

Technical University of Chemnitz

Faculty of Philosophy

Department of Linguistics

Thesis

The Construction of Social Distance through Code-Switching

An Exemplary Analysis for Popular Indian Cinema

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Submission Date	May 10 th 2007
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Course of Studies (Semester)	English/American Studies (10) Intercultural Communication (10)

Contents

1	INTRODUCTION.....	1
2	CHARACTERISTIC ELEMENTS OF POPULAR INDIAN CINEMA.....	4
2.1	The Historical Development.....	4
2.2	Masala Film – A Mixture of Spices	7
2.2.1	Genre, Narrative and Recurrent Themes in Masala Film.....	7
2.2.2	Dance and Music as Central Elements.....	9
2.2.3	Language in Indian Cinema.....	11
2.3	State and Cinema – an Unbalanced Relationship.....	12
2.4	Diasporic Film - Presenting India to a Western Audience	13
3	MIRA NAIR’S <i>MONSOON WEDDING</i>	16
4	CODE-SWITCHING – MIXED APPROACHES.....	18
4.1	Disentangling the Terminological Confusion.....	19
4.2	Structural Approaches to Code-Switching.....	22
4.2.1	Shana Poplack – Early Insights to Code-Switching	22
4.2.2	Carol Myers-Scotton’s Research on Code-Switching.....	24
4.2.2.1	The Matrix Language-Frame Model	24
4.2.2.2	The Markedness Model.....	26
4.2.2.3	Comment and Critique on Myers-Scotton’s Work.....	29
4.3	Sociolinguistic Approaches to Code-Switching.....	29
4.3.1	John J. Gumperz’ work on Conversational Code-Switching	29
4.3.2	Peter Auer’s Approaches to Code-Switching in Conversation.....	32
5	DATA ACQUISITION AND METHODOLOGY	34
5.1	Data Acquisition	34
5.2	Remarks on Methodology and Analysis	35
5.2.1	Finding an Appropriate Methodology.....	35
5.2.2	Analyzing Artificial Dialogue.....	37
6	ASPECTS OF CODE-SWITCHING IN <i>MONSOON WEDDING</i>	39
6.1	Code-Switching in Public Settings.....	40
6.1.1	Emphasizing Opposition Through Code-Switching.....	40
6.1.1.1	Sequential Analysis	41
6.1.1.2	Markedness considerations.....	43
6.1.2	Emphasizing Equality in Business Negotiations.....	45
6.1.2.1	Sequential Analysis	46
6.1.2.2	Markedness Considerations.....	47

6.1.3	The Effect of Code-Switching in Authority Oriented Interaction.....	48
6.1.3.1	Sequential Analysis	49
6.1.3.2	Markedness Considerations.....	51
6.1.4	Code-Switching as a Means for Upward Mobility.....	53
6.1.4.1	Sequential Analysis	55
6.1.4.2	Markedness Considerations.....	57
6.2	Establishing Personal Closeness or Distance Via Code-Switching.....	58
6.2.1	The Role of Code-Switching in Close Family Disputes.....	59
6.2.1.1	Sequential Analysis	61
6.2.1.2	Markedness Considerations.....	62
6.2.2	Apologies and Persuasion – A Challenge	64
6.2.2.1	Sequential Analysis	65
6.2.2.2	Markedness Considerations.....	67
6.2.3	Coping with Curiosity – Two Examples Involving Code-Switching.....	69
6.2.3.1	Sequential Analysis	70
6.2.3.2	Markedness Considerations.....	71
7	DISCUSSION AND CONCLUDING REMARKS.....	74
	Works Cited	80
	Zusammenfassende Darstellung.....	84
	Appendix	88

1 Introduction

India – with rich traditions and an ancient heritage – has created a cinema that combines its cultural assets with modern realities. These movies reach an ever growing audience, the majority of which living well outside the Indian border. Although receptiveness is great towards these productions in Middle Eastern and Asian countries, western audiences regard popular Indian cinema often merely as colorful, musical movies, that seldom cover more than a tragic love story, fortunately resulting in a happy end.

In an attempt to deepen the understanding for Indian cinema, native authors have increasingly published well documented essays and monographs, explaining the roots and traditions of ‘their’ cinema from an insider perspective, thereby challenging non-native approaches to Indian film¹. Most of these native publications focus on the cultural distinctness of Indian movies. They explore the use of traditional elements such as songs and music, set out to explain typical storylines and discuss the depiction of classical gender roles and sexuality. Furthermore production, distribution and reception within India itself are described in detail. Last but not least almost every author mentions the role of censorship in India and the limitations it imposes on the industry.

These characteristics and features will not be central to this paper however, a basic introduction of central elements and cinematic conventions will precede the subsequent linguistic analysis. This analysis will focus on socio-linguistic peculiarities of popular Indian cinema and thus requires a brief overview on the social and cultural aspects which are depicted in these productions. The second chapter will therefore briefly outline the historical development, introduce important elements of popular Indian movies, as well as the Indian diaspora and its filmmaking; it will also sketch the influence of censorship. This paper will focus on popular cinema which should be distinguished from art movies: While the latter explicitly addresses controversial topics within the Indian society, popular movies are first and foremost produced to entertain their audience.

¹ Pendakur refers to this phenomenon stating that “[W]riting on Indian cinema can be put into two broad categories: the elitist kind from within and outside India, and the emerging scholarship from within and outside India. [...] Occasionally, one finds a story on Indian commercial cinema in the corporate and public media in the West, which usually decries it for being crude by ‘Western standards’. This type of coverage also suggests that India’s mass audiences are largely uneducated, thereby show desire (and even deserve) such cinema” (Pendakur 2003:8).

Mira Nair's *Monsoon Wedding* was chosen because Nair spent several years living among different Indian diasporas in the United States and Africa and because it represents major elements of popular Indian film. In *Monsoon Wedding* Nair returns to her home country; she pays tribute to her own Punjabi culture, all the while incorporating international and diasporic elements into her storyline. The dialogue is originally in Hindi, Punjabi and English and certainly contains numerous instances of code-switching (henceforth abbreviated as CS) – a decisive factor to opt for this movie. A brief introduction to producers, storyline and criticism will be given in chapter three.

Aside from a short essay published by Jyotsna Vaid in 1980, discussing *The form and function of code-mixing in Indian films: the case of Hindi and English* the topic of code-switching in Indian cinema has not been considered in detail. Vaid gives an overview over formal and functional aspects of CS and concludes that

[...] first CM may occur at a variety of grammatical levels [...]; second, that CM appears to obey a number of syntactic constraints [...]; third, that CM also appears to be constrained by social factors and fourth, that CM appears to have certain pragmatic advantages over both the pure varieties from which is it derived (Vaid 1980:43).²

Other authors have of course addressed the question of code-switching in India on a more general level in various publications and India is often mentioned as a prime example for CS, be it among regional languages or Hindi and English, but rarely with a specific focus on cinematic conventions.

This paper will therefore be primarily concerned with the linguistic phenomenon of code-switching in film dialogue from a sociolinguistic perspective. Given that popular Indian cinema has steadily gained in importance since the 1990s – not only within the Indian society but worldwide, a recent approach to code-switching is justified. Especially when regarding not only recent developments within the Indian movie market but also considering the impact of Indian movies in western societies.

The question why filmmakers chose to include two languages into their production is an important one in this context. Geist mentions verisimilitude³ for once, as well as financial considerations taking additional costs for subtitling into consideration (Geist 1991:263). Thus, her argument that the use of a second language must itself carry indispensable information more important than an exact understanding of dialogue is essential for this

² In her analysis, Vaid refers to Kachru's concept of code-mixing (CM) – the distinction between CS and CM will be discussed in chapter 4.1.

³ An aspect which cannot account for the lack of understanding audiences might encounter.

analysis (ibid.). She writes that “[...] film makers, if they are sensitive to language will avail themselves of second languages just as they avail themselves of visual and other aural motifs to make statements in their films” (ibid.:264). However, a film like *Monsoon Wedding* proves even this concept in need for further elaboration. As the detailed analysis will show code switches often carry decisive information beyond merely being a filmic device that Nair includes for stylistic reasons. It is her attempt to come as close to the natural Indian lifestyle as possible that makes this movie and its language interesting beyond merely applying a film analysis indebted to cultural studies.

Chapter four provides the theoretical framework for the later analysis focusing of the sociolinguistic realm of code-switching. Among the scholars crucial for the development of CS research are structuralists such as Shana Poplack and Carol Myers-Scotton as well as sociolinguists like John J. Gumperz and Peter Auer. Their approaches to constraints and motivations of CS will be introduced and discussed, providing the analytical framework for CS analysis which will be elaborated in chapter six. Although these concepts stem from different research traditions within the sociolinguistic research tradition, they nonetheless complement each other on various levels – a fact allowing for a fruitful subsequent analysis. Chapter five will present aspects of data acquisition and considerations concerning a reasonable methodology that although primarily oriented towards a linguistic analysis nevertheless also embraces cultural aspects.

Finally chapter six will present a combination of Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model with Peter Auer’s Conversational Analysis in order to trace the construction of social distance in popular Indian cinema. A selection of sequences will be considered focusing on the role of CS in the Indian society. Since *Monsoon Wedding* is an outstanding example for Indian cinema, in that it aims at a realistic depiction of an Indian family, not only including non-resident Indians from a variety of diasporas but also the interaction between members of very different social classes, it proved to be an excellent example for sociolinguistic research.

A final discussion will summarize and evaluate the findings and discuss the relevance of linguistic aspects in Indian cinema.

2 Characteristic Elements of Popular Indian Cinema

Before introducing the essential elements of popular Indian cinema the question of terminology shall be addressed. The introduction mentioned the phenomenon referring to it as 'Bollywood', a term most westerners broadly associate with Indian cinema. However, it is also a term that relates the Indian movie scene (in-)directly to Hollywood, a relation that is only in part justified. Though some producers regard this association as adequate especially with respect to quantity and recently also quality, the Indian cinema scene is developing its very own standards and traditions. Many scholars now accentuate the distinctness of Indian cinema and not the likeness it shows to Hollywood movies. Additionally, the movie to be analyzed in the course of this paper is produced by one of the most famous diasporic filmmakers of Indian descent who is rooted in an Indian filmmaking tradition rather than adopting American standards. In an attempt to distinguish Indian cinema from its American counterpart and emphasize its uniqueness the term 'Bollywood' will be replaced in this analysis either by popular Indian cinema or Masala cinema, especially the latter being

[...] an appropriate metaphor to analyze India's popular cinema because it draws attention to the variety of ingredients that make up the basic narrative structure of the popular film. Just as there are regional variations to the masalas (spices) that are used in Indian cooking, cinemas also take on certain regional specificities (Pendakur 2003:95).

Since Indian cinema has traditionally been extremely multifaceted the following account of its historical development and essential elements of Indian film cannot cover all regional peculiarities. It will rather provide an overview of recurring themes and elements which are not only of cinematic and cultural interest but also essential for linguistic analysis.

2.1 The Historical Development

Tejaswini Ganti's *Guidebook to Popular Indian Cinema* provides an interesting and comprehensive overview on the historical development of Indian cinema and will therefore serve as major source for the following chapter.

Film came to India as early as 1896 when the first cinematographe show was held in Bombay to an exceptionally European audience (Ganti 2004:6). The new technology eventually spread to reach the common Indian audience and Bombay remained the center of film production ever since for two major reasons: during colonial times it was

the center of commerce in India providing the financial background for film production, and it held a vast creative infrastructure, being home of the traditional Parsi theatre which provided the first wave of screen actors (ibid.:7). The initial silent era was dominated by the 'Father of Indian Cinema' Dadasaheb Phalke, who produced the first Indian feature film *Raja Harishchandra* (Kind Harischandra) in 1913 (ibid.). Phalke established the first Indian genre of mythologicals, stories of Indian gods and goddesses which eventually disappeared from Indian movie theaters but found their continuation on television. He was the grand filmmaker of the period however, when his studio went bankrupt, Phalke's fame declined quickly and he died forgotten in 1944. He was honored only posthumously with the establishment of the *Dadasheb Phalke Lifetime Achievement Award* which is presented for pioneering achievements in Indian cinema (ibid.:10).

The arrival of sound and thereby of songs and music in film scores came in 1931 with the release of *Alam Ara* (Beauty of the World) and established music as central element of Indian film. The role of dance and music, as well as considerations on language choices will be illustrated in chapter 2.2.2 and 2.2.3 respectively.

During the 1920s and 1930s India developed a very active but short studio era when studios went in and out of existence frequently because production, exhibition and distribution were carried out independently and not sufficiently coordinated (ibid.:15). The 1940s also brought decisive economic changes to the Indian film industry – being enveloped in WW II involuntarily as a colony of Great Britain, India not only experienced an intensification of censorship, but also an increased production of war movies and a considerable shortage of film material. With India's independence in 1947 and the newly established partition of the country, the industry underwent another unexpected change:

The post-independence Bombay film industry is shaped by the histories of migration and displacement set in motion by Partition. Many of the prominent actors, producers, directors and technicians either migrated to Bombay from Pakistan or are descendants of those who did. The predominance of ethnic Punjabis in the convarnary industry is also a consequence of this history (Ganti 2004:22).

To this day especially the immigrated Punjabis celebrate their culture within the Bombay industry, as Nair's *Monsoon Wedding* shows.

Ganti divides the post-independence era of Indian cinema into three periods: the decade after independence during which Jawaharlal Nehru served as first prime minister in India, the era of Indira Gandhi in the 1960s and 70s and since the 1980s an era not associated with a political figure but rather with a liberalization of movie production in India. The 1950s were heavily influenced by India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, whose

major concern was to establish the newly emerged country in a worldwide, regional and national context. To the disappointment of filmmakers who hoped that an independent government would facilitate the national film production, Nehru's administration set out to impose new taxes on production and distribution and commanded a tightened censorship (ibid.:25ff).

The 1960s were dominated by economic hardships such as the costs of the Pakistan war, several droughts and the world energy crisis as well as by Indira Gandhi's mismanagement of government which finally culminated in the proclamation of a state of emergency. During this time filmmaking was increasingly uncertain and, due to the shortage of raw stock, a highly precarious endeavor. When Gandhi was not re-elected in 1977 the state of emergency was lifted and constraints on filmmaking gradually decreased during the 1980s (ibid.:30f.). The 1990s finally brought more security, material and further liberalization to the Indian filmmaking industry. Especially the advent of satellite television brought new possibilities and cooperation between film and TV industry in India. And although until this day audiences cannot be taken for granted, the Indian film industry has reached an almost

[...] symbiotic relationship with satellite television. These channels offer filmmakers new avenues to publicise, promote and market their films and serve as another source of revenue since they are willing to pay large sums for the telecast rights of popular films. Many of the satellite channels are hugely dependent on Hindi films, film music, film industry news, celebrity gossip, film award shows and stage shows featuring film stars for a steady diet of programming (Ganti 2004:36).

Today Hindi filmmakers address far reaching audiences in- and outside of India. Films are dubbed into English, Spanish, German and French, and subtitles are available in English, Hebrew, Japanese and Arabic among others. However, not only audiences have become increasingly diverse, the production of Indian cinema is less and less bound to geographical boundaries. Many movies incorporate various diasporas and set their stories in other countries and foreign languages. An outstanding example of this phenomenon of internationality and intercultural development with special respect to its linguistic implications will be introduced in a chapter three and subject of analysis in chapter six. Previously major themes and elements of recent Masala film will be briefly introduced.

2.2 Masala Film – A Mixture of Spices

The term masala film is derived from a typical Indian mixture of spices – the ingredients of which one sometimes cannot completely discern. Masala films include a bit of everything: “[...] music, romance, action, comedy and drama – designed to appeal to the broadest range of audience” (Ganti 2004:139). Scholars have nonetheless identified certain narratives and recurrent themes in Indian film. Some have even attempted to find genres – as a demarcation of Indian cinema from other cinematic traditions. Kauer and Sinha cite Thomas when pointing out that:

[...] Indian cinema has, throughout its long history, evolved as a form which has resisted the cultural imperialism of Hollywood: the form has undergone continual change and there has been both inspiration and assimilation from Hollywood and elsewhere, but thematically and structurally, Indian cinema has remained remarkably distinctive (Thomas, quoted in Kauer/Sinha 2005:15).⁴

The following subchapters will give an overview of this distinct Indian cinema, especially with regard to major themes and stylistic peculiarities.

2.2.1 Genre, Narrative and Recurrent Themes in Masala Film

“Masala is a mixture ... about purity and impurity, authenticity and inauthenticity, truth of self, loss of self [...]” (Krishna, quoted in Mishra 2002:242)

In their introduction to film studies Bordwell and Thompson address the difficulty to find appropriate genres for movies. The challenge to assign certain movies to certain genres, being complicated already for Hollywood cinema, cannot even account for the difficulty film scholars have encountered when attempting to find suitable genres for Indian cinema.

According to Bordwell genres may be assigned according to certain plot elements, through characteristic film techniques or a particular iconography (Bordwell/Thompson 2001:96f.). However, an evaluation of the quality of a certain movie cannot be accomplished merely by attributing it to a fixed genre. Especially not when taking into account that genres change with time and subgenres emerge that may mix elements of genres that are normally kept apart. Ganti makes exactly this point when stating that “[...] a genre is basically a way of categorizing and creating differences based on the

⁴ Original Source: Thomas, Rosie (1985). “Indian Cinema: Pleasures and Popularity“. *Screen* 26:3&4:116-131.

expectation of the repetition of certain features. *It is a relational rather than an absolute concept* [my emphasis, E.L.]” (2004:140).

A first attempt to generalize Indian film under the genre of musicals was strongly rejected by native scholars. Because dance and music play an important role in Indian life and consequently in Indian film it should not be the only remarkable element of its cinema. As Ganti explains: “From the perspective of Hindi film audiences, ‘musical’ is an irrelevant genre category as it does not meaningfully differentiate between films” (ibid.:141).

Instead he argues for the adoption of categories such as Bordwell’s who divides early Indian films into devotionals, “films centering on the life of saints and religious figures” and mythologicals which “derived from legend and literary classics” (Bordwell/Thompson 2001:94). Ganti also includes the figure of ‘angry young men’ into a possible definition of early Indian genres. These characters were introduced to Indian film in the 1970s by Amitabh Bachchan playing a “disaffected, cynical, violent, urban worker/labourer” (Ganti 2004:32). Alongside a critical depiction of society and governmental dealings, these movies became increasingly violent and focused on crucial issues such as crime, unemployment and poverty (ibid.:33). Yet another, quite different area of film was the ‘lost and found’ genre which usually told the story of siblings who are separated in younger years and eventually find each other as adults reuniting the family. Other genres are films of “reincarnation, dacoit [...], as well as [...] renditions of global genres like action film, gangster film and romantic comedy” (ibid.:141). A different approach is suggested by Mishra who regards Bombay cinema as a whole as its own genre, characterized by four major elements: “[...] star quality, music, story and moral to which a certain *andaz* or ‘style’ [...] could be added” (Mishra 2002:32).

Attempting to find appropriate categories, which acknowledge Indian cinema is obviously a difficult endeavor. One solution was the introduction of the term *masala film* which proved to be helpful in determining an overarching tendency in Indian film. It is the mixture of cinematic elements within one movie, that would normally be attributed to only one particular genre in western film, that makes Indian cinema seem so different to a western audience and yet intriguing in its diversity.

Aside from these genres, certain narratives and themes are predominant in Indian cinema. First and foremost, *masala cinema* emphasizes the primacy of the family and kinship (Ganti 2004:33). In addition many movies center on a pair of lovers who will eventually sacrifice their love for their family’s honor and restore harmony at the price of

separation. A rather recent tendency in narrative and cinematographic conventions is to set the story in incredibly rich, almost pompous surroundings, thereby eliminating any social criticism from current popular cinema (ibid.:40). In this context Ganti notices a decrease of moral fiber in popular Indian cinema: moral justifications or rationalizations which were a major part among ‘angry young men’ in the 1970s and 80s, are only seldom acknowledged in recent productions. Most productions abandon aspects of social criticism aside and focus almost exclusively on the entertaining aspect of cinema (ibid.:41).

Last but not least a certain increase of nationalism cannot be disregarded when discussing themes of popular Indian cinema. The outstanding cultural heritage which was long suppressed by British rule is now blossoming to a self-conscious depiction of the Indian way of life, which today is more often than not regarded as superior to its colonial suppressor and celebrated especially by younger generations.

2.2.2 Dance and Music as Central Elements

“Music is such an integral part of our Indian culture; without music there is nothing.”

Rumi Jaffrey⁵

Especially music and dance scenes shaped the reception of Indian movies in the western world as to merely being a musical, thereby disregarding the fact that Indian film music “[...] has its roots in older performance traditions which influenced cinema. Classical Sanskrit drama, folk theater and Parsi theater all tightly integrated music, song and dance, with each element being essential to the entire performance” (Ganti 2004:78). Music permeates the day-to-day life in India, on almost any occasion, be it a wedding, prayer or simply a mother singing to her child, music is constantly present (Pendakur 2003:120).

The technical advent of film song came with the introduction of playback singing in 1935 (Ganti 2004:15). Not only did this technique eliminate disturbing noises, it also allowed the actors to move freely before the camera, only moving their lips synchronously. As a side effect, playback singers became almost as popular as actors and remain to be the object of immense adoration by audiences.

In his discussion of Indian film song, Pendakur identifies six types of recurring songs: *Seesa Padya*, devotional songs, festival songs, romantic songs, night club dance songs and songs of pathos. The first, *Seesa Padya* are rooted in rural theater and sung in preparation

⁵ Rumi Jaffrey in an interview with Tejaswini Ganti (Ganti 2004: 177).

for battle, anticipating the roles and outcome of the following conflict (ibid.:131). Devotional songs “[...] enhance the character traits of the principal characters and/or simply [help, E.L.] to resolve some conflict in the plot” and allude to gods, goddesses, saints and the like (ibid.:132f.). Festival songs mainly add to the excitement and colorful depiction of Indian life and are accompanied by corresponding pictures. Romantic songs are distinguished into “Pangs of Separation” and “First Night” songs (ibid.:134). The first one conveying the pain of separated lovers, nonetheless accentuating the feeling of closeness and belonging, even over a distance. The latter posing an opportunity for filmmakers to incorporate decent sex scenes, which would otherwise be eliminated by the board of censorship (ibid.:134ff.). Recently night club dance has entered the music and dance scenes as a way to have the heroine adopt a seductive character trade, which would otherwise be regarded as inappropriate (ibid.:137). Finally, songs of pathos are employed when touching upon very basic emotions, which are bound to move the audience. Thematically these songs “[...] may address many troubles by way of alluding to fate and other forces beyond one’s control, evil doers in society, games being played on humans by divine beings, or simply bad luck” (ibid.:137). This enumeration covers the majority of Indian film songs; however the adjustment or mixture of elements can be negotiated anew for each individual movie, incorporating western elements such as jazz, hip hop or dance music.

However, it is not only the traditional element that makes producers and directors incorporate music into their productions; Pendakur explains: “Catchy tunes and music guarantee not only a return of audience, but also royalties from recorded music for the producer of the film” (Pendakur 2003:119). If the sales of film soundtracks have been a steady business in the western world, it is nothing in comparison to India: new soundtracks are released before the movie opens in theaters to subsequently attract an audience that is already seized with the tunes. Thus, music is not only a traditional but also a financial necessity in Indian film making, especially with regard to commercial films in which they are considered to be “*the* quintessential” element (Ganti 2004:79).

Garga, as quoted in Ganti, summarizes the importance of music and dance to Indian filmmaking appropriately when stating that

[...] with the coming of the talkies, the Indian motion picture came into its own as a definite and distinct piece of creation. This was achieved by music ... it gives us musical entertainment which even the best of Hollywood pictures cannot." (Garga, quoted in Ganti 2004:11)⁶.

2.2.3 Language in Indian Cinema

In his essay on language variation in bilingual settings, Pathak calls India a "sociolinguistic giant" with more than 3000 mother tongues and a constitution that recognizes 15 spoken languages, including Sanskrit (Pathak 1985:9). Official languages in India are Hindi and English, which, even after decolonization has remained highly influential especially among the Indian elite, the administration, in advanced education, science, technology, commerce and international communication (ibid.).

The arrival of sound in the 1930s called for the difficult venture to find a common language for Indian film. The industry finally agreed on a type of spoken Hindi commonly called Hindustani: "[...] a mixture of Hindi and Urdu – a language associated with bazaars and trading that served as a lingua franca across northern and central India" (Ganti 2004:12). This choice put Mumbai into an exceptional position: it developed into the only film industry in India which did not produce films in their regional language, Gujarati and Marathi being mostly spoken in the Mumbai area, thereby establishing the national character of Mumbai films (ibid.).

Even though Mumbai remains to be the center of most productions, the Indian filmmaking industry is spread all over the country. Various production sites, in different states, produce their very own cinema in different regional languages. With films produced in Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam or Kannada it becomes clear, that Indian film productions are extremely diversified (Koch [no date]:8).

With respect to languages used in Indian filmmaking Ganti makes an interesting point explaining that film scripts are often written in English and only subsequently translated into Hindi, sometimes with the help of a dialogue writer who is more proficient in Hindi than the screenwriter himself (Ganti 2004:69). This fact not only underlines the importance English still holds in India as a lingua franca, but also considerations as to a realistic depiction of a current language situation in India.

However, some films are still shot entirely in English, or with frequent switches between regional Indian languages and English. These switching choices contribute greatly to the

⁶ Original Source: Garga, B.D. (1996). *So Many Cinemas: The Motion Picture in India*. Mumbai: Eminence Designs: 80.

establishment and maintenance of social distance – an aspect of language choice which will be analyzed in detail in chapter six.

2.3 State and Cinema – an Unbalanced Relationship

It was the British colonial government who introduced censorship to Indian cinema by passing the first Cinematograph Act in 1918 which allowed for the formation of censorship boards in several cities (Chowdry 2000:19). Although initially only concerned with the influx of foreign films that could discredit the British rule with time, censorship became a means to suppress any potential motion towards an Indian independence (ibid.:156f).

After India became independent in 1947, many expected censorship to loosen however “[...] state authority was expanded into various sectors of the film industry. Censorship of films was continued and was further bureaucratized and, in fact, open to more abuse” (Pendakur 2003:59). Aside from banning open sexuality from the screen, early Indian censorship criticized film music as being too influenced by western styles and generally tried to keep western elements from Indian film (Ganti 2004:27). Due to arbitrary censorship decisions, the system was later centralized with the passage of the second Cinematograph Act two years later. Currently, regional censorship boards, permanently set up in nine cities have the right to command cuts or ban films outright. Filmmakers may appeal these decisions to higher authority, and if all fails, lawsuits can be filed on behalf of the producer (Pendakur 2003:75).

Censors in India have long justified their intrusion into storylines and images by arguing that “[...] audiences are still very immature. So we [the censors, E.L.] have to take into consideration their receptivity. [...] Sex – allow; Violence – curb it. Sex, combined with violence – ban it” (Kranajia, quoted in Pendakur 2003:73)⁷. However, these restrictions have not been continuously applied – Pendakur calls censorship decisions “uneven at best” (Pendakur 2003:75). Often films are held up for months due to obscure censorship issues, which is a very costly endeavor, especially if the film has been produced with heavy loans and even higher interest rates, a fact many filmmakers strongly criticize.

To the western audience Indian films still seem very low-key, especially with regard to sexual and violent scenes. However, although “pointless or avoidable scenes of violence,

⁷ Original Source: Kranajia, B.K. (1984). “In Dialogue”. *NFDC News*. Bombay: National film Development Corporation.

cruelty and horror are not shown” (Chandran, quoted in Pendakur 2003:75)⁸ and vulgarity and obscenity are forbidden, popular cinema nonetheless includes several violations of these guidelines. At times this is achieved by what has come to be known as interpolation, a strategy to reinsert previously cut scenes before releasing the film to cinemas (ibid.:76). Generally speaking it can be stated that

[...] the overall impact of censorship in Indian cinema is the distorted treatment of sexuality. Adult themes are seldom tackled in a mature way in which sex is treated as a basic human need and how it cannot be fulfilled in a society where couples seldom have the privacy or the cultural tolerance for it. [...] One wonders whether any of these fantasies ever come true and whether the Indian moviegoers’ psyche is a bank of frustration (ibid.:77).

Aside from sexual censorship, political statements are also strictly controlled in Indian cinema. Some statements are outright impossible: to criticize the party in power or the Gandhi/Nehru family. Producers can be sure to be declined the possibility of releasing a film containing any of the above. Pendakur finds critical words when summarizing Indian censorship practices as follows:

I have argued that censorship in India is historically connected to its colonial legacy and the Victorian morality persisting even today. What is troubling even more is that the institution of censorship is used to limit free expression and dialogue on vitally important issues of the polity. Furthermore, when it comes to political cinema the Censor Board had time and again abdicated its responsibility to preserve the fundamental right of free speech by filmmakers and the right of the citizen to controversial material (Pendakur 2003:91).

2.4 Diasporic Film - Presenting India to a Western Audience

Without wanting to outline the historical development and current characteristics of the Indian diaspora in detail, the aspect of diaspora should be addressed when analyzing *Monsoon Wedding* – a production from one of the most internationally renowned diasporic filmmakers.

A recent study by Yasmin Hussain introducing diasporic female writers especially from Great Britain discusses peculiarities of diasporic expression – be it literally or through film – and calls for a re-evaluation of diaspora arguing that

The impact of globalization on the world’s economies means that there have been profound changes in the composition of local, regional and national cultural practices. The break-up of metanarratives and the arrival of new genealogies for spatial fixity, new diasporic communities and the corresponding emergence of new subjectivities; indicates that diaspora has taken on a new dimension (Hussain 2005:5).

⁸ Original Source: Chandran, M. (1989). “Documents”. Bombay: National Film Development Corporation.

This argument is presented drawing heavily on Vertovec's approach to discern current notions of diaspora. He is cited to have introduced four perspectives on different historical and motivational reasons to migrate from a home country and form a diaspora in a different environment. Diaspora in its most traditional sense is seen as a social category including examples such as Jewish migration or forcibly removed groups such as African-Americans. A second aspect of diaspora is "[...] a self-conscious attachment to the place of origin as well as a sense of being somewhere else, a sense that one can share with others whose roots are left behind in the same country" (ibid.:6). Thirdly, diaspora is regarded as a source producing distinct cultural performances, an aspect especially interesting in the context of this thesis since it focuses especially on diasporic filmmaking⁹. A final aspect of diaspora mentioned by Vertovec is a problem-oriented viewpoint – diasporas regarded as problems or threats to the native community "[...] diluting or undermining the traditional norms of the indigenous population" (ibid.).

While all four dimensions of diaspora focus on different aspects connected to migration they all share one basic commonality, i.e. members of diasporic communities share a common past and a similar destiny that is often expressed through "[...] a sense of belonging to more than one home, or the cross-fertilization of two cultures, or the experience of coming into conflict with the majority culture" (ibid.:7). This hybridity innate to the concept of diaspora itself finds its expression in writing or filmmaking and is increasingly understood by the majority culture, which accommodates the diaspora, acknowledging the literary, scientific and individual contributions immigrant cultures contribute to the host country. Members of a diaspora are constantly defining their identities, which are not fixed around one distinct ethnic or national boundary and it is the expression of these ongoing negotiations in between different cultures that make diasporic writing and filmmaking challenging to writers and audiences alike.

However, although including aspects of diaspora, displacement and migration into her production, Mira Nair does not debate the classical argument of being torn between two cultures in her production. While movies such as *Bent it like Beckham* focus on the conflict young members of the Indian diaspora in England have to face when leaning towards a westernized life style, thereby explicitly not abiding to their parent's wishes to uphold traditional Indian customs, *Monsoon Wedding* does without such fundamental dispute. Instead, Nair returned to her roots, sets her movie in Delhi and focuses on the return of

⁹ While *Monsoon Wedding* is not only influenced by Nair's own diasporic experiences but also aims at a diasporic audience, it establishes the diasporic experience as a central aspect of the production.

Indians to their home country, an interesting approach insofar as it is India that is depicted as different and difficult to handle and not another society normally accommodating Indian immigrants.

Rahul, returning from Australia is probably the character who feels most out of place in India, being used to a lifestyle independent from his parents he is now confronted with an uncle who is not only completely preoccupied with wedding preparations but also highly impatient if something does not work out as expected. Especially when the blame can be put on a young Non-Resident-Indian (NRI) who does not seem to be accustomed to the Indian way of living and is not putting any emphasis on an attempt to familiarize himself with the given situation.

Thus hybridity is twofold in Nair's production – not only does she comment on the situation of NRI's in other countries (references to life in Oman, Australia or the United States are frequent) but she also pays tribute to the difficulties NRI's face when returning to their home country. By doing so she establishes members of the Indian diaspora as strangers to what is generally regarded as their home country, a perspective on diasporic living that is often mentioned but seldom elaborated. The role reversal is also interesting with regard to language choice: while the traditional discussion on diaspora stresses the importance of the mother tongue to be upheld in a surrounding that is dominated by another language, this language, English is the major choice for communication in *Monsoon Wedding* which is set in India. English, instead of threatening to replace a mother tongue connected to traditional values necessary for cultural identification is assigned the prestigious status of belonging to a social strata that is not bound to one language only, but on the contrary celebrates the possibility of having several languages at their disposal, without assigning a certain status to either one of them.

Monsoon Wedding, though including the aspect of diaspora and often regarded as diasporic film, is as deeply rooted in India – as Mira Nair's. It adopts a different perspective than most diasporic production in that it does not show the conflict of identification most Indians have to deal with in a foreign country but rather aims to show a natural, realistic picture of the Indian society to an audience outside of India that not accustomed to this, very exuberant lifestyle.

3 Mira Nair's *Monsoon Wedding*

Having spent most of her living among the Indian diaspora in Africa and the United States Mira Nair has produced and directed several films showing traditional Indian life mostly to a non-Indian audience. Her movies have generally received more praise than criticism and she has won several awards, among them the Golden Lion in Venice in 2001 for *Monsoon Wedding* as best picture. Nair grew up in New Delhi among a large Punjabi family, before studying in the United States and living in Kampala/Uganda and New York City. In an interview she compares the situation of the Punjabi within the Indian society to the Italians in Europe “[...] an aggressive, loud people, peasant people, known for our lusty appetite for life” (Dupont 2001, n. p.). It is to her family to which she dedicates this movie – a very personal tribute to her own culture.

After having directed and produced several movies, some abroad, others in India, among them *Salaam Bombay!*¹⁰, and the sensual *Kama Sutra* (filmed in Africa) which tells a love story in the 16th century, *Monsoon Wedding* made Nair return to India with a colorful and enchanting tale about a traditional Indian wedding:

As monsoon season approaches, Lalit Verma prepares a traditional wedding for his beautiful daughter Aditi, despite her liaison with a married man. The groom arrives from America, the bride gets cold feet, all hell breaks loose and the rain pours down (Dupont 2001, n. p.).

This quotation gives an idea of the many layers which make up this movie. Not only does the audience witness extensive preparations for the central (arranged) wedding of Aditi and Hermant, there are several other interwoven storylines: among the many guests arriving for the wedding is Rahul, a young NRI who is attending university in Australia and immediately seized by the beautiful Aisha, one of the cousins in the extensive Verma family. Their beginning love story is among the most innocent ones; in this respect only excelled by the relationship which slowly develops between the somewhat clumsy wedding planner P.K. Dubey, who falls for Alice – the maid of the Verma household, a quiet and very beautiful girl who eventually accepts his courtship. Besides these newly emerging love stories, Nair also celebrates marital love: Lalit and Pimmi Verma, the bride's parents have been married for 25 years, also an arranged marriage as we learn, a happy one as we can see. A relationship in which both partners have learned to rely on each other all the while accepting one or the other character flaws the partner might have.

¹⁰ *Salaam Bombay!* was her debut in filmmaking about a boy who has to make it on his own in the streets of Bombay after having been abandoned by his parents.

Although Nair situates her movie in a very traditional Indian setting, the morality of the Verma family is not altogether as traditional as one might think. While Aditi agreed to the arranged marriage she only did so because her lover Vikram, a smug TV host, cannot seem to finalize his divorce. The most challenging relationship however, is one between the family benefactor Tej and cousin Ria Verma – only well into the story one learns that Tej is not only the generous patron, who has repeatedly supported the Verma family financially, but more importantly a pedophile who sexually abused Ria when she was a little girl.

Obviously the movie is more than a simple accumulation of different love stories. It depicts a very modern India where affairs are just as common as seduction and arranged marriage as accepted as true love. It was however, the ease with which Nair interconnected these different types of relationships that earned her high acclamation from critics. It was a “meditation on the different aspects of love” as she called it (Dupont 2001, n. p.). And although *Monsoon Wedding* is not considered an art film “it is certainly artful” as one of the reviews points out (Malcolm 2001, n. p.).

What is also mentioned in almost all reviews is the interchanging use of three languages: Punjabi, Hindi and English. Comments read as following: “The film is played out in English, Hindi and Punjabi, which such a family would speak” (Malcolm 2001, n. p.); “[...] as representatives of Delhi’s haute bourgeoisie, the Verma family speak English among themselves, intermingled with Hindi and Punjabi – often in the course of the same sentence” (Young 2001, n. p.). The language choice depicts the linguistic situation in modern India far more realistically than the majority of Indian productions.

Another aspect that sets *Monsoon Wedding* off from other productions is that song sequences were not previously recorded; the few songs Nair included are life shootings – a feature noteworthy for an Indian production. All of them can be attributed to festival songs as mentioned in chapter 2.2.2.

Monsoon Wedding thus celebrates India in its storyline and colorfulness however, Nair distances herself from making a merely entertaining motion picture. On the contrary, although depicting the love of life among Punjabi people is her primary goal, she does not flinch from incorporating serious issues into her production – a choice most likely explained by an increase in credibility and consequently in acceptability among western audiences.

4 Code-Switching – Mixed Approaches

The times in which code-switching was merely regarded as an insufficient proficiency of either language are long gone. Early assessments of CS such as Weinreich's, which acknowledges CS to be possible in "appropriate speech situation[s]" however, dismisses research on intrasentential¹¹ CS as futile, have been proven to be extremely short-sighted (Weinreich, quoted in Myers-Scotton 1993a:48)¹².

Le Page's and Tabouret-Keller's early perspective that "[B]y verbalizing as he does, [the individual] is seeking to reinforce his models of the world, and hopes for acts of solidarity from those with whom he wishes to identify [...]" (Le Page/Tabouret-Keller, cited in Gardner-Chloros 1995:69)¹³ affected the study of CS until today. Recent CS research presents manifold approaches to the issue, none of them even remotely questioning the competence of speakers – a selection of which shall be briefly presented in this chapter. The chapter's structure will follow Auer's classification in that most studies on CS can be grouped either under grammatical (mostly structural) or sociological aspects (Auer 1998:3). A similar evaluation of current research areas as suggested in Fasold who argues for a distinction between predictive versus interpretative approaches¹⁴ (Fasold 1984:200). Studies published since the late 1990s tend to return to the initial interpretative approach to CS rather than focusing mainly on unearthing and explaining essentially structural constraints¹⁵ (Wei 2005:275). Thus, while early structural research doubtlessly contributed important aspects to research and introduced interesting perspectives on grammatical limitations, their universality claims are once more replaced by situational analysis, focusing on cultural and conversational aspects rather than syntactic constraints of CS

¹¹ A detailed distinction between inter- and intrasentential CS will be provided when discussing Myers-Scotton's MLF Model, at this point it should suffice to state that intrasentential CS involves switches within one sentence, even within one word, while intersentential switching usually occurs between entire sentences.

¹² Myers-Scotton quotes Weinreich as having stated that: "[T]he ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation and certainly not within a single sentence." Original Source: Weinreich, U. (1967 [1953]). *Languages in Contact*. The Hague: Mouton.

¹³ Original Source: Le Page R.B./Tabouret-Keller A. (1985). *Acts of Identity, Creole-based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity*. Cambridge: CUP.

¹⁴ Prediction – as the most ambitious kind of research – is defined as the ability "[...] to predict just when a bilingual speaker would switch from one language to the other within a conversation" (Fasold 1984:200). Interpretation settles for a comparatively moderate aim: "Rather than trying to predict when a switch will occur, or even which general language choice pattern will be used, the goal is to take a particular language choice as given and to understand the interactive work it is accomplishing for the speaker" (ibid.:201).

¹⁵ Myers-Scotton's 2002 publication on the (slightly modified) MLF Model is an exception proving this general observation.

choices. A development also mentioned by Stroud, who writes that “[...] research interest in conversational code-switching has increasingly come to focus on generating accounts of the pragmatic and expressive meanings carried by the switches” (Stroud 1998:321).

Before giving an account of a variety of approaches to CS, the ever recurring question of terminology has to be addressed by briefly outlining the difference between code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing.

4.1 Disentangling the Terminological Confusion

In a linguistic field as varied as sociolinguistics, the last 35 years of research have led to an exceptional variety of approaches. Virtually every researcher has favored (and if necessary slightly amended) definitions, methodologies and paradigms, of which the most influential approaches will be introduced in this chapter. However, despite the vast variety of approaches, general consent remains to distinguish between CS, code-mixing (CM) and borrowing.

Upon taking a closer look one cannot help but realize that it is not all that simple: Gumperz argues that “[C]ode switching [...] relies on the meaningful juxtaposition of what speakers must consciously or subconsciously process as strings formed according to the internal rules of two distinct grammatical systems” (Gumperz 1982:66ff.). Myers-Scotton regards CS as “[...] the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation, without prominent phonological assimilation of one variety to the other. [...] Switching may either be intra- or extrasentential and often (but not necessarily) involves stretches of more than one word” (Myers-Scotton 1988:157). An earlier definition of CS, put forward by Kachru in 1978 defines it as “[...] the ability to switch from code A to code B. The alternation of codes is determined by the function, the situation, and the participants. In other words, it refers to the categorization of one’s verbal repertoire in terms of function and roles” (Kachru 1978:108).

In the same paper, Kachru considers code-mixing (CM) as the transfer of “linguistic units from one code into another” (ibid.). And goes on to explain that such “[...] transfer results in developing a new restricted or not so restricted code of linguistic interaction” (ibid.:108). In his elaboration on different motivations behind CS and CM his argumentation is rather vague: while CS is regarded to be a device to mark identities,

insert asides or hint to specific role allocations in conversation, CM is essentially a communicative strategy used for register or style identification, and as a “device for elucidation and interpretation” (ibid.:111). However, when arguing that CS “may be used to reveal or conceal region, class, and religion”, Kachru is essentially imprecise when later stating that CM “provide[s] contextual clues and thus language is used to conceal various types of identity” (ibid.:112). What if not regional ancestry, class membership and religious affiliations compose a person’s identity? Therefore, this early assessment of CS versus CM does not provide a comprehensible distinction between the two concepts.

Muysken published *Bilingual Speech – A Typology of Code-Mixing* in 2000; in this publication he refers to CM as “[...] all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence” while CS is reserved for “[...] the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event” (Muysken 2000:1). He explains this decision stating that “[...] switching is only an appropriate term for the alternational type of mixing. The term code-switching is less neutral in two ways: as a term it already suggests something like alternation [...], and it separates code-mixing too strongly from phenomena of borrowing and interference” (ibid.:4).

A similar distinction is mentioned by Backus, stating that CS is restricted to intersentential switching, whereas CM is applied to intrasentential switching (Backus 1992:8). He adds that CS does not lead to an interaction of the grammatical rules of two languages, while CM requires an integration of grammatical rules from one language into the other.

This paper will follow Myers-Scotton’s proposition who, in contrast to Muysken who regards CM as the more neutral variety, denotes CS to be a “strategy of neutrality”, including even aspects of borrowing into a discussion of CS. This diversified approach is thus most suitable for the sociolinguistic analysis of Indian film. (Myers-Scotton, quoted in Backus 1992:8)¹⁶.

With regard to borrowing Pfaff remarks that “[I]n theory, the synchronic distinction of code-switching versus borrowing is based on the extent of integration of the units of one language into the system of the other language” (Pfaff 1996:344). Thus, in contrast to CM and CS, borrowing is not backed by a thorough knowledge of two languages, but

¹⁶ Original Source: Myers-Scotton, Carol M. (1978). “Code-Switching as a ‘Safe Choice’ in Choosing a Lingua Franca”. In: W. McCormack/S. Wurm. *Language and Society: Anthropological Issue*. The Hague: Mouton. 71-87.

rather by a lexical gap which is eventually filled by a word from another language (Holmes 2001:42). Gumperz defines borrowing more detailed as

[...] the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into the other. The items in question are incorporated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language. They are treated as part of its lexicon, take on its morphological characteristics and enter into its syntactic structures (Gumperz 1982:66).

He explicitly states that “[W]hereas borrowing is a word and clause level phenomenon, code switching is ultimately a matter of conversational interpretation (ibid.).

Pfaff cites Poplack to have introduced the distinction of CS versus borrowing as being based on phonological and morphosyntactic integration of the embedded language elements into the matrix language and integration within the speech community (Pfaff 1996:345). However, Poplack’s later established concept of nonce-borrowings could not close the gap her research left between borrowing and CS. Although being widely discussed, nonce-borrowing did not find approval among the linguistic research community and opposed by other researchers who proposed different ideas.

When developing her MLF model Myers-Scotton wrote extensively on the difference between CS and borrowing. She distinguished initially between cultural and core borrowings¹⁷, but later developed her argument further as to borrowing and CS being elements of a continuum rather than separate aspects of bilingualism and language change (Myers-Scotton 1992:21; Pfaff 1997:344). This concept of a continuum which entails the transfer of borrowed items to code-switched ones was also implied by Kachru (although with reference to CS acting as lexical link to eventually arrive at the CM variety) and Backus who proposed a ‘Specificity Continuum’ that predicted an easier and earlier switch/borrowing of specific items of one language into different languages (Kachru 1978:108, Pfaff 1997:345).

Last but not least Muysken’s thoughts on CS and borrowing shall be mentioned; while discussing code-mixing from borrowing he writes:

Code-mixing and borrowing are often distinguished formally, e.g. through morphology, as taking place above and below the word level, respectively. Code-mixing involves inserting alien words or constituents into a clause; borrowing entering alien elements into a lexicon (Muysken 2000:69).

¹⁷ The major difference between cultural and core borrowing is that the previous are defined to enter a Matrix Language (ML) abruptly, representing objects or concepts previously unknown to the ML, while the latter are adopted into a ML due to a certain desire to identify with expressions or concepts of the Embedded Language (EL) (Myers-Scotton 1992:29).

There is obviously still only vague agreement of what exactly distinguishes CS from CM and what constitutes distinct instances of borrowing, lacking a consensus on the terminology and typology (Pfaff 1997:346). Thus, even though some scholars still differentiate between CS and CM, most publications settle for a pragmatic approach, focusing on motivation, potential and constraints of the phenomenon rather than getting lost in detailed terminological considerations. This paper will follow this trend and focus on CS practices in Indian film. Be it from a structural point of view and or purely sociological approaches, developments of CS will be discussed in the following chapters.

4.2 Structural Approaches to Code-Switching

In the following section approaches to CS which emanated from a structural point of view will be discussed major. While Shana Poplack provided groundbreaking work on the question of CS, Carol Myers-Scotton's research has survived critical appraisal with much less modification than Poplack's. Poplack's considerations will thus be briefly introduced, as she contributed numerous findings to early CS research, even though some of them have been proven not to be as universally applicable as initially claimed.

Myers-Scotton's well known Matrix-Language-Frame Model and her Markedness Model will be presented in detail as examples for prevailing structural thought on CS. While other overviews group Myers-Scotton's research alongside for example John Gumperz' concepts in sociolinguistics (Stroud 1998:321f.) she focused particularly on developing and revising the syntactic details of the MLF model, and shall therefore be discussed adjacent other studies pursuing a structural rather than a sociolinguistic approach to CS.

4.2.1 Shana Poplack – Early Insights to Code-Switching

Shana Poplack's 1980 paper *Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en Espanol* remains to be cited as one of the first grammatical approaches to CS, aiming at universally applicable explanations for CS instances. In addition Poplack based her analysis on large corpora instead of anecdotal examples, which gave her universality claim considerably more credibility (Myers-Scotton 1993a:27f.). Analyzing English/Spanish CS in a Puerto Rican community in New York City, Poplack eventually formulated two constraints which she claimed to universally govern CS. Although both constraints were extensively criticized and consequently modified they shall be included here to present a comprehensive account of her research. Before turning to a discussion of these

constraints it should be mentioned that she attempted to include extralinguistic factors in her study; i.e. factors such as sex, age of language acquisition, education, social network membership, ethnic identity and employment situation were explicitly taken into consideration (ibid.:611). These come to play when deciding on the appropriateness of CS in a certain setting.

The free morpheme constraint allows for CS after any sentence constituent if it is not a bound morpheme (Poplack 1980:585). Thus while an utterance such as

una Buena excuse [eh'kjuws]
'a good excuse'

where the first syllable follows the Spanish and the second syllable the English phonological pattern, is in line with the free morpheme constraint, other sequences such as

*EAT-iendo
'eating'

violate the free morpheme constraint (ibid.:586). With respect to the free morpheme constraint her claim that CS in conversation shows "[...] virtually no ungrammatical combinations of L1 and L2 [...] regardless of the bilingual ability of the speaker" seems to hold first and foremost to English/Spanish speakers in the United States (ibid.:587). Other studies, concerned with different language pairs showed little, or no adherence to these constraints¹⁸.

In addition Poplack introduced the equivalence constraint which reads "[C]ode-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e. at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other" (ibid). Thus with an element of one language violating the grammatical rules of the other language the switch would be regarded as ungrammatical under the equivalence constraint and become unacceptable.

Similarly to the free morpheme constraint, counterexamples challenging the universality claim of the equivalence constraint have been put forward: e.g. it has been pointed out that syntactic considerations are not received as strictly incorrect by speakers, although theoretically violating the equivalence constraint.

¹⁸ Berk-Seligson's research on Spanish/Hebrew bilingualism in Jerusalem is frequently cited, which showed virtually no sign of intrasentential CS (Backus 1992:17; Myers-Scotton 1993a:29). Furthermore (in line with Muysken's research) Backus argues agglutinative languages to be less likely bound in a free morpheme constraint and thus heavily questions the universality of this concept (Backus 1992:17f).

Reacting to the widespread criticism on these two constraints Poplack later revised her approach, eventually including the concept on nonce borrowings which are defined as an intermediate form between switching and borrowing with “[...] the linguistic characteristics of borrowing and the social characteristics of code-switching” (Backus 1992:25). Myers-Scotton in particular argued against the applicability of these nonce borrowings. In her 1993a publication she dismisses this concept on three grounds: first she claims no explanatory benefit to be gained from introducing yet another descriptive category. Secondly, she argues the distinction between nonce borrowing and ML content morphemes to become blurred with respect to similar production processes. Finally with reference to frequency and status in a language, Myers-Scotton claims nonce-borrowings to lead to an inevitably imprecise distinction between CS and borrowing (Myers-Scotton 1993a:182).

Thus, even though Poplack contributed greatly to an early conceptualization of CS, other approaches have been found to be more fruitful for research and are preferred over Poplack’s ideas in current structural developments.

4.2.2 Carol Myers-Scotton’s Research on Code-Switching

Myers-Scotton’s interest of CS began while conducting research for her dissertation in Africa in the 1970s. Although scientifically indebted to the prevailing notion of borrowing as the phenomenon worth linguistic study, her student’s field research provided so many instances of CS that she eventually decided to focus primarily on CS (Myers-Scotton 2002:xii).

During her research she developed the Matrix-Language-Frame (MLF) Model and the Markedness Model, both of which have been widely read and criticized. However, usefulness outweighed critique and in a recent publication (*Contact Linguistics – Bilingual Encounters and Grammatical Outcomes*, 2002) both models are presented with only little modification. This publication stresses the fact that the initial claim for universal validity has been genuinely supported by linguistic evidence. Both concepts will be presented briefly.

4.2.2.1 The Matrix Language-Frame Model

The MLF Model is based on extensive field work carried out in 1988 in Nairobi (Myers-Scotton 2002:xii) and is described and discussed in detail for the first time in the 1993 publication *Duelling Languages – Grammatical Structure in Codeswitching*. Later articles explain

certain aspects of the MLF Model further and her 2002 publication revises and discusses the concept with a number of specifications.

This approach to CS, although integrated into a greater framework of Sociolinguistics is exclusively grammatical, stemming from a structuralist tradition although not strictly abiding to the structuralist paradigm that calls for an analysis that is wholly independent from external factors (Moeschler 1992:66). The Models exclusive aim is nevertheless to provide universal explanations for any instance of CS in any language:

[...] no matter how diverse the linguistic repertoire of the community and speakers involved, no matter how diverse the social conditions which motivate codeswitching, and no matter how diverse languages are typologically or in regard to specific subcategorization procedures, the parameters limiting codeswitching are the same everywhere. Within these parameters the performance of codeswitching [...] may vary across speakers and communities, but what is possible or not possible can be predicted" (Myers-Scotton 1993a:2f).

Myers-Scotton distinguishes the two languages involved in CS into a Matrix Language (ML), which provides "[...] more morphemes in interaction types including intrasentential CS" and an Embedded Language (EL) which is essentially a part of CS but to a lesser extent (Myers-Scotton 1993a:68). This hierarchy is backed by her consideration that CS does not allow for both languages to be activated at the same rate at the same time (ibid.:47). Correspondingly Myers-Scotton does not presume speakers to be equally fluent in both languages, on the contrary, she stresses the importance of the ML when stating that for intrasentential CS, speakers must "[...] have more ability in the ML than the EL" (ibid.:4).

She claims that the ML sets the morphosyntactic frame into which elements of the EL are inserted (ibid.:3), and implicitly asserts that a distinction between the two languages is necessary for any kind of CS analysis (Bentahila/Davies 1998:27). In her model she opted for frequency as a ML criterion based on considerations that first languages should not automatically be identified as Matrix Language.¹⁹ Furthermore, the assignment of ML and EL is essentially dynamic, i.e. the ML can change synchronically ("[...] a change within the same conversation is possible" (Myers-Scotton 1993a:70)) or diachronically ("[...] a change may occur when the socio-political factors in the community promote some type of shift [...]") (ibid). Therefore Bentahila's and Davie's critical assessment is somewhat weakened in that Myers-Scotton does require an initial distinction however, allows for the

¹⁹ Second languages may very well serve as ML (as for example Hindi in India, which is slowly established as a common lingua franca across the nation), in other cases an initial distinction between first and second languages is difficult (as established by Gardner-Chloros in her research in the Alsatian area), in still other cases CS is an element of current language shift in which it is even more demanding to determine the current first language (Myers-Scotton 1993:67).

adjustment to particular circumstances. On the other hand this variability keeps the overall concept of ML and EL somewhat vague and opens questions as to the initial necessity of establishing the distinction, an aspect that will be especially interesting in the later analysis of *Monsoon Wedding*.

Another relevant characteristic of the MLF Model is Myers-Scotton's content versus system morpheme²⁰ distinction. This differentiation is motivated by her observation that [...] not all morphemes behave alike in terms of either how easily they are learned [...] how they are accessed [...] or how they are affected by brain disorders" which is a crucial aspect when considering how switched elements are incorporated into both languages (Myers-Scotton 1998:93).

The MLF Model is based on four central hypotheses: (1) The Matrix Language Hypothesis which establishes the ML to provide for the entire morphosyntactic frame in a conversation. (2) The Blocking Hypothesis stresses the congruency between EL content morphemes with their ML counterparts. (3) The EL Island Trigger Hypothesis supports the first two rules in that EL morphemes, which are ruled out by either hypothesis one or two, have to take the form of an EL island. Finally hypothesis (4) allows for optional EL islands, often as idiomatic or formulaic expressions (Myers-Scotton 1993a:7).

The data presented in this publication is exclusively concerned with intrasentential CS. She defines intersentential CS as "[...] switches from one language to the other between sentences", whereas intrasentential switching "[...] occurs within the same sentence or sentence fragment (Myers-Scotton 1993:4). Although Myers-Scotton acknowledges intersentential CS to be important, she nonetheless claims that any EL material, no matter of what size or at which position in a sentence may be regarded as CS instances but focuses exclusively on the syntactic constraints of CS research aiming at a universal assessment of grammatical feasibility of CS. (ibid.:5).

4.2.2.2 The Markedness Model

Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model takes the social context of conversational code-switching explicitly into consideration, when assuming that "[...] code choices are understood as indexing rights-and-obligation sets (RO sets) between participants in a given interaction type" (Myers-Scotton 1993:84). She does not, however, attempt to give

²⁰ „Content morphemes are distinguished by the fact that they participate in the thematic-role grid of a CP [Complement Phrase, E.L.] by either assessing or receiving thematic roles. [...] system morphemes do not participate in the thematic role [sic] grid [...]"(Myers-Scotton 1998:93).

an exact definition of possible situational features accountable for certain RO sets, rather she argues earlier attempts to endow particular RO sets with exact features to be too narrow in scope (*ibid.*). In an earlier article on markedness she establishes CS as a vehicle for three types of negotiations: switching in conventionalized encounters as an unmarked choice between peers, or as a marked choice between any other participants and in non-conventionalized communication as an exploratory choice defining multiple identities (Myers-Scotton 1988:157).

A central claim of her model is that all code choices effectively establish the “[...] rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee [...]”, i.e. Myers-Scotton argues that any given code choice can be explained with regard to certain speaker motivations (Myers-Scotton 1993:113). Thus she emphasizes the speaker-orientation of her research, in contrast to e.g. Giles’ accommodation theory or Levinson/Brown’s politeness strategies which rather focus on the audience orientation (*ibid.*:141).

Aside from this basic principle, she introduces four maxims which provide guidelines for the various instances of marked code-switching choices: the unmarked-choice maxim (with two “auxiliary” maxims: the virtuosity maxim and the deference maxim), the marked-choice maxim, and the exploratory-choice maxim (*ibid.*:113)²¹. In her elaboration on unmarked choices of CS, Myers-Scotton distinguishes between sequences of unmarked choices and CS itself as an unmarked choice; especially the latter being discussed in respect to Gumperz’ notion of situational CS. With respect to unmarked CS, she stresses the assumption that it is not a situational-motivated decision, but rather a speaker-motivated choice (*ibid.*:115).

In contrast to the unmarked variety, choosing the marked variety makes a statement with respect to the expected RO set, consciously challenging other members of a conversation into newly negotiated RO sets. Generally, marked varieties are employed to “[...] negotiate a change in the expected social distance holding between participants, either increasing or decreasing it” (*ibid.*:132). More precisely the use of marked choices can clarify social distance, provide a means for ethnically based exclusion strategies, account

²¹ Myers-Scotton elaborates on the directions for speakers of each maxim. Unmarked-choice maxim: „Make your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in talk exchanges when you wish to establish or affirm that RO set“. Marked-choice maxim: “Make a marked code choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in an interaction when you wish to establish a new RO set as unmarked for the current exchange“. Exploratory-choice maxim: “When an unmarked choice is not clear, use CS to make alternate exploratory choices as candidates for an unmarked choice and thereby as an index of an RO set which you favour” (Myers-Scotton 1993:114ff.).

for aesthetic effects in a conversation (i.e. highlighting a certain creativity in language choice) or emphasize a point in question through repetition or what Myers-Scotton refers to as “echoic” (ibid.:140). What obviously distinguishes unmarked CS from marked CS is that it is the overall pattern of switching providing the message, not the single occurrence of one code-switch (ibid.:149).

Last but not least exploratory CS, although the least common form of CS, is used when neither a marked nor an unmarked choice is appropriate; an occurrence typically found in least conventionalized exchanges or in societies in which cultural norms are in constant negotiation an aspect that also has an effect on language policies. In this light exploratory CS represents the one true type of negotiation within a certain conversation as it deals with the most unpredictable exchanges in a given conversation.

Later publications on her Markedness Model illustrate the development of the initial ideas towards a Rational Actor Model, i.e. Myers-Scotton refrains explicitly from other models advocating chance or sequential analysis in CS research, instead she argues speakers choices to be rational – the explicit goal being to optimize a given speech situation (Myers-Scotton 1998:82).

With reference to Grice’s Cooperative Principle as well as Sperber’s and Wilson’s Relevance Theory she argues inference to fill the gap that exists between decoding a given statement and its actual meaning, thus acknowledging intentionality and referentiality as being inherent in any statement (ibid.:78). Furthermore she ascribes negotiation central importance in that it can influence interactions on two levels “[...] either it refers more directly to the speakers persona itself, or more to this personal *in relation to that of other participants in the interaction*” (ibid.:79). To achieve successful communication all participants have to be aware of the importance of the intentional message, i.e. she calls for joint action on a cognitive level in conversation. This is possible by activating what Myers-Scotton calls a “markedness evaluator”, an innate capacity holding

[...] the potential to develop the ability to recognize that linguistic choices for a given discourse purpose fall along a multidimensional continuum from more unmarked to more marked and that marked choice will receive different receptions than unmarked choices (ibid.:80)

Markedness can only be assigned taking the relativity of the concept into account; i.e. considerations are always interactions specific, dynamic and multidimensional ordered (ibid.).

4.2.2.3 Comment and Critique on Myers-Scotton's Work

Myers-Scotton's work has been commented on from a variety of perspectives. With regard to the MLF Model Muysken mentions the following objections: "[...] the notion of ML is often too rigid, the definition of system morphemes is problematic, it is difficult to find an appropriate definition of congruence, and the psycholinguistic processing model assumed is not fully explicit" (Muysken 2000:18).

Few critics are as outspoken as Peter Auer who challenges Myers-Scotton's approach in relation to his own Conversation Analysis (CA) in that she explicitly denies the relevance of a sequential analysis of CS. Auer's main point is that an application of conversation-external knowledge as well as the distinction between unmarked and marked codes onto given data set is a short-sighted approach. His line of argumentation will be presented in more detail in chapter 4.3.2. Though he argues that intrasentential CS is in fact morphosyntactically restricted, he does not go as far as to concede to Myers-Scotton's universality claim which she herself attaches to her findings (Auer 1993:3)

4.3 Sociolinguistic Approaches to Code-Switching

The most influential figure addressing sociolinguistic aspects of CS during the 1970s and 1980s was without a doubt John J. Gumperz. His work shall be introduced briefly since it represents an early, but nonetheless still important viewpoint on CS.

Another representative of sociolinguistic research, who took Gumperz' concept into consideration and developed it further is Peter Auer. He introduced an approach to CS that focuses exclusively on a close sequential examination in order to reconstruct the meaning of CS from a certain conversation internally, without imposing external assumptions onto the speakers. Both approaches shall be introduced on the following pages.

4.3.1 John J. Gumperz' work on Conversational Code-Switching

John Gumperz is widely acknowledged to be one of the pioneers of sociolinguistics and CS research. His 1972 paper *Social Meaning in Linguistic Structure: Code-Switching in Norway*, although revised and adapted in more recent approaches is nonetheless still regarded as the introductory paper towards a sociolinguistic view on CS practices.

Gumperz and his associate Jan-Peter Blom developed the notions of situational and metaphorical CS as a result of intensive field work in a small Norwegian community,

where they investigated CS practices between two Norwegian dialects, one regarded as high (Bokmål), the other as low variety (Ranamål). Situational CS²² occurs when there are “[...] clear changes in the participants’ definition of each other’s rights and obligation” (Gumperz/Blom 1972:424). Metaphorical switching, on the other hand, implies a modification of topic, not of situational setting where “[T]he language switch [...] relates to particular kinds of topics or subject matters rather than to change in social situation” (ibid.:425). Thus, following an interpretative rather than a predictive approach, Blom and Gumperz developed their concepts through interpretation of previously recorded gatherings, of which they insist to have been virtually natural encounters²³. Following a detailed analysis of their data, they conclude that “[...] language and society constitute different kinds of reality, subject to correlational studies. Social and linguistic information is comparable only when studied within the same general analytical framework” (ibid.:432). This viewpoint eventually opened the doors for an ever increasing variety of sociolinguistic research.

Gumperz continued to work extensively in the field of sociolinguistics for the following ten years, publishing a second very influential chapter on conversational code-switching in his book *Discourse Strategies* in 1982 in which he sets out to dismantle the communicative aspects of CS, focusing especially on metaphorical CS and its contextualization (Gumperz 1982:63)²⁴. Many sociological approaches to CS today still base their argumentation on this model.

In this chapter conversational code-switching is defined as “[...] the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different systems or subsystems” (Gumperz 1982:59). His concept focused on strategic choices speakers employ to constantly negotiate a given RO set in conversation, however, he does not include a distinction between inter- and intrasentential CS (ibid.:60).

Among the propositions made are the notion that different spheres require different codes; i.e. domains such as work, family and friends may require different conversational strategies, or even different languages (ibid.:64). Furthermore, Gumperz introduces the

²² Examples for Situational CS are switches from Bokmål to Ranamål in classroom situations with the aim to go from lecture situations to open discussions.

²³ Although the motivation for these gatherings was previously explained, the groups were nonetheless chosen by locals, which made the situations at least somewhat more natural than an experimental setting would have achieved (Gumperz/Blom 1972:426).

²⁴ He uses much of his 1972 data from Norway to support his argumentation, adding some examples including languages such as English/German and Spanish/English.

concept of ‘we-code’ and ‘they-code’²⁵, the first “associated with familiarity, social proximity and domestic use”, the latter belonging to the professional sphere, marked by social distance rather than closeness (Cromdal 2005:330). In addition he proposes a semantic connotation arguing that it may not be the switch itself that conveys meaning but also the direction of switching; i.e. “[...] oppositions warning/personal appeal; casual remark/personal feeling; decision based on convenience/decision based on annoyance; personal opinion/generally known fact can be seen as metaphoric extensions of the ‘we’/‘they’ code opposition” (ibid.:94).

He does not claim universal truth for his proposal, acknowledging that this distinction is to be regarded as a symbolic one and not as an attempt to predict actual language choice and usage. He nonetheless stresses the validity of this observation presenting various conversational functions as well as syntactic/pragmatic constraints on CS. Listing quotations, addressee specifications, interjections, reiteration, and message qualification as conversational aspects Gumperz provides a variety of instances which allow for CS in certain situations. Finally he argues that pragmatic constraints appeal to the speaker insofar as he has to be able to distinguish between meaningful and non-meaningful code contrasts (ibid.:86).

While most papers mention Gumperz’ contribution to CS research, only few take the time to actually comment on his ideas. Myers-Scotton dedicated much of her literature review that precedes the explanation of her Markedness Model to Gumperz statements. She mentions three reasons why his model of CS became as influential as it did: first the anthology that contained Blom’s and Gumperz’ article was later established as a classic textbook for students, reaching an immense scientific audience. Secondly, their research area was not some unknown speech community but rather a western society therefore rendering their findings even more convincing, and finally the usefulness of introducing appropriate terminology (Myers-Scotton 1993:47). With reference to these concepts, Myers-Scotton critically asserts that Gumperz eventually reused the notions of situational and metaphorical CS, only providing them with new names and marginal alterations. She argues the concept of conversational CS especially to be a new approach to what was previously referred to as metaphorical CS (Myers-Scotton 1993:53).

²⁵ Gumperz explains the ‘we-code’ to be “[...] associated with in-group and informal activities [...]” while a ‘they-code’ is used for “[...] more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations” (Gumperz 1982:66).

Aside from her own criticism regarding terminology and procedure, Myers-Scotton admits that negative responses to Gumperz' suggestions are scarce. She writes:

The few criticisms there are of Gumperz generally take issue with the division between situational and metaphorical switching and with inconsistencies in their definitions in Blom and Gumperz. [...] Pride [...] states there is a lack of clarity in the definitions of the two switching types and also argues that they are not so separate as B & G seem to assume. (ibid.:55).

Aside from Myers-Scotton's arguments it was Peter Auer who also discussed incoherencies in Gumperz approaches. Auer argues the introduction of situational and metaphorical CS to be too restrictive in that it firmly establishes the situational factors instead of allowing participants to re-establish the conversation anew with every utterance. Instead he proposes a continuum, allowing the notions situational and metaphorical CS to be less restrictive and constantly adaptable in their application (Auer 1984:91).

4.3.2 Peter Auer's Approaches to Code-Switching in Conversation

Peter Auer suggests to change the perspective of CS research insofar as an "[...] insistence on the conversational dimension of code-switching and [an, E.L.] insistence on reconstructing participants' categories [...]" should be adopted "[...] instead of imposing external linguistic or sociolinguistic ones on them" (Auer 1998:2). His approach particularly stresses the sequential development of a certain interaction (Wei 2005:276).

In the introduction to *Code-Switching in Conversation – Language, Interaction and Identity* (1998) Auer outlines his ideas to conversational structure of CS arguing that neither the sociolinguistic nor the grammatical approach to CS can account for virtually all instances of CS. He criticizes macro-sociolinguistic approaches as to include references to topic, participant and setting however, often lacking an explanation as to how these aspects directly influence a conversation (Auer 1998:3). Micro-(socio-)linguistic approaches on the other hand restrict their research to intrasentential CS, disregarding intersentential CS altogether (ibid.). Auer claims CS to be an element of conversational structure which is "[...] sufficiently autonomous both from grammar [...] and from the larger societal and ideological structures to which the languages in question and their choice for a given interactional episode are related" and calls for a conversational perspective (ibid.:4).

Auer's claim that "a partial autonomy of conversational structure in code-switching" is supported with several arguments (ibid.:4). He states for example that certain sequential positions, such as responsive turns in contrast to initiative ones, are more likely to trigger a code-switch than others. Even in very early research Auer argued parameters such as

shifts between units such as story/comment, ongoing versus side sequences or shifts in intimacy or cooperativeness to play a decisive role in code choices (Auer 1984:90). He also argues conversational activities (for instance participant constellation and narrative structure) to influence CS choices (ibid.).

In his later work special emphasis is put on the fact that the social and cultural context of a specific interaction has to be taken into consideration. In this context discourse-related insertions and preference-related switching are discussed. Auer argues discourse-related CS to be “[...] the use of code-switching to organise the conversation by contributing to the interactional meaning of a particular sentence”; discourse-related CS is applied to establish “textual coherence” e.g. through the repetition of utterances in different codes. Preference-related CS on the other hand, occurs when participants do not agree on one language of interaction and results “[...] in more or less persistent phases of divergent language choices” (ibid.:8). Auer further distinguishes between participant and discourse related switching, the basic difference being that

[...] in discourse-related switching, participants search for an account for ‘why that language now?’ within the development of the conversation, while in participant-related switching, they search for an account within the individual who performs this switching, or his or her co-participants (ibid.)

Both concepts take background knowledge concerning situational and cultural specifics to fully explain the function of CS into consideration that is rooted the concept of reference. Reference is regarded as ascribing certain predicates to individuals; instead it is understood as providing background information of participants and conversation. (ibid.:7).

Auer’s ideas have been applied in recent papers based on his conversational analysis model (CA.) in a 2005 Journal of Pragmatics issue which features a variety of articles that unanimously acknowledge CA as a research area in its own right. The application of Auer’s ideas reach subjects as varied as CS in radio communication, in Latino senior citizen’s service agency, or Cantonese/English CS in family disputes (Zhang 2005, Cashmann 2005, Williams 2005).

5 Data Acquisition and Methodology

5.1 Data Acquisition

Since there is no original script available for *Monsoon Wedding* the following analysis is based on a transcript of dialogue as spoken in the movie. English passages were transcribed by the author, Hindi insertions were transcribed, literally translated and interpreted by a translator. This translation was necessary because subtitles do not provide a complete interpretation: they are by definition brief renderings of the actually spoken dialogue and cannot serve as an appropriate basis for linguistic analysis. However, subtitles are included into the appendix as to provide translations for passages which have not been edited by the translator.

Finding qualified translators for Hindi passages in Germany turned out to be a difficult endeavor; the majority of translation agencies did not have Hindi translators at their disposal, demanded unreasonable financial compensation or had infeasible varnal constraints. An online platform for translators (www.traduguide.com) which is internationally accessed was the solution to this problem: after posting the translation request 28 offers were received. The best quotes and qualification were delivered by a translation agency that did not only provided the translation but also assured independent proofreading. The assignment included several steps: i.e. to acquire the movie, transcribe 79 Hindi passages, literally translate them into English and provide a meaningful English translation. These passages were chosen by the author as to provide an overview on CS in India that is as varied in situation and protagonists as possible. The final draft was delivered before the deadline which was set for April 5th 2007.

Of these sequences seven were selected for analysis, containing 56 instances of CS. The scenes were chosen for reasons of significance and diversity, paying tribute to Nair's attempt to include as many examples of the Indian lifestyle as possible. There is a slight emphasis on public encounters reasoned in the observation that these code choices allow for a more varied analysis than private exchanges.

5.2 Remarks on Methodology and Analysis

5.2.1 Finding an Appropriate Methodology

The previous literature review indicates that Gumperz' and Poplack's approaches contributed considerably to the early development of CS research within sociolinguistics. However, approaches such as Myers-Scotton's MLF Model and Markedness Model as well as Auer's Conversation Analysis have shifted the attention of research from domain-dependent interaction, marked by we/they distinctions and explanations focusing on morphological restrictions on CS to models considering the rationality of speakers and an accurate sequential analysis of a given conversation.

However, Peter Auer and Carol Myers-Scotton seem to hold the opinion that Conversational Analysis and markedness considerations respectively are mutually exclusive. Especially Myers-Scotton writes that she "[...] does not support the view that the sequential organization of choices provides the ultimate basis for interpreting the social messages they carry" (Myers-Scotton 1998:76). Ultimately she finds the idea that speakers vary their linguistic choices merely based on the negotiation of socio-economic profiles of speaker and addressee incomplete (*ibid.*). Peter Auer on the other hand, considers Myers-Scotton's approach however, argues that a sequential analysis allows for a complete reconstruction of the motivations behind CS that is not possible applying solely rationality considerations.

Recent publications are emphasizing the complementary nature of both approaches, instead of stressing their diversity. Wei makes this point when arguing for the complementary nature of the CA approach which

[...] begins where the RC model stops and seeks evidence from talk-in-interaction rather than from external knowledge of community structure and relations. [...] A dual-level approach bringing together both CA and RC analysis would help to extract factors that can deepen our understanding of the way bilingual speakers use their linguistic and interactional resources and achieve a richer, more interesting, but still relevant [...] explanation. (Wei 2005:375).

Thus, even though Myers-Scotton and Auer seem to put a fair amount of energy proving the other approach to be too short-sighted, a younger generation of scholars find both concepts useful and does not emphasize differences but rather agreement. While external knowledge of community structure and relationships is indispensable to characterize a given conversation notions such as marked and unmarked varieties are helpful to trace negotiation techniques in conversation. Applying a sequential analysis does not render these markedness considerations unnecessary, on the contrary – it extends the

researchers scope of analysis extracting information from a conversation beyond rational choice.

In a first step selected sequences will be analyzed following Wei's (and thus Auer's) approach – a sequential analysis shall disclose how the motivation of CS can be explained taking only the given data into consideration (Wei 2005:382). Subsequently questions such as (un-) markedness are discussed especially with regard to diasporic filmmaking. Nair's movie, even though classified as popular Indian production, constantly varies its language choices. Therefore, markedness cannot be assigned to one code choice and remain fixed, even in close family bonds changes in markedness are possible and contribute to the picture Nair paints of an urbane Indian family with relatives spread over a variety of the Indian diaspora.

This analysis will not advocate one approach over the other, rather it will show that both concepts alongside can establish valuable insights as to how CS can be analyzed and interpreted.

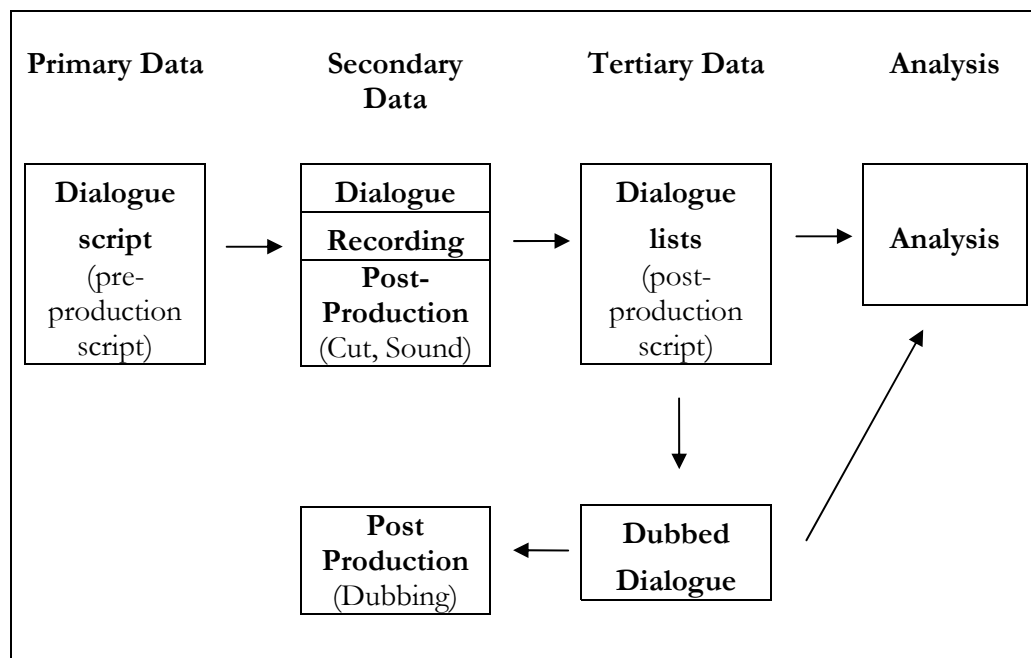
On a side note it should be mentioned that the concept of domains has received immense attention within the study of CS. Introduced by Fishman as early as 1965 domains are defined as “[...] cluster of social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioural rules” (Fishman, quoted in Milroy/Musyken 1995:5f)²⁶. Milroy and Muysken comment this to be a “[...] macro-level approach informed by a sociological analysis, which view the language behaviour of individual as derived from, and constrained by, higher-order societal structures” (ibid.)

Although a number publications on CS still employ the notion of domains such as family, friendship, neighborhood, government or business to establish a framework which allows for a predefined categorization of CS (e.g. Pathak 1983) this study will not follow this concept. A decision primarily motivated by Auer's claim that the function of CS should not be pre-established through exterior knowledge or previously defined research areas but rather through an internal, sequential assessment of certain situations. Similarly, Myers-Scotton, in her introduction prior to explaining markedness considerations, also dismisses the predictability of code choices that is implied in domain analysis, arguing it to be too restricted in its scope (Myers-Scotton 1993:49).

²⁶ Original Source: Fishman, Joshua A (1965). “Who speaks what Language to Whom and When?”. *La Linguistique*. 2:67-88.

5.2.2 Analyzing Artificial Dialogue

Analyzing naturally occurring conversation comprises three stages: recording, transcription and analysis. Since film dialogue can only be partially regarded as similar to naturally occurring conversation, Neidert's distinction between primary, secondary and tertiary data proved to be useful to illustrate the stages of analysis within this paper.



Data acquisition for dialogue analysis, adapted from Neidert 2001.

The primary script, if it exists, which is not a given in Indian movie making that is often based on guidelines rather than exact dialogue sequences, is constantly amended while actually shooting the movie. Therefore, since a primary script does not reflect the dialogue as it is spoken in the final version, these amendments have to be taken into consideration.

In order to find an appropriate onset for this dialogue analysis and a framework that is open to both approaches to CS, Neidert's steps of conversation analysis which was originally developed for the analysis of TV series will be adopted to film. It provides a useful framework to accommodate the various steps necessary when discussing artificial dialogue. The original movie script, although not available for analysis nonetheless remains to be primary data. The film as shot constitutes secondary data, including

postproduction; finally the post-production script, including transcribed and translated dialogue sequences will be regarded as tertiary data, which provides the basis for analysis (Neidert 2001:129). Regarding the analysts position towards given data, it is justified to follow Neidert's claim that film dialogue analysis is similar to the analysis of naturally occurring dialogue in that meaning has to be elicited from each utterance: "*Die Bedeutungsproduktion der Dialogspartner muß aus ihren Äußerungen erschlossen werden*" (ibid.). This claim, although originating in a sociological research tradition, stresses the necessity of applying a sequential analysis following Auer's and Wei's suggestion for analysis, which will be complemented by markedness considerations.

6 Aspects of Code-Switching in *Monsoon Wedding*

Two questions shall be addressed prior to a detailed analysis of CS in *Monsoon Wedding*. In how far does Nair's movie depict a lifestyle that can be regarded as somewhat realistic for a common Indian family, and at the same time be representative for popular Indian cinema? And in which respect does Nair's language choices differ from regular non-diasporic popular Indian movies?

Although opting for a traditional Indian theme for film – wedding preparations for the family's daughter – Nair extended the perspective of her production by including elements that not only lead to a more sophisticated plot line but also allow for a complex portrait of each protagonist. Thus business as usual over a golf match, Americanized TV talk shows aiming high in discussing globalization and the American influence on India, secret rendezvous with ex-lovers (“A very real aspect of an Indian, Punjabi, dot.com wedding” (Shefali Shetty (Ria); making off), and revelations of sexual abuse by close family members establish each character firmly within a modern Indian society and paint a picture of an Indian family faced with very realistic challenges. Nair accomplishes to portray these financial, personal and sexual hardships without compromising her initial intention: to depict the Punjabi's appetite for life, no matter how tough it might get.

By doing so, Nair crossed and criticized the boundaries of most Masala film, a choice often attributed to her own diasporic background (Sharp 2005:61). Nair produced and directed a movie that comes closer to reality than the majority of Indian productions without emphasizing the extremes between social classes. A choice probably motivated in aiming at an audience outside of India that expects a certain sincerity from movie makers and does not foreground the entertaining and distracting element in film that is prominent in most Indian productions. Finally it should not be forgotten that *Monsoon Wedding* is a film that was adjusted from an originally small-budget movie to a production realistically displaying a upper middle class Indian wedding which is obviously an elaborate affair.

Language obviously had to be adapted to a storyline, where family members have migrated to virtually all major south Asian diaspora and now return vanrarily to celebrate an arranged marriage between an Indian girl and an NRI from Houston in Delhi. Language variation is a given in such family setting and was enhanced by Nair's unconventional direction, including her own family to a large extend. While many reviews, papers and essays focus on the Indianness of Nair's production and discuss

diasporic elements – the majority only mentions the language mixture, without acknowledging the importance of language for the entire production and its reception, especially among western audiences. It is this deviation from the majority of Indian production that makes *Monsoon wedding* exceptionally interesting for this analysis. Questions of its representativeness for popular Indian cinema will be considered in the framework of the following analysis. How and why CS between English and Hindi is realized in *Monsoon Wedding*, to what extent it enhances the construction of social distance between characters, in which situations it elicits which response and reaction within the movie, and how it is perceived by western audiences shall be in the center of the following analysis.

6.1 Code-Switching in Public Settings

6.1.1 Emphasizing Opposition Through Code-Switching

One of the first scenes introduces a major plot element, i.e. Vikram's and Aditi's love affair, and establishes India as a country reflecting its own position in a globalized world. Aditi attends the life shooting of *telly.com*, a TV talk show hosted by her (ex-)lover Vikram and while the main focus is on the show guests, the camera nonetheless establishes a connection between Aditi and Vikram by cutting back and forth between her facial expression and the show. Vikram (wearing a black suit) has three panelists gathered around a table: two men, the censorboard chief, traditionally dressed in Indian clothing, the other, Mr. Bhatt, in a plain shirt that is almost inappropriately unbuttoned, and a politician in a traditional Indian Sari (the characters outfit is mentioned here because opposing viewpoints are not only conveyed through language choice but, very explicitly also through traditional/westernized clothing.) discuss the necessity of censorship in Indian cinema. Although censorship was originally introduced by the British, its current point of reference are the United States. The following discussion unfolds:

Censorboard Chief: Just because India has gone global, should we embrace everything? What about our ancient culture? Our Tradition? Our Values? You are saying, Censorship is unnecessary, absolutely unnecessary.

Vikram: So what is your response Mr. Bhatt?

5 Mr. Bhatt: Lets take the example of America. The first Amendment

C.C.: This is not America this is India.

Politician: देखिए ये हमारे देश के नियम है पहले आप constitution change करवाईए फिर हम censorship change करेंगे.

- 10 P: Look, these are our country's rules, first you change constitution then we will change censorship.
- Mr. B: आप क्या समझते हैं, just because you wear हैंडलूम and you're speaking हिन्दी that you represent the common man. But you don't.
- Mr. B: What do you think, just because you wear handloom and you are speaking Hindi that you represent common man. But you don't.
- 15 V: Ladies and Gentleman, please welcome, one of our top-dubbists in Delhi: Shivani Thalakia.
- P: शिवानी वो जो स्क्रिप्ट तुम पढ़ रही थी उसका वो वाला डॉयलाग जरा पढ़ के सुनाना।
- P: Shivani, the script you were reading, that dialogue, just read it out.
- V: हाँ, फरमाइए ना
- 20 V: Yes, speak out.
- Shivani: in HINDI-dubbing an English soft porn film
- P: This is what the common man hears.
- Mr. B: Just two people having sex, what's the problem?
- V: We are going to take a short break Ladies and Gentleman. But please stay tuned to
- 25 Telly.com

6.1.1.1 Sequential Analysis

The first three utterances establish the guests representing directly opposed standpoints: while Mr. Bhatt defends freedom of speech and is obviously opposed to censorship, the other two, who are interestingly enough not endowed with names, regard censorship as an appropriate and necessary institution – a virtual shield protecting the common Indian man from inappropriate western influences. When Mr. Bhatt is about to draw a comparative line between the first amendment in the United States (which established freedom of speech) and India he is immediately interrupted by the censorboard chief who firmly insists on India not being comparable to the United States. The female politician agrees immediately, making her point precisely clear by speaking Hindi while the previous exchange has been solely in English. This first intrasentential switch from Hindi into English cannot be regarded merely as borrowing since she replaces not only the nouns 'censorship' and 'constitution' but also correctly applies the English verb 'change' instead of the Hindi equivalent. By doing so she establishes herself as not only as adept in India's political structure but also as making a conscious choice to speak Hindi in an English environment, since even the host speaks English and thus takes it for granted that all guests understand him. The second intrasentential switch immediately follows however, it is Mr. Bhatt who now switches from English into Hindi, addressing his opponent, and expressing two notably Indian attributes in Hindi. By doing so he not only accommodates the other panelist and her language choice but also establishes

himself as being a member of the same speech community and culture. Thus even though opposing the issue of censorship he nonetheless blends into the Indian establishment. Both characters apply CS here as discourse strategy, emphasizing respective arguments, and not as participant oriented negotiation trying to reach common ground.

In this context, Mr. Bhatt's switch has a deliberate mocking connotation as well since accommodating someone by code-switching when addressing concepts as clothing and speech, while what really matters are fundamental political and societal questions, displays a certain condescension towards his opponent. These issues remain in the realm of the English sphere that prevails during the TV show and is purposefully not transferred to Hindi.

A rather abrupt change of topic brings about the following intersentential switch addressed towards a dubbing actress, Shivani Thalakia, who enters the studio. She is also wearing traditional Indian clothing and is obviously not accustomed to be in the center of attention, showing a certain unease when being welcomed by loud applause. She must have been provided a script prior to the show, which she is now asked to dub life. This request is put forth by the female talk show guest in Hindi, after Vikram introduced Shivani in English to the audience. Even though Shivani dubs into her mother tongue, and a translation of the movie sequence from English into Hindi has probably been provided earlier, it is likely, although not explicitly stated, that she is addressed in Hindi by choice, not by necessity. For once, this switch establishes an identification between the only two women on the show; in addition it evokes a feeling of consent between traditional Hindi values in opposition to a globalized perspective on censorship. Vikram, having to accommodate the variety of opinions put forward during his show, also encourages Shivani by switching into Hindi. To stress her central argument, the female talk show guest switches yet again, this time into English after Shivani finished dubbing a soft porn film sequence, stating that this is what "[...] the common man hears". She is obviously appalled that her people have to listen to western porn, made available through dubbing and wants to leave no doubt about her disgust therefore emphasizing her statement by switching into English. This point could be regarded as the moment in conversation at which a convergent language of interaction is found, with even the politician switching to English. This choice signals that even she now agrees on English being the language to appropriately address a wide audience. However, her comment is

immediately dismissed by Mr. Bhatt's remark that it is merely two people having sex – “What's the problem?”.

The TV show audience representing the movie audience witnesses a thematic clash of tradition and modernity that is highlighted through employing distinct language choices and additionally emphasized by the outer appearance of all actors in this scene – leaving an impression of irreconcilableness of both parties that is not only established through thematic disagreement but further facilitated by language choices.

6.1.1.2 Markedness considerations

Rather than reconstructing the meaning of CS through sequential analysis the markedness approach requires a different perspective. A first step is to ascertain the Matrix language (ML), which is per definition (s.p. 25) identified through frequency – in this case clearly English. To identify the Rights and Obligations Sets (RO sets) which identify switches as being marked or unmarked, in accordance to the rationality maxim that governs such choices is a next step. Telly.com is obviously an innovative talk show addressing controversial questions, allowing its guests to represent and defend irreconcilable views. Arguing for or against the abolition of censorship in India using an example of soft porn obviously leaves little room for negotiation. The rights and obligations of each participant therefore lie within the argument – pleading for a liberalization of censorship allows for a rather relaxed appearance and choice of language, while the defenders of censorship represent the stricter, more traditional man, in clothing and language choice as well as in argumentation. These contradictions do not call for an unmarked exchange, which proves the premises Myers-Scotton put forward for situations allowing for unmarked CS to be correct²⁷. Thus making a marked choice in this conversation calls for a re-negotiation of the initial RO set in the studio, thereby actively increasing the social distance between participants.

Such presumptions are difficult to uphold already at the first switch. The woman switches intersententially from English into Hindi, but within her utterance the intrasentential switch into English implies the recognition of the concepts ‘constitution’ and ‘censorship’ to be outside the realm of Hindi decision making. What is now the marked, what the unmarked choice in this switch? By switching into Hindi she makes

²⁷ These premises are: no great socio-economic differences exist between speakers or they are strangers; both speakers stress the dual membership of a certain speech community; speakers evaluate this CS positively for their identities; both speakers have a certain familiarity using both languages together, which does not require a certain proficiency (Myers-Scotton 1993:119).

clear that she regards her mother tongue as the appropriate means of discussion, making a marked switch signaling her disapproval with the American influence on India. However, her own language skill and qualification in regard to the topic is stressed by switching back into English, the previously unmarked choice, thereby establishing equality to the audience as well as agreeing to the arguments the chief of censorboards has put forward.

A similar intention can be assumed for the next switch. Mr. Bhatt, answering to the preceding Hindi remark, addresses his opponent in Hindi but switches back to English after an introductory question. These are the first Hindi words the audience hears from him, a marked choice for someone who seems comfortable in adopting a westernized lifestyle that is represented, among other things, through his call for a liberalization of censorship and his virtually permanent use of English. However, he, just as his female opponent wants to establish himself as qualified for discussion, and while she had to do so by demonstrating her political knowledge he is in need to prove his identification with his people, being familiar with his traditional culture and language.

Difficulties applying Myers-Scotton's approach become obvious: the assignment of markedness in intrasentential switching that is not persistent within one sequence and triggers unexpected switches, which in themselves do not comply with the previously established assignment of markedness and unmarkedness leave little room for interpretation. In as short an interaction as this, in which participants constantly negotiate their social identity, not only among themselves, but on a second level in front of the talk show guests and further in front of a movie audience considerations of markedness become fuzzy and difficult to relate to motivations behind this switch. In this case a sequential analysis establishes the function of CS for all participants more clearly.

This is different however, when regarding the intersentential switching that precedes the dubbing sequence, a marked-unmarked distinction offers an explanation which come close to an explanation derived from a sequential analysis. Being presented to the audience in English, Shivani is asked to perform the dubbing in Hindi by the only women on the panel, an unmarked change to accommodate Shivani into the show. Both, the lady as well as Vikram establish common ground by choosing Hindi over English when addressing Shivani and acknowledge the situational change coming about with Shivani's appearance. In this context, Myers-Scotton's claim that "[...] unmarked CS is extremely common in India between Indian languages and English" remains valid, since both

utterance can be regarded as unmarked choices in reference to the addressee who is accommodated and welcomed traditionally (Myers-Scotton 1993a:126). They thus establish a new unmarked RO set, in force between the dubbing actress, the lady panelist and Vikram. Myers-Scotton's important point here is that even though the trigger for the unmarked change is external to the speaker, it is nonetheless him who makes the choice of establishing a new unmarked RO set, the switch is therefore speaker motivated not situational-driven. Vikram and the lady actively chose to speak Hindi to welcome the dubbing actress not because she entered the studio. An address in English would have been just as suitable in the course of this talk show.

Finally, the last switch stresses the flexibility that is inherent in Myers-Scotton's considerations. By expressing her disgust in English, through a marked choice normally not associated with her argument, she actively enhances the receptivity of her audience and can be sure to have their undivided attention. And even though she is cut short by Mr. Bhatt's comment and a commercial break the statement that 'the common' man should be spared such influence could not be more explicit and successful.

6.1.2 Emphasizing Equality in Business Negotiations

The following extract is embedded in a completely different setting. Lalit, Aditi's father is playing golf with his business associates. The expenses of his daughter's wedding exceed his financial possibilities by far and he has joined his partners to ask for a short term loan in order to live up to his wife's expectations concerning the setting of their only daughter's ceremony. After having met his in-laws, NRI's from Houston, who presented generous gifts not only to the couple but also to Aditi's family, Pimmi fears an imbalance between the two families if she does not present equally luxurious gifts. Thus while Pimmi and the ladies of the Verma family spend the day shopping, Lalit has to provide the necessary cash flow.

Player: Lalit and Sam are partners and Ricky and me.

Sanjeev: Let's take them on Partner! That's a great shot partner!

Lalit: Thanks Sajeev.

S: Great shot there, great shooting.

5 L: Thank god we're partners. I have to talk to you about something.

S: Where have you been?

L: बच्ची की शादी में busy था. I was wondering

L: I was busy in my daughter's marriage. I was wondering

-
- S: How is Pimmi? How is Pimmi?
- 10 L: Pimmi is fine, fine.
- S: How are the preparations going?
- L: But ah, Sam, I'm having a cash flow problem. I was hoping to borrow some money, just to get over these wedding expenses.
- 15 S: अच्छा चल दस्स चाहीदे किने ने, दस का सर्ई। when do you think you'll be able to return it partner?
- S: Ok, tell me, how much do you require? When do you think you'll be able to return it partner?
- L: Next month. I have a huge shipment going to Macy's next month
- S: Hey guys, Mr. Verma here has some serious cash flow problems
- 20 P: हॉ भईया बेटी की शादी में तो ऐसा ही होता है, thank God, I don't have any daughter नही ता मेरी बँड ही बज जाती।
- P: Yes, brother, it is always like this in daughter's marriage, thank God. I don't have any daughter, otherwise it would have been screwed up.
- S: But he's got a high maintenance wife.
- 25 Other player: But at least she's a self financed महारानी,
- Other player: But at least she's a self financed, Queen

6.1.2.1 Sequential Analysis

Again, a sequential analysis shall precede markedness considerations. After introductory exchanges, which mainly play a role in establishing the equality of the golfers, identifiable by the recurring mutual reference of being partners on the golf course, it is Lalit who switches from English into Hindi when being asked why he has not be able to join his friends on previous occasions. He explains to have been busy with his daughters wedding, in Hindi, obviously an elaborate affair, without any equivalent in the western world and choosing Hindi sufficiently conveys the burden this wedding has put on his organizational skills and his financial situation. By switching back to English he makes clear that this is not his primary concern, and he seems almost distracted by Sam's asking for Pimmi's well-being answering very briefly that "Pimmi is fine, fine...". Sam's question whether he's satisfied with the preparations is entirely ignored, instead Lalit politely asks if it would be possible to borrow money, a request obviously more urgent than giving a detailed account of the preparations. Sam now switches into Hindi, asking for the amount Lalit would require and back to English within the same utterance inquiring the period of time Lalit estimates for the loan. The sentence uttered in Hindi is the agreement to provide financial support, choosing Hindi here shows empathy between Sam and Lalit almost as if questions directly related to the wedding are appropriately

answered in Hindi, while the return of the money is not only succeeding the wedding ceremonies time-wise and can therefore be mentioned in the regular business language – English, but it is also connected to Lalit’s business perspective. He answers in English that he has a shipment going to Macy’s next month, accommodating Sam’s language choice with this answer.

Finally, after Sam makes Lalit’s request known to the other two players, one of them immediately switches into Hindi, expressing understanding for this financial burden. Not only does he call Lalit ‘brother’, he does so in their mother tongue and adds that marriages are always a costly endeavor. Interestingly he switches back into English within this same sentence thanking god for not having a daughter. Leaving questions as the preferred sex of children aside at this moment we are still left wondering why he chooses English to make a religiously connoted statement. A possible explanation would be the absence of religious belief, that way ‘thank god’ is merely a standardized expression, lacking any actual religious content which would render the switch into English insignificant. Yet another explanation could be that this man belongs to the minority of Christians in India literally thanking god for not having to arrange a daughters wedding. An indication that this is a possible explanation is his switch back to Hindi explicitly stating that such marriage would ruin him just as much as it happens to Lalit.

These switches are common to an interaction between Lalit and his associates, a form of preference-related switching where the overall pattern shows a consistent agreement between the men. It is thus not each individual switch that carries information but the obvious identification of all men with a situation in which constant CS is accepted and even expected.

6.1.2.2 Markedness Considerations

Rationality, the primary concern of Myers-Scotton is a complicated parameter to apply to this conversation. Before considering rationality however, it should be mentioned that this conversation clearly meets the requirements of unmarked CS, and is one of the typical exchanges between Hindi and English, Myers-Scotton cites when discussing typical language combinations that are frequently combined by speakers. In this case CS itself can be regarded as an unmarked choice, i.e. by constantly switching from Hindi to English, without changing the RO set, it is not every singly switch but rather the overall pattern of CS carrying information. Lalit and his associates interestingly employ English

as the Matrix Language of their conversation, switching to Hindi instead of the other way around which opens a question for this analysis. Is it Nair, who actively addresses her English-speaking audience or is it the upper-middle class in India that has made English its primary choice of communication? Taking into account that it was her aim to portray the life of a Punjabi family in Delhi as realistic as possible the prestigious status of English in India has to be considered. English remains to be the language of the upwardly mobile upper middle class while lower-class entrepreneurs, such as P.K. Dubey, who are only slowly ascending to the middle class, remain confined to occasional switching, including EL-islands into their ML, the Verma family, friends and associates can freely switch between both languages.

In contrast to the previous example, where inter- as well as intrasentential switching was applied to increase the social distance between panelists, switching here creates an atmosphere of mutual understanding among members of the same social group. Rationality calls for the intelligent application of both languages. Thus because cinematic considerations, such as preferred audiences have to be acknowledged in this context, Lalit's request for money, the central element of this scene, is put forward in English because even though he turns to well known business partners, who might even be his friends, borrowing money remains a business transaction and calls for the adequate code choice.

This makes the difficulties of analyzing fictional dialogue obvious: switches such as these can be analyzed according to various approaches but are essentially a choice made by the director who always keeps audiences as well as authenticity in mind.

6.1.3 The Effect of Code-Switching in Authority Oriented Interaction

In this sequence, Aditi has slipped out of her parents' house to secretly meet Vikram one last time before her wedding. After picking her up, the two of them use the shelter of night and pouring rain to spend a few last hours together regardless, or rather because of Aditi's upcoming wedding. Their conversation, short as it is, is entirely in English. However, their date is unpleasantly interrupted when two police officers request an explanation what the two of them are doing out at this time of the night and, upon realizing what they were doing threaten to arrest them for indecent exposure and obscenity. The heated conversation, mainly between Vikram and the officers is dominated by Hindi, with few instances of English inserted by the officers and only one question asked in English by Vikram.

- Vikram: Where would you like to go?
- Aditi: I just want to drive drive and drive.
- V: Why did you come to see me.
- A: I wanted to remind me why I broke up with you. Somehow, I can't remember.
- 5 Officer: ओ, नीचे कर, शीशा नीचे कर, क्या कर रहे है आप इस वक्त यहाँ पर
- O: Hello, down it, roll down your glass, what are you doing here this time?
- V: हम यहाँ क्या कर रहे हैं, none of your business.
- V: What are we doing here? It's none of your business
- 10 O: बड़ी अंग्रेजी जानता है क्यों ले चले थाने, निकल, बाहर निकल तू, Indecent exposure, obscenity, कौन है तू, क्या बोला कौन है तू बम्ब, बाहर निकल।
- O: You know a lot of English, should we take you to Police station? Come out, you come outside. Indecent exposure, obscenity. Who are you, I am asking who are you? Are you a big shot, come outside?
- V: Do we look like terrorists?
- 15 O: Come on, आज, आज तू भी आज, हाथ ऊपर रख हरामजादे, हाथ ऊपर, ले बज गई तेरी घंटी, हाथ ऊपर कर हरामजादे
- O: Come on, come, you also come, keep your hands up you bastard, keep your hands up. See your phone is ringing, keep your hands up you bastard.
- V: फोन मुझे दीजिए
- 20 V Give me the phone. (on the phone) Hello Darling.
- A: Vikram
- V: Yes, I will be home soon.
- O: घंटी बज गई, मेहदी लगे हाथ एक रात, चल हमारे साथ मजा आ जाएगा,
- 25 O: The bell has rung. You have henna on your hands, come with us for one night and you will really enjoy.
- A: Vikram
- V: Well, there was an emergency. Don't wait. It's just the television show in the background.
- A: Vikram, don't leave me with them.
- P: बुलाऊ तेरे आशिक को, चल बुला के ला, ओए हीरो, हे madam हे stop, हे भाग गई ओए
- 30 P: Should I call your lover, ok, go call him, hero, madam, stop, she has run away.

6.1.3.1 Sequential Analysis

In this conversation the audience witnesses unequal language skills. While Aditi and Vikram, both belonging to the upper middle class freely converse in English, Hindi is the appropriate choice to address authority, even though this authority is commanded by position, rather than acquired through mutual respect.

This conversation can be divided into two parts of which the first casual conversation between Vikram and Aditi is uninteresting for CS analysis as it is entirely in English. The following passage is marked by a persistent negotiation of language choice that does not result in agreement between participants.

When the officers enter the scene, demanding to roll down the window in Hindi, Vikram's reaction is motivated by surprise and a sense of being caught when answering. By repeating the officer's question in Hindi Vikram signals a certain retentiveness that is however, abandoned when switching into English making it very clear that some boundaries should not be crossed in this conversation, especially not when interrupting an obviously very personal encounter. An answer which could not be less wisely chosen as it obviously triggers a feeling of inferiority in the officers, who presses the fact that Vikram not only seems to speak English fluently and is probably affiliated with higher classes but he also uses it as an exclusion strategy towards someone who could threaten his public position. The officer, although not fluent in English stresses his authority by making very clear that charges such as indecent exposure and obscenity, two concepts states in English, would most likely not be appreciated by family and employers alike and indirectly calls for cooperation. This, discourse related switch is an attempt to establish the situation as sexual crime, situating obscenity and indecent exposure literally and figuratively among the developments in India which have been taken over from western societies.

His order to step outside is met by Vikram's English question whether they look like terrorists²⁸. In turn, although responding to this question with an English opener, the officer underlines the divergence between Vikram and himself by fiercely requesting both of them to step out of the car. This conversation is interrupted by Vikram's wife calling and him stepping aside to talk to her, leaving Aditi alone with the two officers, who, as it turns out are not altogether as straight forward as their prior behavior might have suggested. Realizing Aditi's traditional Henna wedding ornaments on her hands, they cannot only be sure of her Indian nationality but also assume her to be fluent in Hindi, a discovery that gives rise to an unpleasant plot development: the officers momentarily forget the two concepts they just stressed and used to frighten not only Aditi but also compromise Vikram's reputation and harass Aditi to join them instead of Vikram for one night. They do so in Hindi which leads Aditi, frightened by their directness and Vikram's

²⁸ Vikram's reaction remotely relates the movie to the attacks of 9/11 – three months prior to its release in India.

obvious distraction, to start the car and leave the scene. A development that not only catches the officers by surprise, who merely call after her to stop the car, but also Vikram, who is now left in the rain, without a car, in need of an explanation not only towards his wife but also the officers.

The attempt by police officers to establish authority towards members of a higher social class in which English is the preferred language of choice which the officers do not have at their disposal is thus restricted to insertions of English words. This conversation is not marked by an equal distribution of language skill, which would allow for conscious and deliberate choices, instead it accentuates the divergence between main protagonists and officers. While the latter gain respect not through their action but merely their position upper middle class lovers who, although frightened at the onset of a possible revelation of their affair, do not accommodate the threat. The language of interaction for the officers who dominate most of the encounter thus remains Hindi while Vikram switches between English and Hindi rather helplessly and without noticeable effect since his attempt to ease the situation is interrupted by a phone call, which leaves Aditi having to look after herself. Interestingly she does not engage in the conversation at all, only her appropriate reaction mirrors her understanding.

6.1.3.2 Markedness Considerations

This notion of increasing the social distance through CS is briefly mentioned in Vaid's elaboration on CS in Indian cinema arguing that CS is "[...] present in nearly all the films during interactions between strangers [...]" (Vaid 1980:42). However, applying a markedness analysis goes beyond Vaid's argument who mentioned English terms of address and politeness markers as typical instances of establishing social distance. This analysis explicitly extends the scope of CS choices beyond these two elements, including rational considerations, rather than formal markers when discussing the increase of social distance.

Myers-Scotton includes the concept of borrowing into her overall framework of CS analysis. She argues these elements to be single-morpheme switches (Myers-Scotton 1993:130) which carry similar markedness information as elaborate code switches. She claims that such instances are more likely to occur in unmarked situations than in marked encounters, an interesting perspective with reference to the conversation in question.

As previously mentioned, India is a society, in which CS – be it between English and regional – or among one of the many regional languages – is applied frequently and often

with an unmarked connotation. The few switches in this scene do not follow the unmarked choice maxim which would establish common ground between different social classes and make an unobtrusive solution of the problem possible, at least not from Vikram's perspective. Even though aware of the officer's insistence on speaking Hindi, which, according to frequency considerations is the ML of this conversation, he nevertheless continues to answer in English, when rationality would call for the least resistance possible. Because even though he might belong to a higher social class and could fall back on influential friends, an initial revelation of unfaithfulness would certainly damage his reputation. A factor that should not be disregarded since integrity is one of his major assets as a talk show host as controversial as telly.com. However, the audience is not provided with any such information and can only draw conclusions from the dialogue which establishes Vikram as someone who stresses the existence of social distance instead of allowing a decrease which could possibly prevent Aditi and himself from losing face which would inevitably happen if the situation escalates.

Vikram's insistence on his position triggers the officers to emphasize the existing social distance, choosing a highly marked choice when mentioning charges such as indecent exposure or obscenity – cultural borrowed forms²⁹ which leave no doubt about their intentions. If the conversation would have been continued, which is not the case as the next scene cuts to Aditi's parents, an adaptation of code choice to Hindi on Vikram's part to prevent further investigation would have been likely. As it stands, it is Aditi who is forced to resolve the conflict, although not through conversational measures but more drastically by choosing to escape the officers' inadequate attempt to make a move on her. Markedness is an interesting means of analysis in this case as it establishes motivations and reasons for the given choices more clearly and is able to disclose questionable choices with respect to rationality considerations which are not considered in a sequential analysis.

²⁹ Myers-Scotton discusses two forms of borrowing: cultural borrowed forms and core borrowed forms. While the first "[...] represent objects or concepts new to the ML culture"; i.e. the prototypical textbook form of borrowing, the latter are borrowed forms which are introduced into the ML even though equivalents exist. These core loans "[...] meet no real lexical needs and may be largely or entirely redundant" (Myers-Scotton 1993:169). While cultural borrowings do not compete with equivalents in the ML, core borrowings do and thus acquire a similar status as CS. This consideration led Myers-Scotton to regard borrowing and CS as a continuum rather than two independent concepts.

6.1.4 Code-Switching as a Means for Upward Mobility

Dubey and his workers are trying to take a break from not working too hard, when Lalit enters his garden, realizing that Dubey has began to put up a white tent, a color normally associated with funeral ceremonies. The following exchange centers around Lalit's request to put up a traditionally colorful wedding tent and water proofing it in case it rains on the wedding night.

- Lalit: दुबे, shit, दुबे
 Lalit Dubey, shit, Dubey
 Dubey आ रहे हैं सर, आ रहे हैं चैन से बैठने भी नहीं देते
- 5 Dubey Coming sir, coming, never let us sit comfortably.
 L: ओए हद कर दी यार, यह सफेद तम्बु
 L: Oh, you have crossed the limits, this white tent
 D: Yes sir
 D: Yes sir
- 10 L: यह सफेद तम्बु
 L: This white tent?
 D: Yes sir.
 L: ओए यह yes sir, yes sir क्या कर रहा है, सफेद तम्बु कभी तुमने देखा है जिन्दगी में
 L: What are you doing, yes sir, yes sir. Have you ever seen white tent in your life?
- 15 D: आजकल इन्ही का फैशन है, Millennium style, fashion Y2k. com.
 D: This is in fashion nowadays. Millennium style fashion Y2k. com.
 L: हुशआरी न दिखा, शादी में कभी सफेद तम्बु देखा है तुमने, शादी है या मैयत कर रहा है, देख Dubey एक ही बिटिया है मेरी, ऐसे सफेद तम्बु, बम्बु नहीं चाहिए मेरे को, कुछ लाल, पीला हरा नीला कुछ होना चाहिए, रंगीन कनात होनी चाहिए
- 20 L: Do not try to be smart, have you ever seen white tent in a marriage? Is it a marriage or a funeral? Look Dubey, I have only one daughter and I don't want this type of white tent and I want some red, yellow, green, blue colored tent. Walls of the tent should be colored.
 D: Ok, Ok, भई यादव, भई उतारो यह नहीं चाहिए, old fashion चाहिए, लाल पीला हरा।
 D: Ok, Ok, brother Yadav, they don't want this tent, remove this and put up the old fashioned tent in red, yellow, green colors.
- 25 L: अभी के अभी उतारो इसको
 L: Remove this right now.
 D: उतारो भई
 D: Remove it brother
- 30 L: अच्छा सुनो water proofing का क्या होगा
 L: Ok listen, what happened to the water proofing?
 D: Water proofing की तो बात ही नहीं हुई थी
 D: Water proofing was never discussed.

- L: बात कैसे नहीं हुई थी दुबे यार
- 35 L: How is it never discussed, Dubey?
- D: वैसे भी अभी मोर नहीं नाच रहे हैं बारिश नहीं होगी
- D: Even peacocks are not dancing now so there is no indication of rain.
- L: मोर नहीं नाच रहे हैं, बारिश नहीं होगी, गाजा पी के आया है क्या
- L: Peacock are not dancing, rain will not come, are you drugged or what?
- 40 D: Advance sir, अरे हटा
- D: Advance sir, remove it
- L: Advance, किस लिए
- L: Advance, what for?
- 45 D: Sir, Water proofing means more money, अच्छा देखिए, foreign style में deal है सारा काम है, लिख के रखते हैं, कितना चम्मच, कितना प्लेट चाहिए, water proofing का तो इसमें कोई जिकर ही नहीं, अब आपकी need बढ़ेगी तो पैसा बढ़ेगा ना, deal is deal.
- D: Sir, Water proofing means more money, Ok look, the deal is in a foreign style and I keep everything in writing with me, how many spoons and plates required and there is no mention of waterproofing here, now if you increase your requirements then money will also
- 50 be increased, deal is deal.
- L: अच्छा चल, कितना लगेगा
- L: Ok, how much will it cost?
- D: चार, आठ, 2 lacs, exactly and approximately
- D: Four, eight, 2 lacs, exactly and approximately
- 55 L: 2 lacs, यार NRI समझा है मेरे को
- L: 2 lacs, do you think I am a NRI?
- D: सर area देखिए, ठीक है, अच्छा मुझ पर छोड़िए आप, आपकी बिटिया हमारी बिटिया, कुछ advance मिलेगा, ऐसा है कि आज है काम का दिन, कल की छुट्टी, परसों strike फिर अपनी शादी
- 60 D: Sir, look at the area, ok, its ok, you leave everything on me, your daughter is like my daughter to me. Will I get some advance? See, today is a working day, tomorrow is holiday, day after tomorrow is strike, then it is time for our marriage.
- L: अच्छा चल नहीं है मेरे पास, पाँच हजार है
- L: Ok, I don't have so much, I have five thousands.
- D: सर दो लाख
- 65 D: Sir, two lacs
- L: हाँ बाकी बाद में दे दुंगा ना
- L: Yes, I will pay the balance later on.
- D: रस्सी भी ना आएगी इतने में
- D: This will not even cover the costs of rope.

Similarly to the previous excerpt, this conversation is marked by an uneven distribution of language proficiency however, in contrast to the officers who held up Aditi and Vikram, Dubey is able to insert simple English sentences into his Hindi speech.. It is

interesting to note that the actor playing Dubey is the only one speaking Hindi in the making-off interview while all other actors speak English, even Tilotama Shome who plays the maid Alice speaks English fluently when describing her role in the making-off. Thus his role as lower-class entrepreneur who regards the occasional insertion of English as a marker of his upward mobility is quite realistic.

While Lalit has already been introduced to the audience not only as a quite successful clothing merchant who is able to mix English and Hindi as he pleases and as situations require it, Dubey is newly establishing himself as a wedding planner and still executes most of his business transactions in Hindi.

6.1.4.1 Sequential Analysis

In contrast to the casual business chat between Lalit and his golf partners, this conversation is carried out almost entirely in Hindi. However, successful communication seems to demand far more negotiation from both sides than what was referred to as business among equals.

Realizing that Dubey has begun to put up a white tent, Lalit storms out of the house, furious about yet another complication interfering with the wedding preparations he strikes a tone of voice which shows his obvious dissatisfaction. Dubey, seemingly unaware of the problem answers twice in English apparently unaware of his mistake and therefore not explaining the white panel covering the tent construction he awaits the actual explanation of Lalit's discontent. This unawareness in combination with submissiveness causes Lalit to angrily comment on "[...] this yes sir, yes sir", followed by an impatient explanation of his dissatisfaction with the tent color. This short introductory sequence is a negotiation between Lalit and Dubey as to which language should be employed – an example for discourse-related preferential switching within the conversational analysis framework. Since Lalit acknowledges Hindi to be the appropriate choice from the beginning he is annoyed by Dubey's attempt to insert English utterances into the conversation which has to turn to Hindi eventually; the conversation proves him correct. Despite his annoyance with yet another delay of preparations, Lalit is emphatic with his wedding planer when it comes to language choice.

However, having settled the issue of tent color, Lalit requests to know what happened to water proofing the tent which is answered by Dubey's statement of not having discussed water proofing previously. Both use the English term 'water proofing' several times in this conversation, thereby establishing textual coherence – a discourse related function of

CS (Auer 1998:7). This strategy is continued by Dubey after settling for the water proofing when requesting a financial advance to carry out this job. Dubey's switch to English when demanding the advance payment is motivated by his assumption that Lalit would immediately recognize his intention, i.e. to provide financial backup for an additional task. Obviously a misconception as Lalit's question shows, because even though he also switches to English he does not seem to follow Dubey's line of thought considering the added charges waterproofing an entire tent would bring about. In an attempt to clarify his position Dubey rephrases his request in English, only to switch back into Hindi to elaborate on his professional business etiquette. Interestingly he includes two more intrasentential switches mentioning the "deal" to be carried out in a "foreign style" which includes keeping written documentation of every aspect of their organizational arrangements. Acknowledging this westernized business assessment Dubey indirectly pays tribute to the organizational advantage a thorough form of documentation brings about. By adopting the form of reliability and inserting English into his speech he slowly comes closer to entering a business- (and subsequently a social) class higher than the one he grew up in, thereby decreasing the social distance that separates him from circles such as the Verma family. Again he stresses that "water proofing" is a requirement which has not been included into the initial contract and thus justifies an advance payment to cover additional expenses he is likely to encounter – a strategy that seems to appeal even to Lalit who agrees to provide the advance payment. The following calculation is muttered in a low undertone until Dubey finally requests 200.000 million rupees as additional charge – a number he calculated "exactly and approximately". With these two altogether opposed concepts attached to his utterance he not only reveals himself as an incompetent English user to Lalit who is likely to recognize this mistake. Lalit, in need for prompt realization of his request does not comment on it, he merely expresses his exasperation as to yet another unexpected expense. He makes it very clear that Dubey cannot play tricks on him as he would on people not familiar with local business practices such as NRI's. Dubey, realizing that he has angered Lalit yet again, attempts to smooth things over by taking on responsibility to have the garden appropriately prepared in time, nonetheless inserting yet another request to receive his advance payment. The transaction is finalized in Hindi for the time being by Lalit handing over the cash he has on him which is met with Dubey's discontent since the amount does not even cover minimal preparations for a water proof tent.

A sequential analysis thus reveals that this conversation is characterized by alternating negotiations featuring participant related switching employed to find an appropriate distance between the two men. While the initial impression positions Lalit as being superior to Dubey, the latter nonetheless attempts to come closer to his client employing the little English skills he has at his disposal. And although Lalit does not acknowledge this ambition, which would be mirrored by switching to English, he eventually agrees to Dubey's request to pay an advance, which he could have dismissed on the grounds of advances that have most likely been previously provided.

6.1.4.2 Markedness Considerations

In contrast to all previously discussed examples, this sequence was chosen because the film changes its Matrix Language here from English to Hindi. In the greater framework of the movie it is this change that establishes a certain RO set to be in power, which is essentially different from interactions within the Verma family, or their close friends and associates. It is also different from conversations which are entirely in Hindi, such as between Dubey and his workers or Alice and Dubey – here Hindi is the only possible choice for communication, which establishes common ground in case of Dubey's employees or adoration with respect to Alice. However, this exchange with Lalit positions Dubey somewhat in between these social strata, a character that is constantly negotiating his status within different levels of society.

An argument against an unmarked exchange is the socio-economic difference between Lalit and Dubey, which would normally prevent unmarked CS from taking place. Additionally the wish to establish a dual membership of shared social groups is surely not shared by both, but rather attempted by Dubey alone. A final reason for unmarked CS not to occur in this conversation is the formality attached to business transactions between members of distinctly different groups in general.

But even though this conversation does not meet some of the requirements Myers-Scotton sets for unmarked CS to occur I would nonetheless argue that this conversation is marked by the attempt to establish common ground, or reinforce the existing RO set, instead of focusing on differences. This means for Lalit to realistically evaluate Dubey's English skills, and for Dubey not to cross the boundaries into English which would make a successful conversation impossible due to his lack of language skills. Since both remain in their realm of possibilities it is not a question of proficiency which allows for unmarked CS in this conversation but rather Myers-Scotton's assumption that both

evaluate the value of the languages used in this conversation positively. In addition it holds true that even though Dubey is not sufficiently proficient in English he nevertheless seems familiar to use English alongside his mother tongue. The observation that his speech lacks grammatical correctness and that he sometimes misjudges the content of his utterances does not decrease this overall pattern of using English alongside Hindi that has been commented on in various publications discussing CS in India. Thus Myers-Scotton's claim that "[...] high proficiency is not required if the unmarked CS consists largely of singly occurring, embedded-language morphemes which are inserted into a matrix-language morphosyntactic frame" holds true for this example (Myers-Scotton 1993:119). Switching into English from Hindi establishes a common ground for negotiations between the two men which would otherwise be marked by a very strict distinction between contractor and client. Social distance is therefore not as definite as might be expected, taking the differing social status of Lalit and Dubey into account. Both characters demonstrate the willingness to negotiate these wedding preparations as smoothly as possible by accommodating the others needs, including Lalit who is in the position to actively choose the appropriate code, judging Dubey's elementary English insertions

6.2 Establishing Personal Closeness or Distance Via Code-Switching

While previous sequences were taken from impersonal encounters in business environments or publicly screened media, this chapter will focus on the analysis of code choices among close family members and friends. Interestingly these choices do not include all characters in the movie, i.e. the few instances in which Aditi and Hermant meet they speak English almost exclusively, except one extremely short scene when Hermant cannot but curse in Hindi after hearing about Aditi's affair with Vikram. Similarly, communication between Dubey and Alice is restricted to Hindi. He does not intersperse his speech with English fragments assuming it not only unnecessary but even inappropriate in front of Alice.

The Verma family however, uses English and Hindi freely in their conversations, not only among themselves but also towards extended family members, future in-laws arriving from Houston and siblings returning to India from as far away as Muscat in Oman and Australia. It is these very personal encounters which will receive particular attention in this chapter.

6.2.1 The Role of Code-Switching in Close Family Disputes

Lalit and Pimmi are spending a few moments away from preparations in their bedroom, where Pimmi is cleaning up and Lalit is trying to get an overview on his current financial situation. This excerpt is the continuation of a previous scene in which Pimmi and Lalit discussed Aditi's upcoming departure to Houston, a perspective that evokes nostalgic feelings especially in Lalit, who dreads to see his only daughter leave home. Before continuing with the sequence cited below, the film cuts to Hermant and Aditi in his car just after she has admitted her love affair with Vikram, leaving him furious about this insult, contrasting the two couples in contextually very different, yet interpersonally comparable tense situations. Cutting back to Pimmi and Lalit the conversation now turns to their younger son Varun, who apparently challenges his parents from a very different perspective.

Pimmi: You know I've been thinking Lalit, I don't want to send Varun to boarding school.

Lalit: Oh come on.

P: I don't want to lose both of my children.

5 L: We've been through all this. He's going to boarding school, that's final. Just wasting his live, staying here, watching TV the whole day. There's no one here to discipline him. HINDI I just don't know what to do with him.

P: He also needs love and affection. He's such a sensitive boy Lalit. And he's so wonderful with all these creative things.

10 L: Creative things like singing and dancing. Cooking Sesame chicken. कोई अच्छा सा लड़का दुंड लेते हैं उसके लिए

L: Creative things like singing and dancing. Cooking Sesame chicken. Let us find out a good boy for him.

P: Don't say that! Why do you always look at everything like that?

15 L: You know what I heard him tell Alia what he wants to be when he grows up?

P: What?

L: Said he wants to be a chef. I tell you. हमारा बेटा खानसामा बनेगा, तेजे भाई साहब भी fainted with, यह खानसामा बनेगा।

20 L: Said he wants to be a chef. I tell you. Our son will become a cook, Tej brother is also fainted upon hearing this that he wants to become a cook.

P: ओह, बच्चा है Lalit, बोल दिया होगा. Doesn't mean anything.

P: Oh Lalit, he is just a child, he might have spoken inadvertently. Doesn't mean anything.

L: Such a fool. My son will be a man when he grows up, you understand? He'll be an educated professional. He won't be singing and dancing in people's HINDI

25 Varun: Mama

P: क्या चाहिए बेटा

P: What do you want, son?

- V: Can you do this for me, make a HINDI on my eyes.
- P: Why बेटा.
- 30 P: Why son?
- V: For my dance with Aisha tonight.
- P: Ok.
- L: Why can't you do something useful? Like some exercise or reading your schoolbooks for a change. Look at you, big huge hulk, can't spend you whole life singing and dancing.
- 35 V: Why not?
- L: What do you mean why not? You want to become an HINDI when you grow up? You don't do any exercise, you don't even play cricket. You don't read a book, just sleeping all day and watching tv and now this new nonsense dancing
- V: You wanted to take mom to the HINDI dance the other night.
- 40 L: You won't compare yourself with me, you are just the kid understand.
- V: But right now you said I'm big now.
- P: बेटा, बेटा पापा is only talking about it
- P: Son, son, father is only talking about it
- L: No, I've made up my mind, we're not only talking. You are going to boarding school and that's decided.
- 45 P: Please let me talk to him. It's gonna be good for you. Pretty soon Aditi is going away and you're gonna be so lonely at home. So we thought a good boarding school you're going to have so much fun.
- V: You are trying to send me away to boarding school.
- 50 P: HINDI nothing is पक्का. That school is much better where you'll go then, there are so many boys your age, you'll really enjoy yourself.
- P: Beta, nothing is final. That school is much better where you'll go then, there are so many boys your age, you'll really enjoy yourself.
- V: No, I don't want to go. I won't go, you do what you want.
- 55 L: We're just doing that for your own good, it'll make you a bit tougher. It'll be good for you.
- V: I hate you. I hate you both. You don't even understand one thing about me.
- L: I hate you, I hate you both. You don't talk to me like that you understand.
- V: Fine, I just won't talk to you at all.
- 60 P: अरे Varun बेटा please बात तो सुनो।
- P: Oh, Varun son please listen to me at least.
- V: Leave me alone.
- P: Happy now, happy with what you've done?
- L: I didn't mean to upset him like that. Why don't you say something?
- 65 P: Don't talk to me, ok? Just don't talk to me.

6.2.1.1 Sequential Analysis

This scene is interesting especially in respect to Pimmi's attempt to mediate between her husband and her only son. The discussion is obviously a continuation of previous arguments about Varun's education and Pimmi takes up the existing thread by expressing her dissatisfaction about both children leaving the house at the same time – since Varun is supposed to enter boarding school shortly after Aditi's departure.

Lalit's dissatisfaction not only with his son, but also with the continuing conflict between Pimmi and himself is obvious when he describes Varun as merely watching TV all day, singing, dancing and cooking being his favorite leisure activities – a fact unacceptable to a father who expects appropriate behavior from his only son. He chooses Hindi not only to refer to a concept that is still taboo in most parts of the Indian society and a severe insult to his son, supporting his alleged gay orientation by finding an appropriate partner for him. Of all the issues addressed in this very short introductory exchange this would have been the one an audience expected to be in English, however, Nair decided to include this irritating choice here. Not only does Lalit distance himself from his son with his disgust towards homosexuality being hardly hidden, but he does so even more emphatically by employing his mother tongue instead of remaining in the usual choice of language, which would be English in this situation. Pimmi does not respond to this language choice but continues in English and even though she seems appalled by Lalit's suggestion denigrating their son so severely it seems to be a recurring phenomenon. Lalit chooses to answer Pimmi's question with a recent example for his attitude – being a chef is certainly not what he hoped his son to be. To press his point he includes Tej – whose opinion is always valued in the Verma family – into his explanation. He chooses Hindi to make this point, intrasententially switching back into English emphasizing the image of Tej “fainting upon” this effeminate choice of occupation. Interestingly, although using participant related CS in this moment, closeness is not established between himself and his wife, but rather between the family and Tej, although the latter is not even present at the conversation. This observation gives an impression how much Lalit values Tej's opinion. Pimmi accommodates his language choice of Hindi here, stressing the point that Varun is only a child – an attempt to appease Lalit's anger which is not met since he goes on to express his ambition to bring Varun up to be a man, which implies sending him away from home to grow accustomed to his peers.

Pimmi and Lalit are interrupted by Varun himself, who, unaware of the ongoing discussion, requests his mother to apply eye make-up for the dance he is going to

perform later at the Sangeet. This is something Lalit cannot let go uncommented and does so quite strongly in English, only interrupted by few insertions from Pimmi. She switches to Hindi to reassure his son that his father's allegations are not meant as strongly as it might seem and that no final decision has been made. However, even Pimmi's participant related CS employed to decrease the divergence Lalit created cannot calm Varun's frustration who leaves his parents furious about this perspective.

In this sequence Pimmi uses Hindi to accommodate and calm her son, who is understandably astonished when being informed that he is to leave home shortly after his sister's wedding; similarly she switches to Hindi towards Lalit when emphasizing Varun's youth. The entire concept of a son having to grow into a man, an "educated professional" is explained in English, while closeness is attempted to be established by inserting Hindi expressions – a strategy which, alongside with his mother's assurance that nothing is decided yet – does not suffice to lessen the impact these news have on Varun. The collaboration Pimmi attempts to achieve, bringing together father and son by emphasizing a mutual decision making process is not appreciated by either: Lalit is certain that boarding school will take care of Varun's aptitude of traditionally female occupations, while Varun feels utterly misunderstood by both of his parents, storming out, expressing adolescent hate towards both of them.

6.2.1.2 Markedness Considerations

Taking on a markedness perspective necessitates different viewpoints for this sequence. While the conversation between Pimmi and Lalit is characterized by frequent unmarked switching, the situation dramatically changes upon Varun entering his parents' bedroom. The rights and obligations Lalit expects him to adhere to have been discussed by his parents' seconds earlier without him being aware of it. It is this unawareness of his fathers dissatisfaction with his life style that changes the situation immediately, especially with him disappointing his fathers expectations yet again by asking his mother to put make-up on him thereby inadvertently proving Lalit's point. Lalit wastes no time bringing this to Varun's attention, insulting his son as to his un-athletic figure. Pimmi, unsure of the development of this argument however, aware not only of Lalit's belief in stricter education but also of Varun's interests tries to mediate between the two. Beginning in line 26 Pimmi's code choices are the continuous negotiation between calming her husband and reassuring her son that his fate has not been decided yet.

While English can easily be defined as ML in this discussion it cannot be stated explicitly which language choice is marked and which is unmarked – a classic situation to follow Myers-Scotton’s exploratory choice maxim. Switching from English to Hindi is used as a device to alternate between marked and unmarked choices attempting to establish an RO set acceptable for all family members involved in this discussion. The premises Myers-Scotton sets for what she calls the least common form of CS to occur are met within this sequence. Although it should be noted that this is a classic instance of what conversational analysis approaches criticize with respect to markedness analysis – the maxim being applied to a given situation instead of letting the conversational development speak for itself and construct its function – in this case of negotiation between father and son – from within the conversation. Nonetheless Myers-Scotton deserves credit for introducing an explanation of code choice that can be applied to the least conventionalized exchanges in which the determination of marked and unmarked choices are difficult (Myers-Scotton 1993a:142). Emphasizing family bonds through referring to son and father in Hindi in line 41 is certainly a strategy to establish closeness in contrast to the harsh reaction Varun receives from his father, opting for an unmarked variety in a family context. However, her continuation in English that Lalit is “only talking about it” also constitutes an unmarked expression, thus this switch is primarily employed to re-establish common ground. A concern that is certainly not shared by Lalit who responds to Pimmi’s statement by stressing the fact that boarding school is a decided fact that will not be subject to further discussion, thereby rendering her attempt to ease Varun’s confusion decisively ineffective.

Pimmi nonetheless continues trying to persuade Varun choosing Hindi when stating that no decision is final yet however, Varun has obviously heard enough and dismisses his mother’s attempts to sooth his desperation including her when exclaiming that neither one of his parents understands or cares about him. He storms out, ignoring his mother’s last attempt to at least listen to what she has to say.

This passages proves Myers-Scotton’s claim that exploratory CS “[...] best illustrates how CS is a ‘true’ negotiation” to be appropriate in a context of continuous negotiation. Without judging the success or failure of Pimmi’s negotiation strategy this sequence establishes CS as a means to reconcile father and son (ibid.:143).

6.2.2 Apologies and Persuasion – A Challenge

Ria has left the Sangeet in desperation realizing that Tej's affection for younger girls has not decreased and that he's been coming dangerously close to her little cousin Alia. She took notice of this development for the first time finding Tej trying to win Alia's affection by offering sweets in the kitchen, and was taken aback once more upon Alia commenting disparagingly on the way grown-ups kiss. This seemed to be too much knowledge for a girl of approximately six years of age. Finally, towards the end of the Sangeet, Alia, who is resting on her mother's lap is taken away by Tej, supposedly to distract her by taking her on a ride in his car. Ria, realizing what is happening stops the car and pulls Alia towards her, away from the man who has ruined her childhood and was about to do the same thing to yet another innocent girl. The scene is witnessed by Tej's wife who loudly accuses of lying Ria to ruin her husbands' reputation and Lalit who is speechless as the accusation is put forward towards the highly respected benefactor of the entire family. He tries to convince Ria to stay however, Ria leaves the celebration, unable to contain her pain and desperation any longer, as she has done for years.

Lalit tries to convince her to return to the wedding ceremony the following morning and finds his niece devastated and in tears – a situation that obviously overwhelms him, especially because she must have been living with this experience for years, never uttering one complaint, always abiding sharp comments by female family members why she never got married. This is his attempt to assure her of his deep sympathy for the situation however, also expressing his desperate wish for her to attend Aditi's wedding.

Lalit: Ria? Ria? Ria? ऐसा नहीं करते बेटा, चल घर चल. Come, I want you to come home with me just now and I don't want to listen to anything. Please just change your clothes and come home with me

5 L: Ria? Ria? Ria? Do not do like this my daughter, let us go home. Come, I want you to come home with me just now and I don't want to listen to anything. Please just change your clothes and come home with me

Ria: Don't pretend like nothing happened.

L: Ria, I'm not pretending.

10 R: You are, you are!

L: I don't even know how to console you Ria. What you have gone through I can't even imagine it. मेरी समझ में नहीं आता बेटा, मैं क्या करूँ

L: I don't even know how to console you Ria. What you have gone through I can't even imagine it. I don't understand daughter, what should I do.

15 R: आप कुछ नहीं कर सकते चाचु

R: Uncle, you cannot do anything.

- L: Ria, if you don't come home तेरे बगैर तो Aditi की शादी नहीं हो सकती Come home Ria, I don't even know what to do. I don't know what to do Ria. My hands are tied. Tej and my family goes back a very long way उनके बड़े अहसान हैं हमारे पे, घर आ जा बच्चे मैं हाथ जोड़ता हूँ तेरे,
- 20 L: Ria, if you don't come home then Aditi's marriage will not happen. Come home Ria, I don't even know what to do. I don't know what to do Ria. My hands are tied. Tej and my family goes back a very long way. They have done many favors to us. I request you with folded hands; let us go home my daughter.
- R: Would you please stop, चाचु please आपकी गलती नहीं है न।
- 25 R: Would you please stop. Uncle please, this is none of your mistake.
- L: Then why are you punishing me?
- R: I'm not.
- L: And your sister and your mother? I cannot break up my family. I cannot. Please don't ask me to make that choice. I don't know what Surinder would have done in my position. I know I can never replace your father. You are my child now. बच्ची है तु मेरी, My family means everything to me Ria. Please don't leave us. Please. Ria if you go सब टूट जाएगा।
- 30 L: And your sister and your mother? I cannot break up my family. I cannot. Please don't ask me to make that choice. I don't know what Surinder would have done in my position. I know I can never replace your father. You are my child now. You are my daughter. My family means everything to me Ria. Please don't leave us. Please. Ria if you go everything will be finished.
- 35

6.2.2.1 Sequential Analysis

He addresses Ria three times before even catching her attention. When he finally does he immediately puts forward his primary concern – for her to come back home. He does so in Hindi, stressing not only that his home is where Ria is welcomed into a family, but also that she is his daughter. The element of familiarity is central to this utterance and stands in sharp contrast to his attempt to prevent a discussion of the actual problem, deliberately stating that he does not want to hear anything. This obvious negation of the issue infuriates Ria, who accuses Lalit to pretend that nothing happened which he denies, not very convincingly. Her desperation leads him to admit that he is incapable of finding an adequate solution at this point, and that he cannot imagine what Ria must have endured as a child. Lalit obviously dreads to think about the details this accusation entails and attempts to balance this inability of putting himself in Ria's position by switching back into Hindi, admitting that he cannot understand what happened and that he is helpless as to finding an appropriate way to console his niece. This helplessness finds expression in his question what to do in Hindi which Ria acknowledges as an indirect apology and answers in Hindi, not only to acknowledging his request in regard to content, stating the obvious that there is not much Lalit can do at this particular moment, but also in form by switching to Hindi only for the second time during the entire movie.

The CS here is motivated by the deliberate aim to establish closeness, not in an attempt to offer a thorough solution to the problem and thus an example for participant related CS.

Similarly as when mentioning his daughter's wedding to his business associates on the golf course, Lalit distinctly chooses Hindi in this context again emphasizing Ria's importance for Aditi's wedding. However, even though considering what it must mean for Ria to return to face Tej, Lalit nonetheless uses English continuously stressing his despair that there is nothing for him to do that would ease the pain at the moment, a code choice functioning as distancing device from the accusations at least for the time being. Switching back into Hindi he cannot but mention the indebtedness of his family towards Tej at the same time begging Ria, his daughter – an address he only utters in Hindi – to return home. This time Ria does not comply with his language choice, instead she urges him in English to stop his quest of convincing her to return home, addressing him correctly as her uncle increasing the social distance which Lalit desperately wants to keep as low as possible. However, even though at this point she refuses to accept her uncles' efforts emotionally, she still signals that she does not blame him for what happened, choosing Hindi when acknowledging that his was not her mistake. In a last attempt Lalit realizes that his first and foremost task is to welcome Ria back into his family, once again stressing his willingness to adopt her as his own daughter since her father is dead and that the entire celebration will fall to pieces if she decides to leave the family. While explaining his own situation, i.e. not being able to break up his family, to live up to the challenge of replacing Ria's father, and yet again reemphasizing that his family and their well-being is what his life revolves around Lalit uses English. Speaking to Ria, urging her to change her mind, he switches to Hindi, although she is actually the one who uses Hindi the least throughout the movie and plans a career in creative writing – in English. Choosing Hindi here means to return to the very roots of the Verma family and although a sequential analysis reveals a momentary refusal from Ria's side to give in to Lalit's plead he still achieves convergence since the following scene cuts to taking family pictures which include Ria.

6.2.2.2 Markedness Considerations

Although the closeness of the two characters would normally call for an unmarked exchange I would argue this scene to be of marked nature, albeit with a thoroughly positive connotation. The RO set in power upon Lalit entering Ria's room is one of disappointment, of loneliness with the intense impression of abuse and a lack of reconciliation. The silent accusation Ria never actually expresses is virtually tangible for the audience. Lalit's primary concern is to convince his niece that she will find appreciation and affection in his family, that although he can never replace Ria's father, he will nonetheless try to react as he would have done. He thus changes the initial RO set of rejection that Ria puts forward on a superficial level to one of honest compassionate understanding. He negates the RO which was set by Ria initially because even though Tej is a close friend of the family, Ria is his niece, his blood and essential to the upcoming ceremony.

Ria realizes her uncles helplessness quite late, making an angry remark in English directly accusing him ignoring the deliberate insult she has been going through for years, and only after he switches to Hindi stating his inability to grasp her distress, asking what she would find an appropriate reaction she admits that there is nothing he can do to make her feel better. Years of despair cannot be solved or forgotten in one night. However, she dismisses his attempt to explain his helplessness (in which elements related to the wedding and Ria's position in the Verma family are accentuated by choosing Hindi, marking the importance of this nonnegotiable fact) and when asking her uncle to stop, finally makes an unmarked choice into English. Whereas her previous English answer was marked in that although she switched to Hindi she did not directly address her uncle, this second switch acknowledges that she does not accuse him of neglect instead she clears him of the accusation of having closed his eyes to what happened. It appears that Tej must have been clever enough for no one to realize what he had been doing to Ria. By switching to Hindi here she takes a step towards her uncle, towards her family, towards a shared RO set from which she escaped the previous night.

Interestingly it is Lalit now who switches back to English with the rather selfish question why Ria would punish him. Considering the previous exchange, what Ria must have gone through, and the fact that she just now acknowledged her uncles apology bringing the concept of punishment into the conversation is an inappropriate form to address someone who has been punished since childhood and endured this situation for years.

However, this is an aspect that is uttered in English, alluding to his own despair, and without wanting to discuss the aspect of putting the blame on a woman who has only recently revealed years of abuse, this code-switch brings the focus back to his own position. This is acknowledged by Ria who sets the facts straight murmuring that it is not her who is punishing Lalit but indirectly the entire family that must have looked the other way not to realize what has been going on.

Lalit's despair is again emphasized in his last statement in which he once again marks Ria's belonging to the Verma family, his plead for her to come home in order for things to stay the way they were. This is where this scene ends, a rather abrupt cut to the next scene, which shows the entire family posing for wedding pictures establishing Lalit's success in convincing Ria to come with him. It seems too simple to resolve such conflict with such ease, although classical popular Indian cinema would probably allow for such situation. Or rather, it would probably not include a conflict as grave as this. Nair pays tribute to her audience a few minutes later: while commemorating Ria's father the wedding guests begin to arrive. Tej, setting out to greet them is held back by Lalit, who, to everyone's surprise not only restrains him from taking his own position as head of the family but also decides to exclude Tej from the family, asking him and his wife to leave his house and his family. Tej's pretentious question as to why is met by an outburst by Lalit who makes it very clear that he would protect his children from anyone, even from himself if necessary. All present, i.e. the closest family members are astonished as to the accusation this statement entails. The audience on the other hand is provided with the expected consequence that was missing in the previous scene which is more of a consolation than a decisive solution to a problem so severe that merely appealing to family membership seemed a rather implausible reaction.

Thus rationality considerations can only be fully made in connection to a later scene, leaving the conversation between Ria and Lalit pending until its final solution several minutes later, an aspect that accentuates the artificiality of dialogue in film. While Lalit succeeded to convince Ria to return home, applying marked CS to press her importance and appreciation it is Tej's later exclusion that finally resolves this conflict, establishing the closeness of Ria and at the same time eliminating Tej, who has turned from benefactor to child molester from one to day to the other.

6.2.3 Coping with Curiosity – Two Examples Involving Code-Switching

A last aspect that will be considered when analyzing the role of CS among family members in India is how youngest children cope with the challenge of applying two languages in day-to-day conversation. The chosen passage is a conversation between Alia and Ria and later between Alia and her uncle C.L. Chadha, Pimmi's brother who lives in Muscat with his family. Ria, trying to decide what to wear for the engagement ceremony finds Alia hidden in her dresser and, after the following conversation demands her to leave the room and get ready for the ceremony.

- Ria: Alia, god, what are you doing here?
 Alia: You know I saw Aditi दीदी नंगा and now I saw you नंगा too
 A: You know I saw Aditi sister naked and now I saw you naked too.
 5 R: You are so disgusting, get out know. Out. Out!
 A: What does this word mean?
 R: How come you are so irritating?
 A: How come you are still not married?
 R: Enough. जाओ, सगाई के लिए तैयार हो जाओ, जाओ
 10 R: Enough. Go, get ready for the engagement, go.

Alia, on a quest to find out the unknown English expression turns to her uncle who, already fully dressed and ready to celebrate, is putting the last finish on his appearance by generously applying au de cologne. He is delighted to see his little niece and is more than willing to explain the world to her.

- C.L.: Hello Sweetie की गल है पुतर, की चाहींदा है।
 C.L.: Hello Sweetie, what is the matter, child, what do you want?
 Alia: What does this word mean?
 5 C.L.: सब तेरा भला करे, ओए ए कि लिखिया होया है।
 C.L.: God bless you. Oh, what is this written?
 A: It's uxorious uxorious.
 C.L.: ऐसा कोई वर्ड नहीं होता पुतर, यह spelling mistake है, कुछ missing है यहां, अरे यहां एल होना चाहिए, यह है 'luxurious' है पुतर।
 10 C.L.: There is no word like this, child. This is a spelling mistake, something is missing. Yes, there should be 'l', it is 'luxurious' child.

6.2.3.1 Sequential Analysis

Ria, utterly surprised to find Alia in her dresser addresses her cousin in English, inquiring as to what she's doing there. Alia, answering in English, intrasententially switches to Hindi twice admitting that she has been sneaking into Aditi's and Ria's room seeing them naked. While she chooses to construct her sentence in English she switches to Hindi for the essential statement of nakedness, obviously a preference related choice to conceal the timidity the information would cause for Ria, attempting to insult her cousin a little less, if possible. She does not succeed in her intent to repair the mistake she just made, although choosing the in-group language usually spoken to Ria, instead Ria is as insulted as expected telling her sharply to leave her room. Alia, apparently untouched by Ria's reaction tries to regain ground and Ria's affection by asking for Ria's help understanding a word. It is not clear if a translation into Hindi would solve the problem or if she rather asks for an explanation in English. In turn, Ria after briefly glancing at the word in question, responds by concealing her confusion behind a question that has no obvious connection to Alia's question, however admits her own inability or unwillingness to appropriately answer Alia's question. Alia on the other hand gives a prime example of what has been addressed when discussing Ria's difficult relationship to marriage and men in general by asking, without any further contextual cue why Ria is not married. Obviously something she must have picked up from other family members since she seems too young to actually understand the reason behind the ferocity of Ria's reaction who, switching to Hindi demands her to leave the room and get ready for the engagement ceremony. This switch, although drawing on the traditional Indian language, establishes the relationship between the two as in this situation not being altogether as affectionate as one might expect and the social distance to increase with everything that is said until finally Ria emphasizes her annoyance and preoccupation by ordering Alia to leave her room. In this light, Hindi serves to assert Ria's attempt to respect her privacy, which Alia clearly crossed several times during this short interaction.

In continuation, Alia turns to her uncle, who is considerably more delighted to be of help to his little niece than Ria was. Interestingly C.L., although greeting his niece in English, chooses Hindi for the majority of his utterances. Alia, again bringing forward her question in English is asked in Hindi as to what is written. She spells the word out for her uncle who obviously has a hard time deciphering small writing. However, either owing to lack of English, being the only character who almost exclusively speaks Hindi

throughout the movie – an interesting observation considering that he, as an NRI would be expected to speak English with ease, on the other hand one could argue that, being an NRI he cultivates his Indianness explicitly by speaking Hindi only – he gives a rather evasive answer, which although brought forward in Hindi is interspersed by switching intersententially to English. These preference related switches are decisive for him to make his point and convince his niece of a much less suggestive meaning, by simply inventing a missing letter, thereby alluding to a simple spelling mistake that saves him from further investigation. If this explanation is feasible in the context Alia was reading remains open, however, by finding an explanation (no matter how far fetched it might be) and appeasing Alia's thirst for knowledge he makes up for Ria's earlier refusal to take Alia's question seriously. Doing so in Hindi primarily expresses his active choice to speak his mother tongue, not a lack of fluency in English, and being sure that Alia will understand him, he expresses a certain comfort to speak Hindi unhindered in his home country. And even though his niece speaks English, their respective choices do not inhibit an affectionate interaction between the two family members.

6.2.3.2 Markedness Considerations

These two short scenes are contrasted not only in terms of affection but also with regard to language choices and very different RO sets. Ria, addressing her little cousin expects nothing out of the ordinary when finding her in her dresser – English being the usual language between the two. To her surprise Alia has voyeuristic interests and is honest enough to admit them to her victim. In an attempt to conceal her rather unusual activities Alia switches from the unmarked English to Hindi, not realizing that by doing so she chooses a marked variety, emphasizing the inappropriateness of her actions. Thus this switch marks the RO set in that it upsets Ria in so far as she seems astonished, not so much by Alia's actions but even more so by her being honest enough to admit what she's been doing. Alia's choice for Hindi here is can be explained through rationality in so far as she acknowledges nakedness and watching someone without their consent to be inappropriate, yet she relies on the closeness that prevails in their interaction.

However, the situation changes unexpectedly for Alia from surprise to one of reservation. Alia, tries to re-establish the affectionate relationship she is used to have with Ria not by switching languages again but topic, asking for Ria's help. A choice that is not accepted by Ria, who remains annoyed by her little cousins inquiries and, after Alia crossed the line of what Ria finds acceptable behavior once again (without switching

languages) touching upon a topic Ria is extremely sensitive to, she orders her to leave the room. The switch is thus a marked choice from English to Hindi that Alia, the youngest member of the Verma family already actively employs. The markedness of Hindi in this exchange is emphasized by Ria's switch in line 9, demanding – not asking – her cousin to leave the room. Thus, while Hindi has been the unmarked choice in previous exchanges, stressing closeness between family members it increases the distance between Ria and Alia in this particular conversation.

Another interesting aspect of this sequence is thus the abrupt switch that accompanies Alia turning to her uncle for explanation. C.L. addresses Alia exclusively in Hindi while she always answers in English. The younger generation therefore seems to be fluent in both languages, however preferring English over Hindi. A choice that leads to no complications in the RO set between uncle and niece. Neither one of them seems to be bothered by the other one speaking a different language. Thus both are using, different but equally functional unmarked varieties in this exchange and neither one finds the two codes employed here inappropriate.

C.L. only once switches to English, interestingly to find an explanation for Alia's question that is somewhat far fetched to the audience, but accepted by Alia who, without really having a choice to agree to this explanation is shuffled out of the bathroom. C.L.'s explanation, simply adding a letter and thus changing the entire meaning of the word is of course a strategy to avoid the more complicated meaning an explanation of 'uxorious' would demand, instead 'luxurious' is obviously a concept familiar to Alia.

The main switch is not between Hindi and English in each passage, but rather between scenes. While the unmarked variety and the ML in the conversation between Alia and Ria is English and Hindi is only for reasons of timidity and thus marked, the ML changes to Hindi when turning to C.L. who only embeds very EL-islands into his speech. An aspect that holds true for the majority of his dialogue sequences throughout the movie. The RO set Alia faces therefore changes not only in situation but also with regard to language choice. Speaking to Ria she habitually speaks English and is answered in the same language. However, her attempt to conceal her actions by switching to Hindi turns back on her, since although she speaks Hindi in this context it marks the inappropriateness of her actions even more instead of rendering them less obvious.

Speaking to C.L. she remains in her usual code, but is confronted with a close relative who does not speak the same variety.

Alia therefore is a young Indian girl who is obviously capable of applying both codes with ease however, it appears that she is not yet adapt to choosing codes following a pattern of rationality, instead it seems to be difficult for her to appropriately choose the correct code for a given situation. The switch between Hindi and English in the first sequence is not only unnecessary, Ria would have most likely been just as intimidated if Alia would have chosen English to reveal her secret, but also shows a misjudgment with regard to the actual impact her revelation has on her cousin, who is intimidated and rightly so. But this switch is not reasoned by a lack of competence but rather a fear of rejection that is quite realistic as Ria's reaction shows. Consideration is shown by her uncle, who has not been the victim of her curiosity and no reason to be angry. Thus, both encounters leave Alia to deal with different codes and RO sets, a challenge she manages not quite as rational as grown ups do but with a certain effortlessness only children have. The result might not be as wanted at times, but this scene shows the acquisition of knowledge as to how to apply two codes correctly.

7 Discussion and Concluding Remarks

The analysis of a film that is indebted to, yet at the same time different from a culture as diverse and manifold as the Indian culture posed various challenges on this study. It was not only the peculiarities of Indian film making and the role of diaspora that had to be taken into consideration but also the conscious choice of language which has been employed throughout the movie. In addition one has to account for the fact that all dialogue in question is artificial in that it has been fixed to a script and not uttered under natural circumstances. Language, words and expressions were thus essentially the choices of screenwriter and producer, not naturally occurring instances of speech.

It was Nair's deliberate aim to portray her native culture as vivid and natural as possible. To achieve this she not only returned to India from her diasporic home but also included members of her extended family – who but them could display the hardships and delight life has put on a Punjabi family in Delhi better?

Since Nair departed from the central aim of mere entertainment most popular Indian movies aspire, she drew a picture of an Indian family that, even though still in the realm of mainstream movie making, exceeds most other productions in terms of coming as close as possible to naturally occurring conversation. Although keeping in mind the artificiality of spoken word in film productions, this analysis nonetheless examined the extent of social distance that can be established through language choices among family members and in public encounters. The importance of CS, being an essential element of the Indian speech community cannot be underestimated in these contexts. Nair, coming from a diasporic background herself, does not only recognize the significance of these peculiarities but also makes them accessible to an audience that is not restricted to India or the Indian diaspora but reaches an audience beyond the Asian subcontinent and the Middle East to which most Indian productions are normally restricted.

The aspect of social distance has been included into the research on CS quite early. How these switches contribute to establish certain relationships and how speakers actively influence a conversation negotiating distance or closeness through code choices is thus an element of sociolinguistics that has received attention since the very beginning of research. This focus has also been applied to the analysis of language in Indian film, however, the few existing analyses have favored classic sociolinguistic concepts such as Gumperz' work on switching practices or domain-oriented analysis which accommodates

the various instances of CS in the majority of Indian productions nicely. Other studies focused solely on syntactic constraints of CS realized in Indian productions.

Recent research has departed from these concepts and introduced approaches that focus less on pre-established categories; instead they emphasize the internal information that can be elicited from given dialogue. Peter Auer's Conversational Analysis is a prime example of letting a conversation speak for itself, constructing meaning and function of CS from a close sequential analysis of the data available.

Different in its presumptions, but nonetheless very interesting for this analysis was Carol Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, which assumes speakers to make rational choices when opting for an appropriate code. Where a sequential analysis can thus provide an interpretation by deconstructing the composition of a certain conversation step by step, markedness considerations are an interesting addition regarding motifs and motivations behind these choices when analyzing constant negotiation and re-negotiation of RO sets in power.

What was consciously avoided in the context of this analysis was an application of domains. This posed the difficulty to find appropriate categories which allowed for a variety of elements to be subsumed under a certain framework, without pre-establishing fixed domains. Applying a sequential analysis proscribes any such approaches. Nonetheless the necessity remained to find a reasonable structure that would at least allow for a minimum of orientation throughout the analysis. Dividing dialogue sequences that were chosen from the script roughly into public and personal settings proved to leave enough room to not only apply two complementary approaches but also to include a variety of scenes that would otherwise have to be assigned to different domains.

The analysis of code choices in the public sphere painted a picture of the application of CS that could not be more diverse – ranging from effective media coverage, over casual business chats and interaction with authority, to a means for upward mobility: the analysis proved CS to be an essential element in the public sphere in India. The generosity of social interaction between very different social strata that Nair included in a storyline which is actually restricted to a family event, allowed for an extensive examination of social interaction that would otherwise not have been a part of wedding ceremonies. Other popular Indian movies that center on a similar event often restrict the conflict to interpersonal aspects, because the immense wealth of the protagonists does

not allow for an interaction with members of lower social classes. *Monsoon Wedding* thus proved to be a movie that, although portraying a classical Indian theme lived up to the ambitious challenge to remain as realistic as possible, especially with respect to language choices.

Taking into consideration that the Verma family represents the upper middle class in India it is the public sphere where CS is an element of negotiation that is essential to establishing their position among members of equal as well as lower classes. Interestingly the movie does not include instances of CS that include interaction between family members and characters representing higher social classes. In how far Hindi would still play a role in such encounters could therefore not be taken into consideration.

Independent for the plotline, yet interesting, not only with respect to theme but also to language choices was the first scene. Presenting the manifold aspects of a country that is as culturally diverse as India is obviously a challenge that has been at the center of public attention, the role of censorship being only one, but an ever recurring aspect of this discussion. Arguing about censorship as safety shield for “the common man” – a strategy that is represented by the censorboard chief and a conservative politician a discussion unfolds that is essentially about the degree of westernization India can take without giving up its own manifold identities. This argument is highlighted not only through clothing and choice of topic but also by consciously switching between Hindi and English, representing two competing viewpoints. Language choices, in accordance to the view panelists represent are relatively clear distributed however, identification with India and the westernized world is obviously present in all participants and activated as needed for the argument.

Although the show is designed in English the producers assume their audiences to be capable of understanding Hindi as well – a presumption that has to be considered taking the movie audiences witnessing this show into account, who have to be provided with subtitles in order to fully grasp the discussion. This example thus not only proves Nair’s awareness of the medial reflection and linguistic representation of Indianness and westernization in and outside of India but also her willingness to make her production more sophisticated and thus appealing to a variety of audiences.

Two other examples belonging to the public sphere emphasize the difficulty of finding an appropriate code, even though English has been part of the Indian language community

for centuries. Being the marker for education and upward mobility, English is not only seen as an ability to aspire social advancement but also as threat for members of society who are not able to speak it. Including this aspect of bilingualism into her movie, Nair pays tribute to “the common man” who has previously been drawn on, when discussing what the Indian public should experience and what should be restricted through censorship. These “common man” are portrayed through the figure of two police officers and the wedding planner P.K. Dubey, all three of them not as acquainted with English as the protagonists representing members of the upper social class. These social differences are emphasized during the exchange between Vikram, Aditi and the officers but minimized in the exchange between Dubey and Lalit. While Vikram, being fluent in Hindi and English chooses confrontation as code choice towards the officers however, being released of the issue by Aditi simply leaving the scene, Lalit, also capable of both languages, and to a certain extent dependent on Dubey’s services chooses to diminish divergence in this conversation.

The two counterparts – the officers and Dubey – aware of their lack of language skill cope with the situation quite differently. The first, although by definition in an authoritarian position, immediately realize that the two lovebirds they have interrupted must belong to a higher social class – Vikram’s car speaks volumes about his net income – threat is therefore the one choice to gain appropriate attention. It is obvious however, that the role allocation is negotiated among the males. Vikram, who is first and foremost concerned about his reputation steps forward a little too confident telling the officers to mind their own business which calls for an immediate reaction from the officers that is anything but sympathetic. It is only the phone interruption that prevents an escalation, not only between the couple and the officers, but, more importantly between Aditi and the officers, who, left alone with Aditi are quick to reason that Vikram is not the reason why her hands are painted in henna. Reason would have called for the continuous application of Hindi from Vikram’s side, simply to calm the situation. Male self-consciousness complicates the encounter decisively and proves Myers-Scotton’s rationality approach to be too restricted when analyzing this sequence. Choices that obviously violate her rationality approach make the simultaneous analysis applying a conversational concept all the more valuable, making the difficulty in finding an appropriate form of analysis quite clear.

Dubey’s language skills, only slightly more fluent than the officers are met with considerably more concessions from Lalit’s side than Vikram was willing to extend

towards the officers. An interesting point when regarding that both, Lalit and Vikram are dependent on the judgment, good will, and work ethic of their counterparts. Lalit finds negotiations with his wedding planner a time-consuming endeavor that he deliberately tries to keep as short and effective as possible by choosing Hindi, although in all other encounters, be it among family or other business associates he almost exclusively speaks English. Nevertheless he acknowledges Dubey's attempts to include English as a marker for upward mobility and therefore a device to close the social gap that exists between the two men. These switches into English, although almost exclusively employed by Dubey are accepted by Lalit in a conversation that is affected by very different levels of fluency, at least with regard to English. This is an example of business interaction that, although among very different social classes, is nonetheless marked by the mutual attempt to successfully finish the preparations for the upcoming wedding, thus code choices reduce the distance that is otherwise imposed on these two men, at least for the limited interaction necessary for negotiations.

This markedness of codes is unnecessary when interacting with equals, as the scene between Lalit and his golf partners makes very clear. These exchanges, although including switches of code as well are not employed by necessity, since the distance between the men remains equally close throughout the conversation, but by habitualness. Switching languages in accordance to certain areas in their lives is the ordinary form of communication among members of a higher social class in India. Thus CS here is displayed as an unmarked speech element that influences the foci of a conversation but not the general relationship between interactants.

Similarly to this last scene – CS is a subtle alternative in personal communication. The scenes chosen from the familial interactions all show that, language choices are not driven by the need to constantly establish relationships but rather by the emphasis on understanding and belonging. Switching here is usually not into English as was the case in earlier excerpts from the public sphere but from English, the language used among family members, to Hindi when closeness is to be emphasized. This return to the mother tongue when stressing shared roots among family members is restricted to few instances, most communication is nonetheless carried out in English. Its impact is therefore greater, stressing the aspect of affection even more. Even conflicts such as the concession of having had a lover prior to the wedding or the accusation of sexual

harassment are put in English, although touching upon the most personal element of a relationship imaginable.

The analysis discusses only one private encounter in which Hindi is the marked choice, increasing the social distance between protagonists. The brief interaction between Ria and Alia is an example of how the younger generation negotiates between the languages at their disposal, not yet always choosing the adequate variety in every conversation.

In sum, this analysis in how far *Monsoon Wedding* mirrors natural occurring conversation proved to be interesting not only with regard to content and implementation of language choices in a movie, but also concerning the application of two concepts of analysis that are normally kept strictly apart. Considering the sequences from different, yet complimentary perspectives opened the focus to include aspects that would have been excluded if opting for only one approach.

Although not a representative of the classic popular Indian cinema but explicitly representing aspects of the Indian diaspora, *Monsoon Wedding* was an interesting choice for analysis taking the variety of audiences into consideration this movie attracted. Dealing with constant switches between two languages demands viewers to constantly readjust their reception, especially since western audiences had to get by with subtitled passages, which were easier to handle for Indian audiences who are most likely capable of understanding both languages. Nonetheless Nair wanted to remain true to her culture and these linguistic peculiarities are an essential part of an immigrant people such as the Punjabi in Delhi.

This movie has reached a far greater audience than most popular Indian movies do. Thus most movie-goers remotely interested in Indian cinema witnessed a production that comes close to a linguistic reality, without qualifying to be a documentar, however being indebted to a documentary tradition. *Monsoon Wedding* is thus a production that adheres to the limitations of the medium in that means such as subtitling or dubbing were indispensable to ensure a distribution that exceeded the usual south Asian market, including the varieties of diaspora. However, it exceeds the scope of Indian cinema in that, despite these difficulties, it still sets out to bring India closer to the western world, all the while considering the challenge of including more than one language, and doing this beyond insertions and formulaic expressions as most Indian movies do.

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Zusammenfassende Darstellung

Die vorliegende Magisterarbeit analysiert das sprachwissenschaftliche Phänomen *Code-Switching* (CS) am Beispiel des indischen Films *Monsoon Wedding*.

Aufgrund der Vielfältigkeit der indischen Sprachen und der besonderen Rolle des Englischen in Indien, vor allem auch vor dem Hintergrund der Kolonialzeit, ist Indien häufig Gegenstand soziolinguistischer Analysen. In dieser Arbeit war das zentrale Anliegen eine Analyse des Sprachgebrauchs im Medium Film anhand einer Produktion die, ohne dokumentarisch zu sein, den Anspruch hat natürlichen Gesprächen so nah wie möglich zu kommen.

Monsoon Wedding von Mira Nair, die zwar in Neu Delhi aufgewachsen ist, jedoch einen Großteil ihres Lebens in der indischen Diaspora verbracht hat, ist die Geschichte einer arrangierten Hochzeit in Delhi, vor allem jedoch ist es das liebevolle Porträt einer Familie der oberen Mittelschicht. In Kommentaren zum Film betont Nair wiederholt ihre eigene Verwurzelung im Dokumentarfilm und ihr Ziel das Leben in Indien so realistisch wie möglich abzubilden. Nicht nur Produktion und Ausstattung zeugen von diesem Anspruch, sondern auch die Wahl der Sprache. Im Film werden drei Sprachen gesprochen: Hindi, Punjabi und Englisch. Während der Großteil der Dialoge zwischen Hindi und Englisch wechseln, ist Punjabi für die persönlichsten Momente zwischen den Figuren reserviert. Diese Szenen sind jedoch nur vereinzelt zu finden, aus diesem Grund beschränkt sich die Analyse der Sequenzen auf den Sprachwechsel zwischen Englisch und Hindi.

Anschließend an einige einführende Bemerkungen werden im zweiten Kapitel Aspekte des indischen Kinos beleuchtet. Ziel dieser Ausführungen ist eine Übersicht über die Besonderheiten dieser Produktionen zu geben. Einer kurzen Erläuterung der historischen Entwicklung des indischen Kinos folgen Ausführungen zu Genre, Narrationsschemata und wiederkehrenden Themen. Nicht wegzudenken sind in diesem Zusammenhang die Rolle von Musik und Tanz, sowie eine kurze Einführung in sprachliche Besonderheiten des indischen Kinos. Ein heute nach wie vor zentrales Problem des indischen Films, die Zensur, wird ebenfalls kurz angesprochen. Schlussendlich wird die Rolle der indischen Diaspora thematisiert, die vor allem in Hinsicht auf Publikum, aber auch bezüglich einer Reflektion der eigenen Biographie Mira Nairs in diesem Zusammenhang von zentraler Bedeutung ist.

Das dritte Kapitel beschreibt Handlung und Charaktere in *Monsoon Wedding*. Neben dieser inhaltlichen Synopsis des Films wird Mira Nair's Leben und Werk vorgestellt.

Die theoretischen Grundlagen der Analyse werden im vierten Kapitel dargelegt und kommentiert. Dabei wird unterschieden zwischen strukturalistischen und soziolinguistischen Ansätzen zu CS.

Als Vertreter eines strukturalistischen Ansatzes sind vor allem Shana Poplacks und Carol Myers-Scottons Konzepte interessant. Während Poplack vor allem in den siebziger Jahren grundlegende Forschung zu CS vorlegte, in späteren Jahren jedoch heftig kritisiert wurde, ist es Myers-Scotton deren Modelle nach wie vor hohe Beachtung finden, auch wenn der Universalitätsanspruch ihrer Forschung häufig kritisiert wird. Sowohl ihr *Matrix-Language-Frame Model* als auch ihre Überlegungen zu *Markedness*, die sie später zu *Rational-Actor-Models* ausarbeitete finden in der nachfolgenden Analyse Anwendung. In diesem Zusammenhang werden den verschiedenen zur Verfügung stehenden Sprachen bestimmte Bedeutungen zugebilligt, die entweder dazu führen, eine gegebene Situation grundlegend (und absichtlich) zu verändern, oder Gemeinsamkeiten hervorzuheben. Der Sprecher kann also rationale Entscheidungen treffen die eine Konversation aktiv beeinflussen. Diese Entscheidungen werden von Myers-Scotton in fünf Maximen festgeschrieben. Die Anwendbarkeit und Grenzen eines solchen Konzepts werden im Rahmen der Analyse aufgezeigt.

Als Vertreter soziolinguistischer Analyse sind John J. Gumperz und Peter Auer besonders interessant. Gumperz' Analyse von CS in Gesprächen findet ihre Weiterentwicklung in Auers späteren Ansätzen einer sequentiellen Dialoganalyse. Dabei konzentriert sich Auer ausdrücklich auf eine gesprächsimmanente Rekonstruktion der Funktionen des CS, ohne vorhergehende Überlegungen zu möglichen übergreifenden Bedeutungen der verwendeten Sprachen. Dieser Ansatz verfolgt keinen Universalitätsgedanken. Er unterstreicht im Gegenteil die Individualität einer jeden Analyse, die sich zwar an bestimmten Aspekten des CS orientiert, jedoch nicht die Absicht verfolgt, festgelegte Sprach- und Verhaltensmuster zu erfüllen. Die Bedeutung und Funktion von CS wird einem Gespräch immer wieder neu ausgehandelt wird im Rahmen einer CA und aus den einzelnen Äußerungen immer wieder neu erschlossen.

Die Zusammenstellung der Datengrundlage sowie die Kombination der verschiedenen Ansätze zur verwendeten Analyseverfahren werden in Kapitel fünf ausgeführt. Im

Rahmen der theoretischen Ausarbeitung des Phänomens stellten sich Myers-Scottons *Markedness Model* und Peter Auers *Conversational Analysis* (CA) als einander vorzüglich ergänzende Ansätze heraus, auch wenn die Autoren selbst die Unvereinbarkeit der Konzepte betonen. Li Wei, Professor für angewandte Sprachwissenschaft in Newcastle upon Tyne und Verfechter von Auers *Conversational Analysis* schlägt in einem Vorwort zu einer 2005 Ausgabe des *Journal of Pragmatics* eine Kombination dieser Ansätze vor. Dieser Gedanke wird bei den Ausführungen der Methode aufgegriffen und vertieft.

Im Rahmen der Analysemethode wurde auch der Aspekt des künstlichen Dialogs, der in einer Filmproduktion die keinen dokumentarischen Ansatz verfolgt, nicht anders möglich ist diskutiert. In diesem Zusammenhang war eine Adaption der Ausführungen von Christina Neidert zur Analyse von Dialogen in TV Serien hilfreich, welche die Transkription von Filmdialogen insofern mit natürlich vorkommenden Gesprächen vergleicht als das die Bedeutungsproduktion, ähnlich wie bei der Analyse von natürlicher Konversation, aus den vorhandenen Äußerungen erschlossen werden muss. Dabei sollte aber immer eine Rückkopplung zum Medium des Films erfolgen. Das heißt eine Reflektion der Dialoge erfolgt nicht nur in Hinblick auf mangelnde Natürlichkeit, sondern auch unter Berücksichtigung der Wirkung auf das Publikum.

Die Analyse im sechsten Kapitel gliedert sich in Dialoge die im öffentlichen und Dialoge die im privaten Raum stattfinden. Diese, anfänglich ungenau anmutende Unterscheidung begründet sich darin, die Analyse nicht von vornherein in fest verankerte *domains* zu unterteilen, wie es in vielen soziolinguistischen Analysen üblich ist. Damit soll eine vorgelagerte Festlegung der einzelnen Sequenzen innerhalb bestimmter Verhaltensmuster verhindert werden. In der Analyse werden sieben Filmsequenzen von unterschiedlicher Länge zuerst einer sequentiellen und später einer *markedness/rationality* Analyse unterzogen.

Die Ergebnisse werden im letzten Kapitel zusammenfassend dargestellt und diskutiert. Dabei wird deutlich, dass Nairs Vorhaben in ihrem Film eine möglichst natürliche Verwendung von Sprache in Indien abzubilden, vor allem in Bezug auf CS außergewöhnlich erfolgreich war. Damit hebt sich der Film von vielen anderen indischen Produktionen ab, die in letzter Zeit zwar Schau- und Produktionsstätten in das westliche Ausland verlegen, jedoch sprachlich insofern beschränkt bleiben, als dass CS nur fragmentarisch realisiert wird. Damit ermöglicht Nair ihrem Film ein weitaus

facettenreicheres Publikum als die meisten Filme die in Indien produziert werden, vor allem natürlich außerhalb der üblichen Absatzmärkte in Asien und im Mittleren Osten. Ihr persönlicher Hintergrund spielt in diesem Zusammenhang eine nicht zu unterschätzende Rolle.

Im Hinblick auf die verwendete Analysemethode bleibt festzuhalten, dass Li Weis Anregung der Kombination von Conversational Analysis und Rational Actor Models eine umfangreiche Analyse erlaubte, die sowohl eine sequentielle Rekonstruktion der sprachlichen Bedeutungen als auch Überlegungen zu rationalen Erwägungen der Sprecher einbezog.

Appendix

This appendix includes a complete transcript of dialogue as spoken in the movie. In total 10 scenes were transcribed and translated, including 79 instances of CS. These scenes are provided in its original version, including the Hindi transcription, the literal translation, the reasonable translation as well as subtitles as shown in the movie.

Scenes that have not been translated are transcribed in English and completed by a transcription of subtitles as to ensure a complete provision of dialogue. Subtitles in these scenes are set in *italics*.

Short insertions, often considerate forms of address towards family members have not been translated and are often not included into subtitles, these are marked as HINDI.

Names are spelled out when appearing in a scene for the first time and abbreviated with first initials only in continuing dialogue.

Lalit: Dubey, Dubey!

Workers: He's not here.

L: He's not here? He's impossible. It's nearly 11. How do I fix this? He wants money but he doesn't want to work.

L: Pimmi, please bring me the phone.

Pimmi: Darling, you want something else? Tea?

L: No, no, that bloody bastard Dubey hasn't come yet.

P: Oh Fuck.

P: Alice, Alice, fry the pakoras and make tea for the master. Hurry up!

L: Dubeyji, it's Lalit Verma, who else? Very kind of you to answer. What's going on? No sign of anyone.

Shashi: I'm sorry to say but Lalit is taking too much tension. It's not good. You see all these young men getting heart attacks these days.

Grandmother: *God forgive, the wedding is so soon* and Lalit is doing everything single-handedly.

L: The marigold gate is falling apart, the flowers are all over the place. What's going on?

Dubey: There's no need to get upset sir. Flowers? What's a few flowers? For you I'll bring Kashmir's Mughal Garden. Just say the word. I'm stuck in a traffic jam.

L: Look Dubey, I want you here now.

D: In ten minutes exactly and approximately. I can't phone and drive.

L: What's the idiot up to?

L: Where were you?

Lalit: Idiot! Left, left HINDI stop the car! Don't you know what you do, spoil the decoration also! HINDI. Don't you know to drive?

Rahul: I only got one hand to drive with.

L: Who told you to break you hand at this time, idiot. HINDI. Where were you?

R: I went to the airport to get your sister and her husband.

L: Where are they?

R: I didn't see them.
 L: HINDI. You didn't see them. What do you mean you didn't seem them?
 R: I don't even know what they look like.
 L: HINDI Mr. and Ms. Puri from USA. They would've seen you. Why are you yawning so much?
 R: Because I hardly slept, not to mention I got back from Australia yesterday.
 L: You young people, what do you need to sleep so much for. Have you found out when the flight is going?
 R: Yeah, about nine o'clock.
 L: You make sure you are there on time and take this car only, ok?
 R: Ok.
 L. And don't run the AC when you go there, only put it on when you see them and park this car somewhere else.
 R: Chill!
 L: And get off that stupid dubby!

English speaking TV cooking show

Pimmi: Oh god Varun, what are you doing HINDI, why aren't you ready, didn't you hear papa, he's getting so angry.
 Varun: Mom, it's the last step, the last step coconut curry mom.
 P: No HINDI, come on hurry up. Now don't give me a hard time, come on. And this TV you know, I'm so sick of it. Take this off, come on hurry up.
 V: Mom, what are you doing, I do it myself.
 P: What wear it myself? I'll wear it myself. The guests are on their way. And did you change your underwear?
 V: Mom!
 P: *What Ma, did you? I want the truth. Or are you wearing dirty ones from yesterday?* I just hope they are not smelling. You are such a silly little boy.
 V: Little!
 P: Oh God.

Original Transcript	Literal Translation	Reasonable Translation	Subtitles
Censorboard Chief: Just because India has gone global, should we embrace everything? What about our ancient culture? Our Tradition? Our Values? You are saying, Censorship is unnecessary, absolutely unnecessary. Vikram: So what is your response Mr.			

Bhatt?

Mr. Bhatt: Let's take the example of America. The first Amendment...

Censorboard Chief: This is not America this is India.

Politician: देखिए ये हमारे देश के नियम है पहले आप constitution change करवाईए फिर हम censorship change करेंगे.

Mr. B.: आप क्या समझते हैं, understand just because you wear हैंडलूम and you're speaking हिन्दी that you represent the common man.

But you don't.

Vikram: Ladies and Gentleman, please welcome, one of our top-dubbists in Delhi, Shivani Thalakia.

Politician: शिवानी वो जो स्क्रिप्ट तुम पढ़ रही थी उसका वो वाला डॉयलाग जरा पढ़ के सुनाना।

Vikram: हाँ, फरमाइए ना

Shivani: HINDI

Politician: This is what the common man hears.

Mr. B.: Just two

Politician: See this our country's rule is first you constitution change make then we censorship change will.

Mr. B.: You what think, just because you wear Handloom and you are speaking Hindi that you represent the common man?

Politician: Shivani that script you reading were, it's that dialogue just read out.

Vikram: Yes, speak no.

Politician: Look, these are our country's rules, first you change constitution then we will change censorship.

Mr. B.: What do you think, just because you wear handloom and you are speaking Hindi that you represent common man?

Politician: Shivani, the script you were reading, that dialogue, just read out.

Vikram: Yes, speak out.

Politician: These are the laws here. Change the constitution and censorship will follow.

Politician: Shivani, can we hear some dialogue from the new script?

Vikram: Go ahead please.

Shivani: Give it to me. Come on. More, big boy, more! Big boy I love it like that. Give me more. Come inside me. Give it to me. Come.

people having sex,
what's the problem?

Vikram: We are
going to take a short
break Ladies and
Gentleman. But
please stay tuned to
telly.com

Vikram: Hi.

Aditi: Hi

V: How have you been?

A: Fine.

V: Are you happy?

A: Yeah.

V: I miss you.

Technician: Oh, hi Aditi. I'm sorry. We're starting in 20 seconds.

V: I'll be right there.

T: Ok, sorry.

V: I have to go. Call me.

Ria: Aditi, why are you doing this?

Aditi: Doing what? What am I doing?

R: I don't think you are ready for marriage.

A: I just want to settle down

R: What do you do? Get married to some guy selected by mommy and daddy? You've barely known him for a couple of weeks. You are so mature.

A: I can't wait around to see Vikram's wife is ever gonna agree to divorce him. I've read too many magazines Ria, I know it may never happen.

R: Do you get all your lives directions from fucking Cosmopolitan?

A: Don't be so superior with me!

R: But we're family and I can tell you what I think and I will.

A: That's right my older, unmarried cousin Ria. Now what would she know about passion? I didn't mean that Didi.

R: For all this talk of passion, how about marrying for love Aditi?

Original Transcript

Literal Translation

Reasonable Translation

Subtitles

Dubey: मैंने बोला भई
देखो, अगर इतना माल
चाहिए तो पैसा बराबर
लगेगा ना वो एक रूपए
वाला तो जमाना गया ना,
अरे चाय, चार चाय लाना
भई, ताजी वाली

Dubey: I speak,
look, if so much
material required
then money equal
needed, that one
rupee era gone is.
Tea, four tea bring
please, fresh one.

Dubey: I said, look,
if you need so much
material then it will
cost in that
proportion, one
rupee era is gone.
Hello, tea, four tea
mister, fresh one.

Dubey: If he wants
the work done he
must get the cash
out. The one-rupee
era is over. Tea
anyone? Four Tea.

Lalit: ओए दुबे महाराज

Lalit: Oh Dubey
Maharaj!

Lalit: King. Dubey!

Lalit: Oh Dubey
Maharaj!

D: सर हाजिर हूँ	D: Sir, present	D: Sir, I am present.	D: At your service.
L: बड़ी मेहरबानी तेरी, आ गया तू	L: Very thanks you, come you	L: So kind of you that you have come	L: Gracing us with your presence.
D: अरे सर, आपकी बिटिया हमारी बिटिया, सर, काहे कोघबरा रहे हैं आप	D: Sir, your daughter my daughter, sir, why worried are you	D: Sir, your daughter is my daughter, why are you worried.	D: Your daughter is my daughter, why worry?
L: घबराएँ नहीं? चार दिन में शादी है दुबे, तेरे से कहा था सगाई की रसम होने वाली है आज समझाने वाले आ रहे हैं पौने चार बजे, तो इस तरह स्वागत करूंगा मैं है मेरी नाक कटवाएगा तू	L: Worry not? Four days in wedding Dubey, you said, engagement is ceremony happening, today groom family coming, quarter to four then this like welcome do I, my nose cut you.	L: Not worry? Four days until the wedding, I told you, the engagement ceremony is about to happen. Would I welcome them in this way, do you want to disgrace me in front of them?	L: The wedding is in four days. Today is the engagement, the groom is on his way. You want me to lose face?
D: बहुत जरूरी फोन है, फोन है, (on the phone) पेजर पे फोन करईए आप	D: Very urgent phone is, phone is. (on the phone) Pager on phone do you!	D: Very urgent phone, phone. (on the phone) call on pager!	D: Sorry, urgent call. (on the phone) Call my pager, damn it!
L: आप जाके मिल आओ ना बहुत important appointment होगा आपका, event management हो रही हैये भी तो event management है। इसको ठीक करवा ना, इसको ठीक करवा ना	L: You go meet, very important appointment will you, event management is happening, this also event management is. This fixed do, this fixed do	L: You go and see them, there must be a very important appointment. Event management is being done. This is also event management. Get it fixed! Get it fixed!	L: You have more important things to do? Are you the event manager? So fix it!
D (to his workers): यादव, तमीज, लाटरी, Workers: हां, क्या है	D: Yadav, Tameez, Lottery, Workers: Yes, what is?	D: Yadav, Yameez, Lottery, Workers: Yes, what's the matter?	
D: इधर आ ना, नीचे आइए, ठीक करिए, बल्लमीज काम करने के लिए बिल्कुल माँ मर जाती हैचाय चाहिए इनको, काम करिए	D: Here come, down come, fixed do, stupid work do for, totally mother die, tea want them, work do	D: Come here, come down, fix it. Idiots, to do work, they always makes excuses, like their mother is dead, they want tea only; do work.	D: Yadav! Y: Tameez! T: Lottery D: Get down and fix it! Insolent bums. Want tea do you? To work!
Lalit: I want this fixed now.			

Ria: HINDI hi,
there's a Van right
in the middle of the
driveway.

L: दुबे जी की गाड़ी है,
आप हटवाएंगे मेहरबानी
से उसको

D: भइया tempo
हटवाओ

Aditi: We had to go
to the tailor and
then we had to pick
up and give HINDI

L: Those people are
about to arrive, you
haven't even gotten
dressed yet.

A: Give us two
seconds papa.

L: Come on hurry
up.

A: You're looking
very handsome
papa.

L: Yes I know that.
I'll tell you about
handsome, hurry
up.

D: बहुत प्यारी बिटिया है
सर, Take it easy मैं हूँ
ना सर

L: Dubey's van is,
you move, please,
that

D: Brother van
move.

L: Mr. Dubey's van,
would you please
move the van.

D: Mister, move!
Van!

L: Dubey, move
your van!

D: Yadav, move the
van!

L (to Rahul): What
are you doing here?

Rahul: Just chilling.

L: Just chilling.

Idiot.

Aditi: Mama, we're
back.

D: No ma, I'll stop at the temple. It may get late. No, I won't eat at home, I'll be late. You can pack the food in the tiffin.

Alice. I'm sorry.

D: Look Ma, let me do the worrying about the stock market. I can deal with it. Ma, mobile call cost 12 rupees a minute, hang up now.

Original Transcript	Literal Translation	Reasonable Translation	Subtitles
Ria: Alia, god, what are you doing here? Alia: You know I saw Aditi दीदी नंगा and now I saw you नंगा too.	A: You know I saw Aditi sister naked and now I saw you naked too.	A: You know I saw Aditi sister naked and now I saw you naked too.	Alia: I saw cousin Aditi naked and now I almost saw you naked too.
R: You are so disgusting, get out know. Out. Out! A: What does this word mean? R: How come you are so irritating? A: How come you are still not married? R: Enough. जाओ, सगाई के लिए तैयार हो जाओ, जाओ	R. Enough! Go, engagement for ready get, go.	R: Enough. Go, get ready for the engagement, go.	Ria: Just go and get dressed for the engagement.
C.L.: Hello Sweety की गल है पुतर, की चाहींदा है। Alia: What does this word mean? C.L.: सब तेरा भला करे, ओए ए कि लिखिया होया है।	C.L.: Hello Sweetie, what matter is, daughter what want? C.L.: God your good do, oh, what, written, is?	C.L.: Hello Sweetie, what is the matter, child, what do you want? C.L.: God bless you. Oh, what is this written	C.L.: What is it my child? C.L.: In God's name. What on earth is this word?
A: It's uxorious uxorious. C.L.: Uxorious. ऐसा कोई वर्ड नहीं होता पुतर, यह spelling mistake है, कुछ missing है यहाँ, अरे यहाँ एल होना चाहिए, यह है 'Luxurious' है पुतर।	C.L.: Such any word not exist, daughter, this spelling mistake is, some missing is here oh, here L should be, this is luxurious, is daughter	C.L.: There is no word like this, child. This is a spelling mistake, something is missing. Yes, there should be 'l', it is 'luxurious' child.	A: Uxorious. C.L.: There is no such word my child. It's a spelling mistake, there's a letter missing. There should be an 'L' here, it's 'luxurious'.
Lalit: Oh, then you are facing this way as a barman. Rahul: I'll face this way and this act as a roof. L: Yes, yes, no need to be so happy about being a barman, you are not supposed to touch even one drop of this stuff understand? A barman should be absolutely sober. Keep this			

list and make sure the servants don't steal anything. And make sure all these bottles ... and make small drinks, not too large

R: Ok.

L: And white wine, and Whiskey hasn't come yet, he was supposed to bring it. Here he comes, my unpunctual brother. (to his brother) *Morning Kuku, brought the whiskey?*

Uday: *Anyone about?* What do you think?

Varuna: We got real scotch from this client!

L: Thank you Varuna. That's so nice of you. (to Aisha) Why aren't you staying over?

Aisha: I have to study for my exam.

S: I hope my little Alia didn't trouble you?

L: No, no! She's such a little delight. *Lets take the whiskey in. Australian idiot* pick it up and bring it in. (to his brother) This is too much. This is no time for family members to arrive! Four o'clock.

U: *We're hardly late, you get tense for nothing.* Just relax! (to his daughter) Aisha, this is uncle Chadha's and aunt Shashi's son Rahul and they live in Dubai.

R: Muscat actually.

B: Muscat, Muscat Yeah

R: You have a tattoo.

A: Yeah.

Dubey: (on the phone) *Talk fast, we're breaking off. Wait, I'll come down. One minute. Right, you can talk now. Yes, I'll be there. That's correct, take the advance. Life is such a comedy. No signal up there but there's one down here.*

Aisha: *You know, I think this virtuous virgin look really suits me.* And your cousin Rahul would really like it.

Ria: You have to know this. I heard your mother tell him and his sister that your bra size was 36c.

A: Why would she do that?

Aditi: Sorry just 32 A.

R: I know that but we can't tell them is 32 A. *I mean, breasts like baby mangos.*

Alice: *The bridegroom. The bridegroom is here!*

Ad: Oh shit!

Mixed English/Hindi greetings

Lalit: This is Pimmi's brother from Muscat. Varun, come here. *Congratulations Mr. Rai*

Mohan: Thank you.

L (to Hermant): Hello young man, how are you? (to Varun) Have you got the blue box? (to Hermant) So excited, soon to be in the family. So you like India?

H: Yes.

L: Better than Houston.

H: Yes.

L: Good, good good. India needs young men like you. Yes, yes of course, computer engineers are India's biggest export.

Varun: Am I a culi or what?

Original Transcript	Literal Translation	Reasonable Translation	Subtitles
<p>Lalit: What would you like to drink? Mohan: Scotch please – on the rocioloies. L: Rociolies means ice? M: 2 lumbs exactly. L: Exactly. Saroj: I'll have the same thanks. L: Rociolies. Rahul, two whiskeys here, 2 cubes of ice exactly. M (to Aditi): Oh my goodness, look at you. Oh how lovely you look. Pimmi: HINDI</p>			
<p>Grandmother: देख मैं की लेके आई तेरे वास्ते, पता है रब ने तेरा विआह जल्दी जल्दी क्यों तय कर दिता, मैं उस नूँ किहा कि मैं अपने पोते का मुँह देख के मरना है ते उसने मेरी सुन ली।</p>	<p>Grandmother: Look I what bring you for, know is God, your marriage quickly quickly why fixed, I him, said that I my grandson's face see die then he my heard.</p>	<p>Grandmother: Look, what I have brought for you. Do you know why God has fixed your marriage in such fast manner? I told God that I want to see the face of my grandson before I die, and God has listened to my request.</p>	<p>Pay respects to your grandmother. Grandmother: Look what I've got for you. Know why god arranged your marriage in such a hurry? I told him I must see a great-grandson before I die and he heard me. How beautiful, so fair and lovely.</p>
<p>P: शुभ शुभ बोलिये दादी माँ</p>	<p>Pimmi: Good good speak Grandmother.</p>	<p>Pimmi: Auspiciously spoken Grandmother.</p>	<p>Pimmi: Well spoken grandmother. Daughter, say hello to Hermant.</p>
<p>Aditi (to Hermant): Hi. Hermant: Hi, how are you? A: Fine.</p>			
<p>Shashi: ओए हद हो गई: give them some privacy. You know I</p>	<p>Shashi: Oh, limit is gone give them some privacy. You</p>	<p>Shashi: Oh, it is too much, give them some privacy. You</p>	<p>Shashi: Come on, give them some privacy.</p>

have met C.L. only once and we got married. Saroj: Can I have another drink? Grandmother (to Ria): तेरा मन नहीं करदा, शादी करने का L: Rahul, idiot come here! Come here, hold the camera C.L.: Alice लिया, मुबारका, बधाइयां सब नूँ भई ए लो मुँह मीठा करो।	know I have met C.L. only once and we got married. Grandmother (to Ria): Your heart not do, marriage do? C.L.: Alice bring, congratulation, greetings, all to, brother this take mouth sweet do.	know I have met C.L. only once and we got married. Grandmother (to Ria): Don't you want to get married? C.L.: Alice bring, congratulation and greetings to all, put these sweets in your mouth.	
H: Thank you. Grandmother (to Ria): HINDI L: ओए, ठीक टाईम पर पहुँच गया, तुसी मिले इसनूँ This is Varun. He's almost a young man. I sent Rahul to get you from the airport. He said the plane was late.	L: Oh, right time on reached, you meet him. This is Varun. He's almost a young man. I sent Rahul to get you from the airport. He said the plane was late.	L: Oh, you have reached at right time, have you met him? This is Varun. He's almost a young man. I sent Rahul to get you from the airport. He said the plane was late.	C.L.: Sweeten your mouths my dears! L: Just in time. My dear brother-in-law. Remember our Varun.
Tej: No it was not late. Nobody was there at the airport so we took a cab and came. L: You had to take a cab? Rahul you idiot, I sent you to the airport and you come back telling me the plane is late. किस तरह दा बेवकूफ है			L: What a complete idiot.
Shashi: He's been working day and night. He doesn't know India. L: He's the number one most stupid HINDI S: I'm sorry to say	S: I'm sorry to say	S: I'm sorry to say	Shashi: He calls my

but I don't like this
ऐवे सारा दिन बोलदे
रहिदे ने डफर है, जो भी
है, बड़े होनगे अपने घर
विच, मैं नहीं आ रही
वापिस, मसकट ही ठीक
है।

L: ये हैं This is Tej
Puri. He's married
to my sister Vijaya.
After my older
brother's death Tej
has been the head
of the family. He
has really looked
after us. Come and
meet Hermant.

T: Yes, excuse me
Vijaya (to Aditi): दो
महीने नहीं रूक सकती
थी You know how
difficult it was to get
tickets at this time
of the year?

Lalit: We would've
flown you here first
class you know. We
couldn't have had
this wedding
without you, my
darling sister.

T: Nothing
would've stopped
us. Ria, is that you?
Come here. Come
here. Come here.
God bless, very
good.

Dubey: अबे मैंने कहा
मादर चोद, जेब मैं अगर
पैसे नहीं है, और चाहता
है बेटी की शादी में

but I don't like this.
Like this, full day
speak, stupid is,
whatever is, big
ones house is, I not
come India back,
Muscat ok is.

L: This is Tej Puri.
He's married to my
sister Vijaya. After
my older brother's
death Tej has been
the head of the
family. He has really
looked after us.
Come and meet
Hermant.

Vijaya (to Aditi):
Two month not
stop can. You know
how difficult it was
to get tickets at this
time of the year?

Dubey: Oh, I said,
motherfucker,
pocket in money
not and want

but I don't like this.
You always call him
an idiot, whoever
you are does not
make any difference
to me, if you are a
rich man I am not
going to get
anything from you. I
am not coming back
to India, Muscat is
ok for me.

L: This Tej Puri.
He's married to my
sister Vijaya After
my older brother's
death Tej has been
the head of the
family. He has really
looked after us.
Come and meet
Hermant.

Vijaya (to Aditi):
Could not you have
waited for two
months? You know
how difficult it was
to get tickets at this
time of the year?

Dubey: Oh, I said,
motherfucker, if you
don't have money in
your pocket and you

son an idiot and a
duffer. Who does he
think he is? I'm not
coming to India
again.

Vijaya (to Aditi): My
naughty niece,
couldn't you wait?

D: The
motherfucker
doesn't have a
penny to his name

Clinton के white House थीम वाला टेंट लगा दूँ लग सकता है क्या, गांड में गुंह नहीं है और चले हैं सुअर को दावत देने।	daughter's marriage in Clinton's white House theme's tent fix do, fix can be what, ass in faeces no and going pig feast for.	want Clinton's White House theme tent fixed for your daughter's marriage, how is it possible? You don't have money and going to throw a feast.	and he wants the White House theme for his daughter's wedding. What the fuck does he expect? The swine hasn't any shit
Alice: बर्फ चाहिए	Alice: Ice needed	A: We need ice!	A: We need more ice.
D: क्या A: आईस D: एक बारी, कम से कम हजार री कहा है, भई बर्फ	D: What? A: Ice D: One time, at least, thousand times said, brother, ice frozen then frozen, listened not?	D: What? A: Ice D: I have told thousand times at least and not once, that if ice needs to be frozen, it means that it needs to be frozen but who listens.	D: What? D: I've told them! I've told them a thousand times they'll need more ice – they never listen.
D: अब क्या	D: Now What?	D: Now What?	D: Now what?
A: वो आपको पानी चाहिए। D: पानी A: पानी D: ठीक है A: वो फ्रिज का या नलके का D: फ्रिज का, thank you.	A: That, you, water want? D: Water? A: Water. D: Ok. A: That fridge's or tap's D: Fridge's thank you.	A: Do you want water? D: Water? A: Water. D: Ok. A: Fridge's or tap's? D: Fridge water, thank you.	A: Do you want some water? A: Water? D: Alright. A: Fridge water or tap water? D: Fridge water.
Workers: singing in HINDI			Workers: Our eyes made the right signal and I found a soul-mate for life.
D: HINDI			Dubey: Shut up you sods.
Lalit: Tej would you like a cigar? Tej: No, I stopped.			Tej: No thanks, I've given up.
L: In American ... smoking			Lalit: America makes everyone give up smoking.
Vijaya: HINDI very cultured family.			Vijaya: The Rai family, very cultured

L: HINDI and you become a very cultured family.

L: I wanted to talk to you about Ria's plans. Ria, come here. Ria wants to study in America, so we were hoping you could perhaps give us some advice.

V: What do you want to do HINDI?

R: I'm applying for creative writing.

L: She wants to be a writer.

T: Very Good.

Mother: Where do you think the money will come from? My teacher's salary? Why can't she be like Aditi and do the right thing at the right time? भाई साहब, कुछ समझाए इसे

C.L.: भैन जी आजकल writing बिच बड़ा पैसा है, you know booker award इक किताब लिखी रातों रात करोड़पती हो गई

L: Absolutely, just one book and who knows, it might happen.

Shashi: Our Umang lives in the states. You know साड़ा उमंग भी is also there.

Mother: Where do you think the money will come from? My teacher's salary? Why can't she be like Aditi and do the right thing at the right time?

Brother, some teach her

C.L.: Sisterji, today writing involve very money is, you know Booker a Award, one book written, within night, billionaire become.

Shashi: Our Umang lives in the states. You know our Umang also is also there

family.

L: Speak a little English and you become a cultured family.

L: Tej, we must talk about Ria's plans.

Mother: Where do you think the money will come from? My teacher's salary? Why can't she be like Aditi and do the right thing at the right time?

Brother, teach her something.

C.L.: Sister, there is a lot of money in writing today, you know the Booker Award, she wrote just one book, and turned into a billionaire overnight.

Shashi: Our Umang lives in the states. You know our Umang is also there.

Make her understand.

C.L.: Lots of money in writing these days. That girl who won the booker price she became a millionaire over night.

T: Give us his number!

S: He's coming here tonight. Maybe Ria and Umang will like each other.

C.L.: इक पंथ दो काज

C.L.: One stone two hits.

C.L.: Killing two birds with one stone.

C.L.: Two weddings in one.

L: What are the chances?

R: Bad.

C.L.: ए इक हुन Joke है – non-vegetarian.

C.L.: This one now joke is – non-vegetarian.

C.L.: Now, I have a joke – non-vegetarian.

C.L.: I have another joke, non-vegetarian.

L: Leave the jokes for the Sangeet.

C.L.: ठीक है rehearsal शुरू कर देने हैं उसदी, तुम आए हो न शवे इन्तजार,

C.L.: Ok, rehearsal, start is, its, you come no dead waiting

C.L.: Ok, let us begin its rehearsal, you have come after a long wait

C.L.: I'm rehearsing

Aditi: Varun, out!

Varun: What's your problem anyway?

A: Just go, can't I have some bloody privacy in my own house?

Lalit: Hey Varun, what happened to you?

Vikram's wife (on the phone): Mrs. Metha speaking, who is this?

Tej: Ok, I have an announcement to make. I'm thinking that if Ria wants to study in America I will fund her entire education. No no no no arguments, no arguments. This is my family! *I won't listen to you or Ria's mother.* Ria is a sensible girl, if she wants to write we must encourage her.

Lalit: This is not what I meant. *I can still work.*

T: This is final, we'll talk about it later, ok? Now you tell us what needs to be done for the Wedding.

Vijaya: Absolutely. Now you don't have to worry about anything. We take care of everything.

L: Oh my god. I don't know what to say. This is enough for me that we are all here together. My god, Pimmi is wonderful, no, after so many years, after Surinder past away is the first time the whole family is get together (to Ria) Come on *don't cry Ria.* Don't cry, I know you are missing him. We are all missing your father. But he's here with us. Your papa's hand will always be on this family. Always.

HINDI murmuring

Tej: *This is India's big problem.*

Lalit: Dubey, Alice *Check the fuses.*

Pimmi: Alice, answer the phone HINDI

L: Rahul, hey Rahul, go and start the generator.

Rahul: I don't even know where it is.

L: Behind the house, idiot.

Aisha. Come on, I'll show you.

Alice: (on the phone) Hello, hello Umang? Just hold on a sec.

C.L.: *Hello Umang, when are you arriving? Yes she's here, hovering over my shoulder.*

Sashi: *Hello? We got disconnected.*

Dubey: Sister-fucker, what a pain. All the fuses have blown.

Alice: What?

D: What? Which is the house fuse? This one? I'll fix this right away. The light, a little closer please. A little to this side please? A bit lower. Your shadow is in the way. A little closer.

Aisha: You think you can handle it?

Rahul: Yeah sure.

Dubey: Trying to say something? It's hot today.

Alice: Switch it on, the power is back.

D: I'm such an asshole.

Hermant: Hi

Aditi: Hi

H: I'm glad I had some exercise all I've been doing is eating and eating and eating. *Eat, son, eat!* I'm sorry I had to wake you up this early though, but this is the only time we're gonna have on our own. It's just so many ceremonies. I don't even know who's who half the time.

A: I know what you mean.

H: I wanted to talk to you about our

Waitress: Here is your coffee ma'm.

A: Thank you. You want something?

H: I'll have a salt lassi please.

W: Sure, I'll get it.

H: Thank you. I want to know what's on your mind.

A: Sleep. That's all that's on my mind right now.

H: I saw you with your family yesterday. You guys are so close. Sometimes I worry about how it'll be for you in America. You might just feel so alone.

A: I'm sure I can handle it. It'll be really nice to get away from this damn place.

H: Why? You don't like Delhi?

A: No, I love India. I mean I don't care, America is gonna be new for me anyway

H: My fiancé.

A: Sorry, I'm just not a morning person.

Original Transcript	Literal Translation	Reasonable Translation	Subtitles
<p>Lalit (on the phone): Is it ok if I join you on the fourth hole today? No no no, I'll be there 100 percent. I'll be there, yeah, don't worry. Ok, bye. Pimmi! Pimmi! What are you doing inside? P: Nothing. L: Nothing. I know very well what you are doing. Come on, I have to get ready. P: क्या है</p>	<p>P: What is?</p>	<p>P: What is the matter?</p>	
<p>L: If you must hide and smoke use at least a better air freshener. P: I was a little tense. L: Tense. What are you tense about, you are going shopping. I'm the one who should be tense. P: Well I'm doing it for our darling daughter, you saw how much they gave us. We can't look bad in front of our in-laws. L: You look very good with your smoking in front of them. P: Well, doesn't Saroj drink? Anyway, just let me go and do it ok?</p>			

L: Pimmi, she goes shopping again.

P: And I'm telling you, it's gonna cost us.

L: So what I'll raise the money, like I've organized everything else.

P: अच्छा. You've organized everything else? Who's been non-stop on her toes for days, just tell me that! Gratitude तो छोड़ो।

L: Oh बड़ी मेहरबानी, बड़ी मेहरबानी. Thank you. You are working so hard. Take out the curlers at least.

P: इस शादी ने तो मेरा दिमाग खराब कर दिता

P: Well, You've organized everything else? Who's been non-stop on her toes for days, just tell me that! Gratitude leave

L: Oh very thanks, very thanks. Thank you. You are working so hard. Take out the curlers at least.

P: This marriage is my brain spoiled.

P: Well, You've organized everything else? Who's been non-stop on her toes for days, just tell me that! Leave Gratitude aside.

L: Oh thank you very much. Thank you. You are working so hard. Take out the curlers at least.

P: This marriage is getting on my nerves.

P: There's gratitude for you.

L: We're so grateful, dear Pimmi.

P: This wedding is driving me crazy.

Dubey: It's going to be a long day. It's too hot after all that rain. May I have a glass of water? I'm very thirsty. What's your good name?

Alice: Alice.

D: That's an English name. Where are you from?

A: Bihar. What's your name?

D: Parbatlall Kanbaiyalal Dubey. I've changed it to P.K. Dubey. But P.K. Dubey makes people laugh, so they call me Dubeyji in the city.

A: Parbatlall is a nice name.

D: They're newly printed. I'm into event management. It has an address for sending mail through the computer.

A: E-mail?

D: You know about it. Keep it, take some more!

A: This is fine.

D: Tell me you love me. Have you seen the movie 'Tell me you love me'?

A: Yes. What is it?

D: Nothing. I must be going.

Dubey: Tell me something. How many weddings have I organized so far? At least 150-175. How come I'm not married yet? My poor mother has grown old saying "Son, bring me a daughter-in-law". So I've been thinking. I'm going to put an end to my lonesome, vagabond life. I'll find myself a decent, simple girl

and begin life as a family man. The hope is now that the next tent Dubey puts up has Dubey entering as a groom.

Workers: Bravo, I swear, pure genius.

D: You arsehole. Do I pay you to sit on your arse? Get to work!

Original Transcript	Literal Translation	Reasonable Translation	Subtitles
Lalit: दुबे, shit, दुबे	Lalit: Dubey Shit Dubey	Lalit: Dubey, shit, Dubey	L: Dubey, Shit, Dubey.
Dubey: आ रहे हैं सर, आ रहे हैं चैन से बैठने भी नहीं देते	Dubey: Coming sir, coming, comfort with sit, not let	Dubey: Coming sir, coming. Never let us sit comfortably.	D: Coming sir. Not a minute of peace.
L: ओए हद कर दी यार, यह सफेद तम्बु	L: Oh, limit is friend, this white tent!	L: Oh, you have crossed the limits, this white tent!	L: This is the limit: a white tent? A white tent?
D: Yes sir?			D: Yes sir.
L: यह सफेद तम्बु	L: This white tent!	L: This white tent!	D: Yes sir.
D: Yes sir?			
L: ओए यह yes sir, yes sir क्या कर रहा है, सफेद तम्बु कभी तुमने देखा है जिन्दगी में	L: Oh, this, yes sir, yes sir, what is doing, white tent even you seen life in	L: What are you doing: yes sir, yes sir. Have you ever seen white tent in your life?	L: Oh yes, sir, what's with the white tent?
D: आजकल इन्ही का फैशन है, Millennium style, fashion Y2k. com.	D: Today its fashion is going. Millennium style fashion Y2k. com	D: This is in fashion nowadays. Millennium style fashion Y2k. com	D: This is fashion these days. Millenium style: Y2K dot com.
L: हुशआरी न दिखा, शादी में कभी सफेद तम्बु देखा है तुमने, शादी है या मैयत कर रहा है, देख Dubey एक ही बिटिया है मेरी, ऐसे सफेद तम्बु, बम्बु नहीं चाहिए मेरे को, कुछ लाल, पीला हरा नीला कुछ होना चाहिए, रंगीन कनात होनी चाहिए	L: Smartness not show, marriage in even white tent see you. Marriage or funeral doing, see Dubey one daughter is mine, like this white tent no want, some Red, Yellow, Green, Blue should be. Colored tent should be	L: Do not try to be smart, have you ever seen white tent in a marriage? Is it a marriage or a funeral? Look Dubey, I have only one daughter and I don't want this type of white tent and I want some red, yellow, green, blue colored tent. The walls of the tent should be colored.	L: Smart-arse! A white tent! Is this a wedding or a funeral? I only have one daughter and I want a colorful tent for her. Red, yellow, green, blue.
D: Ok, Ok, भई यादव, भई उतारो यह नहीं चाहिए, old fashioned चाहिए, लाल पीला हरा।	D: Ok, Ok brother, Yadav, brother, remove this, not required, old	D: Ok, Ok, brother Yadav, they don't want this tent, remove it and put	D: Ok, Yadav! Get this down, it's out. He wants the old look.

	fashioned required, red, yellow, green.	up the old fashioned tent in red, yellow, green colors.	
L: अभी के अभी उतारो इसको D: उतारो भई	L: Now and now remove it D: Remove brother	L: Remove this right now D: Remove it brother!	
L: अच्छा सुनो water proofing का क्या होगा D: Water proofing की तो बात ही नहीं हुई थी L: बात कैसे नहीं हुई थी दुबे यार	L: Ok listen, water proofing is what happened. D: Water proofing talk is not done. L: Talk how not done, Dubey friend?	L: Ok listen, what happened to the water proofing? D: Water proofing was never discussed. L: How is it never discussed, Dubey?	L: Get it down. What about water proofing. D: We never discussed this. L: What do you mean Dubey?
D: वैसे भी अभी मोर नहीं नाच रहे हैं बारिश नहीं होगी	D: Even, now peacock not dancing, rain not come.	D: Even peacocks are not dancing now so there is no indication of rain.	D: The peacocks have stopped dancing. It won't rain.
L: मोर नहीं नाच रहे हैं, बारिश नहीं होगी, गाजा पी के आया है क्या D: Advance sir, अरे हटा	L: Peacock no dancing, rain not come, drugs have taken come in, what. D: Advance sir, remove it	L: Peacock are not dancing, rain will not come, are you drugged or what? D: Advance sir, remove it.	L: Peacocks? You've been smoking pot? D: Ok sir, an advance.
L: Advance, किस लिए D: Sir, Water proofing means more money, अच्छा देखिए, foreign style में deal है सारा काम है, लिख के रखते हैं, कितना चम्मच, कितना प्लेट चाहिए, water proofing का तो इसमें कोई जिकर ही नहीं, अब आपकी need बढ़ेगी तो पैसा बढ़ेगा ना, deal is deal.	L: Advance, what for D: Sir, Water proofing means more money. Ok look, foreign style in deal is whole work, write in keep, how many spoons, how many plates required, water proofing is in it not any mention, now your requirement increase then money increase will, deal is deal.	L: Advance, what for? D: Sir, Water proofing means more money, Ok look, the deal is in a foreign style and I keep everything in writing with me, how many spoons and plates required and there is no mention of waterproofing here, now if you increase your requirements then money will also be increased. Deal is deal.	D: Waterproofing means more money. In foreign countries, a deal is a deal. See, all in foreign style, in writing. Number of plates and spoons, but no waterproofing. You want more, pay more. A deal is a deal.

L: अच्छा चल, कितना लगेगा	L: Ok, how much cost.	L: Ok, how much will it cost?	L: How much.
D: चार, आठ, 2 lacs, exactly and approximately	D: Four, eight, 2 lacs exactly and approximately	D: Four, eight, 2 lacs, exactly and approximately	D: \$5000
L: 2 lacs, यार NRI समझा है मेरे का	L: 2 lacs, friend NRI understand me.	L: 2 lacs, do you think I am a NRI?	L: I'm not a Non-Resident-Indian.
D: सर area देखिए, ठीक है, अच्छा मुझ पर छोड़िए आप, आपकी बिटिया हमारी बिटिया, कुछ advance मिलेगा, ऐसा है कि आज है काम का दिन, कल की छुट्टी, परसों strike फिर अपनी शादी	D: Sir, area look, ok its, ok on me leave you, your daughter, my daughter, some advance will want, this is, today is working day, tomorrow is holiday, day after tomorrow is strike, then our marriage.	D: Sir, look at the area, ok, its ok, you leave everything to me, your daughter is like my daughter to me. Will I get some advance? See, today is a working day, tomorrow is holiday, day after tomorrow is strike, then it is time for our marriage.	D: Your garden is huge. Well, your daughter is my daughter. Advance sir. Today we work, tomorrow holiday, next day strike, then – our wedding.
L: अच्छा चल नहीं है मेरे पास, पाँच हजार ह	L: Ok, not have I, five thousand have.	L: Ok, I don't have so much, I have five thousands.	L: That's all I have on me.
D: सर दो लाख	D: Sir, two lacs	D: Sir, two lacs	
L: हाँ बाकी बाद में दे दुंगा ना	L: Yes, remaining later on give will	L: Yes, I will pay the balance later on.	L: I'll give you the rest later.
D: रस्सी भी ना आएगी इतने में	D: Rope even not come in this	D: This will not even cover the costs of rope.	D: This won't pay for a thing.

Shashi: Thank god it's air-conditioned. In Muscat everything is air-conditioned.

Pimmi: An ice-lolly? You'll get sick.

Aditi: Just one, Ma.

P: This is for Hermant's sister.

S: You bought one for Hermant's sister in Bangalore.

P: So many cousins.

Seller: Look at this silk scarf. So smooth, even a fly could slide on it. Once your eyes behold its beauty the fly has gone.

P: It's too gaudy.

S: By God, it's fabulous.

Seller: Who's the bride?

P: She went to get an ice-lolly.

Ria: Aditi, what are you doing, they are waiting for your approval inside.

A: I don't really know what Hermant thinks. What he is expecting me

R: So then call him instead of Vikram. Now please go inside before they come out and start dancing. Thank you.

Aisha: Alia, go and sit!

Varun: We can try this step and then this HINDI

A (to Rahul): Hi Sexy, so silly boy, can you do this?

V: Come on Didi, that's enough. Not more interruptions. We will never get this right.

A: What is it Rahul? We're rehearsing for the Sangeet, what do you want?

D: Put them up properly. Over there. That's it. Not a singly flower in place yet.

Workers: I knew it. She's a thief!

D: She wasn't stealing you fucking arseholes.

Original Transcript	Literal Translation	Reasonable Translation	Subtitles
Sam: Lalit and Sam are partners and Ricky and me. S: Lets take them on Partner! That's a great shot partner! L: Thanks Sajeev S: Great shot there, great shooting. L: Thank god we're partners. I have to talk to you about something Sajeev. S: Where have you been. HINDI			Sajeev: You don't play much golf these days.
L: बच्ची की शादी में busy था. Sajeev, I was wondering	L: Daughter's marriage in busy was. I was wondering	L: I was busy in my daughter's marriage. I was wondering	L: I'm busy with my daughter's wedding.
S: How is Pimmi? How is Pimmi? L: Pimmi is fine, fine. S: How are the preparations going? L: Preparations. But ah, Sam, I'm having a cash flow problem. I was hoping to borrow some money, just to get over these wedding expenses.			
S: अच्छा चल दस्स चाहीदे किने ने, दस का सई ।	S: Ok, tell, required how much, tel	S: Ok, tell me, how much do you require?	S: How much do you need pal?

L: \$12,000 L: \$ 12.000 L: \$12.000 L: \$12.000
S: when do you think you'll be able to return it partner?
L: Next month. I have a huge shipment going to Macy's next month.
S: Hey guys, Mr. Verma here has got some serious cash flow problems.
Other Player: हॉ भईया बेटी की शादी में तो ऐसा ही होता है, thank God, I don't have any daughter नही ता मेरी बँड ही बज जाती ।
Other Player: Yes, brother, daughter's marriage in such happens, thank God. I don't have any daughter, otherwise my band blows.
Other Player: Yes, brother, it is always like this in daughter's marriage, thank God. I don't have any daughter otherwise it would have been screwed up.
Other Player: A daughter's wedding, tell me about it. Thank God I don't have any daughter, or I'd be wiped out.

S: But he's got a high maintenance wife
Other Player: But at least she's a self financed महारानी,
Other Player: But at least she's a self financed, Maharani
Other Player: But at least she's a self financed, Queen.

Pimmi: Shashi, remember when we were newly weds? After Lalit and my brother fell asleep you'd come into my room and tell me dirty jokes.
Sashi: Your Lalit may have gone to sleep but my C.L. would never sleep or let me sleep either.
Lalit: Hey Idiot, come on let's enter the harem.
Women screaming: No men allowed. Go away!
L: C.L. has an item which is most suitable for ladies please give him a hand.
C.L. (to the ladies): Stick with me, I'll show you real fun. Cash in on the pleasures of life with me. I'm giving birth.
L (to Varun): So Varun, enjoying yourself among all the women?
Shashi (to Ria): Get some lemon juice, the henna's drying.

Tej: Be a good girl! Don't say no. Don't you like it? Now, be a good girl and open your mouth.
Alia: No.
T: It's only this one what's left.
R: Hi, what?
T: Hi, nice mehendi, Ria. She's angry. Ria will give you some Samosa, ok?
R: What were you doing here?
A: Eating a bit Samosa.
R: Why?
A: Because I'm hungry.

R: No, why are you eating it here?
 A: Because this is where Samosa are.
 R: Why was he with you Alia?
 A: Who?
 R: Tej uncle.
 A: Alice said, there's some Samosa on the top shelf and Tej uncle came to take the box down for me
 R: Ok, lets do a nose shake.
 A: Ok, I love you.
 R: I love you too my baby.

L: You know Pimmi, sometimes when I look at them I feel love which I almost cannot bear. *How did they grow up so quickly?* And when did we grow old? If only their lives are happy. And for that I'm willing to take on every trouble, every sorrow in the world.

Pimmi: Need anything HINDI?
 Rahul I'm alright, thanks.
 P: Good night.
 Lalit: Good night idiot.
 R: I thought you weren't staying here?
 Aisha: I changed my mind.
 R: Really?
 A: How come you are not asleep as yet?
 R: Just thinking.
 A: About what?
 R: About good Indian girls. This is a scorpion.
 A: Yeah. It's my sign. I should go.
 R: Its ok.
 A: I should really go.
 R: Don't go, please don't go.
 Varun: *The hard-on betrayal – how does it feel?*
 R: Idiot!

Vikram: Where would you like to go?
 Aditi: I just want to drive drive and drive.
 V: Why did you come to see me?
 A: I wanted to remind me why I broke up with you. Somehow, I can't remember.

Original Transcript	Literal Translation	Reasonable Translation	Subtitles
Officer: ओ, नीचे कर, शीशा नीचे कर, क्या कर रहे है आप इस वक्त यहाँ पर	Officer: Hello, down it, glass down it, what doing you this time here.	Officer: Hello, down it, roll down your glass, what are you doing here this time?	Officer: Roll down the window! What are you doing here so late?
V: हम यहाँ क्या कर रहे हैं, none of your business.	V: We here, what doing, none of your business.	V: What are we doing here? It's none of your	V: None of your business.

O: बड़ी अंग्रेजी जानता है क्यों ले चले थाने, निकल, बाहर निकल तू indecent exposure, obscenity, कौन है तू क्या बोला कौन है तू बम्ब, बाहर निकल।

O: Big English knows, should take to police station. Come, outside come you. Indecent exposure, obscenity. Who are you? What spoke, who are you, Bomb, come outside

business!

O: You know a lot of English, should we take you to the police station? Come out, come outside. Indecent exposure, obscenity. Who are you, I am asking who are you? Are you a big shot, come outside?

O: Big words in English, eh? Should we take you to the station? Out! Get out of the car! Who do you think you are? You may have a bomb there.

V: Do we look like terrorists?

O: Come on आज, आज तू भी आज, हाथ ऊपर रख हरामजादे, हाथ ऊपर, ले बज गई तेरी घंटी, हाथ ऊपर कर हरामजाद

O: Come on, come, come you also, come, Hands up, bastard, Hand up, Ringed your ring, hands up bastard. Home

O: Come on, come, you also come, keep your hands up you bastard, keep your hands up. See your phone is ringing, keep your hands up you bastard. Home.

O: Get out right now! You too! Hands up. Bastards! Your time's up. Keep your hands up.

V: फोन मुझे दीजिए

V: Phone, me give. Hello Darling.

V: Give me the phone. Hello Darling

V: Give it to me.

A: Vikram!

V: Yes, I will be home soon.

O: घंटी बज गई, मेहदी लगे हाथ एक रात, चल हमारे साथ मजा आ जाएगा,

O: Rung the bell, Henna is hand, one night, go with us, with, enjoy you.

O: The bell has rung. You have henna on your hands, come with us for one night and you will really enjoy it.

O: The henna-painted hands of a bride. Couldn't wait, could you? Go with me if you're in such a hurry. You'll be in for a real treat.

A: Vikram!

V: Well, there was an emergency.

Don't wait. It's just the television show in the background.

O: बुलाऊ तेरे आशिक को, चल बुला के ला, ओए हीरो, हे

A: Vikram, don't leave me with them.

O: Madam हे stop, हे भाग गई ओए

O: Call your lover, go, call him, oh hero A: Vikram, don't leave me with them.

O: Oh madam, oh stop, oh run away.

O: Should I call your lover, ok, go call him. Hero. A: Vikram, don't leave me with them.

O: Madam, stop! She has run away.

O: Shall I call you lover? Go and get him. Hey, hero

O: Madam, stop! The bird's flown.

Pimmi: Lalit

Lalit: Let me sleep.

Yadan: Hey Lottery, grab this. Here Lottery, catch.

Lottery: Throw it. How should I arrange the colors?

D: Any way you like. I'll nail it. Brother's I'm off. Manage on your own.

L: What's up?

D: I'm not feeling well.

Ria: So what do you want to say to him?

Aditi: Everything.

R: Oh god. And then?

A: He's going to tell me that I'm a slut and that I should get lost.

R: What?

A: How could I have been so stupid?

R: Listen, are you sure you want to tell him everything? I mean everything is over between you and Vikram now.

A: Ria I don't want to lie. I don't want to start something new based on lies and deceit. It's just so wrong. You liked Hermant, no?

R: Yeah!

A: He's nice.

R: He's good for you.

A: I can't do this to him. I'm going mad, what is this music?

R: It's Aisha practicing for the Sangeet tonight.

A: Maybe she shouldn't bother.

R: What?

A: Maybe she shouldn't bother.

R: Aditi!

Hermant: I'm really glad you called you know, because I was gonna call you myself this morning.

Aditi: Why, what happened?

H: Nothing happened. It was great to see you alone yesterday so I thought I'd try my luck again.

A: You look really nice when you laugh.

H: Oh Yeah?

A: I need to tell you something, you'll probably hate me by the end of it but I really need you to know.

H: It's ok, I'm not gonna hate you though. This used to be my favourite habbas during my IT days. Best chai in the world.

A: It's nice.

H: Oh yeah, I was hoping you like it. Hey Jai.

Jai: How is life. I recognized you at first glance my friend. Haven't seen you around.

H: I've been away for years.

J: What will you have?

H: Two of your special teas. No sugar in mine.

J: *You've been brainwashed by America: no sugar, if you please. Naresh Sharma was here yesterday, from America. He wanted Sweet 'n' Low imagine!*

H: *Lets chat some other time.*

J: *Say no more.*

H: So, what was so important? You don't want to marry me anymore?

Pimmi: Just look at these, Mama gave these to me when I got married. They are still so shiny and beautiful, I never used them once. Just hope Aditi will use them.

Lalit: What are you spread all over. I have to do my accounts, I can't even find my papers. Please don't keep this stuff here.

P: Then get a computer, you won't need any paper. Computers can do everything for you these days.

L: I'm too old to learn all this computer nonsense. And you know how much money we already got spent? You know how long it will take me to repay all this?

P: Don't worry so much Lalit, our only daughter is getting married, nothing is a waste. Look at these Saris, you know I bought this one in Madras 22 years ago. I've been collecting these since the day Aditi was born.

L: This one is lovely. And tomorrow she'll be gone. Just like that, in one day.

A: I'm sorry.

H: Yeah, I'm sorry too. *Move your bike man! Move your bloody bike!*

Couldn't help yourself. You had to drag me into your mess as well. What am I supposed to do know? Mr. Verma, your daughter is such a rosebud. We'll have a wonderful family in Houston/Texas, be friends, take our kids to Disneyland, send you a couple of tickets every year. It'll be lovely. But hey, wait a minute, you didn't tell me she's still screwing her ex boyfriend while you were fixing her marriage. But that shouldn't be such a problem, we're from America, we shall fit right in.

**Original
Transcript**

**Literal
Translation**

**Reasonable
Translation**

Subtitles

Pimmi: You know
I've been thinking
Lalit, I don't want
to send Varun to
boarding school.

Lalit: Oh come on.

P: I don't want to
lose both of my
children.

L: Pimmi, don't
start all over with
that. We've been
through all this.
He's going to
boarding school,
that's final. Just
wasting his live,
staying here,

watching tv the whole day. There's no one here to discipline him. HINDI. I just don't know what to do with him.

P: He also needs love and affection. He's such a sensitive boy Lalit. And he's so wonderful with all these creative things.

L: Creative things like singing and dancing. Cooking sesame chicken. कोई अच्छा सा लड़का ढुंड लेते हैं उसके लिए

L: Creative things like singing and dancing. Cooking sesame chicken. any good boy find out him for.

L: Creative things like singing and dancing. Cooking sesame chicken. Let us find out a good boy for him.

He never listens to me

Lets find him a nice boy.

P: Don't say that! Why do you always look at everything like that?

L: You know what I heard him tell Aisha what he wants to be when he grows up?

P: What?

L: Said he wants to be a chef. I tell you. हमारा बेटा खानसामा बनेगा, तेजे भाई साहब भी fainted with, यह खानसामा बनेगा।

L: Said he wants to be a chef. I tell you. Our son cook become, Tej brother, also fainted with, he cook become.

L: Said he wants to be a chef. I tell you. Our son will become a cook, Tej brother is also fainted upon hearing this that he wants to become a cook.

Our son will be a chef. Tej nearly fainted with surprise; a chef!

P: ओह, बच्चा है Lalit, बोल दिया होगा. Doesn't mean anything.

P: Oh, child is, Lalit, speak out. Doesn't mean anything

P: Oh Lalit, he is just a child, he might have spoken inadvertently. Doesn't mean anything.

P: He's just a child Lalit

Doesn't mean anything.

L: Such a fool. My son will be a man

when he grows up,
you understand?
He'll be an educated
professional. He
won't be singing
and dancing in
people's HINDI.

Varun: Mama

P: क्या चाहिए बेटा

P: what want, son

P: What do you
want, son?

P: Yes darling.

V: Can you do this
for me, make a
chain on my eyes.

P: Why HINDI?

P: Why son?

V: For my dance
with Aisha tonight.

P: Ok.

L: Why can't you do
something useful?

Huh? Like some
exercise or reading
your schoolbooks
for a change. Huh?

Look at you, big
huge hulk, can't
spend you whole life
singing and dancing.

V: Why not?

L: What do you
mean why not? You
want to become an
HINDI when you
grow up? You don't
do any exercise, you
don't even play
cricket. You don't
read a book, just
sleeping all day and
watching tv and
now this new
nonsense dancing.

V: You wanted to
take mom to
HINDI dance the
other night.

L: You won't
compare yourself
with me, you are
just the kid

L: You want to be
an entertainer?

understand.

V: But right now
you said I'm big
now.

L: HINDI. You are
going to boarding
school. Decided.

P: बेटा, बेटा पापा is
only talking about it.

P: Son, son, father is
only talking about it.

P: Son, son, father is
only talking about it.

L: No, I've made up
my mind, we're not
only talking. You
are going to
boarding school and
that's decided.

P: Please let me talk
to him. It's gonna
be good for you.
Pretty soon Aditi is
going away and
you're gonna be so
lonely at home. So
we thought at a
good boarding
school you're going
to have so much
fun.

V: You are trying to
send me away to
boarding school.

P: No बेटा, nothing
is पक्का. That school
is much better than
this school. We
thought there are so
many boys your age,
you'll really enjoy
yourself.

P: No बेटा, nothing
is fixed. That school
is much better
where you'll go
then, there are so
many boys your age,
you'll really enjoy
yourself.

P: No बेटा, nothing
is final. That school
is much better
where you'll go
then, there are so
many boys your age,
you'll really enjoy
yourself.

P: Nothing has been
decided son.

V: No, I don't want
to go. I won't go,
you do what you
want.

L: HINDI We're
just doing that for
your own good, it'll
make you a bit
tougher. I think it'll
be good for you.

V: I hate you. I hate

you both. You don't even understand one thing about me.

L: Don't talk to me like that you understand!

V: Fine, I just won't talk to you at all.

P: अरे Varun बेटा please बात तो सुनो।

P: oh, Varun son please listen

P: Oh, Varun son please listen to me at least.

P: Son, listen to me.

V: Leave me alone.

P: Happy now

L: I didn't

P: Happy with what you've done?

L: I didn't mean to upset him like that.

Why don't you say something?

P: Don't talk to me, ok? Just don't talk to me.

Lottery, Yadav, Tamez: Alice, Alice, one minute please. We wanted to talk to you. We're sorry, we made a big mistake. We didn't mean any harm, we just didn't see clearly. We made a mistake Alice. Alice listen, we're really sorry, it won't happen again.

Hermant: Aditi, I'm sorry I lost it right there. I didn't have any right to talk to you like that.

Aditi: You have every reason to be angry.

H: Someone broke my heart too a few years ago. I know how hard and confusing it can be. I really appreciate you telling me about Vikram. You didn't have to but you did. That honesty means a lot to me. Yeah I know it's a risk, but what marriage isn't a risk?

Whether our parents introduce us or whether we meet in a club, what difference does it make? I know we can put this behind us. I really do. I believe this can work.. I believe we can be happy. And as for the question of whether we should get married or not, its really for you to answer.

Dubey's mother: Marvellous! The stock has gone up. I told you the stock would go up, didn't I? But you thought your mother was a fool. That's what you thought. What does she know about the stock market? Well, I knew it – it is up, isn't it? Now you go tomorrow and sell the shares. Oh God. What's the use of all this money? I'll die before I see the face of a grandson. Your father's name will sink without a trace. Listen, did you tell the neighbors about the toilet? It's flooded again. What sin did I commit? You don't like any girl. Don't feel like settling down? Ramesh is six months younger than you and he has two children. And he earns half of what you do. His mother shows off her grandsons just to make me jealous. Oh God, have you gone mad? Roaming about in underwear!

Uncle: Ladies and Gentleman, attention please! Welcome beautiful beautiful beautiful ladies and gentleman and of course lovely children to this Sangeet of our beloved Aditi and our dear son and son in law Hermant, and marriage will take place tomorrow

Guest: I ordered a Bacardi Coke like 20 minutes ago.

Rahul: Just a sec.

Varied conversations in HINDI and ENGLISH

Aisha: You can't say no now Varun. Please.

Varun: I told you I don't care about anything anymore. I don't care and that's decided.

Aisha: You're mad with your parents. Don't take it out on me please!

C.L.: HINDI

D: We came here with nothing after Partition. We had nowhere to go, no future and Tej's family looked after us. He educated us, helped us to stand on our feet.

T: There are no accounts between families. Now you're one of us.

Guest: In my opinion Punjabis are weird ...

Ria: In my opinion you Bengalis are weird and pretentious. (introducing others)

Guest: Ria get me a rum and coke.

R: ... get it yourself...ok

Aisha: Varun won't do the dance anymore.

Rahul: Shit. I'm so sorry to hear that.

A: I don't know what to do, I just, Rahul you can do it. I mean you've seen us practicing the steps so many times.

R: You're crazy.

A: You can make up the steps as we go along. Please I'm begging you. I really need your help

R: I can dance, but its not a night club in Melbourne, I can't dance to this music.

A: Bloody Foreigner.

R: That was far from grace

Saroj: You have to be standing up in order to be able to fall. I mean if you keep sitting on your ass, nothing is gonna happen. *Only brave warriors fall off their horses in a battle. How can kneeling cowards know what a fall is?* Come on sweetheart, the main thing is, you have to fight the battle.

Hermant: Lets stay up all night together. Lets talk.

Aditi: Talk. You want to talk?

Ria: Ah, here comes my kissing cousin Aditi. Hey lovebirds.

Hermant: Ok, ok, I can only handle one woman at a time

R: Oh really.

H: Tomorrow is the big night.

Varun: Oh yeah and don't trap my older sister

C.L.: You've listened to everyone but Shashi. And now we present Shashiji.

Shashi: My throat is sore but I'll try.

Guest: I don't like kissing.

Girl: Typical Man. *Head straight here.*

Guest: No really, I'm just so confused about what to do, does your tongue go right in does it move around, does it stay still. Just makes me too nervous.

Aditi: Don't think, just go with the flow

Girl: I don't know. Don't think, I wish I could do that.

Ria: Kissing could be great but my mind starts thinking the weirdest thoughts and suddenly I'm thinking of some banal practical thing that needs to be taken care of

Alia: I don't know what the big deal is, I know all about kissing.

R: Really?

Girl: Everything?

Alia: Yeah, what's the big deal?

Guest: No big deal.

A: Its grose, you open your mouth and he sticks his tongue in. Yeah don't you know that? how older people kiss.

Alia: Mama, I want to sleep.

Tej: Alia, come, don't trouble your mother. I'll go ahead. I'll take her for a drive. She's tired and cranky I thought I take her out for a drive.

Ria (to guard): *Did you see Tej, uncle. A tall elderly man?*

T: What's the matter Ria?

R: Just let her go.

T: Is anything the matter, what is it?

R: Just let her go!

T: Let her go from what.

R: You, you bastard.

Uday: Ria, have you gone mad?

T: I don't know, maybe she's had too much to drink.

U: What happened?

R: It wasn't enough that he touched me when I was a girl. That wasn't enough that you had to teach Alia how older people kiss?

T: Ria, will you stop this nonsense.

R: What did you get out of it? I didn't even have breasts you sick bastard.

Vijaya: Insolent, crazy girl.

R: Seven afternoons of how older people kiss.

T: Ria!

R: He took my clothes off "Open your mouth Ria!"

T: Stop it.

R: Don't touch me, don't touch me. And now he's doing it all over again to Alia.

T: She's lying Lalit, she's lying

R: You don't want to believe me. What the fuck. I'm not a part of this. I'm not a part of you.

T: Say something Lalit, she's lying she's lying.

R: No, I don't lie. HINDI You know it, you know I don't lie.

Vijaya: She's lying Lalit, you know girls like Ria they make up all these fantasies.

Lalit: Ria, Ria, Ria you can't go, Ria please.

T: She's made, the girl is going crazy. Lalit.

L: *I'm falling Pimmi, hold me.*

Original Transcript	Literal Translation	Reasonable Translation	Subtitles
Lalit: Ria? Ria? Ria? ऐसा नहीं करते बेटा, चल घर चल. Come, I want you to come home with me just now and I don't want to listen to anything. Please just change your clothes and come home with me	Lalit: Ria? Ria? Ria? such not do, daughter, go home go, Come, I want you to come home with me just now and I don't want to listen to anything. Please just change your clothes and come home with me	Lalit: Ria? Ria? Ria? Do not do like this my daughter, let us go home. Come, I want you to come home with me just now and I don't want to listen to anything. Please just change your clothes and come home with me.	Lalit: Don't do this my child. Lets go home. I don't understand. What can I do? You can do nothing, Uncle. There can't be a wedding without you. We're so indebted to them. Come home, I beg you.
Ria: Don't pretend like nothing happened. L: Ria, I'm not pretending. R: You are, you are, L: I don't even know how to console you Ria. What you have gone through I can't even imagine it. मेरी समझ में नहीं आता बेटा, मैं क्या करूँ	L: I don't even know how to console you Ria. What you have gone through I can't even imagine it. I understand not, daughter, I what do	L: I don't even know how to console you Ria. What you have gone through I can't even imagine it. I don't understand daughter, what should I do.	
R: आप कुछ नहीं कर सकते चाचु L: Ria, if you don't come home तेरे बगैर तो Aditi की शादी नहीं हो सकती Come home Ria, I don't even know what to do. I don't know what to do Ria. My hands are tied. Tej and my family goes back a very long way उनके बड़े अहसान हैं हमारे पे, घर आ जा बच्चे मैं हाथ जोड़ता हूँ तेरे,	R: you any not do can, HINDI L: Ria, if you don't come home you without Aditi's marriage not take place. Come home Ria, I don't even know what to do. I don't know what to do Ria. My hands are tied. Tej and my family goes back a very long way. They many favours upon us, Home come, daughter, I hands	R: Uncle, you cannot do anything. L: Ria, if you don't come home then Aditi's marriage will not happen. Come home Ria, I don't even know what to do. I don't know what to do Ria. My hands are tied. Tej and my family goes back a very long way. They have done many favors to us. I request you with folded hands;	R: Please, Uncle, it's not your fault. L: Aren't you my little one? Everything will fall apart.

told your. let us go home my daughter.

R: Would you please stop, चाचु please
आपकी गलती नहीं है न। R: Would you please stop, chachu, please, your, mistake is not R: Would you please stop. Uncle please, this is none of your mistake.

L: Then why are you punishing me?
R: I'm not.

L: And your sister and your mother? I cannot break up my family. I cannot. Please don't ask me to make that choice. I don't know what Surinder would have done in my position. I know I can never replace your father. You are my child now. बच्ची है तु मेरी, My family means everything to me Ria. Please don't leave us. Please. Ria if you go सब टूट जाएगा। L: And your sister and your mother? I cannot break up my family. I cannot. Please don't ask me to make that choice. I don't know what Surinder would have done in my position. I know I can never replace your father. You are my child now. daughter is, you mine, My family means everything to me Ria. Please don't leave us. Please. Ria if you go all break will. L: And your sister and your mother? I cannot break up my family. I cannot. Please don't ask me to make that choice. I don't know what I Surinder would have done in my position. I know I can never replace your father. You are my child now. You are my daughter. My family means everything to me Ria. Please don't leave us. Please. Ria if you go everything will be finished.

Pimmi: Come darling, to be blessed by your elders.

Ria: I miss you so much Papa.

Tej: Oh, Lalit, I'll go out and receive the guests.

Lalit: No. I don't want you to receive the parents. I can't do this, I can't, I'm sorry.

T: Lalit.

L: I don't even want you here. Please, I cannot allow this. I cannot. Both of you just leave my home and my family and go.

Vijaya: It's just such a little thing.

L: I don't want to say anymore. Please don't make it worse.

V: Lalit, you

L: No, I don't want to say anything, please don't make it worse. These are my children and I will protect them from myself even if I have to. Please go.

L: Ready? The soaked in-laws are here. Verma family, forge ahead. Get drenched you fools.

Alice: Should I wear it?

L: Bring the groom, he'll get soaked

P: Be happy.

Lottery: Long live Mr. and Mrs. Dubey.