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ABSTRACT

A language research project investigated the phenomenon of transcreation, that is, the transference of the linguistic markers, communicative strategies, cultural notions, social elements, and contextual clues of the local culture to the native English variety. The focus is on the relationship between language and gender and the contribution of this dimension to varieties of English spoken in India. The study proposes that: (1) in this context, English is being assigned the phonological, semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic features of the Indian context and the sociocultural patterns, conventions, and ideas associated with being female in India; (2) these features are reflected in a specialized, Indianized variety of English for females in the Indian context; (3) this variety is used to represent the underlying cultural categories and assumptions of the social and linguistic behavior toward and of females in Indian English fiction; and (4) due to the innovative function of the use of English in creative contexts and the rapid development of non-native English literatures across cultures and languages of the world, this new writing has introduced stylistic, literary, and sociocultural aspects into English literature. (MSE)

Varieties of English and Women's Language: Culture and Creativity

Tamara Valentine

Introduction. The English language has made an immense impact on the languages and cultures of the world. It has spread across geographic and sociocultural as well as literary boundaries to such an extent that the English language has been acculturated in various regions of the world, and English literatures have sprung up as non-native literatures across cultures and languages. As a result, the past couples of decades have witnessed a tremendous interest in the study and understanding of the form and function of the non-native varieties of English. This occurrence has not been restricted to varieties of one region or culture, but non-native varieties of English have emerged and have been studied in areas such as South Asia (Kachru 1965 and later), Malaysia and Singapore (Lowenberg 1984, Platt and Weber 1980, Platt, Weber and Ho 1983, etc.), Africa (Chishimba 1984, Magura 1984, Sey 1973, Spencer, ed. 1971), the Philippines (Gonzalez 1983, Llamzon 1969), and The West Indies (Craig 1982, Haynes 1982).

English is seen as functioning as a non-native variety in different parts of the world and as being influenced by the sociocultural and linguistic contexts. As a result the English language has become nativized. Kachru (1983) explains this phenomenon on the basis of the process of transference whereby the features of

the native language and the sociocultural context are assigned to English, making the meaning closer to the native local culture. Generally, varieties of English have been distinguished or characterized according to region and culture. Since English has become firmly fixed in the local settings and has slowly gone through the process of nativization, which entails acculturation, there is no reason why other markers of distinctiveness, such as the social category gender, cannot help to distinguish these varieties further from their standard. In other words, with reference to the non-native varieties of say South Asia, Africa, the West Indies, and Southeast Asia, would an understanding of the social category gender help to further explain the non-nativeness of these English varieties? Although some researchers such as Chishimba (1984) and Kachru (1983) have made an attempt to include the role of gender in their discussions of African English and Indian English, respectively, there is virtually an absence of any serious study on the relationship of language and gender or on how this dimension contributes to some of the "deviant" forms in the above regions of non-native varieties.

However, not only can we be critical of the sociolinguists who have neglected to investigate the relationship between gender and communication in non-native varieties. This aspect has been totally ignored in the study on the non-native English varieties of the world by the scholars in the field of language and gender. Generally their research has concentrated on sex differences in the phonological, lexical, syntactic, and discoursal patterns in the American varieties of English predominantly with the white male native speaker as the norm (Miller and Swift 1977, Orasanu, et. al., eds. 1979, Thorne, et. al., eds., 1983, Vetterling-Braggin ed. 1981). This, of course, is

not representative of the variety of sociolinguistic contexts in which English is used in settings around the world today. For if we consider research in non-native varieties and in language and gender as two valid and worthy scholarly endeavors, and in order to establish a relationship between gender and communication in non-native varieties, then the following relevant inquiries should be made: 1. What role does gender play in distinguishing the style of non-native varieties from native varieties of English? 2. To what extent does gender contribute to the creative innovations in the non-native varieties which are formally and contextually deviant from the norms of native varieties of English? And 3. Has a meaning system of gender developed in the non-native varieties of the world?

In this paper the term non-native varieties of English refers to Kachru's "outer/extended circle" of English (see Kachru 1986); in particular the variety of English to which I am addressing is that used in India. Gender refers to the speech marker which identifies the speaker/user as a member of a particular cultural group, marks the message as identifiable with a particular culture, and determines an individual's role in a verbal interaction (Smith 1979). Creativity refers to the texts produced by the authors who belong to the outer circle. They are the bi/multilinguals who tranfer the native social and contextual units of their culture (C1) into the English language (L2) and make use of the innovative function of English. This process termed transcreation is the transference of the linguistic markers, communicative strategies, cultural notions, social elements and contextual cues of the local culture to the native English variety, where such patterns are perhaps absent. Put in the setting of India, the process of transcreation reveals features of the author's native

language and cultural background related to the social context, societal and personal attitudes, and cultural patterns of the speakers and users typical in the Indian variety of English. Due to the innovative function of English so-called deviations (as explained in Kachru 1982b) appear as lexical and semantic innovations and culture-specific speech functions in various contexts of nativization.

Within this description and framework of the transcreational process, this paper makes the following points: first, in general not only is the English language being Indianized, that is assigned phonological, semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic features of the Indian context, but more specifically, I suggest that the authors are extending the sociocultural dimension of English and the process to the system of gender, i.e., the notion of female gender in India is being Indianized. That authors are transcreating the social context of 'femalehood' in South Asia is evident in the language used of, by and for females in the non-native literature. This process is operating in India to the extent that the sociocultural patterns, conventions, and ideas associated with being female are reflected in a specialized, Indianized variety of English for female gender in the Indian context.

Second, I will describe how the variety is used to represent the underlying cultural categories and assumptions of the social and linguistic behavior toward and of females in Indian English fiction. I suggest that understanding these categories and assumptions is of primary importance for gaining insight into the process of transcreation, for understanding language use across cultures and regions, for gaining a clearer understanding of the problems of intelligibility and interpretability of non-native texts by native users, for explaining the social and attitudinal currents which

underlie cultures in general, and the Indian culture in particular, and for the training of teachers and language specialists of the English language and literature.

And third due to the innovative function of the use of English in creative contexts and the rapid development of non-native English literatures across cultures and languages of the world this new writing has introduced unique stylistic, literary, and sociocultural aspects to English literature. Generally, this dimension of literature has been disregarded by scholars. Confining my discussion to the non-native variety of India, evidence of English developing a marked Indianness in terms of formal and functional characteristics is provided in the creative fiction written by the authors of India. Instances are selected from the creative fiction written by such Indian authors as Mulk Raj Anand (1947, 1952, 1960), Anita Desai ((1968, 1977), Khushwant Singh (1956), and Mohan Rakesh (1969), which typify the Indian variety of English of Northern India. To fully understand how femalehood is linguistically and culturally defined I will focus on two dimensions: one linguistic and one sociocultural. The first dimension consists of an examination of: a) the formal characteristics of the language which include the processes of acculturation of translation, hybridization, semantic shifts, extensions, etc. These are categories of lexical and semantic innovations which provide examples of how nativization acculturates English to the context of gender in the non-native setting of India; b) the socially determined speech functions which include modes of address and reference, abuses, blessings, pleas, proverbs, and flatteries. These contextually-defined units are deeply embedded in the sociocultural context of India to the extent that authors cannot

disregard them when writing about their local culture. These speech functions help to bring out the Indianness of gender; and c) other linguistic descriptions, elements, and components which are particular to the Indian female culture. Authors transfer some of the culture-specific customs, rules and patterns of interpersonal behavior in such domains of family, marriage, children in the Indian variety. These culture-specific components provide a foundation to transcreate gender into the English language.

The second dimension is the traditional social categories and sociocultural themes to one of which each female of India appears to be classified. These include the four derived female-types of India: the young unmarried female, married female, married, child bearer, and unmarried female. Each structure proves to be significant and helpful in formalizing the underlying cultural female assumptions in India, and provides the transcreational basis on which the authors Indianize the notion of gender typical in this non-native variety of English.

Young Unmarried Female. The first social category of femalehood within the Indian context which I will discuss is the young unmarried female. After examining the modes of address and reference to the young unmarried girl it is clear that the features which are linguistically assigned to her are based on at least three social factors: first, her young age, shown by the use of diminutive elements, second, her membership within the family, shown by the use of kinship gender markers, and third, her association with her father, shown by possessive collocations with his occupation, title, name, or relationship. To preserve these native aspects of the young Indian female culture these three features which socially and

linguistically define her are transferred into the English language and introduced in various ways by fictions writers.

The social feature of youthfulness which is associated with this female-type can be illustrated in context I below from Anand's Coolie (1952:109).

I. 'Take a fan, **child**, Laxmi said significantly as she mopped up the scanty butter on top of the whey in the earthen pitcher and put it in a cup. Then she turned to Amru and tried to soften the atmosphere: 'I suppose the drought will lift one day!...,'

This gave Gauri some courage.

'In little Piplan, it continues unabated, mother. The damage to the field is terrible... And, you know, "**their**" land was mortgaged to Lalla Birbal, contractor, to pay for the marriage... And now-'

'And now what?' asked Amru anticipating disaster with each word that came from Gauri's lips.

'And now "**their**" aunt!...' Gauri began but could not go on.

'**Child**, the quarrel of the mother-in-law with the daughter-in-law is like the enmity of the brick and the dog' Laxmi said. 'And you should have been humble and not so stubborn!... You were always insidious! A real Meesni!... Not like me-saying what is in the heart and not keeping things back-'

'The uncle of **the Master** of my **house**,' Gauri said with another effort, 'was not very kind to him!...' Again, she could not proceed any further.

'**Gauriai**, things are bad here .. There has been no rain. And fodder for this cow, can't be had at any price. And your uncle Amru's harvest of wheat is ruined... Our crops, fields, stocks of hay, have all gone!... Vay, where are you,-your daughter has come to the house and you?...'

'Mother, it is the same in little Piplan,' said Gauri, putting her knotted bundle in the verandah and embracing the solitary square wooden pillar which supported the roof of the projection. And, swaying a little even as she had done as a young girl, she continued, measuring each word: 'In fact, that is why-'. But she could not finish her sentence.

There was a lull in the conversation after which Amru spoke out the blunt truth as he understood it: 'Her husband has turned her out. This unlucky girl must have brought him troubles as she brought difficulties to us here...'

'Don't say that! Sukhi Sandhi!' sentimentalised Laxmi.

'"**They**" did send me here because times are bad, and there was hardly any food in our barn to eat,' said Gauri to defend herself. 'Not merely because I am unlucky!

And-'
'What is it, childling, tell your mother-if you are frightened of your uncle!' And the old woman reclined towards here, with the tumbler of whey uplifted in her hand, saying: 'Come, drink this and cool down... 45

In the above context, the daughter, Gauri, is endearingly addressed by her mother as Gauriai, (line 24), "Gauriai, things are bad here...", child (lines 1 and 5) "Child, the quarrel of the mother-in-law with the daughter-in-law is like the enmity of the brick and the dog" and childling (line 45), "What is it, childling, tell your mother". Other forms include little child, little girl, my little girl child, and little Gauri. Another factor, her female gender, is marked in the use of such address and reference terms as girl, my girl, Gauri girl, the girl Gauri, etc. For example, a father shouts to his daughter "Don't be silly, girl. Do as you're told." (T128) or "he was inclined to overlook the means of which the girl Gauri had been secured by the Bania." ['moneylender'] (W167). And, the final feature, the young girl's association with a male family member, is shown in the use of address and reference terms to her which mark kinship and protection. The markers of kinship include daughter, my daughter, my elder daughter, and direct translations of Hindi beti 'girl child', and not uncommonly in male terms such as beta 'boy child' or puta 'son' to indicate pleasure and admiration. For example, a father, who is proudly showing off his eldest daughter, Sheila, to his boss, points to her and says, "My elder daughter...come and meet the sahib." (C52) and an uncle exclaims "Beti, you have come back a very wise Mian Mithu, parrot." (W258). A kin relation is also designated by markers of protectiveness or possessive collocations. For the young Indian girl her protector is her father, therefore, the possessive markers are in terms of his title, name, occupation, and

activity. Some markers of address and reference to the young unmarried girl include for example: Babu's elder daughter, his master's child, the daughter of the goldsmith Kanshi Ram, the weaver's daughter of his, the daughter of old miser Uttamchand, and sweeper's daughter. In particular, from Untouchable an interested Brahmin calls to an unrelated young girl as you, Lakha's daughter (U19). Similarly, in Coolie a young girl timidly identifies herself as "Chacha Imam Baksh's daughter" (C130).

The socially determined speech functions, such as the blessings and abuses, addressed to the young unmarried girl are contextually defined units which Indianize the emphasis placed on her youthfulness and her relationship to her living parents. Such blessings thus confer upon her a long life and an everlasting living relation with her parent: "May you live long and all your family prosper." (U59), "May you live, may you live long" (C178), "May you live child" (C148), and "May your mother never lose you."

On the other hand, one type of abuse verbally threatens the child with the loss of her life and her parents, warns her of orphanhood or abandonment, and questions her legitimacy. Such abuses are predominantly used by women, in particular by those females, namely mothers, to help establish the relative positions of the participants around them. In context sample II below from Coolie (1952:28), a mother is angry with her daughter Lila who has suddenly awakened from her sleep. Abuses directed at her young daughter include "You eater of your master", "The bane of my life", "You dead one", "May the witches come and devour you", "you illegally begotten one", "May you perish and die", "I thought you were dead .. something, ni daughter of a pig", "May you die, may you be broken, may you fade away", etc. Others

may include "you have eaten my life" (C20), "Would that you had died in my womb", "Why did I rear a serpent with the milk of my breast," "When you are married I shall drink a seer of frothing warm milk, you widow" (see Kachru 1983).

II. **O you eater of your master**, Lila! You have awakened, have you! **The bane of my life**! Now you will not let me rest or do anything!"
She put two pieces of double roti (English bread) in the fireplace to toast and was cutting a third.
A moment had elapsed and the child was shrieking louder.
"Oh be patient! **You dead one**! What has happened to you? **May the witches come and devour you! What curse upon your head makes you howl all day? Even though I got you an amulet from the fakir! God!** When will I get some rest! I slog, slog all day! I can't even get time to dress! Or to sit down with the neighbors for a chat! Or go to the shops! Last night I went to bed at two o'clock, washing and cleaning up! And now...**ni Sheila, ni, dead one**, go and look after your little sister for a while instead of running about the house and making a noise. Go..."

Another type of abuse questions the young girl's proper behavior of modesty and purity and demonstrates her sexual vulnerability within society. This speech is generally used by an older female to a young unmarried girl. For example in sample III below from Anand's (1947:14) Untouchable, Gulabo, a middle-aged woman views the young unmarried girl, Sohini, as a "rising beauty" and a "potential rival". Sohini is "mockingly" "abused right and left" with "light hearted abuse" of her "immodesty", "showing teeth in the presence of men", going "about without an apron over her head", and "insulting one old enough to be her mother". She is subjected to such insults as "prostitute", "wanton", "slut", "daughter of a whore", "Shameless!", and "you, eater of dung and drinker of urine!", among others.

III. Waziro, **the weaver's wife**, ran after her and caught her just before she had time to hit **the sweeper girl**.
'Be calm, be calm; you must not do that,' she said as she dragged Gulabo back to her seat. 'No, you must not do that.'
A flutter of **excitement** travelled through the little

group, exclamations, shouts and cries of 'Hai, Hai,' and strange looks of disgust, indignation and disapproval were exchanged. Sohini was a bit frightened at first and grew pale, but she kept intensely still and, avoiding the shock, subsided into a listless apathy.

'Really!' exclaimed Waziro, pretending to be shocked, though she knew Gulabo's evil tongue and had nothing against Sohini, 'You ought to **be ashamed of yourself**,' she said, winking an aside to the girl.

Sohini could not suppress her amusement at so comic an assurance of friendliness as Waziro's and laughed.

'Think of it! Think of it! **Prostitute! Wanton.** And **your mother hardly dead.** Think of laughing in my face, laughing at me who am **old enough** to **be your mother. Bitch**!' the washerwoman exploded.

Sohini laughed still more hilariously at the ridiculous abruptness of Gulabo's abuse.

'**Ari, ari bitch**! Do you take me for a buffoon? What are you laughing at, **slut**? Aren't you ashamed of **showing your teeth** to **me in the presence of men, you, prostitute**?' shouted Gulabo, and she looked towards the old man and the little boys who were of the company.

Sohini now realized that the woman was angry. 'But I haven't done anything to annoy her,' she reflected. 'She herself began it all and is **abusing me right and left**, I didn't pick the quarrel. I have more cause to be angry than she has!'

'**Bitch**, why don't you speak! **Prostitute**, why don't you answer me?' Gulabo insisted.

'Please don't abuse me,' the girl said, 'I haven't said anything to you.'

'You annoy me with your silence, **you, illegally begotten! You, eater of dung and drinker of urine! You, bitch of a sweeper woman**! I will show you how to **insult one old enough** to **be your mother.**' And she rose with upraised arm and rushed at Sohini.

This suggests, then, that there exists another derived social behavior assigned to the young unmarried Indian girl. This social duty attached to her is virginity and purity, a cultural notion ending only after a proper marriage. Authors transcreate this culture-specific rule by their use of a special language to describe the young Indian girl who conforms to this social behavior. She is categorized as a "touch me not" who is "comely and innocent" (W26), with "an auspicious face" (W23), "large gazelle eyes" (W25), "a naive freshness", (W119), "little mango breasts" (T6), "eyes with

mischievous gaiety" (C25), "milk teeth" (T6), a "sylphlike form" (U13), and a "glow of [her] virgin's charm" (205W). Although we've seen, protection is already provided by her father in the form of markers of protectiveness, it is the responsibility of the family and society to defend her vulnerability and to maintain proper decorum, as well. The family is obligated to protect what Indian authors call "her girlish weakness" (W91) from a man who is "intoxicated" (U19) or "dead over her" (U20), greets her with the "glad eye" (W258) or teases her with "mild jokes" (U20). And when the family's honor is threatened, as in context IV below, from Coolie (1952:113), the male culprit is cursed and abused with "attacking the honor of his master's child!" (C69) and "having no shame or respect"; until he is firmly scolded as "you spoiler of my salt" (W81) or "Betrayer of my salt" (W73) and "the seducer of his daughter!" (C76). Authors have translated the Hindi expressions "namak haram" and "bahan chot", respectively, to capture this aspect. Other semantic shifts include, sister-sleeper, lover of your sister (C139), rape sister, etc. for native "bahin chot", and May the vessel of your life never float on the sea of existence (W71) from "tera bero gark ho". Similarly, this view of the young girl is transferred by authors' in their prolific use of proverbs: "Girls and pomegranate trees are alike. They shoot up fast", and "Grown up girls are like glass houses. One stone and all is over". (L159)

IV. "**Mother! Oh, Mother**! Sheila cried. Her mother did not hear. Kausalya went and called her.

"**Ni, Mother of Sheila! Ni, Mother of Sheila**! Come and look what that brute of a hill boy has done to your daughter."

Bibiji came rushing.

At the sight of her daughter caressing her cheek her face went livid with anger.

"Show me," she cried. "Show me your face, my child.

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The ivory flesh was blue where Munoo had bitten it.
"I was only playing, Bibiji," said Munoo, anticipating a storm and seeking in vain to avert it.
"**Vay, you eater of your masters! May you die! May the vessel of your life never float in the sea of existence!**" the tornado of abuse burst. "**May you never rest in peace, neither you nor your antecedents! That you should attack the honor of my child**! Only a little child, too! You lustful young bull from the hills! How did we know we were t ing on a rogue and a scoundrel! Let the Babuji come home! You ought to be handed over to the police! Look! Look at my child! **Had you no shame**! **No respect! You spoiler of my salt**! Didn't I ask you to leave my children alone and not to play with them! What is your status that you should mix with the children of your superiors! (C,68)
But she was not to be stopped. She leaned forward and slowly but deliberatley cried:
"No, you won't have any **mercy** shown you this time."

Therefore, within the setting of India, for the young unmarried girl the underlying construct, which is a shared cultural assumption of appropriateness held by the family and society to which she must conform, is [+kin relation, -age, -marriage, -sexual activity]. It is this underlying cultural structure of the young unmarried female which is transcreated in English texts by Indian authors.

Married Female. The s stage or social category of femalehood in India which I will discuss is the <u>married female</u>. The address and reference terms assigned to her are not determined by her age or gender, as in the case of the young unmarried girl, but by her kin relation, her marital status, and potential motherhood. The underlying structure to which she must conform is a bit more complex, with varied modes of address and reference and speech functions.

First, new means of addressing one's spouse are adopted in linguistic expressions by translating from th native Indian language. Between traditional spouses of India, it is generally not the custom to address or refer by one's personal name. A number of alternatives

apply which authors readily transcreate in Indian English texts. For example, on the one hand, the wife's address and reference forms to her husband include. 1. household terms, e.g., the master of the house, the father of Nikka 'the father's son', and 2. respect and politeness markers such as god husband ('patidev'), saheb, honorific ji, master, and honorific he ('ve)', or third person plural they. In example I above, Gauri refers to her husband honorifically as "the Master of my house" (line 21) and as "they" meaning "he" in line 41: "They" did send me here because times are bad." Similarly, rather than saying "her husband's land" or "his aunt" it is "their" land which is mortgaged in line 8 and "their" aunt in line 13.

On the other hand, the husband's terms to his wife, are in the form of 1. protectiveness markers: For example the husband addresses his wife, "Ari, mother of Moti, sit down and rest a while." (C180) or "Uh, I say, the mother of my daughter", said the burra Babu. (C34); 2. stylized expressions such as "my little cow", and "lady bountiful", as "Acha, Lady bountiful", who will give food but not speak a word." (W76); 3. household terms such as "lady of the house" "owner of my house" (W145), "mistress of the house", as in "Since the death of the woman of my house, brother, I have not had a moment's peace." (W138); and 4. generic forms such as "woman", "foolish woman", and "good woman", etc. as in "Did you hear, good woman...?" (W56).

Second, particular evocative expressions, imperative markers, and attention-getters which have no pronominal force or reference to the person addressed are used by authors to Indianize the observed cultural practice of no-naming between spouses. For example, such common formulaic Hindi constructions of mai ne kaha "I said", suno "listen", dekho "see", are/ari and kyo re "hey" are items transferred

into the Indian English texts as "Oh, I said", "tell me", "look", "Did you hear", etc. These linguistic strategies are commonly seen in the literature, e.g., a husband requests from his wife, "Oh, I say, the mother of my daughter bring another cup, for Babu Ram Lall has come." (C34) and Bibiji cries to catch her husband's attention "Look! Did you hear?"(C56).

Third, as is apparent in some of the above examples, address and reference forms assigned to the married female are determined by a kin relation and family membership. (This phenomenon can be observed in the traditional female structures, i.e., daughter and mother, as well). This is denoted by the the use of the possessive "of", a translation of ka in Hindi. Ka is not translated to show a belonging to but to show the married woman's relation to her husband. When a young girl marries, her protective status shifts from identification with her father to identification with her husband. Her status within the family and relation to her husband is observed linguistically in the form of possessive collocations with the occupation, title, name, or activity of her husband. Such examples include the following address and reference forms: "Waziro, the weaver's wife" (U14) the "neighbor's wife" (C113), "the wife of Damodar" (W53), the "daftry's wife", and "My brother's colonel's memsahib" (C9). Other titles include non-translated lexical items such as Thakurain 'the wife of a Thakur", guruani "the wife of a guru, teacher", panditain "wife of a pandit"; all social roles of females based on the male's profession or activity. In addition, there are cases where the use of her wifely status is denoted by possessive collocations which identify the married female to her children. For example a young girl addresses her friend's mother as "Mother of Sheila"(C68), a husband addresses

his wife as "Mother of Moti" (C181), and "the mother of my daughter" (C34), etc.

For the married Indian female who conforms to the conventional norm of a "lady wife" (W180), the culture-specific language describing her, like the young unmarried girl, reflects a sense of vulnerability and protection appointed to her. The following examples present a view that no male should "play pebbles with" (W53) a married woman but should "guard female decorum from the intrusion of foreign eyes" (C49) and "regard every woman as a mother, wife, or sister" (C65). The "pious Hindu lady" (U28) wears an "all-hiding sari" is "a devoted creature", a "forgiving and gentle Bibi" (W138), a "goddess to preside over the house", a "bringer of good luck" and a providor of "creature comforts" (W145). But the "modest dignity of her position" (C126) is often represented as an "incurably pagan wife", (Trae 108) and "clucking hen" (W256), "with evil stars" (W104), "howling" (W132), "sisking" (W267), "having weepy laughs" (W48), "wispy sobbing", "carrying on sulks" (W256) and threatened with "shoebeatings" (W42).

To preserve her wifehood the married female ritually maintains and prolongs the life of her husband. Thus, these native values, norms, and domains of the female gender in India are transcreated into English. Within this context, the married female "believes in the worship of Lord and master" (W103), "prays five times a day" (W55), and holds the "traditional formula" (W42) of "customary sobs" (W106) by "wailing in a singsong" (T43), "perspiring with piety" (C65), "symbolically touching his feet" (W64), or "at his feet" (J18) and bending "with joined hands" (W104). Similarly she shows her ever-remaining faithfulness and devotion by retaining all the ritual symbols and activities associated with wifehood, e.g., "silver

ornaments all ajingle" (W32), "kum-kum marked" (U), and "white aproned" (U). And, finally, the married female must have the competence of a good housekeeper or one "who is good at h.h.a, or household affairs" (T71) and "goes through her daily round" (W103). She is abused with such terms as "incompetent", "idler", and "useless".

A married woman is always due high status. She is considered an "auspicious one" and holds a positive social position as a married wife even if she does not produce children, although motherhood is anticipated. Therefore, another underlying assumption of the female gender which is Indianized in the literature is the married female's potential to become a mother. Therefore as a natural consequence of wifehood, a married female is considered a potential mother. Within the role of mother-to-be the following semantic innovations of giving birth are seen: "her quivering prospective mother's body" (W104), "you are with belly" (W261), "to be with child", or has a "tummy as big as a pitcher" (W265).

Evidence which further supports that the married female's underlying structure is based on an association with her living husband and her status as a potential mother is provided by the blessings and abuses richly bestowed on her. Blessings conferred upon a married female include expressions which eternally bless her first with a long life with her husband, never living beyond his years, and second with motherhood. Such blessings include "may you never become a widow", "May your husband live long"; "May your household increase" (W263), and "May you prosper".

On the other hand, abuses to the married female are in direct discordance to the two suggested underlying assumptions. Consequently

married females and potential mothers are cursed with barrenness and widowhood: "May thy womb be dead", and "May thy tribe never prosper" (W264). Furthermore when angered, rather than directly cursing another woman's husband or child, euphemistic measures wishing each other dead are used. These are introduced on the basis of some equivalency from the native culture. Therefore, in order to best explain the meaning of the following semantic shifts, they must be understood with reference to the Indian culture and specifically to the female gender. "May the fire of your ovens consume you", "May you never rest in peace neither you nor your antecedents", "May the vessel of your life never float in the sea of existence", "Face like a grinding stone, etc.

Accordingly, these above examples reflect the interesting aspect of the social system of India where the married female is guided by the underlying cultural assumption [+kin relation, +marriage, +potential mother]. The transference of this sociocultural construct into English is preserved by Indian English fiction writers who make use of discoursal strategies, kinship markers and honorific markers of address and reference between spouses in the local Indian culture.

Married Female. A third social category of femalehood in India is the cultural notion of <u>married, child-bearer or mother</u>. A married female is considered a <u>mata</u> or mother the moment she knows she is with child. Images of honor, respect, and protection are bestowed upon her. In order to best understand the forms of address and reference to this female further cultural information is needed. Societies such as India consist of the extended family system, (i.e., a family consisting of the male head of household, his wife, sons, brothers, and unmarried daughters). Due to this aspect of the social system, the basic

relations are often used more extensively for non-family persons but for those who respect and affection is shown. As a result, female kinship terms such as mother, sister, wife, daughter, acquire a broader meaning and go beyond what they would commonly refer to in the standard native English cultures. So within the Indian context, the meanings of mata 'mother', bahan/didi, 'sister', bahu/bibi, 'wife', and beti 'daughter' are extended to encompass, respectively, any older female who is seen as capable of bearing children, a female of an age comparable to one's own sister, a young married woman, or a young unmarried girl. Hence, in English Indian mother has a number of derived meanings, which carry regard and respect without a kin relation. The association of mother in the Indian context can be with one's real mother, a married but childless female, an older woman, or a respectable young woman. Therefore, a female could be a mother by blood, by marriage, by friendship. The underlying assumption then, is that by merely displaying the maternal qualities of holding, bearing, preserving, sustaining, loving, protecting, forgiving, and sacrificing a woman is seen as a birth-giver or a child rearer and appropriately, deemed mother.

The address and reference terms assigned to mother, then, are not necessarily determined by her relation to her husband, as in the case of a married female, but by her perceived relation to a child. Terms which are directed to females to emphasize her motherly qualities are in the form of markers of protectiveness or collocations in terms of a child. Terms of address and reference which unite an actual mother to her child include expressions, some of which are reduplications, as "mother of my daughter" (C35), "Sheila's mother" (C39), "mother, you are my mother" (W131), 'the mother of my child" (C212), and "the

mother of Ram Charan" (U21). It is crucial to understand, however, that the use of a reference term implies a specific family member of whom one is speaking. So, in such cases of reference as these, mother can only mean the actual mother of the child.

Nevertheless a female who is seen as capable of child bearing can be addressed symbolically as 'child-producer'. This process of extension of meaning of female markers is seen outside the family domain, such as in the marketplace. For example, a coolie asks to carry a woman's bags "May I lift your weight, maiji?". "Mother, will you let me carry your shopping home?" (C154), a man prophesizes to a woman and her daughter-in-law, "He is a good portent, mother." (C151), and an older woman who is raising a ruckus is requested to quiet down, 'Mai, do not raise an alarm here' (W220).

This powerful cult of motherhood is transferred by authors by their use of the socially-determined speech functions such as blessings, abuses, pleas or flatteries which provide the sociocultural cues which define mother contextually as Indian. Having children is a societal imperative and since a mother helps to maintain continuity of the family, she is held in high regard and granted protection. Therefore she is fittingly blessed in terms of her children. Blessings include the following expressions "May your child live long", "May your child never disappoint you" and "May the gods bless you and your children".

Similarly, pleas are made to a mother seeking protection, solace, and forgiveness, emphasizing her maternal nature. This is illustrated in context V below from Coolie (1952:200). She is privileged with such honorific forms of mai-bap (C229) or mother-father (C83) 'god', holy mother (W146), "You are the master...you are mother and father

(C200), "Oh, mother, you who are enshrined." (W129), "Without you, I could not have lived either mother! (J14).; and the highly respectful expressions pleading for forgiveness: "Oh mother, mother, forgive us. I join my hands to you. I will fall at your feet. I will draw a hundred lines on the ear with the top of my nose. I will do any penance you may impose..." (C113). "I join my hands, we are your children and you are our mother. Forgive...", and "Mother, you who are my mother, I am begging you. (W131)". Concurrently, a mother accepts her social position by willing to lay her life on the line for a child: "May I be your sacrifice! May I die for you! May I suffer instead of you." (C109)

V. "**You eater of your master**!" raved the woman..."You dog, you are not a fit person to be in a respectable neighborhood where there are young daughters and newly-wed brides about!"
Munoo had lowered the tone of his cries and checked his sobs as he began to hear the **neighbor's wife** sum Ganpat up. He got a righteous pleasure in seeing the goat-face defamed. He wished he did not have to sob, as he did not want to miss a word of what she was saying. But Prabha was speaking to her.
"**Oh mother, mother, forgive us. I join my hands to you. I will fall at your feet. I will draw a hundred lines on the earth with the tip of my nose. I will do any penance you may impose on me. But please forgive him. Forgive him, for God's sake, forgive him.** He did wrong. He is senseless. I shall talk to him about it! Now go and rest. **You know we are your children and you are our mother.** Now cool yourself! **Forgive us**!"

That this social aspect is being transferred by authors and the traditional social structure strengthened are evidenced by the threats directed to children by elderly women (this is confirmed above under the social category of young unmarried girl). In general children are warned with orphanhood or abused in terms of the social status of their mother. "May your mother die, you son of a pig" (T116), "You ominous orphan" (C7), "May you perish and die", "That penis of a pig who sleeps with his mother", "You baseborn" (C154), "daughter of the

loose woman ", "illegally begotten". Furthermore, metaphorical mothers reinforce this relative position and accept this honorable position by liberally addressing men and boys as sons. This extension of meaning is observed in the following when Panchi's aunt is pleading with Panchi: "son, your aunt, your mother, is here, son", "Forgive your adoring mother Panchi, forgive her." (W95) and others where an elderly woman addresses a non-family male: "Oh may you live long...my son", and "What shall I do, sons, tell me?" (W215).

For the female who conforms to the conventional Indian norm and image of a child-producer, sacrificer, giver, and forgiver, the language describing her is that of a "fellow sufferer", a "consoler"(W42), who provides "wisdom of advice" (W42), "Plants the seed of good will" (W96), and "bears children of her entrails" (W127). Therefore, for the third stage of femalehood, in the Indian context the underlying structure, is [+marriage, +children, +kin relation] from which is derived a self-sacrificing, giving, loving, mata. It is this underlying cultural condition of the mother which provides the parameters to transcreate mata in English texts by Indian authors.

Unmarried Female. The final social category of femalehood in India, is the unconventional female who does not fall under the above three traditional stages of womanhood and appears to have lost a place in the Indian social system. This female is no longer married or has never married. Under this category are found the two prominent social roles of widow and prostitute.

Compared to the previous social categories the widow is beyond wifehood and motherhood. She has no husband and possibly no children and probably no father. The address and reference terms assigned to her are therefore not determined by a relationship but by her age and

marital status. Such examples which are not marked for protectiveness, but marked for her age and unmarried state include such examples as, "the widow Laxmi", "black-skinned old widow", "old witch", "you dirty widow" (J20), "old hag", "evil-tongued woman" (W264), and "maiden lady" (F7). To convey this unconventionality the following deviant collocations define her as the "bright-eyed" widow (W232) "gay widow" (W231), "merry widow" (W231), "bangled widow", "ill-boding widow" (J21), and "dirty widow" (J21). She is abused as "a barren slut bursting at the seams" (Tree 44), a "dried up old witch" (Tree 44), "You donkey's wife" (J14), "Oh you prostitute of the wind".

The language describing this unconventional female is that of "an old hussy", "with a vamping expression" (U18), in a "sombre grey apron and a pigeon-colored skirt" (C151), with a "wily, shrewd wrinkled face", "grey hair all stringy and uncombed" (Tree 48), and as "a hag who... spent ages superstitiously counting each half pice".

The prostitute within the setting of India on the other hand, is the embodiment of ambivalence - she is both feared and desired. The address and reference markers attached to her illustrate this vacillation. "That freqenter of ill-famed houses" (C115) addresses a prostitute with respect and honorific terms and pronouns, such as honorific ji. A client with pleasure exclaims "You have made me happy, Piari, my life, my love!" (C238). Likewise, the prostitute as a provider of a service, utters the most honorific and respectful speech, as is illustrated in context VI from Singh (1956:26) below. She praises "May your fame and honor increase. May your pen write figures of thousands and hundred of thousands, etc." and addresses her client as "Cherisher of the poor", "sarkar" or "government".

VI. ..The old toothless woman broke into a sonorous singsong of praise: "**May your fame and honor increase. May your pen write figures of thousands and hundreds of thousands.**" The young girl just stared at him with her large eyes **lined with antimony and lampblack.** The magistrate made a gesture with his hand ordering them to sit down. The old woman's voice came down to a whimper. All four sat down on the carpet.

"**Cherisher of the poor. What does your honor fancy?** Something classical-pukka-or a love song?"

"No, nothing pukka. Something from the films. Some good film song-preferably Punjabi."

The young girl salaamed. "**As you order.**"

...When all was said and done she was a prostitute and looked it. The silver sequins on her black sari sparkled. The diamond in her nose glittered like a star.

"Go to the **Government,**" pleaded the old woman. The girl turned round obediently and went to the magistrate. Hukum Chand put his arm round her waist.

"You sing well."

The girl gaped wide-eyed at her companions.

"**The Government** is talking to you. Why don't you answer him?" scolded the old woman. **Government,** the girl is young and very shy. She will learn," she explained.

Nevertheless, although the prostitute is desired by the "lure of her love" (C236) she invokes fear, because she fits the unconventional image of the Indian woman. To illustrate, abuses of fear which are directed at the conventional female who falls under one of the above three prescribed categories are with reference to a prostitute's profession. As we've seen above, in particular under the first stage of femalehood (Context I), abuses showered upon the young unmarried girl, Sohini, above are of the form 'witch', 'whore', 'prostitute', etc.

The prostitute is a picture of mystery and desire - an "enchantress" with an "elaborate artistry" and sits in a line with "fine insinuating glides of innocent rows", is "thickly painted, profusely bejewelled", "heavily oiled", and is a "vision of transparent gauzes and glittery jewelry" (C239). The "girl prostitutes", "dancers", "nautsch-girls" (C238), and "loose women"

have "large eyes lined with antimony and lampblack and tie anklebells round their ankles, and shuffle their bangles" (C239). But in contrast, she is also termed a "used up creature", "swathed in silks and draperies and nose, ear, head and neck ornaments, with white hair dyed a rich henna-orange".

Therefore, for females who are not part of the traditional Indian social system the underlying cultural assumption of an unmarried woman is seen in terms of [-married, -children, -kin relationship, +age]. It is this underlying structure which creative authors transcreate to convey the Indianness of the woman who lies beyond the three conventional social categories.

Conclusion. This discussion has illustrated with examples the various processes of transcreation of several differing aspects of gender into the English language. These processes have appeared as culture-specific lexicalizations, semantic innovations, and socially-determined speech functions. These types of acculturation are a result of authors transcreating at least four social Indian categories and the sociocultural themes of India-specific customs, conventions and patterns of interpersonal behavior in domains of marriage, family, etc. It appears that there is more involved than grouping females collectively or assigning females a social category of daughter, wife, mother, or widow. Rather there is an underlying systematic structure set up that directs females in general and each of the four female structures in particular. The behavior, attitudes, and language observed of females in these Indian English texts are guided by a deeper cultural meaning which is shared by the family as well as by the society.

Therefore, there is an underlying assumption for femalehood in the

Indian context from which are derived underlying assumptions for each social category of female, i.e., the young unmarried girl [+kin relation, -age, -marriage, -sexual activity], the married female [+kin relation, +marriage, +potential motherhood], the married, childbearer [+kin relation, +marriage, +children], and the unmarried woman [-kin relation, -marriage, -children, +age].

It is these four female assumptions which provide the paradigm within which the Indian authors of English are transcreating. What appear to be the underlying conceptual categories and assumptions assigned to females is the actual framework within which the Indian authors are working. These authors are transferring these underlying constructs of Indian females which are based on their native culture to the English language. To fully capture the Indianness of the female in the Indian system, authors transcreate the native social, cultural, and attitudinal contexts in general, and the underlying forms to which females must conform in particular, to the non-native variety of English. In other words gender is contextualized. This process of transcreation or transference of the native Indian elements and features of females to English within which they are absent was illustrated by drawing attention to some native formal characteristics such as the socially-determined speech functions of modes of address and reference, greetings, blessings, pleas, and abuses which are fixed formal exponents within the Indian context. Moreover, the culture-bound formal characteristics of Indian English such as the transference of lexical items, hybridized forms, unusual collocations, and contextually marked translations and speech functions mark the language of female distinct in its Indianness. For example, a. the translated and non-translated lexical items to capture the complete

social context of gender. Examples range from single word translations and indigenous forms of single word units, e.g., witch ('churel'), draperies ('sari'), saheli ('female companion') panditain '(teacher s wife'), kinship terms, e.g. beti 'daughter', mata 'mother', etc., and honorifics ji, sahab, etc. to discoursal strategies of attention-getters and evocatives, e.g., are/ari, dekho 'see', suno 'listen', etc. and culture specific speech functions, e.g., face like a grinding stone 'butta sa muh', spoiler of my salt 'namak haram', sister-sleeper 'bahan chot', mai-bap 'mother-father', etc. b. the hybridized forms which are the combining of one element from the local language and one from English to provide a more precise description. e.g., kum-kum marked, purdah lady, silken-saried Parsi women, nautsch girl, angrezi woman, etc. c. the deviant collocations which appear as native English formations but have non-native features, e.g., mango breast, milk teeth, weepy laughs, gay widow, etc., d. the semantic shifts or expressions which are assigned new meaning when transferred into English, e.g., play pebbles with, dead over, with belly, May the vessel of your life never float in the sea of existence, may the fire of ovens consume you, etc. e. the extensions of meaning, e.g., the extensiveness and repetitiveness of the use of kinship terms, e.g., mata, bahan, etc. f. semantic innovations which are English expressions which have acquired a new meaning, e.g., bride-showing, bangled widow, market woman, etc.

That these Indianisms of females operate in the Indian culture and not in the native variety is significant. Language cannot be separated from its social functioning, and the contextual units, i.e., the underlying assumptions, must be taken into account when discussing language in its actual setting. In the case of American English and

South Asian languages, where the participants are of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, it is only expected that authors transfer from the native culture to the non-native variety certain contextual units, in this instance the social notions of females. But more importantly, these Indianisms, associated with females have a specific meaning in the Indian culture, i.e, these formations have a specific function in Indian English. Thus, the questions and problems of intelligibility and interpretability for native speakers of English are raised. What appears to the reader as non-native or deviant can be explained by careful examination and consideration of the underlying sociocultural parameters of gender which are crucial for the understanding of the Indian linguistic elements used by, for, and of females in Indian English.

Understanding the description of the process of transcreation and this underlying social framework is essential for recognizing and classifying the dimensions of Indianness associated with females of India. I suggest, then, that to understand the attitudes toward the social position and social role of females in general and the patterns of life, culture and society in India in particular, as conveyed by Indian authors of English, one must not only be acquainted with the cultural dimensions of a society but with the underlying categories designated to females and their social roles. For it is these underlying conceptual constructs that authors (speakers) are transcreating into English. It is from this underlying paradigm that females are linguistically defined and socially defined.

Only when the formal and functional uses of English are not viewed from a culturally and linguistically ethnocentric position, can the reader see the importance in understanding the affect of the

Indian sociocultural and linguistic setting on features of the English language in India. The reader must go beyond the referential meaning and consider the social meaning of language to fully grasp the contextual and situational context of India in general, and females in particular.

NOTES

*The examples provided in this paper are extracted from the following Indian English fiction (abbreviated codes are given).

C -- Coolie. Anand, Mulk Raj. 1952.
F -- Fire on the mountain. Desai, Anita. 1977.
J -- Javni. Rao, Raja. 1983.
T -- Train to Pakistan. Singh, Khushwant. 1956.
Tree -- The tree. Mehta, Dina. 1981.
U -- Untouchable. Anand, Mulk Raj. 1947.
W -- The old woman and the cow. Anand, Mulk Raj. 1960

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