Mixed Conjunct Verbs And Other Manifestations
Of Hindi Englishization

Tomasz Borowiak

Institute of Linguistics, Adam Mickiewicz University
ul. Międzychodzka 5, 60-371 Poznań

debelleme@poczta.onet.pl

This article aims at describing some lexical exponents of English impact observed in the urban, colloquial variety of Hindi. At the lexical level of the language, the process of Hindi Englishization involves borrowing of lexemes representing major lexical categories and the formation of hybrid structures in which the borrowed and native morphemes meet. Accordingly, we will investigate some crucial aspects of English noun, adjective and adverb insertion, and further along discuss the mixed conjuct verbs, mixed postpositons and the affixation of the borrowed items.

1. Introduction

The Englishization of Hindi as first introduced by Kachru (1975) and developed in (1986a) has in recent years received little attention from scholars As a matter of fact, no in-depth studies have been made in the field since the 1980's. Needless to say, more novelties have occured and other linguistic processes of Englishization have appeared that as yet have not been attested in the literature on Hindi-English contact phenomena. These linguistic innovations supported by recently gathered data are thus voiced in this study. [1]

2. Data gathering

The data for this research consists of internet newspaper excerpts, along with samples from Indian film and radio speech. Newspaper articles (in a total number of one thosand) come from the internet versions of India's major dailies, *Amar Ujālā* (August 2003 - August 2006) and *Navbhārat Times* (Sept 2006 - June 2007). The source of the radio samples is the *Deutsche Welle's Hindī Kāryakram* (Hindi Service). Two daily 30-minute programs were analyzed during March-June 2007 period providing research material of one hundred twenty hours. Notwithstanding the fact the Deutsche Welle represent formal register of Hindi speech, a fair amount of English or Englishized items were obtained

---

[1] Some features of Englishization were briefly discussed by Bhatia & Ritchie (2005: 798-799). Here they claim the mixing with English has resulted in introduction of 'a new class of transitive/caustive verbs of mixed type', e.g. STUDY karnā, TEACH karvānā, that according to the authors 'are not just a paraphrase of translational equivalent of Hindi'. However, in our view, these examples of hybrid constructions are not new instances of hybridization, but similar, if not identical, to those that have already been discussed in Kachru (1975) and (1986a).

therefrom. Film samples were chosen from the number of modern Bollywood movies (2000-2007). In total, the analysis of approximately fifty hours of film excerpts was carried out.

In examples quoted here, lexemes of English origin have been capitalized (if they consitute speech i.e. radio and film excerpts) or transcribed according to standard transcription rules (in case of printed out newspaper articles) as have been the Hindi data in devanāgarī script. The following symbols have been used:

ā / ū / ī	- long vowels
ã /ũ / ĩ / ẽ / õ	- nasalized vowels
ā̃/ ū̃ / ī̃	- nasalized long vowels
ṭ / ḍ	- unaspirated retroflex consonants
ṭh / ḍh	- aspirated retroflex consonants
ṛ / ṛh	- unaspirated and aspirated retroflex flaps

3. Manifestations of Hindi Englishization

Kachru (1975) points out a number of linguistic patterns in Hindi due to the influence of English. He distinguishes – unit insertion, where a noun phrase, a verb phrase are introduced; unit hybridization which refers to CM within the unit (a noun phrase, a verb phrase, a compound verb or a conjunct verb); sentence insertion (e.g. embedded, conjoined or appositional sentences); idiom or collocation insertion, claiming their higher frequency of occurence in CM speech than e.g. the proverbs; inflection attachment, arguing a number of English and Persian borrowings into Hindi have undergone inflectional processes (e.g. skūlī ḍigrī vālā – a person with a school degree); reduplication, very common in South Asian languages, also applied to English items (e.g. peṭrol-veṭrol, akṭing-vakṭing).

Introducing the term 'lexicalization' that refers to the infusion in a language from a lexical source not native to that particular language, Kachru claims that lexical stratum from English added to the already existing strata, a co-existing and functionally distinct lexical set (e.g. apart from Sanskritized *ārambh karnā* and Persianized *shurū karnā* there appears Englishized *begin karnā*, all three having the meaning of 'to begin').

Many manifestations of Englishization, are as well dealt with in Kachru (1986a), for instance, direct lexical borrowings or loan translations. In spite of the fact that syntactic level of the language is less susceptible to change, Kachru figures out several syntactic patterns transferred into Hindi from English. Among others there are impersonal constructions (e.g. it is said, believed etc. which are now typical for Hindi newspaper register); indirect speech (traditionally in Hindi no distinction was made between direct and indirect speech and now speakers are observed to produce utterances following rather English syntax than the Hindi); passivization with 'dvārā'(by) as in Hindi the agent is rare in passive constructions; the usage of a post head modifier 'jo' (that, who) and change in the word order, with English SVO order used in SOV Hindi sentences for stylistic effects. (Kachru 1986a: 151)

His study though by all means adequate to the current state of the affairs, was conducted in the 1980's. In this study we provide the results of a thorough analysis of Englishization process of more up-to-date data. Kachruvian observations consitute the basis for more detailed discussions. Out of all manifestations of the Englishization mentioned by Kachru (1975, 1986a) we investigate four; at the beginning we focus on different aspects of English noun, adjective and adverb insertion; then we pay our attention to mixed conjuct verbs (NP and VP insertion). And finally we look into mixed postpositons and affixation.

4. The introduction of the English noun

The first thing to observe when dealing with noun borrowing is the fact that due to a prolongued contact between the two tongues, some English nouns have entered Hindi earlier than others. As a result, some early-introduced nouns have undergone nativization, e.g. phonological adpatation. Sankoff (2001: 647) admits that the longer it has been since a certain item has been introduced, the more likely it is that its pronunciation has been nativized.

Early incorporations that include such cultural borrowings as e.g. *reḍiyo* 'radio', *ṭīvī* 'TV', *fon* 'phone', *thiyeṭar* 'theater', *sinemā* 'cinema', *bas* 'bus', *sṭeshan* 'station', *pulis* 'police', *aspatāl* 'hospital', *iñjekshan* 'injection', *gilās* 'glass' *sṭrāberī* 'strawberry', etc. vary phonologically, though

to a different extent, from the English originals. While others, borrowed more recently, lack this phonological adaptation and when considered in isolation, due to their English phonological shape, would be classed by many native speakers as English items. Some nouns e.g. hospital can be pronounced in two ways, as an established borrowing (aspatāl) or as an originally English word (hospiṭal). The acceptance of loans in something approaching their original shape is by no means uncommon among bilinguals that are literate in several languages. Yet, whatever phonological variation, they are used as Hindi items since they obey Hindi grammatical rules. 2

Furthermore, the nouns embedded show varying degree of accordance with Hindi grammar. Some items fully adapt to the grammatical structure, and others to a lesser extent. Nonce borrowings, for instance, normally do not fully follow the grammatical rules. The following are illustrative.

(1) *ab   yeh to bolivuḍ sṭārõ kī   shurū se   paramparā rahī   ki(...)*
now 3.SG-DEM [3]   GEN-f beginning from tradition   remain-SIMP-PERF-f that
From the start it has been the tradition of Bollywodod stars to (…)

(AU 12/10/05)

(2) *sallu   ke sabhī dostõ aur* CO-STARS *ne unhẽ shubhkāmnā sandesh diye.*
(name) GEN-m-PL every EMPH friend-PL-OBL and ERG 3.PL-HON-DAT wish send-give SIMP-PERF
All Sallus'friends and co-stars have given (expressed) [best] wishes to him.

(NBT 17/06/07)

(3) *baṛe   ḍāyrekṭar haĩ   aur baṛe   ko-sṭār haĩ.*
great-PL   be-PRES-PL and great-PL   be-PRES-PL
[They] are great directors and great co-stars.

(AU 12/04/04)

In example (1) the noun *star* fully complies with Hindi grammar and behaves as a regular Hindi noun, the suffix of the oblique case 'õ' is added to the borrowed noun, as required by the following postposition. In sentence (2) both nouns are also followed by the ergative postposition *ne* and need the oblique case inflections as well. However, the Hindi noun *dost* (friend) obeys the rule, while the English *co-stars* does not. In (3) the plurality of the nouns is expressed by the plural verb and the adjectives that inflect for gender and case of the head nouns, and not by the English plural marker 's'. This is especially surprising when one considers that the plural form of *co-star*, as in sentence (2), is admissible in mixed Hindi. Factually, in numerous examples, both English and Hindi plural markers are employed with borrowed nouns.

Another thing to observe is that all the English nouns embedded into mixed Hindi are assigned gender,vmasculine or feminine. The number of the inserted nouns can be both singular (9,10) and plural (11). Two nouns can be embedded on noun+noun basis, with (12, 13) or without the Hindi

---

[2] As Haugen (1950: 222) reports some items may be borrowed twice at different times. He referred to this phenomenon as a 'reborrowing'.

[3] The following abbrevaitions are used throughout this article:

ABS	absolutive participle	CAUS II	double causative	COMP	comparative
DAT	dative	DEM	demonstrative	EMPH	emphasis
ERG	ergative	f.	Feminine	FUT	future
GEN	genitive	HAB	habitual tense	HON	honorific
m.	masculine	NEG	negative	NONOBL	non-oblique
OBL	oblique case	PERF	perfective	PL	plural
POSSESS	possessive	PRES	present	PRESUMPT	presumptive
PROG	progressive	REFL	reflexive	REL	relative
SG	singular	SIMP	simple	SUBJ	subjunctive
VN	verbal noun				

genitive postposition (14, 15). The phrasal noun insertion occurs as well (16, 17). The examples are given here.

(4) *mere pās*   *ek*   *dūsrā ceñj hai.*
     1.SG.POSSESS-OBL near   one   another   be-PRES
     I have got another [clothes for] change.

                                                             (PHIR MILENGE)

(5) *ismẽ* SHAME *kī kyā bāt hai ?*
     3.SG-DEM-OBL-in GEN-f what matter be-PRES
     What is shame[ful] in it ?   (JULIE)

(6) *unhõne mujhse pūchā ki tumhārī* PREPARATIONS *kaisī hai~?*
     3.PL-HON-ERG 1.SG-DAT ask-SIMP-PERF if 2.PL-POSSESS how be-PRES-PL
     He asked me how [far] my preparations were.

                                                             (PHIR MILENGE)

(7) ḍīzāins *kī* PRESENTATIONS *usne kī thī.*
          GEN-f   3.SG ERG do-PERF-PAST
     He has done the presentations of the designs.

                                                             (PHIR MILENGE)

(8) *āpne hamāre progrām* ke ADS *mẽ dekhā hogā.*
     2.PL-HON-ERG 1.PL-POSSESS   GEN-m   in   see-PERF PRESUMPT
     You have [probably] seen the ads for our programs.

                                                               (JULIE)

(9) *yeh film unke* CAREER ke lie TURNING POINT hogī.
     3.SG-DEM 3.PL-HON   for   be-FUT-f
     This will be a turning point in his career.

                                                            (AIR 10/08/03)

(10) *donõ taraf kā* ear preshar EQUALIZE *hotā hai.*
     both side GEN-m   be-HAB PRES
     The air pressure of both sides gets equalized.

                                                            (AIR 19/07/03)

(11) *havāī jahāz safar karte vaqt laiṇḍing aur ṭekāf ke samay* (…)
       plane   journey doing time   and   GEN-m time
     While travelling by plane, during landing and taking off (…)

                                                            (AIR 24/07/03)

(12) *maĩ lok ap mẽ hũ̃.*
     1.SG.   in be-PRES
     I am in a lock-up.

                                                            (CHAMELI)

There have been recorded in the data several cases of substantivization. For instance, English expression *in charge* that has been substantivized as in (13)

(13) maĩ is kes ka iñcarj hũ̃.
     1.SG 3.SG-DEM-OBL GEN-m be-PRES
    *I am the 'in-charge' of this case.

                                                            (ZURM)

One may claim this sentence is a mere example of loan translation of English expression *be in charge of*. The presence of the genitive postposition 'kā' that functions that functions as a kind of adjectival modifier in agreement with *in-charge* serving as a noun, certainly excludes this assumption.

4.1. Fully adapted vs. partially adapted nouns

It is clear that in any language-contact situation, linguistic units of the donor language when incorporated in the RL normally undergo adaptation in order to fit its grammatical structure. As for English-Hindi specifically, it is the noun that shows the greatest adaptative qualities out of all word categories rendered into the colloquial variety. In this section we discuss the stages for a foreign nominal to come through to become fully integrated into the recipient language.

Apparently there are three different stages in the adaptation process to be distinguished. In the first one, the foreign item is embedded into mixed Hindi on ad hoc basis, so it is a nonce borrowing. The lexeme obeys Hindi gammatical rules, but its plural is formed only by foreign means, i.e. by adding -s [-z] suffix. The next stage shows greater integration, as both Hindi Ø and English -s markers are commonly observed to produce plurals. As soon as Ø marker is found adjoined to the loaned nominals, the way is open for the addition of plural oblique case markers as well. Finally, oblique, and in a case when a particular item fits certain declensional type, also non-oblique suffixes are observable. At this stage the loans are already morphologically indistinguishable form native nouns.

1. Adaptation in plural non-oblique and oblique forms of nouns assigned to feminine gender (final vowel -ī) Examples are as follows.

AGENCY	ejansī	ejansiyā̃	ejansiyõ
FANTASY	faiṇṭesī	faiṇṭesiyā̃	faiṇṭesiyõ
FACULTY	fakalṭī	fakalṭiyā̃	fakalṭiyõ
FREQUENCY	frīkvensī	frīkvensiyā̃	frīkvensiyõ
FACTORY	faikṭrī	faikṭriyā̃	faikṭriyõ
GALAXY	gailaksī	gailaksiyā̃	gailaksiyõ
POLICY	pālisī	pālisiyā̃	pālisiyõ
TANK	ṭankī	ṭankiyā̃	ṭankiyõ

2. Adaptation in plural non-oblique and oblique forms of nouns assigned to feminine gender (consonant endings)

FILE	fāil	fāilẽ	fāilõ
GAS	gais	gaisẽ	gaisõ
HEROINE	hīroin	hīroinẽ	hīroinõ
MISSILE	misāil	misāilẽ	misāilõ
PLATE	plet	pleṭẽ	pleṭõ
SCRIPT	skripṭ	skripṭẽ	skripṭõ
SEAT	sīṭ	sīṭẽ	sīṭõ
TEAM	ṭīm	ṭīmẽ	ṭīmõ

3. Adaptation of nouns assigned to masculine gender (I declensional subtype)

SOFA	sofā	sofe	sofõ
CAMERA	kaimerā	kaimere	kaimerõ
FORMULA	fārmyūlā	fārmyūle	fārmyūlõ

5. Adjective insertion

Let us now turn our attention to adjective borrowing. Well, the data demonstrates that there are a number of patterns of adjective insertion into mixed Hindi. The two most common involve single item

insertion that modifies the Hindi noun, as in (14) and (15), and the insertion of phrases in which case the adjectives are inserted together with the English noun as in (16), (17) or adverb (18), (19). This is unsurprising. Sankoff (1998: 19) states that '[i]f nouns are often borrowed and adjectives are often borrowed, then occasionally a noun-adjective combination will appear to have been borrowed together'. Similarily as the Hindi adjectives, the loans can be used predicatively as well (20, 21). Some gradable adjectives are imported readily in a comparative form, but comparative (22) and superlative (23)constructions for English adjectives can also be formed by means of Hindi. The borrowed adjectives are indelinable, and behave as the indeclinable subgroup of Hindi adjectives, e.g. *zindā* (alive), *baṛhiyā* (nice) etc., thus in this respect do not introduce any grammatical novelty.

(14) *kisī aur kī galtī ke lie apnī jān denā koī SENSIBLE bāt hai ?*
some other GEN-f mistake for REFL-POSSESS life give-VN some matter be-PRES
Is it sensible to sacrifice own life for somebody else's mistake?

(JULIE)

(15) *chillāne kī kyā zarūrat hai, normal tarīke se bāt nahī̃ kar sakte haĩ?*
scream-OBL GEN-f what necessity be-PRES way with talk NEG do can–PRES-PL
Why do you scream? Cannot we talk normally?

(ZURM)

(16) *reḍiyo kā REGULAR LISTENER hū̃ maĩ.*
GEN-m be-PRES 1.SG
I am a regular radio listener.

(AIR 12/07/03)

(17) *maĩ HIV-RELATED CASES ke bāre mẽ zyādā nahī̃ jāntā.*
1.SG about much NEG know-PRES
I do not know much about HIV-related cases.

(PHIR MILENGE)

(18) *aur ye ROCKS TOTALLY DARK haĩ.*
and 3.PL be-PRES-PL
And these rocks are totally dark. (JULIE)

(19) *lekin hamārā cainal sirf COMMERCIALLY VIABLE nahī̃ hai (…)*
but 1.PL-POSSESS only NEG be-PRES
But our channel is not only commercially viable (…)

(JULIE)

(20) *yeh patr ADDRESSED hai FM ke lie.*
3.SG-DEM letter be-PRES for
This letter is addressed to FM (radio station)

(AIR 17/07/03)

(21) *I KNOW merā savāl IRRITATING hai.*
1.SG-POSSESS question be-PRES
I know my question is irritating.

(JULIE)

(22) *isse BETTER yā aur INTERESTING TOPIC hai āpke pās?*
    3.SG-OBL from or COMP   be-PRES 2.PL-HON near
    Do you have a better or more interesting topic than this one?

<div align="right">(HUM TUM)</div>

(23) *riyā sen ko ashmit paṭel sabse seksī dikhte haĩ.*
    (name) DAT (name)   SUPERL   look -PRES-HON-PL
    For Riya Sen Ashmit Patel is the most sexy guy.

<div align="right">(AU 16/05/04)</div>

Furthermore, among other distinct features observable in the data, there are e.g. non-standard prefixation and the particle '-sā' suffixation. The first refers to atypical and non-standard creation of adjectives having the opposite meaning, e.g. safe - *insafe* rather than *unsafe, insecure*; traditional - *intraditional* rather than *untraditional*. The latter involves adding to English adjectives the particle denoting a moderate degree of a quality, e.g. NATURAL-sā, SMART-sā.

6. Adverb insertion

In Standard Hindi adverbs are very few in number. Kachru (1980: 78) argues that most words are called adverbs because they function as such category. In fact, very few items are basically adverbs, (e.g. *acānak*, suddenly; *dhyānpūrvak*, carefully). Occasionally, in forming basic adverbs, Sanskrit suffix 'taḥ' and inflectional ending 'yā' are used. In most sentences, however, adjectives (e.g. *acchā* 'good', *sundar* 'beautiful') or nouns followed by a postposition function as adverbs (e.g. *mushkil se*, 'with difficulty'; *āsānī se* 'easily').

English adverbs, in turn, constitute a considerable number of lexical items borrowed into mixed Hindi. In most cases they modify the Hindi verb or adjective (24, 25) though in longer insertions they can modify English verbs and adjectives as well. Hybrid adverbs consisting either of English noun and Hindi postposition or Hindi adjective/noun followed by an English adverb forming suffix '-ly' were as yet absent in the data. [4] In some sentences, the position of adverbs (e.g. initial, final) in the phrase or sentence is clearly influenced by English (26) to (28). A few examples of borrowed adverbs are given below.

(24) *tum log fulī pāgal ho, thīk hai maĩ āū̃gā.*
    2.PL people   crazy be-PRES, ok be-PRES, 1.SG come-FUT
    You are completely crazy, [but] ok, I will come.

<div align="right">(JULIE)</div>

(25) *tumne apnā phon ān choṛ diyā.*
    2.PL-ERG REFL-POSSESS leave-give-SIMP-PERF
    You have left your phone on.

<div align="right">(MASTI)</div>

(26) *enive, maĩne apnī OBJECTIONS promo ḍāyrakṭar ko bhej dī̃.*
    1.SG-ERG REFL-POSSESS   DAT send give-SIMP-PERF-f-PL
    Anyway, I have sent my objections to the promo-director.

<div align="right">(JULIE)</div>

(27) *subah SIR kī koī kols āye, phir vah fāinalī mere ghar par cale āye,*
    morning   GEN-f few come-SIMP-PERF-PL, later 3.SG 1.SG-POSSESS house on come-come-SIMP-PERF-HON-PL
    He called me a few times in the morning, and finally came to meet me at my

---

[4] As reported by Shapiro (2003: 266) in formal Perso-Arabicized registers single word adverbs are found that incorporate adverbforming suffixes in Persian and Arabic respectively, e.g. *ittifāqan* 'by chance' (ittafāq 'chance'+ an).

> *mujhse milne.*
> 1SG with meet-OBL
> house.   (PHIR MILENGE)

(28) *mujhe hospiṭal jānā hai, arjeṇṭlī.*
　　1.SG-DAT　　　　go-VN　be-PRES
　　I must go to the hospital urgently.

7.　Conjunct verbs

In Standard Hindi, conjunct verbs are very common. These constructions form a single syntactic unit and are used to express notions that in other languages are expressed by a unitary verb. Typically, they consist of:

(i)　　a noun followed by a verb, e.g. *ārambh karnā* 'start do' – to start, *intazār karnā* 'wait do' – to wait, *anumati denā* 'permission give' to permit, *safāī karnā* 'cleanness do' to clean, etc.

(ii)　　an adjective followed by a verb, e.g. *nishcit karnā* 'sure do' – to make sure, *pareshān karnā* 'worried do' - to cause anxiety', *pūrā karnā* 'complete do' – to finish, to complete, *mālūm karnā* 'known do' to discover, to ascertain, *spaṣṭ karnā* 'clear do' to make clear, to explain, *sāf karnā* 'clean do', to clean, etc.

Conjuncts based on nouns are far more numerous than those based on adjectives. Among the verbal components of the conjunct constructions, the most popular are the verbs *honā* 'to be' and *karnā* 'to do', forming verbal expressions, intransitive and transitive respectively, though other verbal elements such as *denā* 'to give', *lenā* 'to take', *ānā*, to come', *lagānā* 'to join, to connect, to fasten, to apply' are used as well. Other patterns, e.g. a verb followed a verb, or an adverb followed by a verb, do not occur in the Standard Hindi.

As previously attested (Kachru 1978, 1986a) many English-origin words associate with the Hindi verbs to form the conjunct constructions in code-mixed utterances. However, in mixed Hindi, conjunct verbs are patterned differently than in the the standard variety. These patterns of mixed conjunct verbs (onwards MCV) include 1. 'nominal' conjuncts, 2. 'verbal' conjuncts, 3. 'adjectival' conjuncts, as they are proposed here to be termed. The utterances in which the MCV are employed prove the MCVs to behave identically as in non-mixed constructions.

7.1.1. Nominal conjuncts

In this pattern, an English-origin noun is followed by a Hindi verb, e.g. OFFER *denā* 'offer give' = to make an offer, to offer, CONFIRMATION *karnā* 'confirmation do' = to confirm, CASE *karnā* 'case do' = to put the case, PAINTING *karnā* 'painting do' = to do painting, PREPARATION *karnā* 'preparation do' = to make preparations, PRESENTATION *karnā* 'presentation do' = to have a presentation. For the sake of convenience, all foreign verbal components have been given in capital letters.

(29) *hamāre sho ko lekar kāfī* CRITICISM *ho rahī hai.*
　　1.PL POSSESS DAT take-ABS quite　　　be-PROG-PRES
　　There's quite a lot of criticism going on of our show.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(JULIE)

(30) *yeh ham ne baṛe flaiṭs mẽ bhī mārbal se zyādā impārṭans dī hai spes ko.*
　　3.SG-DEM 1.PL-ERG big in even　　　　from more　　　　give-PERF PRES DAT
　　In big flats we have given even more importance to space than to marble.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(JULIE)

(31) *mujhe ecāivī kī infekshan ho jāẽ to ?*
　　1.SG-DAT　GEN-f　　　　be go-SUBJ then
　　What if I got HIV infection ?
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(PHIR MILENGE)

7.1.2. Compound noun based MCVs

N+N based MCVs are a subgroup of the nominal type. Data shows these occur quite frequently, e.g. *bam-blāsṭ karnā* 'bomb blast do', *guḍ morning karnā* 'good morning do', *peparvark karnā* 'paper work do', *pres kānfarens karnā*, 'press conference do' *biznas plān karnā,* 'to make a business plan', etc. as in the following :

(32) *maĩ pulis ke pās jāũgi, maĩ pres kānfrens karũgī, maĩ sab ko batā dũgī ki*
　　 1.SG　　near go-FUT-f, 1.SG　　do-FUT-f, 1.SG everybody DAT tell give-FUT-f that
　　 I will go to the police, I will do a press conference, I will tell everybody that

　　　　usne usko mārā.
　　　　3.SG-ERG 3.SG-DAT kill-SIMP-PERF
　　　　she has killed him.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(JISM)

(33) *usse pūchtāch karne par usne do sāl pahle āmgā̃v-gerughaṭ ke pās bam-blāsṭ*
　　 3.SG with inquiry do-OBL on 3.SG-ERG two year before (*name*)　　near
　　 When questioned, he admitted [involvement in] a bomb blast near Amgav-

　　　　karne kī ghaṭnā kabūlī.
　　　　do-OBL GEN-f event accept-SIMP-PERF
　　　　Gerughat two years before.　　　　　　　　　　　　　(HINDI GOOGLE)

(34) *ham sabhī kisī na kisī rūp mẽ peparvark karte haĩ, jo bahut zarūrī hai.*
　　 1.PL everybody-EMPH some-NEG-some shape in do-PRES, that-REL very important be-PRES
　　 Every single one of us does some kind of paperwork that is important.

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(JAG 27/09/06)

7.1.3. Verbal conjuncts

These are formed by an English verb followed by a Hindi verb as in ATTEND *karnā* 'attend do' = to attend, CONSIDER *karnā* 'consider do' = to consider, NORMALIZE *honā* 'normalize be' = to normalize, etc. With verbal conjuncts, the Hindi transitive verb *karnā* is used the most often, though instances of intransitive *honā* have also been observed. As a matter of fact, one can predict that similarly to non-mixed expressions, both verbs are possible for each and every mixed construction. Out of all patterns of producing MCVs, verbal conjuncts, rank first in terms of frequency. This is particularly interesting, as this pattern is non-existent in the standard variety.

(35) *kyā āpne MR sharmā ko apne ABSENCE ke bāre mẽ INFORM kiyā?*
　　 what 2.PL-HON-ERG　DAT REFL-POSSESS　　about　　do-SIMP-PERF
　　 Did you inform Mr Sharma about your absence?
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(PHIR MILENGE)

(36) *pahle khud apne āpse* DISCRIMINATE *karnā band kar, phir dūsrõ se* EXPECT
　　 karnā.
　　 first　REFL-POSSESS 2.PL-HON-DAT　do-VN finished do-ABS, then other-PL-OBL from
　　 First, don't discriminate yourself, then expect the same from others.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(PHIR MILENGE)

(37) *ve* CONSIDER *kar rahe haĩ ki apne sāre prāḍakts dūsrī ejansī ke pās le jāẽ.*
　　 3.PL　　　　　 do-PROG-PRES that REFL-POSSESS all-m another　　near take go-SUBJ
　　 They are considering taking all their products to another agency.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(PHIR MILENGE)

(38) *ma͠ine tumhẽ pārṭī kā nām reḍ pensil se aṇḍarlāin karne ko bolā thā.*
    1.SG ERG 2.PL DAT GEN-m   with   do-OBL DAT tell-PERF-PAST
    I have told you to underline the party's name in red pecil.

<div align="right">(AIR 15/08/03)</div>

(39) *ma͠ine kal jo leṭar tumhẽ ṭāip karvāyā thā, usmẽ ākhir mẽ*
    1.SG ERG yesterday which-REL 2.PL DAT do-CAUS-II PAST, 3.SG-DEM-OBL in end in
    When I had the letter typed yesterday, I wanted you to write 'with regards' in

    likvāyā "WITH REGARDS" aur tumne ṭāip kiyā "WITH LOVE"
    write-CAUS-II-SIMP-PERF and 2.PL ERG do-SIMP-PERF
    the end, but you had typed 'with love'.

<div align="right">(AIR 15/08/03)</div>

(40) *āpkī kampanī ke sels 56 PERCENT se IMPROVE hue...*
    2.PL-HON-POSSESS GEN-m-PL   with   be-SIMP-PERF-PL
    The sales of your company have improved by 56 percent.

<div align="right">(PHIR MILENGE)</div>

(41) *peris ke bād kyā tum mumbaī mẽ mere sāth ADJUST kar pāogī ?*
    after what 2.PL Mumbai   in 1.SG-POSSESS with do manage-FUT-f
    After Paris, will you be able to adjust with me in Mumbai ?

<div align="right">(HUM TUM)</div>

7.1.4. Adjectival conjuncts

The adjectival conjuncts in mixed Hindi are a third largest group of MCVs after structures having nominals and verbals as bases. When inserted into Hindi matrix, initially they produce intransitive constructions of ADJ+ *honā*, where the verb *be* acts as a copula. As the integration progresses the forms ADJ+*karnā* also appear.

It is important to note that while V-based or N-based MCVs can be created in an unconstrained manner, just by sheer insertion of foreign element and joining it with native verbal component, the ADJ-based are not so freely formed. In most cases, in order to produce an adjectival conjunct the item has to be nativized, which is not the case with nominal and verbal structures. They occur with high frequency in non-assimilated code-mix speech, but the ADJ-based do not. In other words, we can argue that basically any English noun or verb may form MCVs in mixed Hindi, while it is not so in adjectival conjuncts. Moreover, it seems that some English-origin adjectives are less susceptible to produce MCVs, with the exception of ADJ+*honā* structures mentioned above. Among them are *interested, excited, busy*, *self-centered, unfaithful,* etc. These have not been so far observed to form MCVs with *karnā* as a constituent, although they are in fact very common with *honā*, as data demonstrates. Below are some examples in which *karnā* does occur.

(42) *bīmārī kī jaṛ mānī jānevālī shugar ab māiṇḍ ko shārp karegī.*
    illness GEN-f origin believed go-vālā-f   now   DAT   do-FUT-f
    Sugar that is believed to cause the illness will make the mind sharp.

<div align="right">(NBT 09/07/07)</div>

(43) *koī xabar yā fonkol āpkā mūḍ fresh kar saktī hai.*
    some news or   2.PL-HON-POSSESS do can-PRES
    Some piece of news or a phonecall can freshen your mood.

<div align="right">(NBT 28/07/07)</div>

(44) *unko avayer karnā nihāyat zarūrī hai.*
    3.PL DAT   do-VN extremely necessary be-PRES
    It is extremely important to make them aware [of it].

<div align="right">(NBT 12/07/07)</div>

(45) *apne proḍakṭ ko popular karne ke lie kampaniyā̃ use saste dāmõ*
    REFL-POSSESS DAT. do-OBL for company-PL-NON-OBL 3.SG-DAT cheap price-PL-OBL
    To make their product popular, the companies also sell it for

    par bhī bec detī hai̇̃.
    on also   sell give -PRES
    cheap prices.

<div align="right">(AU 07/10/05)</div>

8. Mixed postpositions

Hindi is rich in postpositions which are used to indicate different syntactic functions served by nouns. Due to the Englishization process, apart from Hindi-only postpositional expressions mixed Hindi and English structures are employed bymixed Hindi speakers as well and thus a number of new expressions are added to the mixed Hindi linguistic repertoire.

The vast majority of these compound postpositions consist of two elements with the first one *ke/kī* present in both mixed and non-mixed varietes, but the second one being replaced in mixed Hindi by its English equivalent. For example, *ke xilāf* turns into ke OPPOSITE, *ke dvārā* into ke THROUGH.

(46) FRANCE *kī jantā ne 2002 mẽ Le Pen ke* AGAINST *voṭ kiyā thā*
      GEN-f population ERG in   do-PERF-PAST
    In 2002 [election] the French population voted against Le Pen.

<div align="right">(DW 14/06/07)</div>

(47) *iskī help se varḍ lisṭ, flaish kārḍs, maiths kī kvik ṭips hāsil kar sakte hai̇̃.*
    3.SG-DEM-OBL with   GEN-f   get do can-PRES-PL
    With the help of [the tool] you can get[acess to] the word list, flash cards and quick tips on maths.

<div align="right">(NBT 18/04/07)</div>

(48) *ham ummīd karte hai̇̃ ki āpko acche-sacce dost* FM *ke thrū zarūr milẽge.*
    1.PL hope do-PRES hat 2.PL-HON-DAT good-true friend   surely meet-FUT-PL
    We hope you can find good friends via/through the FM [radio]

<div align="right">(AIR 17/07/03)</div>

9. Affixation

The unit hybridization in Kachruvian sense manifests in the affixation. Lexemes rendered from English are suffixed or, by lesser extent, prefixed by Hindi morhemes, both content and grammatical. This particular kind of unit hybidization differs from other types e.g. conjuncts and mixed collocations, as it takes place within a single lexeme. There are four distinguished patterns of unit hybridization recorded in the data and they are as follows,.

1) imported English stem affixed by Hindi grammatical morpheme
    '-õ' - plural oblique case suffix

<div align="center">11</div>

'-ī' - forming adjectives from noun stems as in FILMī, kā̃gresī (CONGRESS+ī) 'having to do with congress' ḍākṭarī (DOCTOR+ ī) 'medicine, medical science' kaptānī (CAPTAIN+ ī) 'captaincy'; afsarī (OFFICER + ī) 'duties of an officer'

'-iyat' employed to create abstract nouns as in
> *haiṇḍsamiyat, i.e,* HANDSOM+iyat :
>> *jab āp lensas pahante haĩ to āpkī haiṇḍsamiyat chip jātī.*
> *afsariyat* (OFFICER+iyāt) officialdom
> *boriyat* (BORE+ iyāt)
>> *āj ravivār ko ghar par baiṭhnā āpke lie boriyat kā saba ho jātā hai.*

2) imported English stem affixed by Hindi content morpheme

'-kār' -that forms agent nouns from nominal stems as in FILMkār
> *darshakõ ne hī nahī̃, sāre baṛe filmkārõ ne mujh par vishvās kiyā*
'-dān' -having the sense 'container of or for…' as in VOTEdān
'-ānkan' -as in FILMānkan
> *shirṣak gīt kā filmānkan lajavāb rahā hai.*
'-dātā' -as in VOTEdātā
'-ānā' -as in FILMānā, afsarānā (bueraucratic, official) from (OFFICER+ānā)
> *sunā hai ki ek baṛā hissā ek eyarporṭ par filmāyā gayā*
'-tā' forming abstract nouns as in VOLTtā (volṭṭā) - voltage
'-shāh' afsarshāh (OFFICER +shāh) bureaucrat
'-shudā' rajisṭrīshudā (REGISTRY+shudā) registered
'-vād' forming –isms, sṭālinvād (stalinism)

3) Hindi prefix followed by English stem
'be-' as in beTICKET (beṭikaṭ)

4) English stem juxtaposed with Hindi stem, as in
karfyū-grast, i.e. CURFEW+grast = affected by curfew (region) like *durghāṭnāgrast*
> *karfyū-grast kṣetr mẽ.*
māigren pīṛit, i.e. MIGRENE+ pīṛit = suffering from migrene
> *duniyā bhar ke māigren pīṛitõ ko rāhat kī ummīd kī jā rahī hai.*
ḍipreshan-grast, i.e. DEPRESSION+grast = affected by depression *sankaṭ-grast (crisis)*
foṭo-sanshleṣaṇ i.e. PHOTO+ sanshleṣaṇ = photo synthesis
koch-vihīn, i.e. COACH+ vihīn = deprived of a coach
> *bhāratīya ṭīm shrī sharmā ke istīfe ke bād koch-vihīn hai.*
misāil-rodhī, i.e. MISSILE+ rodhī = anti-missail
> *misāil-rodhī vyavsthā.*

10. Conclusion

In this article we have tried to show the Englishization process has far reaching effects on Hindi language and that it manifest in many linguistic phenomena. Some of them have been already attested in literature on the subject, but many of them have not. We have shown the most typical one, the mixed conjuct verbs, is rich in variety that has not been explored before. The given examples also prove the English influence has reached the morphological level of the Hindi language where the number of innovations have deeply changed its linguistic structure. As the Englishization is an evergrowing process we can expect more novelties to occur in the years to come.

Bibliography:

Annamalai,E. 2001. *Managing multilingualism in India – Political and Linguistic manifestations*. Sage Publications, New Delhi

Bhatia, Tej K. and Ritchie, William C. (ed.) 2006. *Handbook of Bilingualism*. Blackwell Publishing

Haugen, E. 1950. The analysis of linguistic borrowing . *Langauge* 26, 210-231.

Kachru, Braj B. 1975. Toward structuring the form and function of code-mixing: an Indian perspective. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences*, 5(1), 74–92. (A revised version, with the title ''Toward structuring code-mixing: An Indian perspective,'' was reproduced in 1978 in the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 16, 27–46).

Kachru, Braj B. 1983. *The Indianization of English. The English Language in India*. Oxford: OUP

Kachru, Braj B. 1986a. *The Alchemy of English: the spread, functions and models of non-native Englishes*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Kachru, Braj B. 1986b. English education in India: a sociolinguistic profile of Indian English. *Nagoya Gakuin Daikagu Gaikokugo Kyoiku Kiyo* No. 15:11-30.

Kachru, Yamuna. 1980. *Aspects of Hindi grammar*. New Delhi: Manohar Publications.

Malhotra, Sunita. 1980. Hindi-English Code-switching and Language Choice in Urban Upper-middle-class Indian Families. *Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics* vol 5. no 2. 39-46.

Sankoff, D. 1998. The production of code-mixed discourse. *Proceedings of the 36th annual meeting on Association for Computational Linguistics* 1, 8-21.

Sankoff, G. 2001. Linguistic Outcomes of Language Contact. In: Trudgill, P., Chambers, J. & Schilling-Estes, N. (eds.) *Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 638-668.

Singh, R. 1985. Grammatical constraints on codeswitching: Evidence from Hindi-English. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics*, 30, 33-45.