USAGE 2

‘Aati kyaa New York?’ – a Nampally monologue

RAKESH CHAUDHARY opens a window on hybridization in Hyderabad, the capital of the South Indian state of Andhra Pradesh, in the trendy market area called Nampally.

Note The double-letter combinations such as *aa* and *oo* denote long vowels in Hindi/Urdu, and the terms *yaar* and *rey* are vocatives like ‘man’, ‘mate’, or ‘pal’. *Boss* is similar.

I am telling you, no – these people these days! Arey akkal nahin hai, yaar! The other day only, one fellow is asking: Is English Indian language or what? Kyaa, rey! Movies nahin dekhta, kyaa? Aaj kal hero banna boley toh English aanaa, rey. Old movies antey even if you don’t know English boley toh no problem. Aaj kal toh yeh crucial ho gaya rey yaaron. If you are wanting to say ‘I love you’ to the heroine boley toh kyaa Hindi mein bolta, rey? English aanaa! Saw *Izaazat*, no? Full movie in Hindi, OK? Lekin ek dafa to usmey bhi hai rey Angrezi.

Woh Naseeruddin Shah hota dekh, he is reading some letter from his ex-GF, OK, and his wife wants to know usmey kyaa hai bolkey. Woh slow gaana hota na yaaron? Ussey pehley. What senti letter, rey! Shah is ek dum touched. Biwi ko bolta dekh Angrezi mein: ‘Sudha, this is maaya!’ Kyaa effect hota, rey! Mein dekha! Now such-like things you want to say means Angrezi use karna padta, rey. Wai me antey English is very important.

Merey ko Angrezi aati dekh. Bachchon key school gayey samajh, toh wahan toh I will speak only in English. Arey principal ka chahra dekhna, rey wai. Full focus daal ko gaur sey baat suntii. Telugu mein wahich boley toh chal rey bolkey boltii, nahin?

Mein dekha, rey! You go to hospitals, banks, kiraana shops, and speak in English, uttaich. Sab fatafat ho jaata, kyaa! Kyoon bolkey

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A close translation: ‘Coming to New York?’

I am telling you, really – these people these days! They just don’t have any brains, yaar! Only the other day someone asked me whether English is an Indian language. Hey, man! Do they never see movies? These days if you want to be a hero, you have to know English. In the movies of old, even if you didn’t know English, that was no problem. These days it has become absolutely crucial. If you want to say ‘I love you’ to the heroine, will you do it in Hindi? You must know English, man! Seen *Izaazat*, haven’t you? The entire movie is in Hindi, right? But even there I found English!

Naseeruddin Shah gets a letter from his ex girl friend, and his wife wants to know what is written in it. Remember, there is that slow song? Just before that. What a sentimental letter, man. Shah is touched right away. He turns to his wife and tells her in English, ‘Sudha, this is magic!’ What a tremendous effect that had, man! I saw it myself! Now if you wish to say such things properly, you must use English. Boss me, English is very important.

Look, I know English. When I go to my children’s school, I speak only in English. I tell you, you should see the principal’s face! She listens intently with complete focus! Now if I were to say the same things in Telugu, she would have simply asked me to get lost, no?

I’ve seen this everywhere, man! Go to hospitals, banks, grocery shops, and speak in English, and that is it: Everything happens in a jiffy, what!

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poochhta tu, merey ko maaloom. Ab yeh simple logic hai, rey. Angrezi mein kon bhi baat kar raha boley to achhey school meinich padha honga, nahin? Maybe even missionary school! Ab aisey school mein padha boley toh akkal aati, duniya ka patha chalta, sab sey baat kar saktey, nahin? College mein achha padhtey, prospects achha rahta.. IAS, IPS, kyaa bhi toh ban jaatey. Angrezi boley toh izzat rahti, rey! Teraa weight rahta, nahin!

You know English boley toh you can see English movies. Everyone knows achchii movies dekhna boley toh English movies best hotaa. Acting mast rahti, story mast rahta. Action boley toh bas! Too much, rey! Woh Travolta ko dekha? *Broken Arrow* mein? Kya ishtyle hai, rey wai! Meion toh ab cigarette peena seekh raha, rey. Kya impression jamti, nahin?

Ab tooich bata, apna Shahrukh bhai aisa kar sakta, kyaa? Chiru? Who baat alag hotii, rey! All my friends, no, all will see movies in Sangeet only, kyaa? Levelich alag hai, rey! Kyaa bol raha boley toh today, if you want to be seen toh woh purani ishtyle chhod denaa. Wear jeans and sunglasses, bike ley key Schwarzenegger key maafik chalaana, kyaa!

Speak in English and speak of Internet, English movies, burger joints, and bars... woh puraanaa zamaanaa gayaa, boss! I'm having one pal, OK, cool kinds dikhta aaj kal, sab nayaa model ka laa liyaa. Ab roj ja ke Germany mein uskii pen-pal rahtii, usko email karta. Sach, mein dekha… usko wapas mail aataa, rey! Ekdum posh ho gayaa, kyaa! I am also opening my account... ek dum... phir dekhnaa. One pen-pal in England, one in States… bas uttaich!

Music boley toh ab channels pey aatey, rey, woh dekhnaa! Since liberalization, sab kuch freak out ho gaya! Cool drinks peena, movies dekhna, jeans pehenna, aur bahar jaa key burger joint pey crash karnaa, kyaa! Jus' party man, the gay time has begun… You see me after two-three years… MCA khatam kar ko straight to the States. Bas, then full dollars, full ishtyle... next step: immigration. Multimillion-dollar lifestyle! Full phoren!

Arey wahan pey sab ko chance milta, rey! Mein bhi Leonardo key maafiq boltoon dekh: "I am the king of the world!" He is also going to New York in the movie, no? I will also go there

You will ask me why this happens? It is actually simple logic, friend. If anyone speaks in English, it means that he must have gone to a good school, no? Maybe even a Christian Missionary school! Now if you study in such a school, you get brains, you get to know the world, you can speak to anybody, no? You study well in the college and have good prospects. Who knows, you might well become an IAS or an IPS officer. If you speak in English, people respect you, man! Your word carries weight, no?

If you know English, you can also see English movies. Everyone knows that, if you wish to see good movies, English movies are the best. Incredible acting, awesome story. And the action is simply indescribable! Too much, man! Did you see Travolta? In *Broken Arrow*? What style, man! I have begun learning to smoke a cigarette already, man. What an impression that makes, no?

Now you only tell me, can our Shahrukh Bhai ever do that, what? Can Chiru? That is a completely different cup of tea, man! All my friends see movies only in Sangeet, what? It is all at a completely different level, man! What I am saying is that today, if you want to be seen, you must get rid of that old style. Wear jeans and sunglasses, get a bike and drive around like Schwarzenegger, what?

Speak in English and speak of the Internet, English movies, burger joints, and bars... that old style is all gone, boss! I have a pal, OK. Nowadays he looks completely cool. He has bought everything according to the new model. Nowadays he emails his pen pal in Germany every day. Really, I saw it myself... He even gets mail back, man! He has become totally posh, what? I am also opening my account... straight away... and then see: one pen pal in England, one in the States… full posh!

Take music. If you're looking for some real music you need to watch the channels. Since liberalization, everything has totally freaked out. Guzzle cool drinks, watch movies, wear jeans, and go out and crash at a burger joint, what? Jus' party man, the gay time has begun… You see me after two or three years… I'll finish my MCA and then straight to the States. That's it! Then full dollars, full style. Next step: immigration. A multimillion dollar lifestyle! Full foreign!

I tell you, everyone gets a chance there, man! Just you wait! One day I'm going to shout like Leonardo: "I am the king of the world!" He also goes to New York in the movie, right? I'll get

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only... dekhnaa! Any good thing, you must go to English matter only. Ab toh apna Salman Rushdie bhi bol diya... Jo kaam India mein English mein ho rahaa na, waisa kaam regional languages mein nahin hota katey. He is knowing well, OK? Sahi bhi hai... Angrezi boley toh class item, kyaa.

OK, I am wrong. You only tell me, how many regional writers you are knowing, how many Telugu writers you have read... Bahut padha toh one or two hota, rey! Aaj kal toh sab kuch dikhaatey channels pey, nahin? Wahan pey hi dekha, kyaa? No, rey... utna in logon ka levelich nahin hai! You know Roy; you know Seth; you know Jha. But you have read Gadar? Kaun hai bolkey poochta too, nahin? Merey sey mat pooch. I know the name only. The book I have with me. Ek baar toh thodha saa padha bhi. What to do? Baapu chillataa, rey! But it is so boring, you know!

You only say me, who is more better – Robin Cook, or yeh Telugu novels? Bola na mein? Levelich alag hota, rey maamaa! Hamarey political leaders ko dekh. Kya rey vote denaa unkoh? Clinton ko dekhaa? How handsome, no? Dekhey toh love ho jaanaa. Uttaich!

Ab tooich dekh, rey. History mein jab bhi cine hero election ko aayey toh jeet jaataa, rey! Why? Ishtyle hota; latest baatein maaloom hotii usko. Movies mein itna achha achha roles kar ko achhey kaam karney ki habit ho jaatii, rey. Boltey toh achhaich boltey. No stammer; no stutter – all quality, boss! Brilliance in, brilliance out. Kyaa! Teri toh! Abhi I would have missed it. See time, rey. You are not watching *Baywatch*? I see it jab jab time miley. Arey, Angrezi improve hotii, rey. Chal, toh kya samjha? Yeh ladkiyon ka chakkar abhi nahin. Take it easy, OK. Cool it! Let's get to NY, and then we'll see. Mein toh nikal ley rahoon. Aataa kyaa?

there as well... You'll see! For anything good you have to go for the English stuff. Even our Salman Rushdie said that the kind of work happening in English in India is not being done in the regional languages. He knows what's what, OK? And why not? English is a class item, isn't it?

All right, I'm wrong. You tell me, how many regional writers do you know of? How many Telugu writers have you read? You might have read one or two. These days they show all that is worth seeing on the channels. Did you see it even there? No, my friend. These guys just don't have that kind of level! You've heard of Roy; you've heard of Seth; you've heard of Jha. But have you read Gadar? You will ask me who he is, won't you? Well, don't ask me. I only know the name. The book I have with me – once I even read it for a bit. What should I do? My dad shouts if I don't, man! But it's so boring, you know!

You tell me, who is better – Robin Cook, or these Telugu novels? Didn't I tell you? The very level is different, uncle! Look at our political leaders. What is the point voting for them? Have you seen Clinton? How handsome he is! It must be love at first sight. That's all!

Now, you just tell me, man. Throughout history, whenever a cine-hero gets into the political arena he wins, man. Why? He has style; he knows the latest things happening around him. Having had so many good roles on the screen for so long, he gets into the habit of doing good things. Whenever he talks, he talks well and only of good things. No stammer; no stutter – all quality, boss! Brilliance in, brilliance out. Hey! Fuck! I nearly missed it! Look at the time, man. Aren't you going to watch *Baywatch*? I see it whenever I get the time. Yes, you can improve your English, man! And what did you think? Come on now! No girl business for me right now. Take it easy, OK. Cool it! Let's get to NY [New York], and then we'll see. I'm on my way. You coming?

An email interview with the creator of both texts

TMcA Just what are you doing here?

RC This piece is intended to show how English and the West, primarily the USA, dominate the Indian imagination: a place of infinite opportunity imagined through movies, advertisements, television, educational propaganda, and the like. We do not know who he is talking to. The title is a reference to a song in a Hindi film called *Ghulam*, where the hero asks the lady, 'Aati kyaa Khandaala?' ('Coming to Khandala?') You'll notice the ending in the text is however 'Aataa kyaa?', a different ending because this kind of conversation happens typically between two guys.

TMcA What or where is *Sangeet*? Is it a cinema?

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RC Every city has a snob theatre. *Sangeet* shows all the 'best' English movies first. Its clientele is essentially the rich and the la-di-dah. So, if you wish to see the real thing, you need to see it in *Sangeet* – or you just haven't arrived.

TMcA What kind of language mix is going on here?

RC A mix especially of Hindi and English, with a smattering of Telugu. It is essentially the lingo of the Hyderabad student community that, to my mind, marks an unwitting local response to cultural colonization. The Hindi is awry and [the state language] Telugu is almost entirely absent, asserted only by a word or two and in the general tone. In the middle are catch-phrases from ads, movies, and magazines. But it is not as if only Hyderabadi Hinglish is affected in this way. Almost every tongue in India wags to the same old imperialist tune, all in the name of being in and progressive.

TMcA What about Urdu, which has always been important in Hyderabad? Is it just mixed in with the Hindi – all one continuum, since the two are so alike anyway?

RC Hyderabadi speech is generously permeated with Urdu. Not the classical Urdu of Rahim and the like, but an Urdu which carries with it a lot of Hindi, Telugu, and *attitude*, the crucial part of the local lingo. The tongue is aggressive, informal, and liberated. I have tried to retain the sweeping mixing and matching.

TMcA You said this kind of thing is happening all over India, in various forms. Is it the same broad mix everywhere?

RC This particular lingo is limited to the city of Hyderabad. Telugu dominates the rest of the state of Andhra Pradesh, with an occasional smattering of English. I guess the nawabs [lords] of Hyderabad are to blame here. Nampally is the central area of the city, and the location of the main market. The historical heart of the city is further off but, for all practical purposes, Nampally is where things happen. I disparaged the lingo a bit just now, but with English and the West firmly gripping the Indian imagination, Hyderabadi Hinglish has become a sound to delight in. It retains the tone and intonation of Urdu mixed with Telugu, for Telugu is never very far off in the Hyderabadi psyche, and it too mixes freely with English, grammatical or otherwise. The same patterns occur elsewhere in India, involving different languages.

TMcA My Hindi is rusty, but I can see what's going on. One word that always puzzled me in Bombay in the 60s was *yaar*, and here it turns up in Andhra. I could never get a good translation equivalent for it. Can you?

RC *Yaar* is a hard one. I cannot think of a word that actually translates into a total *yaar*. It would mean basically a pal you are very familiar with, but simultaneously it is used even with people you have never seen before. Hyderabadi Hinglish is a very informal tongue, and, really, no rules appear to apply.

TMcA From what you say, *yaar* seems to approximate to 'mate' in England and Australia and 'buddy' in the States. On a separate issue, though, I'm surprised at how little Telugu turns up in this monologue.

RC That kind of mixing happens in the little towns of Andhra Pradesh. A typical Tinglish monologue, with some Hindi thrown in, would go like this: 'I am telling you, saar, meru akkada undaali. Soopper scene, saar! The loacal goonda will come, saar, and louudly he will shout 'Rey! Champesta!' Then only our Chiru will come on the balcony and give one look. Antey. The goonda will get scared and – zut! – he will run off. Saar, then Chiru will jump from the balcony to the Earth and chaala fast-ga he will chase tha.' [*saar* sir; *goonda* (Hindi) thug]

TMcA My Telugu is non-existent, but I think I got the message.

RC It is a description of a scene from a Chiranjeevi starrer [a film/movie featuring the local star Chiranjeevi, here affectionately referred to as 'Chiru'] related to me by one of my students at Tadepalligudem where I taught English for a year. There is a smattering of Telugu and the basic grammar remains Telugu, but the words used are primarily English. Among the poor and the illiterate, however, Telugu is the only language. Mixes of Telugu, Hindi, and English are neither frequent nor fashionable with them.

TMcA So is this kind of thing the linguistic future in India?

RC It is the linguistic present in India. ■

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FEEDBACK

Those missing Celtic words

ANDREW DALBY comments on Loreto Todd's article in *ET*63 (Jul 00)

The tantalising article 'Where have all the Celtic words gone?' (*ET*63, Jul 00) brought me back to a problem I had faced, and glossed over, in compiling the entry on 'Welsh' in my *Dictionary of Languages* in 1998. I wrote:

> English shares much with Welsh, in its sound pattern, its idioms and its vocabulary. Phrases such as *Sut rydych chi*? 'How are you?' are exactly mirrored in the two languages. Welsh loanwords in English include *pert*, which means 'pretty' in Welsh. Few English linguists know Welsh, so the similarities tend to be overlooked or played down.

I was sure of this last point – I, too, had come across some of the anti-Welsh etymological notes in the *OED* – but I had no time then for more work on the subject. I still don't know in which language the question 'How are you?' was first asked, and I believe we need to know more about mutual influences between English and Welsh sound pattems.

A paper by Nancy C. Dorian (1991) discusses some of the issues raised by Loreto Todd. Dorian's title 'Linguacentrism and language history' doesn't sufficiently advertise the fact that her paper is all about Celtic influence on English, and the reasons why there seems to be so little of it. However, using selected poems by Robert Burns as a sample text, Dorian observes that Gaelic loanwords in Scots are relatively numerous. They are predominantly found in just the subject areas that would be expected in loans adopted from a substrate language into a newly dominant one: names of local animals, plants, geographical features, tools, techniques and products. Of her collection of twenty such loanwords, only three (*cairn*, *dour* and *whiskey*) happen to have spread from Scots to standard English.

This points us in the direction of an answer to Loreto Todd's question. Just as there are plenty of Gaelic loanwords to be found in the local English of Scotland, so there are loanwords from the Celtic of southern Britain in the local English dialects of the West Country and the Welsh Marches. As a parallel to *cairn*, *dour* and *whisk(e)y*, which arrived by way of Scots, some of the Celtic loans in standard English are known to have arrived by way of West Country dialects: *combe* is an example. Scots has a much stronger record in literature than any of the regional dialects of England, so these southern loanwords want some finding. But they are there, and they extend beyond the field of vocabulary into the structure of the language. For example: standard English *I say* and *I do* are represented by West Country *I do say*, *I do do*. The use of this unstressed auxiliary verb *do* in the West Country has nothing to do with Germanic but it has exact Celtic parallels in, for example, Cornish *a*: *my a wra*, *my a gul*. The typically West Country word order of *Going home are you?* matches the Comish word order precisely (examples from Ellis, 1974).

Both Dorian and Todd find telling evidence of anti-Celtic bias among historians of English. And Todd has an excellent example, in English *she*, of a word which may have joint Celtic and Germanic roots, though historical linguists have been reluctant to recognise them. I would now suggest *pert* as another example: the derivation from Latin *apertus* 'open', which is the only etymology given in *OED*, is probably real, but there is something in the Welsh connection too.

Although there is plenty of work to be done here, it does finally seem to be true that Celtic loanwords are very few in modern standard English, which ultimately descends from the Anglo-Saxon of the Midlands and the South

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East. Here is a possible reason. It is often assumed that Latin was merely the language of an elite in Roman Britain. Yet: (1) Over roughly the same period, Latin drove the native languages of almost all of Gaul and Spain to extinction; (2) All surviving writings from Roman Britain and from the period immediately afterwards – all the inscriptions and all that there is of literature – are Latin. Incidentally, a good deal of work has been done (e.g. Adams, 1992) on what kind of Latin this was. Now Welsh, Cornish and Scottish Gaelic, simply by having existed, are evidence that Celtic languages went on being spoken in the west and north of Britain through Roman times and after, but there is no such evidence of what was spoken in southern and eastern Britain when the Anglo-Saxons arrived.

I was going to say that there is no evidence at all, but there is just a little. Todd points out the strange fact that the oldest Latin loanwords in English are more numerous than the Celtic ones. That fact suggests that when the Anglo-Saxons arrived the current language of the Midlands and the South East was not Celtic but British Latin. □

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Loreto Todd comments I agree with most of what Andrew Dalby says, but I don't think the Celtic influence on Standard English – whatever 'Standard English' is! – is as limited as he suggests. Part of the influence may well be found in calques, such as 'How are you?' or structures such as 'I am going' and 'I do go', but that's already more influence than most traditional scholars would acknowledge. I argue, however, that the vocabulary of Standard English (and World Englishes) owes much more to the Celtic languages than has hitherto been acknowledged. It is, of course, found most obviously in the daily usage of people living in the Celtic areas of the British Isles. It is not, however, limited to dialects or slang or local idiom. I am rather tickled at the thought that *if* 'I do go' hides an underlying Celtic structure (and it could well do so), then the Atlantic Pidgins and Creoles which adopted *A di go* might illustrate a Celtic substrate beneath the English substrate (at least in this one construction)! It might be interesting to invite readers to submit *their* Celtic words or calques, and see what we get.

Tom McArthur comments It is good to see some discussion developing on the Celtic-in-English conundrum. I have been puzzled by this issue for most of my professional life, and – like Loreto Todd – consider that English philologists (meaning primarily 'philologists in England' but also 'philologists of English at large') have been rather cavalier and dismissive about it. In dealing with this issue, three things seem to me to be necessary: (1) Anglicists in England should reconsider the long tradition of doubt and dismissal regarding Celtic influences and substrates; (2) Anglicists of Irish, Scottish, and Welsh backgrounds should nonetheless be cautious about how they grind their axes; (3) Anglicists everywhere else should recognise that, although the issue may not be anywhere near central to their own work, it is not therefore a trivial matter.

It is non-trivial for at least three reasons: (1) It is risky to assume that, when a group of Germanic dialects overlaid the languages of the four-centuries-old Romano-Celtic territory of Britannia (whose neighbours were Celtic Caledonia and Hibernia and Romano-Celtic Gallia), there would be no significant absorption of elements from Celtic, Latin, and any Romano-Celtic hybrid there might be; (2) Overlap and hybridization have occurred in the Atlantic languages of Europe throughout recorded history; (3) 'Mongrel' English spread worldwide in the company of the Celtic usage of many Irish, Scots, and Welsh migrants.

Place-names (which are words) figure strongly in this complicated story. I will offer only two examples here. First, the name of a major city in Britannia was *Eboracum*, a Latinized Celtic word processed through Anglian *Eoforwic* and Danish *Jorvik* into *York*. The *Encarta World English Dictionary* (1999) lists: *york*, a verb in cricket back-formed from *yorker* ('fast ball under the bat'), and says 'probably the technique was introduced by players from Yorkshire'; *York*, the city and Plantagenet

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dynasty; *York rite*, a Masonic ceremony; *Yorkist*, a supporter of the House of York; *Yorkshire*; *Yorkshire Dales*, *Yorkshire fog* (a kind of grass), *Yorkshire pudding*, *Yorkshire terrier* (also *Yorkie*); the *Yorke Peninsula* in Australia; *New York (City)*, *New York Bay*, *New York English*, and *New Yorker* (the person, but it might also have mentioned the magazine). Not bad for one disfigured old Celtic word.

Second, an even more significant city name in Roman Britain was *Londinium*, again a Latinized Celtic word. The *New Oxford Dictionary of English* (1998) lists its descendants in English as: *London*, the city and capital of the UK, and a city in Ontario, Canada; *London broil*, in North America a grilled steak served cut diagonally in thin strips; *London clay*, clay forming an extensive layer in S. E. England; *Londonderry*, a city (also *Derry*) in Northern Ireland, granted in 1613 to the city of London for colonization; *Londoner*, someone living in or hailing from London; *London gin*, a variety of dry gin; *London plane*, a plane-tree hybrid between the American and oriental planes; and *London pride*, a European saxifrage with pink star-like flowers. There are also a *London* in Kentucky and a *Londonderry* in New Hampshire, *New Londons* in Connecticut and Ohio, and a *Cape Londonderry* in Australia. In addition, within *Greater London* is the *City of London*, not far from *London Bridge* and the *Tower of London*, all with distinctive connotations. A family of words at the very heart of English – and rooted in Celtic. □

Dot.complications

(From Victor Keegan, 'Click-crash back to earth', *Guardian Weekly*, 9 Nov 00)

It is difficult to move at the moment without hearing the sound of crashing dot.com companies. Yahoo!, one of the strongest internet stocks, suffered a 27% fall in its share price last month….A year ago it was so different. Venture capitalists appeared from nowhere and were falling over themselves to lend money to almost any young person with a business plan in their knapsack and the word "internet" in the executive summary. The word "dot.com" – American, of course – soon became a sassy suffix for coolness in business….

So what went wrong? Nearly all the early claims of the internet were, and still are, true. Yes, it is an all-embracing change that will transform the way we do business, the way we are educated, and the way we are entertained. What the preppy-preneurs forgot, however, was the importance of two rules of the old economy and one of the new. [First, that about 50% of new companies have always failed, and a higher rate of dot.com companies would fail because the area in which they operate is so novel; second, websites are easy but marketing and delivery are hard; third, 'and most culpably', on the internet the consumer and not the producer is king.] Was it all just a year of madness, a momentary dot.con?

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