Review Paper

Minglish: Unmarked code switching in urban Maharashtra, India

Jessica Chandras
The George Washington University, 2110 G. St. NW, Washington, DC 20052 USA
jessu1006@gwu.edu

Abstract

The systematic use of English words among Marathi words in speaking and writing in the western Indian state of Maharashtra in urban environments should be considered a specific phenomenon which challenges contemporary definitions in linguistics and linguistic anthropology of code switching. Like Hinglish, which is the mix of Hindi and English, Minglish, or a mix of Marathi and English, has no switch between codes. Instead, Minglish is one seamless language, albeit a different language than Marathi or English and this mix is both widely accepted and distinct from a marked use of English, reflecting Michael Meewis and Jan Blommaert's work on monolectal code switched languages in Belgium (1998). The use of Minglish as a monolectal code switched language, is distinct from a marked use of English, which is used to index aspects of an identity, such as levels of sophistication and class status. This particular unmarked mix of English and Marathi provides a window through language to see a globally integrated community that is nevertheless locally specific. The language speakers use is fluid and inextricably linked to global flows unbound to a single language that reach outside of changing contexts of what it means to be Maharashtrian and Indian.

Keywords: India, Code switching, Language, Vernacular language, Identity.

Introduction

I found my familiar seat at the large glass table among members of the host family I had been staying with for a few weeks in Kothrud, a comfortably middle class suburb in the city of Pune, in Maharashtra, India. It was close to dinnertime but I was working on my Marathi homework for my language classes while my host mother, Gauri, made *chapattis* on the counter-top gas range nearby. Shirin, Gauri's daughter-in-law, began preparing the table for the nightly meal. She asked me if I would like some water while I finished up my homework. "Do you want water (*paane pahije)?*" "Yes *(Ho)*!" I responded. Since I was both learning and researching Marathi language use I decided to keep the conversation going in Marathi to practice some of the vocabulary I had recently learned. *"I want one glass and in the glass I want water (Mala ek pela pahije aanhi pelyamadhe, pane pahije),"* I stated with confidence. This seemed to be a sentence more suitable for the one-year-old that Shirin and her husband Tanmay were raising in the large split-level flat owned by Tanmay's parents. Nonetheless, I was pleased with my fairly lengthy sentence that stated very precisely what I wanted. To my dismay, even though Shirin understood my request she responded with a laugh and in English told me, "No one uses *'pela'* anymore. Everyone just says 'glass'. So much for my Marathi practice, I thought as I received the glass of water that Shirin handed over with a sympathetic smile. This mix of English and Marathi- I was to note again and again-is both prevalent and expected by urban Marathi speakers.

I began observing conversations among individuals in the urban city of Pune for my fieldwork in 2013 and found English words sprinkled in both speech and writing. At the same time I was studying Marathi and learning the *Devanagari* script, so little by little I could read more and more and found that many words I had been attempting to decipher were actually English words written in *Devanagari* script. Once I returned to the United States, I was speaking with a Maharashtrian about my research investigating this commonplace mixture of English and Marathi and she mentioned that I was studying *Minglish.* This term mirrors *Hinglish* or the mix of Hindi and English that is so common that speakers consider *Hinglish* a language separate from Hindi and distinct from English[1]. It is through considering *Minglish* as a distinct mixed code that I approach Marathi to English code switching in daily conversation in the urban city of Pune, Maharashtra.

Minglish refers to the spoken and written use of English words along with Marathi words in the state of Maharashtra, India. There is a systematic use of English words among Marathi words in speaking and writing, and this use should be taken into consideration as a specific phenomenon that challenges some contemporary definitions of code switching. I specifically want to move away from thinking of this mix as code switching because, like Hinglish, I argue that in some cases there is no switch between codes, instead, it is one seamless language, albeit a different language than pure Marathi or English. Just as my experience learning Marathi shows, I also needed to navigate the English used in Marathi and this mix is both widely

accepted and distinct from a marked use of English. A marked use of English is used to index aspects of an identity, such as levels of sophistication and class status[2-4]. In this paper, I will show that the English in Marathi that urban Marathi speakers most commonly utilize is better understood as a language in and of itself, or a monolectal code, rather than an alternation between different languages through an analysis of contemporary studies on code switching[5].

English in Pune

There are 2.5 million inhabitants in Pune and the city is known for its many educational institutions, manufacturing, and IT industries. Marathi is the regional language spoken in the state of Maharashtra and is similar to Hindi. Marathi is one of India's twenty-two official languages and similar to Hindi, Marathi uses the *Devanagari* script. I collected data beginning in 2013 through structured and unstructured interviews, participant observation, studying Marathi myself, and by surveying English words found in conversation, film, television, print media, advertisements, radio, and signboards.

The urban setting of Pune is key for defining the parameters of *Minglish*. After Mumbai, which the capital of the state, Pune is the second largest city in Maharashtra. Due to the urban environment and an influx of young professionals gaining either an education or valuable work experience in the city, Pune's linguistic landscape to be a mix of many languages with a strong emphasis on the regional vernacular. Marathi is more prominent in Pune than in Mumbai, Maharashtra's capital, where the regional vernacular is often the minority language due to the highly heterogeneous demographic composition of the city.

English is a widely used language in India considering that a British presence in the country lasted centuries until independence in 1947. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, British attitudes favored Indian assimilation to British culture through the English language. However, at this time, ideas of assimilation took shape that encouraged certain Indians to learn English for "direct access to the superior arts, philosophy and faith of Britain"[6]. Largely this attitude showed that at this time, in order to maintain colonial power, the British no longer needed to withhold access to English education. Rather than exerting power over Indians, the British began to shape an Indian society after their own, using English as one of many tools to do so. Indian citizens were thought of by the British to desire a level of civilization that the British viewed as far superior to India's own, and the British began to grant them access to this lifestyle and way of thinking through education in English.

In addition to this ideological indoctrination, on a more practical level, educating a certain class of Indians in English was meant to prepare them for government jobs[7]. English then became the language of Indian citizens of higher class and caste who,

regardless of language, would have held higher profile jobs. An Indian upper social class was the first group with access to English. Therefore, jobs where English was spoken, such as in the government, were where English fluency was necessary for Indians. English was then held in an esteemed position granting speakers upward social mobility and access to greater socioeconomic status and these ideas surrounding English fluency continue today.

Historically, the use of English in India has signaled very specific aspects of the speaker's identity, aspirational intentions, or special emphasis while speaking. Yet, while a specific ethnic group brought English to India, the use of English has permeated outside of that group, at least in urban settings today. Still, as it was in the past, English is associated in some cases with upward socioeconomic mobility, national and international mobility, authority, modernization, and westernization. English use can index a certain socioeconomic status, power, and position in a hierarchy because English is still understood as a signal of prestige, or a marked form of speaking for emphasis. Those who identify as modernized, liberated, and globalized proudly speak *Hinglish*. Through this language ideology, English is a marked language. I use markedness to explain that some English words or the style or context in which they are used are meant to indicate a degree of sophistication. The index of sophistication then is an attribute present, or marked, in the use of some English words in a particular style and context[8]. Therefore the unmarked English words lack the attribute that some English words signal social status or sophistication. When a speaker code switches from the regional or national vernacular to English, it is meant to signify something due to its markedness. However, I argue this is not always the case and an unmarked switching is also practiced which is not meant to signify anything particular about the speaker or their ethno-linguistic community.

Code switching

Code switching occurs when a speaker uses two or more languages, also commonly referred to as codes, in a single utterance or conversation episode[9,10]. Current theory on code switching, argues that multiple languages in a single speech episode indexes aspects of identities. This is to say that code switching is commonly believed to be strategic to show that speakers highlight membership to a particular group by way of mixing languages. Gumperz uses the example of a speaker from a Punjabi family in Delhi may use some Punjabi words while speaking mostly Hindi to show his background and alignment with a specific linguistic and cultural group. The view that a speaker code switches to index alignment with a speech community presupposes that the speaker and his audience are both bilingual as fluent speakers of Hindi and Punjabi and intentionally using Punjabi words among Hindi words. This view also aligns a single language with a single cultural group who speaks primarily that one language. It is also therefore assumed that code switching occurs where ethno linguistic

mixing takes place. The practice of mixing Punjabi and Hindi in this example shows the 'Punjabification' of the Hindi speaking side of the speaker's identity. A distinction is made between the speaker as Punjabi and others as non-Punjabis through language choice.

The mixing of English with Hindi in particular has been examined as a signifier of belonging or aspiration to belong to an elite social group with access to English[11,12]. While this may certainly be the case in some situations, I argue that a systematic mixing along with a degree of unmarked or non-strategic mixing is a linguistic phenomenon not exclusive to an English-using upper class or upper caste way of speaking. Instead, some English use is occurring across class and across castes, at least to some extent in an urban environment.

Loan words are common in many languages and are an example of how languages are fluid and change when there is contact among various different languages and their speakers. The non-strategic use of unmarked words most closely resembles the use of loan words from English to Marathi, or words that have become so familiar that they are now part of the Marathi language. Loan words are imported from another language without being changed or translated into the second language[13]. In Marathi these words are unique as loan words from English because they retain their English form and function, but may slightly change their spelling and pronunciation to better integrate into Marathi, like spelling coffee in Marathi as *kofi*. Some English speakers may not always recognize that many English words are loan words borrowed from different languages nor do we think of those words from other languages as foreign when using them, like 'paper' and 'ballet' from French. In contrast, many Marathi speakers may or may not know the Persian, Arabic, Hindi, or Sanskrit provenance of some Marathi words, but Minglish speakers generally do recognize when they use English words.

In contemporary code switching theory, approaches to the phenomenon of code switching in relation to identity can be divided along the lines of marked code switching, frequently referred to as conscious switches from one language to another, or unmarked code switches, defined by some as unconscious switches[14-16]. I want to distance myself from using consciousness as the defining feature of these two styles, because the speech community may certainly know that the switched words are from another language even though the words and the switch into another language may not signal or index anything particular about the speaker. Therefore, alternation between codes may be conscious but not strategic. The two perspectives of marked code switching and unmarked code switching have much in common but the function of code switching separates the two. Where marked switching indexes an attribute of the speaker and their speech community, this index is absent in unmarked switching.

The division between marked and unmarked code switches also brings into question language ideologies, or the attitudes connected to the use of certain languages. Code switching should be taken into consideration not just for the form and function of the switches, but also for the context in which it occurs and due to the varying contexts in which code switching occurs, there can be no universal meaning or analysis. The analysis of code switching must take place on a local and emic level. Depending on the environment and speaker, code switching may be privileged or banned. The idea that the occurrence of code switching depends on the speaker's environment signifies a switching between cultures, which also assumes that multiple ethnic or linguistic groups are interacting with one another. The 'one language, one culture' model is conflicting in locations where speakers who code switch are not a minority ethno linguistic group. Marathi speakers are not an ethno linguistic minority in Maharashtra and are not in a location where it is necessary to switch between two or more distinct languages for daily communicative competence. It is assumed that all Marathi speakers, at least in an urban environment like Pune, speak in a relatively similar fashion and that Minglish is not used because of either inadequate or complete fluency in Marathi or English.

For marked switching, the code switched words are believed to actively index an aspect of the speaker's identity indicative of membership to a social group. Unmarked switches, while also part of the speaker's identity, may go unnoticed by the speaker or their audience. The unmarked switches would signal that the speaker and the audience share the same systematic form of code switching. This view also eliminates a predisposition of code switching as a marker of bilingualism, since the speech community, or all the speakers who share this style of speaking, could switch from one language to another without being fluent in both languages as long as the speech community shared knowledge of common switches. This is exactly what I propose is occurring in the creation and reproduction of *Minglish*. Uses of Marathi to English switches can also be separated along this division of marked and unmarked switching and the latter, or the unmarked switch, is what I argue *Minglish* to be—a monolectal view of a code switched language.

Minglish should be understood as one language with mixed origins instead of two languages. This monolectal view of a code switched language, or a language of mixed origins that does not distinguish between codes, is a variety of speech which speakers learn as a mixed language as their mother tongue or their first language. Yet, discerning speakers using a mixed language can be detrimental because it implies that either speakers do not fully speak the two or more languages that make up the code, and are therefore degenerate speakers, or that they do speak the two or more languages as bilinguals and mix them for convenience. A monolectal perspective of language therefore moves away from viewing codes as singular, bounded languages. It advocates viewing languages, or codes, as products of various languages mixing over time and space. It also does not take for granted that the monolectal speakers are fully bilingual, they are rather monolingual in a mixed code and

therefore may have no recognition of switching between codes or mixing languages when speaking. In this monolectal view, they are simply speaking one language. Viewing a language with mixed origins in this way moves away from considering a hierarchy of languages where the speakers of the purest forms of languages are seen as more competent because they are able to speak a more desired and "correct" form of those languages.

Minglish in Context

"When speaking to someone in Marathi, every other word may be English but they're really speaking Marathi[17]."

The use of English is both recognized yet unmarked. Certain English words are common and even expected from speakers and these words do not necessarily signal a level of sophistication or a higher socioeconomic status. For example, in markets and shops it is common and even expected to ask *kaay price* using the English word for *price* to ask how much something costs instead of the Marathi word, *kimut*. A man whose trade is to press clothes uses word like *starch* and *dry clean* where rickshaw drivers frequently used the word road instead of the Marathi *rastaa*. If one were to use the Marathi word for road, *rastaa*, it is common that the driver to repeat the address but replace the Marathi word for road with the English word to confirm. In these instances, at the end of journeys when I would say *dhanyavaad* or thank you, the driver would always respond with *thank you* or a laugh at my very proper use of outdated Marathi. In these examples the English words are unmarked as the Marathi word is less commonly used and the English word is not only preferred, but also expected.

Mixing languages […] sounds modern and sounds cool and I when I talk to kids in pure Marathi they think I'm from some other planet[18].

Marked words stand out from the ordinary. The use of marked words command the attention of the audience to something other than the message that the speaker is intending to deliver. English words or even full sentences may be used to sound cool or modern, as Gandhali, a 26 year-old female Spanish teacher claimed, or they can be used to command an air of confidence and importance, as Shirin, a 28 year-old stay-at-home mother, stated. Shirin noted that she uses English to complain in shops and on the phone with customer service representatives as it offers her a greater feeling of authority and superiority to make her claim and get her desired outcome. She uses marked English, along with a specific tone, to elevate her social status in these moments of contention while speaking with shopkeepers.

The understanding that there is greater access to English is accompanied by attitudes along a scale of acceptance or rejection. These attitudes range from enthusiastic acceptance, resigned tolerance, to hostile rejection.

Honestly I don't like English in Marathi. English is very common and words come easily; they come by the air, like breathing. People are careless. The British left the language and people are not conscious that we should use our own language. If they're not conscious they won't know what will happen, not that they will forget Marathi but that they are using a language with a certain legacy[19].

Supriya is a professor of both English literature and Marathi. From her perspective, using English is connected to a British legacy in India that implies that British English is better than other Indian languages. Milind Shintre, a filmmaker in his mid-50s, described this same sentiment to me as "cultural rape"[20]. This strong view implies that the British took away a distinct Indian identity, language, and way of thinking without consent. Now, to Milind and others who share this strong metaphor for British colonial rule, an Indian identity will never again be separate from a British one.

Thinking that any language is better than another implies a hierarchy that represents prevalent language ideologies. The view that English is valued over other languages in this region reflects a structure of education where Hindi and Marathi are learned first and then English classes are introduced later in schools where Marathi is the language of instruction. Individuals I spoke to reasoned that this order is implemented so that speakers first gain a solid foundation in these two languages before adding a third. However, this produces the view that speakers must progress through the languages and therefore only the ones who successfully complete a basic education of Hindi and Marathi have access and a right to learn English. It is therefore assumed that English speakers have a mastery over Hindi and Marathi but choose to use English as their most elite language.

For Supriya and those who share her views, Marathi is deeply connected to her identity. The mixing and use of English with Marathi is similar to a diluted identity or a Maharashtrian identity that is not as pure as the Maharashtrian who does not pollute the language with English. My host mother, Gauri, also believes that a Marathi education is the only way to preserve the language. She believes that children should be educated first in their mother tongue as a way to learn to enjoy a language and that by doing so, children naturally and psychologically learn every subject more easily and therefore more successfully.

When I say I'm a purist, purist in the sense that I like people having a conversation in the same language that they started it in…because I think that it's [Marathi] your mother tongue and you should know it properly.

Sujata Mahajan, a Marathi teacher in her late 50s, also believes that a Marathi education not only teaches correct grammar and syntax, but also teaches students an essence of Marathi. She confided in me that she had had an argument with her husband over sending their children to schools with either Marathi or English instruction. Her husband eventually made the decision to send their children to a school with English instruction only.

To Sujata, her children now lack the essence of Marathi, or do not know it properly as Gandhali's sentiment represented above relays, even though Sujata insists on speaking only Marathi in her home. She described her definition of essence to me with some difficulty as both vocabulary and understanding. The vocabulary is an important part of Sujata's perspective because if Marathi vocabulary is not formally taught then the words from other languages, such as English, will be learned and used as substitutes for their Marathi counterparts, if counterparts exist. Gaining a strong foundation of Marathi vocabulary also provides speakers with a stronghold against English words that may find their way into their vocabulary. For Sujata and the others, understanding the language meant much more than just surface comprehension, but also understanding their heritage and roots. At the core of this debate is the understanding of a culture and way of life. If speakers enjoy using Marathi and continue to do so then it is less likely that the language will die out. In this way, a dying language is akin to a dying identity.

On the other hand, for some, mixing English with Marathi is a way to ensure certain opportunities in the future. When speaking with Sujata about her husband's decision to send their children to an English school, she felt it necessary to include how even she could not deny the opportunities provided by English fluency. This is a sentiment shared by Shirin and her husband, Tanmay, who are raising their daughter, Tanisha, to speak English at home as they expect to move abroad someday for Tanmay's profession. Tanisha is now a little over one year old and she is learning to respond to a mixture of English and Marathi, or *Minglish,* learning it as her mother tongue and as a concession to her grandmother, Gauri's, insistence that her family not lose their linguistic heritage. In this way, with *Minglish* as Tanisha's first language, *Minglish* becomes a monolectal code and a language in and of itself. Tanmay and Shirin are both fluent in English but went to Marathi schools. They agreed that the hardship they experienced adjusting to the expectations of English in jobs and education was something their generation took in stride but not a hardship that Tanisha's generation will endure. They now enthusiastically support the use of English, and support mixing it with Marathi because *Minglish* provides them a bridge from Marathi to English believed to open a world of opportunities. They encourage Tanisha to learn and use *Minglish* as a way to ensure that she is familiar with English at a young age in order to have the most success in her future education and occupation. Tanmay and Shirin openly and proudly state that as soon as Tanisha is old enough, she will attend school with instruction in English while in India.

"Certain words have become part of Marathi".
"I use it a lot. Not sentences in English, but words in English[21]."
"These days you can't even form a statement in Marathi without English words[22]."

In all cases, instances of English in daily use were found across socioeconomic classes and include nouns, verbs, and adjectives as well. All individuals considered in this study live in Pune, and most were born in Pune as well. However, some had spent time living in the United States and abroad in other countries. Most instances of speakers using English words occurred in my observations among individuals of middle and upper middle class socioeconomic status or between middle and upper middle class individuals and individuals of a lower socioeconomic status, such as house servants and service workers.

Most commonly spoken nouns include words such as *computer, photo, card, online, dress, table, price, road,* and *coffee.* Common adjectives include: *fresh* (to mean brightly colored), *compulsory,* and *useful.* Some verbs include: *control, come (over) here, wave, I think, check,* and *change.* Other common phrases often used on their own include: *Probably, sorry, excuse me,* and *thank you.* What is interesting about the verbs is that most often the verbs were not used alone but were modified by an auxiliary verb and then incorporated into daily Marathi use. These words were then also accompanied by the infinitive verb *karne* or *to do* to say something like *wave kar* (*wave* or *do a wave)* in the imperative command form and *change kela* (*changed* or *made a change*) in the past tense.

I read [English] everyday, but I don't speak it. They teach us to read and write [in English] in school, but we don't practice talking or interacting[23].

The words previously listed are used both in speaking and writing. The written examples and examples from media such as radio and television provide evidence of how English use in Marathi is ubiquitous across classes to some extent. In writing, it was most common to find English words written in the Devanagari alphabet, but some words were also written in the Roman alphabet, although this was less common. The written sources I examined came from prominent daily newspapers such as *Sakal* and *The Maharashtra Times.* I considered the English used in both print advertisements and articles in these newspapers. People of all socioeconomic classes have access to these newspapers and many families receive multiple papers daily, from which they get their daily news. Newspapers are widely read and are often free because you can easily find discarded copies or copies made available in public spaces such as restaurants, tea stalls, waiting rooms, and even in rickshaws. The English words used in print advertisements were the same as the words used in speaking, including English words with auxiliary verbs. The newspapers *Sakal* used less English than *The Maharashtra Times* on account of "more traditional editors" (Sujata Mahajan, interview with author, 8/5/13). The English words used included Indian English words like *Congress*, the name of a political party, dates like *July*, cricket terms, and acronyms like *OBC* (Other Backward Castes) and *MBBS* (Bachelor of Medicine, Bachelor of Surgery).

English used in other forms of media also include the words previously listed, but the way in which they are used is different. On television the use of English is often much more

marked, meaning that the use of English is strategic and used to index specific aspects of identity. Characters who are wealthy use more English than characters who are not supposed to be as socioeconomically well off. Westernized relationships are characterized by their English titles, like 'girlfriend' and 'boyfriend', and characters say, "I love you" in English rather than using its counterpart in Marathi or Hindi. On the radio, DJs also use a mixture of English and Marathi that sounds cool and flashy. Words that I heard used only on the radio include words like *super hit* and *number one.* Advertisements on the radio were hardly ever in just pure Marathi. Most of the time, they were in Hindi and if advertisements were in Marathi, *Minglish* was spoken, but frequently advertisements were completely in English. Examples like these demonstrate that it is not only in spoken interaction that English words are used along with Marathi words, either in *Minglish* or in marked exchanges. English words are also frequently read and heard in various forms as individuals participate in mundane daily activities in an urban setting.

Discussion: English is Part of Marathi Now

The use of English in Marathi challenges contemporary definitions and studies of code switching. Other forms of indexicality, or a sign pointing to what it signifies, need to be considered in an unmarked, non-strategic monolectal *Minglish.* In fact, the use of English may not index anything at all about a speaker except that the use of English has become subsumed as loan words into mundane Marathi use in both speaking and writing. What this use points to is the need for a broader array of social categories that code switching can index. It is not useful in this case to only consider code switching as indexing aspects of class or linguistic and cultural identities. Also, while the use of English in Hindi is featured prominently in code switching studies, Marathi has not been previously considered in academic literature as a field where code switching occurs nor as a language that has subsumed certain forms of English.

Certain words are more often than not used in English while primarily speaking Marathi. These words include *table, glass, office, price, coffee, actually, compulsory*, and many more. These words are used in English for various reasons and as I mentioned previously, the English word may be preferred or there is no corresponding Marathi word. In cases where a Marathi word exists it may be more marked and strange to use the Marathi word in place of the English word and doing so would signal an aspect of the speaker's identity or a conscious choice. In other cases, a Marathi word sometimes has been introduced for an object, but many people state that these new words are not often widely used and never seem to outlast their English counterparts. This means that the neologism's use is more marked and used to signal perhaps a purist ideology and purist attitude towards Marathi use. The purist attitude is one that suggests that speakers should expunge the use of English from Marathi. Yet, speakers still need to use their *mobiles, computers,* and *phones,* and have no other broadly intelligible way to refer to these objects other than in English. For this reason, some Marathi words with English counterparts are more frequently used than their Marathi versions.

The English words commonly used in Marathi follow the Marathi grammatical structure and can be modified by adding post-positions to make possessive forms or words with prepositions in English. Sentences with these words were frequently used on the radio and TV and also among people going about their daily activities. In writing, the most common way English words are written is in Devanagari and English words written in the roman alphabet are less common but still used.

More research needs to be done to understand the social aspects of mixing languages and to understand further affects on identity construction, especially the relationship between the marked and unmarked words and contexts of use. What sorts of realities are constructed with Minglish in relation to the nation and Hindi? What language ideologies and ideas of aspiration exist in regards to Minglish use and socialization into using Minglish? Answers to these questions are to be found in the social process of speaking Minglish and the ideologies involved in doing so. I plan to further explore these questions in my PhD dissertation research.

Conclusion

From these observations, I can conclude that urban Marathi speakers of multiple classes have integrated a certain systematic use of English into their daily speech, apart from fluency in English. The prevalence of English words used in speech, on TV, on the radio, and in writing such as in newspapers and signboards indicates a widespread understanding of the words commonly used in these contexts, which also reflects a widespread use or at least understanding of these English words.

Therefore, the usage and comprehension of certain words in this urban setting are not limited to a social class with exclusive knowledge of English, although this is also true in some cases. This unmarked mix of English and Marathi is what I examine as Minglish, a code or language in and of itself separate and distinct from both English and Marathi. In this way, some English has therefore been subsumed and integrated into Marathi.

"For my project (*majya prakalpasati*) I study English words in Marathi," I stated, as I had practiced many times in my head to answer the question commonly directed to me; "what are you studying?" I was unprepared for the response I received from my cousin's husband, who frequently asked me to translate the religious text messages that he often received in English. His eyebrows shot up and he exclaimed, "Wow, *prakalpa*! (*Arey waah, prakalpa*!) A very pure word!" From then on I learned to claim that, "for my project (*majya **project** sati*) I am studying Marathi's English."

References

1. Sadana Rashmi (2012). How we live multilingually and what this says about our language and literature Managing Hindi. http://www.caravanmagazine.in/reviews-essays/managing-hindi. May 8, 2012.

2. Gumperz John (1971). Hindi-Punjabi Code-Switching in Delhi (1964). Language in Social Groups. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

3. Heller Monica (1988). Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives. Mouton de Gruyter: Walter de Gruyter & Co.

4. Jain Shreya (2013). Code Switching in Indian Culture. Paper presented at the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Manchester, UK, August 5-10th.

5. Meeuwis Michael and Jan Blommaert (1998). A Monolectal view of Code-Switching: Layered code-switching among Zairians in Belgium. *In* Code-Switching in Conversation: Language, Interaction, and Identity. Peter Auer, ed. London: Routledge, 76-98.

6. Evans Stephen (2002). Macaulay's Minute Revisited: Colonial Language Policy in Nineteenth-century India. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 23(4), 260-281.

7. Kochhar R.K. (2010). English Education in India: Hindu Anamnesis versus Muslim Torpor. Pakistaniaat: *A Journal of Pakistan Studies,* 2(1), 62-97.

8. Jakobson Roman (1972). Verbal Communication. *Scientific American*, 227, 72-81.

9. Auer Peter (1998). Code-Switching in Conversation: Language, Interaction, and Identity. London: Routledge.

10. Garner-Chloros Penelope (2009). Code-switching. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

11. Fernandes Leela (2006). India's New Middle Class: Democratic Politics in an Era of Economic Reform. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

12. Benei Veronique (2008). Schooling Passions: Nation, History, and Language in Contemporary Western India. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

13. Haugen Einar (1950). The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing. *Language*, 26(2), 210-231.

14. Myers-Scotton Carol (1993). Social Motivations for Code switching: Evidence from Africa. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

15. Singh Rajendra (1983). We, They, and Us: A Note on Code-Switching and Stratification in North India. *In* Language in Society, 12(1), 71-73.

16. Woolard Kathryn (2004). Codeswitching. A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology, Alessandro Duranti, ed. Chapter 4. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

17. P. Engblom, Personal Communication, November 25, (2013).

18. Kulkarni G., Interview, August 9, (2013).

19. Kulkarni S., Interview, August 9, (2013).

20. Shintre M., Interview, August 8, (2013).

21. Mahajan S., Interview, August 5, (2013).

22. Inamdar S., Interview, August 8, (2013).

23. Raut S., Interview, July 27, (2013).