



EIILM UNIVERSITY
S I K K I M

Indian english literature

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Chapter- 1

Introduction

whole. The fact that Indian literatures are a product of a multilingual, multicultural and socio-historical *mélange* cannot be overlooked. Today Indian literature reached at the apex of creation with the contribution of regional and national writers. This researcher would like to focus on the root and brief literary history of Indian writing in English and the genre – novel in Indo-Anglian

literature up to the time of Mulk Raj Anand for better understanding of his novel. Here, it is essential to mention the brief history of Indian writing in English and the contributors of it. Along with the list of the contributors in Indian writing in English, the rise of the new form of literature- novel in India is also necessary to focus. For that researcher would like to divide the history of Indian writing in English into three parts, first to understand the beginning and exploration of Indian writing in English by major contributors, second for the rise and development of new literary genre (novel) in Indo-Anglian literature and third to understand Anand as a novelist. These three parts are foundation of my research work. On the basis of the understanding of the Indo-Anglian literature and the rise and development of novel in Indo-Anglian literature, the major novels of Mulk Raj Anand can be judged properly.

Indo-Anglian literature contributed to the common pool of world writing in English. It is a literature which is a combination of Indian literature and Indian literature written in English. Indian English Literature refers to the body of work by writers in India who write in the English and whose native or co-native language could be one of the numerous languages of India. It is also associated with the works of members of the Indian Diaspora. It is frequently referred to as IndoAnglian literature. As a category, this production comes under the broader realm of postcolonial literature- the production from previously colonized countries such as India. Indian English literature has a relatively recent history; it is only one and a half centuries old. The first book written by an Indian in English was by Sake Dean Mahomet, titled *Travels of Dean Mahomet*; Mahomet's travel narrative was published in 1793 in England. In its early stages it was influenced by the Western art form of the novel. Early Indian writers used English unadulterated by Indian words to convey an experience which was essentially Indian. Indian writings in English are a product of the historical encounter between the two cultures—Indian

and the western—for about one hundred and ninety years. It isn't that Indian people didn't experience the impact of a foreign culture. It did during the reigns of various foreign rulers. But the difference with the British rule lies in the nature of the economic system that had come into being in Europe after the Renaissance, described by Marx as capitalist system. Before the introduction of the British rule India had the feudal economic system, in accordance with which the vast population of the country, having various religious faiths and conforming to the caste system, tried to live their life, sometimes fatalistically and sometimes stoically. Above all, it was a closed society with a peculiar cultural racial intolerance. In fact, India had been awaiting a political and cultural change, which became necessary after the weakening and disintegration of the Mogul Empire. British rule in India, first of all, resulted in breaking the barrier of that closed society. Then the greatest cultural impact came with the establishment of four universities and with the introduction of western educational system. The English language provided the natives with a way to the western literature and to the western culture, of course. English education created a class of native bourgeoisie, the majority of which turned to their mother tongue while giving birth to a native literature, applying the western aesthetic norms. But a few among them thought it appropriate to give expressions to their feelings and experiences in English. Thus, the peculiar body of Indo-Anglian literature was created—while its contents were to be Indian, its medium of expression was English. If we take a backward glance at the beginnings of Indo-Anglian literature, the stalwart figure of Raja Rammohan Roy appears first. The renaissance in modern Indian literature begins with Raja Rammohan Roy. He had earned good command over English language by working with British officials. He had tried to give new thoughts, removed old dogma and typical rituals through Bramhosamaj. The Bramhosamaj encourages establishing harmony between men's accepted faith and their practical observations. Rammohan Roy worked for the betterment of women, freedom of press, English education, social justice and plight of Indian peasantry. He had good command over the English language and wrote prose and poetry in it. For his contribution in the pool of Indian writing in English, K.R.Srinivasa Iyengar writes; Rammohan Roy although he could be named as the first of the Indian masters of English prose, was great in so fields that he belong to Indian history more than to mere Indo-Anglian literary history.

In this way he had contributed his writing and thoughts in the foundation of Indo-Anglian literature and prepared pathway for his successors and contemporaries like Henry Derozio, the Cavally Brothers, Kashiprosad Ghose, Hasan Ali, P. Rajagopual, Mohanlal, 12and Michel Madhusudan Dutt etc are considered first Indo-Anglian writers of verse and prose.

The mid nineteenth century is the renaissance in India as that was the time of great literary and social revolutions. At that time legendary thinkers like Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, Kesub Chunder Sen, Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj have contributed for social reform, educational reform and religious reform which has given scope for renaissance in India. The first Indian English poet, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio (1809-1831) had nurtured English verse in India. He became a teacher of English literature at the Hindu College, Calcutta. A teacher as well as a poet, Derozio had expressed nature in his poetry like Keats. The flavor of Romanticism found in his poetry as he was highly influenced by Byron, Shelley, Keats, Scott and Moore. He died at the very early age due to cholera in 1831. This was the time when Hindu society in Bengal was undergoing considerable turmoil. In 1828, Raja Ram Mohan Roy established the Brahmo Samaj, which kept Hindu ideals but denied idolatry. This resulted in a backlash within orthodox Hindu society. It is in the perspective of these changes that Derozio was appointed at Hindu college, where he helped release the ideas for social change already in the air. His brilliant lectures presented closely-reasoned arguments based on his wide reading. He encouraged students to read Thomas Paine's Rights of Man and other free-thinking texts. Although Derozio himself was an atheist and had renounced Christianity, he encouraged questioning the orthodox Hindu customs and conventions on the basis of Judeo-Christian rationalism. He infused in his students the spirit of free expression, the yearning for knowledge and a passion to live up to their identity, while questioning irrational religious and cultural practices. Derozio's intense zeal for teaching and his interactions with students created a sensation at Hindu College. His students came to be known as Derozians. He organised debates where ideas and social norms were freely debated. In 1828, he motivated them to form a literary and debating club called the Academic Association. In 1830, this club brought out a magazine named Parthenon. Apart from articles criticizing Hindu practices, the students wrote on women's emancipation and criticized many aspects of British rule. He also encouraged students into journalism, to spread these ideas into a society eager for change. He took great pleasure in his interactions with students, writing about them: 'Expanding like the petals of young flowers I

watch the gentle opening of your minds...’ Kashiprosad Ghose (1809-1837) is also counted as one of the founder pillars of indo-Anglian literature. His contribution in Indian English literature is as equal as Henry Derozio. His *The Shair and Other Poems* (1830), finds a place in literary history of India. Even he is considered as the first Indian to publish a regular volume of English verse. Ghose edited an English weekly *The Hindu Intelligence*. His poetry is counted as moralizing as good texture of originality and conventional descriptions. Michael Madhusudan Dutta (1824-1873), began writing while he was at Hindu College. He won several scholarships in college exams as well as a gold medal for an essay on women's education. While a student at Hindu College, his poems in Bengali and English were published in *Jnananvesan*, *Bengal Spectator*, *Literary Gleamer*, *Calcutta Library Gazette*, *Literary Blossom* and *Comet*. Lord Byron was Madhusudan's inspiration.

Michael's exceptionally colourful personality and his unconventional, dramatic and in many ways tragic life have added to the magnetism and glamour of his name. Generous in friendship, romantic and passionate by temperament, he was fond of the good life. By dint of his genius, he removed the stagnation in Bengali literature both in style and content. He was the first to use blank verse in 1860 in the play *Padmavati* based on a Greek myth. His later poems silenced the critics and detractors, and permanently established the vogue of blank verse literature. Madhusudan's epic poem: *Meghnad-Badh Kavya* is considered as his all-time masterpiece till today. Written in blank verse, this epic was based on the *Ramayana* but inspired by Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Madhusudan transformed the villainous Ravana into a Hero. This grand heroic-tragic epic was written in nine cantos which is quite unique in the history of Bengali Poetry. *Meghnad-Badh Kavya* was Bengali literature's first original epic and gave Madhusudan the status of an Epic Poet. Much of his time abroad, especially in Versailles, was spent in abject poverty, as the money from his late father's estate on which he was relying did not come regularly. His Indian friends who had inspired him to cross the ocean had by now managed to forget the beggar Madhusudan altogether. He fell hopelessly into debts and appealed for help to the great personality, the scholar, social reformer, and activist Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar (this kind soul was known to all as *Daya Sagar* – the ocean of kindness, for his immense generosity). His extravagant life-style, fickleness in money matters, and reckless drinking to drown problems conspired to wreck his health and

happiness, and likewise the health and happiness of his second partner Henrietta, who had also succumbed to alcoholism during her days of poverty in Versailles. He was a man of real, though somewhat erratic, genius, and a courageous innovator of forms and types which altered the whole course of Bengali literature and added new dimensions to it. To his adventurous spirit, Bengali Literature owes its first blank verse and the sonnet, its first modern comedy and tragedy, and its first epic. Dutt was particularly inspired by both the life and work of the English Romantic poet Lord Byron. The life of Dutt closely parallels to the life of Lord Byron in many respects. Like Byron, Dutt was a spirited bohemian and like Byron, Dutt was a Romantic, albeit being born on the other side of the world, and as a recipient subject of the British imperialist enterprise. Madhusudan was a gifted linguist and polyglot. Besides Indian languages like Bengali, Sanskrit and Tamil, he was well versed in classical languages like Greek and Latin. He also had a fluent understanding of modern European languages like Italian and French and could read and write the last two with perfect grace and ease.

Bengal was epicenter for renaissance as it has given literary scholars who gave fame to mother India at globe. Among them, Toru Dutt is the first poetess in Indo-Anglian literature. She had English education and had a rich and respectable ancestry. Her family was rich and highly educated. Her father Govind Chunder Dutt was a good linguist and a civilized man with literary eye. The Dutt family moved to Cambridge in 1871 where she had attended lectures. In 1875, she had translated French writing in to English with the title *A Sheaf Gleamed in French Fields*. She had learned Sanskrit and translated *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and *Sakuntala* into English verse. She had attained command over Sanskrit language and transformed her interest from French to Sanskrit and translated so many Indian mythological works into English. Another contributor of literature from Bengal, as is the land of arts, is Romesh Chunder Dutt (1848-1909). He was Toru Dutt's cousin and forwarded her writing at height. He had passed Indian civil service Examination in 1869 and served at various capacities in India. He had also devoted much time for literary creation in Bengali and English. Romesh Dutt had written novels in Bengali and translated two of these novels in to English named – *The Lack of palms* (1902) and *The Slave Girl of Agra* (1909). He had narrated historical surveys in a large range like – *A History of Civilization in Ancient India*, *later Hindu Civilization*, *India in the Victorian Age*, *The Economic History of British India* and *A brief History of Ancient and Modern Bengal*. Apart from this, his greatest achievement was the Bengali translation of *Rig Veda*. His translation in to

English verse from Ramayana, Mahabharata, Rig Veda, The Upanishads, Buddhist literatures, Kalidasa's Kumarasambhava and Bharavi's Kiratarjuniya – is most creditable contribution. Iyengar writes the turn from Toru Dutt to Romesh Chunder Dutt as; To turn from Aru and Taru Dutt to Romsh Chunder Dutt is like passing from the bud and the flower to the ripened fruit; from Erato and Melpomene to Clio and Calliope; from Ushas, rosy-fingered and short-lived, to the toiling Sun on the ascendant; from infinite promise to impressive achievement.

Another sparkling star of Indian literature is Manmohan Ghose (1869- 1924). He was an elder brother of Sri Aurobindo. He had English education at Manchester and Oxford. His first poem collection – Primavera (1890) was appreciated by literary scholars and classmate at Oxford. Like Derizio, Manmohan Ghose became professor of English at the Presidency College, Calcutta. In 1898, he published collection of poems – Love Songs and Elegies and also wrote five act play- Perseus the Deliverer. His wonderful sense of the beauty of English words and 19rhythm made him notable literary craftsman in eyes of English scholars of England. His poetry was considered much intellectual thoughts and rhythm in his poetry is outstanding feature. Manmohan Ghose was born in 1869, the second son of an illustrious surgeon, Dr. K. D. Ghose. Together with his brothers, Binoy Bhushan and Aurobindo, he studied at Loreto Convent, Darjeeling. In 1879 Manmohan Ghose went to England where he remained until 1894, completing a professional qualification of Bar-at-law at Lincoln's Inn. On his return to India, he joined Patna College as professor of English; later on, he was appointed professor at Presidency College, Kolkata and worked as Inspector of schools. Manmohan Ghose began writing poetry when he was in England and some of his poems were published in Primavera, an anthology which also contained poems by Laurence Binyon, Arthur Cripps and Stephen Phillips. Oscar Wilde, reviewing the volume, wrote of Manmohan Ghose: "The temper of Keats and the moods of Matthew Arnold have influenced Mr. Ghose, and what better influences could a beginner have?" Manmohan Ghose's poetry in many ways broke with the earlier school of Orientalist poetry. His poems often spoke of a longing to return to England, where he had spent twenty two years of his life. While his contemporaries in India, including his brother Aurobindo 20Ghose, were writing on nationalistic themes and were drawing upon ancient Indian culture, Manmohan Ghose turned to England for inspiration. Up to this time, Indian literature had flourished in its fullness but it was Rabindranath Tagore who lifted Indian literature at world level and gained for modern India a place on the world literary history that won Noble Prize for literature and gave recognition to

India on global scale. Rabindranath Tagore (1861- 1941) the versatile personality of Indian literary scholar is considered as – the Rishi, the Gurudev and the Maharshi. He was a poet, dramatist, actor, producer, musician, painter, an educationist, reformer, philosopher, prophet, novelist, story writer, and a critic of life and literature. Rabindranath Tagore wrote primarily in Bengali and translated many of his poems and plays into English. Before he was eighteen, he had written more than 7000 lines of verse. For *Gitanjali* (1912) he won the noble prize for literature and became poet of the world. After that his other works and *Gitanjali* were translated by literary scholars into major languages of world. To his credit, there is a long list of poems and plays, both in Bengali and English which had made his place among the world's greatest writers. In Iyengar's words;

As the years passed, he became more and more a legendary figure; in his flowing beard and immaculate white robes he was truly in the line of the great Rishi of Upanishadic times, and indeed he was truly in the line of the great bearing witness to the triune Reality, seeing the way showing it to others.

The fertile soil of Bengal has given a shining star to the world in the form of Sri Aurobindo Ghose. He (1872-1950) is the one uncontestable outstanding figure in Indo-Anglian literature. He had contributed very much to Indian literature and also uplifted his works at globe. Sri Aurobindo's long poetic career has given him the height of literary master of Indo-Anglian literature. He was interested in teaching, poetry and politics. His *Songs to Myrtilla* and longer poems of the early period- *Urvashi* were published in 1895 and 1896 respectively. He was scholar of classics and used Miltonic diction and epic similes in his works. This classical layer found in "Love and Death" – a poem of about 1100 lines of blank verse and its central theme is love which is based on an ancient Hindu legend with a remarkable resemblance to the Greek legend of Orpheus and Eurydice. Besides so many volumes of his poetry and plays, Sri Aurobindo has written – *The Life and Divine* – a work of prose art which is considered as the greatest philosophical religious book. The most outstanding work of Indo-Anglian literature is Aurobindo's *Savitri* which is in three parts, divided into 12 books or 49 cantos which have total 23813 lines, on which the poet worked for fifty years of his life. M.K.Naik observes in *A History of Indian English Literature* that;

Savitri was continuously revised by the poet

almost till the end of his days and shaped into
an epic of humanity and divinity, of death and
the life divine. A sort of poetic philosophy of the
spirit and of life, and an experiment in mystic
poetry cast in to a symbolic figure.

To conclude in brief about Savitri, Iyengar has used the words of Prof. Raymond Frank Piper;
Aurobindo created what is probably the
greatest epic in the English Language. I
venture the judgment that it is the most
comprehensive, Integrated, beautiful and
perfect cosmic poem ever composed. It ranges
symbolically from a primordial cosmic void,
through earth's darkness and struggles, to the
highest realms of super mental existence, and
illuminates every important concern of man,
through verse of unparalleled massiveness,
magnificence, and metaphorical brilliance.
Savitri is perhaps the most powerful artistic
work in the world for expanding man's mind towards the Absolute.

Chapter -2

Indian English Literature

Indian English literature (IEL) refers to the body of work by writers in India who write in the English language and whose native or co-native language could be one of the numerous languages of India. It is also associated with the works of members of the Indian diaspora, such as V. S. Naipaul, Kiran Desai, Jhumpa Lahiri, Agha Shahid Ali, Rohinton Mistry and Salman Rushdie, who are of Indian descent.

It is frequently referred to as Indo-Anglian literature. (Indo-Anglian is a specific term in the sole context of writing that should not be confused with the term Anglo-Indian). As a category, this production comes under the broader realm of postcolonial literature- the production from previously colonised countries such as India.

IEL has a relatively recent history, it is only one and a half centuries old. The first book written by an Indian in English was by Sake Dean Mahomet, titled *Travels of Dean Mahomet*; Mahomet's travel narrative was published in 1793 in England. In its early stages it was influenced by the Western art form of the novel. Early Indian writers used English unadulterated by Indian words to convey an experience which was essentially Indian. Raja Rao (1908–2006), Indian philosopher and writer authored *Kanthapura* and *The Serpent and the Rope* which are Indian in terms of its storytelling qualities. Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941) wrote in Bengali and English and was responsible for the translations of his own work into English. Dhan Gopal Mukerji was the first Indian author to win a literary award in the United States. Nirad C. Chaudhuri, a writer of non-fiction, is best known for his *The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian* where he relates his life experiences and influences. P. Lal, a poet, translator, publisher and essayist, founded a press in the 1950s for Indian English writing, Writers Workshop. Ram Nath Kak (1917–1933), a Kashmiri veterinarian wrote his autobiography *Autumn Leaves*, which is one of the most vivid portraits of life in 20th century Kashmir and has become a sort of a classic.

R.K. Narayan is a writer who contributed over many decades and who continued to write till his death recently. He was discovered by Graham Greene in the sense that the latter helped him find

a publisher in England. Graham Greene and Narayan remained close friends till the end. Similar to Thomas Hardy's Wessex, Narayan created the fictitious town of Malgudi where he set his novels. Some criticise Narayan for the parochial, detached and closed world that he created in the face of the changing conditions in India at the times in which the stories are set. Others, such as Graham Greene, however, feel that through Malgudi they could vividly understand the Indian experience. Narayan's evocation of small town life and its experiences through the eyes of the endearing child protagonist Swaminathan in *Swami and Friends* is a good sample of his writing style. Simultaneous with Narayan's pastoral idylls, a very different writer, Mulk Raj Anand, was similarly gaining recognition for his writing set in rural India; but his stories were harsher, and engaged, sometimes brutally, with divisions of caste, class and religion.

Later history

Among the later writers, the most notable is Salman Rushdie, born in India, now living in the United Kingdom. Rushdie with his famous work *Midnight's Children* (Booker Prize 1981, Booker of Bookers 1992, and Best of the Bookers 2008) ushered in a new trend of writing. He used a hybrid language – English generously peppered with Indian terms – to convey a theme that could be seen as representing the vast canvas of India. He is usually categorised under the magic realism mode of writing most famously associated with Gabriel García Márquez. Nayantara Sehgal was one of the first female Indian writers in English to receive wide recognition. Her fiction deals with India's elite responding to the crises engendered by political change. She was awarded the 1986 Sahitya Akademi Award for English, for her novel, *Rich Like Us* (1985), by the Sahitya Akademi, India's National Academy of Letters. Anita Desai was shortlisted for the Booker Prize three times, received a Sahitya Akademi Award in 1978 for her novel *Fire on the Mountain* and the British Guardian Prize for *The Village by the Sea*. Her daughter Kiran Desai won the 2006 Man Booker Prize for her second novel *The Inheritance of Loss*. Ruskin Bond received Sahitya Academy Award for his collection of short stories *Our Trees Still Grow in Dehra* in 1992. He is also the author of a historical novel *A Flight of Pigeons*, which is based on an episode during the Indian Rebellion of 1857.

Salman Rushdie

Vikram Seth, author of *The Golden Gate* (1986) and *A Suitable Boy* (1994) is a writer who uses a purer English and more realistic themes. Being a self-confessed fan of Jane Austen, his attention is on the story, its details and its twists and turns. Vikram Seth is notable both as an accomplished novelist and poet. Vikram Seth's outstanding achievement as a versatile and prolific poet remains largely and unfairly neglected.

Another writer who has contributed immensely to the India English Literature is Amitav Ghosh who is the author of *The Circle of Reason* (his 1986 debut novel), *The Shadow Lines* (1988), *The Calcutta Chromosome* (1995), *The Glass Palace* (2000), *The Hungry Tide* (2004), and *Sea of Poppies* (2008), the first volume of *The Ibis* trilogy, set in the 1830s, just before the Opium War, which encapsulates the colonial history of the East. Ghosh's latest work of fiction is *River of Smoke* (2011), the second volume of *The Ibis* trilogy.

Rohinton Mistry is an India born Canadian author who is a Neustadt International Prize for Literature laureate (2012). His first book *Tales from Firozsha Baag* (1987) published by Penguin Books Canada is a collection of 11 short stories. His novels *Such a Long Journey* (1991) and *A Fine Balance* (1995) earned him great acclaim.

Shashi Tharoor, in his *The Great Indian Novel* (1989), follows a story-telling (though in a satirical) mode as in the *Mahabharata* drawing his ideas by going back and forth in time. His work as UN official living outside India has given him a vantage point that helps construct an objective Indianness. However, his stint with Congress Party and his nearness to the Gandhi family has led to some critics question his objectivity. His well-known affinity with Rahul Gandhi and one-sided favor of Congress Party with all its scandals, has also put the objectivity of his books into question.[1] Vikram Chandra is another author who shuffles between India and the United States and has received critical acclaim for his first novel *Red Earth and Pouring Rain* (1995) and collection of short stories *Love and Longing in Bombay* (1997). His namesake Vikram A. Chandra is a renowned journalist and the author of *The Srinagar Conspiracy* (2000). Suketu Mehta is another writer currently based in the United States who authored *Maximum City* (2004), an autobiographical account of his experiences in the city of Mumbai.

In 2008, Arvind Adiga received Man Booker Prize for his debut novel *The White Tiger*. Though, he is another Indian English author who has come under a lot of criticism from not only the vernacular media but also the English media. There are familiar charges like, he does not really know India and is writing on some clichés.

:"Adiga is thrice removed from the society and events he talks about in his book. Born in metropolitan Chennai, educated in Australia, the UK, and the US, he has nothing in common with his protagonist, Balram, a 'low-caste' driver from Bihar."

Adiga goes overboard in a lot of cases in his book, *The White Tiger*, claiming that: Every traditional Indian village has a blue-movie (pornographic) theatre. No one can enter Indian malls without wearing shoes. Shoes are compulsory. No low-caste man can ever enter an Indian mall. Even if he enters stealthily, he is then caught, beaten and publicly humiliated. In India, if an owner runs over a man with his car, his driver has to go to jail instead. If a servant steals anything, then his entire family, back home, is ritually lynched to death (their women being repeatedly raped). Every Indian book stall sells 'rape magazines'. There are separate markets for servants. Indian brothels take extra money from servants, called 'Working-class surcharge'. Sadhus are actually homosexual hookers who get paid to be buggered by foreigners. A common Hindu is worse than an Islamic terrorist. Indian caste system is worse, or at least as bad as the secret police of a totalitarian state.

It is claims like these which has led to substantial criticism of his work in India and abroad.

Recent writers in India such as Arundhati Roy and David Davidar show a direction towards contextuality and rootedness in their works. Arundhati Roy, a trained architect and the 1997 Booker prize winner for her *The God of Small Things*, calls herself a "home grown" writer. Her award winning book is set in the immensely physical landscape of Kerala. Davidar sets his *The House of Blue Mangoes* in Southern Tamil Nadu. In both the books, geography and politics are integral to the narrative. In his novel *Lament of Mohini* (2000), Shreekumar Varma touches upon the unique matriarchal system and the *sammandham* system of marriage as he writes about the Namboodiris and the aristocrats of Kerala. Jahnabi Barua, a Bangalore based author from Assam has set her critically acclaimed collection of short stories *Next Door* on the social scenario in Assam with insurgency as the background. Another author Aruni Kashyap has also based his

first novel *The House with A Thousand Stories* on the society and psyche of the people of Assam at the backdrop of insurgency.

As for the history of the gradual development of Indian drama in English, one may consult Pinaki Roy's essay "Dramatic Chronicle: A Very Brief Review of the Growth of Indian English Plays", included in *Indian Drama in English: Some Perspectives* (ISBN 978-81-269-1772-3) (pp. 272-87), edited by Abha Shukla Kaushik, and published by the New Delhi-based Atlantic Publishers and Distributors Pvt. Ltd. in 2013. G. S. Amur has also written extensively on Indian authors including those who write in English.

Debates

One of the key issues raised in this context is the superiority/inferiority of IWE (Indian Writing in English) as opposed to the literary production in the various languages of India. Key polar concepts bandied in this context are superficial/authentic, imitative/creative, shallow/deep, critical/uncritical, elitist/parochial and so on.

The views of Salman Rushdie and Amit Chaudhuri expressed through their books *The Vintage Book of Indian Writing* and *The Picador Book of Modern Indian Literature* respectively essentialise this battle.

Rushdie's statement in his book – "the ironic proposition that India's best writing since independence may have been done in the language of the departed imperialists is simply too much for some folks to bear" – created a lot of resentment among many writers, including writers in English. In his book, Amit Chaudhuri questions – "Can it be true that Indian writing, that endlessly rich, complex and problematic entity, is to be represented by a handful of writers who write in English, who live in England or America and whom one might have met at a party?"

Chaudhuri feels that after Rushdie, IWE started employing magical realism, bagginess, non-linear narrative and hybrid language to sustain themes seen as microcosms of India and supposedly reflecting Indian conditions. He contrasts this with the works of earlier writers such as Narayan where the use of English is pure, but the deciphering of meaning needs cultural familiarity. He also feels that Indianness is a theme constructed only in IWE and does not

articulate itself in the vernacular literatures. He further adds "the post-colonial novel, becomes a trope for an ideal hybridity by which the West celebrates not so much Indianness, whatever that infinitely complex thing is, but its own historical quest, its reinterpretation of itself".

Some of these arguments form an integral part of what is called postcolonial theory. The very categorisation of IWE – as IWE or under post-colonial literature – is seen by some as limiting. Amitav Ghosh made his views on this very clear by refusing to accept the Eurasian Commonwealth Writers Prize for his book *The Glass Palace* in 2001 and withdrawing it from the subsequent stage.

The renowned writer V. S. Naipaul, a third generation Indian from Trinidad and Tobago and a Nobel prize laureate, is a person who belongs to the world and usually not classified under IWE. Naipaul evokes ideas of homeland, rootlessness and his own personal feelings towards India in many of his books.

Jhumpa Lahiri, a Pulitzer prize winner from the U.S., is a writer uncomfortable under the label of IWE.

Poetry

An overlooked category of Indian writing in English is poetry. Rabindranath Tagore wrote in Bengali and English and was responsible for the translations of his own work into English. Other early notable poets in English include Derozio, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Toru Dutt, Romesh Chunder Dutt, Sri Aurobindo, Sarojini Naidu, and her brother Harindranath Chattopadhyay.

Notable 20th Century authors of English poetry in India include Dilip Chitre, Kamala Das, Eunice De Souza, Nissim Ezekiel, Kersy Katrak, Arun Kolatkar, P. Lal, Jayanta Mahapatra, Arvind Krishna Mehrotra, Dom Moraes, Gieve Patel, and A. K. Ramanujan, and among several others.

The younger generation of poets writing in English include Smita Agarwal, Makarand Paranjape, Nandini Sahu, Vattacharja Chandan, Arundhati Subramaniam, Ranjit Hoskote, Sudeep Sen, Hemant Mohapatra, Jeet Thayil, Mani Rao, Jerry Pinto, Abhay K, Meena Kandasamy, among others.

Modern expatriate Indian poets writing in English include Agha Shahid Ali, Sujata Bhatt, Richard Crasta, Yuyutsu Sharma and Vikram Seth.

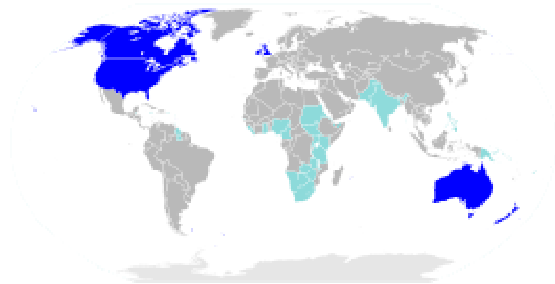
Chapter-3

Alternative Writing

India's experimental and avant garde counterculture is symbolized in the Prakaalpana Movement. During the last four decades this bilingual literary movement has included Richard Kostelanetz, John M. Bennett, Don Webb, Sheila Murphy and many others worldwide and their Indian counterparts. Vattacharja Chandan is a central figure who contrived the movement.

Prakaalpana fiction is a fusion of prose, poetry, play, essay, and pictures. An example of a Prakaalpana work is Chandan's bilingual Cosmosphere 1 (2011).

Some bilingual writers have also made significant contributions, such as Paigham Afaqui with his novel Makaan in 1989.



Countries where English is an official or de facto official language, or national language, and is spoken natively by the majority of the population

Countries where it is an official but not primary language

English is a West Germanic language that was first spoken in early medieval England and is now the most widely used language in the world. It is spoken as a first language by the majority populations of several sovereign states, including the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Australia, Ireland, New Zealand and a number of Caribbean nations; and it is an official language of almost 60 sovereign states. It is the third-most-common native language in the world, after Mandarin Chinese and Spanish. It is widely learned as a second language and is an official language of the European Union, many Commonwealth countries and the United Nations, as well as in many world organizations.

English arose in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of England and what is now southeast Scotland. Following the extensive influence of Great Britain and the United Kingdom from the 17th to mid-20th centuries through the British Empire, it has been widely propagated around the world. Through the spread of American-dominated media and technology, English has become the leading language of international discourse and the lingua franca in many regions.

Historically, English originated from the fusion of closely related dialects, now collectively termed Old English, which were brought to the eastern coast of Great Britain by Germanic settlers (Anglo-Saxons) by the 5th century; the word English is derived from the name of the Angles, and ultimately from their ancestral region of Angeln (in what is now Schleswig-Holstein). The language was also influenced early on by the Old Norse language through Viking invasions in the 9th and 10th centuries.

The Norman conquest of England in the 11th century gave rise to heavy borrowings from Norman French, and vocabulary and spelling conventions began to give the appearance of a close relationship with those of Latin-derived Romance languages (though English is not a Romance language itself) to what had then become Middle English. The Great Vowel Shift that began in the south of England in the 15th century is one of the historical events that mark the emergence of Modern English from Middle English.

In addition to its Anglo-Saxon and Norman French roots, a significant number of English words are constructed on the basis of roots from Latin, because Latin in some form was the lingua franca of the Christian Church and of European intellectual life and remains the wellspring of much modern scientific and technical vocabulary.

Owing to the assimilation of words from many other languages throughout history, modern English contains a very large vocabulary, with complex and irregular spelling, particularly of vowels. Modern English has not only assimilated words from other European languages, but from all over the world. The Oxford English Dictionary lists more than 250,000 distinct words, not including many technical, scientific, and slang terms.

Etymology

The word English derives from the eponym Angle, the name of a Germanic tribe thought to originate from the Angeln area of Jutland, now in northern Germany. For possible etymologies of these words, see the articles Angeln and Angles.

Significance

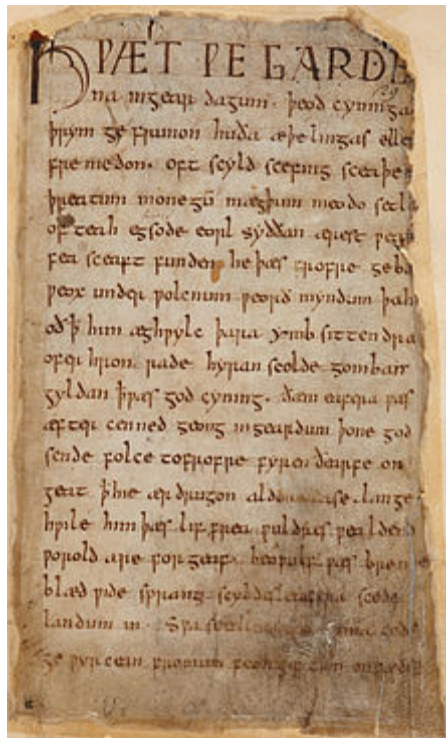
Modern English, sometimes described as the first global lingua franca, is the dominant language or in some instances even the required international language of communications, science, information technology, business, seafaring, aviation, [entertainment, radio, and diplomacy. Its spread beyond the British Isles began with the growth of the British Empire, and by the late 19th century its reach was global. Following British colonisation from the 16th to 19th centuries, it became the dominant language in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The growing economic and cultural influence of the US and its status as a global superpower since World War II have significantly accelerated the spread of the language across the planet. English replaced German as the dominant language of science-related Nobel Prize laureates during the second half of the 20th century. English equalled and may have surpassed French as the dominant language of diplomacy during the second half of the 19th century.

A working knowledge of English has become a requirement in a number of fields, occupations and professions such as medicine and computing; as a consequence, more than a billion people speak English to at least a basic level. It is one of six official languages of the United Nations.

One impact of the growth of English is the reduction of native linguistic diversity in many parts of the world. The influence of English continues to play an important role in language attrition. [Conversely, the natural internal variety of English along with creoles and pidgins have the potential to produce new distinct languages from English over time.

History

History of the English language



The first sentence of Beowulf (above) reads in Old English, "Hƿæt ƿē Gārdena ingēar dagum þēod cyninga þrym ge frunon," which means, "Listen! We of the Spear-Danes from days of yore have heard of the glory of the folk-kings."

English originated in those dialects of North Sea Germanic that were carried to Britain by Germanic settlers from various parts of what are now the Netherlands, northwest Germany, and Denmark. Up to that point, in Roman Britain the native population is assumed to have spoken Common Brittonic, a Celtic language, alongside the acrolectal influence of Latin, due to the 400-year period of Roman Britain. One of these incoming Germanic tribes was the Angles, whom Bede believed to have relocated entirely to Britain. The names 'England' (from Engla land "Land of the Angles") and English (Old English Englisc) are derived from the name of this tribe—but Saxons, Jutes and a range of Germanic peoples from the coasts of Frisia, Lower Saxony, Jutland and Southern Sweden also moved to Britain in this era.

Initially, Old English was a diverse group of dialects, reflecting the varied origins of Anglo-Saxon England but the West Saxon dialect eventually came to dominate, and it is in this that the poem Beowulf is written.

Old English was later transformed by two waves of invasion. The first was by speakers of the North Germanic language branch when Halfdan Ragnarsson and Ivar the Boneless started the conquering and colonisation of northern parts of the British Isles in the 8th and 9th centuries (see Danelaw). The second was by speakers of the Romance language Old Norman in the 11th century with the Norman conquest of England. Norman developed into Anglo-Norman, and then Anglo-French – and introduced a layer of words especially via the courts and government. As well as extending the lexicon with Scandinavian and Norman words, these two events simplified the grammar and transformed English into a borrowing language—unusually open to accepting new words from other languages.

The linguistic shifts in English following the Norman invasion produced what is now referred to as Middle English; Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* is its best-known work. Throughout this period, Latin in some form was the lingua franca of European intellectual life – first the Medieval Latin of the Christian Church, and later the humanist Renaissance Latin – and those who wrote or copied texts in Latin commonly coined new terms from that language to refer to things or concepts for which no native there was English word.

Modern English, which includes the works of William Shakespeare and the King James Version of the Bible, is generally dated from about 1550, and after the United Kingdom became a colonial power, English served as the lingua franca of the colonies of the British Empire. In the post-colonial period, some of the newly created nations that had multiple indigenous languages opted to continue using English as the lingua franca to avoid the political difficulties inherent in promoting any one indigenous language above the others. As a result of the growth of the British Empire, English was adopted in North America, India, Africa, Australia and many other regions – a trend that was reinforced by the emergence of the United States as a superpower in the mid-20th century.

Classification and related languages

Chapter-4

Germanic Family

The English language belongs to the Anglo-Frisian sub-group of the West Germanic branch of the Germanic languages, a member of the Indo-European languages. Modern English is the direct descendant of Middle English, itself a direct descendant of Old English, a descendant of the Proto-Germanic language. Typical of most Germanic languages, English is characterised by the use of modal verbs, the division of verbs into strong and weak classes, and common sound shifts from Proto-Indo-European known as Grimm's law. The closest living relatives of English (besides the English languages and English-based creole languages) are the Frisian languages of the southern fringes of the North Sea in the Netherlands, Germany, and Denmark.

After Frisian come those Germanic languages that are more distantly related: the non-Anglo-Frisian West Germanic languages (Dutch, Afrikaans, Low German, High German, Yiddish), and the North Germanic languages (Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Icelandic, and Faroese). None of the Continental Germanic languages is mutually intelligible with English, owing in part to divergences in lexis, syntax, semantics, and phonology, and to the isolation afforded to English by the British Isles, although some, such as Dutch, do show strong affinities with English, especially to its earlier stages. Isolation has allowed English (as well as Icelandic and Faroese) to develop independently of the Continental Germanic languages and their influences.



The 2nd-century Øvre Stabu spearhead, which reads Raunijaz ("tester") in North Proto-Germanic, one of the earliest written samples of a Germanic language.

In addition to isolation, lexical differences between English and other Germanic languages exist due to diachronic change, semantic drift, and to substantial borrowing in English of words from other languages, especially Latin and French (though borrowing is in no way unique to English). For example, compare "exit" (Latin), vs. Dutch *uitgang* and German *Ausgang* (literally "out-going", though *uitgang* continues to survive dialectally) and "change" (French) vs. Dutch *verandering* and German *Änderung* (literally "elsing, othering", i.e. "alteration"); "movement" (French) vs. Dutch *beweging* and German *Bewegung* ("beway-ing", i.e. "proceeding along the way"); etc. With the exception of *exit* (a Modern English borrowing), Middle English had already distanced itself from other Germanic languages, having the terms *wharf*, *schift* (= "shift"), and *wending* for "change"; and already by Old English times the word *bewegan* meant "to cover, envelop", rather than "to move". Preference of one synonym over another also causes differentiation in lexis, even where both words are Germanic, as in English *care* vs. German *Sorge*. Both words descend from Proto-Germanic *karō* and *surgō* respectively, but **karō* has become the dominant word in English for "care" while in German, Dutch, and Scandinavian languages, the **surgō* root prevailed. **Surgō* still survives in English, however, as *sorrow*.

Despite extensive lexical borrowing, the workings of the English language are resolutely Germanic, and English remains classified as a Germanic language due to its structure and grammar. Borrowed words get incorporated into a Germanic system of conjugation, declension, and syntax, and behave exactly as though they were native Germanic words from Old English. For example, the word *reduce* is borrowed from Latin *redūcere*; however, in English one says "I reduce – I reduced – I will reduce" rather than "*redūcō – redūxī – redūcam*"; likewise, we say: "John's life insurance company" (cf. Dutch "*Johns levensverzekeringsmaatschappij*" [= *leven* (life) + *verzekering* (insurance) + *maatschappij* (company)] rather than "the company of insurance life of John", cf. the French: *la compagnie d'assurance-vie de John*). Furthermore, in English, all basic grammatical particles added to nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs are Germanic. For nouns, these include the normal plural marker *-s/-es* (*apple – apples*; cf. Frisian *appel – appels*; Dutch *appel – appels*; Afrikaans *appel – appels*), and the possessive markers *-s* (*Brad's hat*; German *Brads Hut*; Danish *Brads hat*) and *-s'*.

For verbs, these include the third-person present ending *-s/-es* (e.g. *he stands/he reaches*), the present participle ending *-ing* (cf. Dutch *-ende*; German *-end(e)*), the simple past tense and past

participle ending -ed (Swedish -ade/-ad), and the formation of the English infinitive using to (e.g. "to drive"; cf. Old English *tō drīfenne*; Dutch *te drijven*; Low German *to drieben*; German *zu treiben*). Adverbs generally receive an -ly ending (cf. German -lich; Swedish -ligt), and adjectives and adverbs are inflected for the comparative and superlative using -er and -est (e.g. hard/harder/hardest; cf. Dutch hard/harder/hardst), or through a combination with more and most (cf. Swedish mer and mest). These particles append freely to all English words regardless of origin (tsunamis; communicates; to buccaneer; during; calmer; bizarrely) and all derive from Old English. Even the lack or absence of affixes, known as zero or null (-Ø) affixes, derives from endings that previously existed in Old English (usually -e, -a, -u, -o, -an, etc.), that later weakened to -e, and have since ceased to be pronounced and spelt (e.g. Modern English "I sing" = I sing-Ø < I singe < Old English *ic singe*; "we thought" = we thought-Ø < we thoughte(n) < Old English *wē þōhton*).

Impact of Old Norse

Due to the Viking colonisation and influence of Old Norse on Middle English, English syntax follows a pattern similar to that of North Germanic languages, such as Danish, Swedish, and Icelandic, in contrast with other West Germanic languages, such as Dutch and German. This is especially evident in the order and placement of verbs. For example, English "I will never see you again" = Danish "Jeg vil aldrig se dig igen"; Icelandic "Ég mun aldrei sjá þig aftur", whereas in Dutch and German the main verb is placed at the end (e.g. Dutch "Ik zal je nooit weer zien"; German "Ich werde dich nie wieder sehen", literally, "I will you never again see"). This is also observable in perfect tense constructions, as in English "I have never seen anything in the square" = Danish "Jeg har aldrig set noget på torvet"; Icelandic "Ég hef aldrei séð neitt á torginu", where Dutch and German place the past participle at the end (e.g. Dutch "Ik heb nooit iets op het plein gezien"; German "Ich habe nie etwas auf dem Platz gesehen", literally, "I have never anything in the square seen"). As in most Germanic languages, English adjectives usually come before the noun they modify, even when the adjective is of Latinate origin (e.g. medical emergency, national treasure). English continues to make extensive use of self-explaining compounds (e.g. streetcar, classroom) and nouns that serve as modifiers (e.g. lamp post, life insurance company) – traits inherited from Old English (See also Kenning).

The kinship with other Germanic languages can also be seen in the tensing of English verbs (e.g. English fall/fell/fallen/will or shall fall, West Frisian fal/foel/fallen/sil falle, Dutch vallen/viel/gevallen/zullen vallen, German fallen/fiel/gefallen/werden fallen, Norwegian faller/falt/falt or falne/vil or skal falle), the comparatives of adjectives and adverbs (e.g. English good/better/best, West Frisian goed/better/best, Dutch goed/beter/best, German gut/besser/best), the treatment of nouns (English shoemaker, shoemaker's, shoemakers, shoemakers'; Dutch schoenmaker, schoenmakers, schoenmakers, schoenmakeren; Swedish skomakare, skomakares, skomakare, skomakares), and the large amount of cognates (e.g. English wet, Scots weet, West Frisian wiet, Swedish våt; English send, Dutch zenden, German senden; English meaning, Swedish mening, Icelandic meining, etc.).

It occasionally gives rise to false friends (e.g. English time vs Norwegian time, meaning "hour" [i.e. "a specific amount of time"]; English gift vs German Gift, meaning "poison" [i.e. "that which is given, dosage, dose"]), while differences in phonology can obscure words that really are related (tooth vs. German Zahn; compare also Danish tand, North Frisian toth). Sometimes both semantics and phonology are different (German Zeit ("time") is related to English "tide", but the English word, through a transitional phase of meaning "period"/"interval", has come primarily to mean gravitational effects on the ocean by the moon (formerly expressed by ebb), though the original meaning is preserved in forms liketidings and betide, and phrases such as to tide over). However, a few other Germanic languages, more closely related to English than German, also share this same semantic shift, namely Low German (i.e. Low German Tide = "tide of the sea") and Dutch (Dutch getijde, tij = "tide of the sea").

Some North Germanic words entered English from the settlement of Viking raiders and Danish invasions that began around the 9th century (see Danelaw). Many of these words are common and are often mistaken for being native, which shows how close-knit the relations between the English and the Scandinavian settlers were. Dutch and Low German also had a considerable influence on English vocabulary, contributing common everyday terms and many nautical and trading terms.

Other Germanic languages

English has been forming compound words and affixing existing words separately from the other Germanic languages for more than 1500 years but shows different patterns in this regard. For instance, abstract nouns in English may be formed from native words by the suffixes "hood", "-ship", "-dom" and "-ness". All of these suffixes have cognates in most or all other Germanic languages, but their usage has diverged, as German "Freiheit" vs. English "freedom" (the suffix "-heit" being cognate with English "-hood", while English "-dom" is cognate with German "-tum"; but note North Frisian fridoem, Dutch vrijdom, Norwegian fridom, "freedom"). The Germanic languages Icelandic and Faroese also follow English in this respect, since, like English, they developed independent of German influences.

French

Many French words are also intelligible to an English speaker, especially when they are seen in writing (as pronunciations are often quite different), because English absorbed a large vocabulary from Norman and French, via Anglo-Norman after the Norman Conquest, and directly from French in subsequent centuries. As a result, a large portion of English vocabulary is derived from French, with some minor spelling differences (e.g. inflectional endings, use of old French spellings, lack of diacritics, etc.), as well as occasional divergences in meaning of so-called false friends: for example, compare "library" with the French librairie, which means bookstore; in French, the word for "library" is bibliothèque. The pronunciation of most French loanwords in English (with the exception of a handful of more recently borrowed words such as mirage, genre, café; or phrases like coup d'état, rendez-vous, etc.) has become largely anglicised and follows a typically English phonology and pattern of stress (compare English "nature" vs. French nature, "button" vs. bouton, "table" vs. table, "hour" vs. heure, "reside" vs. résider, etc.).

Geographical distribution

"English-speaking world" redirects here. For the cultural region, see Anglosphere.

Approximately 375 million people speak English as their first language. English today is probably the third largest language by number of native speakers, after Mandarin Chinese and Spanish. However, when combining native and non-native speakers it is probably the most commonly spoken language in the world, though possibly second to a combination of the

Chinese languages (depending on whether distinctions in the latter are classified as "languages" or "dialects").

Estimates that include second language speakers vary greatly from 470 million to over a billion depending on how literacy or mastery is defined and measured. Linguistics professor David Crystal calculates that non-native speakers now outnumber native speakers by a ratio of 3 to 1.

The countries with the highest populations of native English speakers are, in descending order: the United States (226 million), the United Kingdom (61 million), Canada (18.2 million), Australia (15.5 million), Nigeria (4 million), Ireland (3.8 million), South Africa (3.7 million), and New Zealand (3.6 million) in a 2006 Census.

Countries such as the Philippines, Jamaica and Nigeria also have millions of native speakers of dialect continua ranging from an English-based creole to a more standard version of English. Of those nations where English is spoken as a second language, India has the most such speakers (Indian English). Crystal claims that, combining native and non-native speakers, India now has more people who speak or understand English than any other country in the world.

Chapter-5

Countries Where English Is A Major Language

List of countries where English is an official language



Countries where English is spoken natively by the majority of the population.

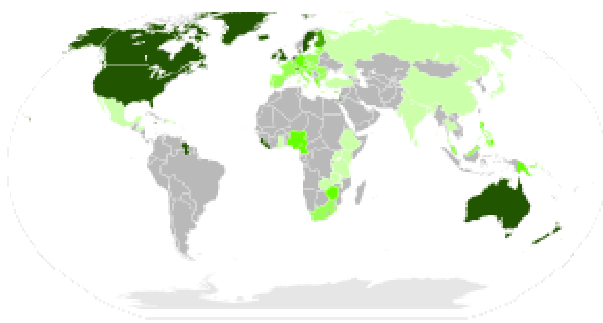
English is the primary language in Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Bermuda, the British Indian Ocean Territory, the British Virgin Islands, Canada, the Cayman Islands, Dominica, the Falkland Islands, Gibraltar, Grenada, Guam, Guernsey, Guyana, Ireland, the Isle of Man, Jamaica, Jersey, Montserrat, Nauru, New Zealand, Pitcairn Islands, Saint Helena, Ascension and Tristan da Cunha, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Singapore, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands, Trinidad and Tobago, the Turks and Caicos Islands, the United Kingdom and the United States.

In some countries where English is not the most spoken language, it is an official language; these countries include Botswana, Cameroon, the Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Gambia, Ghana, Hong Kong, India, Kenya, Kiribati, Lesotho, Liberia, Malta, the Marshall Islands, Mauritius, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palau, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines (Philippine English), Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, the Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Sudan, South Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Also there are countries where in a part of the territory English became a co-official language, e.g. Colombia's San Andrés y Providencia and Nicaragua's Mosquito Coast. This was a result of the influence of British colonisation in the area.

English is one of the 11 official languages that are given equal status in South Africa (South African English). It is also the official language in current dependent territories of Australia (Norfolk Island, Christmas Island and Cocos Island) and of the United States (American Samoa, Guam, Northern Mariana Islands, Puerto Rico (in Puerto Rico, English is co-official with Spanish), and the US Virgin Islands), and the former British colony of Hong Kong.

Although the United States federal government has no official languages, English has been given official status by 30 of the 50 state governments. Although falling short of official status, English is also an important language in several former colonies and protectorates of the United Kingdom, such as Bahrain, Bangladesh, Brunei, Cyprus, Malaysia, and the United Arab Emirates. In the Canadian province of Quebec, French is the primary language and in Manitoba and New Brunswick both English and French are official languages.

English as a global language



Percent of national populations with knowledge of English

80–100%

60–80%

40–60%

20–40%

0–20%

English in computing, International English, World English's , World language, and English as a second or foreign language .

Because English is so widely spoken, it has often been referred to as a "world language", the lingua franca of the modern era, and while it is not an official language in most countries, it is currently the language most often taught as a foreign language. It is, by international treaty, the official language for aeronautical and maritime communications. English is one of the official languages of the United Nations and many other international organisations, including the International Olympic Committee.

English is studied most often in the European Union, and the perception of the usefulness of foreign languages among Europeans is 67% in favour of English ahead of 17% for German and 16% for French (as of 2012). Among some of the non-English-speaking EU countries, the following percentages of the adult population claimed to be able to converse in English in 2012: 90% in the Netherlands, 89% in Malta, 86% in Sweden and Denmark, 73% in Cyprus and Austria, 70% in Finland, and over 50% in Greece, Luxembourg, Slovenia and Germany. In 2012, excluding native speakers, 38% of Europeans consider that they can speak English, but only 3% of Japanese people.

Books, magazines, and newspapers written in English are available in many countries around the world, and English is the most commonly used language in the sciences with Science Citation reporting as early as 1997 that 95% of its articles were written in English, even though only half of them came from authors in English-speaking countries.

English literature predominates considerably with 28% of all volumes published in the world [leclerc 2011] and 30% of web content in 2011 (from 50% in 2000).

This increasing use of the English language globally has had a large impact on many other languages, leading to language shift and even language death, and to claims of linguistic imperialism.[English itself has become more open to language shift as multiple regional varieties feed back into the language as a whole.

List of dialects of the English language

English has been subject to a large degree of regional dialect variation for many centuries. Its global spread now means that a large number of dialects and English-based creole languages and pidgins can be found all over the world.

Several educated native dialects of English have wide acceptance as standards in much of the world. In the United Kingdom much emphasis is placed on Received Pronunciation, an educated dialect of South East England. General American, which is spread over most of the United States and much of Canada, is more typically the model for the American continents and areas (such as the Philippines) that have had either close association with the United States, or a desire to be so identified. In Oceania, the major native dialect of Australian English is spoken as a first language by the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Australian continent, with General Australian serving as the standard accent. The English of neighbouring New Zealand as well as that of South Africa have to a lesser degree been influential native varieties of the language.

Aside from these major dialects, there are numerous other varieties of English, which include, in most cases, several sub varieties, such as Cockney, Scouse and Geordie with in British English; Newfoundland English within Canadian English; and African American Vernacular English ("Ebonics") and Southern American English within American English. English is a pluricentric language, without a central language authority like France's Académie française; and therefore no one variety is considered "correct" or "incorrect" except in terms of the expectations of the particular audience to which the language is directed.

Scots has its origins in early Northern Middle English and developed and changed during its history with influence from other sources. However, following the Acts of Union 1707 a process of language attrition began, whereby successive generations adopted more and more features from Standard English. Whether Scots is now a separate language or is better described as a dialect of English (i.e. part of Scottish English) is in dispute, although the UK government accepts Scots as a regional language and has recognised it as such under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. There are a number of regional dialects of Scots, and pronunciation, grammar and lexis of the traditional forms differ, sometimes substantially, from other varieties of English.

English speakers have many different accents, which often signal the speaker's native dialect or language. For the most distinctive characteristics of regional accents, see *Regional accents of English*, and for a complete list of regional dialects, see *List of dialects of the English language*. Within England, variation is now largely confined to pronunciation rather than grammar or vocabulary. At the time of the *Survey of English Dialects*, grammar and vocabulary differed across the country, but a process of lexical attrition has led most of this variation to die out.

Just as English itself has borrowed words from many different languages over its history, English loanwords now appear in many languages around the world, indicative of the technological and cultural influence of its speakers. Several pidgins and creole languages have been formed on an English base, such as Jamaican Patois, Nigerian Pidgin, and Tok Pisin. There are many words in English coined to describe forms of particular non-English languages that contain a very high proportion of English words.

Register effects

It is well-established that informal speech registers tend to be made up predominantly of words of Anglo-Saxon or Germanic origin, whereas the proportion of the vocabulary that is of Latinate origins is likely to be higher in legal, scientific, and otherwise scholarly or academic texts.

Child-directed speech, which is an informal speech register, also tends to rely heavily on vocabulary rife in words derived from Anglo-Saxon. The speech of mothers to young children has a higher percentage of native Anglo-Saxon verb tokens than speech addressed to adults. In particular, in parents' child-directed speech the clausal core is built in the most part by Anglo-Saxon verbs, namely, almost all tokens of the grammatical relations subject-verb, verb-direct object and verb-indirect object that young children are presented with, are constructed with native verbs. The Anglo-Saxon verb vocabulary consists of short verbs, but its grammar is relatively complex. Syntactic patterns specific to this sub-vocabulary in present-day English include periphrastic constructions for tense, aspect, questioning and negation, and phrasal lexemes functioning as complex predicates, all of which also occur in child-directed speech.

The historical origin of vocabulary items affects the order of acquisition of various aspects of language development in English-speaking children. Latinate vocabulary is in general a later acquisition in children than the native Anglo-Saxon one. Young children almost exclusively use

the native verb vocabulary in constructing basic grammatical relations, apparently mastering its analytic aspects at an early stage.

Chapter-6

Formal written English

A version of the language almost universally agreed upon by educated English speakers around the world is called formal written English. It takes virtually the same form regardless of where it is written, in contrast to spoken English, which differs significantly between dialects, accents, and varieties of slang and of colloquial and regional expressions. Local variations in the formal written version of the language are quite limited, being restricted largely to minor spelling, lexical and grammatical differences between different national varieties of English (e.g. British, American, Indian, Australian, South African, etc.).

Simplified and constructed varieties

Artificially simplified versions of the language have been created that are easier for non-native speakers to read. Basic English is a constructed language, with a restricted number of words, created by Charles Kay Ogden and described in his book *Basic English: A General Introduction with Rules and Grammar* (1930). Ogden said that it would take seven years to learn English, seven months for Esperanto, and seven weeks for Basic English. Thus, Basic English may be employed by companies that need to make complex books for international use, as well as by language schools that need to impart some knowledge of English in a short time.

Ogden did not include any words in Basic English that could be said instead with a combination of other words already in the Basic English lexicon, and he worked to make the vocabulary suitable for speakers of any other language. He put his vocabulary selections through a large number of tests and adjustments. Ogden also simplified the grammar but tried to keep it normal for English users. Although it was not built into a program, similar simplifications were devised for various international uses.

Simplified English is a controlled language originally developed for aerospace industry maintenance manuals. It employs a carefully limited and standardized subset of English. Simplified English has a lexicon of approved words and those words can only be used in certain ways. For example, the word close can be used in the phrase "Close the door" but not "do not go close to the landing gear".

Other constructed varieties of English include:

- E-Prime excludes forms of the verb to be.
- English reform is an attempt to improve collectively upon the English language.
- Manually Coded English consists of a variety of systems that have been developed to represent the English language with hand signals, designed primarily for use in deaf education. These should not be confused with true sign languages such as British Sign Language and American Sign Language used in Anglophone countries, which are independent and not based on English.
- Seaspeak and the related Airspeak and PoliceSpeak, all based on restricted vocabularies, were designed by Edward Johnson starting from the 1980s to aid international cooperation and communication in specific areas.
- Special English is a simplified version of English used by the Voice of America. It uses a vocabulary of only 1500 words.

Phonology

The phonology (sound system) of English differs between dialects. The descriptions below are most closely applicable to the standard varieties known as Received Pronunciation(RP) and General American. For information concerning a range of other varieties, see IPA chart for English dialects.

Consonants

The table below shows the system of consonant phonemes that functions in most major varieties of English. The symbols are from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), and are also used in the pronunciation keys of many dictionaries. For more detailed information see English phonology: Consonants.

Consonant Phonemes

Consonant Phonemes

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	m			n			ŋ	
Plosive	p b			t d			k g	
Affricate					tʃ dʒ			
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ		(x)	h
Approximant (Lateral)				r		j	w	
				l				

Where consonants are given in pairs (as with "p b"), the first is voiceless, the second is voiced. Most of the symbols represent the same sounds as they normally do when used as letters (see Writing system below), but /j/ represents the initial sound of yacht. The symbol /ʃ/ represents the sh sound, /ʒ/ the middle sound of vision, /tʃ/ the ch sound, /dʒ/ the sound of j in jump, /θ/ and /ð/ the th sounds in thing and this respectively, and /ŋ/ the ng sound in sing. The voiceless velar fricative /x/ is not a regular phoneme in most varieties of English, although it is used by some speakers in Scots/Gaelic words such as loch or in other loanwords such as Chanukah.

Some of the more significant variations in the pronunciation of consonants are these:

- In non-rhotic accents such as Received Pronunciation and Australian English, /r/ can only appear before a vowel (so there is no "r" sound in words like card). The actual pronunciation of /r/ varies between dialects; most common is the alveolar approximant .

- In North American English and Australian English, /t/ and /d/ are flapped [ɾ] in many positions between vowels. This means that word pairs such as latter and ladder may become homophones for speakers of these dialects.
- The th sounds /θ/ and /ð/ are sometimes pronounced as /f/ and /v/ in Cockney, and as dental plosives (contrasting with the usual alveolar plosives) in some Irish varieties. In African American Vernacular English, /ð/ has merged with dental /d/.
- A voiceless w, [ɱ], sometimes written /hw/, for the wh in words like when and which, is preserved in Scottish and Irish English and by some speakers elsewhere.
- The voiceless plosives /p/, /t/ and /k/ are frequently aspirated, particularly at the start of stressed syllables, but they are not aspirated after an initial /s/, as in spin.

Vowels

The system of vowel phonemes and their pronunciation is subject to significant variation between dialects. The table below lists the vowels found in Received Pronunciation (RP) and General American, with examples of words in which they occur. The vowels are represented with symbols from the International Phonetic Alphabet; those given for RP are in relatively standard use in British dictionaries and other publications. For more detailed information see English phonology: Vowels.

Some points to note:

- For words which in RP have /ɒ/, most North American dialects have /ɑ/ (as in the example of box above) or /ɔ/ (as in cloth). However some North American varieties do not have the vowel /ɔ/ at all (except before /r/); see cot–caught merger.
- In present-day Received Pronunciation, the realization of the /æ/ phoneme is more open than the symbol suggests, and is closer to [a], as in most other accents in Britain. The sound [æ] is now found only in conservative RP.
- In General American and some other rhotic accents, the combination of vowel+/r/ is often realized as an r-colored vowel. For example, butter /bʰtər/ is pronounced with an r-colored schwa. Similarly nurse contains the r-colored vowel .

- The vowel conventionally written is actually pronounced more centrally, as , in RP. In the northern half of England this vowel is replaced by(so cut rhymes with put).
- In unstressed syllables there may or may not be a distinction between /ə/ (schwa) and . So for some speakers there is no difference between roses and Rosa's. For more information see Reduced vowels in English.
- The diphthongs /e/ and /ə/ (/o/) tend towards the monophthongal pronunciations and in some dialects, including Canadian, Scottish, Irish and Northern English.
- In parts of North America /a/ is pronounced before voiceless consonants. This is particularly true in Canada, where also /a/ is pronounced in this position. See Canadian raising.
- The sound /ə/ is coming to be replaced by in many words; for example, sure is often pronounced like shore. See English-language vowel changes before historic r.

Stress, rhythm and intonation

English is a strongly stressed language, in which stress is said to be phonemic, i.e. capable of distinguishing words (such as the noun increase, stressed on the first syllable, and the verb increase, stressed on the second syllable; see also Initial-stress-derived noun). In almost any word of more than one syllable there will be one syllable identified as taking the primary stress, and possibly another taking a secondary stress, as in civilizations *ˌvɒləˈɪzɪʒən*, in which the first syllable carries secondary stress, the fourth syllable carries primary stress, and the other syllables are unstressed.

Closely related to stress in English is the process of vowel reduction; for example, in the noun contract the first syllable is stressed and contains the vowel /ɒ/ (in RP), whereas in the verb contract the first syllable is unstressed and its vowel is reduced to /ə/ (schwa). The same process applies to certain common function words like of, which are pronounced with different vowels depending on whether or not they are stressed within the sentence. For more details, see Reduced vowels in English.

English also has strong prosodic stress – the placing of additional emphasis within a sentence on the words to which a speaker wishes to draw attention, and corresponding weaker pronunciation

of less important words. As regards rhythm, English is classed as a stress-timed language – one in which there is a tendency for the time intervals between stressed syllables to become equal, with corresponding faster pronunciation of groups of unstressed syllables.

As concerns intonation, the pitch of the voice is used syntactically in English; for example, to convey surprise or irony, or to change a statement into a question. Most dialects of English use falling pitch for definite statements, and rising pitch to express uncertainty, as in questions (particularly yes-no questions). There is also a characteristic change of pitch on strongly stressed syllables, particularly on the "nuclear" (most strongly stressed) syllable in a sentence or intonation group. For more details see Intonation (linguistics): Intonation in English.

Grammar

English grammar has minimal inflection compared with most other Indo-European languages. For example, Modern English, unlike Modern German or Dutch and the Romance languages, lacks grammatical gender and adjectival agreement. Case marking has almost disappeared from the language and mainly survives in pronouns. The patterning of strong (e.g. speak/spoke/spoken) versus weak verbs (e.g. love/loved or kick/kicked) inherited from its Germanic origins has declined in importance in modern English, and the remnants of inflection (such as plural marking) have become more regular.

At the same time, the language has become more analytic, and has developed features such as modal verbs and word order as resources for conveying meaning. Auxiliary verbs mark constructions such as questions, negative polarity, the passive voice and progressive aspect.

Vocabulary

English vocabulary has changed considerably over the centuries.

Like many languages deriving from Proto-Indo-European (PIE), many of the most common words in English can trace back their origin (through the Germanic branch) to PIE. Such words include the basic pronouns I, from Old English ic, (cf. German Ich, Gothic ik, Latin ego, Greek ego, Sanskrit aham), me (cf. German mich, mir, Gothic mik, mīs, Latin mē, Greek eme, Sanskrit mam), numbers (e.g. one, two, three, cf. Dutch een, twee, drie, Gothic ains, twai, threis (þreis), Latin ūnus, duo, trēs, Greek oinos "ace (on dice)", duo, treis), common family relationships such

as mother, father, brother, sister etc. (cf. Dutch moeder, Greek meter, Latin mater, Sanskrit matr; mother), names of many animals (cf. German Maus, Dutch muis, Sanskrit mus, Greek mus, Latin mūs; mouse), and many common verbs (cf. Old High German knājan, Old Norse kná, Greek gignōmi, Latin gnoscere, Hittite kanes; to know).

Germanic words (generally words of Old English or to a lesser extent Old Norse origin) tend to be shorter than Latinate words, and are more common in ordinary speech, and include nearly all the basic pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, modal verbs etc. that form the basis of English syntax and grammar. The shortness of the words is generally due to syncope in Middle English (e.g. OldEng hēafod > ModEng head, OldEng sāwol > ModEng soul) and to the loss of final syllables due to stress (e.g. OldEng gamen > ModEng game, OldEng ærende > ModEng errand), not because Germanic words are inherently shorter than Latinate words (the lengthier, higher-register words of Old English were largely forgotten following the subjugation of English after the Norman Conquest, and most of the Old English lexis devoted to literature, the arts, and sciences ceased to be productive when it fell into disuse. Only the shorter, more direct, words of Old English tended to pass into the Modern language.)

Consequently, those words which tend to be regarded as elegant or educated in Modern English are usually Latinate. However, the excessive use of Latinate words is considered at times to be either pretentious or an attempt to obfuscate an issue. George Orwell's essay "Politics and the English Language", considered an important scrutinisation of the English language, is critical of this, as well as other perceived misuses of the language.

An English speaker is in many cases able to choose between Germanic and Latinate synonyms: come or arrive; sight or vision; freedom or liberty. In some cases, there is a choice between a Germanic derived word (oversee), a Latin derived word (supervise), and a French word derived from the same Latin word (survey); or even Germanic words derived from Norman French (e.g., warranty) and Parisian French (guarantee), and even choices involving multiple Germanic and Latinate sources are possible: sickness (Old English), ill (Old Norse), infirmity (French), affliction (Latin). Such synonyms harbour a variety of different meanings and nuances. Yet the ability to choose between multiple synonyms is not a consequence of French and Latin influence, as this same richness existed in English prior to the extensive borrowing of French and Latin

terms. Old English was extremely resourceful in its ability to express synonyms and shades of meaning on its own, in many respects rivaling or exceeding that of Modern English (synonyms numbering in the thirties for certain concepts were not uncommon).

Take for instance the various ways to express the word "astronomer" or "astrologer" in Old English: *tunglere*, *tungolcræftiga*, *tungolwītega*, *tīdymbwlātend*, *tīdscēawere*. In Modern English, however, the roles of such synonyms have largely been replaced by equivalents taken from Latin, French, and Greek, as English has taken the position of a diminished reliance upon native elements and resources for the creation of new words and terminologies. Familiarity with the etymology of groups of synonyms can give English speakers greater control over their linguistic register. See: List of Germanic and Latinate equivalents in English, Doublet (linguistics).

A commonly noted area where Germanic and French-derived words coexist is that of domestic or game animals and the meats produced from them. The nouns for meats are often different from, and unrelated to, those for the corresponding animals, the animal commonly having a Germanic name and the meat having a French-derived one. Examples include: deer and venison; cow and beef; swine/pig and pork; and sheep/lamb and mutton. This is assumed to be a result of the aftermath of the Norman conquest of England, where an Anglo-Norman-speaking elite were the consumers of the meat, produced by lower classes, which happened to be largely Anglo-Saxon, although a similar duality can also be seen in other languages like French, which did not undergo such linguistic upheaval (e.g. *boeuf* "beef" vs. *vache* "cow"). With the exception of beef and pork, the distinction today is gradually becoming less and less pronounced (venison is commonly referred to simply as deer meat, mutton is lamb, and chicken is both the animal and the meat over the more traditional term poultry. Use of the term mutton, however, remains, especially when referring to the meat of an older sheep, distinct from lamb; and poultry remains when referring to the meat of birds and fowls in general.)

There are Latinate words that are used in everyday speech. These words no longer appear Latinate and oftentimes have no Germanic equivalents. For instance, the words mountain, valley, river, aunt, uncle, move, use, and push are Latinate. Likewise, the inverse can occur: acknowledge, meaningful, understanding, mindful, lavish, behavior, forbearance, behoove, forestall, allay, rhyme, starvation, embodiment come from Anglo-Saxon, and allegiance, abandonment, debutant, feudalism, seizure, guarantee, disregard, wardrobe, disenfranchise,

disarray, bandolier, bourgeoisie, debauchery, performance, furniture, gallantry are of Germanic origin, usually through the Germanic element in French, so it is oftentimes impossible to know the origin of a word based on its register.

English easily accepts technical terms into common usage and often imports new words and phrases. (imported words/phrases from French, German, Italian, and Spanish, respectively). In addition, slang often provides new meanings for old words and phrases. In fact, this fluidity is so pronounced that a distinction often needs to be made between formal forms of English and contemporary usage.

Chapter-7

Number Of Words In English

The vocabulary of English is undoubtedly very large, but assigning a specific number to its size is more a matter of definition than of calculation – and there is no official source to define accepted English words and spellings in the way that the French Académie française and similar bodies do for other languages.

Archaic, dialectal, and regional words might or might not be widely considered as "English", and neologisms are continually coined in medicine, science, technology and other fields, along with new slang and adopted foreign words. Some of these new words enter wide usage while others remain restricted to small circles.

The Vocabulary of a widely diffused and highly cultivated living language is not a fixed quantity circumscribed by definite limits... there is absolutely no defining line in any direction: the circle of the English language has a well-defined centre but no discernible circumference.

How many words are there in the English language? There is no single sensible answer to this question. It's impossible to count the number of words in a language, because it's so hard to decide what actually counts as a word.

It embraces not only the standard language of literature and conversation, whether current at the moment, or obsolete, or archaic, but also the main technical vocabulary, and a large measure of dialectal usage and slang (Supplement to the OED, 1933).

The editors of Webster's Third New International Dictionary, Unabridged include 475,000 main headwords, but in their preface they estimate the true number to be much higher. Comparisons of the vocabulary size of English to that of other languages are generally not taken very seriously by linguists and lexicographers. Besides the fact that dictionaries will vary in their policies for including and counting entries, what is meant by a given language and what counts as a word do not have simple definitions. Also, a definition of word that works for one language may not work well in another, with differences in morphology and orthography making cross-linguistic definitions and word-counting difficult, and potentially giving very different results. Linguist

Geoffrey K. Pullum has gone so far as to compare concerns over vocabulary size (and the notion that a supposedly larger lexicon leads to "greater richness and precision") to an obsession with penis length.

In December 2010 a joint Harvard/Google study found the language to contain 1,022,000 words and to expand at the rate of 8,500 words per year. The findings came from a computer analysis of 5,195,769 digitised books. Others have estimated a rate of growth of 25,000 words each year.

Word origins

One of the consequences of the French influence is that the vocabulary of English is, to a certain extent, divided between those words that are Germanic (mostly West Germanic, with a smaller influence from the North Germanic branch) and those that are "Latinate" (derived directly from Latin, or through Norman French or other Romance languages). The situation is further compounded, as French, particularly Old French and Anglo-French, were also contributors in English of significant numbers of Germanic words, mostly from the Frankish element in French (see List of English Latinates of Germanic origin).

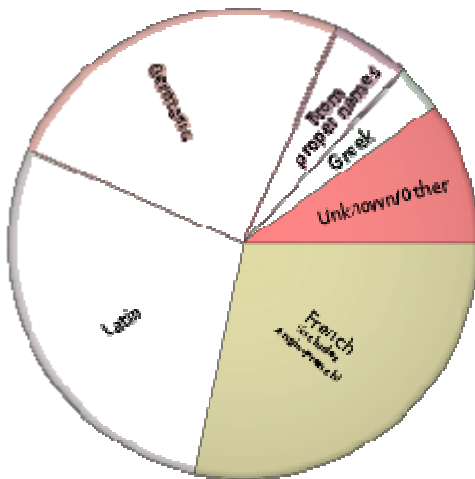
The majority (estimates range from roughly 50% to more than 80%) of the thousand most common English words are Germanic. However, the majority of more advanced words in subjects such as the sciences, philosophy and mathematics come from Latin or Greek, with Arabic also providing many words in astronomy, mathematics, and chemistry.

Source of the most frequent 7,476 English words				
	1st 100	1st 1,000	2nd 1,000	Subsequent
Germanic	97%	57%	39%	36%
Italic	3%	36%	51%	51%
Hellenic	0	4%	4%	7%
Others	0	3%	6%	6%

Source: Nation 2001, p. 265

Numerous sets of statistics have been proposed to demonstrate the proportionate origins of English vocabulary. None, as yet, is considered definitive by most linguists.

A computerised survey of about 80,000 words in the old Shorter Oxford Dictionary (3rd ed.) was published in *Ordered Profusion* by Thomas Finkenstaedt and Dieter Wolff (1973) that estimated the origin of English words as follows:



Influences in English vocabulary

- Langue d'oïl, including French and Old Norman: 28.3%
- Latin, including modern scientific and technical Latin: 28.24%
- Germanic languages (including words directly inherited from Old English; does not include Germanic words coming from the Germanic element in French, Latin or other Romance languages): 25%
- Greek: 5.32%
- No etymology given: 4.03%
- Derived from proper names: 3.28%
- All other languages: less than 1%

A survey by Joseph M. Williams in *Origins of the English Language* of 10,000 words taken from several thousand business letters gave this set of statistics:

- French (langue d'oïl): 41%
- "Native" English: 33%
- Latin: 15%
- Old Norse: 2%
- Dutch: 1%
- Other: 10%

Words of Old Norse origin

Main article: [List of English words of Old Norse origin](#)

Many words of Old Norse origin have entered the English language, primarily from the Viking colonisation of eastern and northern England between 800–1000 during the Danelaw. These include common words such as anger, awe, bag, big, birth, blunder, both, cake, call, cast, cosy, cross, cut, die, dirt, drag, drown, egg, fellow, flat, flounder, gain, get, gift, give, guess, guest, gust, hug, husband, ill, kid, law, leg, lift, likely, link, loan, loose, low, mistake, odd, race (running), raise, root, rotten, same, scale, scare, score, seat, seem, sister, skill, skin, skirt, skull, sky, stain, steak, sway, take, though, thrive, Thursday, tight, till (until), trust, ugly, want, weak, window, wing, wrong, the pronoun they (and its forms), and even the verb are (the present plural form of to be) through a merger of Old English and Old Norse cognates. More recent Scandinavian imports include angstrom, fjord, geyser, kraken, litmus, nickel, ombudsman, saga, ski, slalom, smorgasbord, and tungsten.

Words of French origin

A large portion of English vocabulary is of French or Langues d'oïl origin, and was transmitted to English via the Anglo-Norman language spoken by the upper classes in England in the centuries following the Norman Conquest. Words of Norman French origin include competition, mountain, art, table, publicity, role, pattern, joust, choice, and force. As a result of the length of time they have been in use in English, these words have been anglicised to fit English rules of phonology, pronunciation and spelling.

Some French words were adopted during the 17th to 19th centuries, when French was the dominant language of Western international politics and trade. These words can normally be distinguished because they retain French rules for pronunciation and spelling, including diacritics, are often phrases rather than single words, and are sometimes written in italics. Examples include *police*, *routine*, *machine*, *façade*, *table d'hôte* and *affaire de cœur*. These words and phrases retain their French spelling and pronunciation because historically their French origin was emphasised to denote the speaker as educated or well-travelled at a time when education and travelling was still restricted to the middle and upper classes, and so their use implied a higher social status in the user. (See also: French phrases used by English speakers).

Words of Dutch and Low German origin

Many words describing the navy, types of ships, and other objects or activities on the water are of Dutch origin. *Yacht*, *skipper*, *cruiser*, *flag*, *freight*, *furlough*, *breeze*, *hoist*, *iceberg*, *boom*, *duck* ("fabric, cloth"), and *maelstrom* are examples. Other words pertain to art and daily life: *easel*, *etch*, *slim*, *staple* (Middle Dutch *stapel* "market"), *slip* (Middle Dutch *slippen*), *landscape*, *cookie*, *curl*, *shock*, *aloof*, *boss*, *brawl* (*brallen* "to boast"), *smack* (*smakken* "to hurl down"), *shudder*, *scum*, *peg*, *coleslaw*, *waffle*, *dope* (*doop* "dipping sauce"), *slender* (Old Dutch *slinder*), *slight*, *gas*, *pump*. Dutch has also contributed to English slang, e.g. *spook*, and the now obsolete *snyder* (tailor) and *stiver* (small coin).

Words from Low German include *bluster*, *cower*, *dollar*, *drum*, *geek*, *grab*, *lazy*, *mate*, *monkey*, *mud*, *ogle*, *orlop*, *paltry*, *poll*, *poodle*, *prong*, *scurvy*, *smug*, *smuggle*, *trade*.

Writing system

Since around the 9th century, English has been written in the Latin script, which replaced Anglo-Saxon runes. The modern English alphabet contains 26 letters of the Latin script: a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w, x, y, z (which also have majuscule, capital or uppercase forms: A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z). Other symbols used in writing English include the ligatures, æ and œ (though these are no longer common). There is also some usage of diacritics, mainly in foreign loanwords (like the acute accent in *café* and *exposé*), and in the occasional use of a diaeresis to indicate that two vowels

are pronounced separately (as in naïve, Zoë). For more information see English terms with diacritical marks.

The spelling system, or orthography, of English is multilayered, with elements of French, Latin and Greek spelling on top of the native Germanic system; further complications have arisen through sound changes with which the orthography has not kept pace. This means that, compared with many other languages, English spelling is not a reliable indicator of pronunciation and vice versa (it is not, generally speaking, a phonemic orthography).

Though letters and sounds may not correspond in isolation, spelling rules that take into account syllable structure, phonetics, and accents are 75% or more reliable. Some phonics spelling advocates claim that English is more than 80% phonetic. However, English has fewer consistent relationships between sounds and letters than many other languages; for example, the letter sequence ough can be pronounced in 10 different ways. The consequence of this complex orthographic history is that reading can be challenging. It takes longer for students to become completely fluent readers of English than of many other languages, including French, Greek, and Spanish. English-speaking children have been found to take up to two years longer to learn to read than children in 12 other European countries.

As regards the consonants, the correspondence between spelling and pronunciation is fairly regular. The letters b, d, f, h, j, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, v, w, z represent, respectively, the phonemes /b/, /d/, /f/, /h/, /dʒ/, /k/, /l/, /m/, /n/, /p/, /r/, /s/, /t/, /v/, /w/, /z/ (as tabulated in the Consonants section above). The letters c and g normally represent /k/ and /g/, but there is also a soft c pronounced /s/, and a soft g pronounced /dʒ/. Some sounds are represented by digraphs: ch for /tʃ/, sh for /ʃ/, th for /θ/ or /ð/, ng for /ŋ/ (also ph is pronounced /f/ in Greek-derived words). Doubled consonant letters (and the combination ck) are generally pronounced as single consonants, and qu and x are pronounced as the sequences /kw/ and /ks/. The letter y, when used as a consonant, represents /j/. However this set of rules is not applicable without exception; many words have silent consonants or other cases of irregular pronunciation.

With the vowels, however, correspondences between spelling and pronunciation are even more irregular. As can be seen under Vowels above, there are many more vowel phonemes in English than there are vowel letters (a, e, i, o, u, y). This means that diphthongs and other long vowels

often need to be indicated by combinations of letters (like theoa in boat and the ay in stay), or using a silent e or similar device (as in note and cake). Even these devices are not used consistently, so consequently vowel pronunciation remains the main source of irregularity in English orthography.

Chapter- 8

Indian English

Indian English is the group of English dialects spoken primarily in the Indian subcontinent.

As a result of colonial rule under the British Raj until Indian independence in 1947, English is an official language of India and is widely used in both spoken and literary contexts. The rapid growth of India's economy towards the end of the 20th century led to large-scale population migration between regions of the Indian subcontinent and the establishment of English as a lingua franca between those speaking diverse mother tongues.

With the exception of the tiny Anglo-Indian community and some families of full Indian ethnicity where English is the primary language spoken in the home, speakers of English in the Indian subcontinent learn it as a first language in English medium schools and as a second language in regional language medium schools. In cities this is typically at English medium schools, but in smaller towns and villages instruction for most subjects is in the local language, with English language taught as a modular subject. Science and technical education is mostly undertaken in English and, as a result, most university graduates in these sectors are fairly proficient in English.

Idiomatic forms derived from Indian literary and vernacular language have become assimilated into Indian English in differing ways according to the native language of speakers. Nevertheless, there remains general homogeneity in phonetics, vocabulary, and phraseology between variants of the Indian English dialect.

Introduction

After Indian Independence in 1947, Hindi was declared the first official language, and attempts were made to declare Hindi the sole national language of India. Due to protests from Tamil Nadu and other non-Hindi-speaking states, it was decided to temporarily retain English for official purposes until at least 1965. By the end of this period, however, opposition from non-Hindi states was still too strong to have Hindi declared the sole language. With this in mind, the English Language Amendment Bill declared English to be an associate language "until such time

as all non-Hindi States had agreed to its being dropped." This has never occurred, as English is now reckoned as all but indispensable. For instance, it is the only reliable means of day-to-day communication between the central government and the non-Hindi states.

The spread of the English language in India has led it to become adapted to suit the local dialects. However, due to the large diversity in Indian languages and cultures, there can be instances where the same English word can mean different things to different people in different parts of India.

Grammar

The role of English within the complex multilingual society of India is far from straightforward: it is used across the country, by speakers with various degrees of proficiency; the grammar and phraseology may mimic that of the speaker's first language. While Indian speakers of English use idioms peculiar to their homeland, often literal translations of words and phrases from their native languages, this is far less common in proficient speakers, and the grammar itself tends to be quite close to that of Standard British English.

Phonology

Indian accents vary greatly. Some Indians speak English with an accent very close to a Standard British (Received Pronunciation) accent (though not the same); others lean toward a more 'vernacular', native-tinted, accent for their English speech.

Vowels

In general, Indian English has fewer peculiarities in its vowel sounds than the consonants, especially as spoken by native speakers of languages like Hindi, the vowel phoneme system having some similarities with that of English. Among the distinctive features of the vowel-sounds employed by some Indian English speakers:

- Many Indian English speakers do not make a clear distinction between /ɒ/ and /ɔː/. (See cot-caught merger.)
- Unlike British speakers, but like some Americans, some Indian speakers, especially in the South, often do not pronounce the rounded /ɒ/ or /ɔː/, and substitute /a/ instead.

This makes not sound as. The phoneme /ɔ̃/, if used, is only semi-rounded at the lips. Similarly in South India coffee will be pronounced kaafi, copy will bekaapi etc.

- Words such as class, staff and last would be pronounced with a back /a/ as in Southern British dialects but unlike Northern British dialects and standard American English, i.e., and rather than American, and .
- Most Indians have the trap–bath split of Received Pronunciation.
- Consonants
- Among the most distinctive features of consonants in Indian English are:
- Pronunciations vary between rhotic and non-rhotic; with pronunciations leaning towards native phonology being generally rhotic, and others being non-rhotic; imitative of British Received Pronunciation.
- Standard Hindi and most other vernaculars (except Punjabi, Marathi & Bengali) do not differentiate between /v/ (voiced labiodental fricative) and /w/ (voiced labiovelar approximant). Instead, many Indians use a frictionless labio-dental approximant for words with either sound, possibly in free variation with and/or depending upon region. Thus, wet and vet are often homophones.
- Related to the previous characteristic, many Indians prefer to pronounce words such as <flower> as , as opposed to , and <our> as, as opposed to. This trait is present in dialects of British, South African, and Pakistani English, amongst others, albeit not in all American dialects
- The voiceless plosives /p/, /t/, /k/ are always unaspirated in Indian English, whereas in RP, General American and most other English accents they are aspirated in word-initial or stressed syllables. Thus "pin" is pronounced in Indian English but in most other dialects. In native Indian languages (except Tamil), the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated plosives is phonemic, and the English stops are equated with the unaspirated rather than the aspirated phonemes of the local languages. The same is true of the voiceless postalveolar affricate /tʃ/.
- The alveolar stops English /d/, /t/ are often retroflex, especially in the South of India. In Indian languages there are two entirely distinct sets of coronal plosives: one dental and the other retroflex. To the Indian ears, the English alveolar plosives sound more retroflex than dental. In the Devanagari script of Hindi, all alveolar plosives of

English are transcribed as their retroflex counterparts. One good reason for this is that unlike most other native Indian languages, Hindi does not have true retroflex plosives (Tiwari, [1955] 2001). The so-called retroflexes in Hindi are actually articulated as apical post-alveolar plosives, sometimes even with a tendency to come down to the alveolar region. So a Hindi speaker normally cannot distinguish the difference between their own apical post-alveolar plosives and English's alveolar plosives. However, languages such as Tamil have true retroflex plosives, wherein the articulation is done with the tongue curved upwards and backwards at the roof of the mouth. This also causes (in parts of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar) the /s/ preceding alveolar /t/ to allophonically change to (<stop> /stop/ → /ʃʈap/). Mostly in south India, some speakers allophonically further change the voiced retroflex plosives to voiced retroflex flap, and the nasal /n/ to a nasalised retroflex flap.

- Many speakers of Indian English do not use the voiced postalveolar fricative (/ʒ/). Some Indians use /z/ or /dʒ/ instead, e.g. treasure /ʔtrezəʔr/, and in the south Indian variants, with /ʃ/ as in <"sh"ore>, e.g. treasure /ʔtreʃər/.
- All major native languages of India (except Bengali) lack the dental fricatives (/θ/ and /ð/; spelled with th). Usually, the aspirated voiceless dental plosive is substituted for /θ/ in the north (it would be unaspirated in the south) and the unaspirated voiced dental plosive, or possibly the aspirated version, is substituted for /ð/. For example, "thin" would be realised as instead of /θɪn/ for North Indian speakers, whereas it would be pronounced unaspirated in the south.
- South Indians tend to curl the tongue (retroflex accentuation) more for /l/ and /n/.
- Most Indian languages (except Urdu variety) lack the voiced alveolar fricative /z/. A significant portion of Indians thus, even though their native languages do have its nearest equivalent: the unvoiced /s/, often use the voiced palatal affricate (or postalveolar) /dʒ/, just as with a Korean accent. This makes words such as <zero> and <rosy> sound as and (the latter, especially in the North). This replacement is equally true for Persian and Arabic loanwords into Hindi. The probable reason is the confusion created by the use of the devanagari grapheme < ञ > (for /dʒ/) with a dot

beneath it to represent the loaned /z/ (as < □□ >). This is common among people without formal English education.

- Many Indians with lower exposure to English also may pronounce / f / as aspirated voiceless bilabial plosive [p^h]. Again note that in Hindi (devanagari) the loaned / f / from Persian and Arabic is written by putting a dot beneath the grapheme for native [p^h] < □□ >: < □□ >. This substitution is rarer than that for [z], and in fact in many Hindi /f/ is used by native speakers instead of /p^h/, or the two are used interchangeably.
- Inability to pronounce certain (especially word-initial) consonant clusters by people of rural backgrounds. This is usually dealt with by epenthesis. e.g., school /isˈkuːl/, similar to Spanish.
- Sometimes, Indian speakers interchange /s/ and /z/, especially when plurals are being formed, unlike speakers of other varieties of English, who use for the pluralisation of words ending in a voiceless consonant, for words ending in a voiced consonant or vowel, and [ɪz] for words ending in a sibilant.
- Again, in dialects like Bhojpuri, all instances of /ʃ/ are spoken like , a phenomenon which is also apparent in their English. Exactly the opposite is seen for many Bengalis.
- In case of the postalveolar affricates /tʃ/ /dʒ/, native languages like Hindi have corresponding affricates articulated from the palatal region, rather than postalveolar, and they have more of a stop component than fricative; this is reflected in their English.
- Whilst retaining /ŋ/ in the final position, many Indian speakers add the [g] sound after it when it occurs in the middle of a word. Hence /ˈrɪŋɪŋ/ → /ˈrɪŋɪŋg/(ringing).
- Syllabic /l/, /m/ and /n/ are usually replaced by the VC clusters [əl], [əm] and [ən] (as in button /ˈbʊtən/), or if a high vowel precedes, by [ɪl] (as in little /ˈlɪtəl/). Syllable nuclei in words with the spelling er/re (a schwa in RP and an r-coloured schwa in GA) are also replaced VC clusters. e.g., metre, /ˈmiːtər/ → /ˈmiːtər/.

- Indian English uses clear in all instances like Irish English whereas other varieties use clear in syllable-initial positions and dark (velarised-L) in coda and syllabic positions.

Chaptre-9

Spelling Pronunciation

A number of distinctive features of Indian English are due to "the vagaries of English spelling". Most Indian languages, unlike English, have a nearly phonetic pronunciation with respect to their script, so the spelling of a word is a highly reliable guide to its modern pronunciation. Indians' tendency to pronounce English phonetically as well can cause divergence from Western English. For example, "jewellery" is pronounced /dʒʊeləri/ and "jewel" as /dʒʊel/ where Western Anglophones might omit the final e, pronouncing them as /dʒʊelri/ and /dʒʊl/.

- In words where the digraph <gh> represents a voiced velar plosive (/g/) in other accents, some Indian English speakers supply a murmured version [g^h], for example <ghost>. No other accent of English admits this voiced aspiration.
- Similarly, the digraph <wh> may be aspirated as [w^h] or [v^h], resulting in realisations such as <which> [v^hɪtʃ], found in no other English accent (except in certain parts of Scotland).
- In unstressed syllables, which speakers of American English would realise as a schwa, speakers of Indian English would use the spelling vowel, making <sanity> sound as *san-ity* instead of *sə-ni-ti*. This trait is also present in other South Asian dialects (i.e. Pakistani and Sri Lankan English), and in RP, etc. Similarly, <above> and <ago> can be heard as *ab-ov* and *ag-oh* instead of *ə-bʊv* and *ə-goh*.
- Final <a> is almost always pronounced as schwa /ə/ in other dialects (exceptions include words such as <spa>); but in Indian English the ending <a> is pronounced as the long open central unrounded vowel /a/ (as in <spa>) instead of /ə/. So, <India> is pronounced as *Ind-ya* instead of *ɪndiə*, and <sofa> as *sɒf-a* instead of *səfə*.
- The word "of" is usually pronounced with a /f/ instead of a /v/ as in most other accents.
- Use of [d] instead of [t] for the "-ed" ending of the past tense after voiceless consonants, for example "developed" may be *devə-lɒp-d* instead of RP *devə-lɒp-t*.

- Use of [s] instead of [z] for the "-s" ending of the plural after voiced consonants, for example <dogs> may be [dags] instead of [dɒgz].
- Pronunciation of <house> as [hauz] in both the noun and the verb, instead of [haus] as noun and [hauz] as verb.
- The digraph <tz> is pronounced as [tz] or [tdʒ] instead of [ts] (voicing may be assimilated in the stop too), making <Switzerland> sound like instead of [ʒswɪtsərlənd].
- In RP, /r/ occurs only before a vowel. But some speakers of Indian English, primarily in the South, use /r/ in almost all positions in words using the letter 'r', similar to most Canadian and some Irish dialects. The allophone used is a mild trill or a tap. Indian speakers do not typically use the retroflex approximant /ɻ/ for <r>, which is common for American English speakers.
- All consonants are distinctly doubled (lengthened) in most varieties of Indian English wherever the spelling suggests so. e.g., <drilling> /.
- In certain words, especially Latinate words ending in -ile, -is is pronounced [ɪ] in America and [aɪ] in Britain. Indian English, like most other Commonwealth dialects, will invariably use the British pronunciation. Thus, <tensile> would be pronounced as like the British, rather than like the American; <anti>, on the other hand, use i, as like in Britain, rather than like in America. Similar effects of British colonisation are 're', 'ise', and 'our' spellings in words like 'metre', 'realise', and 'endeavour', respectively, which Americans would spell as 'meter', 'realize' and 'endeavor'.

Supra-segmental features

Any of the native varieties of English produce unique stresses on the language. English is a stress-timed language, and both syllable stress and word stress, where only certain words in a sentence or phrase are stressed, are important features of Received Pronunciation. Indian native languages are actually syllable-timed languages, like Latin and French. Indian-English speakers usually speak with a syllabic rhythm. Further, in some Indian languages, stress is associated with a low pitch, whereas in most English dialects, stressed syllables are generally pronounced with a higher pitch. Thus, when some Indian speakers speak, they appear to put the stress accents at the

wrong syllables, or accentuate all the syllables of a long English word. Certain Indian accents are of a "sing-song" nature, a feature seen in a few English dialects in Britain, such as Scouse and Welsh English.

Vocabulary and colloquialisms

Indians have preserved phrases from British English that other English speakers have stopped using. Official letters include phrases such as "please do the needful", "... will revert back ..." and "you will be intimated shortly". In conversational speech it is not uncommon to ask, "What is your good name?", where a modern Western Anglophone would omit the word "good". Recent influences from American English have created inconsistencies. For instance, both "program" and "programme" can be found in Indian newspapers. There are also unique usages that do not derive from British English.

- acting pricey = playing "hard to get", being snobbish.
- break-up = breakdown (e.g. of salary)
- bunk a class = to skip class without permission (this is still extremely common in British English also)
- bus stand = bus station, bus stop.
- cantonment = permanent military installation.
- carrying = pregnant.
- cent per cent = "100 per cent" as in "He got cent per cent in maths".
- (scoring) a century = achieving a hundred in anything, e.g.: 100 years of age, 100% in an exam, etc. From the same term in Cricket, scoring a hundred runs.
- chargesheet = formal charges filed in a court (also in BrE, with a space); v. to file charges against someone in court
- clean chit = acquittal from an accusation
- club = to merge or put two things together. "Just club it together."
- cover = plastic bag
- crib = to complain
- dearness allowance = payment given to employees to compensate for the effects of inflation.

- doubt = question or query; e.g. one would say, 'I have a doubt' when one wishes to ask a question.
- Eve teasing = verbal sexual harassment of women
- eye wash = false promise of action/assurance usually by politicians, authorities etc.
- expire = to die, especially in reference to one's family member.
- hall = Living Room
- hill station = mountain resort
- loose motion = mild diarrhoea
- mess = dining hall, especially used by students at a dormitory. 'Mess' is also used in reference to eateries catering primarily to a working class population. Originated from the military term of similar meaning.
- on the anvil (in the Indian press) = about to appear or happen. For example, a headline might read "New roads on the anvil".
- out of station = "out of town". This phrase has its origins in the posting of army officers to particular 'stations' during the days of the East India Company.
- pant = trousers
- pass out = graduating, as in "I passed out of the university in 1995". In American/British English, this usage is limited to graduating out of military academies.
- pindrop silence = extreme silence, quiet enough to hear a pin drop.
- prepone = to bring something forward in time; opposite of postpone.
- railway station is invariably used where "train station" or just "station" is more popular in some BrE.
- redressal = reparation, redress, remedy
- shift = to relocate; e.g. "He shifted from Jaipur to Gurgaon".
- stepney = spare tyre; a genericised trademark originating from the Stepney Spare Motor Wheel, itself named after Stepney Street, in Llanelli, Wales.
- tight slap = "hard slap".
- time-pass = doing something for leisure but with no intention or target/satisfaction; procrastination, pastime.

- time-waste = something that is a waste of time; procrastination; presumably not even useful for leisure.
- tuition = additional classes besides the regular school, either with a private tutor or at a learning centre. Tuition in AmE means Fees levied by an educational institution for imparting education.
- under the scanner (in the Indian press) = being investigated by authorities. For example, a headline might read "Power station under scanner for radiation".
- updation = the act or process of updating
- wheatish (complexion) = light, creamy brown, or having a light brown complexion, like that of wheat.
- Where are you put up? = 'Where are you currently staying?' In BrE, "to put someone up" means to let someone stay in one's house for a few days.
- Where do you stay? = 'Where do you live?' or 'Where's your house?'. This is also used in Scottish and South African English, and in the African American dialect of English in the United States.

Chapter-10

Numbering System

The Indian numbering system is preferred for digit grouping. When written in words, or when spoken, numbers less than 100,000/100 000 are expressed just as they are in Standard English. Numbers including and beyond 100,000 / 100 000 are expressed in a subset of the Indian numbering system. Thus, the following scale is used:

In digits (Standard English)	In digits (Indian English)	In words (Standard English)	In words (Indian English)	Indian slang
10		ten		
100		one hundred		
1,000		one thousand		
10,000		ten thousand		
100,000 / 100 000	1,00,000	one hundred thousand	one lakh	<i>peti</i> (lit. <i>Suitcase</i>)
1,000,000 / 1 000 000	10,00,000	one million	ten lakh	
10,000,000 /10 000 000	1,00,00,000	ten million	one crore	<i>kokha</i> (lit. <i>Carton</i>)

Larger numbers are generally expressed as multiples of the above.

Medical terms

Often the cause of undesirable confusion.

- allopathy – Used to refer to Western medicine to distinguish it from homeopathy, ayurveda and other alternative medical practices.
- jaundice = Acute hepatitis. While standard medical terminology uses jaundice for a symptom (yellow discolouration of skin), in India the term is used to refer to the illness in which this symptom is most common.

- viral fever = Influenza

Food

Most Indians are more familiar with local names for food items and ingredients than their English translations. To accommodate this, Indian English frequently uses local / regional names for food items. On an Indian cooking show, it would be common to see "bhindi" and "apple" in a single list of ingredients. Some food-related vocabulary in Indian English:

- brinjal: aubergines / eggplant
- capsicum: called chili pepper, red or green pepper, or sweet pepper in the UK, capsicum in Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and India, bell pepper in the US, Canada, and the Bahamas; paprika in some other countries
- curd: Yogurt
- "eggitarian" for a person who eats vegetarian food, milk and eggs but not meat; ovo-lacto-vegetarian.
- karahi, kadai: wok
- ladyfinger, bhindi: okra
- non-vegetarian (often shortened to non-veg): generally, meat; this includes food which contains flesh of any mammal, fish, bird, shellfish, etc., as well as eggs. Fish, seafood, and eggs are not treated as categories separate from "meat", especially when the question of vegetarianism is at issue (milk and its products are always considered vegetarian). E.g., "We are having non-veg today for dinner", whereas the native varieties of English would have: "We are having meat today for dinner". Jokes with implicit or explicit sexual meanings are commonly referred to as non-veg jokes.
- pulses, dal: pulses, e.g. lentils
- sabzi/sabji: greens, green vegetables OR the dishes made from them
- sago/Sabudana: tapioca
- sooji or Rava: Semolina
- Atta: Wheat flour
- Maida: Plain flour
- Jeera/Jira/Zeera: Cumin seeds. The word Jeera is more well-known and is preferred over Cumin, even by those who communicate primarily in English.

- **Mathematics**

- by: divided by, as in "10 by 5 equals 2", rather than "10 divided by 5 equals 2"
- into: times, as in "2 into 2 equals 4", rather than "2 times 2 equals 4", which is more common in other varieties of English. The use of into dates back to the 15th century, when it had been common in British English.
- When giving a fuzzy estimate of numbers, the words 'to' or 'or' are omitted. For e.g. "Add four or five teaspoons of sugar" would be "Add four-five teaspoons of sugar". This usage is derived from the grammar of local languages.

- **Addressing others**

- The suffix -ji/jee may be applied to strangers or anyone meriting respect: "Please call a taxi for Goyal-ji" (North, West and East India)
- Prefixes Shree/Shri (meaning Mister) or Shreemati/Shrimati (meaning Ms/Mrs): Shri Ravindra Patel, Shreemati Das Gupta. Shreemati/Shrimati is used for married women. Kumari (literally meaning a virgin) can be used for unmarried (as opposed to single) women or girls. Sushri is a more recent addition, equivalent to Ms where marital status cannot be determined or is unimportant. Equivalents to these in other languages include:
 - Tamil thiru , thirumathi ; suffix avargal (lit. 'them') in formal contexts
 - Telugu Sree or suffix Garu – in formal contexts.
 - Kannada shree or suffix ravaru
- Urdu suffixes Saahib/Sāhab (Sir) and Begum/Sahiba (Ma'am) as in "Welcome to India, Smith-saahib (Smith-sir)" or "Begum Sahib would like some tea".
- The suffix "sir" is used for male teachers, professors, instructors and coaches and they are often addressed simply as "sir" (e.g. Gupta-sir). The female equivalents are "miss", "madam" or "teacher" (For e.g. Agarwal-miss, Godbole-madam and Ganguly-teacher). The term of address "teacher" is applied almost always to female teachers only, while male teachers are called "sirs" (except when stating or referring to their occupation); e.g. "The sir is late to class today", "There are some sirs sitting in the staff room".
- "mister" and "missus" are used as common nouns for wife/husband. For example, "Jyoti's mister stopped by yesterday" or "My missus is not feeling well".

- "Master" is a common honorific for young boys (children, teenagers). e.g.: Master Kumar.
- Use of honorifics (Mr, Mrs, Ms) with the first name. For example, Swathi Ashok Kumar might be addressed as "Ms Swathi" instead of "Ms Kumar". This is the only possible correct usage in South India, especially in Tamil Nadu and Kerala, where most names are mononyms and people do not have a surname. (The trailing caste names used exclusively with male names in the past have gone out of vogue.)
- Use of the English words 'uncle' and 'aunty' as suffixes when addressing people such as distant relatives, neighbours, acquaintances, even total strangers (like shopkeepers) who are significantly older than oneself. E.g., "Hello, Swathi aunty!" In fact, in Indian culture, children or teenagers addressing their friends' parents as Mr Patel or Mrs Patel(etc.) is rare and may even be considered unacceptable or offensive (in the sense of referring to an elder person by name). A substitution of Sir/Ma'am, while common for addressing teachers/professors or any person in an official position, would be considered too formal to address parents of friends or any other unrelated (but known) elder persons. On the contrary, if the person is related, he/she will usually be addressed with the name of the relation in the vernacular Indian language, even while conversing in English. For example, if a woman is one's mother's sister, she would not be addressed as "auntie" but (by a Hindi speaker) as Mausī , by a Kannada speaker as Chikkamma Kannada: ಫಕ್ಕಮ್ಮ, by a Marathi speaker as māvashī . Calling one's friends' parents aunty and uncle was also very common in Great Britain in the 1960s and 1970s but is much rarer today. The terms 'Uncle' and 'Aunty' with certain intonations can also connote a derogatory reference to the advanced age of an individual.
- Similar to the use of 'uncle' and 'aunty' as suffixes, didi (elder sister) or bhāi or bhaiyya (elder brother) may be used for people between 1–15 years older than oneself. The use of bhāi as a suffix is very common amongst North Indians and Urdu speakers. In other parts of India, terms from local languages may be used instead, e.g. tāi (elder sister) and bhāu or dādā (elder brother) in the case of Marathi.
- In stereotypical depictions of gang culture, especially the Mumbai underworld, gangsters are frequently addressed to with the suffix bhai.

- People young enough to be one's children may be addressed (in Hindi) as betā (both genders) or beti (female) in an endearing and informal sense. The use of betā as a suffix is also possible, though not as common as 'uncle' and 'aunty'.
- Use of Respected Sir while starting a formal letter instead of Dear Sir. Again, such letters are ended with non-standard greetings, such as "Yours respectfully", or "Yours obediently", rather than the standard "Yours sincerely/faithfully/truly".
- Sharma sir is not here = same as Sharma-ji is not here, a respectful address. Does not imply knighthood. The female equivalent is "ma'am" or "madam".
- **Divergent usage**
 - alphabets = letters: "There are six alphabets in my name."
 - amount = a sum of money, such as "please refund the amount." or "the amount has been billed to your credit card." This is the same as British English usage, but may vary elsewhere.
 - as – inserted (in non-mainstream usage) before a designation: "Mahatma Gandhi is called as the father of the nation".
 - back = ago: "Gandhi died sixty years back"; "I finished the painting two hours back." (Informal in American English.)
 - damn – used as an intensifier, especially a negative one, far more frequently and with far more emphatic effect, than in other dialects of English, as in "that was a damn good meal." As the verb 'to damn' is rarely used, most Indians are unaware of the word's original meaning and that it is considered a profanity in other dialects of English.
 - dialogue = a line of dialogue in a movie. ("That was a great dialogue!" means "That was a great line!") "Dialogues" is used to mean "screenplay". In motion picture credits, the person who might in other countries be credited as the screenwriter in India is often credited with the term dialogue writer. Note the usage of British spelling.
 - disco = nightclub; "to disco" = to dance at a nightclub.
 - dress (noun) is used to refer to clothing for men, women, and children alike, whereas in international varieties of English a dress is a woman's outer clothing with a bodice and a skirt as a single garment. The usage of dress as clothes does exist in

international varieties but only in very rare occasions and in relevant context., e.g. schooldress. Young girls in India invariably wear a dress, which is commonly referred to as a frock in Indian English.

- elder – used as a comparative adjective in the sense of older. For example, "I am elder to you", instead of "I am older than you."
- engagement – not just an agreement between two people to marry, but a formal, public ceremony where the engagement is formalised with a ring and/or other local rituals. Indians will not speak of a couple as being engaged until after the engagement ceremony has been performed. Similar to the use of term marriage, a person may say "I am going to attend my cousin's engagement next month". Afterwards, the betrothed is referred to as one's "would-be" wife or husband. In this case, "would be" is used to mean "will be" in contrast with the standard and British and American connotation of "wants to be (but may not be)".
- even = as well/also/too/either: "Even I didn't know how to do it" instead of "I didn't know how to do it either." This usage of even is borrowed from native grammatical structure.
- equipments = plural for equipment: "Go to the place to define equipments" where typically "equipment" is used as the plural form. Other words not typically used in plural in AmE and BrE are pluralised with an 's' too.
- gentry – generalised term for social class, not specifically 'high social class'. The use of 'good', 'bad', 'high' and 'low' prefixed to 'gentry' is common.
- goggles = sunglasses, also referred to as cooling-glass in southern India, especially Kerala.
- graduation = completion of a bachelor's degree: "I did my graduation at Presidency College" ("I earned my bachelor's degree at Presidency College"); whereas in the UK and US it refers to completion of higher degrees as well. In the U.S. it is commonly used for completion of high school or any degree.
- hero = a male actor, especially of a movie; a person who is often a protagonist. Thus, "Look at Vik; he looks like a hero", meaning "he is as handsome as a movie star." Heroine is the female counterpart.

- itself – often used for more general emphasis in the sense of Western English "even", as in "they were playing cricket at night itself."
- kindly = please: "Kindly disregard the previous message."
- marriage = wedding, and vice versa. Indian languages do not distinguish between the two terms.
- metro (short for metropolis) = large city, as in "metros such as Mumbai and Delhi". This can be confusing for Europeans, who tend to use the word to describe underground urban rail networks. However, following the popularity of the Delhi Metro, the word metro now tends to be used to describe both the metropolis and the underground rail network.
- music director = a music composer for movies.
- mutton = goat meat instead of sheep meat (lamb).
- only is used to emphasise a part of speech preceding it. For example "He is coming only" instead of "He is coming", "He was at the meeting only" to emphasise that he was nowhere else but the meeting, "She only is not coming" to mean that everyone is coming except her.
- paining = hurting: "My head is paining."
- see instead of watch ("He is seeing TV right now"). Similarly, to see may be used as an imperative to mean to watch ("See that very carefully.") Most Indian languages do not distinguish between the two verbs.
- shirtings and suitings = the process of making such garments; a suffix in names of shops specialising in men's formal/business wear.
- SMS = a single SMS message, "I am going to send him an SMS to remind him." Similarly, to SMS: "Let me SMS him the address."
- solid = great or exceptional ("What a solid idea!" means "What a great idea!").
- timings = hours of operation; scheduled time, such as office timings or train timings, as opposed to the standard usage such as "The timing of his ball delivery is very good."
- what say – As in "What do you think?" or "What say you?".
- Terms unique to South Asia (i.e. not generally well-known outside the region) and/or popular in India include those in the following by no means exhaustive list:

- batchmate or batch-mate (not classmate, but a schoolmate of the same grade)
- BHK is real-estate terminology for "Bedroom, Hall and Kitchen", used almost exclusively in housing size categorisation. "Hall" refers to the living room, which is highlighted separately from other rooms. For instance, a 2BHK apartment has a total of three rooms – two bedrooms and a living room; apart from the kitchen.
- Boss is a term used to refer to a (generally) male stranger such as shopkeeper. It is mildly respectful and friendly, and not considered condescending. ("Boss, what is the cost of that pen?")
- compass box or geometry box: a box holding mathematical instruments like a compass, divider, scale, protractor etc.
- co-brother indicates relationship between two previously unrelated men who are married to sisters, as in "He is my co-brother". Similarly co-sister.
- co-inlaws indicates relationship between two sets of parents whose son and daughter are married.
- cousin-brother (male first cousin), cousin-sister (female first cousin)
- foot overbridge: pedestrian footbridge
- flyover (as in BrE, overpass or an over-bridge over a section of road or train tracks)
- funda fundamental knowledge
- godown (warehouse)
- godman somewhat pejorative word for a person who claims to be divine or who claims to have supernatural powers
- gully to mean a narrow lane or alley (from the Hindi word "gali" meaning the same)
- long-cut (the "opposite" of short-cut, in other words, taking the longer route)
- mugging or mugging up (memorising, usually referring to learning "by rote"; unrelated to street crime, as in BrE/AmE).
- tiffin box = lunch box, or a snack between meals
- vote-bank is a term commonly used during the elections in India, implying a particular bloc or community of people inclined to cast their votes for a political party that promises to deliver policies favouring them.
- Terms that are considered archaic in some varieties of English, but are still in use in Indian English:

- dicky/dickey = the boot/trunk of a car.
- in tension = being concerned or nervous. Phrased another way, "He is taking too much tension". Found in 18th-century British English.
- ragging = AmE hazing; still used in BrE
- the same = the aforementioned, as in "I heard that you have written a document on Could you send me the same?"
- Use of double and triple for numbers occurring twice or three times in succession, especially for a phone number. For example, a phone number 2233344 would be pronounced as "double-two, triple-three, double-four". Still used this way in BrE.
- Use of thrice, meaning "three times", is common in Indian English.
- Use of the phrases like nothing or like anything to express intensity. For example, "These people will cheat you like anything". Such usage was part of colloquial English language in 17th century Britain and America.
- Word pairs "up to" and "in spite" compounded to "upto" and "inspite" respectively.

Chapter-11

Indian Poets

In alphabetical order by first name:

- A. K. Ramanujan (1929–1993), Indian poet, writer, academic, philologist, folklorist, translator, and playwright who wrote in English and Kannada.
- Abhay K (born 1980), Poet, Diplomat, Writer and Artist.
- Agha Shahid Ali (4 February 1949, New Delhi – 8 December 2001, Amherst, Massachusetts) Kashmiri-American poet writing in English.
- Amit Chaudhuri (born 1962), author and poet writing in English.
- Amol Redij (born 1977) is an English poet and writer.
- Arun Kolatkar (1932–2004), Indian poet writings in English and Marathi.
- Arundhati Subramaniam is a woman poet and writer and web editor writing in English.
- Arvind Krishna Mehrotra (born 1947) Indian poet, anthologist, literary critic and translator writing in English.
- C. P. Surendran, poet, novelist and editor writing in English.
- Dilip Chitre (1938-2009) Indian poet writing in English and Marathi also a painter and filmmaker.
- Dilip Sankarreddy (born 1981)
- Dom Moraes (1938–2004), Goan writer, poet and columnist writing in English.
- Eunice De Souza (also "Eunice de Souza" (born 1940)) Indian poet, literary critic and novelist writing in English.
- G. S. Sharat Chandra (1935–2000), author and poet writing in English .
- Gieve Patel (born 1940), Indian poet, playwright and painter who practiced to be a general physician writing in English.
- Gopi Kottoor (born 1956), Indian poet, playwright, translator writing in English.
- Hemant Mohapatra, poet writing in English.
- Henry Derozio (1809–1831).

- Jagannath Prasad Das (born 1936), also known as J P Das, award-winning poet in English and Oriya
- Jayanta Mahapatra (born 1924) poet, critic, arts scholar, and curator writing in English.
- Kamala Das also known as "Kamala Suraiya" (born 1934), writer and poet in English and Malayalam.
- Keki Daruwalla Indian poet writing in English.
- Makarand Paranjape (born 1960) is an Indian poet writing in English.
- Mani Rao (born 1965) is an Indian woman poet writing in English.
- Meena Kandasamy (born 1984) is a writer, poet, translator and an activist
- Michael Madhusudan Dutt
- Nissim Ezekiel(1924–2004), Indian poet, playwright and art critic and editor writing in English.
- Nandini Sahu (1973), Indian poet, writer, and critic writing in English
- P. Lal (1929-2010), Indian poet, translator, professor and publisher; also the founder and publisher of Writers Workshop in Calcutta, India.
- Prithwindra Mukherjee (born 1936), Indian poet writing in English.
- Pritish Nandy (born 1951), Indian poet, journalist, politician, television personality and film producer writing in English.
- R. Parthasarathy is an Indian poet, translator, critic, and editor writing in English.
- Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), Indian poet who won the 1913 Nobel Prize in Literature.
- Rafey Habib is an Indian-born poet and scholar of literature.
- Ram Sharma (1837–1918), Indian poet and journalist writing in English .
- Raman Mundair, poet, writer, artist and playwright writing in English.
- Yuyutsu Sharma (born 1960) poet, editor and translator, writes in English.
- Ranjit Hoskote (born 1969) Indian poet, art critic, cultural theorist and independent curator writing in English.
- Robin S Ngangom. Indian poet writing in English.
- Rukmini Bhaya Nair Indian woman poet and theorist, writing in English.
- Sarojini Naidu (1879–1949). Indian woman poet writing in English .

- Shiv Kumar is Indian poet, playwright, novelist, short story writer
- Shreekumar Varma (born 1955), newspaper columnist, poet, novelist writing in English.
- Smita Agarwal (born 1958) Indian poet, critic, educator, she was also a singer.
- Som Ranchan (born 1932), Indian poet and novelist writing in English.
- Sri Aurobindo (Sri Ôrobindo) (1872–1950) Indian English poet, philosopher, and yogi writing in English.
- Subhash Misra (born 1955)
- Sudeep Sen, Indian poet and editor writing in English.
- Tabish Khair (born 1966), poet, novelist and essayist
- Tapan Kumar Pradhan (born 1972), activist, essayist and poet in English and Oriya.
- Tishani Doshi (born 1975)
- T.K. Doraiswamy (Nakulan), (1921–2007), poet, novelist, translator and professor of English
- Toru Dutt (1856–1877). Indian woman poet wrote in English and French .
- Vikram Seth (born 1952), is an Indian poet, novelist, travel writer, librettist, children's writer, biographer and memoirist.
- Vivek Pereira, (born 1971), poet, novelist and essayist
- Yaseen Anwer (born 1989), self-proclaimed Poet, founder & managing editor, Poets Corner Group. He is also founding member of Delhi Poetry Festival. He put himself into this list.

A. K. Ramanujan

Attipate Krishnaswami Ramanujan (March 16, 1929 – July 13, 1993) also known as A. K. Ramanujan was a scholar of Indian literature who wrote in both English and Kannada. Ramanujan was an Indian poet, scholar and author, a philologist, folklorist, translator, poet and playwright. His academic research ranged across five languages: Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, Sanskrit, and English. He published works on both classical and modern variants of these literature and also argued strongly for giving local, non-standard dialects their due.

Biography

Childhood

He was born in Mysore City on 16 March 1929. His father, Attipat Asuri Krishnaswami, a professor of mathematics at Mysore University and an astronomer, had a study crammed with books in English, Kannada and Sanskrit. His mother was a housewife. He also has a brother, a writer and great mathematician AK Srinivasan.

Education

He was educated at Marimallappa's High School and Maharaja College of Mysore. In college, Ramanujan majored in science in his first year, but his father, who thought him 'not mathematically minded', literally took him by the hand to the Registrar's office and changed his major from science to English. He was a Fellow of Deccan College, Pune in 1958 - 59 and Fulbright Scholar at Indiana University in 1959 - 62. He was educated in English at the University of Mysore and received his Ph.D. in Linguistics from Indiana University [2]

Career

Having been a lecturer in English at Quilon and Belgaum, he taught at The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda for about eight years. In 1962, he joined the University of Chicago as an assistant professor, where he was affiliated throughout the rest of his career, teaching in several departments. However, he did teach at several other U.S. universities at times, including Harvard, University of Wisconsin, University of Michigan, University of California at Berkeley, and Carleton College. At the University of Chicago, Ramanujan was instrumental in shaping the South Asian Studies program. He worked in the departments of South Asian Languages and Civilizations, Linguistics, and with the Committee on Social Thought.

In 1976, the government of India awarded him the honorific title Padma Shri,[3] and in 1983, he was given the MacArthur Prize Fellowship (Shulman, 1994).[2] In 1983, he was appointed the William E. Colvin Professor in the Departments of South Asian Languages and Civilizations, of Linguistics, and in the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago, and, the same year, he received a MacArthur Fellowship.

As an Indo-American writer Ramanujan had the experience of the native milieu as well as of the foreign milieu. His poems like the "Conventions of Despair" reflected his views on the cultures and conventions of the east and the west.

A. K. Ramanujan died in Chicago, on July 13, 1993 as result of adverse reaction to anesthesia during preparation for surgery.

Contributions to Indian Sub-Continent Studies

A. K. Ramanujan's theoretical and aesthetic contributions span several disciplinary areas. In his cultural essays such as "Is There an Indian Way of Thinking?" (1990) he explains cultural ideologies and behavioral manifestations thereof in terms of an Indian psychology he calls "context-sensitive" thinking. In his work in folklore studies, Ramanujan highlights the intertextuality of the Indian oral and written literary tradition. His essay "Where Mirrors Are Windows: Toward an Anthology of Reflections" (1989), and his commentaries in *The Interior Landscape: Love Poems from a Classical Tamil Anthology* (1967) and *Folktales from India, Oral Tales from Twenty Indian Languages* (1991) are good examples of his work in Indian folklore studies.

Controversy regarding his essay

His 1991 essay "Three Hundred Ramayanas: Five Examples and Three Thoughts on Translations" courted controversy over its inclusion in B.A. in History syllabus of University of Delhi in 2006. In this essay, he wrote of the existence of many versions of Ramayana and a few versions portrayed Rama and Sita as siblings, which contradicts the popular versions of the Ramayana, such as those by Valmiki and Tulsidas

ABVP a student wing of the BJP opposed its inclusion in the syllabus, saying it hurt the majority Hindus' sentiments, who viewed Rama and Sita as Gods who were husband and wife. They demanded the essay be removed from the syllabus. In 2008 Delhi High Court directed Delhi University to convene a committee to decide on the essay's inclusion. A 4-member committee was formed, which subsequently gave its verdict 3-1 in favour of inclusion in the syllabus.

The academic council however, ignored the committee's recommendation and voted to scrap the essay from its syllabus in Oct 2011. This led to protests by many historians and intellectuals, accusing Delhi University of succumbing to the diktat of non-historians.

Selected publications

His works include translations from Classical Tamil and Medieval Kannada, such as:

Translations and studies of literature

- The Interior Landscape: Love Poems from a Classical Tamil Anthology, 1967
- Speaking of Siva, Penguin. 1973. ISBN 9780140442700.
- The Literatures of India. Edited with Edwin Gerow. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974
- Hymns for the Drowning, 1981
- Poems of Love and War. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985
- Folktales from India, Oral Tales from Twenty Indian Languages, 1991
- "Is There an Indian Way of Thinking?" in India Through Hindu Categories, edited by McKim Marriott, 1990
- When God Is a Customer: Telugu Courtesan Songs by Ksetrayya and Others (with Velcheru Narayana Rao and David Shulman), 1994
- A Flowering Tree and Other Oral Tales from India, 1997

Poetry, fiction and drama

- The Striders. London: Oxford University Press, 1966
- Hokkulalli Huvilla, No Lotus in the Navel. Dharwar, 1969
- Relations. London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1971
- Selected Poems. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1976

- Samskara. (translation of U R Ananthamurthy's novel) Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1976
- Mattu Itara Padyagalu and Other Poems. Dharwar, 1977
- Second Sight. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986

A.K. Ramanujan's three books of Kannada Poetry, and a novella have been translated into English, and published by Oxford University Press. Poems And A Novella: Translated From Kannada(Hardcover - 2006-03-09)by A. K. Ramanujan (Author), Tonse N. K. Raju (Translator), Shouri Daniels-ramanujan (Translator). This collection has his poetry collections: 1) Hokkulalli Hoovilla (No Lotus in the Navel); 2) Mattu itara kategalU (And Other Poems); and 3) Kuntobille (Hopscotch). The novella in Kannada is titled "Mattobbana Atma Charitre" ((Yet) Another Man's Autobiography

Chapter-12

English Education Act 1835

The English Education Act was a legislative Act of the Council of India in 1835 giving effect to a decision in 1835 by William Bentinck, 4th Duke of Portland, the then Governor-General of British India to reallocate funds the East India Company was required by the British Parliament to spend on education and literature in India. Formerly, they had supported traditional Muslim and Hindu education and the publication of literature in the native learned tongues (Sanskrit and Arabic); henceforward they were to support establishments teaching a Western curriculum with English as the language of instruction. Together with other measures promoting English as the language of administration and of the higher law courts (replacing Persian), this led eventually to English becoming one of the languages of India, rather than simply the native tongue of its foreign rulers.

In discussions leading up to the Act Thomas Babington Macaulay produced his famous Memorandum on (Indian) Education which was scathing on the inferiority of native (particularly Hindu) culture and learning. The Act itself however took a less negative attitude to traditional education, and was soon succeeded by further measures based upon the provision of adequate funding for both approaches. Vernacular language education, however continued to receive little funding.

British support for Indian learning

When the British Parliament had renewed the charter of the East India Company for 20 years in 1813, it had required the Company to apply 100,000 rupees per year “for the revival and promotion of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories.” This had gone to support traditional forms (and content) of education, which (like their contemporary equivalents in England) were firmly non-utilitarian.

By the early 1820s some administrators within the East India Company were questioning if this was a sensible use of the money. James Mill noted that the declared purpose of the Madrasa (Mohammedan College) in Calcutta and the Hindu College in Benares set up by the company

had been “to make a favourable impression, by our encouragement of their literature, upon the minds of the natives” but took the view that the aim of the company should have been to further not Oriental learning but “useful learning.” Indeed, private enterprise colleges had begun to spring up in Bengal teaching Western knowledge in English (“English education”), to serve a native clientele which felt it would be more important that their sons learnt to understand the English than that they were taught to appreciate classic poetry.

Broadly similar issues (‘classical education’ vs ‘liberal education’) had already arisen for education in England with existing grammar schools being unwilling (or legally unable) to give instruction in subjects other than Latin or Greek and were to end in an expansion of their curriculum to include modern subjects. In the Indian situation a complicating factor was that the ‘classical education’ reflected the attitudes and beliefs of the various traditions in the sub-continent, ‘English education’ clearly did not, and there was felt to be a danger of an adverse reaction among the existing learned classes of India to any withdrawal of support for them.

This led to divided counsels within the Committee of Public Instruction. Thomas Babington Macaulay, who was Legal Member of the Council of India, and was to be President of the Committee, refused to take up the post until the matter was resolved, and sought a clear directive from the Governor-General on the strategy to be adopted.

It should have been clear what answer Macaulay was seeking, given his past comments. In 1833 in the House of Commons Macaulay (then MP for Leeds), had spoken in favour of renewal of the Company's charter, in terms which make his own views on the culture and society of the sub-continent adequately clear:

I see a government anxiously bent on the public good. Even in its errors I recognize a paternal feeling towards the great people committed to its charge. I see toleration strictly maintained. Yet I see bloody and degrading superstitions gradually losing their power. I see the morality, the philosophy, the taste of Europe, beginning to produce a salutary effect on the hearts and understandings of our subjects. I see the public mind of India, that public mind which we found debased and contracted by the worst forms of political and religious tyranny, expanding itself to just and noble views of the ends of government and of the social duties of man.

Finishing with a peroration holding it a moral imperative to educate the Indians in English ways, not to keep them submissive but to give them the potential eventually to claim the same rights as the English:

What is that power worth which is founded on vice, on ignorance, and on misery—which we can hold only by violating the most sacred duties which as governors we owe to the governed—which as a people blessed with far more than an ordinary measure of political liberty and of intellectual light—we owe to a race debased by three thousand years of despotism and priest craft? We are free, we are civilized, to little purpose, if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal measure of freedom and civilization.

Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? Or do we think that we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition? Or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide it with no legitimate vent? Who will answer any of these questions in the affirmative? Yet one of them must be answered in the affirmative, by every person who maintains that we ought permanently to exclude the natives from high office. I have no fears. The path of duty is plain before us: and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour.

The destinies of our Indian empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fate reserved for a state which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and its decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government, that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens would indeed be a title to glory all our own.

The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are

followed by no reverses. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws.

Macaulay's "Minute Upon Indian Education"

To remove all doubt, however, Macaulay produced and circulated a Minute on the subject. Macaulay argued that support for the publication of books in Sanskrit and Arabic should be withdrawn, support for traditional education should be reduced to funding for the Madrasa at Delhi and the Hindu College at Benares, but students should no longer be paid to study at these establishments. The money released by these steps should instead go to fund education in Western subjects, with English as the language of instruction. He summarised his argument:

To sum up what I have said, I think it is clear that we are not fettered by the Act of Parliament of 1813; that we are not fettered by any pledge expressed or implied; that we are free to employ our funds as we choose; that we ought to employ them in teaching what is best worth knowing; that English is better worth knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic; that the natives are desirous to be taught English, and are not desirous to be taught Sanskrit or Arabic; that neither as the languages of law, nor as the languages of religion, have the Sanskrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our engagement; that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed.

Macaulay's comparison of Arabic and Sanskrit literature to what was available in English is forceful, colourful, and nowadays often quoted against him.

I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. Honours might be roughly even in works of the imagination, such as poetry, but when we pass from works of imagination to works in which facts are recorded, and general principles investigated, the superiority of the Europeans becomes absolutely immeasurable."

He returned to the comparison later:

Whoever knows has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth, which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may be safely said, that the literature now extant in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together. The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages, by which, by universal confession, there are not books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, whenever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronise sound Philosophy and true History, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines, which would disgrace an English farrier, - Astronomy, which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school,--History, abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns thirty thousand years long,--and Geography, made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter.

Mass education would be (in the fullness of time) by the class of Anglicised Indians the new policy should produce, and by the means of vernacular dialects:

In one point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose general views I am opposed. I feel with them, that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.

The Act

Bentinck endorsed the Minute, writing that he was in full agreement with the sentiments expressed. However, students at the Calcutta Madrasa raised a petition against its closure; this quickly got considerable support and the Madrasa and its Hindu equivalent were therefore retained. Otherwise the Act endorsed and implemented the policy Macaulay had argued for.

The Governor-General of India in Council has attentively considered the two letters from the Secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction, dated the 21st and 22nd January last, and the papers referred to in them.

First, His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.

Second, But it is not the intention of His Lordship in Council to abolish any College or School of native learning, while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords, and His Lordship in Council directs that all the existing professors and students at all the institutions under the superintendence of the Committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But his lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student that may hereafter enter at any of these institutions; and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

Third, It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General in Council that a large sum has been expended by the Committee on the printing of Oriental works; his Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

Fourth, His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language; and His Lordship in Council requests the Committee to submit to Government, with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose.

Opposition in London suppressed

On the news of the Act reaching England, a despatch giving the official response of the Company's Court of Directors was drafted within the India House (the Company's London office). James Mill was a leading figure within the India House (as well as being a leading utilitarian philosopher) . Although he was known to favour education in the vernacular languages of India, otherwise he might have been expected to be broadly in favour of the Act. However, he was by now a dying man, and the task of drafting the response fell to his son John Stuart Mill. The younger Mill was thought to hold similar views to his father, but his draft despatch turned out to be quite critical of the Act.

Mill argued that students seeking an 'English education' in order to prosper could simply acquire enough of the requisite practical accomplishments (facility in English etc.) to prosper without bothering to acquire the cultural attitudes; for example it did not follow that at the same time they would also free themselves from superstition. Even if they did the current learned classes of India commanded widespread respect in Indian culture, and that one of the reasons they did so was the lack of practical uses for their learning; they were pursuing learning as an end in itself, rather than as a means to advancement. The same could not reliably said of those seeking an 'English education', and therefore it was doubtful how they would be regarded by Indian society and therefore how far they would be able to influence it for the better. It would have been a better policy to continue to conciliate the existing learned classes, and to attempt to introduce European knowledge and disciplines into their studies and thus make them the desired interpreter class. This analysis was acceptable to East India Company's Court of Directors but unacceptable to their political masters (because it effectively endorsed the previous policy of 'engraftment') and John Cam Hobhouse insisted on the despatch being redrafted to be a mere holding statement noting the Act but venturing no opinion upon it.

After the Act

Reversion to favouring traditional colleges

By 1839 Lord Auckland had succeeded Bentinck as Governor-General, and Macaulay had returned to England. Auckland contrived to find sufficient funds to support the English Colleges set up by Bentinck's Act without continuing to run down the traditional Oriental colleges. He wrote a Minute (of 24 November 1839) giving effect to this; both Oriental and English colleges

were to be adequately funded. The East India Company directors responded with a despatch in 1841 endorsing the twin-track approach and suggesting a third:

We forbear at present from expressing an opinion regarding the most efficient mode of communicating and disseminating European Knowledge. Experience does not yet warrant the adoption of any exclusive system. We wish a fair trial to be given to the experiment of engrafting European Knowledge on the studies of the existing learned Classes, encouraged as it will be by giving to the Seminaries in which those studies are prosecuted, the aid of able and efficient European Superintendence. At the same time we authorise you to give all suitable encouragement to translators of European works into the vernacular languages and also to provide for the compilation of a proper series of Vernacular Class books according to the plan which Lord Auckland has proposed.

The East India Company also resumed subsidising the publication of Sanscrit and Arabic works, but now by a grant to the Asiatic Society rather than by undertaking publication under their own auspices.

Mill's later views

In 1861, Mill in the last chapter ('On the Government of Dependencies') of his 'Considerations on Representative Government' restated the doctrine Macaulay had advanced a quarter of a century earlier – the moral imperative to improve subject peoples, which justified reforms by the rulers of which the ruled were as yet unaware of the need for,

"There are ... [conditions of society] in which, there being no spring of spontaneous improvement in the people themselves, their almost only hope of making any steps in advance [to 'a higher civilisation'] depends on the chances of a good despot. Under a native despotism, a good despot is a rare and transitory accident: but when the dominion they are under is that of a more civilised people, that people ought to be able to supply it constantly. The ruling country ought to be able to do for its subjects all that could be done by a succession of absolute monarchs guaranteed by irresistible force against the precariousness of tenure attendant on barbarous despotisms, and qualified by their genius to anticipate all that experience has taught to the more advanced nation. Such is the ideal rule of a free people over a barbarous or semi-barbarous one. We need not expect to see that ideal realised; but unless some approach to it is, the rulers are

guilty of a dereliction of the highest moral trust which can devolve upon a nation: and if they do not even aim at it, they are selfish usurpers, on a par in criminality with any of those whose ambition and rapacity have sported from age to age with the destiny of masses of mankind"

but Mill went on to warn of the difficulties this posed in practice; difficulties which whatever the merits of the Act of 1835 do not seem to have suggested themselves to Macaulay:

It is always under great difficulties, and very imperfectly, that a country can be governed by foreigners; even when there is no disparity, in habits and ideas, between the rulers and the ruled. Foreigners do not feel with the people. They cannot judge, by the light in which a thing appears to their own minds, or the manner in which it affects their feelings, how it will affect the feelings or appear to the minds of the subject population. What a native of the country, of average practical ability, knows as it were by instinct, they have to learn slowly, and after all imperfectly, by study and experience. The laws, the customs, the social relations, for which they have to legislate, instead of being familiar to them from childhood, are all strange to them. For most of their detailed knowledge they must depend on the information of natives; and it is difficult for them to know who to trust. They are feared, suspected, probably disliked by the population; seldom sought by them except for interested purposes; and they are prone to think the servilely submissive are the trustworthy. Their danger is of despising the natives; that of the natives is of disbelieving that anything the strangers do can be intended for their good.

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