



## Indianness in Indian English: A Historical Perspective on Identity

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### Abstract

India, the land of remarkable pluralism is a nest of multiple ethnicities, cultures, religions and languages. A country that holds onto its cultural and traditional roots deeply. India is a nation with a richness of languages that are known to honour both the elderly and younger ones. Where the proverb goes like ‘Kos kos par badle paani, chaar kos par badle vaani.’ This holds the literal explanation and meaning that every few kilometres, a new language changes, similar to how water does! Enveloped by the mighty Himalayas in the North, the Southern Indian Ocean, Khasi and Eastern Mizo Hills and Karakoram in the West; India once caught the attention of the world for its riches and so was known as the ‘golden bird’. The British Raj then confined this bird and imposed English as the official language throughout their control. Indian culture, already renowned for its diversity, had a profound impact made on it by English, beginning from this point. As language serves a vital function in shaping identity, this paper probes into the evolution of English in India. Covering from its introduction in the 16<sup>th</sup> century during the Mughal Empire to its large-scale acceptance. The purpose of the paper is to investigate the development and progress of English in India. Furthermore, it outlines how English has influenced India and explores and examines Indian identity and Indianness in Indian English.

**Keywords:** - Pluralism, Multiple Ethnicities, Indian English, Identity, Indianness, British Raj.

*“I use the word ‘alien’, yet English is not really an alien language to us. It is the language of our intellectual make-up- like Sanskrit or Persian was before- but not our emotional make-up... We cannot write like the English. We should not. We cannot write only as Indians. We have grown to look at the large world as part of us. Our method of expression therefore has to be a dialect which will someday prove to be as distinctive and colourful as the Irish or the American. Time alone will justify it.”*

*(Raja Rao Kanthapura 1938 p. v)*

## Introduction

It is frequently stated that language is the window to the outer world and into the human thoughts. This can be very well understood by using the English language as an example. English has emerged as the ‘global lingua franca’- a common language to communicate throughout the world. “For non-English speakers everywhere, English has become the common tongue.” (Bryson 3) Similarly, English has played a distinctive role in India, be it times in colonial history or the postcolonial contemporary. The British colonial era marked the beginning of English dominance in India, which continues to this day. In the beginning, Indians were not familiar with the language. They couldn’t understand it, except a few selective people, who learned it by being the intermediary between the British and the Indians in the era of colonisation. But today, English is no longer a foreign language for Indians, because the language has been used by them for around 400 years. This is how they have been expressing themselves. Now, English is currently an Indian language that represents Indian identity, Indianness and the Indian ethos. Indians have molded it which may be suited to their cultural and ethnic identity and it has gone through the long process of acculturation. At present, English has permeated all aspects of life. From rural villages to urban areas, it has left no area untouched. This illustrates rather clearly how the English language has been a window for Indians to the outer world and into their thought. Indians have made it a component of their own language. English has been nativized by them. They have hued English with Indianness; hence it is now called ‘Indian English’. Indian English in India refers to the dialect of the language that Indians use in various geographical areas. The impact of the Indian mother tongue and regional dialects can easily be seen in the English language they use. “When an Indian uses English in India, the speech shares many of the features of the other Indian codes with which English alternates. Indian English thus deviates from the norms of native varieties of English. This deviation is a natural sequence of social conditions in the immediate environment in which the language is spoken.” (Bandyopadhyay 3) Additionally, Indian English must have variances at different linguistic levels, which are the outcome of its being in contact with so many dialects and Indian languages. Such variance got incorporated and adapted to the language mainly due to socio-cultural, linguistic, political economic factors etc. The basic nature of language is to serve the function of communication. It bridges the gap between two different language speakers. Just as it became a lingua-franca for Indian bilinguals and the British. It is undoubtedly one of the types of ‘Englishes’ such as Canadian English, Australian English, American English, Sri Lankan English and others. So, the Indian style differs slightly from the original British English. As Raja Rao in *Kanthapura* (1938) refers to Indian style, “The tempo of Indian life must be infused into our English expression, even as the tempo of American or Irish life has gone into the making of theirs. We, in India, think quickly, we talk quickly, and when we move. We move quickly. There must be something in sun of India that makes us rush and tumble and run on.” (p. 35). Similarly, (Salman Rushdie 1997) in *The Vintage Book of Modern Indian Writing 1947-1997* enunciates:

*“English has become an Indian language. Its colonial origins mean that, like Urdu and unlike all other Indian languages, it has no regional base...English has acquired, in the South, an air of lingua franca cultural neutrality. The new Silicon Valley-style boom in computer technologies of Bangalore and Madras has made English in these cities, an even more important language than before.”* (13)

When it comes to India, Rushdie seems to be spot on when he emphasises the English language’s need- based structure. The very style of Indian English has been shaped and reshaped from time to time as per the requirements of the communities and people it serves.

Needless to say, Indian English does speak of the voices of the diverse groups and communities in India.

### **Origin and Evolution of English in India**

The English language's history of the origin and evolution of the in India began centuries ago. It can be seen during the 16<sup>th</sup> century when the first British trader, Sir Thomas Roe came to India to meet *Mughal* emperor Jahangir at Ajmer. Later on, with the permission of Jahangir, they established the first English or British firm in Surat. During the same period, they established the East India Company and spread it in the Indian presidency of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. The full British Raj was established in 1757 after the triumph Battle of Plassey, where Robert Clive defeated Siraj-Ud-Daullah, the last *Nawab* of Bengal, with the help of Mir Jafar. Further, it was very difficult for the British to communicate with local people and here the missionaries played an essential role in spreading English as the primary language and education among the local Indians. India's English language development is all about adaptation and transformation. It began as a language of mercantile activities and advanced into a powerful language denoting elitism and governance. In India, advancement of English pushed Indians to learn and use it in their own contexts. When they started using English, they tried to connect it to their own context and nativity. Hence, we got a fresh variant of English which was distinct and unique in vocabulary, pronunciation, accent and usage. After the Indian Independence, English was made an associate language for a few years. However, its large-scale usage in the later years made it a necessity to make it an official language. English in India these days is a legacy of its entangled and laborious history and culture and its evolution shows the capacity of the Indians to mould it in a suitable way to communicate their own identities to the world.

### **Growth and Development**

The colonial era marked the beginning of Indian English journey when English was first imposed by the Britishers. It was used for administration, commerce, and education purposes. The growth and development of Indian English can be seen through the interaction between the British and the Indian people. Soon it became the symbol of power, status, intellect as well as gentleman. More and more youths were trying to learn this language to get better opportunities in terms of jobs and to gain respect. This concept can be further illuminated through insightful observation made by B. Kacharu in 1981, which highlights:

*“As is readily apparent from this list, many of these nations were formerly colonized or otherwise administered for extensive periods by Great Britain or the United States. During these countries' colonial eras, English was introduced as the dominant language of government, finance, and many other domains. As colonial administrations and economies expanded, employment opportunities opened up for non-Westerners who could speak English. Therefore, the local elites began to receive English-medium educations and came to use English increasingly in their daily affairs, both as a code of power and prestige and as a language of interethnic communication.” (15)*

India has made a significant progress from its colonial past when states used English officially. The use of English is expanding into many new contexts, including more intimate ones like friends and family. English has assumed new functions, such as those of creativity or self-expression. When people speak several languages in the neighbourhood, the most popular language to use is English. In the post-independence era, English started to take a proper shape, but with a distinct style. With new vocabulary, diverse pronunciation, accent, and grammar, English eventually grew and took its new form as Indian English. Soon, Indian English became widespread. The most commonly used language in the fields of employment, education, and

government is unquestionably English. As R.K. Bansal (1983) delineates “English as spoken by educated people in India does not differ radically from the native English in grammar and vocabulary. It is in pronunciation that Indian English is different from either British or American English.” (Bansal and Harrison 96-97) However, Initially, the British used the different forms of native English or South Asian/Indian English as ‘Babu English, Cheechee English, Butler English, Kitchen English, Bearer English’ and many more.

Further, Kindersley (1938) makes some important observations

*“[A]re concerned not with the broken sort of English spoken by servants or other Indians of a little or no ‘English’ education, but with the English of those who have learnt the language in schools. They apply, generally speaking to the English of clerks and of the less well educated among the professional Indians who use English daily, such as pleaders and magistrates. That is, they apply to a form of speech intermediate between the almost completely normal English of many Indian writers on the one hand and the dog English of the school-boy on the other, many of the usages herein contained, however, occur only from time to time in the English of the highly educated. Of this fact ample evidence could be produced in the shape of notes taken from books and speeches by well-known Indians.”(25)*

### **Three Phases of Indian English**

Missionaries were crucial at the initial stage and were highly visible focusing on the proselytization. Beginning in 1659, Missionaries were accommodated on East India company ships throughout their expeditions. In this phase, native people were also terrified because they believed that British people came from outside the country or across the river. In India, it was believed that if you crossed the river, you were not the same anymore, you didn’t remain pure sanctity. Further, it also meant that you disobeyed your religious faith. Charles Grant (1831) explains the causes for darkness in the Indian continent, “The true curse of darkness is the introduction of light. The Hindoos err because they are ignorant and their errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communication of our light and knowledge to them would prove the best remedy for their disorders.” (60-61). Now the participation of missionaries was also in the education related field, especially in three states- Bengal, Bombay and Madras.

The second phase started due to the demand from the public to learn English for their betterment, because till then they were well aware of that if they wanted to progress, they must have to acquire the English language. English arose both as an authoritative language and science and technology language, which became a need to learn. There were some Indians also who were in favour of English as a language additional to their native language. The second reason behind this was to reduce the influence of Persian and Arabic or because of socio-cultural, political, economic and educational reasons. In India, Raja Ram Mohan Roy promoted the English language for scientific, educational or international reasons. A letter was addressed to Governor-General Lord Amherst by him in 1823, for imparting English education rather than Sanskrit in schools:

*“If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian Philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of schoolmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner, the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing ...useful sciences, which may be accomplished by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated*

*in Europe and providing a college furnished with the necessary books, instruments and other apparatus.” (302)*

The government’s initiatives to promote the English language particularly for academic purposes, made the third phase crucial. When East India Company gained dominance after 1765, they started looking at things from a wider perspective and gave attention to native people’s problems. The British also established several new schools so that they could spread English language education. For the betterment of Indian Education, a new educational policy came which is called ‘The Minute of 1835’. The craze for English language among Indians could be understood as “in 1834-35, 32,000 English books sold in India, as against 13,000 in Hindi, Hindustani and Bengali and 1,500 in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic.” (Iyenger 28)

### **Indian Education Minute (1835)**

The public instruction of English in India started during the British Raj’s colonial authority. It all began with the replacement of the Persian language and the introduction of the English language. Thomas Babington Macaulay proposed the ‘Indian Education Minute’ in 1835 which was approved by Lord William Bentinck on March 7, 1835. The purpose of this Minute was to establish Bilingual Indians with proficiency in English, who could serve the Britishers. As Macaulay delineates about the purpose of forming the Minute “We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals, and in intellect.” (Sharp 116). With reference to Sanskrit and Arabic, he further enunciates, “I have no knowledge of either Sanskrit or Arabic. But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value.... I am quite ready to take the oriental learning at the valuation of the orientalist themselves. I have never found one amongst them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.” (Sharp 109). The objective of this Minute was to create the Indian bilinguals or clerks who could help the East India Company. Soon after, English was mandated as the government’s language. The education, instruction and training of the teachers commenced in English. By 1857, there were number of educational establishments and universities offering English education in India.

### **The Indianness in English**

‘Indianness’ in written or spoken form of English can be explained as a peculiarity, commonly seen among the Indians. It replicates the dialectal diversity of the country. The speakers and writers often mix the aspects of both languages to express themselves. While ‘Indianness’ is kept alive by the Indian English Writers in their works of literature by burying its roots in the soil of Indian heritage and culture. They craft prose and poetry in English by using Indian references, cultural backgrounds and personal experiences as the base. Although Indian English Writers inscribe in English, they think about the thought process of Indians. They understand the necessity of connectivity to their native land and people. There are words and phrases that don’t have literal or the exact same English translations. Hence, these writers make the necessary alterations to the language in their own unique style, which can be referred to as the quality of Indianness. Conversely, one can perceive the Indianness among Indian English Speakers through the usage of Indian idioms and expressions, a touch of an Indian or regional accent and pronunciation, coining new words and the inclusion of cultural references and vocabulary. In both the forms, it is tried by the writer and the speaker that the language fits in the Indian context. The Indianness in English facilitates the expression of Indian identity and perspectives.

## Language and Identity

Identity and language are interconnected. While language molds an individual's identity, identity in various ways also influences language usage. Both things are mutually impactful. On the one hand, where Language can either empower or marginalize a person, identity can be built or shattered by a person's usage of language. India is a polyphonic country, where English is being learned as a second language. Since we have traced the origins of Indian English, we know that English was imposed on Indians by the colonizing British East India Company. Since then, it's been used continuously and consistently by the Indians. When English was first mandated in India, it tried to replace the aboriginal languages. Along with this, cultural erasure could also be experienced. As with the English language, came the concept of Western culture too. People were drawn to it and wanted to opt for it for the betterment and advantage of their societal standings. The loss of people's cultural identity was resulted from the adoption of Western language, customs and etiquette. On the other hand, it molded them into more educated, powerful and favored. Through this, we can see how language had both negative and positive impacts on the identity of Indian people. Having a look at these two things, we observe the impact of identity on language through the selected language for usage, the accent and pronunciation and most importantly the attitudes and tones people present themselves. An insightful discussion in Vikram Seth's *A Suitable Boy* (1993) sheds light on this idea:

*“Do you speak English?’ he said after a while in the local dialect of Hindi. He had noticed Maan’s luggage tag. ‘Yes’ said Maan. ‘Without English you can’t do anything’ said the farmer sagely. Maan wondered what possible use English could be to the farmer. ‘What use is English?’ said Maan, ‘People love English!’ said the farmer with a strange sort of deep-voiced giggle. ‘If you talk in English, you are a king. The more people you can mystify, the more people will respect you.’ He turned back to his tobacco.” (501)*

Hence, identity can affect the language usage and people's choices regarding it. Looking at contemporary times, the impact has been mutual and long-lasting. Indian English has the quality of Indianness in it which shapes the identity of people who use it. Similarly, the impact of Indian identity on the English language is seen through the modifications the language has undergone. The changes and modifications in the Received Pronunciation (RP) with a touch of Indian accent, use of code-switching or code-shifting and the blend of Hindi, Tamil, Marathi, Bengali or other regional vernaculars with English (resulting in *Hinglish*, *Tanglish*, *Marathish*, *Panglish* and *Benglish* etcetera) can be set as major visible examples. Hence, it can be stated that Identity and Language are interlinked and influence in a reciprocal manner.

## General Features of Indian English

There are usual tendencies among the bilingual or multilingual community that people interchange phrasal, lexical, phonological, clausal or sentential components in their day-to-day lives. This linguistic phenomenon of these components or apparatus could be either a natural process or a political act. However, there is a significant lacuna between Indian English and English in India. English in India embodies the literary, historical, or political aspects whereas Indian English signifies the linguistic features. The influence of mother tongue (L1) becomes the barrier of the second language (L2) speakers. And it is also scientifically proven that L2 speakers cannot speak like L1 speakers. Larry Selinker in *Rediscovery Interlanguage* (1992)

enunciates the concept of Interlanguage where the L1 linguistic components are transferred to L2 components. He elaborates on five major processes:

- “Language transfer, in which features of the L1 are projected onto the L2.
- Overgeneralization of L2 rules, in which L2 rules are applied too widely.
- Transfer of training, in which language teaching itself creates language rules that are not part of L2.
- Strategies of L2 learning, the means through which the learner builds up the L2, such as repetition.
- Communication strategies, the ways in which the learner tries to communicate in the L2”. (10)

Further, Uriel Weinreich explicates the observable fact of Code mixing and Code-switching as the realities of language contact. Weinreich in *Language in Contact* (1953) enunciates that ‘Interference’ constitutes “those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language.” (1). Further, he explains some extra-linguistic features of encumbrance as:

- “The speaker’s facility of verbal expression in general and his ability to keep the two languages apart. Attitudes towards each language, were idiosyncratic or stereotypical.
- Size of bilingual group and its socio-cultural homogeneity or differentiation.
- Stereotype attitudes towards each language (e.g. prestige); indigenous or immigrant status of the language concerned.
- Attitudes towards the culture of each language community.
- Relation between the bilingual group and each of the two languages of which it is a marginal segment.” (3-4)

Whenever we discuss lexical interchanges, we come across the Indian English and its ‘lexical quirks’. These are the terms, words, expressions or phrases which are utilized differently than the conventional British English. Such words- ‘lexical quirks’ can be humorous sometimes. These are used in day to day conversation in India.

- Don’t worry! *Sab theek ho jayega*.
- *Wah! kya Baat hai!* Today you are looking so beautiful.
- Acting *veking* me *kya rakha hai*.
- *Bachho ka* play to *khatma hi nahi hota hai*.
- Devendra try to focus on study. Exam *aane wala hai*.
- *Sab log busy hain*.
- *Me thak gayi hu*, need a break!
- *Mujhe samajh nahi aaya*, can you explain it in English?
- *Aaj party hai*, are you coming?
- *Yeh dress mujhe pasand hai* but it is out of my budget.

## Reduplication

Due to language variance, linguistic elements from several languages frequently conflict with one another in today’s multicultural society. Reduplication is a morphological process in which words are repeated or slightly altered. It can be separated into two sections: full reduplication, which involves repeating the same word for example, slowly-slowly, different-different, small-small, go-go, come-come, long-long etcetera. Considering that there is a cultural effect behind this kind of reduplication makes it really intriguing. Although it is frequently used, the second half of the lexis is repeated without any significance for example,

‘copy-vopy, chair-vair, class-vlass, roti-voti, late-vate, pant-vant, shirt-vert, people-veople, pen-ven, cut-shut’ etc.

### **Coinage**

In Coinage, the speaker or writer may purposefully use jargon to highlight their own ethnic or cultural identity or they may accidentally use it with the purpose of expressing their own cultural sensibility. Many postcolonial writers generate new words by incorporating linguistic elements from their mother tongues as they see this as a means of opposing the hegemonic and dominating form of the English language for example Indianization of ‘English’ rather than English. (Hindinization of English), ‘Timepass’ instead of passing the time, ‘Fundae’ for basics or fundamentals, etc.

### **System of Numbering**

The influence of Indian English is also visible in India’s numbering system of digits. A unique numbering system is employed in India for grouping the digits. For numbers under 100,000, the Standard English format is used. However, for larger numbers, a modified Indian system is adopted. This system uses a specific scale: 100,000 is expressed as 1,00,000 (one hundred thousand or one lakh), 1,000,000 as 10,00,000 (one million or ten lakh), and 10,000,000 as 1,00,00,000 (ten million or one crore). This different format is used for both spoken and written numerals, which differs from the International system of Numbering.

### **Evolution of Hinglish**

‘Hinglish’, the word itself reflects Indianness. It refers to the combination of both the first and second languages of Indian people. Hinglish is the fusion of Hindi and English phrases or words which represents the distinctive feature of Indian identity. It mixes traditional and modern customs. Hinglish is symbolic of cultural fusion and adaptability too. The emergence of this linguistic hybrid has its ties to the times of colonized India when English was introduced to the people there. They began by combining English terms with their native tongue Hindi. Post-independence, it attained general acceptance and became the symbol of Contemporary style, Urbanity and Social ascent. In contemporary times, Hinglish has become renowned and an integral part of Pop Culture. Its usage is more visible among youngsters in their conversations and on social media in Instagram memes, texting, etc. For instance-

### **Commonly used phrases and words-**

“*Bhai, mereko help chahiye!*”, “*Arey wah, kitna intelligent hai!*”, “*Chalo, chalo, let’s move on!*”, “*Meri teacher*”, “*Mujhe doubt hai*”, “*Konsi village me rahte ho?*”

Colloquial terms with different suffixes-

“Congress wallah, Lathi charge, Chai wallah, Police wallah, ma’am sahib, master ji, chutnification,” etc.

At the syntactical level for example-

“I am going to Mohan’s *ghar*. (*ghar* is a Hindi word which means Home).”

Hinglish is also widely used for texting in India. This includes writing words or sentences in Hindi language using the English alphabets. People while using Hinglish for texting, also modify or abbreviate the original words by making various Indianized changes in their spellings. For instance, people use words like ‘Gd nyt’ (instead of Good night), ‘lyf’ (instead of life), ‘2moro’ (in place of tomorrow), ‘thx’ (for thanks) and ‘pls’ (instead of please) etc. These are abbreviated Hinglish words, commonly used across India. These terms are widely used in casual communication that is online. These are quite widely utilized by individuals who frequently utilize social media. These might be short and quick words which help in communication, which are not an apt thing to be used. This usage of abbreviations of

Hinglish words makes it more complex to learn and use standard British English for communication in India. Through such words, the English language gets more indianized. Hinglish is an informal yet progressive and versatile language style. New phrases and words constantly keep on adding to their lexicon with time.

### Phonological

Phonological features are a very common feature in any language. That's why it can be seen in any culture. When we talk about the Hindi speaking belt in India, so one can see the phonological differences in the Hindi language among different belts of speakers. This is a common feature that occurs in all communities or regions. The study of this area in linguistics is called Dialectology or Geo-linguistics. The first language always influences the second one. In the Hindi language consonant clusters like '/sk/, /sp/, and /st/' do not exist in an initial position. That is the reason Hindi speakers always face problems while articulating the sound of '/sk/, /sp/, and /st/' in the initial position. One can readily observe their articulation as:

Word	British pronunciation	Indian pronunciation
School	/sku:l/	/ɪsku:l/
Station	/'steɪ.ʃən/	/ɪsteɪ.ʃən/
Speak	/spi:k/	/ɪspi:k/

Similarly, in most of the Indian languages the sound of '/f/, /θ/, /ð/' do not occur, that is why instead of these sounds, they replaced them through the sounds of '/ph/, /th/, /d/'.

Further, especially for Oriya and Bengali speakers generally use the '/s/' phoneme instead of phoneme '/ʃ/' because of the native Oriya and Bengali language problem. Thus, they perceive no distinction in the sound or articulation of the words 'She' and 'See'. They articulate it similarly to the phoneme /s/.

Phonological features are seen in Indian writers like -

"it was haat day in Kalinmpong" (TIL 83), "laet me tell you, you canaat pay me to go to that caantreey again!" (TIL 138), "beeeg man, reech man" (TIL 147), "Goozerat" (TIL 110), "daaller" (TIL 278), Mrs. Sen pronounced potato "POEtatto," and tomato "TOEmato," (TIL 131), the phonetic transcription of these words are: /pə'teɪtəʊ/ /tə'ma:təʊ/, Paaaaaawww! (Rising tone), (TIL 49), "taaalk to my relateev..." (TIL 138), "Vhaat deeferece does that make? I haeve already taaald you," he spoke slow as if to an idiot, "no taleephone caalls ..." (TIL 138), lay Ter (TGST 334), Yooseless (TGST 312), yesyesyesyesyes (TGST 86) etc. (Quoted by Sharma et. al. in "The Politics of Language: Decolonization of Indian English", 2015). Here, TIL represents the novel, *The Inheritance of Loss*; TGST represents the novel *The God of Small Things*.

Additionally, a number of additional formations which represent Indianness or Indianism:

- Register specific like- intermarriage, interdining etcetera.
- Text Specific like- as good as kitchen ashes, as honest as an elephant (Raja Rao in Kanthpura)
- Area Specific like- *potato bonda, yakka carriage, jibba pocket, religious diwan, coconut payasam* etcetera.
- Author specific like- rape-sister, salt-giver, sister sleeper etc. (Mulk Raj Anand's novels)
- Hindi words like- *sari, veshyas, zindabad, maharaja, paan, daal, hookah, bhajan, sahib, huzoor, ashram, Namaste, pitaji, angrezi khana, baap re, dhoti* etcetera.

- Hindi words with English suffixes like- *halwais, pakoras, laddos, dhotis, kangas, sadhus, rotis, jawans*, etcetera.
- Hindi Honorifics like- *ji huzoor, pitaji, justice sahib, sir sahibhuzoor* etcetera.
- Use of Indian Proverbs and Idioms like-  
Bachelor of Arts: 'To the dust pot with your silly customs.' 'His pen ceased.'

The Guide: 'I left her after food'. 'How can we think philosophies, not our line, master.'; 'Thin as a broomstick, but talks like a giant' (quoted in Mohan, 1978, "Some Aspects" 197).

- Varied pronunciation-

Indians vary in pronunciation of English words. The fundamental words such as 'Dessert', 'Bowl', 'Almirah', 'Pizza', 'Café', & 'Restaurant', get frequently misarticulated as 'day-zert' 'ba-ul', 'al-me-ra', 'pee-ja', 'ke-fey', & 'res-tau-rent' whereas, the accurate way to pronounce these words are 'dee-zert', 'bohl', 'al-my-rah', 'peet-zuh', 'ka-fey' & 'reh-strawnt'. Due to such assorted pronunciations, Indians are blamed for mispronouncing such words.

## Conclusion

Indian English thus represents the socio-cultural milieu of the millions of Indians engaged in negotiations with the changing times and requirements of the Indian continent. For many Indians, Indian English represents a new identity. For them, it appears to be an identity card, which provides and promotes their sense of belonging. Hence, Indian English has emerged as a fundamental component of the Indian language and linguistics system. The cultural diversity and identity of these people penetrated deep into the language called English through various stages of the socio-cultural evolution of India. The very essence of Indianness got soaked into the language and made it so diverse, colorful, meaningful and apt for the best means of communication within the geographical boundary and across the world to showcase its Indian identity. From the introduction of English in India years ago to its wide acceptance today, the resilient and adaptive nature of Indians is visible. This evolution showcases the complex identities of the Indians and their ability to hue the English language with Indianness.

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