan, usually *ke sath* (‘with’). For instance, *shanti se so raha tha*, (‘I was sleeping peacefully’) becomes *shanti ke sath so raha tha* (‘I was sleeping with peace’) (Snell 1990, 55, 64).

Snell provides myriad other instances of English grammatical influence on Hinglish, including “supplanting of active intransitives with passive transitives; and the specifying of an agent (with the postposition *ke dvara*) in passive constructions,” reported speech constructions, and “use of pre-modifying adjectival phrases in place of relative-correlative constructions” (Snell 1990, 63-65).

Sounds and Script

While the Hinglish pronunciation of English elements leans heavily toward phones found in the Hindi repertoire, Ashton and Dwyer note a progressively more English pronunciation of /r/, in that it is trilled or flapped, not tapped; and with more rounded vowels than would be found in Hindi (Dwyer and Ashton 2015). In India, this phenomenon suggests that Hinglish may include a wider range of allophones, or variations in the production of a phoneme, than Hindi.

Some Hinglish words also take on a more English pronunciation despite being Indian-origin words. For example, Bengali litterateur and Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore's surname is an Anglicization of the relatively common Indian name Thakur. Possibly due to the heavily English-influenced educational resources used in many Indian schools, the author's name been transferred back into Hinglish as *Taigor* in lieu of the more accurate *Thakur*. Sometimes, at least, this adaptation of the English pronunciation has stylistic motivations; for example, the use of *Indiya* prevents the speaker from having to choose a more politically loaded indigenous name for the country such as *Bharat* or *Hindustan* (Snell 1990, 66).

In addition to the occasional English spelling, English typography standards and abbreviation conventions are widely accepted in all forms of Hindi writing (Snell 1990, 65-66). On the issue of writing systems more broadly, there is no current consensus among Hinglish users about a standard script. One Delhi tabloid,

East, has taken a novel approach to this problem: it is titled in both Roman and Devanagari script and prints articles in either one, albeit with much transliteration from both sources (Vaish 2013, 55).

That said, while Hinglish has been written in both Nagari and Roman script, many technological innovations have already accepted the Roman alphabet as standard for Hindustani. For instance, Apple's iOS 9 system, released in 2015, features a Hinglish keyboard that recognizes words of both English and Hindi origin in the Roman script (Saxena 2015). There is also a text message-based Coronary Heart Disease prevention program in the same Hinglish format (Thakkar et al 2016, 32). Vajpeyi, as well, noted in 2012 a "growing tendency to write Hindi in Roman letters" (Vajpeyi 2010, 101).

3.2 Classification

Hinglish, like Urdu before the 19th century, sports many contradictory labels from sociolect to code-switching phenomenon. While most scholars agree that the difference between a dialect and a separate language is often one of more sociopolitical considerations than linguistic ones, the question of its exact linguistic classification is inevitable if it is to take on a more official role in the Indian subcontinent. Therefore, while the label may change in response to people's habits, government acknowledgement, etc., Hinglish for the moment best fits the category of a developing bilingual mixed language.

A bilingual mixed language develops under different circumstances than a creole and has different rules and structures than code-switching varieties or cases

of borrowing. Because these are common assumptions even from speakers of Hinglish, evidence for its status as a bilingual mixed variety must disprove other theories of language classification at least until Hinglish is officially standardized.

A bilingual mixed language is the product of a contact situation in which a community of bilinguals combines two languages to form an in-group language, “a symbol of their emerging ethnic identity” (Thomason 2001, 11). The speech community for which Hinglish began as an in-group language was mostly upper- and upper-middle- class, educated Indians, with a shared set of Western and Indian social norms (Morgan 2004, 8). In contrast, creoles develop as “languages of wider communication;” lingua francas for people with no common language between them (Thomason 2001, 158).

The abundance of English structural influences on Hinglish is further proof that Hinglish is a bilingual mixed variety. Sociolinguist and language-contact specialist Sarah G. Thomason posits that structural components can only be borrowed by bilinguals, (Thomason 2001, 69). According to Thomason, a bilingual mixed language contains grammatical components from both source languages; Hinglish, which contains many English structural features within a Hindi grammatical matrix, fits this criterion (Thomason 2004, 4).

Hinglish also defies the stereotypes of a creoloid variety in its lack of relative simplicity: most grammatical categories have been maintained or even expanded. Siegel names morphological marking of nouns and “reduction of categories (such as countable/uncountable distinctions)” as examples of parts of speech that may be

simplified in the creolization process (Siegel 1997, 120). However, even with the introduction of English, which rarely marks nouns, Hinglish resists simplification by transferring the Hindi case system onto English loans (Snell 1990, 50). Also mentioned in section 3.1, Hinglish uses both English and Hindi concepts of countability on nouns of either language, expanding both categories (55).

Finally, the superstrate, or language of prestige in the contact situation, tends to be the “de jure matrix language” of a creole (Siegel 1997, 166). This is not the case for Hinglish, which takes Hindi as its matrix language, but even then draws both lexical items and grammar rules from both Hindi and English. Creoles, on the other hand, are typically a combination of one language’s lexicon and the other’s grammar (Thomason 2001, 160).

The difference between Hinglish as a bilingual mixed variety and a simple predominance of English borrowing is complicated. Fundamentally, “bilingual mixed language genesis is akin to, and in effect actually is, borrowing” (Thomason 2001, 158). Borrowing, however, tends to be limited to nouns and verb phrases; the more morphological and syntactic influence English exerts on Hinglish, the less it resembles borrowing (Sankoff et al 1990, 77).

Borrowing also results in the phonological and morphological assimilation of borrowed components into the receiving language. The existence of a “fairly well-established General Indian English Pronunciation” makes it hard to distinguish English loan words into Hindi from code switching, although the use of English-origin expressions can be clearly identified as borrowing when they take on

meanings specific to the English of the subcontinent (Agnihotri 2010, 9-10). For example, naturalization of English resulted in mistranslations such as “*atak-matak* for ‘automatic’ (but with the sense ‘immediate(ly)’)” (Snell 1990, , 54). Other Hinglish terms with meanings different from their English roots include “*shift karna* ‘to move house’” (55).

While English loan words are common in Hindi, and therefore often follow Hindi inflectional patterns, Aung Si also notes the opposite in Hinglish, in which Hindi-origin words that have not been borrowed into English take on English grammatical endings when inserted into a mostly-English sentence (Si 2010, 396).

Hinglish is also more than code -switching or -mixing. For one, it defies the Free Morpheme Constraint, which says that “code-switches will not occur within a word, i.e. between a stem and an affix or between two affixes” (Thomason 2001, 135). However, Hinglish, as previously discussed, attaches Hindi affixes to English words and vice-versa (Chand 2016; Si 2010, 55). Furthermore, intrasentential code switching is usually limited to single words and short phrases, while Hinglish combines elements from all levels of linguistic production in one utterance (Thomason 2001, 136).

One apparent contradiction to this trend is Si’s report of the insertion of a singular English noun, *fuse*, where the surrounding Hindi determiner and verbs are in their plural forms. Because *fuse* carries no apparent plural marker, this would seem to contradict the rule of Hindi agreement markers on English nouns (Si 2010, 395). However, no part of the word *fuse* corresponds with any marked number

signifier in Hindi, and the plural agreement marker for a masculine unmarked noun in Hindi is null. Therefore, it can be argued that *fuse* is in fact the Hinglish plural form of the singular noun.

Finally, Hinglish resists the definition of register or dialect, because it can be used anywhere in India and in almost all domains of conversation. The determining factor of the language spoken is not dependent on the social situation but on the class and education level of the speaker.

The domains in which Hinglish is employed grant insight into the ongoing development of Hinglish into a full language. While in the past Hinglish may have occupied a high variety role in a somewhat diglossic sociolinguistic structure, it is no longer separated from Hindi or English by domain or dynamics of a social situation (Ferguson 1959). Even within the span of 30 years, Hinglish has grown from a register of sorts to a variety used in almost all contexts of communication: S.K. Verma, who was studying code-switching in 1976 reported that, at the time, “at one end and in certain roles these bilinguals use only English and at the other end and in certain other roles they use only Hindi,” with English domains encompassing technical subjects and Hindi used in “intimate, informal, personal” settings. However, even in 1976, he was already noticing the use of Hinglish “more and more in informal, everyday conversations” (Verma 1976, 161-163). By 2006, bilingual Hindi-English speakers reported speaking English with family 34% of the time and with friends 41% of the time, occupying domains cited by Verma as preferring Hindi

(Si 2010, 405). The growing versatility of Hinglish in all areas of life supports its perception as a developing bilingual mixed language rather than a register.

Hinglish further resists the definition of register or dialect because it already contains such variation within the bilingual mixed variety. Hinglish maintains the fluidity of Hindi registers by manipulating pronouns and grammatical case, and in fact has registers of its own: in conversations between Hindi-English bilinguals, “the higher the level of education and more technical the topic of discourse the greater the degree of mixture and frequency of switching” between languages of origin (Agha 2004, 36; Verma 2976, 158).

The concept of Hinglish as a register of Hindi is also incompatible with results from Parshad et al. indicating that Hinglish speakers do not adjust their speech to accommodate Hindi monolingual conversational partners. Were Hinglish a register of Hindi, speakers would be able to adjust to the context of the speech act and decrease their use of English-origin words and structures. On the other side of the conversation, Hindi monolinguals did incorporate more single English words into their speech in response to meeting a Hinglish speaker; however, the lexical items used by monolingual participants were mostly loan words and this register-like Hinglish attempt is not the same as the bilingual mixed Hinglish being studied (Parshad et al 2016, 377).

There are also sociolects of Hinglish: Aung Si notes a “type of syntactic transference [that] is more a hallmark of the English spoken by individuals from a certain [lower] socioeconomic stratum.” In this sociolect, English words follow a Hindi sentence structure and English components are often calques of Hindi. Si gives

the example of a non-native speaker who, in trying to say “sir, waterproofing means more money,” selects the more common English translation of the Hindi word *matlab*, ‘meaning,’ and produces instead “sir, waterproofing meaning more money” (Si 2010, 394). Hinglish also has the potential for regional dialects, as evidenced by the phonetic and phonological differences between the Indian English spoken in Gujarat and Tamil Nadu (Wiltshire and Harnsberger 2006, 91).

4. Media and Contexts

Modern Hinglish, according to Dwyer, hit its stride in late- 20th century advertising, but is now propagated through a great variety of Indian media (Dwyer 2014, 85; Thakur et al 2007, 109). Indeed, movie tabloids, cinema criticism, and the like remain a stalwart fixture in the Hinglish print industry (Ganti 2016, 122). Rana D. Parshad et al. of Clarkson University also list “informal discourse, popular handbooks, fiction novels, TV shows and films” as other media that often utilize Hinglish (Parshad et al 2016, 2). While no written dictionary yet exists, India now sports a youth-based online slang database called Samosapedia, which catalogues thousands of popular terms from various languages including Hinglish (L.M. 2011).

There is a large market for Hinglish newspapers, as evidenced by the popularity of *I-next* and *Amar Ujala Compact* (Chaturvedi 2015, 111). Furthermore, even supposedly (just) Hindi publications such as *Dainik Jagran* have been found to “combin[e] variable levels of hybridization between English and Hindi” in almost every section of the newspaper (Saxena 2010, 48). Thakur, et al. observe Hinglish

expanding in the other direction as well: “the popularity of Hinglish can be gauged by the fact that it is now used even by the reputed English language newspapers in India” (Thakur et al 2007, 12).

Cricket, which reaches every corner of the country with so much as a radio, also provides significant exposure to English, as Hindi-language broadcasting wasn't implemented until 1968. Due to the English-borrowed nature of most cricket terms, Hindi commentary is necessarily a Hinglish outcome, producing sentences such as “*Bahut khubsoorti ke saath square cut kar diya chaar runo ke liye:*” ‘He played a square cut beautifully for four runs’ (Nair 2015). Shackle and Snell also claim there is English influence in the syntax of sports reporting; this can be seen even in the above example, in which *bahut khubsoorti ke saath* translates literally to ‘with much beauty,’ a construction that swaps the traditional Hindi *se*, ‘of,’ for *ke saath*, ‘with,’ a more Hinglish calque from English (Shackle and Snell 1990, 17). Despite the success of Hindi-language commentary, broadcasting in other Indian languages was slow to follow suit, with movements to broadcast in major south Indian languages beginning as recently as 2013 (Press 2013).

Hinglish is also deeply entrenched in Bollywood. As an industry grossing \$2.32 billion in 2016 and expected to grow 11% this year, Bollywood has significant influence on Indian culture and language (Frater 2016). Aung Si, in her analysis of

eight Bollywood movies spanning the 1980s-2000s, reported that “code-switching commonly occurred in all movies analysed, and was present in one form or another in the speech of practically all the characters,” and the use of English in all forms increased significantly in the last decade of her research. She also found that young 21st century speakers were more likely to insert Hindi words into English than vice versa, and had completely abandoned monolingual Hindi lines. However, English-only dialogue was much more common among student-teacher interactions than those of peers, suggesting a specific highly- Anglified register for more formal classroom settings (Si 2010, 397-399).

Swapna Rajput claimed to write the first Hinglish novel: *The Beautiful Roses* (2015), a collection of stories written in Roman script but Hindi words. While a simple change of script does not necessitate a Hinglish label, closer inspection reveals a number of English words used in place of even simple or common Hindi words: for example, “*unke purse se unke pati Ravikumar Verma ka phone number dhoond nikal, unhe phone karke Sujata ke accident ki khabar di*” (‘she dug her husband Ravikumar Verma’s phone number from her purse, called him, and informed him about Sujata’s accident’) or “*sub nashta karne dining room table par baithe the*” (‘they were all seated at the dining room table to eat breakfast’) (Rajput 2015, 1, 8).

Still, the Hinglish diction of the narration is fairly conservative, with few English words beyond nouns and compound verb phrases. More mixed Hinglish, with complete English phrases switching to Hindi and back again, is used in

dialogue: “*Its impossible Dad! Usse na toh English aata hoga aur... you saw that today, uske parents kaise hindi bol rahe the*” (‘It’s impossible Dad! They won’t understand English and... You saw that today, how her parents were speaking Hindi’) (Rajput 2015, 7).

Richa Devesar published a similar book, *All We Need Is Love*, a few months later, consisting of “Hindi” stories in Roman script; however, the same pattern of English loans in place of simple Hindi nouns in the text suggests that the content, not just the script, qualify the novel as a work of Hinglish literature (Devesar 2015).

5. Current strength

There are a few ways to estimate the prosperity of a language. Ethnologue uses the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) to assess language vitality (“Language Development” 2017). According to its criteria, Hinglish would fall somewhere between levels 5 (“Developing: in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable”) and 6a (“Vigorous: The language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations and the situation is sustainable”) on a scale from 0 (International) to 10 (Extinct) (“Language Status” 2017). For comparison, both Hindi and Urdu are rated level 1 (National), while English is a 0 (“Urdu” 2017, “Hindi in the Language Cloud” 2017).

Sociolinguists provide more insight into the factors of language strength. Thomason lists number of speakers and institutional support as the two most obvious contributions to the stability of a minority language (Thomason 2001, 22).

Linguistic anthropologist Paul Garrett similarly says language obsolescence is most likely to occur to a language with “relatively few speakers, a state of affairs which in many cases also entails nonliteracy, non-standardization, lack of institutional backing, etc.” (Garrett 2004, 64). Such analyses bode well for Hinglish: In addition to the fact that almost all current speakers are highly educated and literate, a few studies seem to confirm that Hinglish is growing in number of speakers. Although standardization is still in the early stages, the official language status of English and Hindi provide a level of institutional support for Hinglish.

While certain manifestations of Hinglish, such as textbooks and government documents, remain lacking, Hinglish excels in other areas considered by Ethnologue to be important indicators of language development. Among these: a variety of literature such as stories and newspapers; its use in broadcast and digital media; and its popularity as a second language (“Language Development” 2017).

Indian scholar Ananya Vajpeyi observes: “the out-right importation of a great deal of English vocabulary is accelerating along with the proliferation of expressions peculiar to English in India, the growing tendency to write Hindi in Roman letters, and the coining of hybrid words that are native neither to Hindi nor to English” (Vajpeyi 2012, 101). A study by Parshad et al. even found that many “Hindi-English bilinguals” had actually become “Hinglish monolinguals,” as evidenced by their inability to speak only Hindi despite consequences for the use of English. They also suggest that Hinglish dominates Hindi in a conversation between two monolinguals: a Hindi speaker will use more English insertions when speaking with a Hinglish

speaker, but the Hinglish speaker's levels of Hindi use do not change (Parshad et al 2016, 375-377).

6. Lessons from Urdu and Hindi

Before looking forward at the possible directions Hinglish might take, I look back at what the lessons of history can teach about patterns of language development in India.

One reason to look carefully at Urdu to speculate about Hinglish is because, as Thomason says, "social factors outweigh linguistic factors in predicting the linguistic results of contact" (Thomason 2004, 13-14). Often the social and political circumstances surrounding language contact play a much bigger role in the outcome than linguistic attributes (Wright 2006, 995). While the Sanskritization of Hindi was not so much a result of language contact as linguistic contention, Hindi's development is inseparable from that of Urdu, and both provide valuable insights into language development in India. A careful study of the Hindi-Urdu controversy can provide guidance about the issues of import to politicians, influential upper-class figures, and the general public of India. The results of this debate have also set a precedent for criteria of language legitimacy that, regardless of their objective importance, are apparently relevant in the sociopolitical milieu of the region.

For example, the "logic of numbers," or fight over which language had more speakers, became a key argument in the Hindi-Urdu controversy (Sarangi 2009, 7). In theory, it would "determine the validity of linguistic rights, recognition, identity and difference of language communities" (31). Unfortunately, the census data

collected by the British raj was woefully variable and inaccurate in its linguistic definitions and categorizations of Hindustani varieties (4-29). However, the popularity of the logic of numbers in past language debates suggests that the number of people speaking Hinglish is liable to be used as an argument either for or against it.

6.1 Linguistic Differentiation

Scholars of Hindi and Urdu claim their legitimacy as different languages because their standardized forms “diverge so much from each other at the higher, more learned, levels that they are almost unintelligible for the speakers of the other variety” (Rahman 2011, 4). While the criterion of intelligibility has both critics and supporters in the field of dialectology, the debate over its legitimacy as a judge of linguistic difference is secondary to its past- and therefore possibly future-discursive use in a national linguistic debate (Garrett 2004, 48; Chambers and Trudgill 1998, 4).

Furthermore, it is worth noting that these higher forms became the basis by which Hindi and Urdu were categorized as different languages. Despite an almost identical shared grammar system and basic vocabulary, as well as significantly overlapping phonological inventories, Hindi and Urdu are considered different languages based linguistically on lexical influence and specific grammatical constructions—factors that in other contexts signal nothing more than a shift in

dialect (Shackle and Snell 1990, 23). The low varieties of Urdu and Hindi are practically indistinguishable from Hindustani, as is the lower register of Hinglish: the less English influence appears in a Hinglish sentence, the more it resembles Hindustani with some borrowings. While this may pose a problem in terms of purely linguistic identification, it corresponds with the pattern of categorization set by Hindi and Urdu. In other words, there is nothing linguistically unique about Hindi or Urdu that make them more language-like than Hinglish; simply the social impetus to label them as such.

In the same way, it may be impossible to provide uncontroversial evidence that Hinglish is linguistically more than a variation of Hindi. However, following precedents from the Hindi-Urdu debate, one can identify aspects of Hinglish that were historically considered indicative of a separate language. Even such small English influences as sentence structure in a lexically-Hindi sentence may be considered Hinglish using the same historical criteria: this very argument was used by some to label Insha Allah Khan's *Rani Ketki ki Kahaani* a work of Urdu because of a "Persianized word order" (King 1994, 29).

It is clear that social and political factors played a much greater role than linguistic criteria in declaring Hindi and Urdu two separate languages. Similarly, the development or legitimacy of Hinglish need not require complete linguistic separation from Hindi; only the popular perception of separation. Therefore, much of the following speculation on the future of Hinglish analyzes language attitudes more than language rules.

6.2 Literature

One of the factors that linguists-- and especially linguists of 20th century India advocating for one variety over another—consider in the development of a new language is the existence of printed literature, including “corpus planning” documents such as dictionaries, in that tongue. Furthermore, the presence of written publications in a given dialect, especially with the addition of modern printing methods, greatly increases the ability of that variety to spread among speakers of similar dialects. In the Hindi-Urdu debate, specifically, the presence of literature was used to prove level of standardization and widespread acceptance of a variety in the region (Rahman 1996, 9).

Before the moral implications of religious connotation limited the scope of accepted literature, Urdu was used extensively in romantic and erotic poetry (Rahman 2011, 134). This subject matter was inherited from Urdu’s linguistic and cultural predecessors (Arabic, Persian, and Turkish), but took on its own character in South Asia (138-139). Urdu has also been traced back to the medieval Deccani literature of the 14th century, due in part to Deccani’s popularity as a language of Sufi orders (although it didn’t acquire Persian diction and literary strategies until the late 15th century, and even then maintained liberal influence from Sanskrit and other local indigenous varieties) (King 1994, 24). Wali Mohammad Wali, a Deccani

poet, has been credited with the introduction of Urdu poetry to high society in the late 17th century (24).

Urdu's reputation as the language of love and eroticism contributed to its eventual downfall in the Hindi- Urdu debates, as Indian reformers claimed its 'inappropriate' content corrupted the language as a whole and would corrupt the country too, were it allowed to maintain official status. The most widely cultivated argument surrounding Urdu's inescapable eroticism was that the only Urdu literature that could be taught in schools was these love poems (Rahman 2011, 158).

This history of the language and literature debates suggests a few aspects of language attitudes in India that may arise during attempts to promote Hinglish. Hinglish cannot compare to Hindi or Urdu in the literature arena, as Hinglish only consistently appears in music, prose, and poetry in the past half-century (Dwyer 2014, 27; Patel 5). In terms of moral acceptability, this strikes a balance, for there is also little "immoral" or "corruptive" Hinglish literature to argue against.

On the other hand, a lack of "classic" Hinglish texts hurts the argument that Hinglish will ease educational goals, for much of language schooling in India relies on reading and interpreting texts. However, this issue has been addressed before, by curriculum planners of 19th century Fort William College language programs: John Gilchrist and his colleagues commissioned the writing of Hindi texts so that they could better teach the language to members of the British army and administration (Forster 2012, 15-16). Some of these books, such as Lalluji Lal's *Prem Sagar*, sold

well to the general public in addition to jumpstarting the college's Hindi education (King 1994, 26-27). Therefore, a similar strategy for Hinglish could strengthen the argument for the language twofold, in creating classroom-appropriate learning texts and also invigorating the field of Hinglish popular literature.

In the classroom, "the great number of schoolbooks which used [Devanagari] and its associated Sanskrit vocabulary did much to lend weight to the claim that Hindi actually existed" (King 1994, 107). No such known textbooks exist (yet) in Hinglish. However, the potential growth of vernacular-medium universities suggested by Costenaro would contribute significantly to Hinglish academia due to the inescapable proliferation of English jargon in higher education (Costenaro 2006, 18).

6.3 Orthography

The Hindi-Urdu debate also contained within it the Nagari-Nastaliq debate. While spoken Hindustani was a promising middle ground between the two high registers, the associated Nastaliq and Nagari alphabets are incompatible in every aspect of format, leaving little room for compromise. Arguments brought up against both scripts included speed of writing, standards for spelling, and ability to be converted to modern technology, like typewriters (King 1994, 61; Shackle and Snell 1990, 130).

The Roman alphabet and Devanagari, at least, are both oriented from left to right; however, the same problem of basic orthographical differences remain. The established pattern of the hybrid language adopting the writing system of the

invading language suggests that Roman script is more likely to be used for Hinglish if and when it is formally standardized. The following analysis, then, compares strategies used to adapt Devanagari to Urdu phonemes—or even Persian script to Hindustani phonemes— and Roman script to Hinglish phonemes.

As Robert King points out, Hindi in Devanagari has completely different letters for dental and retroflex letters, such as /t/ (त) and /ʈ/ (ट), as well as for aspirated and non-aspirated stops and affricates (ex. /b/ ब, /bʰ/ भ). However, Urdu, while employing the same sounds, marks retroflex sounds with “a diacritic mark... so that retroflex sounds are written with the same basic graphemes as /t d r/ but marked with the diacritic for retroflexion” (King 2001, 50-51). For example, the same aforementioned dental and retroflex plosives would be written as ت and ٹ. Similarly, aspiration is signaled by the letter for the non-aspirated counterpart immediately followed by a *do-chasmi he*, a modified form of the letter /h/ (ex. /b/ ب, /bʰ/ بھ). Hinglish, like Urdu, signals aspiration by adding the letter h (ex. /b/ b, /bʰ/ bh). Hinglish also recognizes the similar plosive quality of /t/ and the retroflex /ʈ/, but unlike Urdu (which signals the difference between the sounds with diacritics), Hinglish uses the same grapheme, *t*, for both with no mark to distinguish the two.

Finally, the vocalic nasalization is marked in Hindi by a symbol, ँ, called a *chandrabindu*, which is graphemically separate from any stand-alone nasal sounds (न ण ञ ञ). In Urdu, the letter *noon* ن is used for all non-coda nasal phonemes, regardless of its corresponding Devanagari grapheme, while the *noon-ghunna*, a

modified form of the letter without a dot, is used for nasalized vowels at the end of a word (Jawaid and Tafseer 2009, 4). Hinglish also uses *n* for all forms of non-coda nasalization. For Hindi words containing a nasalized final vowel, Hinglish is somewhat unregulated in that many people leave off a nasal grapheme altogether, writing, for example, “yaariya” (‘friendships’) instead of “yaariyan” (to be fair, this final nasalization is often indistinguishable in spoken Hindi and Hinglish as well).

Beyond transliteration of single phonemes, the issue of variation in spelling remains. Certain spelling conventions differ between Hindi and Urdu writing systems: for example, Urdu separates certain auxiliary verbs from the stem of the main verb, while Hindi doesn’t; same with compound words (Russell 1997, 5). For example, the Hindi phrase *baat karungi* (‘I will talk’) is written in Urdu as *baat karun gi*. Hinglish similarly reanalyzes certain phrases, but in the opposite direction, in which common compound verb phrases are written as one word. The Hinglish novel *The Beautiful Roses* contains an example of this: Hindi *sharm aa gayi* (‘she became embarrassed’) becomes *sharmagayi*; *jhuka liya* (‘she bent’) becomes *jhukaliya* (Rajput 2015, 30).

The lack of regulation in Hinglish appears in other orthographical disparities as well. The Hindi marked masculine plural, /e/, is often written as a diphthong in Hinglish, leading to double spellings of words such as *gunde/ gunday*. Long vowels, similarly, are only sometimes doubled in Hinglish writing, to where *yaariyan* can also be written as *yariyan* with little confusion.

The few Hinglish novels in print suggest more variation in Hinglish spelling standards than in Urdu. Both transliteration and morphological rules are more flexible in these Hinglish books than in most other languages' literature, suggesting that Hinglish is not yet at Hindi or Urdu's level of standardization. However, there is reason to believe this may standardize over time. Even among the proponents of Urdu, debates once raged over the spelling: should it be the same as the Arabic or Persian spellings or should it reflect Urdu pronunciation? (Rahman 2010, 92). In regards to the Devanagari spelling of words of Perso- Arabic origin, diacritics were added to Devanagari graphemes supposed to indicate an Urdu phoneme. However, after a few generations both the writing and pronunciation of these Urdu morphemes among Indians tapered off into the general Hindi pronunciation (Rahman 2011, 276).

6.4 Religion

Despite the fact that Sanskrit is the language of Hinduism and Arabic the language of Islam, Sanskritic and Perso-Arabic Indian languages were not always polarized on religious terms. Religious diffusion occurred frequently between the two cultures before the polarization of the Hindi-Urdu debate; for instance, both Hindus and Muslims venerated religious figures, especially saints, of both religions (King 1994, 177). Even after the official differentiation of the two varieties, a program of dual education in both languages delayed the onset of widespread association of Urdu with Islam for some time (Shackle and Snell 1990, 11).

The legend of Urdu's beginnings in Mughal military camps irrevocably associated the language with both Muslims and military aggression in the eyes of many Hindus (Rahman 2011, 42). However, Rahman suggests that the only reason Persian acquired its association with Indian Muslim identity was through its patronage by the dominant elite, many of whom happened to be Muslim (112). The public connection of Urdu with Islam only picked up speed and import in the 18th century with the deliberate Islamization and Persianization of Urdu (80). Before then, Urdu was known as the language of love and sexuality, and was a medium for education in Christian and Hindu schools as well (134).

Although passionate debaters on either side of the Hindi-Urdu divide would trace religious connotations back to the Ghaznavid Empire (if not technically farther, to the beginnings of Hinduism in Sanskrit), it was not until the early 19th century that people began to refer to Urdu as the language of Muslims, as Insha Allah Khan did in his 1808 book *Darya-e-Latafat* (Rahman 1996, 60). By this time, the Islamization of Urdu was so widely accepted that even Hindu writers were forced to conform to the conventions of Islamic prose and poetry in order to have a market for their work (Rahman 2011, 106). Although Urdu was only spoken by wealthy, educated males in the early 19th century-- and therefore, as Rahman notes, was a mere sociolect-- its popularity and acceptance grew throughout the next 100 years, to the point where even women of the educated classes were expected to be literate (Rahman 1996, 60; Rahman 2011, 246).

The British played a significant role in spreading the idea of two different Hindustanis, one Hindu and one Muslim (Rahman 2011, 76). In regions with a relatively large Muslim population, British government policies reflected their desire to curry the favor of the powerful demographic by keeping Urdu as the official language of the administration, whereas Hindi took over in areas with a more influential Hindu population (King 1994, 17). Such politically-motivated policies bolstered Urdu's stability as a government language through its associations with Muslims. This political maneuvering wasn't limited to the Brits, either: the Hindu right wing pressured congress away from proposals that would have slowed the religious divide (Forster 2012, 44).

Islamic religious events such as devotional poetry readings were often integral in Persianizing and standardizing Urdu, because the public nature of the performances contributed to the rapid spread of stylistic trends. By the 19th century, Urdu was more prevalent in Wahabi writings than Persian, signaling that Urdu had become sufficiently Islamized for use by even orthodox Muslims—and for more than just appealing to local prospective converts. The religio-political movement Ahl-i-Hadith published texts in Urdu basic enough to appeal to the general population, and even included Arabic quotes from the Quran and Hadith alongside Urdu translations. In the late 1800s, Urdu became a uniting language for Indian Muslims, largely at the hands of the revivalist Deobandi movement. One Islamic scholar of the time even advocated for saying prayers in Urdu (Rahman 2011, 104, 120-124).

Just as Urdu developed associations with Muslim rule, proponents of Hindi could only produce good examples of Hindi literature from eras of Hindu rule (King 1994, 16). Many scholars see the movement to associate Hindi with Sanskrit and Hinduism as a reaction to the Islamization of Urdu (Rahman 2011, 108). However, Rahman claims that Sanskrit, too, only developed widespread religious connotations at the hands of the Hindi nationalist movement; before then, its “cosmopolitanism” kept its use too varied to be tied only to religion (80). Conversely, Shackle and Snell claim Sanskrit has “derived more from its function as the vehicle of the overlapping entities of high Hindu culture and religion than from its spoken use” (Shackle and Snell 1990, 2).

Babu Shiva Prasad found moderate success in linking Hindi with Hinduism in his play “Hindi aur Urdu ki Larai” (‘Hindi and Urdu’s Fight’), which associated the language with the anti-cow killing movement of the time (King 1994, 139). The partition of Bengal in 1905 further stoked the fire of Hindu nationalism, prompting the creation of the Jaliya Shiksha Parishad (National Council of Education) to promote vernacular-medium education (Rahman 1996, 46). The fact that Banaras and Allahabad, “the twin bases of Hindu power in Northern India,” were the centers of Hindi development, speaks to its association, whether by cause or effect, with Hinduism (Shackle and Snell 1990, 10).

English had a small association with religion in north India, in that colonial Christian missionaries were the only group besides the British army to use Roman

script with Hindustani (Rahman 2011, 181). Although only two schools used this format, they were also among the first educational institutions in South Asia to teach girls in Hindustani (231). Post-partition, English continues to hold that small connection with Christianity, as poor Christians are more likely to attend English-medium schools through their churches or convents than their low-income Hindu or Muslim counterparts (Joseph 2011).

In terms of how English related to Hinduism and Islam in the 19th and 20th centuries, it was more quickly adopted by the Hindus than the Muslims of North India, because, as Rahman suggests, it was no more foreign to them than the old language of power, Persian (Rahman 1996, 48). However, English has since garnered a greater affinity with the other side: according to Paul Friedrich, “the Christians and the Muslims, who constitute about 15 per cent of the Indian population and up to half of the population in the deep south,” as well as many lower-caste Hindus, generally oppose Sanskrit (Friedrich 1962, 547).

English finds another connection to religion among the low-caste Dalits of the north Indian state Uttar Pradesh. According to J. John Sekar, the state’s Chief Minister Mayawati recently “advised Dalits to worship the English language as their deity, because it alone could liberate them from different types of social, cultural, economic, and political shackles” (Sekar 2013, 353). Blueprints were drawn and a goddess statue ordered, but administrative red tape grounded the plans for the temple (Sinha 2013). The poor education most Dalits receive, combined with such attempts at increasing their knowledge of English, makes a prime situation for the development of Hinglish among such groups.

All said, the association of English with Christianity, non-Hinduism, or a new Dalit religion is relatively dwarfed by the other connotations of the English language, namely, colonialism, globalization, and science. Furthermore, English did not go through the same social transformations as Hindi and Urdu-- namely, the process of ideological differentiation labeled iconicity by sociolinguists Susan Gal and Judith Irvine. Iconicity entails the association of social groups (in this case, religious groups) with linguistic practices (Gal and Irvine 1995, 973). The 1901 British government census solidified this process significantly by identifying Hindi and Urdu with both religions and scripts; Hinglish has no such religious affiliation and is still transcribed in both Roman and Devanagari letters (Sarangi 2009, 5).

The history of British language policies in India ends with the recognition of Hindi and Urdu as two separate languages, an “admission that the policy of a ‘common language’ had failed” (King 1994, 106). If the British Raj is any precedent, this does not bode well for the pursuit of Hinglish as a “common language,” either. However, as King observes, between language and religion, “religion has proved a more important ‘line of cleavage’ in North India than language” (3). Because English, and therefore Hinglish, is relatively non-denominational, it has the potential to unite, instead of divide, religions.

However, the role of religious fervor and devotional events in the standardization and purposeful development of Hindi and Urdu must find a nonreligious but equally forceful counterpart in modern India if Hinglish is to undergo a similar standardization process. To this end, the association of English

with globalization and modernization may be just as potent, if not more so, than a religious affiliation (Rahman 2002, 5). The international cosmopolitanism of English applies to Hinglish as well: speakers associate the mixed variety with the same “western and scientific” connotations as English itself (Vaish 2013, 44).

6.5 Social Status

As Persian fell out of use in the 19th century, the Indian Muslim elite also deliberately Persianized Hindustani as a symbol of class identity, then insisted on the superiority of Urdu for government work in order to maintain their monopoly on linguistic capital. (Rahman 2011, 80). Both politically and linguistically, elites are “that segment of a group which takes the lead in attaching value to symbols of group identity,” and in many cases, they use this power to their own advantage (King 1994, 3).

Social status was such an important factor in the development of Urdu that it may have been an even greater predictor of language attitudes than religion. For instance, fluency in and attachment to Urdu was strong among certain high caste north-Indian Hindu demographics, like Kayasths, Kashmiri Brahmans, and Khatri (King 1994, 10). Furthermore, these higher-class Hindus supported the use of Urdu in the administration because it maintained their advantage for government jobs: their greatest competition came from middle-to-high-caste, Hindi-medium educated Hindus (62, 114). If Hindi had been adopted, these Urdu speakers would have found their lucrative government jobs in jeopardy; for this reason Rahman refers to Urdu as the “class dialect of a nervous aristocracy” (Rahman 2011, 108).

Within Hindi/Hindu nationalist camp as well, class-- and more importantly caste—played an important role in language development (Forster 2012, 30).

Kaithi, a script used by many in the North Western Provinces but few in power, as well as two related scripts Mahajani, and Sarrafi, were also plausible contenders for the unofficial script of Hinduism, but Nagari, being the character of the high-caste Brahmins, won out (King 1994, 67, Rahman 2011, 263).

English continued to be the language of power in India even after independence, for it was the English-speaking elite Indians who stepped into high government positions in the new state (Singh 2006, 6). While English remains the language of the highest Indian elite, it does not have to be 'pure' to connote wealth and education: just like Urdu came to be associated with the wealth and class of Persian speakers, so, too, does Hinglish convey the high status of English speakers (Si 2010, 390).

Given both Hindi and English are already languages of power today, the formal promulgation of Hinglish poses little threat to contemporary holders of power in Indian government, though it does ease the entry requirement for middle-class not-quite-fluent English speakers.

Given that standard language ideals are often modeled after the speech of upper middle class speakers, the acceptance of Hinglish- either as its own language or viewed as a sociolect- seems all but a matter of time (Kroskirty 2004, 502).

6.6 Institutional Support

As early as 1030 CE—the beginning of the Ghaznavid era—Persian was the official language in parts of North India (Rahman 2002, 42). It remained the official language of the Muslim empires through the early 19th century, although medieval Persian rulers incorporated Hindustani into their informal language. Toward the end of the Mughal rule in the late 19th century, Urdu replaced Persian in “law courts, administration and education” (Rahman 2011, 185).

One significant consideration in the switch from Persian to Urdu was finance. As Rahman explains, the high Persian used in official correspondence “made the British so dependent upon their [Persian teachers] that it was more profitable” to either use English or Urdu, a language of lower status but also lower tutoring fees (Rahman 2011, 169). Such matters of practicality may influence official decisions concerning Hinglish as well, if a system of one official language (of the central government) instead of two were to be more efficient. This is possible given the current constitution mandates translations in Hindi for many state acts and official communications written in English (“Official Languages (Use),” “Official Language Act”). Government-mandated translations are costly in terms of both money and time, for the task often requires a special translation staff (and their salaries), and can create “a bottleneck, and considerable delay, in the disposal of matters” (Karthan 2015).

This slow shift from Persian, the language of government, to Urdu, the language more closely representing the spoken language of its people, can also be

described as a government bending its practices to the preferences of the people. Tariq Rahman notes that “before the actual change of the official language [from Persian], it had started losing out to both Urdu and English in importance” (Rahman 2011, 192). This is exemplified by the Prime Minister of Hyderabad’s decision to use Urdu in the courts in 1884, putting his frustration at the “linguistic confusion” of using both Persian and Urdu to rest by selecting “the most easily understood” of the two (195). The British continued to replace the use of Persian in the government with indigenous Indian languages throughout the 19th century (80, 214).

Hindi, on the other hand, seemed to develop in reverse: it only entered widespread acceptance and the political arena after the British government’s decision to begin using it as a language of instruction in schools (King 1994, 102). However, it only spread to most courts and administrative departments due to the campaigns of Hindi supporters. Therefore, Hindi, too, was widely adopted for use in government offices as an acknowledgement of public demand. This trend for both Urdu and Hindi suggest that the use of Hinglish in the Indian government may only begin after the language is widely accepted and spoken in the country.

Also contributing to the success of Urdu and Urdu literature were organizations designed for that purpose, such as the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu (‘Association for the Advancement of Urdu,’ est. 1895), Jammu and Kashmir’s Bazm-e-Urdu (‘Gathering of Urdu’)(est. 1937), and Bazm-e-Mushaira (‘Gathering of Poetry’) (est.1914) (Rahman 2011, 203). The Delhi Vernacular Translation Society (1830-1857) also added to the collection of academic texts in Urdu by translating

books from English (243-244). Bakhsh Nasikh, founder of the Urdu School of Poetry, and his students technically added to the Urdu literary collection by translating Persian texts, although the resulting Urdu was only minimally closer to Hindustani than the original Persian (Rahman 1996, 99).

Similarly, the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Satya Dharma-Volambini Sabha ('Society for Supporting the True Religion,' est. 1878), Aligarh Bhasha Improvement Society ('Aligarh Language (Hindi) Improvement Society,' est. 1881), Devanagari Pracharini Sabha ('Society for the Promotion of Devanagari') of Meerut (1882), Hindu Samaj ('Hindu Society,' est. 1880), Arya Samaj ('Aryan Society,' est. 1875), and others took up the banner of Hindi during the language debates (King 1994, 139-141).

There are currently no known explicitly pro-Hinglish organizations in India. However, this may only indicate that Hinglish has not yet been co-opted into a larger and more heated struggle of religion or social class. Time will tell if this absence of professional Hinglish promotion is a sign that Hinglish is merely a less inflammatory issue than Hindi and Urdu-- or if it isn't an issue at all, and will never attain the same level of recognition.

7. The Future of Hinglish

The rest of the possible speculation on the viability of Hinglish as an official language of India looks at factors such as language attitudes and the state of education, which rely more on current affairs than historical patterns. While it is impossible to predict with certainty the outcome of future language development,

especially in large countries with a dynamic social and political landscape, what follows is an attempt to identify areas that may have a significant influence on the future status of Hinglish

7.1 Hinglish in Rural India

India's rural population is decreasing; it went down 15% between 1960 and 2015 ("Rural Population," 2017). Rural residents still made up a significant percent of the total population; 67% of the entire country, or just under 900 million people, live in India's 650,000 rural villages ("Rural Population" 2017, "Indian Rural Market" 2017). Rural villagers are poor by Indian standards: over 95% meet the poverty threshold for complete income tax exemption. 35.7% of the total rural population is illiterate and 75% earn 5,000 rupees (78 USD) or less per month (Katyal 2015). As of 2016, the rural unemployment rate was 1.7 percent; this is lower than the urban rate (3.4%) but an increase from the rural rate of 2013 (Shaikh 2016). The majority of working villagers in rural areas are also self-employed. As of 2015, the literacy rate was 71%, 15% lower than the urban average; this number is even worse for women (PTI 2015).

Recently, *BBC News* reported a surge of demand for English education from poor rural villages. However, due to the nature of education in rural areas, "what is emerging from this jungle of poor teaching is not so much English as Hinglish" (Masani 2012). Dr. J John Sekar, professor of English at the American University in

Madurai, supports the bilingual approach as well, though largely in response to the dismal performance of rural English-only education (Sekar 2013, 355).

Dr. Vineeta Chand of the University of Essex elaborates on the failure of English education in rural areas, explaining that limited access to “rich and consistent [English] language exposure” contributes to the rise of Hinglish (Chand 2016). Language education scholar R.K. Agnihotri concurs that rural English education faces a large resource deficit, stating, “trained teachers, suitable materials and innovative methods that would inevitably be needed are not available” (Agnihotri 2010, 4). Teachers are left struggling to teach English, both as a subject and as a medium, outside of the cities. Umesh Malhotra, an education innovator from Chennai, cites the lack of opportunities to practice English outside the classroom—both for the teachers and the students—as another reason rural English education continues to fall below standards (Malhotra 2015).

Difficulties in Hindi education, as well, make Hinglish a more appealing option for many in poor villages. Pune Linguist L.M. Khubchandani mentions official Hindi as a barrier to learning in rural India, citing the difficulty students face with “the unintelligibility of the instant ‘highbrow’ standards projected in mother tongue textbooks” (Khubchandani 1997, 290). The unintelligibility of classroom Hindi stems in part from the artificial creation of heavily Sanskrit-based vocabulary for commonly used English technical terms, and would be lessened by the substitution of Hinglish for high Hindi (King 1994, 76).

Another educational hurdle to the spread of English in rural villages is the low enrollment and retention rates of rural children. According to a report by the United Nations, the primary school enrollment rate for Indian girls averaged only 73% from 1992-2002, with a dropout rate of 59.3% within five years (Unterhalter, et al., 10-11). The low probability of women speaking English in these towns not only decreases the overall number of speakers, but also inhibits the likelihood of native English or even Hinglish speakers in rural areas, because women “are responsible for the primary language influences on the children” (Friedrich 1962, 544).

Sociologist Kirk Johnson raises another possible route for the spread of Hinglish to rural India: the airwaves. Television has become common in villages, and the greatest age demographic today (under 15) is both the most impressionable group and the most likely to watch TV. He also cites the “increased use of both Hindi and English by Marathi-speaking villagers” as proof that the dominant languages of TV influence the conversational habits of its viewers (Johnson 2001, 152, 158).

Rahman confirms that film media can spread Hindi to non-Hindi-Speaking regions (Rahman 2011, 314). As English domination grows in Bollywood, screenwriters face more pressure to write dialogues in colloquial Hindi alongside English (Ganti 2016, 124). Director Tigmanshu Dhulia complained about this simpler language aimed at NRI (non-resident Indian; diasporic) audiences, but this practice also makes the Hindi lines more palatable for non-fluent Hindi speakers

throughout the country (127). It also increases the odds that the movie aids the listeners' understanding of Hinglish.

The seeming contradiction of technological reach in poor rural villages is an issue that is fast resolving itself: according to a study by the Boston Consulting Group, 315 million rural Indians can be expected online by 2020 (Choudhary et al). This is due in part to a number of government initiatives, such as Digital Villages, which hopes to install over 1,000 wi-fi hotspots across rural areas. The government also plans to have electricity in every village by 2019 ("Indian Rural Market" 2017).

The probability of Hinglish spreading throughout rural India as a result of poor educational opportunities seems to contradict its status as a bilingual mixed variety; poor speakers of English as a second language can hardly be classified as bilinguals. This is true: in villages, Hinglish may result more from the process of language interference than as a mixed code. However, much of the out-of-classroom English learning opportunities for villagers are from television and movies, in which bilingual mixed Hinglish predominates. While not their primary source of English structure and vocabulary, this exposure to Hinglish can influence the pattern and ways in which villagers use their small amount of English, thus bringing village Hinglish into line with the national standard. It is also possible that an increase in the use of a different kind of village Hinglish would nevertheless feed demand or acceptance for Hinglish education by speakers of that variety who believe that the bilingual mixed Hinglish would be more conducive to learning than high Hindi.

The aspect of bilingual mixed languages as an in-group identity symbol is also called into question by the spread on Hinglish to people of all socioeconomic levels (Thomason 2001, 11). However, this quality applies predominantly to the group who originally created the language; once it has been established, it can be taught to or appropriated by others.

7.2 Hinglish in South India

South India, a region generally acknowledged to be made up of the states of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, and Tamil Nadu, has a total population of over 200 million people. The South Indian languages recognized by the Official Language Act are all from the Dravidian family: Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil, and Telugu (“Languages of South India” 2013).

Hindi in South India—and especially in its southernmost state, Tamil Nadu--has been a touchy subject since 1938, when the Congress Party tried to mandate Hindi education in Tamil schools (King 1994, 6; Srinivasan 2010). During the language debates of the newly independent Indian Constituent Assembly, Karnataka representative S.V. Krishnamoorthy Rao argued against Hindi because “it was unfair to declare a language that was not even understood by one third of the country” the sole national language (Agnihotri 2007, 192). Successful protests in south India continued against attempts to install compulsory Hindi, swelling again after Independence and in 1965, as the 15-year dual language trial period neared its end (Agnihotri 2007, 195; Srinivasan 2010).

The Tamil opposition to Hindi has not been uniform or uncompromising, however, even in the decades of the greatest southern anti-Hindi agitation. In September 1949, the Constituent Assembly of India commenced a discussion of whether Hindi or Urdu should be an official language. Hindustani was suggested as a compromise, which was generally favored by South Indian representatives (Rahman 2011, 33). The compromise lost out to Hindi, but this historic show of South Indian support for the simpler and less controversial language—even though it is a North Indian language—bodes well for the possibility of South Indian support for Hinglish in similar circumstances.

As the language of Islam in India, Urdu remains very much alive in Muslim Tamil communities (Rahman 2011, 123). For example, Urdu is offered as a medium of instruction for four years in Vellore madrassas (Rahman 2011, 130). Hyderabad, the capital of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh, has a strong tradition of Urdu as well. Urdu “dominated the local languages of the state” for much of the 20th century, prompting the establishment of the Urdu-medium Osmania University in 1917 (Rahman 2011, 198). Given that the Hindustani portion of Hinglish is largely the same in both Hindi and Urdu, this religious education would transfer easily to Hinglish.

Forbes India recently reported a growing trend toward Hindi education in Tamil Nadu, once the leader in the Hindi opposition movement. Now, according to the general secretary of the pro-Hindi organization Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha (‘South Indian Society for the Promotion of Hindi’), Hindi is the most popular

third language in the state. The Hindi Prachar Sabha also reports over half a million Tamilians studying Hindi in the state, with a 20% growth in Hindi exam-takers since “the height of anti-Hindi protests” in 1965 (Srinivasan 2010). However, in a state of over 77 million people, these 500,000 learners represent only .65% of the population (“Population” 2016). For comparison, 1.56% of Tamilians spoke Hindi as a second or third language as of 2004 (Brass 2004, 359). Still, the Sabha’s assertion that demand for Hindi is growing finds support from a 2014 petition to introduce Hindi earlier in the school curriculum, challenging a 2006 rule to teach only Tamil through the 10th grade (Stalin 2014). Other southern states are still struggling to bring Hindi education up to standards: one report from Karnataka mentioned a lack of teacher training, teachers, supervisors, and classroom time as disadvantages the state’s Hindi programs must overcome (Menasinakail 2014).

However, Hindi is finding its way down south through other sources. For instance, the annual influx of seasonal Hindi-speaking migrant workers to Kerala has prompted several demographics to improve their own Hindi. For instance, a number of Kerala police departments have begun instituting basic Hindi lessons to improve their ability to communicate with the workers. Their seasonal employers and other businesses trying to attract migrant workers have also begun to incorporate Hindi into their approach (Philip 2015). In Andhra Pradesh, Hindi has grown among politicians who favored Telugu in the past; N. Chandrababu Naidu, leader of the Telugu Desam Party (‘Party of the Telugu Land’), advised his fellow politicians to learn Hindi and use it in government ceremonies (Mathew 2014).

Despite the growing acceptance of Hindi in the south, English still remains strong throughout the region. For instance, Tamil Nadu is also home to “one of the highest levels of bi- and trilingualism in English in the country (above 14 per cent).” English is a more popular second language than Hindi throughout India and especially in the southern and eastern states. Therefore, it is unlikely that the educated—and influential—population of South India grow to favor Hindi more than English or Hinglish (Brass 2004, 358-360)

Hindi and Hinglish also reach South India through Bollywood films, which are “popular in South India, at least in the cities where the Telugu and Tamil industries flourish” (Dwyer 2014, 85). Rahman asserts that “films have taught Urdu-Hindi to areas speaking different languages such as the South of India” (Rahman 2011, 314).

The question of other vernacular-English mixed languages is a valid concern in the consideration of India’s linguistic future. Heavy borrowing and code-switching between English and other major languages such as Tamil have been reported, though with more debate around its status as a true mixed lect (Kanthimathi 2009, 52; Sankoff et al 76, 96). However, the greater barrier to the prosperity of ‘Tanglish’ or other mixed Englishes is the number of speakers (and readers, teachers, scriptwriters, scholars, etc). The most-spoken south Indian language, Telugu, was identified by only 7% of Indians as their native language in the 2001 census. In comparison, 41% claimed to speak Hindi natively (Jain). While

user population need not be inhibitive to the establishment of a language, it would pose a significant barrier to its acceptance by the government as an official language of a region, and its perception by outsiders as a useful language to learn (Sarangi 2009, 31). The distinctiveness of the major languages of each southern state also resists the possibility of a large-scale rally around one south Indian variety. Paul Friedrich sums up this situation:

Each of the four southern, Dravidian states is turning more to its own language: Tamil, Telegu, Kannada, or Malayalam. On the other hand, the huge Hindi-speaking states (Uttar Pradesh with 63 million; Bihar with 38 million, Madhya Pradesh with 26 million) are becoming consolidated and tend to be joined politically by other states where Hindi is either spoken also or easily learned (Punjab, Rajasthan, Jamnu and Kashmir, and Bombay) (Friedrich 1962, 555).

The probability of the extension of Tanglish, Malyanglish, etc. beyond one state is low, especially in comparison to the geographical dominion of Hinglish. The isolation of South Indian English hybrids prevents linguistic unity among South Indian speakers and hinders the rise of a viable Hinglish competitor.

7.3 Hinglish in the Government

For many, the appeal of Hinglish is its softening of the perceived “Hindi imperialism” by southern regions through the addition of the favored official language of most southern states (Forster 2012, 2). However, the idea that Hinglish may serve as a long-overdue compromise in the pursuit of one singular national language is a complex issue. For one, the idea of “one nation, one language” is a European ideology, grossly inadaptable to a highly multilingual country of over a billion people (Philips 2004, 488). Having acknowledged the roots and risks of this

ideal, however, it is apparent that the government of India has pursued a one-language solution since independence. Given the continued attempts by generations of politicians to finally declare Hindi the sole official language—and the unwavering backlash from south India, especially Tamil Nadu—Hinglish is considered as a solution for this particular political and ideological stalemate.

In 1917, Gandhi laid out five requirements for a national language: easy to learn for both the official class and the country as a whole; conducive to “religious, commercial, and political activity throughout India;” a majority language; and based on long-term conditions (Gandhi 1917). Some of these, such as the conduciveness to various activities, are easily affirmed for Hinglish; others, such as long-term stability, are impossible to know for sure.

Gandhi dismissed the possibility of English due to learning difficulties; however, considering that high Hindi has encountered the same problem, this is apparently not a disqualifying requirement (Gandhi 1917). Hinglish, on the other hand, may be easier to learn than either Hindi or English for many parts of the country.

While this argument for Hinglish as a more accessible language nationwide seems to ignore native Hindi speakers, it is worth noting, again, that the Sanskritized Hindi of government comes no more naturally to Hindi speakers than Hinglish (Nelson 2014). In 1947, the government founded the Board of Scientific and Technical Terminology to create new—and often complicated-- Hindi words for modern concepts (Thomason 2001, 43). This high Hindi is, according to Rahman,

“nobody’s mother tongue... it has to be learned in school,” just like English (Rahman 2011, 34). Zareer Masani of the BBC confirms this, calling “the official language of central government” an “artificial and largely unspoken 20th century construct” (Masani 2012).

According to Rahman, the problem with high Hindi is that it “is not meant to be intelligible;” instead, it is a symbol to “evoke Hindu nationalism, help imagine a united land,” etc. (Rahman 2011, 34). Hindi may have seemed like the best language to unite India in the 1940s, but the continuation of regional and religious linguistic friction suggests that the image of India as a united land under Hindi remains more ideal than reality.

Other factors preventing Hindi from achieving this ideal its composition of dozens of dialects, its “contrived relationships” with Sanskrit and Urdu, and its continued enmity with Urdu, as well as “competing claims of national, religious community, regional, and political interests” (Vajpeyi 2012, 98, 101).

Gandhi also doubted English’s fitness as a national language because of its history as the language of colonialism. While this argument on its own is losing ground to the utility of English as a global language and the idea that working English into a Hindi matrix “decolonizes” the language, the anti-colonial argument in itself is weakened by a subtle shift toward American English from British English (Roy 2013, 21). Dwyer and Ashton, in their analysis of the Bollywood movie *Chennai Express*, note the distinct American pronunciation of *dance*, with a pre-nasalized *a*, in the song “1,2,3,4 Get on the Dance Floor” (Dwyer and Ashton 2015).

Furthermore, the vastly prevalent association of English with high social status and education all but guarantees the continued existence of Hinglish as young ambitious Indians learn the language of power and work it into the familiar grammar of their mother tongue. According to Singh, there are now more English schools, publications, teachers, and students than any other Indian language. It is also “trickling down from the elite to lower middle class and from formal academic administrative official domains to informal day-to-day social domains” (Singh 2006, 8).

Hinglish has already begun gaining ground in the Indian government, as evidenced by an order from the Ministry of Home Affairs to use English replacements for highly Sankritized- and therefore widely unknown- Hindi words (“Government” 2011). The decision, according to the Ministry, came after the realization that artificial Hindi translations of words like ‘rainwater harvesting’ and ‘deforestation’ resulted in both general disinterest by constituents and difficult or time-wasting searches for Hindi equivalents by government employees (“Hinglish is Official” 2011, “Government” 2011). However, the same ministry sent around instructions in 2014 to use only Hindi presentations and to prioritize it over English in social media posts (Nelson 2014).

Even in contexts that would demand Hindi only, even government posts are prone to using Hinglish in some contexts. For example, the Hindi-language government website displayed a banner promoting the girls’ education initiative *Udaan* (‘flight’), in Hinglish in March of 2017 (“National Portal” 2017).

7.4 The Future of Hindi

Given the importance of English in India and across the globe, the question arises of whether Hinglish may be merely a transitional language in a complete shift from Hindi to English. For instance, Thomason mentions that a language's gradual loss of speakers can occur when "their speakers replace native lexicon and structure through borrowing from the dominant language to which they are shifting," a process similar to that of Hinglish (Thomason 2004, 9). This is especially likely in bilingual mixed languages with grammatical categories that are not clearly borrowed from one language or another (206). However, this trend is based on the outcome of three mixed languages, all with a relatively small amount of speakers; therefore, it cannot be applied to the present state of Hinglish with any certainty (204-205).

Amritsar linguist Sukhdev Singh predicts such assimilation in India, stating that Indians may maintain their use of Hindi for "cultural association and activities" but lose more of their linguistic repertoire with each new domain they use English in. Specifically, he fears that globalization will spread English into new domains which "Indian languages are not prepared for... nor is there any visible initiative" to adapt Indian languages to these contexts (Singh 2006, 9-13). However, as late as 2015, linguists such as Francesca Orsini have noted the growth of Hindi into new domains, specifically high-level politics and news reporting; she even found that Hindi "in fact spilled into English-language media" (Orsini 2015).

Politicians like Nitesh Kumar, Chief Minister of Bihar, would counter the globalization argument with the example of China, which has grown into an international superpower without extensive assimilation of English into its major languages (Orsini 2015). Syracuse linguists Bhatia and Richie concur, asserting that several other major languages are quickly matching English in the domain of global media technology (Vaish 2013, 43).

The linguistic power shifts of the global marketplace are also incredibly nuanced. Philips describes an international trade model in which “wealth moves from economic peripheries to [European] centers,” and this financial flow influences language attitudes to encourage the use of European languages. However, the pattern is relative on a smaller scale as well, so that “non-European languages of wider communication that become associated with economic regional centers may also gain prestige and speakers” (Philips 2004, 484). Hindi, as the most-spoken language in India and specifically in such trading hubs as Delhi and Mumbai, therefore also gains speakers and social status (King 1994, 5-6). Smaller regional dialects cannot be guaranteed the same security, but Hindi, at least, will continue to prosper in the country under this model.

Parshad et al., in analyzing Hinglish growth in India, mention rural towns as pockets of Hindi monolingualism because they are isolated and lack access to English education (Parshad et al 2016, 388). This is significant, as rural villages hold almost 75% of India’s population (Johnson 2001, 147). However, Parshad and his team dismiss rural villagers’ use of English such as “single word insertions,

historical indigenizations, and technology or government related words (e.g. police, telephone), which arguably are established loans into Hindi for all speakers” (Parshad et al 2016, 378). As discussed, English is slowly spreading through these “rural pockets;” however, the likelihood of only English—as opposed to Hinglish—taking hold there is very small.

Another “pocket” of Indians who may be more immune to the appeal of Hinglish are those who are established in their non-English-speaking careers, such as landlords and small-business owners (King 1994, 151). Such was the case when Urdu was the language of advancement: officials noted with surprise a significant amount of Hindi students in the Northwest Provinces and Oudh in 1897 despite its current inferiority to Urdu in the higher echelons of society (151). Similarly, English may seem the best educational choice for ambitious youth, but may not hold a similar appeal to the rest of the population.

The use of Hinglish in advertising is a prominent indicator of language use and attitudes because marketing relies heavily on connecting with the consumer, so has the most impetus to reflect either the realities or the aspirations of the majority of its target demographic. In India’s case, the target demographic is the rural middle class, which “appears to have more disposable income than urban India” (Sachdev and Bhatia 2013, 145). Hinglish is also helpful for companies targeting urban youth, as they try to relate to these young consumers in their own language (Gupta 2007, 11). One 2013 study found English-only ads were used only for select job openings

requiring fluency in English (Vaish 2013, 27). Therefore, the fact that Hinglish is so popular signals a continued stigma against English alone.

A higher incidence of Hinglish advertising after the arrival of multinational companies in the Indian market suggests deliberate incorporation of Hindi elements into ads even for western products (Gupta 2007, 10). Bhatia and Ritchie further reason that international companies will continue to advertise in non-global languages to reach the largest audience possible and to convey stylistic tones such as tradition or luxury (Vaish 2013, 43-44). Professor of International Communication Daya Thussu claims that Zee TV's use of Hinglish in the 1990s helped it "expand its reach beyond the Hindi-speaking regions of the country" (Thussu 1999, 127).

Francesca Orsini cites a continued resentment of English in the "Hindi heartland" (Orsini 2015). This sentiment has been hypothesized as an explanation for staunch Hindi advocate Narendra Modi's historic election, for he makes a point of speaking Hindi abroad and with foreign representatives despite his fluency in their would-be lingua franca (Nelson 2014, Orsini 2015). This is seen throughout parliament where speeches are "scripted and formal affairs" with scant English mixing, presumably to appeal to the 97% of Indians who are not fluent (Orsini 2015). The north Indian state of Uttar Pradesh even saw anti-English protests as late as the 1990s (Sachdev and Bhatia 2013, 144).

Therefore, another factor contributing to the preference from Hinglish over English by many is the maintained connection to Indian roots. Vineeta Chand says,

“Hinglish responds to the need for a modern, yet localised way of speaking which is also available to the masses” (Chand 2016). Similarly, Hinglish earned praise for “restor[ing] ‘Hindi’ to its vernacular/democratic nature, without completely giving in to the onslaught of globalization-as-Americanization” (Saxena 2010, 47-48).

The very multilingual nature of India is one more bulwark against English domination. According to linguists Mohanty and Saika, “in multilingual societies like India, contact between different linguistic communities usually leads to stable bilingualism in which minority contact groups maintain their languages and learn the language of the majority” (Mohanty and Saika 2007, 163). It is possible, however, that the increased use of Hindi in Roman script will lead (literate) Indians to abandon the use of Devanagari altogether, just as “two generations ago, they had already forgotten how to read Hindustani in Urdu’s Persian-style script” (Vajpeyi 2012, 102).

Indeed, this transition is already nearing completion in certain high clusters of Indian society. Bollywood actors and actresses are usually upper-class and English- educated, and often part of a family legacy of movie stars. For this reason, Bollywood stars are some of the most likely to be native Hinglish speakers (Ganti 2016, 122). The industry as a whole is a culture that thrives using lots of English; part of this is due to the regional diversity of the writers, designers, set workers, etc. who have settled in the industry and use English as a lingua franca (118). This, plus the fact that the most popular screenwriting software only functions in English, has

begun to create a generation of actors and others struggling to read Hindi in Nagari (126).

Bollywood credits and titles have also been in English since the 1930s, the same decade that consumption of the films in other regions of the country began (Ganti 2016, 122). However, this nationwide distribution of Bollywood films, while aided by English credits, also spread Hindi throughout the continent; now, even films in other Indian languages sometimes feature Hindi-language songs (Rahman 2011, 309).

Yet even as English infiltrates both the script and off-camera workings of Bollywood, history suggests the industry may hold strongly to certain elements of Hindi. For instance, modern Bollywood maintains numerous elements of its Islamicate predecessor, Persian cinema—so much so that Urdu remains the primary language of love songs and other emotional scenes. Furthermore, attempts to Sanskritize North Indian cinema failed notably: “it is evident from this that the Parsi theatre’s formula didn’t work in Hindi. Language was the critical variable” (Kesavan 1994, 247-250).

A simple look at India’s language statistics supports the relative strength of indigenous languages against complete absorption by English. In 1971, 25 million Indians spoke English as a second language (roughly three percent) (Rahman 2002, 5). As of 2010, the number of English speakers still hovered around 3% of the general population, suggesting that the use of English has not grown even over four

decades (Si 390). English was also the native language of only 230,000 people throughout the country in 2001 (“Indiaspeak” 2010). In contrast, Hindi was spoken by 53.6% of India as per the 2001 census, and in 2005, there were 426 million native speakers of Hindi or Urdu, with another 591 million second language speakers (Ganti 2016, 119; Rahman 2011, 1).

Ethnologue rates Hindi at a 1 in vitality, the highest level attainable for a language in one country (“Hindi in the Language Cloud” 2017). This ranking is based on both official recognition and use in media and “the workplace at either the provincial (sub-national) or national levels” (“Language Status” 2017). Therefore, as long as Hindi is used even in state governments, it remains likely to prosper in the country according to these standards. Statistics from print media also support Hindi’s continued widespread popularity: in 2007, circulation of Hindi newspapers was 2.5 times higher than that of English papers, at 67 million Hindi copies compared to only 27 million in English (Gupta 2007, 4).

8. Conclusion

Hinglish is not only popular but thriving in India. Used in myriad contexts and almost all forms of media, Hinglish is slowly but surely developing into a complete bilingual mixed language with clear grammatical rules and aspects that set it apart from Hindi or English. Historical patterns set by early Indian contact languages Urdu and Hindi suggest that, in addition to linguistic factors, political and social movements are liable to catalyze standardization under the right conditions.

Although it is still a relatively young language variety, Hinglish has so far managed to avoid many of the controversial associations that polarized Hindi and Urdu. Specifically, Hinglish's agnosticism has sheltered it from appropriation by religious groups, who are still involved in many of the biggest national issues of today. However, as history shows, the demographic most likely to begin the process of social differentiation through language has been the upper class, regardless of religion. Despite Hinglish's growing presence among lower classes, the upper class remains the group with the most social and political influence. Therefore, it is still the upper class that is most likely to initiate any potential movements to change the official status of Hinglish.

The various factors considered in the development of Hinglish have highlighted two general motivations for standardization and official recognition: to unite the nation and to ease educational comprehension. The additional English component to Hinglish both symbolically integrates south Indian language preferences and practically reduces the unintelligibility of highly Sanskritized Hindi in schools and government positions. In addition to the argument for Hinglish as a linguistic compromise, the variety holds great strength in numbers due to the wide reach of Hinglish media and the advantages conferred upon those who speak both official languages of India. Of course, all of these tentative conclusions are but speculation; there is no way to predict the social and political changes of a rapidly developing and incredibly diverse country of over 1.2 billion people ("World Factbook" 2017).

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