

Chapter VI

WRITING FOR AN EXO-CULTURAL AUDIENCE

Colonialism leaves its imprint both on the colonized and the colonizer. The most subtle and lasting mark, that India left on her old ruler, has been impressed for ever on the fabric of the English language. It is a contribution of over 900 Indian words as listed in the Oxford English Dictionary. This contribution has been principally made through the work of Anglo-Indians who put these words into current usage, popularised them in the West and thus transplanted them into English. Anyone who reads their literature will be struck by their uninhabitive use of Indian linguistic items. Partly these Hindustani words which English language can never forget and partly the Eastern imagery and symbolism which most Englishmen might have by now forgotten, synthesize to give Anglo-Indian literature its peculiar aura. Though a basic unit of commonwealth literature it has its inherent differences. E.F. Oaten in his scholarly, article "Anglo-Indian Literature" tries to account for the peculiarities of this branch in the different social set up of the Anglo-Indians on the one hand and the Canadians and Australians on the other. "The degree to which the ever changing English community that guards and administers India differs from the settled inhabitants of Canada or Australia is, at the same time, an explanation

of the main peculiarities of that literature and also the measure of the difficulty which confronts any attempt to define it." (331) It is the literature of a small body of Englishmen who were in India for varying periods. They found India so different in every respect from their own little island and Indian culture an enigma in itself. Most of them seldom took root in this soil. Instead they strived to remain thoroughly English in thought and aspiration in their contentments cut off from the native masses. All the same they were subjected to the influence of two civilizations, Western as well as Eastern. They could not ward off the influences of Indian culture and Indian languages and in course of time bilingualism and occasionally biculturalism became a condition of the colonial situation. Thus the Anglo-Indians became heirs to two cultures, two languages and hence to two world views for "to speak a language is to take on a world, a culture." (Fanon 38) This had an impact on their creative ventures, particularly on fiction and on painting.

Dennis Kincaid noticed the interference of the two world views at least in the realm of landscape painting in which many English ladies indulged :

And it was landscape that every lady wanted to paint. A sketch of a quiet river with high banks lined with casuarinas ; the jagged and pleasantly 'awful ghats'; a temple embowered in a mango-grove... the

temple would not be rendered very exactly; infact those writhing gods and goddesses only spoilt the general grand effect and could safely be omitted. In the end the architecture of the temple seemed in the picture, to have developed into a blend of Gothic and Grecian ; Early English arches sprouting from Corinthian Columns with just a touch of Egyptian or Chinese decoration. One then darkened the same considerably to show that it was evening and finished off the picture by adding in the corner a tall graceful maiden in white robes, drawing water from a well. (Kinciad 154)

This was more or less the impression created not only by landscape painting but also by Anglo-Indian fiction in general. It was but natural since the sensibility behind every artistic creativity had been influenced by two cultures and at least by more than two languages. Such bilingual and bi-cultural interferences at the conscious and unconscious levels did influence Anglo-Indian writings though the quantum of interference was variable from writer to writer in proportion to his or her contact with the core of India. Most of these British intellectuals were incipient bilinguals and at least a good many of them were fluent in Indian languages. Their bilingualism was an interfering influence if one takes into account J.B. Pride's observation :

In the speech of bilinguals, the pattern and amount of interference is not the same at all times and under all circumstances. It may vary with the medium (reading vs. speech) the style (narrative vs. conversational purpose of the interaction) the register (social role of the speaker) and the context (topic of the discourse)... in the last analysis interference varies from text to text." (Pride 115)

It is equally important to note the other influences that were operative on the Anglo-Indian intellectuals in India. Through culture and education they were heirs to the eighteenth and nineteenth century traditional norms (norm keeping order) of English and continental literature. In India they came into contact with the norms of Indian folk tales and myths. There was no tradition in novel or travelogue at that time. Indian novel was just beginning and that was under the direct influence of the English novel. On the one side they had such models as Scott, Trollope, Dickens, Thackeray and Austen and on the other traditional bards expounding Hindu, Muslim and Jain myths and folklores. Eastern traditions hardly touched them. Hence in the norm keeping order or in the generic characteristics such as plotting, characterization, description, cliches etc. one finds hardly any innovation. However, innovations (the norm breaking order) are to be noted at the morphemic and semantic levels. These innovations were necessitated by the transcription of an alien ethos for an exo-cultural audience. The Anglo-Indian writers inspite of their varying duration of contact with India were onlookers or outsiders and so they were unable to transcribe the India they saw and felt like an endo-cultural writer, an insider. After years of study and close association with India Meadows Taylor was very much aware of this cultural distance. In a letter to the Times of India during his final visit to India he remarked :

I would fain^{to} see the educated portion striving to strike out new lines of occupation for themselves; and I do not despair of yet seeing illustrations of native life, native legends and native history written by yourselves. Such as I am, though we strive ever so much, cannot penetrate beyond the surface of that we see; and as for myself, in regards to 'Tara', 'Seeta' and other books, where I have tried to work out phases of native character, male and female, I only hope I have produced pictures something like reality and not caricatures. Until Marathi and other native languages have a homely literature of their own, I confess, there is the want of a principle which would encourage many better things. (Story of My Life 477-78)

Transcribing India and portraying her people for the audience in England was not an easy proposition. India appeared to have the face of Janus. The apparently dull natives were subtle beneath, their culture elusive and their sensibility too deep to fathom. They were dealing with non-English speaking people in non-English speaking situations. In this context what Meenakshi Mukherjee observes about the difficulty faced by Indo-Anglian writers is equally applicable to Anglo-Indian writers. "... Apart from dialogue, even in description, narration and reflection the Indo-Anglian novelist is dealing with modes of thinking, manners and observation, and instinctive responses of people whose awareness has been conditioned by a language other than English". (Mukherjee 179) In fact the Anglo-Indians were a step farther from the reality of India both by culture and language. And if Indo-Anglian fiction is "twice born"

Anglo-Indian literature can legitimately be termed "thrice born". These writers were consciously or unconsciously giving English a peculiarly Indian tone and colour by drawing on the resources of the Indian languages and infusing their essence into normal literary English. And yet one cannot fully endorse E.F. Oaten's definition. "Anglo-Indian literature is for the most part merely English literature strongly marked by Indian local colour". (Oaten 331) The tone and colour are but superficial and there are levels deeper and fundamental where the Indian effects are noticed. For instance can one call the following passage from 'Tippoo Sultan' merely English literature? "The Sultan is great and valiant; he eats mountains and drinks rivers; before his eyes the livers of his enemies melt into water." (Tippoo 265) The language is English but the vision of reality that emerges through the imagery and symbolism employed is totally un-English. English has been nourished by Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman world views. But it is difficult to find a passage like the one quoted above, except perhaps in the pages of the Apocalypse. It springs rather from the mythical cosmic vision that India offers where a mountain (Meru) can be used to churn up the oceans where a serpent (Vasuki) can be turned into a rope and where from the churning ocean a goddess (Lakshmi) and a pot of nectar (Amrut) can emerge.

The Anglo-Indian use of Indian words and Indian imagery was not merely to add local colour and tone. It was a necessity felt by all of them while conveying their

perceptions to their counter-parts in England. They were trying to encode a different culture and ethos in codes familiar to them. They were in a process of translation, translating one language into another, transcribing one culture through the codes of another culture. This was no easy task since "languages are as figurative of the particular nature of a civilization as are its garb and social rites. Each language is an 'epiphany' or articulate revelation of a specific historical cultural landscape."

(Steiner 76) If one follows Steiner's line of thinking, Indian cultural landscapes can be fully interpreted only through Indian languages. Steiner however was not the first one to point out the inadequacy of a particular language in transcribing an alien culture into its own terms. His observation in fact is based on Leibniz's suggestion advanced years ago in 1967, that language is not the vehicle of thought but its determining medium. "Thought is language internalized, and we think and feel as our particular language impels and allows us to do... languages, perpetual living mirrors of the universe, each of which reflects or as we would now put it, structures experience according to its own particular sight lines and habits of cognition." (qtd. in Steiner 74) All the modern linguists are unanimous in their opinion that the actual as well as conceptual perception of the outer reality is both controlled and influenced by the language of a cultural group. This is the reason why encoding one culture into another

language becomes difficult. To quote the opinion of Edward Sapir; "No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached." (qtd. in Steiner 87) Every Anglo-Indian writer was aware of this truth though they were not then aware of the different "houses of consciousness". The English language with its vast vocabulary and adaptability is capable of translating nearly everything but not wholly everything. E.F. Oaten who, on the one hand, notices only the superficialities of local colour and tone in the use of Indianisms in Anglo-Indian literature, confesses, on the other hand, to the "unsuitability" of English language for rendering the oriental mind and imagery. In his analysis of Torulata Dutt's poems he has this comment to offer. "She so nearly achieved a striking success as to make one regret that our language is essentially unsuited to the riot of imagery and ornament which form part of the natural texture of the oriental mind." (Oaten 342).

That their eastern experience necessitated their use of Indian imagery and symbolism as well as Indian linguistic items can be adjudged from the variety of styles they adopted in their varied modes of writing. A striking feature of the styles of these writers is the absence of 'Indianisms' when they write on native English themes or on themselves. Taylor's Story

of My Life is written simply in the 19th century English. But in his fiction about India he makes an attempt to be realistic to his Indian characters and themes by introducing a peculiar tone of language and flexibility of style. The net result is that he sounds slightly unrealistic and artificial when judged by the English literary standards of Scott, Trollope and Dickens. Similarly Emily Eden's ^{The} Semi-attached Couple and ^{The} Semi-detached House are in chaste Austenian English. But in her Up the country we notice a slight variation in the register as well as her style when she describes things or personages particularly Indian. However it should be noted that the influence of "Indianism" on Miss Eden and Bishop Heber was less when compared to Tod and Taylor almost in ratio proportion to their contact with India.

The two fold ostensible purpose of Anglo-Indian writing was to bring home to the British readers the exotic or the realistic aspects of India and to derive some pleasure or at least relieve the monotony of Anglo-Indian existence in India. Meadows Taylor in his Story of My Life clearly brings out this twin purposes of Anglo-Indian authorship. "I wanted to bring India near to England, to bring its people nearer to our people; and if by my simple descriptions of life among the natives, any have felt more interest in their Indian brothers, or have been led to read and study more my object has been attained." (469) To bring the two races closer to each other

and to induce an interest in oriental studies had been the twin motives behind a sizeable portion of Anglo-Indian writings. However there were many who took up the pen in their leisure hours just to give self-expression to their pent up feelings, to kill the monotony of their existence and to derive some delight from artistic creativity. Again Meadows Taylor attests to this fact when he says :

My literary work has been a great pleasure to me; but I can only write about the people among whom I loved and whom I love and shall always love to the last. Had I known how to write about modern society, fast young ladies, rove young gentlemen, fair murderers with golden hair and all the 'sensation' tribe, I doubt not I should have filled my pockets better; but it was no use; I was too old and stiff to change my ways." (Story of My Life. 469)

For Meadows Taylor writing about India was a labour of love; for Tod it was filling up a void; for Heber it was a romantic appraisal of the subcontinent and for Emily it was almost a comic relief from stiff protocol and her ever-present sense of exile. There were also quite a few sensation mongers who either for money or for fame accentuated on the exotic and the weird in the mysterious East.

As hinted earlier, from the Indian point of view, the Anglo-Indian writers were on lookers on an alien culture. Linguistically speaking they operated under the following influences.

- (a) Anaesthetizing influence on the perceptive level on account of the different cultural codes.

(b) Limiting influence of a foreign medium (English).

(c) Narrowing or romanticizing influence of an
exo-cultural audience.

Their readers at home might perceive more or less than what the writers themselves perceived or wanted to convey. They were probably aware of the entropy (loss in communication) either in kind or degree on account of the alien context and perception through an alien code. To put it in the words of Umberto Eco, "in general any addressee will turn to his own cultural inheritance, his own particular world vision, in order to choose the subcodes that he wishes to apply to the message." (Eco 290) To negativize the effects of under-coding or overcoding which was perhaps anticipated, these intellectuals in their eagerness to give a faithful portrayal of the Indian ethos, adopted a device which can be loosely termed as "Indianism". Among the four authors under consideration, Tod and Taylor lived in India for decades and they acquired a fairly good command over the local languages. They learnt them primarily for administrative purposes but later on the acquired knowledge gave them an insight into the Indian culture. In general the Englishmen in India could have had two motives in learning Hindustani and other Indian languages. An Orientalist like Wilson Jones, for example, learnt Sanskrit and Indian literature largely for the cultural insight it gave. For people like Jones, Taylor and Tod, to learn a language besides one's own native tongue, was to open for themselves a

second window on the landscape of being. As George Steiner observes in his Extra-territorial, it was "to escape even if partially from the confinement of the apparently obvious, from the intolerant poverty, so corrosive just because one is unconscious of it, of a single focus and monochrome

lens." (89) For most Englishmen, however, Indian languages were meant for utilitarian motives such as power, prestige, solidarity or expression of one's own culture. Those who were mere "birds of passage" - we might include Bishop Heber and Miss Eden in this category-picked up a few Indian words and phrases by chance and occasionally used them as tokens of novelty.

This study is concerned with the literary use of bilingualism rather than its use as a sign of novelty. The impulses operating behind such a usage are not very far to be seen. First of all the Anglo-Indians were making a sincere effort to communicate to the home audience their perception of India as accurately as possible. The desired accuracy was at times difficult if they had limited themselves to the linguistic items from their own language. The full meaning of an Indian word or phrase could not be translated into English. This was nothing new for as Jacques Ehrmann says, "... full meaning of one tongue cannot be translated to another, that we can speak several languages but normally live in only one. Completely assimilating a language requires the speaker to assume its world." (Ehrmann 20) For instance the word "namaskar" does not

yield itself to an inter-lingual translation. It can be understood only at inter-lingual and intersemiotic levels i.e. "when the linguistic perspective is compared with the perspective created by some other system of signs." (Todorov 267) "Namaskar" involves not only a linguistic sign but also gestures of the head and the hand (bowed head and folded hands). The English equivalent term "salutation" will not exactly convey the total perception involved. Hence most Anglo-Indian writers have used the native word "namaskar" or "namaskaram" with or without comments on its meaning. Similarly "kala pani" (ki saju) cannot be translated as merely "black waters." To the Indians it meant exile to the Andaman Nicobar islands, a punishment which was considered worse than capital punishment. In such cases it was but natural that the Anglo-Indians kept the same vernacular terms.

Secondly the use of native terminology might have sprung on account of expediency. It was easier for the writers to use a readymade word or phrase rather than look for an exact English equivalent. For example "chota peg" and "bada peg" could be rendered as "small peg" and "large peg" but most writers have retained the Hindustani colloquial usage. Similar is the case with "bada khana" meaning "a luxurious meal" or say, "a five course dinner". Thirdly, the use of native idioms and phraseology could also have been a mark of affectation, a show of linguistic superiority over the Englishmen at home. Anglo-Indians were nicknamed as "heaven-borns" for their affectation in other areas of behaviour and this superiority complex must have penetrated to

the linguistic realm as well. More than expediency or affectation, economy of words seems to be a stronger motive. For Anglo-Indians and the native speakers associated with them, certain words such as "gymkhana", "dak bungalow", "company bahadur" and "pandas" expressed more than their face value. Among their small circle they had already arrived at a complex understanding of such native terms and the act of communication between themselves and between the natives had become more economical. A single word, apparently vague to the outsider, constituted a far more precise form of communication amongst this "intimate" group than its loose translation or a commentary on it. The British intellectuals in India expected their home audience to enter into this intimate linguistic group to arrive at a perfect understanding of their message. Finally there was the Anglo-Indian speech habits which included a good many Hindi and other vernacular words flowed into their writings too. We find in their fiction a good many Indian words for which there are equivalents in English. In any case these words would not have been understood by the exo-cultural audience without explanation or comments. Therefore such inclusion can be traced to the writer's habitual mode of speech. The English in the 19th century were as fond of Indian words as they were of Indian curries. Meadows Taylor and James Tod sprinkled a good many of them in their writings, at times without fully understanding the various nuances of words and word combinations. The glossary attached to 'A Noble Queen' contains 149 Hindi and Urdu words

while that of The Thug gives 166 words. James Tod, however, does not exhibit language consciousness to this extent.

In the above pages an attempt has been made to look into some of the theoretical aspects and motives behind the usage of Indianisms by Anglo-Indians in their writings, particularly fiction. The rest of this chapter is devoted to the main features of this usage as observed in the writings of Tod, Taylor Heber and Miss Eden. However before one begins with the actual categories of Indianisms, two stylistic features associated with Anglo-Indian fiction need to be briefly mentioned. The first of these may be termed as "racio-conscious subjectivity". Without exception, the British intellectuals under consideration, were the products of a liberal England with notions and ideas about India firmly rooted in their minds. When they set foot in India and mingled with the natives most of their fantasy notions disappeared. However the unconscious pressure of their own racio-consciousness, tilted their vision of India to a considerable degree. Bishop Heber, for example, had made up his mind to be as realistic as a romantic could be and observe persons and things objectively. Necessarily he dispersed with such notions as the rapid oriental sunrise or sunset, the hawthorn hedge smell around the coast of Malacca and the spicy gales of Srilanka. But he and others like him created their own fictional notions about India. It is so since none can be entirely free from the stained-glass window vision of one's own culture. Necessarily to Heber the meeting place of the Hugli and the bay of Bengal seems to be the river where

Dante found the spirit of Fillippo Argenti. The botanical garden of Calcutta is a replica of Milton's idea of Paradise. Similarly, some parts of the ruined palace of Suraj-Daulah reminds him of conway castel and others of Boutton Abbey. On the way to Dacca a begger approached him where upon his mental reaction was typical of an Englishman, for he says, "a tall, well-made, but lean and rowboned man, in a most fantastic array of rags and wretchedness and who might have answered admirably to Shakespeare's Edgar." (Heber 168) Like Heber Miss Eden also sees things with the subjectivity of a Britisher. A garden belonging to a prince of Lucknow impressed her very much. So she wrote to her sister, "and you remember were in the Arabian Nights Zobedia bets her garden of delight against the Caliph's garden of pictures. I am sure this was the garden of delights." (Eden 62) Kutub Minar appeared to her as the great Babylon. In the same way the tent-life she had to lead for the major part of her stay in India invokes in her the lines of David, the psalmist, "Woe is me that I am constrained to dwell with Mesech, and to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar." (Eden 265) Even when confronted by the Oriental phenomena, their reaction are formulated by their Eurocentric vision, its imagery and symbolism, its classical allusions and its filiation with Judeo-Christian myths. Their reactions in fact underscores Edward Said's observation which says that "... the critical consciousness is a part of its actual social world and of the literal body that the consciousness inhabits,

not by any means as escape from either one or the other."

(Said 16)

Besides this projected omniscient British point of view there is also an attempt to project British personae. The writer's ego or egos parade in the garb of English characters. In most Anglo Indian fiction the central character is an Englishman or woman. In other cases they are just introduced for ornamental purposes. Even in novels depicting Indian historical themes the presence of Europeans is a must, Tara being the only exception. In Tippoo Sultan and A Noble Queen Taylor inserted a group of British and continental characters probably in the hope of making his stories less strange to the readers at home, even if they were a liability to artistic unity. The first part of Ralph Darnell and the chapters dealing with the English group in Tippoo Sultan are examples of this kind. In general the European elements in Anglo-Indian fiction build up a sort of homogenous identification through affinity of sentiments and ideas in the exo-cultural audience. Tippoo Sultan and A Noble Queen without the European elements will be more real than otherwise but less appealing to the home audience.

II

TYPES OF USAGE : A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

1.1 Circumlocutions

When the Anglo-Indian writer comes across a linguistic item foreign to the home reader he usually adopts two methods, one a short cut method of introducing the word in the native tongue with or without an approximate translation, the other to circumvent the linguistic problem through circumlocution. This is what for instance, Bishop Heber does to explain the word "plantain" to the homefolk, "The plantain grows in bunches, with its stalks arranged side by side; the fruit is shaped like kidney potatoes covered with a loose dusky skin which peels off easily with the fingers. The pulp is not unlike an over ripe pear." (Heber 2) One doubts whether Heber's readers could visualize the Indian plantain at all though the kidney potatoes and over ripe pears were quite familiar to them. Naturally, it is not often that one comes across such circumlocutions in Anglo-Indian writing.

1.2 Allusions to known referents

This is a familiar device adopted by diarists and travelogue writers especially while describing landscapes and flora and fauna of a particular region. Miss Eden found

plenty of English nooks and corners, plants and flowers in Simla. While crossing the Aravally ranges colonel Tod had a feeling that he was somewhere in the Alps. At least this is the feeling hidden in the following words. "Here I had a full view of the precipitous face of the noble Aravalli; its towering and ever varied pinnacles of gneiss, its dark intended recesses, lined with forest and underwood through which stole many a crystal rivulet from its alpine cradle to refresh the inhabitants of Maroost huli." (Travels 50) Bishop Heber while travelling up the Ganges gives the following description of the countryside on either banks. "The country, except that the river is so much wider, is not at all unlike some parts of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire on the Thames." (Heber 114) This device is different from literary and mythological allusions since unfamiliar Indian items are referred to familiar and concrete items in England.

I.3 Coinages

"Exposure", as J.B. Pride says, "to a new and attractive culture, without knowledge of its language may result in the coining of new words and phrases and the extension of old meanings." (Pride 24) This very often happened in the case of Anglo-Indians. Sometimes the coinage was limited to English alone. Example, "sister wife", "Leather dresser". At other times new words were formed by combining elements

of English and Hindustani.

Example, "brandy pani", "Chota leg", "bada peg", "Memsahib".

I.4 Anglicizing of Indian terms

Most Anglo Indians sometime or other tried to anglicize some innocent looking Indian terms. This is how "chota hazri" became "bed tea" and "choota bursat" "introductory mansion". Occasionally this anglicizing process gives rise to unintended comic effect; for an instance one may mention Tod's translation of Rajput names.

Rajsingh	-	Royal Lion
Jaysingh	-	The Lion of Victory
Jaysumund	-	The sea of Victory
Roota Rani	-	Testy Queen
Sangram Singh	-	The Lion of Battle
Krishna Kumari	-	The Virgin Krishna

I.5 Indianization of English terms

Several English words took on an Indian colouring in the new colonial set up. "Compound" came to mean "walled space", "Godown" replaced "ware house" & "Camp" was usually the particular area where the Anglo-Indians (mainly military persons) stayed permanently. "Poona Camp" for example, was not a military camp in the English sense and later on it came to mean an area rather than a mode of military life through an extended meaning of the term. Tod or Taylor, Heber or

Miss Eden did not coin any new word. They simply borrowed what was current in the Anglo-Indian and native parlance.

I.6 Non-English usage of English

Anglo-Indian fiction offers scores of instances where from an English perspective, the English language has been used in quite a non-English manner. This is a disputable contention since the conclusions arrived at are, to an extent, purely subjective. Still one feels that Tod and Taylor have used expressions that are un-English at the semantic level.

Example (1) "I rub my nose in the dust". (Noble Queen 146)

(2) "Put your hand on my head and swear to me". (Tara 9)

(3) "He has sent a devoted slave (lover) one whose soul burns with love as that of the bulbul to the rose." (Noble Queen 28)

I.7 Gestural Language

Since each culture is the grand master of its own intellectual skills it is bound to have its behaviourimes meaningful to its members alone. India has a rich stock of gestural language to express a variety of feelings, moods and ideas. They go hand in hand with linguistic expressions. When these behaviourimes are translated into linguistic terms

they might appear odd, especially to a foreigner. The British intellectuals came across a variety of such expressions. Several of them tried to translate them literally into English. In such cases, they sound strange even to Indian readers. Indians, for example, swear by neck, eyes, feet, head and by God though not in the name of individual gods. For example "by Krishna" is unheard though Taylor uses such an expression probably prompted by the English term of oath "by Christ." But the literal or meta-translations of oaths that he makes are meaningful in the Indian context provided that one looks at a level deeper than the mere reference to different parts of the anatomy.

- Example (1) "I swear... by your neck and feet." (Tara 7)
 (2) "Swear on my neck and my feet." (Tara 24)
 (3) "By your eyes and head, Jemadar." (Tara 11)

I.8 Inter-lingual influences

It was but natural that these writers' mother tongue should influence the vernaculars they learnt in India. Occasionally an inverse process also took place wherein the vernaculars exerted some influence on their languages particularly in the choice of words. It is not within the scope of this study to list such interferences on the phonemic, morphemic and semantic levels. Sufficient it is to point out the influence of the first and second languages

on each other in a few obvious cases. At the morphemic level the most striking example is the use of the inflexional plural morpheme /-S/ in instances of unestablished vocabulary. It was a necessity since the exo-cultural audience will not be able to understand the plural marker in Hindustani or other Indian languages.

Example Jhupra (hut) - Jhupras
 Muni (sage) - Munis
 Baba (child) - Babas

The influence of the vernacular was mainly in the selection of words, idioms and phrases again necessitated by the transcription of an alien cultural ethos. More often the vernacular expressions are the literal, or meta-translations of Indian proverbs and sentences. However there are examples that can be cited as interference of the second language on the first, English. For instance consider the following sentences from 'A Noble Queen'.

- (1) "But I have slippered the old devil, her mother." (170)
- (2) "My liver seemed to be melted." (132)
- (3) "Oh! my father, my liver has been burnt during your absence." (368)

The term "slippered" and the exchange of the English "Heart" with the Indian "liver" seem to be interferences at the idiomatic level. Rarely we also come across Hindustani sentences that show the interference of the mother tongue.

Here is a rare example from Tod.

"Eh Bhai my khana kis sooratse pakayega." (Travels 239)

I.9 Intra-linguistic analogical exchange

Generally speaking most words, idioms and phrases have their semantic equivalents or one to one correlatives. At the same time there are linguistic items for which substitutes are not entirely equivalent at the connotative level and hence the full meaning cannot be conveyed through substitute terms. In such cases intra-linguistic analogical exchange becomes operative. For instance the Hindi "gadi" is not equivalent to the English "throne" and "bussee" (Rajasthani) is connotatively more than "serf." Quite probably Tod was aware of this fact and hence he retained the native terms even if his readers understood less than what he meant.

(1) "Jeysingh took possession of the gadi
in S. 1737. (A.D. 1681). (Annals 391)

(2) "You may sell me, I am your bussee." (Annals 181)

I.10 Cultural dialects

The Anglo-Indians who lived isolated from the natives or were mere travellers do not show in their language the impact of the different cultural dialects of India. Bishop Heber and Emily Eden moved through the length and breadth

of this land without being influenced definitely by any culture. But the case of people like Tod and Taylor was different. They lived in particular areas among particular people. Meadows Taylor moved in the company of Muslim nobles of Deccan and his wife was a distant descendant of Muslim nobility. No wonder then that in his fiction he makes use of invocations, blessings, salutations, exclamations, phrases and even abuses strongly coloured by the Muslim Culture.

- Example (1) Allake Qoodrut (It is the power of God)
 (2) Khuda Hafiz (God be with you)
 (3) Ya Allah !
 (4) Khaffirs
 (5) "There is nothing I love better than making keema out of these rascals." (Noble Queen 234)

Tod, on the other hand, moved and worked with the Rajputs. Necessarily on him the influence was that of the Hindu cultural dialect as seen in his use of Indian expressions.

- Example (1) Haribol, Haribol (Take the name of God)
 (2) Rakhibund bhai (Bracelet bound brother)
 (3) Gotra Acharya (Geneological creed)
 (4) Mukti Dwara (Door of bliss)
 (5) To sheath the sword till "a feud is balanced". (Typical Rajput expression)

After having seen the various theoretical aspects of the Anglo-Indian usage of Indianisms, it will be fitting to list summarily, if not exhaustively, specimens of linguistic items, employed by them at the word, phrase, idiom and sentence levels. This in a way will elucidate what has been said above. Since it will not be feasible to list the hundreds of Indianisms made use of by these writers, nor such an exercise is necessary to prove the points raised in the course of this chapter, a brief list of the most obvious categories is given below.

II.1 (a) Indian words with English equivalents

(one to one correlation)

Example :	Kismat	=	fate
	Pahar	=	mountain
	Hathi dhant	=	ivory
	Chandan	=	sandal wood
	Vela	=	creeper
	Janam Patri	=	horoscope

(There is no obvious reason for the use of these words when their English equivalents would have served the same purpose more effectively with an exo-cultural audience.) Often such words were used along with their English translations in brackets.

(b) Indian words with loose English equivalents.

(not one to one correlation)

Example :	Pādāl	≠	Hell
	Vihara	≠	Monsstery
	Sikra	≠	Spire
	Hanuman	≠	Monkey God
	Bhyad	≠	Brotherhood (of thugs)
	Ganapathī	≠	Elephant God

(c) Indian words with no English equivalents.

Vedas	-	(Sacred Books)
Tika	-	(Sign on the forehead)
Panja theerth	-	(Five pilgrim centres)
Gandharv	-	(Type of marriage)
Kalpa Vriksh	-	(Tree of bounty)
Chourassi	-	(A district of 84 towns)

II.2 (a) Indian phrases/idioms with English equivalents

Andhi aya	=	the storm is come
Punai Khuda	=	protection of god
Kabool hua	=	it is agreed
Nar samudra	=	sea of men
uto saheb	=	get up, sir
Varuni ane agni	=	water and fire

(b) Indian phrases/idioms with loose English equivalents.

ai! mere jan	≠	ah! my soul!
an, dan, kan	≠	allegiance, commercial duties, mines.

II.3 Indian sentences/proverbs with literal or meta-translations.

Example :

- * "oota sahib, dera girra jata". (Travels 240)
(get up sir, the tent is falling)
- * "ottura Myhie, Hooa sughye". (Travels 244)
(once you cross the Mahie you are happy)
- * "Cheel ke ghur men mas ka dher". (Noble Queen 149)
(There is always meat in a Kite's nest)
- * "Shoodhuni, shoodhuni". (Marathi) (Tara 342).
(What is to be, is to be)
- * "kubootur bu kubootur, baz bu haz". (Seeta 344)
(Pigeons mate with pigeons and hawks with hawks)
- * "Sath bara, aur no tahwara". (Noble Queen 83)
(Nine holidays out of seven days)

II.4 Sense translations of Indian sentences/proverbs/linguistic universals.

- * "The goldsmith and the washerman must be trusted in the house". (Annals 562)
- * "It is not pleasant feeding a man who has death in his throat." (Seeta 52)
- * "Thieves, they say, have longer ears than asses."
(Tara 320)

- * "I, who am less than a cat in the house
and as gentle as a sheep, am thus treated!" (Tara 424)
- * "Can a garland of champa flowers be worn all night,
and keep their freshness and fragrance till the
morning?" (Tara 179)

II.5 Eastern abuses/curses

- * "May their sisters be defiled." (Tara 298)
- * "May he be defiled so, that Ganges's water would
not purify him." (Noble Queen 91)
- * "May his mother, sisters and all his female
relatives be --". (Noble Queen 145)
- * "May his mouth be filled with earth and his grave
defiled." (Noble Queen 170)
- * "Come on you sons of defiled mothers". (Noble Queen 197)
- * "Inshallah ! Your sisters are vile and asses have
loved your mothers." (Noble Queen 198)

II.6 Eastern hyperbole

- * "I felt as though a thousand shaintans sat on my
breast and sleep would not come to my eyes. My
senses went and returned as though I were dead and
again alive." (The Thug 391)
- * "So as he said, we sat down on the carpet of
patience, to smoke the pipe of regret and drown
our affliction in the best way we could." (The Thug 48)

- * "My liver has become water before her fascinations." (Noble Queen 78)
- * "I will daily measure with my body every step she takes round the shrine." (Tara 297)
- * "His hours were numbered and his breath was already in his nostrils." (Noble Queen 196)
- * "We shall be the brothers of owls and jack-asses if he ever sees one rupee." (Noble Queen 341)

In conclusion one can say that the British intellectuals of the nineteenth century were intrigued by the engima that is India. They had an open mind to learn and to absorb things. They made sincere efforts to transcribe the India they saw for their counterparts in England. Of-course, they were often handicapped by their non-adequate knowledge of local dialects with no dictionaries or glossaries to help them in the task. They adopted a variety of means to encode the rich tapestry of Indian culture and equally rich Indian expressions into codes of their own language and culture. At times they opted for literal translation of Indian words, phrases, idioms and proverbs but they found the process hard and the outcome very tiring to read. So often like Richard Burton in his Tales from the Arabian Nights they tried to write as the Indians would have written adding something of their own native Englishness to the sense or meta-translations they employed. The result was more pleasant to the ears and more appealing to the senses though at times the

expressions were a halfway-house between the eastern and the western, understandable to both but not fully belonging to either. This study has attempted to throw some light on the Indian linguistic items employed by the Anglo-Indians leaving out the richer and more varied realm of eastern imagery and symbolism. An exhaustive study of this linguistic phenomenon is bound to be a rewarding experience to the literary scholar as well as to the curious reader.

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Chapter VI

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