

English-Kashmiri Contact: A Sociolinguistic Survey

Dissertation

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by

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Under the supervision of

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CERTIFICATE

This dissertation titled **English-Kashmiri Contact: A Sociolinguistic Survey** submitted by **Mohmad Rafiq Guroo** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy (**M Phil**) in **English**, is an independent and original piece of research work carried out under my supervision. This research work has not been submitted, in part or in full, to any University/Institute for any degree. The candidate has fulfilled all the statutory requirements for the submission of this dissertation.

Supervisor

Dr Tasleem Ahmad War

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Introduction

Contact linguistics has emerged as a new branch of language study in the second half of the twentieth century. Comparatively a new field, contact linguistics has a tremendous relevance at present at the global level where geographical and linguistic boundaries are getting blurred day by day. In this contemporary globalized world migrations, conversions, interactions and exchanges are becoming a daily routine which eventually have a direct bearing on the world of linguistics in general. The citizens of this new globalized world are made to think and live on a global level.

The contact between people from different geographical regions inevitably leads to the linguistic contact between them. Hence, the contemporary importance of contact linguistics is that it explores the various dimensions/issues involved in the language contact phenomenon. Countries like the U.S. India, etc., have turned out to be the great settings of language contact where populations from different linguistic backgrounds mix with each other on regular basis. But language contact is not confined to these countries only, it is a rather a universal phenomenon and as such its study (contact linguistics) has a great significance.

In the twentieth and twenty-first century, language contact has been between the local native languages on the one side and English on the other. English, as it

has emerged as a link language, a library language, an international language and a *lingua-franca* has made its way into almost all the countries of the world. At present, it has become a must for all and is held to be the language of opportunities almost everywhere. Its present status as a global language has led to the loss of its nativity.

English language has helped people in many ways like it has given them an access to the international/ world market, benefitted them economically and technologically and so on. The growth and development of English is ever increasing at the global level. Due to this all-pervading influence of English, the local indigenous languages/linguistic communities are getting benefitted, but it has some repercussions also. In the backdrop of this ever increasing growth of English, the question arises whether this growth is at the cost of thousands of native languages across the globe or it is simply an aid to the indigenous linguistic communities.

The language contact between English and Kashmiri is of a recent birth. Kashmiri is the native language of the people of Kashmir which lies in the northern part of India and English is a foreign language which came to the valley with the Christian missionaries in the nineteenth century. The study aims at exploring the various sociolinguistic issues involved in the linguistic contact between the two languages in question. The research has also conducted a

survey to describe the linguistic situation in the valley of Kashmir in the context of the English-Kashmiri contact by employing various research tools like questionnaires, tape-recordings, etc. Further, the survey has also aimed at making an objective sociolinguistic study of the different social domains and age-groups of the Kashmiri society.

The research is divided into four chapters preceded by an introduction and followed by a conclusion at the end. The first chapter is entitled as “Contact Linguistics: An Overview”. The chapter discusses the field of contact linguistics and explains its relevance at the global level and throws light on the inevitability of language contact in general. This chapter mentions briefly the factors responsible for the contact between languages. Besides, it discusses the various byproducts of language contact like language maintenance, language shift, creation of bilingual mixed languages (creoles, pidgins etc.), lexical borrowing, language death, etc.

The second chapter is entitled as “Kashmiri Language and the Arrival of English”. The chapter attempts to document the historical development of the contact between Kashmiri, the native language and other languages that have come to the valley of Kashmir from time to time. The chapter talks about various dialects spoken by Kashmiri people in different geographical regions and throws light on the classification of this language in the light of different

opinions of various linguists and scholars of the Kashmiri language. The chapter also talks about the contact between Kashmiri language and different languages like Sanskrit, Persian, Urdu etc., at different periods of time. Furthermore, the arrival of English language to the Kashmir valley and its interaction with the native language is the focus of this chapter. Also, the chapter describes the importance that English language has attained in various domains of the Kashmiri society such as education, media (print), and different government and private departments.

In chapter third entitled “English Borrowings in the Kashmiri Language”, an attempt has been made to look at the transportation of words from English into the Kashmiri language. It shows how English vocabulary items have made their way into the speech of almost all the people (Kashmiris) belonging to different social domains and age-groups and thus has become an integral part of the speech behavior of people of the valley. In this chapter, an attempt has also been made to show how almost all types of words; nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, etc., have been borrowed by the Kashmiri language from English. It also discusses the various implications of this word transfer from one language to the other. Furthermore, the chapter analyses the data which has been collected over a period of time by the scholar after minutely observing the speech behavior of different people around.

The fourth chapter entitled “Sociolinguistic Implications of the Contact (English-Kashmiri)” is survey based and describes the condition of the two languages; English and Kashmiri in the light of the data collected by two self constructed questionnaires administered by the scholar to people working in different government and private departments (revenue departments, bank, offices and so on) and different age-groups (kids, youth and middle aged). The chapter describes at length the position of the two languages in consideration in different social domains and reveals the position; safe or endangered, of Kashmiri language under the influence and impact of English. This chapter has different subtitles; Introduction, Methodology and Procedure, Tools, Analysis, Major findings and Conclusion. The Introduction part introduces briefly the subject matter of the whole chapter. Methodology and Procedure reveals the approach that the scholar has adopted in collecting and analyzing the data required. Tools part of the chapter describes the research tools like questionnaires etc., that have been used by the scholar to collect the data. In the analysis part, an attempt has been made to objectively analyze the data to describe the linguistic situation in the valley in the context of the language interaction between English and Kashmiri. Besides the scholar has come up with some major findings and insights in the light of the analyzed data and eventually there is an elaborate discussion about the problems found during the research in

the conclusion part. The chapter reflects how the influence of English language which is growing day by day is not only benefiting the local Kashmiri language and its speakers but also posing a kind of threat to the native Kashmiri language; how Kashmiri language is being driven out of different social domains and how people look at their own mother tongue.

The conclusion sums up the major findings of the research, the empirical and purely linguistic/scientific approach that has been adopted in the overall research and lastly it highlights the relevance of such a study at present and the future scope of this work.

Chapter-1

The study of language has always attracted a great deal of attention of researchers and scholars. Equally interesting has been the analysis of what happens when people and their languages mix; to the languages, to the people speaking those languages and to the societies or communities where these languages meet.

Presently, at global level, English language is ruling the roost as it has attained the status of the global language, the *lingua franca*, the international language, the language of science and technology, etc. The entry of English has brought about a drastic change within the indigenous linguistic communities across the globe and India is not an exception to this. No doubt, it (English) has added to the linguistic diversity of the communities of the world, yet, it has emerged as a threat to many minority languages of the world.

Language is a God-given gift and a special attribute of man which distinguishes him from other species of the earth. Right from the inception, man has been on the continuous move due to various natural, physical, social and political reasons. But when man moves from one geographical region to the other and meets other members of human race, what he always carries along is his language which results not only in the meeting of people, but also of languages. In other words, the contact between people leads automatically and

inevitably to the contact between languages. In order to fulfill their needs in terms of business, trade, education, religion, culture, politics, etc., people are bound to interact with people of other social, geographical, cultural and linguistic backgrounds which again leads not only to the interaction of people, but also of languages.

Only man, the sole and universal possessor of language has the potential to create and develop a society, a nation or a country as he cannot think of his survival in isolation for his being dependent on other members of his race. This leads not only to the unavoidable contact between people but also between languages. Moreover, people interact with other people because they are ‘social animals’ and society cannot exist and develop without a language. So, all this gives credibility to the fact that the contact between languages is closely tied and dependent upon the contact between people. According to Wei (2000: 3), “When we speak of language contact, we are therefore talking about people speaking different languages coming into contact with one another.” With regard to the interdependence of language contact and people, Wienrich (1953: 1) says, “the language using individuals are thus the locus of the contact.” Winford (2003: 2) has somewhat same to say with respect to the relationship between people and language contact, “it is the people speaking the respective languages who have contact with each other . . .”

It is rather impossible for languages to remain unaffected and away from contact with other languages because they are possessed by humans whose survival is not possible in isolation. Therefore, languages are bound to come under the influence of other languages at one time or the other and in one way or the other. In this connection, Winford (2003: 2) observes, “Most, if not all languages have been influenced at one time or another by contact with others.” Therefore, language contact is to be treated not as an exception but as a norm which treads its own ways. As per Thomason (2001: 10), “We would have a right to be astonished if we found any language whose speakers had successfully avoided contacts with all other languages for periods longer than one or two hundred years.”

The study of language contact received academic attention in the 1970s, though the groundwork for it was done earlier by writers like Uriel Wienrich in the fifties (50s) of the last century. Language contact simply refers to the situation when people belonging to a particular speech community show familiarity with more than one language. For Wienrich (1953: 1), one of the pioneers in the study of language contact, “two or more languages are said to be in contact if they are used alternately by the same person.” Language and linguistic studies define language contact as a situation in which the same individuals use more than one language alternately. Language contact is to be

defined in a social context in which the languages are used and with reference to the people who speak them. In this regard, Thomason (2001: 1) says, “In the simplest definition, language contact is the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time.”

The study of language contact is referred to as contact linguistics; — a newly coined expression in linguistics and differentially referred to or spelt throughout the world linguistics. What has led to the formation of contact linguistics is the pervasiveness of multilingualism which is the direct result of contact between languages throughout the world. The study includes not only ‘what’, but ‘how’, ‘why’ and ‘which’ of the contact phenomena. This implies that in addition to the linguistic factors, the study of sociocultural factors which play an important role in their own way is also imperative in contact linguistics. Winford (2003: 10-11) puts it in these words that “the goal of contact linguistics is to uncover the various factors, both linguistic and socio cultural, that contribute to the linguistic consequences of contact between speakers of different language varieties.” Therefore, contact linguistics is concerned with the different systems of language and its use at all levels when language contact happens. What happens when two or more languages interact to the languages concerned, to the people involved, socially, psychologically and linguistically is the domain of linguists and researchers involved in the study of language

contact. Besides, the outcome of the interaction between languages is the area of people studying language contact.

It is not practically possible to go back to the human history and track down as to when the first language contact took place. Equally impossible is to decipher as to which language first came into contact with which other language. This unavailability and uncertainty regarding the exact date of first language interaction has been rightly voiced by Thomason (2001: 6) by saying that “Languages have been in contact certainly for thousands of years, and probably since the beginning of humankind----- or at least very close to the beginning as soon as humans spoke more than one language.”

Language contact is not confined to any particular geographical area but is intractably intertwined with the social fabric of day-to-day life of hundreds of millions of people across the world. Usually, it occurs when people having different linguistic habits face each other, yet, contact between languages is possible even without physical contact between them, that is, a particular language interacts with another language through written literature like “...book learning by teachers, writers, lexicographers, and the like who pass on the new vocabulary to others via literature, religious text, dictionaries, and so on.” (Winford 2003: 2)

The presence of Arabic words like ‘din’, ‘jihad’, ‘mujahid’, etc., in the Kashmiri language may serve as a good example. There have probably never been any native Arabic speakers in Kashmir, the contact between Kashmiri and Arabic has nonetheless taken place by the literature (mostly religious) that has been imported to the valley from time to time. The contact between languages in this way may occur also through other means like radio, television, music, internet, etc. The case of contact between English on the one side and many other different world languages on the other comes across as a valid reference. According to Thomason:

Millions of non-English speakers have come into contact with English through radio, television, Hollywood films, popular music (on CDs and cassettes as well as on the radio and television), and writings of all kinds.

(Thomason 2001: 2)

In a given contact situation, when two languages interact with each other, the relation between them is usually unequal. One of the two or more languages involved will find favour and esteem on behalf of the speakers (bilinguals/monolinguals). The privileged language is usually thought by the speakers to be more clear, more prestigious and socially more relevant which results in its dominance over other language/s that it is in contact with which are pushed to the background and which lose their positive aspects and favour of the

speakers. Grosjean describes this unequal status of the languages involved in the language contact in the following words:

Whenever languages are in contact, one is usually considered more prestigious than the other. The prestigious language is often considered more beautiful, more expressive, more logical and better able to express thoughts and the other language is felt to be ungrammatical, concrete and coarse.

(Grosjean 1982: 120-121)

Li Wei (2000) has summed up the factors contributing to the language contact as: politics, natural disaster, religion, culture, economy, education, technology, etc. Political conditions like military invasions, wars, colonization, annexation, resettlement and so on may have immediate linguistic effects. Most of the times, political conditions like these result in contact between languages. Natural disasters usually cause the movement of the people from their own lands to different geographical regions and thereby making possible the interaction between their own languages with the language of the migrated region.

Religion and culture could also prove out to be very important factors behind language contact. Besides, language mixture may take place due to educational and technological reasons. People learn languages other than their own native ones in order to have access to various branches of knowledge and different sources of information and technology (internet). In addition,

commercial and economic factors may also be responsible for language contact to occur.

The most common manifestation of language contact in a speech community is the phenomena of code-mixing and code-switching. When two or more languages are used alternately by bilingual/monolingual speakers within the single sentence/ utterance, it is referred to as code-mixing. It is, basically, the intra-sentential change of linguistic elements from one language to the other language/s. Code-switching, on the other hand, involves the alternative use of sentences or clauses of two or more languages in the single speech. It occurs at the inter-sentential level. For instance, in Indian context, where bi/multilingualism is very common, usually the educated speakers mix up the linguistic elements (words, phrases, idioms and so on) and sentences and clauses of other languages with their own language.

The outcome/s of language contact varies from situation to situation and context to context since every effect is dependent on particular social setting and circumstances that shape its character. In certain settings, the contact between languages may lead to language maintenance, in other situations; language shift may take place, while as other contact situations may lead to the creation of new contact languages like pidgins, creoles, etc.

Language maintenance is the preservation of the native language by a speech community from generation to generation. Though, languages do change slightly due to the limited contact with other languages, yet, the various subsystems, that is, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and core lexicon remain intact. Language shift, on the other hand, is the abandonment of a speech community's native language in favour of another language. Language shift takes place usually because of the socio-economic reasons. It is the replacement of one language by another which does not happen all of a sudden. As per Appel and Muysken (1987: 41), "Language shift may come about slowly and go on for several generations..." Language shift comes about when the use of native language is confined to few domains only which eventually results in the demotivation of the younger generation to learn and use it. The phenomena of language maintenance and language shift in a given speech community are determined usually by economic status of the speakers, their social status, their sociohistorical status, language status, demographic factors, institutional support (education, mass media, language planning), etc. In a given contact situation, whether a language is preserved or abandoned, it is dependent on the economic and social status of the language concerned. If the native language has a low economic status, its speakers would hardly bother about its maintenance and

tend to shift to a foreign/ imported language if it seems to provide chances for upward economic progress and social mobility.

In a particular contact situation, the language with high social status, that is, when a language provides its speakers an opportunity to communicate at the regional, national and international level, people will strive to maintain it. Whereas, a language with a low status is always in danger of becoming obsolescent. Sometimes the number of speakers of a particular language also leads either to its maintenance or abandonment. Besides, the institutional support plays a vital role in determining the maintenance or shift of language in a particular speech community. If a native language is not used in different institutions like government offices, religious gatherings and cultural organizations, it will cause a (slow) shift to the second/majority language. In addition, mass media and education are very significant as far as language maintenance and language shift are concerned.

Sometimes, the long term contact between languages results in the creation of bilingual mixed languages and leads to the mixture of languages in a particular speech community. Moreover, the contact between trading groups speaking different languages often results in the formation of new pidgins/pidgin language or creoles.

In a given contact situation, it is not possible for languages to remain unaffected from each other. The most common way through which languages in contact affect each other is lexical borrowing which happens due to travel, exploration, conquest and exposure to the foreign language via media. In addition, globalization with its new avenues of communication such as radio, television and internet may also lead to the lexical borrowing between languages. Lexical borrowing is primarily motivated by two factors; “need” and “prestige”. According to Weinrich (1953: 56), lexical borrowing takes place due to “the need to designate new things, persons, places and concepts”. In order to keep pace linguistically with the developments in science and technology, a particular speech community borrows lexical items from other languages. Further, lexical borrowing is motivated by the socio-economic factors like social advancement, employment, educational opportunities, etc.

When a language borrows from other language/s, it not only adds to its lexicon, but also enriches its potential for further expansion. Yet, the negative aspect of the process of lexical borrowing cannot be outruled. In a particular contact setting, when the lexical items of a language are replaced by lexical items of an imported language in maximum, the native language will cease to exist. The extensive word borrowing between languages usually creates a low esteem for the recipient language in the eyes of its speakers which in turn may lead to the

process of language loss and death. In other words, heavy lexical borrowing may cause the death of a language. Lexical borrowing does not always require a direct contact between the speakers of the languages involved. It can occur even without physical contact between speakers of the languages concerned.

Contact between languages in a given setting may have disastrous effects on the languages involved. The acquisition of the second language by the members of a minority speech community may lead to the language shift which implies the giving up of the native language and switch over to the imported language resulting in the fast attrition and death of the former. In this regard, Winford rightly comments:

Language shift obviously implies the gradual or complete abandonment of a previous native language in favour of the TL. Such situation provides interesting insight into the phenomenon of language death, the slow attrition and decay of the language previously used by the shifting group.

(Winford 2003: 16)

The acquisition of the second language by the native speakers usually results in the slow abandonment of the native language which ultimately results in its loss and death. In the words of Winford (2003: 16), “The acquisition of a new language promotes the gradual abandonment of the AL (Ancestral language), leading to increasing attrition and eventually the obsolescence and death of the latter.” Language death occurs when the native language is ousted

by the foreign language which is usually socially and politically dominant. A language is in danger of extinction due to many reasons like; the rate of acquisition by children, the attitudes and preference of the whole speech community towards it, the level of impact of other language etc., which it is in contact with. Language death is a social phenomenon and is triggered by social needs. A language withers away for its lack of potential with regard to the fulfillment of social needs of the people who speak it. In other words, the phenomenon of language death is closely related to the social needs of the speakers of a particular speech community. In this context, Aitchison observes:

In brief, language death is a social phenomenon, and triggered by the social needs. There is no evidence that there was anything wrong with the dead language itself: its essential structure was no better and no worse than that of any other language. It faded away because it did not fulfill the social needs of the community who spoke it.

(Aitchison 1981: 221)

The safe or endangered position of a language is dependent on the economic stability and social prestige of a language involved.

Chapter 2

The valley of Kashmir has always been an instable region historically, politically and linguistically. Politically, the valley has always been subjected to foreign rule till the middle of the twentieth century. Linguistically, it has always encountered different linguistic habits that came with the people who came here. With the arrival of people from different regions having different religions and cultures, different languages or at least their influences have made their way into the Kashmiri language from time to time. In other words, whether it is Buddhism, Hinduism or Islam, the Kashmiri culture and language got affected in one way or the other. Whether, it is the settlement of people for religious purposes (Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, etc.,) or the political factors that brought people from different parts of the world to the valley across time, the cultural and linguistic effects are easily discernable.

One of the oldest languages of the subcontinent with a literary tradition of about a thousand years, Kashmiri is the native language of the people of the Kashmir valley and its adjoining valleys. It is also the language of lacs of people who for social, political and economic reasons have settled down in different parts of India, Pakistan and the rest of the world.

The various geographical regions of the valley manifest the dialectal differences of the Kashmiri language. According to Koul, Shauq and others, the

major dialects of this language are Maraazi (the dialect spoken in the southern part of Kashmir province, called Maraaz), Kamraazi (the dialect spoken in the northern part of the valley), the Srinagar dialect (spoken in the summer capital of the state of Jammu and Kashmir), the Kishtwari dialect (spoken in the Kishtawar valley that lies to the south-east of Kashmir) and Pogli (spoken in the valley of Pogul Paristan).

Besides, there is the dialectal variation within this language vis-à-vis the major religions of its speakers which Grierson has called the dialect of Musalmans and the dialect of Hindus. It is observed that the dialect used by Musalmans draws freely from Persian and Arabic vocabulary and the dialect used by the Hindus borrows mostly from Sanskrit. However, the dialect spoken in Srinagar is recognized as the standard dialect of this language. The Kashmiri language has been recognized by the constitution of India in its eighth schedule as one of the eighteen national languages and has been made a part of the sixth schedule of the constitution of Jammu and Kashmir.

Nothing can be said with utmost certitude with regard to the origin of the Kashmiri language. However, the research carried in this direction suggests that this language existed though in its inchoate condition in Kashmir and its adjoining valleys much before Ashoka's conquest of the region in the third century B.C.

The classification of Kashmiri language has given rise to a lot of debate among linguists and philologists. Grierson's (1919) view that Kashmiri is a Dardic language was accepted by many linguists preceding him. The term Dardic is a general name given to all the languages spoken in the sparsely populated hilly and mountainous region called Dardistan; a term coined by Richard Leitner in 1886 which has more ethnogeographic connotation than linguistic. G. Morgenstierne (1961) rejected Grierson's view that Dardic languages are the separate branch of the Indic system or Indo-European family and asserted that they (Dardic languages) are essentially Indo-Aryan languages and classified Kashmiri language as one of the Indo-Aryan languages. This modified view regarding the classification of the Kashmiri language as an Indo-Aryan language and not a Dardic language was maintained by a chain of linguists and researchers like S.K. Chatterji, B. Kachru, O.K. Koul, R.K. Bhatt. In this connection, Zakharyin comments:

...The more we learn about the Dardic languages... the more evident it becomes that G. A. Grierson might have been wrong to separate Kashmiri from the Indo-Aryan language stock, and that perhaps J. Block (1934) was right in stating that Kashmiri only primordially had been Dardic and later underwent a very heavy Indo-Aryanization.

(Zakharyin 1984: 43)

But the research in the last decade of the twentieth century has questioned the aforementioned view about the classification of the Kashmiri language by

focusing on the radical differences between Kashmiri language and other Indo-Aryan languages. In this connection, Kashmiri language scholar Shauq observes:

Keeping in view the radical differences between Kashmiri and the IA languages, and also the fact that the very concept of the separate group of Dardic languages is baseless, it is safe to conclude that the Kashmiri language is an ancient Aryan language having closer affinity with Balto-Slavic and the Germanic languages rather than with Sanskrit and other IA languages. It has descended from some unknown dialect of the central Asian Aryans, nicknamed as Pishachas, who peopled the valley much before the advent of the Hindus.

(Shauq 2011: 21)

There have been more than one scripts used for Kashmiri; Sharda, Devnagri, Roman and Persio-Arabic. Sharda, the oldest script of this language was developed around tenth century (10th) A.D. Though, this script was developed primarily for Sanskrit, Kashmir being at that time one of the greatest centers of learning (Hindu), yet, old Kashmiri works were also written in this script mostly by Kashmiri pandits. The Devnagri script is used by Hindu Kashmiri writers in writing literary works, religious texts and devotional songs. The people presenting the data about Kashmiri linguistics and literature written in English use the roman script which is not so popular. The Persio-Arabic script now known as the Kashmiri script was declared as the official script for writing

in the Kashmiri language by the government of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. This script is widely used by people for publication purposes.

Kashmiri language has a very rich past as far as literature is concerned with poetry as one of the dominant genres. The earliest available literature (poetry) belongs to the fourteenth century great mystic poets Lalla Dyad and Sheikh Noor-u-din Noorani (may Allah be pleased be pleased with him). The *Wyaakh* of Lalla and the *Shruk* of Sheikh hold a rather legendary status in the literary history of Kashmiri language.

The poetry of the Hindus/ Brahmans of the Kashmiri society explored the Shavite philosophy while as the Muslim Kashmiri poets were highly inspired by mystic and romantic themes of Persian poetry. However, poetry written both by Muslims and Hindus share one thing in common, that is, their spiritual nature. The most popular form of poetry in this language is the lyrical poetry. Some of the most famous lyrical poets are Habba Khatoon, Mahmood Gami, Rasool Mir, Maqbool Shah, Parmanand, Krishan Joo Razdaan, Swachi Kraal, Naam Sahib, Waza Mehmood, Ahmad Batwaer, Wahab Khar, Shams Fakir, Rahman Dar and Ahad Zargar. However, poetry is not the only genre; writers of Kashmiri language have also contributed to other forms of literature like short story, novel and drama.

Kashmiri language has come into contact with different languages from time to time. Sanskrit, Persian, Urdu and English are some of the languages that have come to the valley and interacted with the native language here. To begin with, the language contact between Kashmiri and Sanskrit occurred in the seventh century A.D., when Buddhism, the dominant religion of the valley got replaced by Hinduism. With Hinduism, Brahmins became the dominant people with a rich cultural and literary legacy and Sanskrit became the literary, cultural, official and link language of the Kashmir valley. During this period, a huge number of Sanskrit words came into Kashmiri language which brought about a great transformation in the latter.

Persian language came to Kashmir with the arrival of Islamic religion in the fourteenth century. The conversion to Islam of Raja Ranchan, the then ruler and the arrival of a great Muslim scholar and propagator Hazrat Ameer Kabir Mir Syed Ali Hamdani (may Allah be pleased with him) changed greatly the social, cultural and economic face of Kashmir by making it an Islamic society for the first time. Persian language, at that time, became the language of the court. Besides, Arabic found its way into Kashmir as it was the language of the religion people accepted. During this period, Persian became the medium of expression for men of letters and a need for all and sundry for social and economic advancement. Due to Persian, the earlier imported language Sanskrit

that had so far dominated the linguistic scene in Kashmir was pushed to the background.

In India, Urdu got strengthened under the British Raj and the establishment of Fort William College in 1755 played a very important role. To Kashmir, Urdu came with the end of the Muslim rule and the beginning of Dogra rule. It was King Pratap Singh who was crowned in 1885 A.D., who gave Urdu an official status. In its journey of about a hundred and fifty years, Urdu not only became the state's official language, but also crept into the social, political, educational and literary domains. It forms a very vital part of the day-to-day communication of the native Kashmiris.

English in Kashmir

English came to India with the establishment of the East India Company in 1600, which explicitly was established for trade and commerce but had imperialism as its main but hidden agenda. From the language of the British Empire in India, English has now become a useful tool to gain knowledge, exploit technological advancements and manage economy. Its growth and development throughout the country has been phenomenal. With respect to the position English has attained in India, Crystal observes:

In terms of number of English speakers, the Indian subcontinent ranks third in the world, after the USA and UK. This is largely due to the special position which the language has come to hold in India itself, where it has been estimated that some 4 or 5 percent of the people now make regular use of English – approaching 40 million in 1996.

(Crystal 1997: 41)

In its history of more than four hundred years in the subcontinent which has more than four hundred big and small languages, English has emerged as a link language among different regions and educated classes.

As far as the valley of Kashmir is concerned, the history of English language is tied up with the history of Christian missionary work. The entry of English language into Kashmir dates back to the second half of the nineteenth century when Christian missionaries started their activities here. Education and health services which were very much wanted in the region at that time were the main tools employed by missionaries to introduce Christianity which automatically resulted in the introduction of English language in Kashmir. Nevertheless, the services rendered by the Christian missionaries were anything but welcome and faced a lot of opposition by the government and the local people alike. Unlike other religions like Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam, Christianity met with a stiff resistance as people belonging to Hindu and Muslim communities strongly resented the conversion to Christianity.

However, the Christian missionaries succeeded in changing the educational system of the valley by introducing English education system here. Their new system of imparting education was radically different from that of the local system. The locally run *pathshalas* and *maktabs* by Hindus and Muslims respectively imparted only the education of religious scriptures (Hindu and Muslim) as well as taught the languages of these scriptures such as Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. Khan states the condition (educational) in the following words:

Modern education does not seem to have existed until the advent of Christian missionaries in Kashmir when a changed outlook gradually came into being. The *maktabs* of Srinagar and of other parts of the valley were generally affiliated to the mosques, where the boys were taught to read Arabic so that they might be able to read the Quran. Likewise the Kashmiri pandits had their schools called *patshalas* where Sanskrit was taught to enable them to read the sacred books.

(Khan 1999: 160-61)

Due to its association with Christianity; the unwelcome religion in Kashmir, it took English language quite some time to find acceptance by the locals of the region. Because of its inception into the valley through Christian missionaries, English language was being looked down upon as the language of Christianity; learning this language almost meant conversion to Christianity. As per War (2008: 66), “The approach to English by the Kashmiris was not positive and assumptions like English being the devil’s language and learning English

was equivalent to becoming a Christian were prevalent.” It took this language almost a century to solidify its roots in the valley because of the inconducive social, political and religious circumstances. In this context, Wani (2007) and War (2008) observe that in addition to the hostility of the local Kashmiris towards English, some other factors contributed to the late development of this language such as Dogra king’s apathy towards education of common Kashmiris, low literacy percentage, greater inclination towards education in religious schools (darasgahs/patshalas/darul-ulooms) where there was no question of use of English language, etc.

The teaching and learning of English began in the post independent period in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. In the education system of the state, English language was introduced as a medium of instruction in 1950 though it was only at the university level through the Education Reorganization Committee (1950), also known as Kazemi Committee. At the school level, the teaching of English along with other subjects like science and mathematics was started with the 1966 report of the Kothari Commission in 1972-73. But, in 1974 due to the massive student agitation and boycott, English as a medium of instruction was substituted by the regional languages of the state. Later on, in 1976 with the implementation of the recommendations of the National Policy on Education (1968), the government of Jammu and Kashmir adopted the teaching of English

at the secondary level though as a separate subject. English language found its way into the colleges of the state in 1979 with the recommendations of the Kashmir University Committee to enable the college students to use English as a library language and for communicating with other university students.

Practically speaking, in the last two-three decades, from the language of the Christian mission which was confined to the educational institutions (government/private), English language has grown at an extraordinary pace. ‘The devil’s language’ as English was called for some time initially, it has become perhaps the most dominant and preferred language in the present day Kashmir.

From the higher education down to the primary level schooling, English is the medium of instruction both in government and private schools. War comments on the position English has in the educational system of Kashmir in these words:

Initially the government used English as the language for higher education. In 2003 it was used as the medium of instruction in government schools as well. Presently English is taught in all the schools, be they government run, private or missionary schools as well as the colleges and the university.

(War 2008: 66)

In the short span of time, this language has made entry into many if not all the significant domains of the Kashmiri society like administration, upper level judiciary and media (print). In this regard, Koul and Schmidt note:

No daily newspapers are published in Kashmiri. Some weekly newspapers are published. Therefore Kashmiri newspapers are not for news value. Newspapers in Urdu are quite popular. Several daily newspapers are published in Urdu from Srinagar. They mostly cater to the needs of the population. No Hindi local newspapers are published in Kashmir but a number of Hindi and English newspapers from Punjab and Delhi are sold here. English newspapers appear to be quite popular in the valley.... English papers are mostly read for their national news value.

(Koul and Schmidt 1983: 40-43)

The growth of English newspapers, both dailies and weeklies and the increase in the readership especially in the last decade has been maximum, that is, about eight dailies and twelve weeklies are being published in English with an above average response by the readers who are more at home with English publication than with Kashmiri or any other language/s.

Furthermore, the use of this language is no more confined to the educated elite class, the average middle and even low class people are usually seen learning it or are showing tendency to learn it. It has grown so much that it has become a code-mixed variety with a great majority of people. At present, English language has become a priority as far as the learning and teaching of a foreign/second language is concerned. It is English which children in Kashmir

are expected to learn once they enter the school. Not only has English language become an allied/complementary official language in the state, but also the medium of education and a source of communication in such domains as government, the legal system and the media.

The present linguistic scenario of Kashmir reflects that out of the two languages, Kashmiri and English, the latter is occupying the most important and prestigious social domains resulting in the confinement of the former to the domestic and informal usage. It is only the two skills of Kashmiri language, that is, speaking and listening that the native speakers are well versed with. The other two skills, reading and writing, are confined to the few educated people. The youth and children are generally seen struggling with the native language. They, many times, manage to listen to it comprehensively, but they are uncomfortable vis-à-vis speaking. Reading and writing are rather out of question.

Though, Urdu is the official language of the state, yet, for the most important official correspondence, English is taken recourse to. In banks (govt/semi-govt), health and municipal departments, courts and security divisions, construction and revenue departments (govt./private), English language rather than Kashmiri or even Urdu is made use of.

It is worth mentioning that Jammu and Kashmir is one of the few states of India where General English is a compulsory subject not only at the college level but also at the primary and high school levels. Except at home, English is preferred for communication particularly among the educated people.

Chapter

Word borrowing is the most common way through which languages affect each other. In any language interaction phenomenon, the most immediate outcome is the transfer of lexical items from one language into another and usually this transportation is from the higher status language into the lower status one and not the vice-versa. Winford (2003: 39) quotes Bloomfield (1933) as, “borrowing is usually from a more prestigious into a socially subordinate language. Speakers may find it more sophisticated to borrow from the higher languages.” Borrowing may be defined as the adoption of individual words, expressions or other features which differ from the main tradition of the native language. Winford (2003: 12) following Thomason and Kaufman describes borrowing as, “the incorporation of foreign features into a group’s native language by speakers of that language.” The language from which words are borrowed is called the donor language and the language that borrows the words is called the recipient language.

The process by which these borrowed words are adjusted by the speakers of the recipient language is called Nativization and it occurs at different levels; phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic. Borrowing generally occurs under various conditions and there could be both casual as well as heavy lexical borrowing between languages depending upon the contact situation in which languages interact with each other. It is so common a process that most, if not all, languages of the world are subject to it. According to Appel and Muysken:

[i]t is hard to imagine a language that has not borrowed words from some other language, just as there is no culture that has developed entirely from scratch. At the same time it is amazing how this simple fact of linguistic life is hard to accept for the speakers of the language involved.

(Appel and Muysken 1987: 164)

Word borrowing can be classified into two types: ‘cultural borrowings’ and ‘core borrowings’. Cultural borrowings are words for new things which come from other cultures and usually fill the lexical gap in the recipient language. These words come along with new things which are alien to the receiving culture and as such there are no lexical items available in the recipient language to refer to them. Core borrowing, on the other hand, are words that substitute and replace the already available words in the recipient language and do not fill the lexical gap therein.

A language borrows from other language/s due to various factors some of which are as follows:

- a) Words are borrowed when speakers of a language find the lexicon of their own language inadequate to express new things, ideas and meanings which have come from other societies or cultures.
- b) The sociopsychological factors play a crucial role as far as word borrowing is concerned. Words are borrowed due to the prestige factor from the dominant language to the dominated one. In this case, native speakers make use of the words of an official or culturally developed language in order to present themselves as different and more sophisticated than the common masses.
- c) Political reasons are also very important with regard to the borrowing of words from one language into another. Usually, the language of the politically dominated people borrows words from the language of the politically dominant people.

Like all the languages of the subcontinent, Kashmiri language has also been influenced due to its contact with English. The most obvious manifestation of this contact may be seen by looking at the lexicon of the former which has borrowed a huge number of words from the latter. The sociolinguistic study of almost all the important domains and all the age-groups of the Kashmiri speech

community enunciates this overwhelming presence of the English vocabulary items in the speech of the native speakers. However, it is worth noting that with the educated members of the Kashmiri speech community, the use of English words is rather extensive. According to War (2008: 67), “Kashmiri speech embedded with English vocabulary items is increasingly being used in day-to-day speech of Kashmiris and is becoming the unmarked code in present day Kashmir.” The present chapter looks at the English words used by native Kashmiri speakers in their day-to-day social life and also tries to examine the implications of this word borrowing from English into Kashmiri.

The data for the present chapter has been collected over a period of about six months by direct observation and conversations between native speakers belonging to different social domains and age-groups. The conversations have been tape recorded in the natural and informal settings. The field work done is purely objective. In addition, the researcher has made a minute observation of the speech habits of the people (native speakers) around. The material has been collected mainly from Srinagar district; however, the day-to-day speech of people from other districts has also been taken into consideration for the purpose.

For the purpose of analysis, the research scholar has treated the words which have been incorporated into the Kashmiri lexical inventory from different

languages like Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Urdu, etc., over the years/centuries and have lost their alienness as Kashmiri words. The various Kashmiri speakers have been consulted, be they educated or illiterate, youth or kids to arrive at the conclusions. It is pertinent to mention here that all the above groups of speakers showed some uniformity in their use of Kashmiri language and all of them have been highly influenced by the English vocabulary items.

Though the analysis reveals that the above mentioned groups show different kinds of changes like pronunciation etc., but as the title of the chapter is confined to the English borrowings only, therefore, all other aspects are not a part of this research. The close analysis reveals that Kashmiri language has borrowed nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs from English and they have been arranged differently at different places in the present chapter, that is, they have been arranged domain-wise, social-group-wise and age-group-wise depending upon their use in the Kashmiri speech community. The borrowed words from English have been arranged as nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs.

During the process of word borrowing, it is mainly 'nouns' that are borrowed by a language in a contact situation. Regardless of their theoretical and empirical foundation, all studies on linguistic borrowing agree that nouns are by far the largest class of lexical items that languages borrow in contact situations. In the present case, Kashmiri language has borrowed English nouns

and this transportation is rather fast. For the purpose of analysis, the borrowed nouns from English have been classified into different groups like English words(nouns) used in the domestic life by the Kashmiri people, words used in the official domain, words used in the domain of education, words used to refer to social and personal relationships and words used to refer to different professionals.

Following are some of the most common English nouns used by Kashmiri people in their day-to-day domestic life. These words are being used by people belonging to all social sections and age-groups.

English nouns used in domestic life by all people

Table 3(a)

English nouns	Kashmiri equivalents	English nouns	Kashmiri equivalents
Chair	Kursi	Garden	Baag
Shortage	Wachai	Temperature	Darjahaararat
Bus	Gaed	Clock	Gaer
Road	Wath	Colour	Rang
Market	Bazar	Scenary	Nazaar

Picnic	Chakar	Dress	Palaw/ poshak
Building	Imarat	Kick	Lath
Problem	Mushkil	Cash	Rakam
Hospital	Shafakhana	Kitchen	Daankuth
Cup	Pyala	Gate	Aanganbar
Ring	Waej	Change (money)	Futwout
Weight	Wazan	Pocket	Batwa/chendi
Rest	Aaram	Polythene	Lifafe
Message	Isla/khbar	Playground	Maedan
Pain	Dag	Engagement	Nishaen
Shop	Dukan	Couple	Joure/juur
Sweater	Baniyan	Aerolpane	Jahaaz
Sight	Nazari	Smell	Mushik
Kerosene	Maecteel	Tip	Paut
Medicine	Dawa	Summer	Raetkoul
Mistake	Galti	Winter	Wande
Death	Mout/marun	Vacation	Chuti
Advantage	Feadi	Suggestion	Mashware

Tablet	Dawaphoul	Engagement	Nishaen
Blast	Dhamake	Depression	Zehni dabaw
Preference	Foukiyat		

The above listed English words (nouns) are used extensively in the domestic life of the Kashmiri people usually. The use of these words is seen in the speech of people belonging to all social section and age-groups. These English words have replaced the available native equivalents.

Following are the English nouns used by the Kashmiri speakers in different official/professional domains. These words are used mostly by the educated speakers of the Kashmiri speech community including youth and kids and in case of uneducated people, the use is rather rare.

**English nouns used in professional/official domain by educated people,
youth and kids**

Table 3(b)

English nouns	Kashmiri equivalents	English nouns	Kashmiri equivalents
Signature	Dasatakhat	Payment	Wosuuli

Cash	Rakam	Amount	Rakam
Interest	Suud	Corruption	Rushwakhouri
Office	Daftar	Department	Mahkam
Election	Intikhaab	Strike	Hartaal
Association	Tanzeem		

The study of the Kashmiri speech community indicates that Kashmiri people use English vocabulary items instead of the Kashmiri words in their official/professional life.

The English vocabulary items (nouns) have intruded and replaced many Kashmiri words in the domain of education also. Following are some of the English nouns used by Kashmiri speakers in the domain of education. The use of these vocabulary items is rather extensive mostly among educated people including youth and kids. Though, these words are part of the day-to-day communication of uneducated speakers also, yet, their use is not so prominent in their case.

English nouns used in the domain of education mostly by educated people, youth and kids

Table 3(c)

English nouns	Kashmiri equivalentents	English nouns	Kashmiri equivalentents
Pen	Kalam	Exam	Imtihaan
Book	Kitab	Research	Tehkeek
Pencil	Kalam	Uniform	Wardi
Bag	Thaily	Scholar	Aelim
School	Madrassa	Job	Naukri
Teacher	Wustad	Subject	Mazmuun
Student	Tailibi-alim	Knowledge	Alim
Page	Waruk		

The above listed lexical items are used mostly by the educated speakers including youth and kids. Though, slowly and gradually, these vocabulary items are making their way into the speech of uneducated speakers also. In case of

youth and kids, the Kashmiri equivalents for these lexical items are not even known to them.

Following are the English terms mostly used by Kashmiri speakers with regard to the personal and social relationships irrespective of the age and social group they belong to:

English terms used to refer to social and personal relationships

Table 3(d)

English terms	Kashmiri equivalents	English terms	Kashmiri equivalents
Brother	Boi	Elder brother/sister	Buod-boi/ baed bani
Sister	Beni	Younger brother/sister	Lokut-boi/loket bani
Father	Moul	Nephew	Babthir/benthir
Mother	Mouj	Niece	Bowzi/benzi
Uncle	Paeter	In laws	Wariv/hohwuer
Aunt	Pouf/maas etc.	Neighbour	Hamsai

Husband	Khandaar	Boy-friend	Yaar
Wife	Zanaan	Girl-friend	Vaes

Linguistically, the entry of English terms in the context of social and personal relationships is problematic. For instance, the term ‘cousin’ in English is genderless, that is, it is used for both male as well as female relatives. Simultaneously, it is used in case of both maternal as well as paternal relationships. For example, son/daughter of a paternal uncle, son/daughter of a maternal uncle, son/daughter of a paternal aunt, son/daughter of a maternal aunt and so on. But in Kashmiri language, there are different terms to refer to these relations/relatives. For instance, son of a paternal uncle is called “pitur boi”, and daughter of the same is called “piter beni”. Again, son of a maternal uncle is called “mamtur boi”, and daughter of the same is called “mamter beni” etc. This confusion is to be seen in case of some other terms as well like “aunt”, “in-laws” etc.

Word borrowing from English has resulted in the change in names of different professionals. Given below are some of the English words for different professionals with their Kashmiri equivalents that are used by native Kashmiri speakers:

English terms used for different professionals

Table 3(e)

English terms	Kashmiri equivalents	English terms	Kashmiri equivalents
Carpenter	Chaan	Broker	Draal
Shopkeeper	Dukaandaar	Sweeper	Waatul
Motor-mechanic	Mister	Business	Karbaear
Property-dealer	Draal	Postman	Daakiwoul
Contractor	Thaekdar	Bookseller	Kitabfaroush
Advocate	Wakeel	Government employee	Sarkaer mulezim
Peon	Chapraes	Electrician	Bijliwoul

In addition to the individual words (nouns), there is a large number of compound words of English language which are used by the Kashmiri speakers. It is worth noting here that it is mostly the educated class and the youth who preferably use English compound words and not the Kashmiri ones. Some of

these compound words of English which are made use of by the native Kashmiri speakers along with their native equivalents are given below:

English compound words used by Kashmiri speakers

Table 3(f)

English compound words	Kashmiri equivalents	English compound words	Kashmiri equivalents
School-bus	School gaed	Get-up	Roukh
Hair-cut	Katae	Air pollution	Hawai ouludgi
Medical-shop	Dawa waan	Ear-ring	Kani waej/duur
Toothbrush	Dand burush	Check-up	Mulahzi
Face wash	Buth chalun	Stone pelting	Kani jung
Nail-cutter	Nami cutter	Exam hall	Imtihni haal
Drawing-room	Baethek	Winter vacation	Wandi chutti
Old-age	Bujar	High Temperature	Wariah Darjiharart
Health center	Tibi markaz	Heart attack	Diluk doure

Social work	Samaeaji kaem	Transport yard	Gaade aade
Lunch box	Ganjban	Bathroom	Sraan Kuth

The English nouns listed in table 3(a), 3(b), 3(c), 3(d), 3(e) and 3(f) reveal that the use of English words in place of the Kashmiri equivalents is not confined to any particular social domain and age-group. Native Kashmiri speakers preferably use English words instead of the Kashmiri ones in their day-to-day life wherever they go and in whatever situation they are in. Whether it is an informal situation as in home or a formal one as in office or any professional situation, their speeches are full of English vocabulary items.

The English words (nouns) mentioned so far are indicators of the overwhelming influence that English language has exercised on the native Kashmiri language at the lexical level. Sociolinguistically, people prefer these English words (nouns) in both formal and informal social settings to present themselves as more modernized, sophisticated and cultivated.

The borrowing between English and Kashmiri is not restricted to nouns only as there may be seen a large number of adjectives which have been transported from the former to the latter. In the following tables 3(g) and 3(h), adjectives of English language are listed which are used by all the Kashmiri

speakers belonging to almost all the social sections and age-groups. However, for the sake of analysis, the scholar has classified these adjectives into two groups; those which are used by all the people irrespective of the social class and age-group they belong to and those which are used mostly by educated speakers including youth and kids.

English adjectives used by all social sections and age-groups

Table 3(g)

English adjectives	Kashmiri equivalentents	English adjectives	Kashmiri equivalentents
Beautiful	Khubsurat/ nundboun	Loose	Deaul
Nice	Aesel	Busy	Aawur/Musroof
Fine	Theek	Present	Haazir
Corrupt	Badunwaan	Fraud	Dunkhebaaz
Serious	Sanjeeda	Heavy	Goub
Dangerous	Khatarnaak	Tasty	Mazdaar
Quick	Taez	Careful	Hoshyaar
Lucky	Khushqismat	Confident	Puraetimaad
Coloured	Rangeen	Witty	Chalak

Young	Jawaan	Cheap	Sroug
Free	Yaeli	Expensive	Droug

These English adjectives are being used by people in both formal as well as informal situations.

Adjectives mostly used by educated speakers including youth and kids

Table 3(h)

English adjectives	Kashmiri equivalent	English adjectives	Kashmiri equivalent
Brilliant	Kaebil	Married	Khandariwoul/ garwoul
Fake	Nakli	Lazy	Natisout
Cute	Khoshwun	Flirt	Yaarbash
Happy	Khosh	Smart	Chalbaaz/ khubsurat
Sad	Wudais	Slim	Rumitun
High	Thoud	Temporary	Aarzi
Low	Boun	Intelligent	Honhaar/kaabil
Branded	Khasit	Hardworking	Mehnti

Engaged	Gandith	Handsome	Khushwun (male)
Exhaust	Thoukmut/chunmut	Wellbuilt	Jaseem

The use of English adjectives in the Kashmiri language ranges from domestic situations to official, education and other important social domains of the Kashmiri society.

Word transportation from English to Kashmiri can be seen at the level of verbs also; though this borrowing of verbs is not as readily done as in case of nouns. The use of English verbs by the Kashmiri speakers involves some adjustment at the syntactic level, that is, they (English verbs) usually take Kashmiri auxiliaries “kar” (do) and “gov” (happen), etc., along with their different forms like “kari” (will do), “karaan” (doing), “kuor” (did) and “gachan” (happening), “gachi” (will happen). Some of the most commonly used English verbs in place of the Kashmiri one are as follows:

English verbs used by Kashmiri speakers

Table 3(i)

English verbs	Kashmiri equivalent	English verbs	Kashmiri equivalent
Jog	Dor-dor Karen	Cheat	Dounkhi dun

Jump	Wouth tulen	Resign	Istiif dun
Walk	Pakun	Encourage	Hosli dun
Function	Kaem karen	Discourage	Pas housli karun
Bore	Tang karun/gachun	Postpone	Pathnun
Work	Kaem karen	Announce	Ailaan karun
Press	Dabawun	Hurt	Lagun
Slip	Rikin gachin	Torture	Azaab karun
Paint	Rang karun	Copy	Nakael karun
Park (car)	Labikun thawen	Attack	Hamli karun
Call	Aalou karun/naad dun	Taste	Maze wuchun
Knock	Khatkawun	Practise	Aazmawun
Disturb	Pareshaan karun/gachun	Rest	Aaram karun
Tease	Tang karun	Pretend	Baasnawun
Cancel	Radd karun/gachun	Like	Pasand karun
Accept	Aankaar karun	Wait	Pyarun
Reject	Radd karun	Appreciate	Shabaeshi din
Guide	Wath haawin	Joke	Makhol karun

These verbs are used in almost all domains; domestic, official, education, etc., by people belonging to all social sections and age-groups. However, it is with the educated speakers including youth and kids that their use is rather regular.

In addition, Kashmiri language has borrowed many adverbs from English which are not generally used by uneducated speakers, but are restricted to the educated people and youth. Some of them are as follows:

English adverbs used by Kashmiri people

Table 3(j)

English adverbs	Kashmiri equivalent	English adverbs	Kashmiri equivalent
Slowly	Ahista-ahista	Briefly	Wuchipaeth/ chout paeth
Gradually	Batadreej	Naturally	Qodrati
Generally	Amuman/aamtor	Practically	Amlitoer
Particularly	Khaskar/khaskarith	Basically	Bunyaedi /darasel
Fast	Tez-tez	Willingly	Marzisaan

Confidently	Aetimaadsaan	Carefully	Sambhaelith
Surely	Bilzorur	Quickly	Tez-tez
Purely	Khaspaeth	Shortly	Wali-wali/jaldi

All the nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs mentioned so far belong to the group of core borrowings and as such have native equivalents available in the Kashmiri language. These English words (nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs) have started replacing the Kashmiri words and are becoming an important and integral part of the indigenous language. This word transportation from English to Kashmiri language has occurred mostly in the last one-two decades.

When speakers of a particular speech community accept new cultural and technological elements from other societies or cultures, it necessarily requires words to refer to these newly borrowed things and the result is ‘cultural borrowing’. In the last twenty to thirty years, many new things and practices have been imported which were/are alien to the Kashmiri society/culture. The things brought to Kashmir are mainly technology related which have by implication brought a good number of words (mostly English) along with them. Following are some of these need based words that have been brought from the English language into the Kashmiri language. There are no equivalents for these words in Kashmiri language.

Cultural borrowings from English into the Kashmiri language

Table 3(k)

English words for newly imported technological things	English words for newly established things/practices in general	English words for newly imported things used in the day-to-day life of Kashmiris
Internet	Polling booth	Tissue paper
Mobile	Beauty parlour	Jacket
Computer	Community hall	Juice
Wireless	Share market	Cigarette
Telephone	Internet café	Chocolate
TV	Call center	
Battery	Sunday market	
Radio	Bank	
Grenade	Curfew	
High-tension	Restaurant	
Bullet proof	Boutique	
Water proof	Crackdown	

These vocabulary items from English are new to the Kashmiri language and have filled the lexical gap in the latter. In case of these words, the native speakers cannot help using them in their day-to-day communication.

Some major findings

- There are both core borrowings as well as cultural borrowings from English into Kashmiri language.
- English lexical items are used in place of the Kashmiri ones in almost all the domains like domestic, official, education, etc., by all the social sections and all age-groups.
- The use of English words and expressions by the Kashmiri people has become an epitome of fashion. The lexical borrowing from English into Kashmiri is rather heavy and takes place (consciously or unconsciously) in order to make the Kashmiri utterances sound more youthful, modern and elegant.
- The use of English vocabulary items is more common in educated people and youth of the valley than in the uneducated people. They prefer English words both in formal as well as in informal social contexts.
- Word borrowing between English and Kashmiri has taken place at the level of nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs due to which the native Kashmiri language is changing at the lexical level.

- The English borrowed words are used by Kashmiris to present themselves as different from the common lot.
- English words are being absorbed as they are now accepted socially, culturally and linguistically by the major chunk of the Kashmiri speech community.

Implications:

Word borrowing from English into Kashmiri is the direct result of the contact between the two languages in question. Kashmiri language has borrowed almost every type of words, that is, nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs from English and their use can be discerned in the speech of almost all the social sections and age-groups of the Kashmir province. This phenomenon of word borrowing has both positive as well as negative aspects. The positive side of this English-Kashmiri word borrowing is that it has linguistically facilitated the native Kashmiris to keep pace with the fast changing trends at the global level. Kashmir, like most other parts of the world has definitely come under the influence and effects of Globalization. Similarly, like most of the languages of the world, Kashmiri language has borrowed words from English in order to come to terms with the cultural, social and economic needs and demands of the new globalized world.

Linguistically, this word borrowing signifies the healthy, dynamic and lively nature of the Kashmiri language which has received the lexicon of the imported language like English in a normal way. As per Crystal (2000: 23), “change is the normal and necessary part of all languages. Healthy languages are always borrowing from each other, and vocabulary is always changing between old and young generations.”

The word borrowing between English and Kashmiri highlights the creative aspect of the latter and its potential for further expansion. Linguistically, Kashmiri language has enriched its lexical inventory by borrowing English words, particularly, cultural borrowings for which there are no native Kashmiri words available. As per Winford (2003: 59), “lexical borrowing must therefore be seen as just one aspect of a creative process of lexical change under contact, which builds on both native and foreign resources. This process not only adds to the lexicon, but also enriches its potential for further expansion.” So, by borrowing English words Kashmiri language has added greatly to its lexicon.

Nonetheless, the English–Kashmiri word borrowing has a negative side also. Due to the extensive influence of the English words, many native Kashmiri words have gone out of use. There are many Kashmiri words which are no more known to the natives as they have been replaced by English lexical items. In fact,

the lexical borrowing between English and Kashmiri language is heavy as the native speakers of Kashmiri preferably use as many English words as they can which may result in the extinction and thereby death of the native Kashmiri language. As Appel and Muysken (1987: 174) state, “Heavy lexical borrowing often goes together with low esteem for the receptive language involved, and low esteem...is often related to the process of language loss and death”. If this lexical borrowing from English to Kashmiri continues in the same manner, it may lead to the death of the latter; because in the words of Appel and Muysken (1987: 173), “Language death involves heavy lexical borrowing.”

Chapter 4

Introduction

English has developed and strengthened its roots at a rather fast speed at the global level and has succeeded in emerging as a *lingua franca* among speakers of different linguistic backgrounds. The contact between English on the one side and the other indigenous languages/vernaculars on the other is now a universal fact which perhaps nobody would deny. In this globalized world, English has turned out to be the language of economy, social advancement or prestige, and intellectual superiority. It has emerged as a medium of communication in growth areas which would gradually shape the character of twenty-first century domestic and professional life.

In Indian context, the story is in no way different where it (English) has hit the most important domains like government administration, legal system, education, security, the media (Electronic and Print), business, tourism, banking system, etc. Starting its journey as a mere foreign language in India, it has now become a second language. Thus, the language contact between English and other Indian languages is a stark and undeniable reality.

As already mentioned in the second chapter of the present research work, the arrival of the English language in Kashmir is a recent phenomenon. Yet, the

importance and impact it has made on the linguistic aspect of the valley is something which cannot be ignored. The way this language has crept into the day-to-day life of Kashmiris (the natives of Kashmir) and interacted with their ancestral language (Kashmiri) forms the subject matter of this research project. Even a cursory look makes it clear that linguistically Kashmir is not as it was before two decades or even only one decade because of the language contact between English and Kashmiri.

Methodology and Procedure

In order to conduct a sociolinguistic survey of the contact between English and Kashmiri, the descriptive research method has been followed. The sample of this research includes people from all social domains and age-groups of the valley. It has been selected by stratified sampling and the sample size is divided into two groups out of which the first group comprises the educated middle-aged people and the second group is of youth and kids. The people in the first group are those who work in different government and semi-government departments/offices and the people in the second group are students studying in different colleges, universities and schools in Kashmir. The weightage given to the above two groups is fifty percent (50%) each and the sample design is as follows:

Sample -----	Percentage
Educated Middle-aged Employees -----	50%
Youth and kids -----	50%

Statistically, the simple percentage method has been employed to analyze the collected data which is then presented in the form of charts.

Tools

Two self constructed questionnaires given in the appendix at the end of the dissertation were prepared and administered to collect the data objectively and the questions in the questionnaires were primarily related to the following issues:

1. Language use at home and work place (formal as well as informal)
2. Language attitude (economic value and social prestige)
3. Language preference/s
4. Language proficiency and competence

Questionnaire one (1) was administered to fifty educated employees/professionals working in different departments of Kashmir which consisted of fifteen (15) items. Likewise, questionnaire two (2) was administered to fifty (50) youth and kids studying in different schools, colleges

and universities which consisted of seventeen (17) items. The present chapter is limited to the educated middle-aged employees and youth and kids of Kashmir.

Analysis

At the social level, English language is almost an all pervading influence the manifestation of which is to be seen in all aspects of the life in Kashmir. The growing use of this language by people belonging to all fields and age-groups has brought a sea change in the linguistic behavior of people who have perhaps now accepted this language (English) with all that it has to offer like economic enhancement, social prestige, better job opportunities, chances of dream come true education etc. Nonetheless, this linguistic development has its side effects. What Aslam notes with reference to the impact of English in Indian context seems appropriate, relevant and applicable in case of Kashmir also:

Economic factors contribute enormously to preferring English to all other languages. There are better chances of employment if you are well versed with English, better avenues of moving out of one's native places and finding better avenues of progress and development.

(Aslam 2008: 59)

The native Kashmiris seem to have taken a very short period of time to understand this reality.

From the sociolinguistic point of view, the use, preference, attitude and proficiency of the people of the valley has changed a lot. Most of the functional domains of the Kashmiri society are being dominated by the English language now replacing Kashmiri and Urdu. Nevertheless, Kashmiri language has been able to retain the important domain of the Kashmiri society, that is, home. Though the tremors of the English-Kashmiri contact can be felt here also. The figures in chart **4.a** are based on the analysis of the answers of the respondents of the questionnaire one (1) and questionnaire two (2) and show the use of language/s by Kashmiris both middle-aged and youth and kids in their homes.

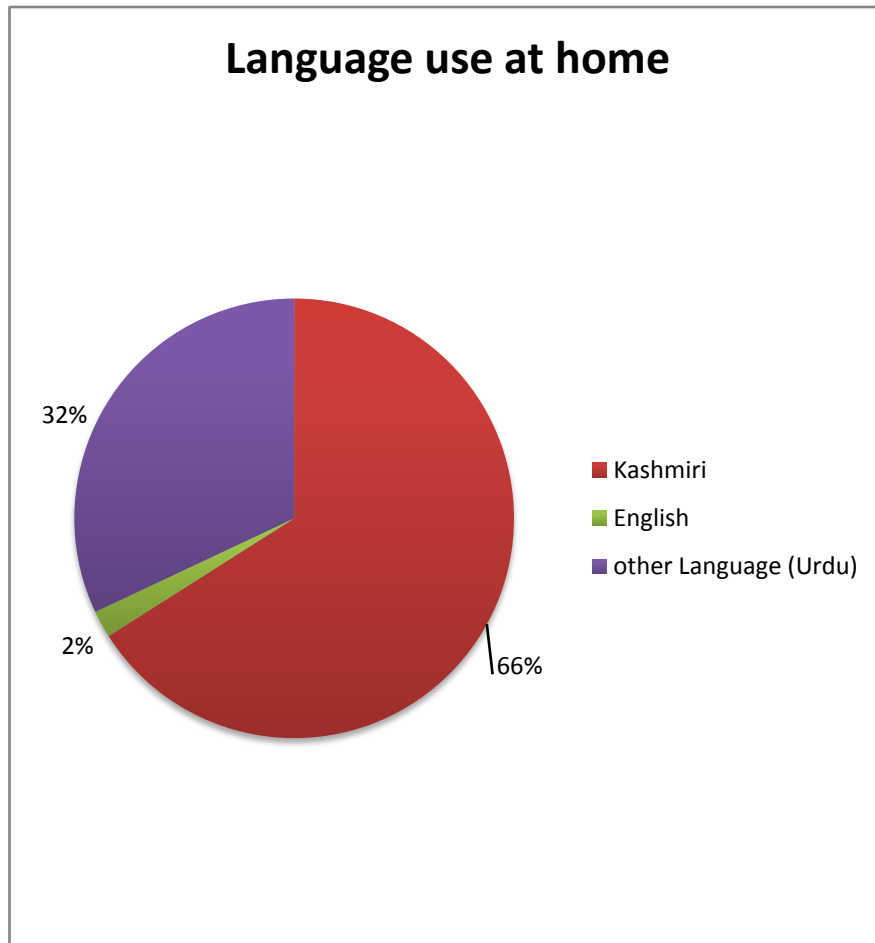


Fig 4.a

When respondents were asked about the language/s they use at home, 66% of the respondents reported that Kashmiri is the language that they use with people at home, only 2% use English and 32% people use other languages (Urdu).

The figures in chart **4.a** show that two third ($2/3$) of the native speakers use their native language at home. Both middle aged people working in different fields in Kashmir, youth and kids from different schools and colleges have

reported that it is the Kashmiri language rather than English that they speak or listen to at home.

But the story is different when it comes to the professional life of people. The percentage of the languages used by Kashmiris outside their homes like offices for employees and schools and colleges for students both kids and youth as revealed by the survey is as follows:

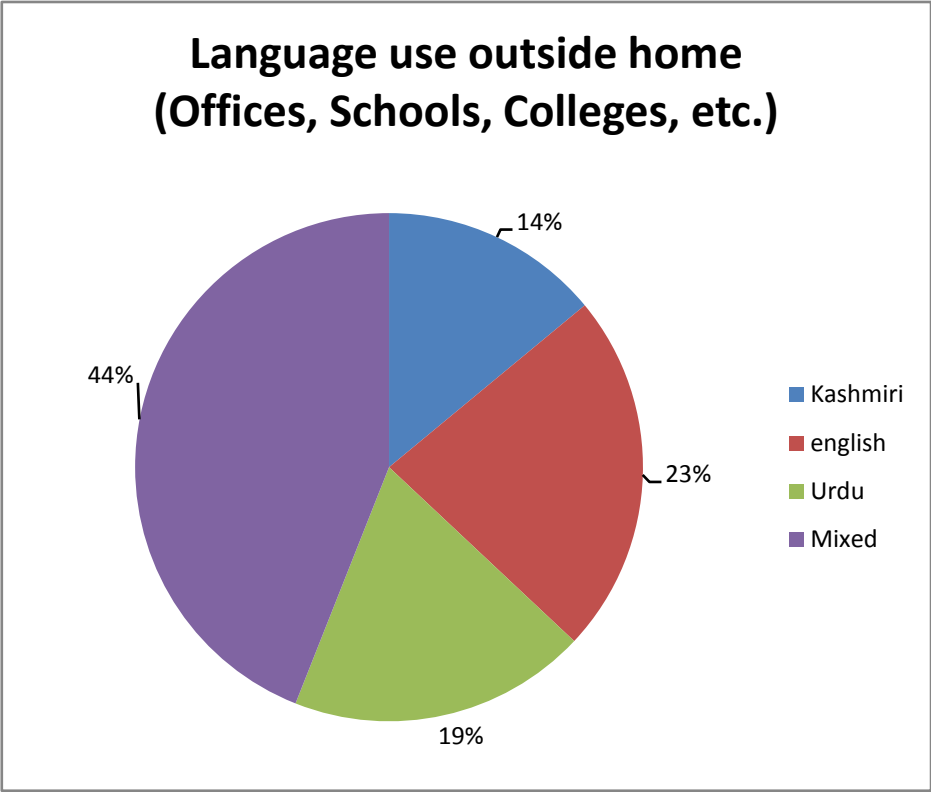


Fig 4.b

When asked about the use of language outside home, only 14% of the respondents claimed that they use Kashmiri language, for 23% of the

respondents, English is the language used outside home and Urdu and mixed language are used by 19% and 44% respondents respectively. However, in case of youth and kids studying in different schools, colleges and institutions, only 20% of Kashmiri and 2% of English are used informally (with friends and classmates). So, it is either mixed languages or Urdu that youth and kids use mostly in their day-to-day life outside home. Thus, on the basis of the figures shown so far, it seems that Kashmiri language has been able to retain the domain of home as far as its use by people is concerned. Outside home, it is languages like English and Urdu or the mixture of these languages that are used.

The contact between English and Kashmiri language has impacted the language competence of the Kashmiri people. The use of the Kashmiri language, whatever little it is and wherever it is by the natives has been influenced greatly by the presence of English. According to the respondents, it is not an easy task always when they speak Kashmiri language; usually the Kashmiri words and expressions do not come to them readily and then the gap is filled by them by taking recourse to the English words and expressions. When asked about the problems in Kashmiri language like falling short of words and then taking recourse to English etc., 30% of the respondents reported that it happens to them always that they do not get the right and appropriate Kashmiri words in time. For 51% of the natives, it is not always possible for them to stick to their native

language. Sometimes, they compulsively make use of English words and expressions to convey their message. Yet, there has been a group of respondents (14%) who revealed that they get along normally with Kashmiri language without finding themselves short of Kashmiri words and expressions during their day-to-day life. In addition, 05% of the respondents, when asked about the problems in Kashmiri language reported that it is not always the case and that it happens only rarely. These figures reflect the impact that has been made on the competence of people in Kashmiri language. Keeping in view the linguistic situation enunciated by the feedback of the respondents which reflects problems in the competence and proficiency of the Kashmiri speakers in their native language; the question arises whether to call Kashmiri a living language or not; because a language may be treated as a living language only when its speakers have full proficiency in its use. Crystal (2000: 11) rightly comments, “But unless it (language) has fluent speakers one would not talk of it as a living language.”

In the valley of Kashmir, English language has now become a kind of craze with people and this is true in case of almost all the sections and age-groups of the Kashmiri society. Sociolinguistically, this change is very much decipherable in the attitude of the people towards the two languages in consideration, that is, Kashmiri; the ancestral native language and English; the foreign language.

One of the main determinants of people’s attitude towards a language is its economic or market value. People usually try to learn the language which provides economic benefits. Fig 4.c reflects the data collected regarding the market value and job attraction of the languages spoken by Kashmiris:

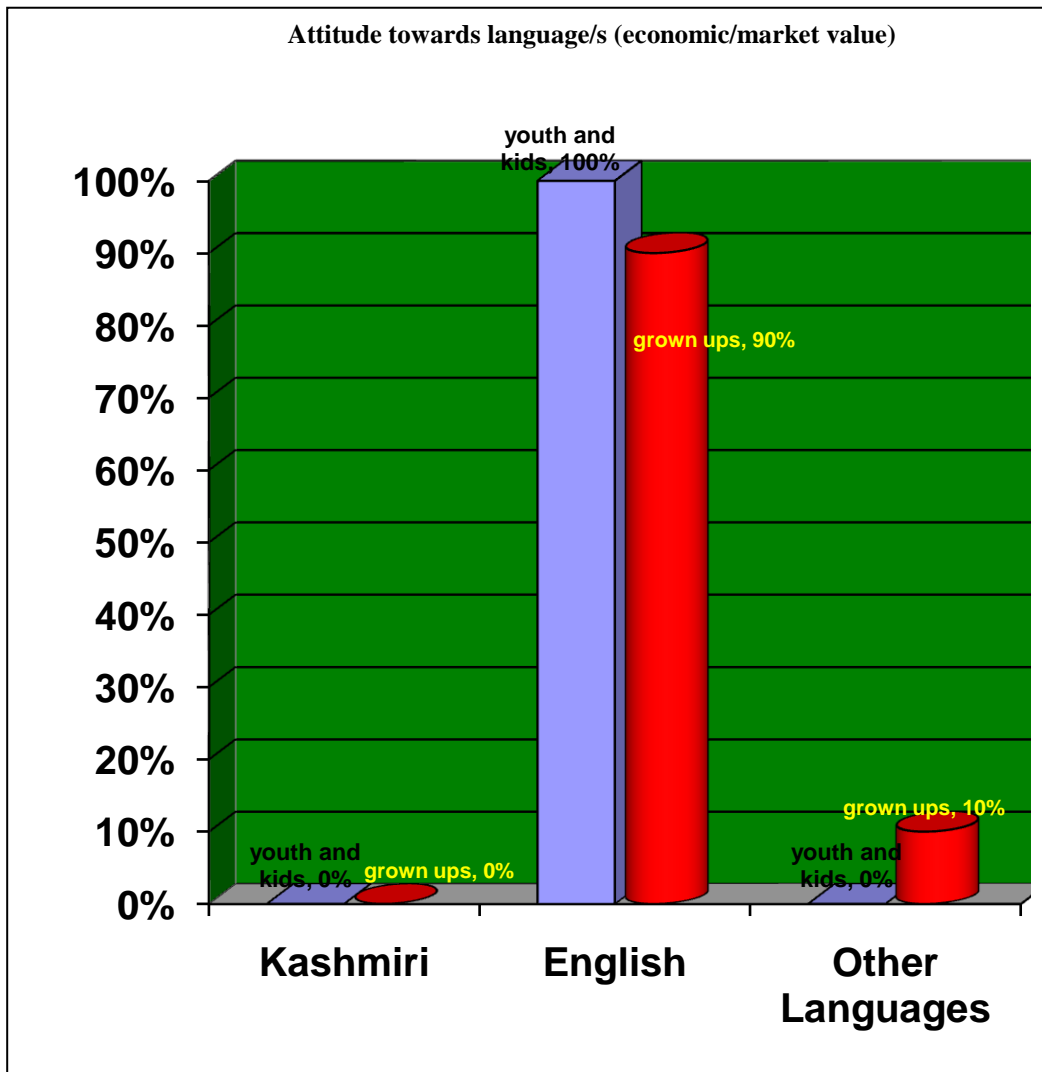


Fig 4.c

When the respondents were questioned about what/how they think about the economic and

market value of different languages like Kashmiri, English and other languages (Urdu, etc.), 100% of the respondents from the group which comprised youth and kids claimed that only English language has the economic/market value.

The story is almost same as far as the attitude of the respondents of the group consisted of grown-ups is concerned. In the light of the figures shown in chart **4.c** above, one can easily say that the attitude of the Kashmiris is positive towards English only as Kashmiri language has no economic value for them. They make all efforts to learn it (English) as it seems to be an assured way to economic success in life.

The attitude of people towards language/s is also dependent upon the social prestige/status that a language gives to its speakers. The attitude of the people towards a particular language will be positive if it provides them social prestige. As for as social prestige or status is concerned, the linguistic tale is somewhat same in Kashmiri context. Out of the languages concerned, it is English language to which people attach much social significance. The better your command or proficiency in English, the more important and socially prestigious you are. What people feel about their native language and about English in social terms is given in the following chart:

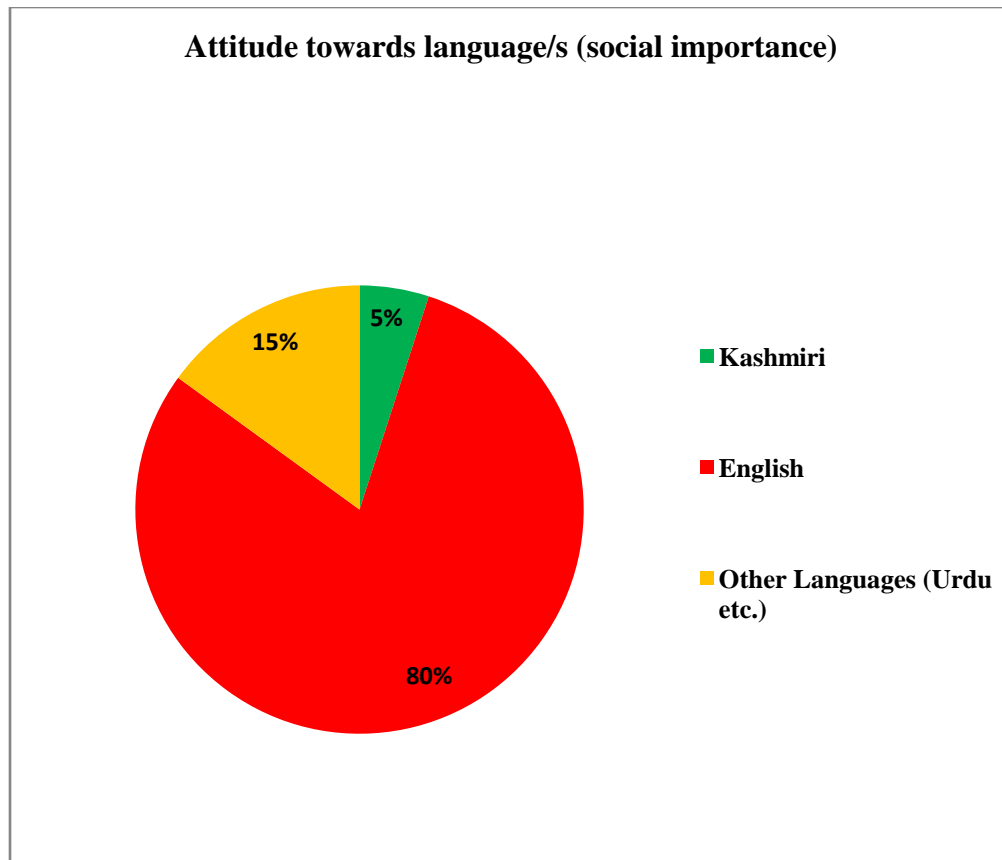


Fig 4.d

According to the figures in chart **4.d**, English language (80%) is the status symbol. It gives people an edge over others socially and helps them in social mobility. Kashmiri language, on the other hand, does not have as much social significance as English has.

The figures in chart **4.c** and **4.d** account for the growing importance of English language in many social and functional domains. People look up towards learning this language (English) for socio-economic benefits. In this connection, Singh's comment below is very apt:

It is difficult to expect people to stick to their language only for sentimental cultural association while the socio-economic environment is favorable to the other language. If the socio-economic environment favours the language other than the mother language of a person, he is more likely to shift the language.

(Singh 2006: 11)

In the language interaction between English and Kashmiri, the latter seems to be on decline because of the attitude of people towards it which is anything but positive. It (Kashmiri) seems to lack the potential to provide its speakers an opportunity to enhance their social and economic (job) positions which has inevitably resulted in the negative attitude of the speakers towards it. On the other hand, the importance of English is growing day-by-day and not only youth and kids are interested to learn it for their future betterment, but also the employed/in-service middle-aged people working in banks, tourism agencies, telecom and other such fields in the valley are seen making fresh attempts to come to terms with this language.

In addition to socio-economic considerations, education, particularly higher education is the motivation for people to learn and use English language and not the mother tongue. Kak (2007) remarks, “higher education as well as good education in Kashmir means English education.” The growing attraction of people, particularly youth and kids towards English is largely due to its adoption at almost all the levels of education. Whether it is government or privately run

schools, colleges and universities, the medium of instruction is English. As per War (2008), “Presently English is taught in all the schools, be they government run, private or missionary schools as well as colleges and the university.”

Education at the college and university level is imparted only through English which has made the learning of this language a necessity for all and sundry to go ahead in life. This dominant position held by English has led to the marginalization of the native Kashmir language. Though, Kashmiri language was a part of the school curriculum during fifties (50's) of the last century, but due to some political reasons, it was later on deleted from the educational system of the state. In a fresh attempt to revitalize Kashmiri language, the state government, during the term of Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah paved the way for the introduction of Kashmiri language at the primary level. At present, Kashmiri language is taught as a compulsory subject upto eighth class in all the schools (government/private), this language is taught as an optional subject in the degree colleges and higher secondary schools. In addition, Kashmir University runs a postgraduate department of Kashmiri and offers masters degree and research programmes in this language. Nevertheless, this introduction of Kashmiri language at all the levels of education has in no way reduced the interest of people towards English. Ninety percent (90%) of the respondents who were students in different institutions showed their preference

for English because they felt that it would help them in more ways than one in their academic life.

Sociolinguistically, the functional, social or economic power of a language that determines its position and prestige in a given society is missing in case of Kashmiri language which has made it to take a back seat. Whereas, the learning of English is supported and determined by socio-economic conditions. In this context, Wienrich comments:

Under certain social conditions, the mastery of a language becomes important for an individual not merely as a means of communication, but as a means to social advance Sometimes the condition of social advance may even require the ostensible ignorance of another language which may be a person's mother tongue. The usefulness of a language in social advance usually has a highly significant corollary: the importance of knowing that language well.

(Wienrich 1953: 78)

People use English language wherever they can for upward social mobility and economic success and not their own native language which has perhaps nothing to offer in socio-economic terms. According to Appel and Muysken,

More and more people use the majority language in domains where they formerly spoke the mother tongue. They adopt the majority language as their regular vehicle of communication, often mainly because they expect that speaking that language gives better chances for upward social mobility and economic success.

(Appel and Muysken 1983: 32)

The sociolinguistic aspect of the contact between English and Kashmiri language has resulted in the dependence of people on English for their socio-economic well being and there is a genuine and widespread lack of motivation for natives to learn other languages. This lack of motivation, economic support, social prestige and other such negative aspects are some dangerous signs for Kashmiri language. Kachru (2002: 45) rightly notes, “a language dies or decays because its users believe that it has no vital uses for them ... and generally shift to other languages ----- language that provide access to, functionally and attitudinally greener pastures.”

The English-Kashmiri contact seems to suggest an approaching language shift by Kashmiri native speakers to English due to the growing use of it in certain important social domains. In this context, Wienrich (1953: 107) aptly remarks, “language shift should be analyzed in terms of the function of the languages in contact situation, since a mother tongue group may switch to a new language in certain functions but not in the others.” The present sociolinguistic situation in Kashmir is that the native Kashmiri language is losing or has lost its market to a very considerable degree. Though, a small number of people continue to hold the opinion that nothing like this has happened, yet the analysis of the data collected by the present scholar reveals the opposite. When

respondents were asked as to whether their native language is losing market value, the feedback of the respondents was as under:

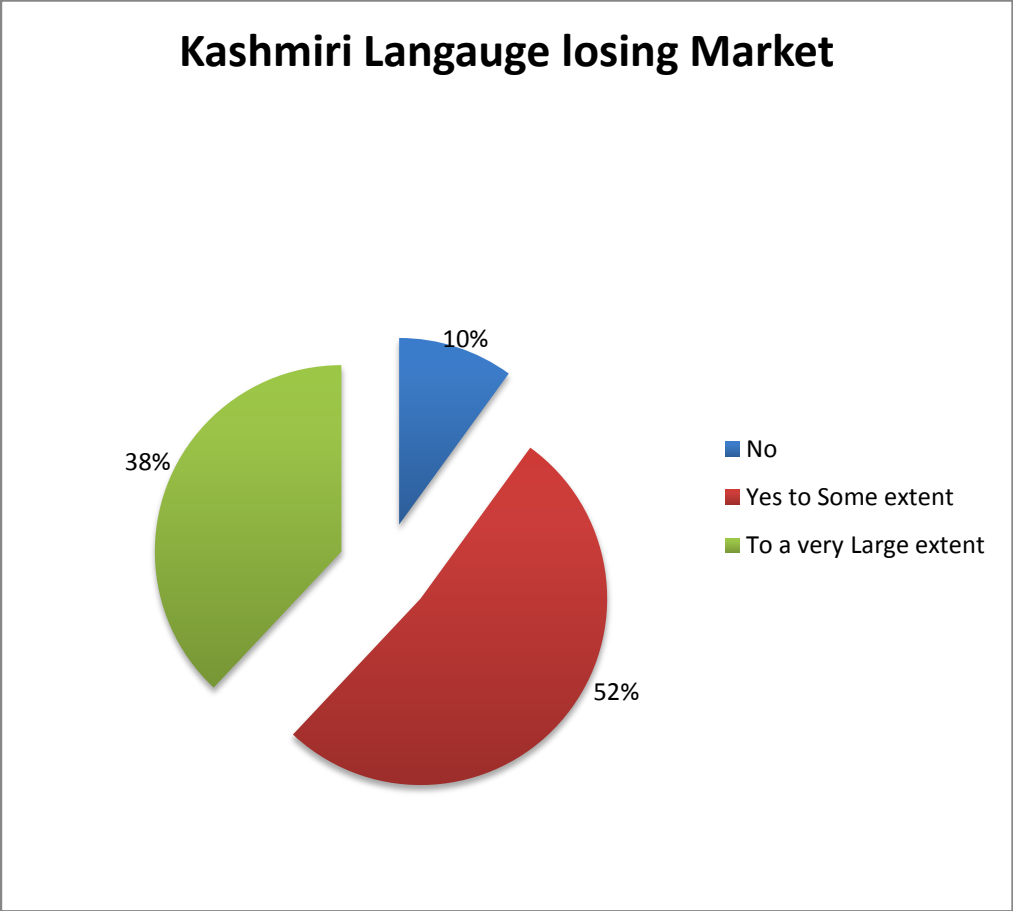


Fig 4.e

So, majority (52% and 38%) of the respondents representing various social sections of Kashmir believe that their native language is losing its market value which makes it imperative for them to learn keenly another language like English which has both social and economic benefits associated with it.

In most of the domains of the Kashmiri society, it is English that people use. Most of the government departments of the valley use English language now in order to manage departmental activities. High court and lower courts, revenue departments, police stations, civil secretariat, etc., are some important departments where English has entered in the last one-two decades. Most of the respondents belonging to different departments of the Kashmir valley reported that English language is used in their departments for written communication. The close observation done by the present scholar reveals that the officials and clerks in these departments show a leaning towards English and use it alongside Urdu which was previously the only language of these departments.

Language preference is another important aspect of the sociolinguistic study of any language contact. In the present case, apart from the informal use where Kashmiri language holds sway, the preference of people in formal contexts is for English. Besides, the natives prefer English and Urdu for pleasure reading, for instance, novels, poetry, short stories, magazines and even religious literature. Language preference for pleasure reading of the respondents belonging to different age-groups and social domains is shown in chart **4.f** below:

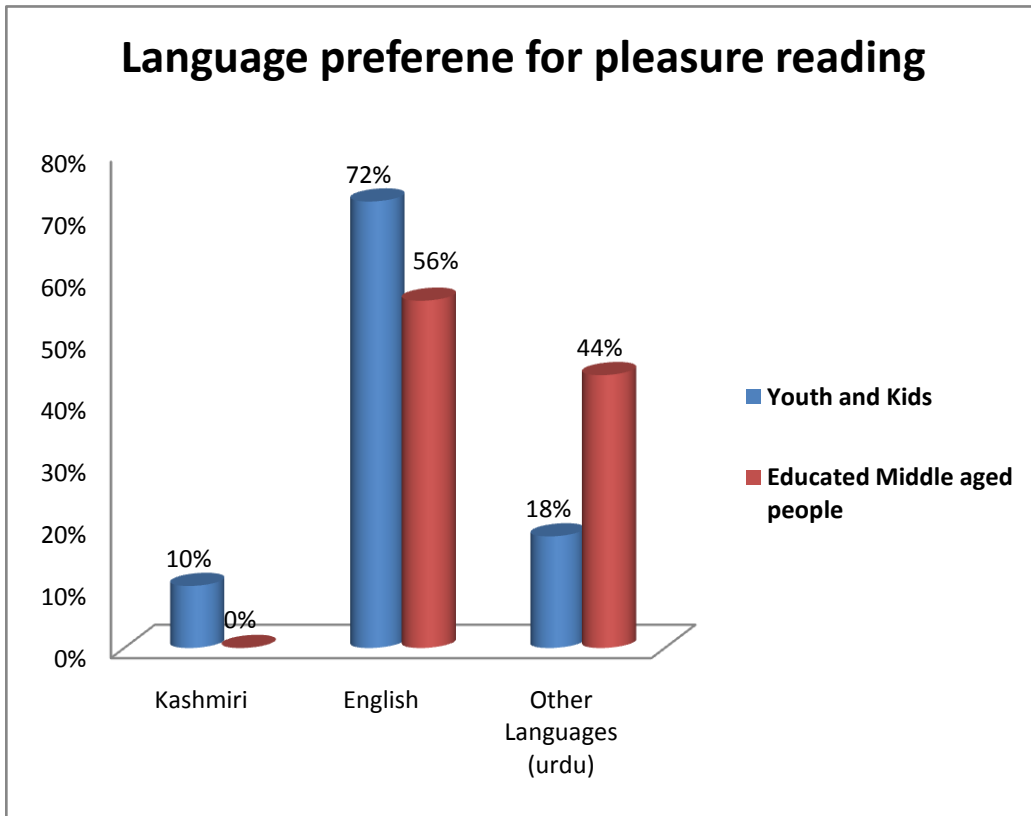


Fig 4.f

From the above chart **4.f**, it is clear that respondents preferring English language for pleasure reading show a higher percentage (72%) and (56%) than those preferring Kashmiri and other languages (Urdu). In case of youth and kids, only 10% prefer Kashmiri language and 18% prefer other languages along with Urdu. In case of educated middle-aged people, only 0% people prefer Kashmiri language and 44% prefer other languages (Urdu).

This considerable preference of Kashmiris as shown in chart **4.f** for English language has consequently resulted in their lack of interest in their own

language. This is mainly evident in the poor readership for Kashmiri literature in the valley which makes it rather difficult for people to understand the literature of this language. In a book review, Iqbal Ahmad comments on this lack of interest of Kashmiris towards their native language in the following words:

In fact, it is not the fault of its writers (Kashmiri language) or of the system. If this literary treasure remains unexplored this is because of the people's irresponsible attitude and lack of interest which they have been showing towards their culture and language. An average Kashmiri is least bothered about his language and its script. He has almost turned indifferent towards his language and culture.

(Greater Kashmir Online: 2011)

Linguistically, the contact between English and Kashmiri has impacted the people of the valley in many ways. Their proficiency in native language has come directly under the influence of this new language; English. Kashmiri, like any other well developed language has four skills; listening, speaking, reading and writing. But majority of the natives have proficiency in only first two skills, that is, listening and speaking while as, in case of English, most of them have proficiency in three or sometimes all the four skills. In case of youth and kids (educated), even the proficiency in listening and speaking skills of Kashmiri is not so good. They sometimes struggle while speaking and feel uncomfortable while listening to others speaking Kashmiri. The other two skills, that is, reading and writing are rather out of question.

Like other domains in Kashmir, English has emerged as the dominant language in Kashmiri print media. It is the English daily newspapers, weeklies, magazines and journals which are preferred over Kashmiri ones by the people of the valley. Though, there are some Kashmiri newspapers and weeklies published in the valley, but the response of people towards them is almost negligible. As a result of this these newspapers and weeklies are not famous among people. To many, even the names of these Kashmiri newspapers and weeklies is not known. So, the comparative analysis of the use of language in print media in Kashmir points to the fact that Kashmiri language has not been able to make its presence felt in this domain also. On the other hand, English language has been dominating the scene of print media, especially since the last decade. Even a cursory look reveals that there is an evergrowing increase in the number of only English newspapers, journals and magazines resulting in the decrease of newspapers and magazines in Kashmiri and other languages.

Major findings of the survey

- English has emerged as the dominant language in most of the important domains of the Kashmiri society, while Kashmiri, the indigenous language has lost most of the domains and its use is confined only to the domestic life of people.

- Out of the two languages, it is English that has more social significance for people. They feel more secure socially with this language. Knowing this language makes a lot of difference socially.
- It is the English language which is economically important for people as it ensures them a prosperous life. Native Kashmiri people learn it for economic benefits.
- Kashmiri language lacks the socio-economic attraction for people as learning this language has no functional, social and economic advantages.
- English language has become a necessary part of the life of Kashmiri people due to its utmost significance in the educational system of Kashmir while as Kashmiri is taught as a compulsory subject at the school level only.
- Kashmiris are well versed with all the skills of English, particularly educated middle aged and youth and kids. Whereas, in case of Kashmiri language, they know only listening and speaking skills.
- In print media, it is English newspapers, weeklies and journals which are liked and preferred by people and not the ones in Kashmiri.
- English language has taken over as a language of communication in many functional domains replacing Urdu which was previously the only language used there.

- The proficiency of people especially youth and kids in Kashmir has been influenced by the use of English language as people find it rather difficult to speak their native language.

Conclusion

The contact between English and Kashmiri has brought about a great change in the linguistic scenario of Kashmir. Sociolinguistically, out of the two languages concerned, English is gaining currency and importance among the people who show a keen tendency to learn it. Whatever age-group, social section and profession people belong to; they feel a pressing need to be well versed with this language.

The language interaction between English and Kashmiri in the valley has many implications which are both positive and negative in nature. On the one hand, the people of Kashmir have got benefitted as it (English) has helped them to grow at the national and international levels and get themselves adjusted in different corners of the world. Their adjustment with the English language has opened new horizons for them in the present global world where one cannot do without this language. By adopting this language, the native Kashmiris have enhanced their economic status as it is the language of opportunities in business and commerce sector. To put it simply, this language has enabled them to remain connected to the rest of the world and keep pace with it. Particularly, for the educated youth of the valley, English language has paved a way for better

opportunities in their academic and professional life. Now, with English language at their disposal, they find it easy to get themselves adjusted even in countries like the USA and the UK, let aside the Indian metropolitan cities where proficiency in this language adds enormously to one's academic/professional qualification.

Economically, in the valley itself, where privatization is just in its beginning stage and is consolidating its roots, the competence in English language makes a lot of difference and means a job. With the establishment of new companies from different parts of India like call centers, big hotels and restaurants, private banks, etc., English language has benefitted Kashmiris since there is a great demand for it. Kashmiris have gained proficiency in English while retaining it in their own language, especially middle aged and old people with whom speaking and listening skills are unchanged.

But the said language contact has many disadvantages also. With the development of English in the valley, the native Kashmiri language has been relegated to the background resulting in the loss of interest of the people to transmit it to their new generation, particularly the educated class. There is hardly any deliberate attempt made by people (mostly educated class) to make their kids learn Kashmiri; the mother tongue, while as, when it comes to English, they are desperate to make their children learn and to have proficiency

in it which has ultimately resulted in the mushrooming of English medium schools in the valley. According to Aslam (2008: 56), “English medium schooling continues to be the most popular option even with those who cannot afford it and the vernacular schools are not any popular with people who for one reason or the other would like to send their children there.”

The immense socio-economic pressure has led to the negative attitude of people towards their own language and the positive approach to English. Particularly, the younger generation is becoming increasingly proficient in English who usually avoid using Kashmiri language outside their homes in both formal as well as informal situations. In the last decade or so, there has been a phenomenal growth in the English language teaching institutions where spoken English is the main focus. Veta, Libra, Mindmine and many other local coaching centers which introduce speaking courses in English are seen thronged by the young boys and girls of all levels of schools, colleges and even universities.

In addition to the immense socio-economic pressures, the fashionable trends and peer group pressures within the Kashmiri society have resulted in the dominant position of English over Kashmiri and other languages. It is the competence in English that makes Kashmiris feel economically secure as proficiency in this language offers many avenues and opens many vistas in both

government as well as private sector. This in turn has led to the increasing efficiency of people especially youth and kids in this language.

This ever increasing growth and development of English in the valley is slowly and gradually leading towards the attrition of the native Kashmiri language which is one of the symptoms of a dying language. The rather slow transmission of Kashmiri language by Kashmiris to their younger generation, the entry of English into almost all the domains (formal/official), the gradual loss of competence in the Kashmiri language, the lack of motivation for younger people to learn and use the native language are all sociolinguistically symptomatic of the decay and thereby death of the Kashmiri language. There are virtually no institutions in the valley in which speakers of the native Kashmiri language, on the basis of specialized and professional knowledge alone, can expect to secure a job which could have generated their interest to pursue life-long careers to study and teach it. Sociolinguistically, people in Kashmir show a tendency towards English rather than Kashmiri because for them speaking that language offers great social prestige and economic enhancement.

The contact of the Kashmiri language with English language is posing a kind of threat to the former which is losing its socio-economic relevance in the present day Kashmir where people show a strong tendency towards English for its social, economic, educational and professional importance. In the years to

come, if the present state of affairs continues, Kashmiri language would become one of the threatened/endangered languages of the subcontinent. Regarding the condition of threatened languages in general, Crystal quotes Johan Van Hoorce; the senior project manager at the Nederlandse Talunie, an organization set up by the Dutch and Belgium government to promote Dutch language which has about twenty one million speakers at present as:

Dutch may not be threatened with extinction in the short or medium term, but it is in danger of losing domains. It could eventually become a colloquial language, a language you use at home to speak with your family--- a language you can best express your emotions in --- but not the one you use for the serious things in life; work, money, science, technology

(Crystal 2000: 22)

Kashmiri language is not only officially marginalized but it is also not used in any domain like media, the higher education etc. Although, its presence is still there in the domains with less status (functionally) like arts, popular entertainment, etc., yet this loss of significance of Kashmir in domain after domain is an indication of a dying language. Sensing this, the government of Jammu and Kashmir has started taking steps to bring Kashmiri language back on the track and introduction of it at the school level is one of those initiatives to restore its glory and status.

Conclusion

Language contact between English and Kashmiri does not have a long history as has already been discussed in the present research. In just two to three decades, English language has crept into all the important domains of the valley of Kashmir and has interacted with the native Kashmiri language. Although, the valley of Kashmir has witnessed the language contact between the indigenous Kashmiri language on the one side and the other foreign languages which came to Kashmir from time to time along with different religions like Sanskrit, Persian, Urdu, etc., on the other, yet, the contact between English and Kashmiri language is the recent one.

The language interaction between English and Kashmiri has resulted in a number of linguistic processes like code-mixing, code-switching, word borrowing, language attrition, language loss and so on. The way in which this contact between English and Kashmiri is changing the linguistic scenario of the valley is worth considering; yet, so far it has hardly received the attention of scholars and researchers that it seems to deserve. Except for an M Phil dissertation which explores the code-mixing phenomenon resulting from the language interaction between the two languages in question, and a few research papers which briefly talk about some aspects of it, the English-Kashmiri contact has not been dealt with in detail by the scholars and academicians. Hence the research has attempted to look at the English-Kashmiri contact from the

sociolinguistic perspective and tried to explore some issues involved therein. The interaction between the two languages has picked up a rather fast speed as its effects and implications could be seen almost everywhere.

Word borrowing which is an unavoidable outcome of any language contact is seen increasing very rapidly in case of English-Kashmiri language contact. As discovered in the dissertation, the English vocabulary items have not only made their way in the day-to-day speech of almost all the native people belonging to all the main social and professional domains but also have become an integral part of the indigenous Kashmiri language. The conclusion that the present scholar has come up with in this context is that Kashmiri language on the one hand has got enriched by borrowing vocabulary items from English; yet, the negative aspect of it is something that cannot be neglected.

The present research has based itself on the survey carried out with the help of self-prepared questionnaires and some personal and informal interviews. The study has attempted to bring to the forefront the various discoveries of the English–Kashmiri contact by minutely observing some important issues like language use (home/offices/schools/colleges, etc.), attitude towards language/s, socio-economic value of the language/s (English-Kashmiri), language competence and language proficiency. The study has appropriated the language

interaction between the two languages in the Kashmiri society; hence its sociolinguistic nature. The dissertation has tried to foreground how Kashmiri language under the impact of English has not only benefitted the native Kashmiri language and enabled its speakers to be at par and keep pace linguistically with the fast changing globalized world but also has a serious side associated with it, that is, how it is posing a kind of threat to the former and leading to its gradual attrition and death. It has also tried to highlight the position of both English and Kashmiri language in sociolinguistic terms and foreground the dwindling position of the latter and the fast increasing growth and development of the former. The main contribution of the present research has been to show how Kashmiri language under the pressure of a foreign language (English) has led to the loss of the ground by Kashmiri language in such a short span of time and how or to what extent has the attitude of the people changed towards these two languages.

As has already been mentioned that there are very few attempts in the form of research and articles made in this direction. Therefore, the study becomes all the more relevant and original as it has tried to highlight the stark reality of both sides of the coin. The study has adopted a purely scientific approach in highlighting both the positive and negative aspects of English-Kashmiri contact. In doing this, the research has given a balanced point of view

which is purely based on empirical evidences. The study discovered that English has no doubt benefitted both Kashmir and Kashmiri language but it is also true that English language has pushed the native Kashmiri language into the background and has affected it badly. In view of the fact that Kashmiri language was not a part of academic curriculum in schools, it is precisely because of this that the government of Jammu and Kashmir has introduced it (Kashmiri language) at all levels as they have also realized that Kashmiri language has received a setback and therefore, the attempt to rehabilitate this language is on.

The study has a wider scope for the prospective scholars as in the present study, the scholar has looked at the changes at the lexical level only. There are, however, other levels like, semantic, morphological, phonological, etc., which can also be investigated by the interested researchers. In addition, studies in the direction of language maintenance, language shift, language endangerment, language loyalty, etc., are some areas that are researchable. Besides, code-mixing and code-switching phenomena which is the direct outcome of the language contact between English and Kashmiri is worth exploring an area. The research in any of these given areas could prove out to be very useful in highlighting the linguistic situation in the valley of Kashmir particularly the condition/ position of the native Kashmiri language. Furthermore, the said

language contact could be analyzed from ethnolinguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives also.

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- a) No difference at all b) We would lose our culture/identity c) it will not happen

Q13. Do you fall short of words in your mother tongue and then you use English on such occasions?

- a) Not at all b) Yes, usually c) Sometimes
b) d) Only rarely

Q14. Is Kashmiri language increasingly being replaced by English language?

- a) I don't think so b) Certainly, yes c) In most of the domains
d) In most of the domains

Q15. What do you think people use English language for?

- a) Because, it is the language of education
b) Because of social prestige
c) Because, it is the language of opportunities
d) a, b & c

Q5. Which language do you prefer to learn for educational purposes?

- a) Kashmiri b) English c) Urdu

Q6. How many skills of Kashmiri language are you proficient in; I---listening, II-----speaking, III-----reading, IV-----writing:

- a) I only b) Both I &II c)I, ii& III d)I, ii, III& iv

Q7. How many skills of English language are you proficient in; I----listening, II-----speaking, III-----reading, IV-----writing:

- a) I only b) I & II c) I, II & iii d) I, ii, III & IV

Q8. Which language do you think has a better market value (job)?

- a) Kashmiri b) English c) Urdu

Q9) Which language do you think has a better social prestige?

- a) Kashmiri b) English c) Urdu

Q10. Which language do you think should be promoted in the state?

- a) Kashmiri `b) English c) Urdu

Q11. Which language do you prefer for pleasure reading (novels, short stories, poetry and religious literature)?

- a) Kashmiri b) English c) Urdu

Q12. Do you think that the Kashmiri language is losing its market?

- b) Not at all b) Yes, to some extent
c) To a very large extent

Q13. Are you ready to speak Kashmiri language only?

- b) Yes
- b) Only in informal situations
- c) Not at all

Q14. What difference would it make to you if English replaces Kashmiri?

- b) No difference at all
- b) We would lose our culture/identity
- c) It will not happen

Q15. Do you fall short of words in your mother tongue and then you use English on such occasions?

- c) Not at all
- b) Yes, usually
- c) Sometimes
- d) Only rarely

Q16. Is Kashmiri language being increasingly replaced by English language?

- b) I don't think so
- b) Certainly, yes
- c) In most of the domains
- d) In most of the domains

Q17. What do you think people use English language for?

- a) Because, it is the language of education
- b) Because of social prestige
- c) Because, it is the language of opportunities
- d) a, b & c