

Neologisms

Word creation processes in Hindi-English code-mixed words

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Studies in word-formation in English are common compared to the study of new words that are formed by combining the resources of two linguistic systems. Although new word formations within a language are considered to be highly creative, combining words from two different languages provides another level of creativity to bilinguals in different situations. The objective of this paper is to examine the main types of word creation processes employed in mass media texts, particularly in Hindi-English code-mixed words. The focus is on three main processes of word creation: affixation, blending and compounding (including reduplication) and they are discussed from the perspective of productivity/creativity, distribution and underlying motivations. These processes seem to be illustrative of the nativization of inner circle English in India, particularly in mass media where such lexical adaptations lend texts a distinct flavor through innovation in word-formation.

Keywords: neologisms, Hindi-English words, word-formation processes, affixation, blending, compounding

1. Introduction

There is ample research in the area of word-formation in English to show that the English lexicon has recently expanded by including a large number of neologisms from domains such as advertising, the internet and mass media. Of particular relevance here are code-mixed neologisms which are created through the combination of two different languages, particularly Hindi and English. This kind of code-mixing between Hindi and English, casually referred to as “Hinglish” (Bhatia 2011: 44), is not just borrowing from English to fill a lexical gap but a more complex process which distinguishes itself from low-level borrowing and is gaining prominence in advertising and media messages. Such language mixing among bilinguals is

not viewed as a deficiency but “as a systematic and rule-governed phenomenon which satisfies the creative needs of bilinguals” (Bhatia and Ritchie 2006a: 518) that cannot be fulfilled by using a single linguistic system. Due to a more positive attitude towards code-mixing, “English usage in day-to-day interaction, advertising and media has achieved a distinct state of fusion and hybridization of linguistic forms, which is unprecedented in the history of human communication” (Bhatia and Ritchie 2008: 11). Although code-mixing happens at the level of discourse, the focus of this paper is on the word-internal dynamics of bilingual creativity, where words or parts of words are combined from Hindi and English to provide a higher level of creativity to copywriters, news reporters and social media users.

Research on the relationship between bilingualism and creative performance has been emerging in recent years (Ricciardelli 1992; Simonton 2008; Kharkhurin 2012) and code-switching is particularly thought to be a creative act (Li 2013). Bilinguals, unlike monolinguals, have the linguistic resources of two or more languages at their disposal, resulting in various linguistic and cultural recombinations. According to Bhatt (2008: 186), production and interpretation of these recombinations requires both “bilingual and bicultural competence”. For instance, for the interpretation of the Hindi-English word blends *crickshetra* (*cricket* + *kurukshetra* ‘battle between the Kauravas and Pandavas’) and *agonypariksha* (*agony* + *agnipariksha* ‘trial by ordeal’), one requires linguistic knowledge of word formation processes as well as cultural knowledge of the Indian epics Mahabharata and Ramayana (see Kathpalia and Ong 2015). As for language boundaries, in the first example the boundaries between English and Hindi are clear but the second word is more challenging as there is a phonetic overlap between the English word *agony* and the Hindi word *agni* ‘fire’. To capture this kind of linguistic fluidity involved in code-mixing, the concept of “translanguaging” (Li 2011: 1223; García and Li 2014: 24) has been used in recent studies, as it not only straddles linguistic and cultural boundaries but also encompasses the concepts of creativity and criticality. Specifically, “languaging” means the strategic ways in which bilinguals use language to communicate in specific contexts and “trans” to the ways in which they transgress traditional distinctions between languages (García and Li 2014). In flexible bilingualism, creativity refers to the choice between following and flouting rules when combining two languages while criticality refers to conveying new and contextually appropriate meanings through such combinations. An approach which encompasses creativity and criticality is ideal for this study as it is not only concerned with rule-governed code-mixing but with word internal processes that are fluid.

In the past, many studies (Crystal 1998; Cook 2000) have focused on language play in the English language and dialects of English but there are very few studies on multilingual language play. According to Bolton (2010), the interplay between code-mixing and multilingual creativity has not been explored sufficiently in the World Englishes literature although code-mixing is a widespread practice in the

globalizing world. This is especially true at the word-formation level as very few studies tackle interlingual creativity and those that do tend to make cursory reference at the word level. In the outer circle context of English use, one exception in the Chinese-English code-mixing spectrum is Zhang (2015), who looks into multilingual language play in an official microblog set up by the municipal government of Shanghai for weather reporting. Of particular interest is the use morphological invention in code-switched words with an “X+ing” structure (e.g. *zhaomuing* ‘recruiting’) and interlingual punning in hybrid words based on English weekdays (e.g. *mangday* ‘Monday’) which exemplify the use of trendy mixing in China for entertainment, social rapport and articulation of multivocal identities. Other studies on multilingual creativity include Chinese-English code-mixing among Chinese students in London (Li 2011), white-collar Chinese immigrants on an online forum (You 2011) and Chinese netizens in different domains (Zhang 2012).

Another interesting study in the expanding circle context is concerned with monolingual and multilingual lexical inventiveness in the Italian linguistic landscape (Vettorel and Franceschi 2013). Of particular interest in this study are the hybrid processes at the word-formation level which are a symbol of modernity, style and quality in expanding circle contexts. The Italian-English hybrid forms in the data include creativity at the different linguistic levels of phonology, orthography, grammar, semantics, idioms and other idiosyncratic formations. The hybrid words are classified according to the word-formation processes of derivation (e.g. *kissucci* = *kiss* + *ucci* ‘a suffix of endearment’), clipping (e.g. *light* for ‘lighthouse’), blending (e.g. *ristopub* = *ristorante* + *pub*), compounding (e.g. *isibike* = *isi*, a short form for the Italian name *Isidoro* and an Italian pronunciation of *easy* + *bike* ‘easy-bike’) and idiosyncrasies (e.g. *gadjet* for ‘gadget’). According to the authors, this process of hybridization or re-mix with English is more popular in bigger cities for its promotional value and the creation of specific effects, serving as a marker of globalization as well as glocalisation. Urban Italians, specifically, seem to have a positive attitude towards the use of English in advertising and signage as it is associated with prestige, style and modernity. Although the attitude towards such mixing is positive, it seems to be restricted to certain domains in the Italian linguistic landscape. The same applies to the use of Spanglish among young Spaniards in the context of the Internet where they habitually code-switch between Spanish and English. Balteiro (2012) reports the use of the English verb *owned* which has acquired a specialized meaning related to defeating one’s enemy in online games. It has been further adapted in various ways into Spanish (e.g. *owneado*, *owneador*, *owneamiento*, *owneo*, etc.) in different contexts to create new hybrid words. There are many other studies on code-switching in the European (Kelly-Holmes 2000; Schlick 2002, 2003), French (Martin 2002, 2008) and Italian (Pulcini 1995; Griffin 2004; Coluzzi 2009; Furiassi 2010; Vettorel 2013) contexts but none that focus exclusively on lexical innovation.

In the Russian expanding circle context, there appears to be an attitude change towards the Englishization of Russian from the 1980s to the present day (even though its influence is still limited; Rivlina 2015). The reasons for its limited use are mainly due to a shorter period of contact with English, weaker ties with the global English-speaking community, linguistic resistance towards the spread of foreign languages and a different script (Cyrillic). Therefore, the English-Russian bilingualism practiced takes a minimal form in that the English embedded is a result of passive familiarity rather than good competency and it is mainly used to attract the attention of the general public and to increase the memorability of messages in popular literature, media, advertising and signage (Rivlina 2015). For this reason, the creative use of English is restricted to the intrasentential level (with only a few interesting lexical examples). These include writing system hybridization which combines the English writing system with Cyrillic graphemes (e.g. *TERRITORIЯ* for ‘territory’), English-Russian punning (e.g. Russian word /bɪgu’dɪ/ meaning ‘hair-rollers’ is graphically manipulated in a hairdresser’s accessories shop *БуGOODu* to emphasize the middle part ‘good’), and lexical hybridization through borrowed suffixes from English (e.g. the English suffix *-ing* i.e. <-инг>). In present day Russia, even though the use of English is still limited, English is becoming an important resource for linguistic creativity and language play beyond the domain of advertising. Of particular relevance are studies on the Englishization of Russian that focus on English borrowings (Maximova 2002; Rivlina 2005; Eddy 2007; Yelenevskaya 2008; Proshina 2010).

Other examples of such code-mixing practices that draw on English for promotional purposes include studies on multilingual signage. Lamarre’s (2014: 132) study in Montreal’s linguistic landscape captures what she refers to as “bilingual winks”, a strategy of combining French and English that circumvents legislation regulating language in public and commercial signage. The covert bilingual creativity that has sneaked into shop signs includes *Chouchou* for a shoe shop (meaning ‘sweetiepie’ in French but pronounced “shoe-shoe”), the use of the umlaut as a disguise in the words *Niü* ‘new’, *Shü* ‘shoe’ and *ültra* ‘ultra’, and words with deviant spellings such as *Klinik* and *Maskarad*. However, there seems to be a shift in recent blends to a more blatant use of English as illustrated in the word *Paw-tisserie* (*paw* + *patisserie*) for a pet food shop. This shift from a furtive inclusion of English into French to a more overt usage is a good reflection of language dynamics in Montreal, signaling a break from language norms imposed on a bilingual population. This may eventually lead to bolder attempts of linguistic mixing, especially for promotional purposes in some domains.

In contrast to English in the expanding circle countries, the spread of English in the outer circle countries is prominent in the domains of everyday communication also. In India, where bilingualism is a natural phenomenon, the coexistence and convergence of several languages including English has “led to an unmarked

pattern of widespread naturalistic coalescence”, resulting in intra- and intersentential code-mixing as well as phonological and morphological transformations (Bhatia and Ritchie 2006b: 795). Of particular interest is code-mixing between Hindi and English as both languages “symbolize economic power, social mobility, and wider communicative access to the speakers of other Indian languages” (Bhatia and Ritchie 2006b: 796) and therefore tend to be more pervasive in different domains when compared to other Indian languages. While there is ample research on bilingual creativity involving English and Hindi at the intra- and intersentential level (e.g. Viswamohan 2004; Bhatia and Ritchie 2006a, 2006b; Kachru 2006b; Nair 2008; Si 2010; Bhatt 2011; Kothari and Snell 2011; Sailaja 2011; Bhatia 2012; Kathpalia and Ong 2015), there are few studies on word-level bilingual language play. One exception is a data-driven study on Hindi-English lexical innovations in the 1970s which covers hybrid collocations, lexical sets, ordered series of words and reduplication (Kachru 1975) but excludes blending.

The aim of the present study is to fill these gaps by concentrating exclusively on Hindi-English code-mixed words including blends from a recently collected sample of these words. The focus will be on three main processes of word creation: (i) affixation, which involves the addition of English affixes to Hindi words or vice versa; (ii) blending, where two source words from Hindi and English are fused to form a new word such that one or both source words are shortened and there is partial phonemic blending; and (iii) compounding, which combines two source words, one from each language, such that the meaning of the compounded word is related to the meanings of the component words. Reduplication in which words are formed by repeating sounds, syllables, or words exactly or with some alternations is another form of compounding and will be covered under the broad label of compounding. The specific questions which will be addressed in this paper are as follows:

- What are the specific processes involved in these Hindi-English word-formations and are the language boundaries distinct or fluid in these words?
- Are these word-formation processes rule-governed, productive and prevalent selectively in different domains?
- What exactly are the motivations behind these novel word creation processes?

The study will not only shed light on the internal dynamics of code-mixed words but will further show that an approach towards creating new words by manipulating the resources of two languages, or, in some instances, violating conventional word combination rules in one of the source languages, provides new perspectives of lexical research on media messages in outer-circle contexts.

2. Methodology

This study is part of an on-going study on Hindi and English code-mixing from different perspectives and linguistic levels. The phrase “Hindi-English words” will be used in this study as “Hinglish” has a closer resemblance to the pronunciation and spelling of English (Trivedi 2011). All instances of Hindi and English word combinations will be part of the data even if it is not possible to identify the parts of a word as belonging to a particular language. As for Hindi items in code-mixed words, no distinction will be made between different varieties of Hindi based on regions (e.g. Mumbai Hindi, Kalkatiya Hindi, Madras Hindi or Dakkani Hindi) or whether it is common mainstream Hindi (Theth Hindi), sanskritised Hindi (Pandit’s Hindi) or Hindustani (influenced by Urdu). In the present study, the term Hindi encompasses all these varieties irrespective of regional varieties and language influence.

The traditional concepts of matrix and embedded language will not be used in this study to identify whether a word exhibits Hindi-in-English and English-in-Hindi features due to the controversies attached to these concepts (see MacSwan 2005a, 2005b; Jake, Myers-Scotton, and Gross 2005). Instead, a different concept of bilingualism will be adopted which goes beyond the notion of two separate language systems that are additive, subtractive or interdependent, to a dynamic conceptualization of bilingualism with complex and interrelated language practices (García and Li 2014). Following this concept of bilingualism with fluid linguistic practices, the term “translanguaging” (Li 2011: 1222; García and Li 2014: 2) will be used to describe the internal dynamics of code-mixed words as it enables bilinguals to not only straddle linguistic and cultural boundaries but also go beyond them. Specifically, the concept of “flexible” multilingualism (Blackledge and Creese 2010; Zhang and Chan 2015) will be applied to the code-mixed words in this study and they will be represented on a multilingual continuum where a language may be clearly demarcated or have overlapping parts. Accordingly, the Hindi-English words in this study will be classified according to whether the stem is from English (e.g. *airportwallah*) or Hindi (e.g. *desiness*) without reference to the concept of matrix language. In addition, these code-mixed words will be categorized according to the type of word-formation process involved, namely affixation (including derivation and inflection), blending and compounding (including reduplication) as well as on the nature of these processes, whether they are predictable or ad hoc. This analysis will shed light on the current view of sociolinguistics that language mixing is “a systematic and rule-governed phenomenon which satisfies the creative needs of bilinguals” that cannot be met by a single linguistic system (Bhatia and Ritchie 2006a: 518) and that bilinguals are skilled users of the linguistic resources available to them, leading “them to mix language with the aim of achieving maximum efficacy from the two linguistic systems at their disposal” (Bhatia 2011: 40).

The data for this study was collected from various sources including advertisements, newspapers, magazines, TV shows, Bollywood movies and the digital media (social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter, YouTube videos and infotainment websites) over the last two years. Table 1 shows the sources of data along with the number of code-mixed words from each source.

Table 1. Sources of Hindi-English words

Source*	Words	%
Advertisements	110	46.2
TV shows and movies	64	26.8
Newspaper and magazines	40	16.8
Digital media	20	8.4
Others	4	1.6
Total	238	100

* Please refer to the Appendix for a list of specific sources from which the data was extracted.

The data was further categorized according to the three main processes of word-formation, namely, affixation, blending, and compounding. In order to describe these processes clearly, some terms related to the internal structure of word-forms need to be clarified. In Hindi-English words, the most important morpheme will be called a “stem”. Bound morphemes or affixes, whether Hindi or English affixes, will be categorized according to whether they precede the stem (i.e. prefixes – *rewrite*), follow the stem (i.e. suffixes – *writing*) or are inserted into the stem (i.e. infixes – *absobloomin-lutely*).

Tables 2 and 3 present the broad categorization of the data according to word-formation processes and the distribution of these across different domains:

Table 2. Categorization of Hindi-English words

Word-type	Number	%
Blends	125	52.5
Affixes	78	32.7
Compounds	30	12.6
Others	5	2.1
Total	238	100

Table 3. Distribution of word-processes across domains

Word-type	Advertising	TV shows & movies	Newspaper & magazines	Digital media
Blends	76%	9%	60%	65%
Affixes	13%	73%	30%	15%
Compounds	10%	17%	10%	20%
Others	1%	1%	–	–

As can be seen from Table 2, blending and affixation seem to be more popular than the other word-formation processes in the present data. As for distribution of word-formation processes within domains (Table 3), the advertising domain has the maximum number of Hindi-English blends when compared to other processes. TV shows and Bollywood movies tend to have more Hindi-English words with affixes.

3. Analysis of Hindi-English code-mixed words

This section provides an analysis of Hindi-English words according to the three main processes of word formation – affixation, blending, and compounding. The analysis is supported by examples of Hindi-English words in the sample as well as their frequency according to word formation processes.

3.1 Affixation

Affixes are divided into two separate groups of inflectional and derivational affixes. According to Bauer (1983), inflectional affixes only change the grammatical meaning of words (e.g. *eat*, *eats*, *eating*) while derivational affixes change the lexical meanings of words (e.g. *kind*, *unkind*) and word classes (e.g. adjective *kind* changes to noun *kindness*). Hindi-English words from both the groups, inflectional (e.g. *self-iyaa*n ‘selfie’ marked with a plural ending) and derivational (e.g. *lawergiri* meaning ‘behaving like a lawyer’) were present in the data, both with English (e.g. *desiness* meaning ‘the quality of being Indian’) and Hindi (e.g. *heropanti* meaning ‘antics of a hero’) affixes. The table below sets out the distribution of inflectional and derivational affixes in the code-mixed words in the data depending upon whether they are prefixes or suffixes and whether they are from English or Hindi. Not surprisingly, there were no infixes in the Hindi-English words in this study as infixes are rare in both Hindi and English.

Table 4. Types of affixation

Type	Prefix		Suffix		Both		Total	
	English	Hindi	English	Hindi	English	Hindi	No.	%
Inflectional affixes	0	0	22	14	0	0	36	46.1
Derivational affixes	0	1	9	31	1	0	42	53.8
Total	0	1	31	45	1	0	78	100

Table 4 shows that there were slightly more derivational affixes (54 per cent) than inflectional affixes (46 per cent) in the Hindi-English words (the majority being suffixes). As for language preference, there were 59 per cent Hindi affixes compared to 41 per cent from English, indicating that there were more English words functioning as stems in this category. Morphologically, Hindi is considered to be rich in morphology compared with English, especially in inflectional morphology. While English has only 8 inflectional bound morphemes (Rowe and Levine 2006), Hindi has more than 40 such morphemes. In Hindi, nouns are marked for gender, number and case whereas verbs for aspect, mood, tense and agreement features of gender, number and person (Kachru 2006a). As for derivational affixes, they abound in both languages and can be freely attached to many words. Taken together, there are many creative possibilities available to the Indian bilingual for new word formations using Hindi or English affixation. The common and recurrent affixes in Hindi-English words have already been mentioned in previous studies (Kachru 1983, 1986; Gargesh 2006; Kachru 2006b; Nair 2008) though the range of Hindi inflectional possibilities for nouns and verbs have not been fully explored.

The range of inflectional suffixes found in the data is presented in Tables 5 and 6 along with examples of Hindi-English words:

Table 5. English inflections in Hindi-English words

Suffix	Example	Meaning
-ing	<i>machaoing</i>	'making'
-s	<i>jawabs</i>	'replies'
-ed	<i>ghabraoed</i>	'worried'

Table 6. Hindi inflections in Hindi-English words

Suffix	Example	Meaning
-yaan	<i>entriyaan</i>	-yaan = a direct, feminine, plural suffix
-o	<i>schemo</i>	schemes, -o = plural suffix
-e	<i>Funda</i> → <i>fundae</i>	<i>funda</i> = a clipped form of <i>fundamentals</i> 'the basic principle behind something', -a = a masculine, singular suffix <i>fundae</i> = a collection of several <i>fundas</i> , -e = a masculine, plural suffix
-am	<i>snackam</i>	-am = a Sanskrit accusative singular suffix
-ega	<i>clিকেগা</i>	-ega = a third person, masculine, singular suffix
-iye	<i>hugiye</i>	-iye = a honorific or polite imperative suffix
-ungi	<i>askungi</i>	-ungi = a first person, feminine, singular suffix

It is interesting to note how inflections from both languages were tagged to English and Hindi word stems. In the case of English inflections, the -ing, -s and -ed suffixes were attached to Hindi words as in *machaoing*, *jawabs* and *ghabraoed*. Whereas the

first two were straightforward attachments of suffixes, the last one involved the insertion of an additional vowel *-o-* preceding the suffix. Examples of the *-s* ending in Hindi words abound in newspaper headlines as illustrated below in Examples (1) and (2):

- (1) *On a new high, cocktails become bongtails; gujiyas stay the course*
(*gujiya* is an Indian sweet; *The Times of India*, March 6, 2015)
- (2) *Bold Banias conquer nayi duniya* 'The bold Banias or the mercantile community conquer the new world'
(*The Times of India*, May 17, 2014)

According to Nair (2008), English verb endings (*-ing*, *-s* and *-ed*) and the English plural morpheme (*-s*) are routinely affixed to Hindi verbs and nouns respectively. Even more noteworthy is the affixation of Hindi suffixes to English stems that import gender, number and case markings into English words. An example of this is the suffix *-yaan* Example (3) which is inflected for case, gender and number as exemplified in the lyrics of a Bollywood song from the movie *Gunday*:

- (3) *Tune maari entiyaan re* 'When you entered'
Dil mein baji ghantiyaan re 'Bells started ringing in my heart'
Dil Ki sun commentriyaan 'Listen to the commentary of the heart'
Pyaar ki guarantiyaan re 'I fully guarantee that I love you'

A special case is that of the word *funda* in Indian English which is in fact a clipping from the English word *fundamental* and is used in several contexts to explain the basic principle behind things. In the data, the word was further Indianised by attaching the masculine, plural Hindi suffix *-e* to form *fundae*.

Compared to inflections (46 per cent), there were slightly more derivational (53%) affixes in the data. As for the percentages of English and Hindi derivational affixes, there were only 24 per cent of English affixes compared to 76 per cent of Hindi affixes, with the majority of them being suffixes (95 per cent) rather than prefixes (5 per cent). The derivational suffixes in the data, including English and Hindi suffixes are presented in Tables 7 and 8:

Table 7. English derivations in Hindi-English words

Suffix	Example	Meaning
<i>-type</i>	<i>ajeeb-type</i>	'weird-type'
<i>-able</i>	<i>unjhelable</i>	'unbearable'
<i>-dom</i>	<i>babudom</i>	'the world of bureaucrats'
<i>-ical</i>	<i>brahmanical</i>	reference to the social order of the Brahmins or upper caste
<i>-ish</i>	<i>maukish</i>	<i>mauka</i> means 'opportunity', the word has been clipped prior to affixation
<i>-ite</i>	<i>Lohiaite</i>	reference to the well-known Indian socialist family Lohia
<i>-ly</i>	<i>Bakshyly</i>	reference to a fictional detective Byomkesh Bakshi
<i>-oholic</i>	<i>ishqoholic</i>	<i>ishq</i> means 'love'
<i>-ness</i>	<i>desiness</i>	'Indian-ness'

Table 8. Hindi derivations in Hindi-English words

Suffix	Example	Meaning
<i>-baaz</i>	<i>fraudbaaz</i>	'fraudster', <i>baaz</i> = 'doer'
<i>-wallah</i> (M)*	<i>happywallah</i>	<i>wallah</i> = used with nouns to denote an owner or possessor
<i>-wallih</i> (F)*	<i>cupwallih</i>	or master
<i>-walleh</i> (P)*	<i>policewalleh</i>	
<i>-giri</i>	<i>drivergiri</i>	<i>giri</i> = '-ism'
<i>-panti</i>	<i>Romeopanti</i>	<i>panti</i> = '-ness'
<i>-ji</i>	<i>Sirji</i>	<i>ji</i> = a honorific of respect

* M = Masculine, F = Feminine, P = Plural

The most common suffixes in the sample were the English *-type* and the Hindi *-baaz* as well as *-wallah/-wallih*. Compared to the limited number of inflectional affixes in English and Hindi, there is a wider variety of derivational affixes in both languages. According to Bauer (1983), inflectional affixes belong to smaller, closed classes. Although there are some language-specific restrictions related to derivational affixes, the range of affixation possibilities is still higher than that of inflection. In English, the suffix *-able* displays semantic regularity and can be attached to any transitive verb to form an adjective in the language (e.g. *exploitable*) (Bauer 1983) and this property has been extended to Hindi as exemplified in the word *unjehlable*. This Hindi-English word is interesting in that it not only has an English suffix but also an English prefix *un-*. Most of the Hindi-English words in the sample mainly had English suffixes and it was rare to find words with both prefixes and suffixes. Unlike inflections, it is also possible for languages to gain new derivational affixes. For instance, compared to the suffix *-able* in English, *-oholic* is a newer suffix and has been cleverly borrowed into the word *ishqoholic* Example (4) in the chorus of a Hindi song by a Bollywood actress/singer Sonakshi Sinha:

- (4) *Aaj mood hai ...* 'Today is the mood'
Aaj mood ishqoholic hai ... 'Today is the mood for love'
Aaj mood hai ... 'Today is the mood'

As for Hindi suffixes attached to English words, there are some popular ones such as *-baaz*, *-wallah/-wallih*, *-giri* and *-panti* among bilingual Indians. They occur in the everyday speech of Indian bilinguals as well as in Hindi movies, TV shows, advertisements, magazines and newspapers. Examples of Hindi-English words with these derivational suffixes abound in the works of scholars such as Kachru (1975) – *higher-type-wallah*, *factory-wallah*, *congress-wallah*, *police-wallah*; Gargesh (2006) – *policewala*; Kachru (2006b) – *roadpanti*; and Viswamohan (2004) – *emailwallahs*. There were in fact various inflectional variations of *wallah* in the sample depending upon gender (*wallah* for male gender, *wallih* for female gender) and number (*wallah* for singular, *walleh* for plural). As for the suffix *-baaz*, it has been borrowed from

Persian into Hindi and is now frequently attached to English words, as in the Hindi TV show *Humsafars* (e.g. *countrybaaz*, *daringbaaz*, *designbaaz*, *fightbaaz*, *flirtbaaz*, *fraudbaaz*, *helpbaaz*, *smartbaaz*, etc.). Some of these suffixes have been in existence for a long time but gained current popularity through their use in Bollywood movie titles (e.g. *Policegiri* and *Heropanti*). Lastly, the use of the recurrent honorific *-ji* in English relationship words (e.g. *Sirji*, *auntyji*, *uncleji*, *masterji*, etc.) serves the dual function of showing respect to elders as well as regional, i.e. north-Indian, affiliation (Nair 2008).

Although there are obvious differences between inflectional and derivational affixation, both have been attached freely to Hindi and English words to form new Hindi-English words in a range of situations and domains. The adaptations of word affixations shown in this section reveal that the boundaries between the grammars of Hindi and English are extremely fluid across the two languages, enabling Indian bilinguals to coin many new Hindi-English words, more than would have been possible within each language. The next section presents blending, another word formation process for creating new Hindi-English words.

3.2 Blending

Blends have been referred to as amalgams, combinations, coalesced words, portmanteau words, and even telescoped words. Although terminology varies, the process referred to is that of creating new words by combining parts of existing words in the language. The Hindi-English blends in this study are considered to be an “extra-grammatical phenomenon” (Mattiello 2013: 127) although with recurrent patterns and regularities. They were analysed according to Mattiello’s (2013) classification, which is a more comprehensive and refined version of several existing taxonomies. Table 9 sets out the several types of blends based on specific word blend patterns.

The examples of blends in the sample showed that there are several types of Hinglish blends. Following Mattiello (2013: 118), the two main ways in which blends were differentiated in this study are “morphotactically” (i.e. total or partial blends), and “morphonologically” and graphically (i.e. overlapping or non-overlapping blends). With reference to morphotactic blends, the present sample had both total and partial blends. Total blends are those in which both source words are reduced to splinters, whereas in the partial blends only one of the source words is reduced. Although total blends can be classified according to several sub-patterns with different parts of the two words being fused (e.g. Beginning + End, Beginning + Beginning, End + End and Beginning/End intercalated into a splinter), there were only two of these sub-patterns in the Hindi-English blends as in *womaiya* (Beginning + End) and *mauckery* (Beginning/End intercalated into a splinter) in

the present sample, with a predominance of the first type. As for partial blends, three sub-patterns were identified in the Hindi-English sample of words: Word + Splinter, Splinter + Word and Word intercalated into a discontinuous splinter as in *funjabi*, *octopuja* and *pharmaukalogy* respectively.

Table 9. Classification of word blends (adapted from Mattiello 2013)

Type	Description	Pattern	Example
Total blend	All source words are reduced to splinters	Beginning + End	<i>womaiya</i> ← <i>woman</i> + <i>duniya</i> ‘world’
		Beginning/End intercalated into a splinter	<i>maukery</i> ← <i>mauka</i> ‘opportunity’ + <i>mockery</i>
Partial blend	Only one source word is reduced to a splinter	Word + Splinter	<i>funjabi</i> ← <i>fun</i> + <i>punjabi</i> ‘North Indians’ <i>tevariffic</i> ← <i>tevar</i> ‘attitude’ + <i>terrific</i>
		Splinter + Word	<i>octopuja</i> ← <i>octopus</i> + <i>puja</i> ‘prayer’
		Word intercalated into a discontinuous splinter	<i>pharmaukalogy</i> ← <i>pharmacology</i> + <i>mauka</i> ‘opportunity’
Overlapping blend	The source words overlap	Graphic + phonological overlap with no shortening	<i>Obamasala</i> ← <i>Obama</i> + <i>masala</i> ‘Indian spice’
		Graphic + phonological overlap with shortening	<i>tsunami</i> ← <i>tsunami</i> + <i>Namo</i> (Abbreviated name of Narendra Modi, Prime Minister of India)
		Only phonological overlap	<i>con</i> ← <i>con</i> + <i>kaun</i> ‘who’
		Only graphic overlap	<i>Modi-fied</i> ← <i>Modi</i> (Prime Minister of India) + <i>modified</i>
		Both phonological and graphic overlap	<i>karobar</i> ← <i>karobar</i> ‘business’ + <i>bar</i>
Non-overlapping blend	The source words do not overlap		<i>cheapda</i> ← <i>cheap</i> + <i>ganda</i> ‘coarse, dirty’

The “morphonological” or graphical blends consisted of overlapping and non-overlapping blends. In the overlapping blends, the two words from English and Hindi shared sounds or letters (e.g. *Obamasala* ← *Obama* + *masala*) but as the name suggests, there was no such sharing in non-overlapping blends (e.g. *cheapda* ← *cheap* + *ganda*). There were five different sub-types in the overlapping blends in the sample of Hindi-English words, including a graphic + phonological overlap with no shortening

(e.g. *Obamasala*), a graphic + phonological overlap with shortening (e.g. *tsunami*), only a phonological overlap (e.g. *con*), only a graphic overlap (e.g. *modi-fied*) or a combination of phonological and graphic overlap (e.g. *karobar*). The examples with either complete phonological or graphical overlap in Examples (5) and (6) below were recognized as blends based on the use of hyphens or their context of occurrence:

- (5) *Times Square Modi-fied as Indians begin partying*
(*The Times of India*, September 2014)
- (6) *Karobar shuru? ‘Open for business?’*
(Accompanied by a picture of dancing girls, *Amul* billboard, October 2015)

These blends are topical and related to political and social issues in India. Typically, copywriters and newspaper reporters cleverly manipulate the resources of the two languages to create memorable headlines as these morphologically unique words appeal to bilingual Indians.

Although an attempt is made in this section to classify the blends according to a framework proposed by Mattiello (2013), there are exceptions to the blending patterns discussed above. For example, some creations did not fit into a neat taxonomy of patterns (e.g. *Taalerance* ← *taal* ‘beat’ + *tolerance*), which could be classified as a partial blend or an overlapping blend depending upon whether the pronunciation is a standard English pronunciation or an Indian pronunciation of the English word). Furthermore, a fifth category of overlapping blends has been added to account for blends that exhibit both phonological and graphic overlaps in the data. The blends in this study with their unique word-internal dynamics are a testament to bilingual creativity. The next section presents compounding, another Hindi-English word-formation process in this study.

3.3 Compounding

A compound has been defined as a “lexeme containing two or more potential stems that has not subsequently been subjected to a derivational process” (Bauer 1983: 29). Based on semantic criteria, compounds can be classified as endocentric, exocentric, appositional and copulative. The different types of compounds, their description and representative examples from the data are presented in Table 10.

These compound types can be further distinguished syntactically depending upon form classes of the whole compound or of the individual elements in the compounds. There are various combinations that are possible in English compounds such as Noun + Noun, Verb + Noun, Verb + Verb, Adjective + Noun etc. This analysis was extended to Hindi-English compounds to identify the form classes of individual elements and is represented in Table 11.

Table 10. Types of compounds

Type	Description	Example
Endocentric	A hyponym of a grammatical head as in <i>armchair</i> , meaning ‘a type of chair’	<i>mahaepisode</i> ← <i>maha</i> ‘big’ + <i>episode</i>
Exocentric	A hyponym of an unexpressed semantic head as in <i>highbrow</i> which actually refers to a person	<i>maukarakers</i> ← <i>mauka</i> ‘opportunity’ + <i>rakers</i>
Appositional	A hyponym of both head nouns as in <i>maid-servant</i> , meaning a type of maid and a type of servant	<i>taayi-aunty</i> ← <i>taayi</i> ‘aunty’ + <i>aunty</i>
Copulative	Not a hyponym of either element but a combination of two separate entities as in the business merger <i>Cadbury – Schweppes</i>	<i>Shahrukh Cannes</i> ← <i>Shahrukh Khan</i> (Bollywood actor) + <i>Cannes</i> (Cannes film festival)

Table 11. Form classes of the elements of compounds

Pattern	Example	Meaning
Verb + Verb	<i>chillmaro</i> ← <i>chill</i> + <i>maro</i> ‘to do something’, informal meaning)	a slang expression similar to the English <i>chillout</i>
Noun + Noun	<i>toastaasan</i> ← <i>toast</i> + <i>aasan</i> ‘Yoga pose’	a Yoga pose likened to a toast
Adjective + Noun	<i>raas-world</i> ← <i>raas</i> ‘aesthetics’ + <i>world</i>	derived from <i>raas-lila</i> which means ‘dance of divine love’, associated with the story of Krishna in the Hindu scriptures
Noun + Verb	<i>khadi-clad</i> ← <i>khadi</i> ‘cotton cloth’ + <i>clad</i>	a coarse homespun cotton material made in India, associated with Gandhi’s ‘Swadeshi’ or Independence movement
Phrase compound	<i>tall se tall</i> ← <i>tall</i> + <i>se</i> (postposition ‘with’) + <i>tall</i>	<i>se</i> signals multiple meanings such as ‘-ly, by, with, from’

The compound *chillmaro* Example (7) often appears in everyday conversations, especially among youths to urge their peers to relax. The three examples in the present sample are from Hindi TV shows, one of which is presented below:

- (7) *Aap chillmaro aur beer piyo* ‘You should relax and have a beer’
(*Ajeeb dastan hai yeh*, February 2015)

Among the 20 Hindi-English compounds in the sample, the majority of them (8) had the adjective-noun pattern with half of them in an English-Hindi sequence (e.g. *grandsalaam*) and the other half in a Hindi-English sequence (e.g. *raas-world*). As for the phrase compound *tall se tall* in the clause *Tall se tall mila!* ‘Tall with tall met!’, it was used in an advertisement to refer to the first Indian in NBA, Satnam Singh, whose height and playing ability were described as being on par was with

that of the other basketball players. Some of the compounds in the sample such as *raas-world*, *khadi-clad* and *toastaasan* have strong associations to Indian religious, political and cultural practices. Understanding these words involves deep knowledge of these aspects of Indian life as they invoke the cultural memory (Bhatt 2008; Kathpalia and Ong 2015) of individuals related to Hindu scriptures (e.g. *raas-lila*), political movements (e.g. the Swadeshi movement) and Hindu rituals (e.g. Yoga).

Another type of compounding is reduplication, also known as “echo-words” or “rhyming words”, which are usually formed by exact repetition of sounds, syllables, or words or by making some alterations (Mattiello 2013: 141). The alterations could be applied to vowels, consonants or a combination of vowels and consonants. Table 12 sets out the two main types of reduplicatives:

Table 12. Types of reduplication (Adapted from Mattiello 2013)

Type/Subtype	Description	English	Hindi	Hindi-English
Total/Full reduplication	A sound, word or word part is exactly repeated in the replicans	<i>Fifty-fifty</i>	<i>khatkhat</i> ‘knock on the door’	none
Partial reduplication:	Only a part of a word is repeated in the replicans			
– Consonantal apophony	Reduplication of consonants	<i>Teeny-weeny</i>	<i>chaal-dhaal</i> ‘moral and manners’	<i>toll-phod</i> ‘break’
– Vowel apophony	Reduplication of vowels	<i>Chit-chat</i>	<i>bhola-bhala</i> ‘innocent’	none
– Combination of consonantal and vowel apophony	Reduplication of consonants and vowels	<i>Creepy-crawly</i>	<i>puch-taach</i> ‘inquiry’	<i>selfie-kulfi</i> ‘icecream’

Echo-compounds were more predominantly used in the present sample. Both English and Hindi have specific echo compounding realisations such as the second element starting with a labial /p/, /b/, or /w/ in English (e.g. *hocus-pocus*) and with an initial /v/ in Standard Hindi (e.g. *kitab-vitab* ‘books and the like’). The echo word usually has the meaning ‘and the like’ and it does not usually occur as an independent word (Kachru 2006a). In the present sample, this process of reduplication is productively applied to words borrowed from English and best illustrated through the title song Example (8) of the Bollywood movie *English vinglish*:

- (8) *Hurry-vurry, walk-shalk, train-vain*
Clock-vlock, late-vate, home-vome
Run-vun, run-vun
Hello-vello, food-voood, call-vall
Talk-vaik, TV-Shivi, sleep-veep
Num num num num

Similar phenomena exist in regional varieties of Hindi though the initial sound of the echo word is replaced with *sh-* in Punjabi and *ph-* in Pahari (Kachru 2006a). The analysis of the echo words in the sample showed that both *v-* and *sh-* were extended to English words as can be seen in the example of the song lyrics above. However, semantic reduplications in which both words have identical meanings in Hindi and English such as *lathi stick* (Kachru 1986) were not present in this study's data.

4. Discussion and conclusion

This study was concerned with three issues: (1) the specific processes involved in Hindi-English word formations and language boundaries, (2) whether these processes are rule-governed, productive and domain specific, and (3) the motivations behind these word-creation processes. The three main word-formation processes that are employed in describing the Hindi-English words in this study are affixation, blending and compounding, among which blending is the most dynamic process. In terms of language boundaries, it was possible to demarcate Hindi from English in words with inflections (e.g. *entriyaan* and *machaoing*), derivations (e.g. *fraudbaaz* and *ajeeb-type*), and compounds (e.g. *mahaepisode* and *grandsalaam*). However, this was challenging in blends, especially in those with graphic and/or phonological overlaps (e.g. *Obamasala*). In the inflection sub-category of affixation, there were more English words functioning as stems with Hindi inflections (59 per cent) compared to Hindi words with English inflections (41 per cent) and the same applied to the derivation sub-category with a significantly larger number of English word stems (76 per cent) in comparison to Hindi word stems (24 per cent). While it is possible to quantify the percentage of English and Hindi word stems in the affixation category, it proved to be more difficult in the blending and compounding categories, especially in the case of total blends where words from both language are reduced to splinters, partial word blends with phonological and graphical overlaps, as well as compounds that consisted of words with similar form classes from both languages (e.g. verb + verb, noun + noun). In such total blends, where English and Hindi source words are reduced to splinters (e.g. *womaiya* ← *woman* + *duniya* 'world'), it is hard to identify the stems. The same applies to partial blends with phonological (e.g. *con* ← *con* + *kaun* 'who') or graphical (e.g. *maukangaroo* ← *mauka* 'opportunity' + *kangaroo*) overlaps, where it is not only hard to identify the stems but also to determine the boundary between English and Hindi. Code-mixing between other languages and English exhibit similar fluidity in word-formation processes, with some code-switched words showing clear language demarcation (e.g. Chinese-English *zhaomuing*, Italian-English *kissucci*, etc.) whereas others being more opaque in terms of language boundaries (e.g.

Chinese-English *mangday*, Russian-English *BuGOODu*, French-English *Chouchou*, etc.). In describing Hindi-English words as well as word formations in other mixed varieties, the concept of translanguaging seems to apply well as it encompasses both words with clear-cut languages as well as those with fuzzy language boundaries.

The second research question was related to systematicity and productivity in relation to Hindi-English word-formation processes. To address this issue, a distinction needs to be made between grammatical and extra-grammatical morphology. A simple distinction between the two is that word-formations that are predictable fall in the former category whereas those that are not fully predictable belong to the latter. For instance, word-formation through affixation and compounding is transparent and predictable whereas extra-grammatical formations such as blends “are generally not transparently analysable into morphemes” (Mattiello 2013: 250). For instance, in Hindi-English words formed through affixation, it is easy to break down the words into their constituent parts of stem and affix (e.g. *schemo* ← *scheme* + *-o* [Hindi plural suffix]) though this is less transparent in blends as they are obtained through an abbreviation and fusion process which is only partially predictable. Extra-grammatical formations such as blends may not be completely predictable when compared to affixations (see Tables 5–8) but they do exhibit some form of regularity as has been illustrated in this study (see Table 9). For instance, they exhibit a prototypical beginning-end pattern in a binary structure where the first part of the blended word is from the beginning of a Hindi word and the second part is from the end of an English word (e.g. *Punjammies* ← *Punjabi* ‘North Indians’ + *jammies*) or vice versa (e.g. *monoranjana* ← *monorail* + *manoranjana* ‘entertainment’); a tendency towards some transparency as blends preserve segments from the base words as in those with phonological or graphical overlaps (e.g. *maukassin* ← *mauka* ‘opportunity’ + *moccasin*); or an iconic relationship between parts of a blend sharing a homophonous string (e.g. *roasti* ← *roast* + *dosti* ‘friendship’).

In terms of productivity, the new Hindi-English words have been created in a rule-governed manner by applying word-formation processes such as affixation and compounding. However, extra-grammatical formations that require more creativity are also present so it is possible to extend the repertoire in a motivated though unpredictable or non-rule-governed manner. In the present sample, it is evident that lexical innovation is the result of both productivity (coining new words by applying word-formation rules) and creativity (coining new words by changing the rules) in the formation of Hindi-English words. From the preceding discussion, it would seem that rule-governed coinages would be easier and therefore more popular than non-rule-governed ones; however, the quantitative analysis shows that there are fewer affixes and compounds (45 per cent) than blends (53 per cent), at least in the present sample of Hindi-English words. The popularity of these extra-grammatical coinages could be explained in that most of these words

are based on analogy which involves copying existing word structures rather than strict word-formation rules. According to Bauer (2001), both rules and analogy are responsible for morphological innovation but the output of rule-governed words is fully predictable whereas that of extra-grammatical words is only partially predictable. Moreover, the motivation for different types of word-formation, whether grammatical or extra-grammatical, could be dependent on the context of use (Mattiello 2013). For instance, affixation in Hindi-English words may be common in the everyday conversation of Indian bilinguals but blends which are a product of extra-grammatical morphology may be preferred in advertising and media as the focus of these domains is on originality and persuasion. This is confirmed in the present study as the analysis of the data according to domains shows that Hindi-English blends are indeed more common in advertising (76 per cent), newspapers and magazines (60 per cent) and the Internet (65 per cent) when compared to TV shows and Bollywood movies (Table 3). This may be because the conversations in TV shows and movies tend to mirror the everyday speech of bilinguals, resulting in a higher frequency of affixes (73 per cent). However, there seems to be a propensity for the use of creative blends over grammatical formations in advertising, news and digital media to add to their promotional/persuasive impact.

Through the lens of translanguaging, the discursive practices in Hindi-English word formation are apparent whether examining the issues of language boundaries, systematicity or productivity. Although it is possible to demarcate language boundaries and predict certain types of word-formation processes, there are many examples of those in the data set that “fall between different linguistic structures, systems and modalities” (García and Li 2014: 24). The concept of translanguaging and its flexible continuum of multilingual practice account for both grammatical and extra-grammatical word formations as well as those with clear and fuzzy language boundaries. The Hindi-English code-mixed words in this study are illustrative of dynamic bilingualism with complex and interrelated language practices which “do not emerge in a linear way or function separately” but as one linguistic system (García and Li 2014: 14). Another aspect of translanguaging that is relevant to this study is that it incorporates modalities other than speech and writing. Some obvious examples are found in advertisements where spelling, diacritics or pictures are used to enable readers to decipher the mash-up of codes. An example that illustrates a mash-up of all these modalities is the Hindi-English word *mini'stree* (*ministry* + *stree* ‘women’) which refers to female ministers in India and is accompanied by a picture of Indian female ministers in an Amul billboard. In this study, translanguaging and its deployment of different modalities is apparent in the fluid language texts such as media reporting, social media and advertisements that are designed to impact a bilingual rather a monolingual audience.

The third research question in this study is related to the motivation behind Hindi-English word formations. The Hindi-English words in this study seem to be the outcome of social, political and cultural phenomena in Urban India. In the first category are words that are motivated by youth culture (e.g. *Youngistaan* ← *young* + *istaan* ‘country’), digital media (e.g. *Samosapedia* ← *samosa* ‘an Indian snack’ + *encyclopedia*, which is a name of a website for Indian English) and mass media in general (e.g. *mahaepisode* ← *maha* ‘big’ + *episode*). According to Pal and Mishra (2011: 174), the “Youngistaan” concept, which was initiated by the Pepsi campaign, is representative of the youth culture in India, specifically referring to the new-age youths who are affluent, brand conscious, modern and “setting the bar for the ‘cool’ quotient” as indicated by the Hindi-English compound *chillmaro* (*chill* + *maro* ‘to do something’). For these urban youth, code-mixing Hindi and English is “a new lifestyle mantra” (Pal and Mishra: 175). Accompanying the explosion of digital media in India is the use of Hindi-English words to refer to the craze for social media websites as in *Facebrook* (*Facebook* + *bhook* ‘hunger’) and names of infotainment/information websites such as *Youngistaan* (an infotainment website), *Filmygyan* (*film* + Hindi suffix *-y* + *gyan* ‘knowledge’) and *Samosapedia*. Apart from representing a consumerist lifestyle, Hindi-English words are also being used for more noble causes such as for NGOs (Non-Governmental Organisations) founded and run by youths to help those in need (e.g. Youngistaan Foundation). Rather than only being reflective of consumerism, a combination of Hindi and English is in fact being deployed by youths for naming organisations that serve strong social causes.

The use of Hindi-English words is also extended to Indian cinema, TV shows and Bollywood news sites which are not only targeted at Indian youths but cut across different ages, economic groups and regions. The titles of Bollywood movies (e.g. *Youngistaan*, *Heropanti*, *Policegiri* and *English vinglish*), the lyrics of Bollywood songs (e.g. *Tune maari entriyaan re*, *Aaj mood ishqoholic hai* and *Coffee-voffee*, *sugar-vugar*, *paper-vaper*) and Bollywood news sites (e.g. *filmygyan*) are illustrative of this phenomenon at the morphological level. Commenting on the happy blend between Hindi and English in the film industry, Kothari (2011: 113) highlights the shift in perception of English as “a language ‘outside’ the sphere of everyday Indianness (1950s–1980s) to Hinglish as simultaneously Indian-and-global, embracing *des* and *pardes*, nation and diaspora in cinema after the 1990s”. This is true of the Indian advertising industry as well, with Hindi-English code-mixing emerging as the new code for advertising as it “adds new semantic and affective features” through language mixing (Bhatia and Ritchie 2008: 10). In fact, advertisers rely on a combination of Hindi and English to make their copy more appealing by creating new Hindi-English coinages such as *Facebrook* (*Facebook* + *bhook* ‘hunger’), *emotikhanna* (*emoticon* + *khanna* ‘food’), *khUberdaar* (*khabardaar* ‘beware’ + *Uber*) and

monoranjān (*monorail* + *manoranjān* ‘entertainment’) which are representative of modern India. Apart from tapping the unconscious knowledge of bilingual Indians fluent in Hindi and English, some of these coinages allude to the negative (e.g. *khUberdaar* – to caution people about the abduction incident in an Uber taxi in Delhi) and positive (e.g. *monoranjān*, to celebrate Mumbai’s new monorail) impact of technology on the lives of Urban Indians.

This study also has a category of Hindi-English words that evoke what Bhatt (2008: 186) refers to as “cultural memory” of bilingual Indians. In these words, there seems to be a juxtaposition of two different cultures representing the dichotomies of local and global (e.g. *corporataasan* ← *corporate* + *aasan*, a yoga posture), the traditional and modern (e.g. *loveshudha* ← *love* + *shadishudha* ‘married’), as well as indigenous and foreign (e.g. *khadi-clad* ← *khadi* ‘cotton cloth’ + *clad*). In order to coin these words or comprehend them, one requires bilingual and bicultural competence as *coporataasan* compares corporate strategies employed in multinational companies to complex yoga postures, *loveshudha* gives love the same status as marriage which according to Hindu scriptures is sanctimonious, and *khadi-clad* refers to the “Swadeshi movement” initiated by Gandhi in 1920 to boycott the use of foreign goods. According to Bhatt (2008), the Hindi and English words in these coinages are a convergence of conflicting voices that represent two ideological frames of reference in post-colonial and modern India. These multivoiced phenomena of linguistic hybridity not only give rise to new meanings but also present “a mechanism to negotiate and navigate between global identity and local practices”, creating a “third space” and a new cultural identity for those Indians who are neither traditional nor completely modern (Bhatt 2008: 182).

In conclusion, the three main issues in this paper regarding types of Hindi-English word formation processes, their productivity and motivations have been discussed extensively through the translanguaging lens. The morphological processes outlined in this paper show that the boundaries between Hindi and English grammars are immensely fluid, leading not only to linguistic but also social hybridity, simultaneously integrating two languages along with two social worlds. Compared to the lower level and ad-hoc borrowings from English in expanding circle of English contexts, the mixing of English and Hindi in India is dynamic, giving rise to Hindi-English neologisms by combining the linguistic resources of two languages in many more creative ways than is possible within a single linguistic system.

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Appendix. Specific sources of data

Domain	Source
Advertisements	<i>Amul</i> billboards
	<i>Glam cream</i> TV commercial
	<i>Good day biscuit</i> TV commercial
	<i>Honda Activa</i> TV commercial
	<i>Idea</i> TV commercial
	<i>Olx</i> TV commercial
	<i>Pepsi</i> TV commercial
	<i>Quikr</i> TV commercial
	<i>Titan</i> TV commercial
TV Shows	<i>Ajeeb dastan hai yeh</i>
	<i>Comedy nights bachao</i>
	<i>Comedy nights with Kapil</i>
	<i>Humsafars</i>
	<i>I can do that</i>
	<i>Itna pyar na karo</i>
	<i>Jamai raja</i>
	<i>Kumkum bhagya</i>
	<i>Look who's talking</i>
	<i>Sa re ga ma pa little champs</i>
	<i>Service wali bahu</i>
	<i>Sumit sambhal lega</i>
	<i>Swaragini</i>
Bollywood movies	<i>Band baaja baaraat</i>
	<i>English vinglish</i>
	<i>Finding Fanny</i>
	<i>Gunday</i>
	<i>Haider</i>
	<i>Happy ending</i>
	<i>Heropanti</i>
	<i>Humshakals</i>
	<i>Kick</i>
	<i>Policegiri</i>
	<i>Youngistaan</i>
Bollywood songs	<i>Aaj mood ishqholic hai</i> (By Bollywood actress Sonakshi Sinha)
	<i>English vinglish</i> (from the Bollywood movie <i>English vinglish</i>)
	<i>Tune maari entriyaan</i> (From the Bollywood movie <i>Gunday</i>)
Newspapers	<i>DNA E-Paper</i>
	<i>The Times of India</i>
Magazines	<i>CineBlitz</i>
	<i>Filmfare</i>
	<i>Stardust</i>
Internet	<i>Facebook</i>
	<i>Twitter</i>
	<i>YouTube</i> videos
	Websites (<i>Filmgyan</i> , <i>Punjammies</i> , <i>Samosapedia</i> , and <i>Youngistaan</i>)

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