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THE NATURAL HISTORY OF AN INTERVIEW IN THREE CODES:

HINDI, INDIAN ENGLISH, AND AMERICAN ENGLISH

by

Miriam H. Klaiman

(December, 1975)

MICROFILM COLLECTION

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The Natural History of an Interview  
in Three Codes: Hindi, Indian English, and American English

M.H. Klaiman  
December, 1975

O. The following is a report on a project in the microanalysis of an interview between two individuals in three codes: Hindi; Indian English; and (for one of the participants) American English.

1.1.1. The primary purpose of this project has been to acquire skill in the microanalysis of linguistic materials using a framework elaborated in McQuown (1971) and in references cited therein.

1.1.2. A second purpose of this project has been to investigate transition phenomena at points of code shift (see section 1.3 below) at the microanalytic level, toward defining some linguistic and paralinguistic correlates of code shift in some North Indian linguistic contexts.

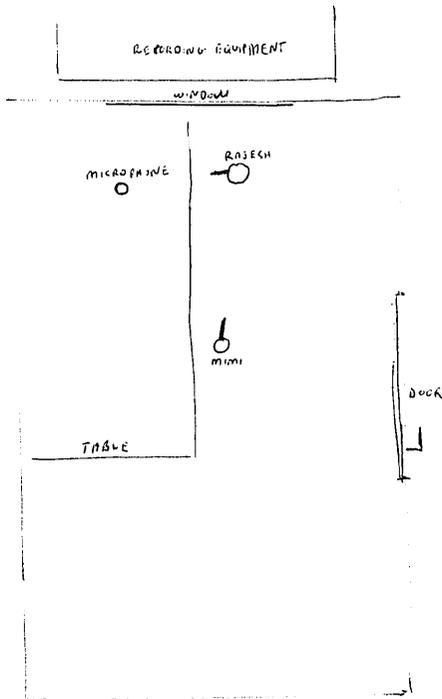
1.1.3. A third purpose of this project has been to attempt to discover, without resorting to categorization, some probable contextual motivations for code shift in this interview, both in terms of factors internal to the individual speaker and in terms of the effects of speaker interaction.

1.2. Mechanics

1.2.1. The interview was recorded on November 4, 1975, at 7½ i.p.s. on a Tandberg "Cross-Field" Series 9000X tape recorder kindly made available to me by Dr. Dale Terbeek. One entire side of tape (22½ minutes on a five inch reel) was recorded, but a section consisting only of about four and three quarters minutes has been microanalyzed and transcribed. Undoubtedly, if time had permitted other sections of the interview to be studied, many interesting observations supplementary to those included in this report would have emerged.

The participants in the recorded interview will be referred to throughout this report as Rajesh (informant) and Mimi (investigator). During the interview the participants were seated in a soundproof recording booth (also kindly made available by Dr. Terbeek). The booth had a glass window in one

wall which permitted viewing of the recording apparatus and of the rest of the room. There was a door in another wall which abutted the wall with the window. Throughout the interview Rajesh was seated facing at a 90 degree angle to the glass window, his back to the wall with the door, facing one end of a rectangular table on which was placed a recording microphone. The microphone was pointed toward Rajesh at the beginning of the interview, but was soon adjusted to upright position by Mimi (the effects of which adjustment are audible on the recording). Mimi was seated on the same side of the table at the opposite end, with chair turned so that she could speak with full face to Rajesh, who was at a rough 45° angle facing slightly away from her.



Rajesh was at all times both closer to the microphone and positioned at a more direct angle toward it, a factor whose effects are again audible in the results. Rajesh's constant position with respect to the microphone, in spite of the awkward angle at which he had to address Mimi, is evidence of his preoccupation with the recording situation. The fact that Mimi, in her turn, controlled the situation in such a way that Rajesh was closer to the microphone than she was, is evidence of what she had on her mind.

Rajesh had several props: a newspaper, a pencil, and some Cracker-Jack-box decals (the Free Surprise) presented to him before the recording session began by Mimi. His semiconscious toying with these props during the interview is audible on the recording. It proved impossible to remove these props from him during the interview (42.0-64.0).<sup>1</sup> My general impression after three month's acquaintance with Rajesh is that, when seated, he nearly always uses a prop for the dissipation of nervous tension.

At the beginning of the recording, Mimi, outside the recording booth, turned on the tape recorder, entered the booth, closed the door, and sat down, after which she opened the conversation. The sound of these actions is audible at the beginning of the tape, but transcription begins with Mimi's first words to Rajesh.

The factors determining the selection of this particular section of tape for analysis, and especially the selection of the cut-off point where transcription was terminated, are discussed in 1.2.2.2. below.

1.2.2. A number of mechanical and situational difficulties affecting the analysis should be noted. The former are handled in 1.2.2.1, the latter in 1.2.2.2.

1.2.2.1.1. There was some difficulty setting up the recording apparatus to which Rajesh was witness and even participant. This probably aggravated his discomfort in the recording situation, and it is alluded to by him during the interview (8.5 ff.).

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<sup>1</sup>Decimal numbers in parentheses without further identification, throughout this report, refer to appropriate passages on the tape located by their position in seconds (at half second increments) on the time line (feature number 1 in the microtranscription, section 2.4 below).

1.2.2.1.2. The recording quality is overloud for Rajesh during the first twelve seconds of the interview, when he was too close to the microphone; otherwise the recording intensity is generally oversoft. A few brief passages are nearly inaudible. Mimi in particular tended to decrease intensity markedly toward the ends of utterances. Because of Rajesh's considerable discomfort during the recording session it was decided not to attempt a new recording (and hence a new interview) but to use the present one despite these defects.

1.2.2.1.3. Inexperienced handling of the recorded tape and the use of diverse and sometimes faulty playback equipment for extended and repeated listening sessions has resulted in some damage to the original copy of the tape. The most unfortunate instance of this kind is the accidental erasure of about four seconds toward the end of the transcribed portion of the tape recording. Fortunately, this section had already been microtranscribed, and a copy was available on cassette tape which included the portion lost, and which was used for later listening checks. It may be added that noise which did not occur originally on the recording but which was added as a result of accidental damage has not been noted under feature 20 in the microtranscription (2.4 below).

1.2.2.2.1. Neither participant, naturally, was able to put the recording situation out of mind. In Mimi's case this is reflected by the fact that she was seated too far from the microphone throughout the interview (given her conception of the relative roles of Rajesh, herself, and that third party outside the soundproof booth). It is also reflected in her use of oversoft intensity and in her reticence relative to Rajesh. The result was that **the speech** corpus from Mimi was difficult to microtranscribe and that a quantitatively balanced sample of speech from the two participants was not available.

1.2.2.2.2. Rajesh was visibly made very uncomfortable by the unaccustomed and awkward recording situation. While he has been cooperative and helpful throughout the whole of the project (not merely in allowing himself to be used as a recording subject), it seems likely that he, responding to instructions given to him before the recording session began and to Mimi's behavior during the interview, felt himself under pressure to perform. (I do not remember the content of my instructions, but I do remember giving some.)

1.2.2.2.3. Another difficulty concerning Rajesh is a personal one which should not be postponed for discussion until the biographical sketches of the participants in section 3.1. Both participants in the interview are aware that Rajesh has physical and (perhaps not unrelated) psychological difficulties. His blood pressure is overhigh, an unusual thing in a person so young. He undergoes cyclic periods of depression alternating with exuberance whose total duration, according to my loose observations, is typically about 2½ days. He is also subject to chronic, often severe headaches, which he attempts to control with as many as half a dozen Tylenol capsules daily. The fact that he has been unable to obtain treatment for these problems from busy and indifferent doctors has been a source of some frustration to him.

1.2.2.2.4. Another aspect of Rajesh's personality relevant to the interview is his defensiveness in responding to personal questions.

1.2.2.2.5 On the basis of the information of the above three paragraphs, the first section of the recording can be considered to terminate just before Mimi asks Rajesh about his headaches (immediately following 283.5). A combination of (a) the stress produced by the recording situation; (b) the pressure felt by Rajesh to perform; (c) the fact that Rajesh was being interviewed during one of his despressed periods, a fact which became steadily more apparent over the 22½ minute span of the interview, and one which Rajesh has recently confirmed, stating that he remembers that day as being, for independent reasons, one of his most depressed days of the academic quarter; and (d) the probing by Mimi into the personal matter of his headaches--all these things contributed to the breakdown of Rajesh's cooperativeness. Full cooperation was not reestablished until considerably later in the 22½ minute recording. Therefore the section for analysis was chosen as that section from the beginning of the recording to the point noted.

1.2.2.2.6. One final factor influencing the analysis should be noted, namely, that it is an inside job. The advantage to analyzing an interview in which one has oneself participated is, of course, the insight one has into what went on. The obvious disadvantage is difficulty in achieving

objectivity.

### 1.3. Sociolinguistic Preliminaries

1.3.1. The general term code shift will be used herein to describe a change of any kind in the conversational code.<sup>2</sup>

A compact and informative discussion of some North Indian sociolinguistic factors relevant to the present report is available in Kachru (1975). Kachru distinguishes two kinds of code shift: code switching and code mixing. The former refers to the use of two codes (two language varieties) or more where "the functional domains of the languages involved are determined by linguistically pluralistic situations" (p. 79). Code mixing, on the other hand, "involves functioning, at least, in a disystem, and as a consequence, developing another linguistic code comprising formal features of two or more codes" (*ibid.*)<sup>3</sup> That is, it is the capacity for code switching which makes code mixing possible.

Code shift in Hindi and English is an outstanding feature of the speech of many North Indian educated speakers such as Rajesh. Nevertheless it would be possible to charge that in this interview, Rajesh is consciously trying to please the investigator (who has already informed him of the purpose of the project) by shifting codes. Even if it were so that Rajesh was aware of his shifts, it could be answered that this fact need not render the data unreliable by any means, since many aspects of code shift would be entirely out of Rajesh's control. But it would be more accurate as a response to cite one remarkable passage during the first minute of

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<sup>2</sup>The term code shift here is being used in a very different sense from Kachru's shifting (p. 89), which he loosely describes in terms of the South Asian situation as the Indianization of English combined with the Englishization of the Indian languages.

<sup>3</sup>Code switching and code mixing contrast with diglossia, defined by Ferguson (1959: 429) as a situation in which "two varieties of language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play", that is, according to Kachru (1975: 74), a situation in which "the languages involved are functionally mutually exclusive".

conversation which demonstrates the perfectly natural and unconscious nature of Rajesh's use of code shift. This is the point (13.5 - 27.0) at which Rajesh is turning the tables on Mimi by stating that he doesn't know how to say in Hindi "I will bill you for this" (the interview) and by asking her, as she usually, as investigator, asks him, as informant, how to say it. When she brushes the question aside, he answers himself as follows (24.5 - 27.0):

sacchaa to fir mAI tum ko is ka bill bhej duUgaa  
 okay, so then I you to this gen. send will-give  
 'Okay, so then I'll send you the bill for this'

The use of the English word bill is a classic instance of code mixing. Some further features of code shift in Hindi are illustrated here. In Hindi there are at least two words for bill in the above sense (according to my dictionary), and Rajesh is perfectly capable of using either of them. Nevertheless of most speakers the use of the word bill is far and away more common and, indeed, more natural. The notion of billing is as much a nativized import in Indian society as the English language itself. The above illustrates the use of mixed code for the expression of a concept which is felt to be less than fully Indian. A further aspect of this use of bill is highlighted by a conversation which I recall having with Rajesh before the project began. When asking him to participate in the project I had thoughtlessly remarked that I would not be able to pay him for his help. Subsequently Rajesh said that he was hurt by the implication that he would consider taking money for doing a friend a favor. (This is a characteristic of Indian society which is well known to me, a fact which makes the offense that much more serious.) The notion of billing a friend for a favor is therefore foreign (in a slightly different sense) to Rajesh, and he deals with it as such. Some other motivations for Hindi-English code shift are discussed by Kachru (pp. 83 - 85). In the context of this specific interview, others will be discussed at length in section 3.

It could be argued that the use of the word bill in the previous example should be considered different in kind from a similar shift in which a culturally-contextually appropriate equivalent is available without shifting. On this basis the above example could be placed under Kachru's (1966: 265) rubric of collocations (a category which includes also hybrids such as cooliedom, sadhuhood, etc.). We will not make such a distinction in this study, however, and will use the more general designation of code mixing only.

One factor which will be relevant in this study is cultural and linguistic context as a component of code shift. Kachru's 1966 study, subtitled A Study in Contextualization, takes up many categories of contexts influencing transference (p. 256) between at least two languages, and, sometimes, at least two cultures. Unfortunately the applicability of Kachru's study for the present project is limited by the fact that his data is entirely written Indian English. Another aspect of Kachru's study is that, as an elaborate classification system of types of variables affecting transference, it has the advantage of tight organization, but the disadvantage of any classificatory system: the fact that it is a closed scheme. As such it does nothing to encourage the formulation of explanatory hypotheses. At the risk of disorganization, the present report will not employ a classificatory scheme for the contextual phenomena discussed herein.

1.3.2. At least four codes have or are hypothesized to have input in the interview. They are as follows.

1.3.2.1. The conversation begins and intermittently continues in Hindi, which is the native language of Rajesh and an acquired language of Mimi (see the biographical sketches in 3.1 below). Hindi is a first or secondary language of an estimated 60 million speakers in India (Thomason 1973: 33) spoken in a continuum of styles through an extended geographical area roughly between Bengal and Kashmir, southwest to Gujarat and into Madhya Pradesh north of Orissa and Maharashtra. Pockets also exist in some major cities outside this area (Bombay, Calcutta, Hyderabad, and others). The sociolinguistic status of Hindi is such that the acquired Hindi spoken by myself has been variously called by Indians "good Hindi", "good Urdu",

"good Hindustani", "good khari boli", and, by linguists only, "Hindi-Urdu". An interesting though maverick treatment of the sociolinguistics of Hindi (called therein "Hirdu") is Kelkar (1968), and other treatments are cited therein.

I am familiar with the type of Hindi spoken in Rajesh's locality (see 3.1). More generally, I am familiar from five year's association with the Hindi of persons of Rajesh's age (twenties), educational (university student), socioeconomic (upwardly mobile middle class) and geographical (Uttar Pradesh area) groups.

1.3.2.2. Panjabi is spoken throughout the Panjab and in parts of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh, as well as in pockets in western Uttar Pradesh (an especial example of this being Delhi, where there has been a great influx of Panjabis). Both of Rajesh's parents are native speakers of Panjabi and a few peculiarities of Rajesh's speech noted in section 2.5 below are hypothesized as resulting from its influence.

1.3.2.3. Indian English is spoken in a variety of styles by educated speakers throughout India, and is the first language of many Indians. I know very little about Indian English, but will hazard the following observations about the Indian English of this project. Even an untrained observer will have no difficulty recognizing the gross difference between southern and northern Indian English. Rajesh's dialect of north Indian English is similar to that I have heard spoken by many Indians educated in north Indian environments, especially in north Indian university situations. I have met a few Indians who have tried to Americanize their articulation (for example, by the use of [ɹ] for Indian English [r] and by exaggerated diphthongization), usually Indians who have been concerned with material success in the USA. Rajesh, however, has made few concessions to the phonetics of American English or to its intonation (see remarks in 2.5 below). He has made some concessions in the lexicon (for example, at my urging, he gave up the word "purse" in favor of "wallet"). I find nothing remarkable in his Indian English syntax. I have specified Rajesh's as an educated, upwardly mobile middle class dialect of Indian English, It is within the intermediate realm shading toward users of Received Pronunciation on one side, and toward educationally-socio-economically lower-positioned speakers on the other.

Mimi, for her part, frequently code switches to a type of Indianized English when speaking to Indians (see remarks in 2.5 below) and even at times when merely talking about things Indian.

1.3.2.4. In the present interview the participant Mimi controls the code of American English. Her dialect falls generally within the area of Midwestern standard. (See also 3.1 below). American English will be dwelt on minimally in this report.

## 2.0 The Transcriptions

2.1. The microtranscription includes the following features, whose use is modelled after their use in McQuown (1971):

2.1.1. Timeline in seconds. Increments are at half second intervals.

Since timing was done with no more accuracy than the tedious use of a stopwatch, timings can be expected to deviate by several tenths of a second.

2.1.2. Phonetic transcription. Symbology has been taken from McQuown (1967) with the exception of the symbol [w] to indicate the voiced dento-labial fricative.

2.1.3. Pitch range (m)<sup>4</sup>

2.1.4. Pitch control (m)

2.1.5. Vocal lip and arytenoid control (m)

2.1.6. Glottis control (m)

2.1.7. Articulation control (m)

2.1.8. Rhythm control (m)

2.1.9. Resonance (m)

2.1.10. Tempo (m)

2.1.11. Tonality (m)

2.1.12. Intensity (m)

2.1.13. Quantity (m)

2.1.14. Intensity **contour**. The author has included the use of crescendo-decrescendo symbols such as those used in written music to capture non-digital changes in intensity.

2.1.15. Vocal segregates (m)

2.1.16. Intonation (as in Hockett 1958)

2.1.17. Stress (as in Hockett (1958)

2.1.18. Phoneme. The English phonemic system for the American English of this interview is as in Hockett (1958), except that /ŋ/ does not have

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<sup>4</sup> m = McQuown 1974.

independent phoneme status. The phonemic system of Hindi is as follows for the purpose of the present interview:

<u>consonants</u>	p	t	ʈ	c	k		
	f	th	ʈh	ch	kh		
	b	d	ɖ	j	g		
	bh	dh	ɖh	jh	gh		
	h	s	ʃ	ʂ			
	v	z		y			
	m	n	ɳ			N	(N = vowel nasalization)
		l					
		r	ɽ				
			ɽh				
<u>vowels</u>							
	ii			uu			
	i			u			
	e			o			
	ai			ɔ			
		aa					
		a					

The Indian English phonemic system differs from the American English system employed herein only in distinguishing /r/ and /ɽ/.

2.1.19. Orthography/transliteration. The Hindi transliteration used here agrees with the phonemic transcription used for Hindi as given in 2.1.18, except in the following: post-alveolar ("retroflex") consonants are written with the first symbol in upper case (thus, /ʈh/ is written Th); nasalized vowels are written in upper case (thus, /aĩ/ is written AI); /ɽ/ is written S; /ɽ/ R, and /ɽh/ Rh.

2.1.20. Gross commentary.

2.2. Other features which would have been desirable to include in the microtranscription had to be omitted due to time considerations.

2.3.1. The macrotranscription with commentary, which I have called "The First Four Minutes and Forty-three Point Five Seconds", is modeled after Pittenger et al. (1960). It is included mainly for the reader's benefit. The interaction between Rajesh and Mimi is a complex segment from a continuing interaction; it cannot be interpreted in the absence of its past and its future. Further, it is not merely language which must be translated, not merely culture, but an idiosyncratic relationship between two unique individuals.

Some of the extended commentary of the macrotranscription consists of half baked analysis. It is of potential future usefulness to me more so than it is of immediate usefulness to the reader. The commentary, I must confess, was a good deal of fun to do, and I doubt that it will bore the reader even at its most extendedly speculative.

2.3.2. The transcription is organized as follows:

2.3.2.1. Orthography/transliteration.

2.3.2.2. Translation of Hindi.

2.3.2.3. Commentary.

2.4. Microtranscription.



1

+ → 1.0 (R)

2

1.5

2. स० ब० प० + ष० १. २३. रि० क०. सि० ग०. अ

3

१/२ १/२

4

→

5

6

7

8

~

9

+ १-

10

11

12

१/२ १/२

13

14

15

स० ब० प०

16

२ १ २ ३ २ ३

17

✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓

18

स० ब० ष० १ २ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ ८ ९ ०

19

स० ब० ष० १ २ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ ८ ९ ०

20

(R) = Rajesh speaking  
Too close to microphone

1 20 (M) 2.5 3 2.0 3.5 (R) 3.0 3.5  
 2 n . k ə r . d i . y a . a n . k ə r . d i . y a . h a ã t h

3 k k k

4 → → ↓ ↓

5

6 k

7 k

8

9 r r r

10

11 ↑ ↑ ↓ ↓

12 k k k

13

14

15 k ↓

16 1 2 1 2 3

17

18 n k ə r d i y a a n k ə r d i y a h a ã t h

19 n k a r d i y a a a n k a r d i y a a h a ã t h

20

1 40 (m) 4,5 (R) 2 i k . ε . a t š . t š g a . g g g . g ə m . b o l . ũ . k

3 ↓

4 → → ↓ → ↗

5

6 -v

7 -R R

8

9 -r -r -r

10 < →

11 ↓ ↓

12 -n << << ^

13

14 > >

15 ↓ ^ ^ ^

16 1 2 1 2 3

17 / / / / /

18 i k h ε a č č h a h o m b o l u N k

19 ii k h ai , aa c c h aa . h a m b o l U U k

20 overclose microphone noise. too close to microphone - - - - - overclose

1 5.0 5.5 6.0 6.5

2 a . m . k l s . k e . b a . r e . m e . b o l . n . t s

3  $\frac{1}{2}$

4  $\frac{1}{2}$  →

7 R

8 ~ R

9 -

( 10

11 ↓ ↓

12 -n v- ~ R

13

14 > // //

15  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$

16 1 2 3 2

17 . . . . . u . . . . . u

( 18 y a m k l s k e b i a r e m e n b o l n a d

19 y a a ? m k i s k e b a a r e m e n b o l n a a c

2 g . b o l . n a . t e . h o . t u m . \* a . t . \* t

3  
4 → ↗

5  
6 ← ←

7 R<sub>y</sub> R<sub>x</sub>  
8 ~

9 -E +  
10 ← )

11 (4)  
12 -V V

13  
14 > <   
15 ↓ ± ± ± ±  
16 1 3 2

17 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~  
18 b o l n a ě a h t e h o t u m )  
19 b o l n a a c a a h t e h o t u m

1 8.5 90 95  
 2 8.5 (m) 90 95  
 (R) + u m . p a t š . + š i s . m i n . n t t . t a k . t

3 \*

4 →

5 →

6

7

$R_x$   $R_x$   $R_x$

8

9 +

10 →

11 ↓ ↓ ↓  
 ↑ ↑ ↑

12

13 >

14

15  $\frac{A}{F}$   $\frac{A}{F}$

16

1 3  
 2

17

18

h u m p a c š š i s m i n t t t a k t

19

h u m p a c š i i s m i n u t e t a k t

20

1 100 8 110 115  
20. t a e m . b a r . w a d t . k a r . d i . l a . l a - ? U ,

3

4 ↘ ≈

5 p-

6 (cc) -cc

7 F-

8 ~

9 (s) -c +

10 - )

11 -↑

12 1-

13 ^

14 < >

15 ⚡ ⚡

16 s z 1 3 2

17 ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ /

18 0 t a y m b a r v a d k a r d i y a )

19 0 t i m e b a r v a a d k a r d i y a a .

20

Laughter . . .

1 12.0 12.5 13.0 13.5 14.0  
 (m)  
 2  $\cdot \frac{V}{3} \cdot \frac{5}{3} - \cdot$   
 (l)  
 + n . a ± m . g > . n ∂ . f v . ē . L S . k e . l l l .

3

4 →

→

5

-9

6

-∞

7

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-∞

8

±

-F

9

∞

∞

10

+

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E-

11

→

12

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-1

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3 2

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18

l n a y m g > n a + v(mh) e N L S k e l l

19

A n' F' m g l o n n a - + u(mh) E - i s k e l l

20

1 145

150

155 160

165

170

175

2 Le. m. m.

6 S :

(R)

m . x l i n . d i . m e . a e . r o n . n o w .

3

4

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~

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f

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-R

-R

F

-F

R

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Λ

9

-E

E

-E

-r

+

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11

↓

↓

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↓

↓

<

<

→

12

↓

∨

∨

∨

∨

∨

∨

-∧

∨

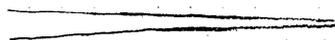
13

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(t)

k

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w

20

Chair  
Saxpe

2. ? ? . k E . s e . b o l , t e . ã . a h . y u l l . b u l l .

3

4

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5

-i

6

7 (or)

8

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9 (+)

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11

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12 (v)

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→ ? H

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17

u , \ , u , \ , u , u , \ , u , \

18

k E s e b o l t e h e N a y w u l l b u l l

19

k a l s e b o l t e h a I I w i l l b u l l

20

1

190

12

135

2. तु. फ. द. स. ल. दि. म. के. से. बो.

3

4



5

6

v-

7 (b)

8

9 (t)

10

11



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1 3

17



18 तु फ द स ल दि म के से बो

19 you for this hindii me ke se bo

20

20.0

20.5

21.0

2. I E . . g e . (m) f o n d t . æ f . t u . t o k . ) | ' .

3

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4

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7

-R<sub>x</sub>

R<sub>x</sub>-

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12

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v-

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15

↑

φ

P<sub>0</sub>

φ<sub>0</sub>

P<sub>0</sub>

P<sub>0</sub>

P<sub>0</sub>

φ

P<sub>0</sub>

φ<sub>0</sub>

P<sub>0</sub>

φ<sub>0</sub>

P<sub>0</sub>

16

3

2

3

2

17

'

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∪

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∪

'

'

( 18

I e n g e y u d o n t (h) æ v t u t a k a l

( 19

I E g e ? y o u d o n t (h) a v e t o t a l k a l l

20

1

215

14

270

225

2, ४ n . t a m . l n . l n . d i . d ě o . b i i . t u m . )

3 (4)

4

2

5

-9

8-

8

9-

9

6

v-

7 (R)

8

2

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11 (4)

12

v-

v-

v-

v-

v-

v-

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X  
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18

४ ३ t a y m l n h u n d i j o b h i t u m )

19

t h e t i m e i n H i n d i . j o b h i t u m

20

1 p ə . s ə n d . k ə . r o . g e . w o . h i . k ə r . k ə .

3 (x)

4

2 →

5

p-

q p-

6 (y)

7 (a<sub>2</sub>)

8

~ 1/2

9

(10

11 (y)

12

-v v- -v v-

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18

p ə s ə n d k ə r o g e w o h i k ə r k ə

19

p a s a n d k a r o g e w o h i k a r k a

20



1 26.

17.  
265

27.

2 a . b l k . b e c d e . d u . g a . a . t s t . l s . k e .

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→ ↗

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F

F

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N

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18 a b l k b h e j d u N g a a (i) e h a l s k e

19 aa b i l l b h e j d u u g aa . aa e c h aa l s k e

20

27.5

18  
28.0 27.5

29.0

29.5

2 . b a . r e . m e . b o . l o . t u m . h a . r i . )

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↑ ∩ ∅ H

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17 ∨ ∨ ∨ ∨ ∨ ∨ ∨ ∨ ∨

18 b a r e m e n b o l o t u m h a r i )

19 b a r e m e b o l o , u h t u m h a a r i i

20



1 32.0

32.5

20

33.0

33.5

2. mē . nā . hī . n . d u s . s t a n . mē . hī . hī . hī . hī .

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↘

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-R<sub>4</sub>

F-

8

-L

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v-

-v

v-

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18

meN na hī n d u s t a n meE haN hī n

19

ME naa hī n d u s t a n ME ? h A A hī n

20

2. du s t a n m ê k e s e p e d a h o g i .

3

4 → → →

5 (?)

-9

6

7 (-)

-F

8 (~)

-a

9 (+)

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∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪

18 du s t a n m ê k e s e p e d a h o g i

19 du s t a n m ê k a s e p a i d a a h o g i i ?

20

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355

360

22

365

2 . + d o ^ f . d k t . t e l a e k . c . b l g k . t ŝ u . t l i .

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d o n (t) æ k t      l a y k e b e g      č u t l

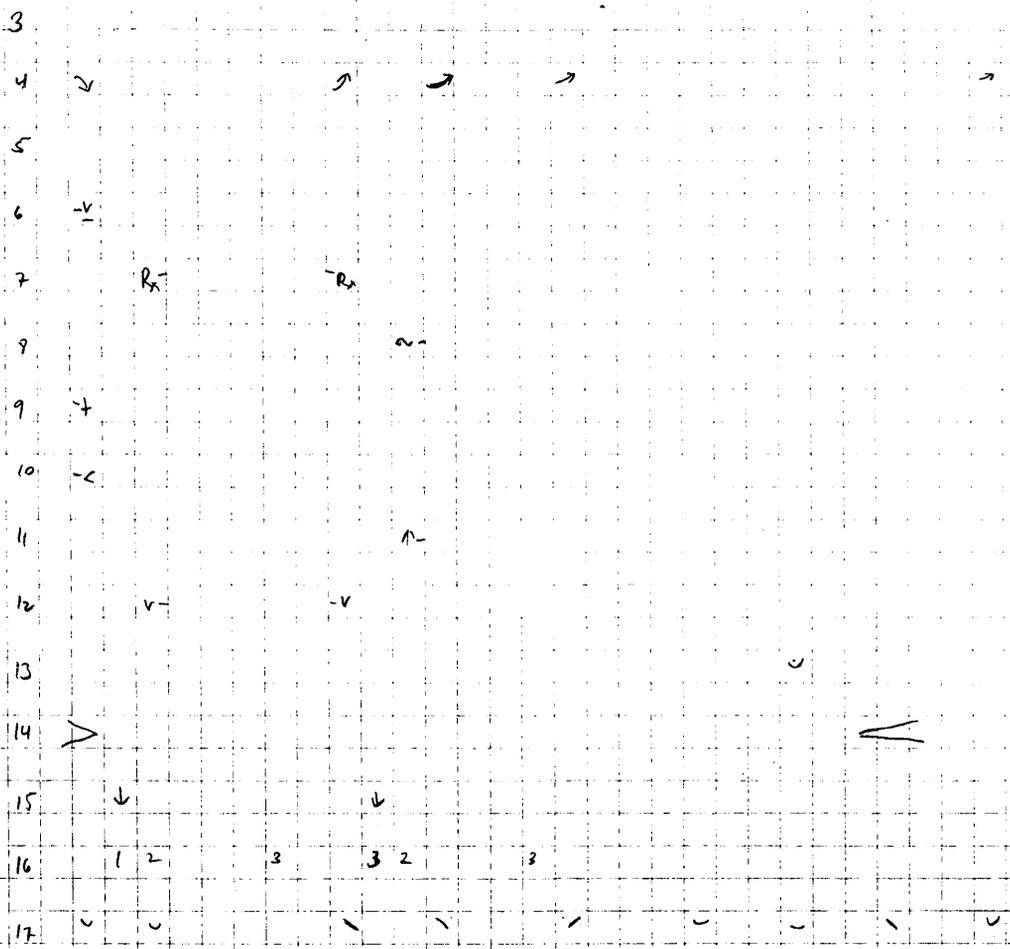
19

D o n (t) a c t      l i k e a b i g      c u n t i

20

1 37.0 37.5 38.0 38.5

2 (m) a t š . t š a . (R) a u . k æ n . š i . b i . b o r n . l



18 ya a č č ha ha w k æ n š i b i b o r n l

19 ya a c c ha q? How can she be born l

20

39.0

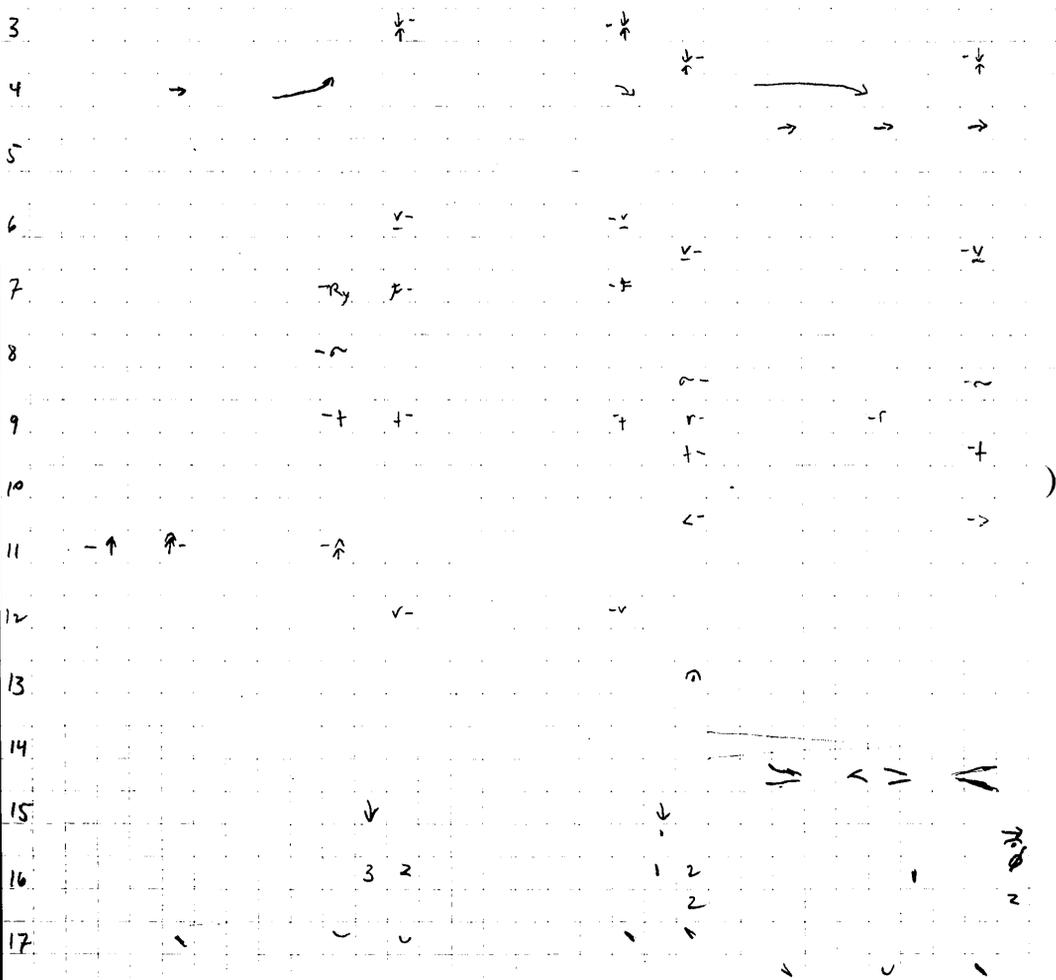
24

37.5 40.0

40.5 41.0

1

2 n . l n . d i a . a + <sup>(m)</sup> s̄ + s̄ ə ə . ɪ ----- )  
 (e) + d ə e . s̄ ə . s̄ ə )



18 n l n d i a u ċ ě h a ə ----- )  
 19 h I n d i a ? a a c c h a a . U h ----- )  
 They were here .

20

1 410

415 420

25

425

430

(M)

(R)

2.  $\forall \epsilon \in \mathbb{R}^+, \exists \delta \in \mathbb{R}^+, a \leq y_0 \text{ on } s \cdot s k r a + \tilde{s} \cdot + \tilde{s} \cdot d \cdot g$

3

4

$\curvearrowright \rightarrow$

5

6

7

$R_2^- - R_1^-$

$R_1^-$

8

9

$+ \quad + \quad r-$

( 10

$r-$

11

$r-$

12

$r-$

13

$\circ \circ$

14

$\succ$

$\parallel$

15

$\rightarrow$

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2 2

3

2

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18

well well a y w o n (t) s k r a c h l t g

19

Well!... Well I w o n ' t s c r a t c h l t g

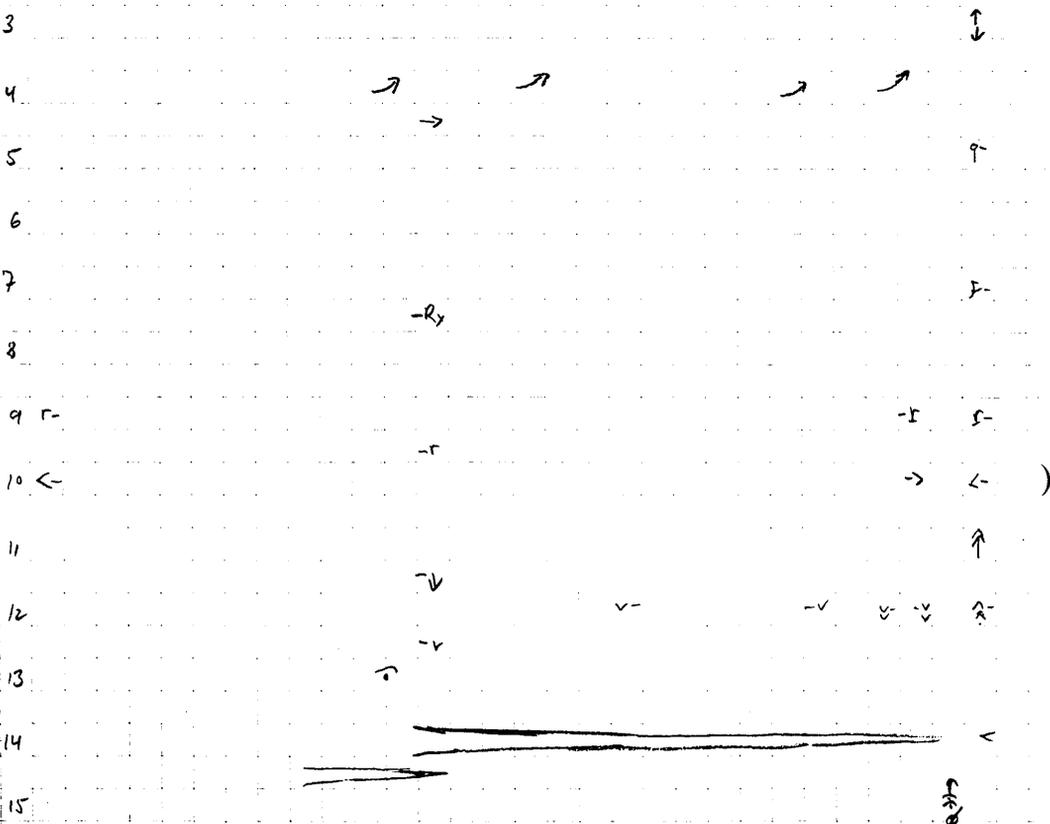
20

435

440  
445  
450 (R)

1 (m) 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

2 a z s i b l n t u w y l n d i y a n  
 (R) l w w l d b a k t u m



16 2 3 2 3 3

17 - - - - -

18 h a z s i b l n t u w l n d i y a n  
 l v l t b a e k t u )

19 H a s s h e b e e n t o I n d i a ? N  
 i v e i t b a c k t o

1 45.5

46.0

46.5

2 0.5 1 2 . on . li . van . and . e . a . f . 4 0 1 2 5

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4 ↗ →

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17 // \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \

18 0 5 1 2 . on . li . van . and . e . a . f . 4 0 1 2 5

19 0 ! She's on ly one and a half years

20

47.0 47.5

48.0 48.5

49.0

(m)

a + s̃, + s̃ a . b b n t . t d n z .

(e)

o l d . k g l w . w l d t . t u . m i .

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-Bx

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-w

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1 2

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18

o l d      g l v      a      e      (h) a      b o t      d o e s

19

o l d      f i v e      a a      c      t v      m i      (h) a a , B b u t      d o e s

20

o l d      f i v e      i t      t o      m e

1 (m) 2. η. 0. 8. u. s. η. m. m. a. b. a. p. k. o. k. a. s. t. n. a. i. l

3 (\*)

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18 n. (t) 8. u. s. m. a. b. a. p. k. o. k. a. s. t. n. a. (h) | N. L

19 n. t. t. h. i. s. m. m. m. a. a. b. a. a. p. k. o. k. a. S. T. n. a. (h) | II. l

20



1 530

535

31

540

545

2 a s . l n . n . n . n . y n . p . d e e . g u a n d t . t

3 (4)

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11 (4)

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v -

v -

v -

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z

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u u u u u u u u

18 > w y e r n n n y e r n d e y r g r a n d

19 a w y o u r n n n y o u r n t h e i r g r a n d

20



1 57.5 58.0 58.5 (M) 59.0 (R) 59.5  
 2 k o r s . t e n . m a g . m o t h e r . m i s s e s .

3  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{4}$   $\frac{1}{8}$

4  $\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow$

5

6

7 - F R-

8 - ~

9 - r r-

10  $\rightarrow$   $\leftarrow$   $\rightarrow$

11  $\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow$

12  $\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow$

13

14  $\vee$

15  $\frac{1}{2}$

16 1 3 3 2

17 , , , , , , , ,

18 k o r s t e n m a g m o t h e r m i s s e s

19 c o u r s e . T h e n ? M y m o t h e r m i s s e s

20 - - - - - newspaper shifting names - - - - -

2 ð n . b e . w i . w e . r i . m a t š . p b n t . y ə t . k

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4

5

6

7 (k)

8

9 (r)

10

11

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18 ð ə b e b i v e r i m a t š b ə t w ə t k

19 the b a b y v e r y m u c h b u t w h a t c

20 (newspaper shutting)

1

61.0

35

41.5

22.0

2 an. d e du.  $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2}$  y o n d t. s k r a t u .

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-Ry F

-F

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-F +

( 10

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↑

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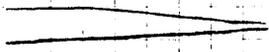
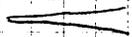
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↑ E S A

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3 1.3

17

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( 18

an e du

y won't s k r a t u

19

an they do

I won't s c r a t u h

20

(paper shuttle)

1

2 . t s l d . d θ ə . s a y n d . y ɔ n d t . k ə m . θ r u .



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4



5

6 (r)

7

8

9

10



11 (↑)



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l t θ ə s a w n d w o n t k ə m θ r u )

19

l t t h e s o u n d w o n t c o m e t h r o u g h

20

1  
2 d o n . b i . s t u . p u d + . m

640  
645 (M)  
650 m  
655 (R)

1 . + a l . o b p . k .

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d o n . b i . s t u . p u d

d o n (t) b e s t u . p u d

d o n (t) b e s t u . p i d .

Epanar shuffle  
Chair break

\*  
20

1 2  
3  
m  
o + a l o b k  
m  
a + a a l a b k

1

2, 3 r k e t . n a e . t a b a t . k a r . n a e . m e . )

3

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6

7 (F-)

8

9 (E-)

10

11 (L-)

12

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«

a-

-r

»-

v-

→

2

> r k e t n a e t a b a t k a r n a e m e )  
 a n r k i t n a e d e t a a b a t k a r n a a m e

1 67.5

68.0

68.5

2. re . bo . lo . tur m . ne . bo . la . th . a . a . d

3

4

↘

↗

↗

5

6 (←)

7 (F)

8

↘

9

10

↘

11 (↓)

↓

12 (v)

↘

13

14

≡

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16

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17

re . bo . lo . tur m . ne . bo . la . th . a . a . d

18

re bo lo tur m ne bo la th a a d

19

re bo lo . tur m ne bo lae th aa aad

20

1

99.0

99.5

2 द्वा. ३० न. ता. एव. याव. अलि. अलि. ए. ए.

3

\*

4

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6 (cc)

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15

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16

2

17

18 हा गहन ता यु (ह) एव अलि अलि रे )

19 हा गहन ता. यु (ह) एव अलि अलि रे )

20





1 72.5

(m)

2. P a u . m n t s . t o o e m . u l i . l u u . n l . f a

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4 →

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6

7 R

8 ~

9 L

( 10

11 ↓

12 v-

13

14

15 f

16 z

17

( 18

19

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h a w m o c t a y m w l y u w o l a

H o w m u c h t i m e w i l l y o u a l l o

1 73.5 74.0 (R) 74.5 75.0 (M) 75.5  
 2 u, m l i, a a f, a, m l n, n t, t t, o y n. 1< L h.

3 ↓ ↓ ↓  
 4 → ↘ ↗ ↘

6 " " "  
 7 -R F F

8 ~ ~ ~  
 9 -I + -I -I  
 10 < >

11 ↓ ↓ ↓  
 12 -v v ^ ^ ^

14 > > >  
 15 ↓ ↓ ↓

16 1 2 3 1 3 1  
 17 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

18 w m i y h a f a m n l t o w n l i y  
 19 w m e ? H a l f a m i n u t e. o n l y !

1 76.0

20.5

(R)

(M)

2 1 e 2, p b 2 s, ? a f . n , m l n , n t d . m e . k l

(R)

so 2

3 1 1

\* 1 1

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9 9

6

1 1

7

F

R<sub>1</sub> - R<sub>2</sub>

8

9 1 1

+ +

( 10 < - >

+ - +

11 1 1

1 1

12 1 1

1 1

13

14 > >

15 1 1

1 1

16 3 1 3

3 2 1

17 1 1 1 1 1

1 1 1 1 1

( 18 y e o b a s (h) a f o m l n a t m e n k y

19 y e a h . b a s ? h a n A a l f a m i n u t e m e k y

(h) An .

20

1

775

780

785

2 a . k ə . ɛ ũ . ɔ i .

(M) ɔ ə . . . . .

(R)

t u m . d ə a ɛ . ɔ z . ɛ ə k . ɔ ɛ .

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18 a k ə r u ũ g i

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ɔ z y ə r h ɛ

19 a k a r u ũ g i ?

t u m

t h a t

h u h ?

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20

1 71.0 77.5 80.0 80.5 81.0  
 2 - d e k . m . a t š . t š ě d . n i s . k i . m a . r e .

(  
 3 -  
 4 → -  
 5 -  
 6 -  
 7 - R - R  
 8 -  
 9 + +  
 ( 10  
 11 - - - - -  
 12 - - - - -  
 13  
 14 > >  
 15 2 3  
 16 1 2 3  
 17 - - - - -  
 18 dek m a ō ō h a n i s k i m a r e  
 ( 19 d a c h e . m . a a c e h a a n i e c e k i . b a a r e  
 20

815

820

825

900

2. mē . m . bat . + s̄it . kə . rə . wət . ə . bə . y )

3

\*-

4

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i- ɪ

p-

-ɪ

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8

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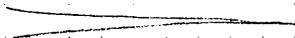
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bə . w )

19

mE . m .

baat

ĉiit

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What

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20

835, 840

845

850

2 t. 3 3 r. <sup>(M)</sup> 3<sup>1</sup> . 4 3 t<sup>7</sup> . k a e n d . n v f . k u d t . 5 l l .

3 ↓ ↑

4 → →

5

6 -v

7 -R<sub>f</sub> R<sub>f</sub>

8 ~

9 +

10

11

12 -v 3 -v

13

14 >

15 3 2

16 3 2

17 / / / / / / / /

18 t h e r w a t k a y n d o v k i d s i y

19 t h e r ? w h a t k i n d o f k i d s h e

20

85.5  
86.0  
(K)

86.5

87.0

87.5-  
87.0

2. L L Z S . S . Š . Š i . L Z . ə . W E . r i ? . Š i z s .

3

↓

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v e

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is ?

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h e

i s

a

v e

r y

s h e ' s

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1 875

920

905

910

915

920

2. ə . W E . r i . s m a r t . + s a e l d t . ə + s̃ . + s̃ t e . (m)

3

↓

↓

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7

Rx

Rx

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v

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18

ə v e r i s m a r t , ç a y l d . a ç ç h a

19

a v e r y s m a r t , c h i l d . a a c c h a a a ?

20

77,5

93,0 93,5

1  
(R) 2. s š l z . w e . r i . b i l y . r l . f o l . š i z . w e .

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14

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→

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3 2

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18

s š i z v e r i b y u t l f o l š i z v e

19

s s h e s v e r y b e a u t i f u l s h e s v e

20

1 94.0

94.5 95.0

95.5

96.0

2. r i s m a t a l w l z d z z m p p u o g z .

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9 (4)

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16

s s e

17



18

r i s m a t a l w l z ) e m p l n g z

19

r y s m a r t i a l w a y s j u m p i n g a

20

145 930 975 990

975

1. r a u n d t . m . t u m . k o . p a . s a n d t . k a r .

3

↓

4

→

↘

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=

7

↘

8

9

+

+

10

→

11

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↑

12

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↘

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15

↑

→

16

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3 2 2 3

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/

/

18

r a u n d m t u m k o p a s a n d k a r

19

r o u n d . M . t u m k o p a s a n d k a r

20

1 99.0 99.5 100.0 100.5 101.0  
 2 . + 1 . 2 ε 2 .  $\sum_{i=1}^n$  t . l a e s . m u , w e . r i . m a t s .

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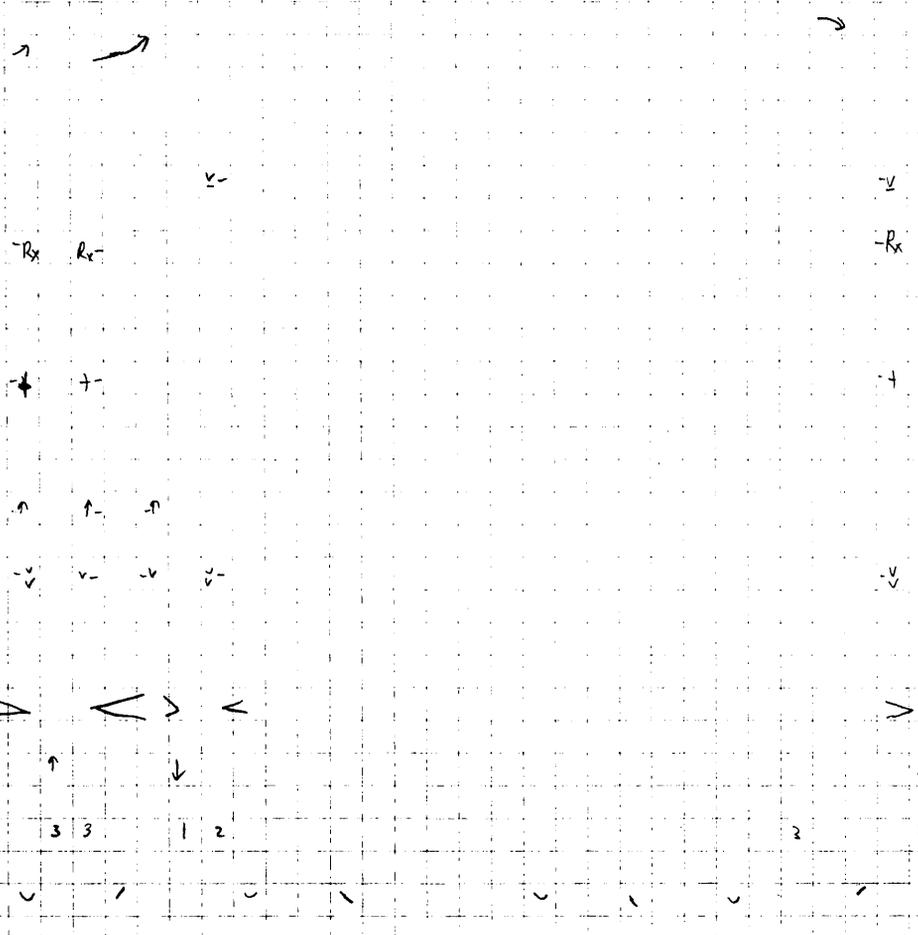
16

17

18

19

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18 t i i y e a s h i l a y k s m i v e r i m a c h  
 19 t i i ? y e a h ! s h e l i k e s m e v e r y m u c h .

1

(M)

2 ə + ʃ . + ʃ ə . + d ə z . z ɹ . n ɫ t . + ɔ ə t . + i ɹ ə . p

3

4

↗

5

6

7 R

8

9 + -                    +    5 -

10 >                    <

11 ↓                    ↓

12 v -                    v -    v -

13

14 <                    >    <

15                    →

16 z                    z 3

17 ~                    ~                    /                    ~                    ~                    ~                    ~

18 a ĉ    ĉ h a                    d ə z    n (t)    ɫ t                    h ə t    y ə r p

19 a a c    c h a a                    d o e s    n (t)    i t                    h u r t    y o u r p

20

1025

105,0 102,5 104,0

1

2  $\tilde{a}^i \cdot \tilde{e}_n + s \cdot \partial \partial e_i \cdot k \partial n t \cdot s \cdot \tilde{a}^i \cdot \partial v f, k$

3

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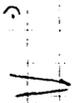
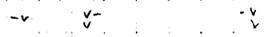
15

16

17



α-  
-R<sub>x</sub> F-  
N-  
-E +



2 2  
3 2 3

Parents they can't see her or k

Parents they can't see her, OF c

20

1 1050

1055

1060

1065

2 → f s . l t . t h ɜ r t s . w ə t . k æ w ə t . k æ n . a . )

3

4

↙ ↘

5

6

-cc -cc-

-cc -cc-

7 (5-)

8

9 (4-)

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> -

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13

u

o

14 =

>

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15

↑

16

1 2

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17

ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ

18 ɔ r s l t h ɜ r t s w ə t k æ w ə t k æ n a (y) )

19 ɔ r s e i t h ɜ r t s . w h a t e a - w h a t c a n - I

20

1 107.0-108.5 109.0 109.5 110.0 110.5 111.0  
2 m l n . f . ? @ . m . a e . f o n . n o . @ v f . k @ s .

3

4 ↘ ↗ ↘ ↗

5 P P

6 -a -v -v

7 -F R<sub>x</sub>

8 R

9 (t) T

10

11 ↓ ↑ -↑ ↑ ↑

12 ... -v -v

13 > S

14 > >

15 > >

16 2 3 1 2 3

17 - - - - - - - - - -

18 m l n m a y d o n (t) n o @ v k @ s

19 m e a n m I d o n (t) k n o w . O F c o u r s e

20

1. 1115 1120  
2. L + . + 3. 3 + 5 . 7 . 9 . 11 . 13 . mag . sis . + 5 . L n . 10 . )

3  
4 ~ ~

5  
6 y-

7 (P<sub>1</sub>)  
8 (P<sub>2</sub>) ~

9  
10 )

11  
12 ~ ~

13  
14  
15 ↓ H H H

16  
17 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

18 L + h a u t s . m a g s i s t e r i n l a w )  
19 i t h u r t s . m y s i s t e r i n l a w

1 116.5

113.00

113.5

114.0 114.5-  
116.0

116.5

117.0

2. u @ n . t e d t . ? t u . t e k . @ m . t ?  $\frac{1}{2}$  . d ) .

3

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6 (k)

7 (k)

-kx

8

9

+

( 10

<

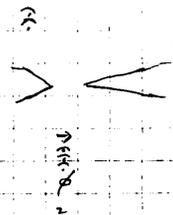
11

↓ ↓

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15

16 (2)

17

18 w @ n t e d t u t e k @ m h e d d )

19 w a n t e d t o t a k e u m h e r d i a y g h

20



120.0

120.5

121.0

2 . + ð a t . + a s m . m a e . p e . s e n t s . k u d . n a

3 (1/7)

4

5

6 (2)

7

8

9 (4)

10 (6)

11 (4)

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

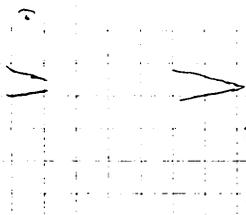
19

20

ð a t . + a y m . m a e . p e r e n t s . k u d . n a

that time my parents could no

~



2 7<sup>7</sup> . p b i . c n . n u . d e l . l i . s u n . d æ e . w æ r . )

3 (7<sup>7</sup>)

4

5

6 (7<sup>7</sup>)

-v -v-

7

8

9 (7<sup>7</sup>)

10

→

11 (7<sup>7</sup>)

12

v-

13

14

15

→

16

3

2

17

18 + b i c n n u d e l l i s u n d æ e w æ r )

19 + b e i n N e w d e l h i ; s o o n t h e y w e r e

20

122.5

1230 1235  
(m)

1

2. go . i . j . d + u . d e . r a . d u n . a + s . + s ? o .

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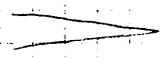
-v

-R<sub>x</sub> R<sub>y</sub>

+ +

-d

-v v



v

u

3

13

3

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

going to d e (h) r a d u n a c h a

going to d e (h) r a d u n a c h a

1 124.0

124.5

66  
125.0  
126.0  
125.5

126.5

(R)

2 . k u s . k e . l i l . l e . k u s . k e . l i l . l e . d )

3

-L

4

→

→

→

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6

v-

7

-R

8

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9

-+

+ -

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11

↑

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-v

13

14

15

↑

16

3

13

17

18

k u s k e l i y e k u s k e l i y e d )

19

k i s k e l i y e ? k i s k e l i y e D

20



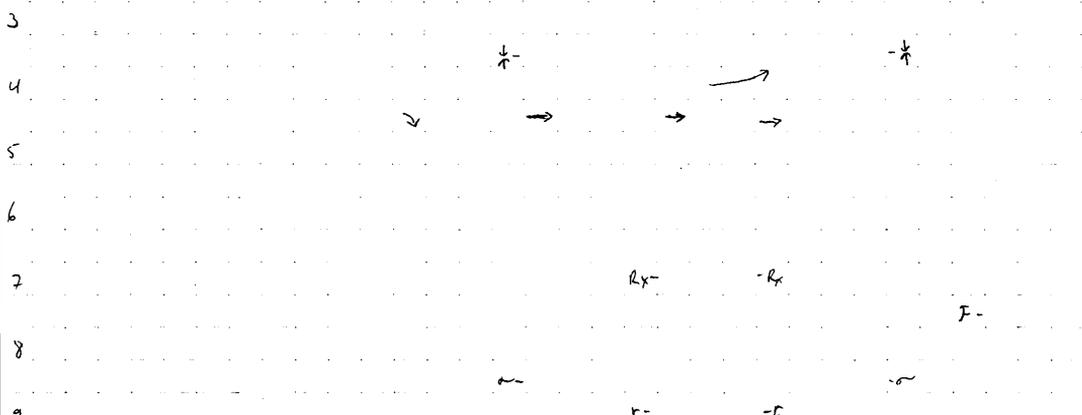
1290

1295

1300

(m)

1  
 2 . k a r o g e t u m t u m m a r e m a t t u m )  
 (l)



10  
 11  
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 18  
 19  
 20

(+)  
 (4)



12  
 18  
 19  
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k a r o g e t u m t u m h a r e m a t t u m )  
 k a r o g e t u m ? t u m h a r e m a t t u m )  
 m  
 m ?  
 h a a



132.0

132.5

133.0 133.5

1

(m)

2. m. r a g s . k h a . r i d . k e . l e . l e . g e . r

(n)

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5

p-

-i

6

v-

7

-f

8

-l

9

-r

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↓

↓

p-

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v-

v-

v-

v-

v-

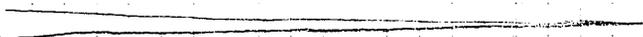
v-

v-

v-

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↓

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m r a g s k h a r i d k e l e l e n g e r

19

m r i c e k h a r i d k e l e l e g e . r

20

1. 1340

1345

1350

(3)

2

(2)

a g s . d e e ? . r a . d u n . a ? .

... + s a n . w a l . k a a .

3

4



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6

-v

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8

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r-

-t

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->

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-r

↓

12

-v

13

14



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?

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17

18

a y s d e h r a d u n a

h a n d a v a l k h a

19

i c e l l , D e h r a D u n a - -

h A A c a a v a l k h a

20







1 137.0 137.5 140.0 142.5

2. ə ʒ . d ʒ e r . ə . w e n . d ʒ e . r i . t a y r . æ k .

3 ↙

4 → →

5 -g-

6 v- v-

7

8 v- v-

9 (+)

10 (-) → →

11 (-) ↓

12 (v-) -v v- v- v- v-

13 v v

14 

---

15 ↓

16 3 1 2

17 v v v v v v v v

18 ə ʒ d ʒ e r ə w e n d ʒ e r i t a y r æ k

19 uh there a when they re tire. Ac

1

1410

1415

1420

2.  $t_1, u_1, i_1, j \in \mathbb{Z}, L_2, a, rod + t_2, u_2, i_2, j \in \mathbb{Z}, b$  )

3

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→ →

↘

+ r-

←

↓

→

3

2

17.  $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$

18.  $t_1, u_1, i_1, j \in \mathbb{Z}, L_2, a, rod + t_2, u_2, i_2, j \in \mathbb{Z}, b$  )

19.  $t_1, u_1, i_1, j \in \mathbb{Z}, L_2, a, rod + t_2, u_2, i_2, j \in \mathbb{Z}, b$  )









149.5

1500

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(A)

2 g k s . a r e m a g n i f i c e n t l y t r a n s

(M)

? g . . . . .

3

4



5

q - q



6

-1 wh

slope whiplash

-st wh

v-

7

f-

f-

8

N-

9 (1)

t-

10 (2)

->

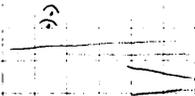
11

12

v-

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14



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f

f H

16

3

1 3

17



18 g e a r m a g n i f i c e n t l y t r a n s

19 g s a r e m a g n i f i c e n t l y t r a n s

20

1 1535

1530 1535

(A)

2 | k u l . n e . t y o r . m e n , u s . k e . p a s .

$\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   
(m)  
m - - - -

3

$\frac{1}{2}$ -

4

→

→

→

5

q

-q

6

7

$q_1$

$-q_1$

8

9 (c)

t

+

10

←

11

↓

-↓

12

n

-n

13

∩

∩

∩

∩

14

>

→  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$

15

16

z

z

z

17

∪

∪

∪

∪

∪

∪

∪

∪

18 | k u l n e t y o r m e n u s k e p a s

19 | k u l n a t u r e m e n u s k e p a s

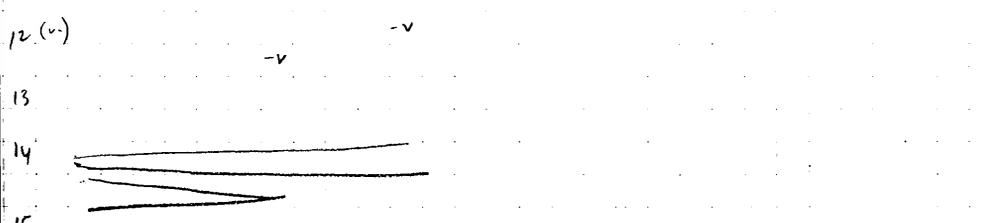
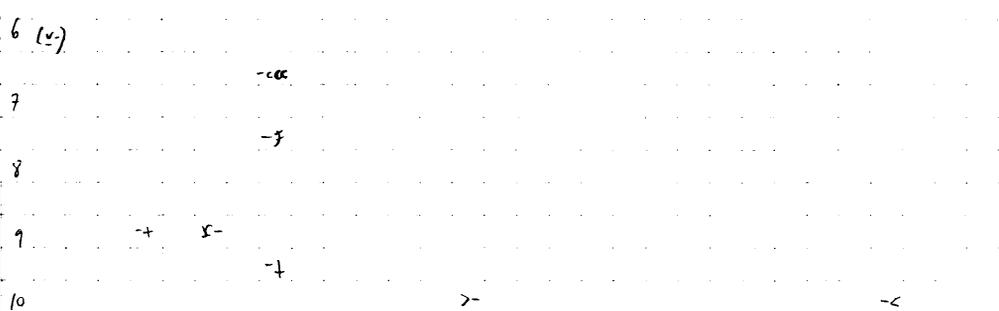
m  
M

20

1515

1510

1  
 (R) a + š , t š a . k l a . k e ě . n e . k l a d . n ě . b l  
 (M)



16 3 2 3

17

18 a ě ě(h) a k y a k a h n e k(ih) a d n(ah.I) b l

19 aa c c(h) aa k y aa k a h n . e . k(ii) a d n(ah.II) b i

1 1535

1530

1535

(A)

2 | k u l . n e . t y o r m e n , u s k e p a s .

$\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   
(m)  
m

3

$\frac{1}{2}$

4

→

→

→

5

i

-9

6

7

k

-k

8

9 (c)

t

+

10

<

11

j

-1

12

n

-r

13

∩

∩

∩

∩

14

>

15

→  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$

16

z

z

z

17

∪

∪

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∪

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∪

∪

∪

18 | k u l n e t y o r m e n u s k e p a s

19 | k u l n a t u r e m e n u s k e p a s

m  
M

20

1 1545 84 1555 1520  
2 . a z . z c t . \* 100 100 . o . g o z s . t o r u . u a k n . d )

3 (k)

4

5

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7

8 ~- T/

9 (r)

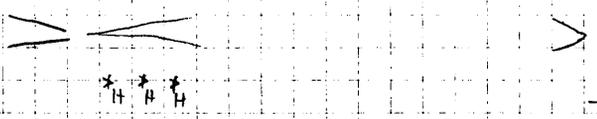
10 (k)

11

12

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18 a z c t o g o z t r u w a y n d )

19 a s l t a g o e s t h r o u g h w i n d

20

1 1565

1570

1575

1580

2 i g . t + s . w e i . + t r u . j a . m a u n . t e n t s .

(m)

. m

3 (k)

4

→

↘

5

→

6

-o

7

8

Ry

-Rx

9 (r)

I-

I

( 10 (<)

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11

↓

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12 (n)

↓

↓

13

∩

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→



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17 ~

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( 18 i n g i t s w e y t r u j a m a u n t e n t s

( 19 i n g i t s w a y t h r o u g h t h e m o u n t a i n s .

M.

20

1585

1590

1595

1  
2. and there's a land over there.

3. (+)

4

5

6. (-)

7

8

9. (-)

10

11

12. (+)

13

14

15

16

17

18. and there's a land over there.  
19. And there's a land over there.

20

1 1000 1005 110

2  $\frac{1}{10} \frac{1}{10} \frac{1}{10} \frac{1}{10}$  and 2 d e 2<sup>4</sup> l i t s i k a p e

3 (4)

4 2

5

6 -2 15

7

8

9 (5) -5 + -4 5-

( 10 <

11

12 (n) -1 v -v

13 3

14  $\gg \ll$  11

15  $\frac{1}{10} \frac{1}{10} \frac{1}{10}$

16 3

17  $\vee \vee \vee \vee \vee \vee \vee \vee \vee$

( 18 and 2 e 2 l i e i k a p e

19 And n the re l i i c i k a p e



1 1640 1675 1650 1655

2. p p æ p . p ə l . + y ɹ i . \* ɔ s ə \* ɔ s ə . æ n d . d ə e . ɛ . d ə

3 (1/2)

4

5

6

-v

7

8

15

9 5-

(10 (2))

11

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14

>

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→ \* H \* H \* H

16 3

2

(2 →)

17

- - - - -

18 æ p p ə l + y ɹ i æ n d t e n t

19 a p p l e t r e e . a n d t h e n - t h

20



1	1675	1680	1685	1690	1695
(2)	o u n z . l a n d .				ä . s o . d e r .
		(m)			m e n .
		g + š .	+ š g a .		
3		↓		↓	
4	→			↗	→
5					
6		-v		v-	-v
7		F-		-F R <sub>x</sub>	-R <sub>x</sub>
8					
9		r-		+	+
(10)		←		←	→
11		↑	↑	↓	↓
12		↑	↑	↑	↑
13				v-	v-
14					
15		↓			↑
16		1 3		↑ 3 3 2 3 3	3 3
17					

(18) o w n z l a n d a ä (h) a n s o ä e r  
 (19) o w n s l a n d . a ä (h) a n s o t h e r e -- m e n n  
 a e c e h a a ? m e n

1700

1705

1710

(R)

\* 100  
\* 100  
\* 100

1  
2 (m) e . d e . k g a . t o . m e . n e . s a . f a k . )

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5  
6

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11  
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13

14  
15  
16

17  
18 e d e k h a t o m e n e s a f a k )  
19 e d e k h a a t o m e n e s a f a k - - e h  
20

1 (R)

1715

1720

1745

2 . m a . m a . s o . m a y . p a r e n t s . t h i n k . d

3 (4)

4 → → → → →

5

6 (5)

7

8 71

9 (4)

10

11 ↑ ↑

12

13

14

15

16 (2) 3 2

17 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

18 m a (y) m a (y) s o m a y p a r e n t s t h i n k

19 -- m y -- m y -- s o m y p a r e n t s t h i n k

20

2  $\partial e$  .  $\underline{u}$   $\underline{L}$   $\underline{l}$  .  $\underline{s}$   $\underline{e}$   $\underline{t}$  .  $\underline{e}$   $\underline{l}$  .  $\underline{d}$   $\underline{a}$   $\underline{u}$   $\underline{n}$  .  $\underline{d}$   $\underline{\partial}$   $\underline{\epsilon}$  .  $\underline{a}$   $\underline{f}$  .  $\underline{t}$   $\underline{\wedge}$  .

3  $\left( \begin{smallmatrix} \downarrow \\ \uparrow \end{smallmatrix} \right)$

4

5

6  $(\underline{e})$

7

8

9  $(\underline{f})$

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18  $\partial e$  will set  $\partial l$  down the  $\partial f$   $\partial u$

19 they will settle down there after

20

1 1740

1745

2. ger. rL. tayr. ment. uts. a. by. u. tu.

3 (1/2)

4

5.

6 (2-)

7

8

9 (+)

10

11

12 (v)

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20



18 ger. rL. tayr. ment. uts. a. by. u. tu.

19. their. re. tire. ment. It's a beau. ti.

175.0

175.5

176.0

2. f a l , p l e s , p a j , d i l k , f a r , r e , t a e m )

3 (v)

4

2

2

2

5

6 (v)

7

5-

5-

8

9 (+)

10

11

12

^-

^-

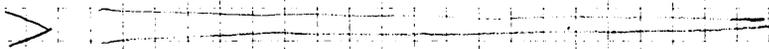
v-

v-

v-

13

14



15

→

16

2 3

17

∪

∪

"

∪

∪

∪

∪

18

f a l p l e s a y d i l f a r r e t a y d m )

19

f a l p l a c e - i d e a l f o r r e t i r e m

20



1 178.0 178.5 98 179.0 179.5  
 2. ) r . d e  $\tilde{e}$  . r a . d u n . k e . b i t  $\tilde{s}$  . m  $\tilde{e}$  . h i . )  
 (m) (x) . m - - - .

3  
 4 ~  
 5 → ↓  
 6 o- -o  
 7  
 8 ~ ~

9 (-) ↓  
 10 →  
 11  
 12

13 ^ ^  
 14 // //  
 15 → ↓  
 16 e 3 e 3  
 17 u u u u u u u u

18 ) r d e h r a d u n k e b i ö m e N h i )  
 19 a u r D e h r a D u n k e b i e m E h i i ?

20

1 1800 1895 1810 1815  
 (R) (M)  
 2 s ə . [ ə k . k a . d ɛ ɔ ŋ . a t ʃ . t ʃ ə a . t u m . k

3 ʃ ʃ - ʃ

4 → → →

5 ʔ ʔ ʔ ʔ

6 ʃ ʃ - ʃ

7 Rʃ Rʃ - Rʃ Rʃ

8 ʃ ʃ - ʃ

9 t t - t t

10 < <

11 ʃ ʃ - ʃ ʃ

12 v v - v v

13

14 

15 → ↓

16 2 2 2 3 1 2 3

17 ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ

18 s ə [ ə k k a j ɔ a ɔ ɔ h a t u m k

19 s a [ a k k a a ɔ . a a c c h a a t u m k

1820

1825

1830-

1845

1850

(R)

2. t. n. e. b. a. r. m. s. s. v. s. i. g. a. e. k. o. i

3

↓

4

↘

5

6

7

-R<sub>x</sub> R<sub>y</sub>

8

-√

9

+

10

>-

-<

11

↓

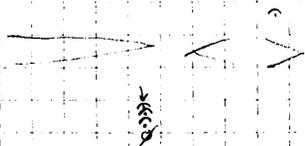
12

-v

∞

13

14



15

16

2

3

1

2

17

18

19

20

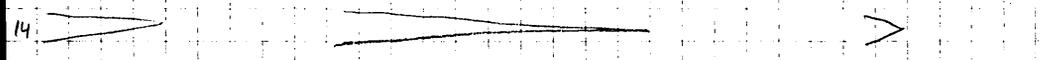
18 t. n. e. b. a. r. m. s. s. u. r. i. g. a. e. k. o. i

19 i. t. n. e. b. a. a. r. m. u. s. s. o. u. r. i. e. g. a. (y) e. k. o. i



1 1875 1980 1985 1890 1995  
 2 + b a r + s e e s a t , p b a r , a t s + s d . m e )

3 ↓ 1/4- -1/4 -1/4  
 4 2 → →  
 5  
 6 - - - - -  
 7 -R<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub>- -R<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub>  
 8 -R<sub>1</sub> 2  
 9 -R<sub>1</sub> + -R<sub>1</sub> +  
 10 →  
 11 ↓ ↓  
 12 - - - - - - - - - - -



13  
 14  
 15 ↓ ↓ ↓  
 16 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 3

17  
 18 + b a r c h e s a t b a r a c c c (h) a m e )  
 19 + b a r . c h e s a t b a r . a a c c (h) a a , M a i



1 191,5 192,0 192,5 193,0 193,5 194,0  
 2 u . a v . b c n . + r y . a m . g n n . g l c . g a n .

3 (1/2) - 1/2  
 4  
 5  
 6  
 7 (R<sub>1</sub>) - R<sub>1</sub>  
 8 ~ - ~  
 9 + - + -  
 10 (-) - > <-  
 11 (L) - -  
 12 (-) - -

13 ^ ^ ^  
 14 > > >  
 15  
 16 2 3 3 3

17 u u u u u u u u  
 18 y u (h) a v b c n + u w a m g a n h u l g a n )  
 19 y . u (h) a v e b e e n t o u m G u n H , / / ? G u n

1945

1950

1

(m)

2.  $\frac{1}{2} L^2$  . m a . l u m . n e . g a n . s e l e k . l a .  $\frac{1}{2} L^2$

3

4  $\nearrow$

5

6

7 -R<sub>x</sub> R<sub>x</sub>

8  $\nearrow$

9 -t

( 10  $\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow$   $\leftarrow$

11  $\uparrow$   $\uparrow$

12  $\downarrow$   $\downarrow$

13

u

14  $>$   $>$   $<$   $>$

15  $\uparrow$

16 3 2 3 2 3

17  $\cup$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\cup$   $\cup$

( 18 h e l m a l u m n(aH<sub>I</sub>N) g a n h e l k y a h

19 H i l l ? m a l u m n(aH<sub>II</sub>) G u n H i l l k y a a h

20



1 1790 1795 2000 2005 2010 2015  
 2.  $\checkmark \ominus \cdot g \epsilon \cdot \frac{3}{2} \epsilon \cdot m \ni s \cdot s v \cdot r i \cdot m \tilde{e}, \tilde{a} \cdot n \ominus \cdot \tilde{I} \cdot$  (C)

3  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$

4  $\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow$

5

6  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$

7  $R_x^-$   $-R_x$

8 ( $\checkmark$ )  $\checkmark$

9 (+)  $+$   $+$   $+$

( 10  $\rightarrow$

11  $\downarrow$   $\downarrow$

12 ( $\checkmark$ )  $-v$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$

13

14  $>$   $>$   $>$

15  $\rightarrow$   $\downarrow$   $\downarrow$

16 3 2 3 1 3 1

17 / \ / \ / \ / \ / \ / \ / \ / \ /

( 18  $\checkmark \ominus g \ominus h h \epsilon m \ominus s u r i m e N (h) a N n \ominus (h) i N$

19  $\checkmark a g a h h a i M u s s o u r i e m E (h) A H n a (h) I I$

20



2035

2040

2045

(m)

k ə . ə ð̃ . ʒ u m . r ə . e e . y ã .

(R)

n ə . l i . i a d . n ə .

3

4

↘

↘

↘

5

↘

↘

6

7

↘

-R

8

R

9

+

( 10

+

11

↘

12

-v

-v

-v

13

14

15

→

16

2

3

17

( 18

k ə h a N ɡ h u m r ə h e w (ə) a N  
n ə (t) i N y a d n ə

19

k a h AA ɡ h u m r a h e w (ə) AA -- ?  
n a (h) I F y a d n a

20

205.0

205.5

1

(k)

2.  $\frac{1}{2} \hat{I} \cdot b \cdot m \cdot p \cdot b \cdot \partial \cdot \frac{1}{10} v + \cdot p \cdot b \cdot \partial + \checkmark \cdot p \cdot \partial \cdot n \cdot m \cdot \tilde{e} \cdot g \cdot \partial \cdot$

3

$\frac{1}{2}$

4

$\rightarrow \rightarrow$

5

6

7 (k)

8

$\sim - \sim$

9 (+)

10

$\rightarrow$

11

12

$v \sim v$

13

$\sim \sim$

14

$\vee \vee$

$\vee$

15

$\rightarrow \rightarrow$

16

2 3

17

$\sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim$

18 (h)

$I \cdot N \cdot m \cdot b \cdot \partial \cdot h \cdot v + \cdot b \cdot \partial \cdot \checkmark \cdot p \cdot \partial \cdot n \cdot m \cdot e \cdot N \cdot g \cdot \partial$

19 (h)

$II \cdot m \cdot b \cdot a \cdot h \cdot v + \cdot b \cdot a \cdot c \cdot p \cdot \partial \cdot n \cdot m \cdot E \cdot g \cdot a$

20





1 2090 2015 (m) 2090 2105 2110 2115 2120 (K)

2 d d̄ ε ε̄ . a + s̄ . + s̄ @ @ @ @ . m m . u @ + † . w l k . l u . d

3 ↓ ↑ ↓

4 ~ ~ ~

5 ~ ~ ~

6 -v -v

7 -Rv Rv -Rv f-

8 ~ ~ ~

9 + + + +

10 -< < ~ ~ ~

11 ↓ ↓ ↓

12 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

13 ~ ~ ~

14 >

15 ↓ ↓

16 1 2 1 3 1 2 3

17 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

18 der a c c h a h m w o t w l l y u d

19 there. ac c h a a , H m . W h a t w i l l y o u d





20 n t . p l e y . s i l . l i . t r u c k s . a n . m i . )

3 (+)

4

↓

↓

5

6

↓

7 (R)

8 (~)

9 (+)

10 (-)

11

12

13

14

15

→

16

→

17

18 n t p l e y s i l i t r u c k s a n m i )

19 n t p l a y s i l l y t r i c k s o n m e

20

2 a e m . w e i r i . t a y u . t a y d . e n . n i . w e l .

3 (y)

4



5

6

v v-

-v

7 (k.)

-kx

8 (w)

w

9 (+)

+

10 (c)

->

11

12

13

14



15



16

3

3

1

17

~ , ~ , ~ , ~ , ~ , ~ , ~ , ~

18 a y m v e r i t a y d d a n i w e y

19 I'm v e r y t o o t i r e d a n y w a y .

20

1 203

2210

2215 2225  
2220

(M) 2. 2 2 2 f. 2 a p . p e n d t . t u . d e e . u t . t )

3

\*

4

2 →

5

6

v

7

Ry

Rx

Ry

8

9

t

10

x

11

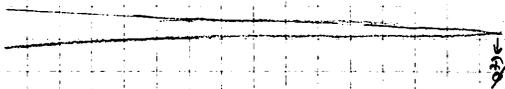
t

12

u u u u u

13

14



15

→

16

3 2 3

1 2

17

/ \ / \ / \ / \

18

h a N w e t h a e p e n d t u d e y w e t )

19

h A A w h a t h a p p e n e d t o d a y ? w h a t

20

2 d u . m i n . u a r . a p . p e n d t . t v . d e .

3 (4)

u

4

v

5

6 (v)

-v

-u

7 (Rv)

-Rv

8

9 (t)

t

10 (v)

x

11 (v)

-t

12 (v)

-v

-v

13

v

v

14

>

15

→

↓

16

z

1

17

v

v

/

v

v

v

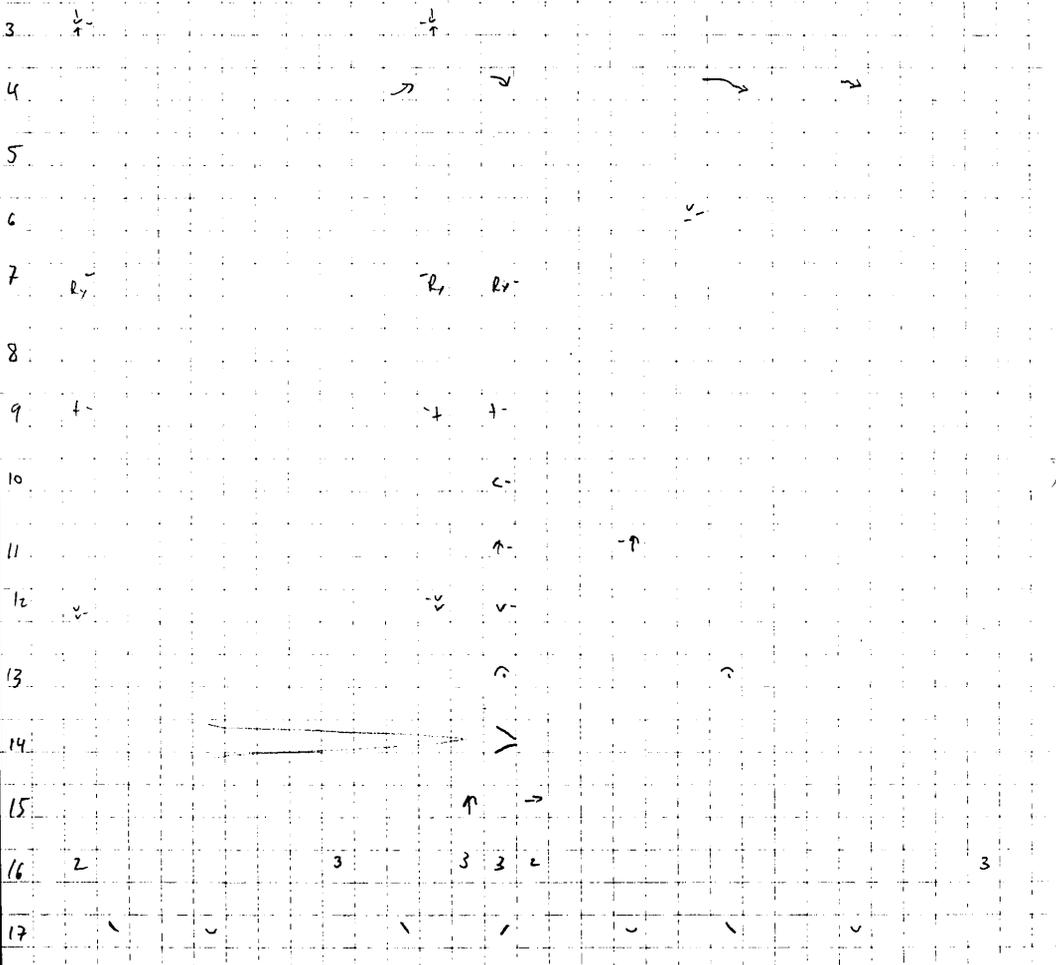
v

1

(8 d u y u m i n w o t (h) a p e n d t v d e

19 d o y o u m e a n , w h a t h a p p e n e d t o d a y ?

1 2245 2250 2255 2260 2265 2270  
 (m) (k)  
 2 . l . v . y . æ . d + . k . l . æ . s . o . d . ð . ə . s . e . l . m . o . l . d . r .



18 y u w (h) æ d k l æ s o ð ə s e y m o l d r )  
 19 y o u h a d c l a s s ? O h , t h e s a m e o l d r

20  
 1 smacking  
 noise and  
 paper rustling.

1 2235 2280 2285

2290

2295

2300

2305

2 > t<sup>1</sup> . l a l f . l z . a . b u g k . š c t<sup>7</sup> . s a n . w l .

3  $\frac{1}{2}$

4 > 2

5

6 -v  $\frac{1}{2}$

7 (2,)

8

9 (t)

10 (k)

11

12 (-)

13

14

15

↓  
3  
2  
1

>

↓

16

1 2

3

1

17 / / / / / / / /

18 > t . l a y e . l t a b u g . š c t . s a n (d) w l (x)

19 > t . l i f e . l s a b i g . s h i t . s a n (d) w i (c<sub>h</sub>).

20

1 2305

2310

2315 2320

2 . E W . v r i . d e . a . n o . t h e r . b a y t . s

3 (2)

4

5

6

7 (0-)

8

9 (4-)

10 (5-)

11

12 (v)

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

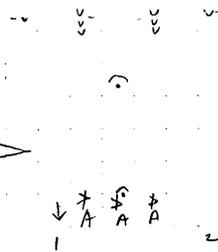
20

)

)

)

)



2

3

2

18 E v r i d e a n o t h e r b a y t s

19 E v e r y d a y a n o t h e r b i t e . s



1 237.0 237.5

238.0  
238.5

239.0

239.5

(R)

2. f̂ . l a u . z i . sm .

b > o . r i n g .

(m)

u n d . a p .

k i a . z u .

3

4

→ →

↓

↓

↓

5

→

→

6

↘

↘

↘

↘

7

R<sub>f</sub>

-R<sub>e</sub>

R<sub>e</sub>

8

9

+

-

+

-

10

<

>

+

-

→

+

11

12

↘

^

^

↓

↓

↓

↓

13

↗

↘

14

>

>

>

15

⊗

⊗

→

↑

16

3

3

3

3

3

17

∪

/

∪

∪

∪

∪

∪

∪

18

f

l a w

z i

w ⊃ + (h) p

b

r i n g

k y a

h v

19

teh!

L o u

s y . . .

wh a + (h) a p

B o r i n g

k y a a

h u

20

bored paper  
click rustling

biabial  
click  
(smrck)



1 242.0 243.0 243.5 244.0 244.5 245.0  
 2 . t l . i a . p ə n . t i <sup>(m)</sup> ~~ʃ~~ ~~ʃ~~ ~~ʃ~~ ~~ʃ~~ <sup>(l)</sup> ~~ʃ~~ ~~ʃ~~ ~~ʃ~~ ~~ʃ~~ . t s ʒ v . t v .

3 k-

4 ʒ

5

6 -ʒ v-

7 -Rə ʃ- ʃ-

8 -ʒ

9 -t t

10

11

12 ʒ - ʌ ʒ - ʒ v

13

14 > < >

15 → →

16 2 3 2 2

17 - - - - - - - - - -

18 t l y a p ə n t i ʃ u t l

19 t i y a a p a n t i i c u u t i

20 nasal - paper - rustle - laughter

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.

3 (x)

4. > > > >

5. 9 9

6 (v)

7

8

9 (t)

10

11

12 (v)

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

ya pan ti lz en ed jek tiv a  
yaa pan tii is an ad jec tive; I





2 ə n . t i , l z . a n . a d . d ʒ e k . t e w . m e d . ə v .

(m)  
? . ? . ? . ? . ?

3 ↓

4 ↘

↓

↪

↘

↙

↘

↓

5

6 (v-)

7 ↘

8 ~

9 (s-)

10 →

↓

+

11

12

↘

↘

13

14 ↘



>

15

↘

16

~

3

2

→

17

~

~

~

~

2

3

~

~

~

2

~

18 ə n . t i (t) ɪ z ə n . a d . d ʒ e k t e w m e d ə v

19 a n . t i i , (ɪ) ɪ s a n . a d . d ʒ e k t i v e m a d e o f

20 - - - - -

(m) unintelligible speech.

2. w e n . v f . + s e r . + v . i e . a n d . u o t . l z

3

h-

4

v

5

6

v

7

h-

8

9

t

t-

10

>

11

12

v-

13

14

>

15

v

16

3

1 2

17

18. w e n . v . e u t v y a . a n d . w e t . l z

19. o n e o f c u t i y a . A n d w h a t i s

20

1 252.0 252.5 253.0 <sup>253.5</sup> 254.0 3<sup>2</sup> 254.5  
 2 s. p a n t i j i v l e a e k a n t e k s p l e n )

3 -d/ + +

4 ↪ ↪

5 9-9

6 y-

7 -Ry

8 a-

9 + +

10 -2 )

11 d-

12 v v

13 ~ ~ ~

14 >

15 ↑ 3 3 2 3

16 3 3 3 2 3

17 , , , , , , ,

18 p a n t i w e l l a g k a n t e k s p l e n )

19 p a n t i i ? w e l l . . . I c a n ' t e x p l a i n

20 groan.

255a

255b

256a

(m)

1 s ə + ʃ , + \* i ŋ g z s , + u . i ʊ u , a + ʃ . + ʃ ə ə ,

3 ~~ʃ~~ ~~ʃ~~ ~~ʃ~~

4 → →

5

6 ʃ ʃ

7 R ʃ - P x

8 ʃ

9 + + +

10

11 ʃ ʃ ʃ

12 ʃ ʃ ʃ

13 ʃ ʃ ʃ

14

15 ʃ ʃ ʃ

16 2 3 1

17

18 s ə ʃ t i ŋ g z s + u y ʊ u a ə ʃ h a

19 s u ʃ h t i ŋ g z s + o y o y . ʌ ʌ c ʃ h ʌ ʌ .

20

1 254,5

134  
257,0

258,5

(e)

2 . t v m . a . r a . l t . n a . e . k a l . n a . i . e . s a . i

3 L-

2 2

4

5

6 E-

2

8

7 +

10

11

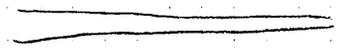
L-

12 v-

v i-

13

14



15

→

16

2

3

2

17

u , u , / u u , u , u

18

t v m (h) a r a l t n a e k a l n a (h) I N (h) E s a

19

t u m (h) a a r a a i t n a e a k a l n a (h) II (h) a i s a

20

1

2. m a d h̄ . n e . k e . l i . y e . l i . v e n . u f . r a ḡ .

3

4

5

6

7

8 (a)

9 (A)

10

11 (b)

12

13

14

15

16

17

18. m a d h̄ . n e . k e . l i . y e . l i . v e n . u f . r a ḡ

19. m a d h̄ . n e . k e . l i . y e . l i . v e n . u f . r a ḡ

20

2580 2595

2600 2605 2610

2615

(m)

2. eks. pl'en. a + š. + š g a. o. ke. θ e j k. j

3                    ↓                    ↓  
4                    ↘                    ↘                    ↘

6                    ↓  
7                    r<sub>x</sub>-

8                    ↘  
9                    +                    +  
10                    <                    >

11                    ↓                    ↓  
12                    <                    <                    >                    >

13                    <                    <                    >  
14                    >                    >                    >

15                    ↓                    ↓                    ↓  
16                    1 3                    2 3                    1 3

17                    \                    \                    \                    \

18                    e k s   p l e n   a č                    č h a   o   k e   θ e n k y

19                    e x   p l a i n . a a c                    e h a a . o   k e y . T h a n k y



264.5

265.0

265.5

266.0

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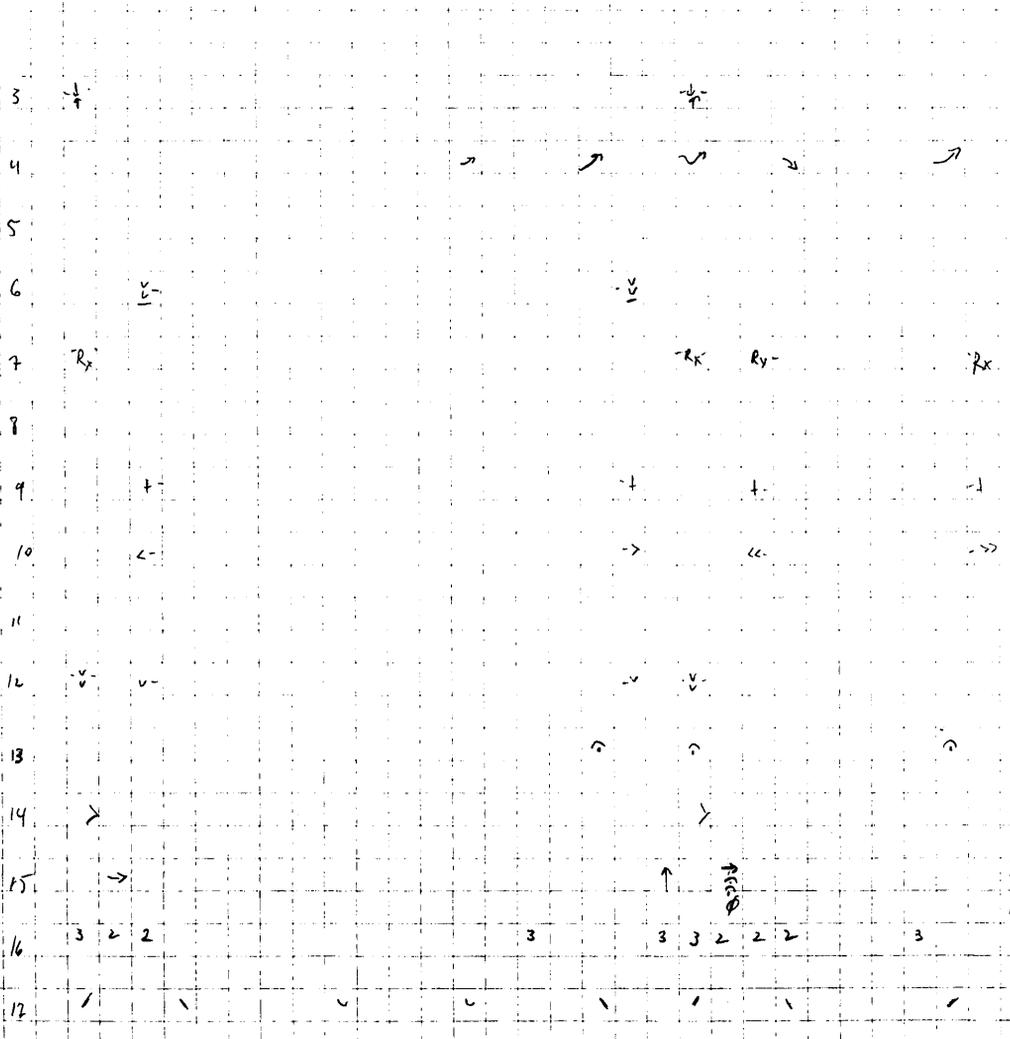
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## 2.5 Macrotranscription

(0 - 1.0) M

kyaa bolnaa chahte ho  
 what to-say do you want  
 "What do you want to talk about?"

An impression of breathlessness occurs--breathlessness which could have been induced by the tasks necessary to set up the recording situation. The components which result in this impression of breathlessness are: low intensity and tonality; undervoicing; decreasing intensity and pitch narrowing toward the end of the utterance. The inspiration-expiration following the utterance is above central in height. It is not that relaxed inspiration-expiration impressionistically transcribed in literature as "aahhh-aahhh", with below central vowel height. The vowel quality of the inspiration-expiration in the present utterance is symptomatic of physiological tension.

(1.0 - 2.5) R

sab ciizE rikaardiing aan kar diyaa  
 all things recording on do gave  
 "Is the recording and everything turned on?"

"recording on" is phonologically and phonotactically Indianized. Recording could be mimicked by the phrase "Baldev Singh" [bʌd̪ɐ. d̪ɐw. sɪŋg] (a Sikh name) inserted in context. "aan kar-", to turn on, patterns after the nonfinite verb-nucleus-finite auxiliary construction common in Hindi. Kachru (1975: 83) alludes to that common type of Hindi code mixing in which an English or Persian nonfinite nucleus is linked to a Hindi finite auxiliary or "vector" verb. "aan kar-" is precisely such an example.

Technical jargon such as "recording" and to turn "on" mandatorily makes use of English code mixing in Hindi, in all styles except the consciously Sanskritized style of bureaucrats. I am reminded of a six year old child I knew in Delhi who could not have been called a speaker of English, but who nevertheless, when confronted with my cassette tape recorder, urged me to turn it on with the phrase "Start karo". Outside of the technical context created by the tape recorder, he would have used the ordinary word for 'start', Suru.

The verbal agreement here, singular masculine, is with "recording", not with feminine plural "things". This is a case of anacoluthon; without any break Rajesh merges the phrase "all things" into the coherent utterance "The recording is turned on?" Intonation in the absence of the interrogative marker signals this to be a yes-no question. The very last syllable of the utterance is accompanied by a quick decrescendo and by reduction of the final segment /aa/ to [ə].

Rajesh is too close to the microphone, which is pointed toward him and directly in front of him.

(2.5 - 3.0) M

aan kar diyaa  
on do gave  
"It's on"

An echo-response. Like Rajesh's question, the reply is accompanied by utterance final rapid decrescendo in intensity and by reduction of the final vowel. This may be breathlessness, or it may be a typical pattern for this speaker.

(3.5 - 4.0) R

hAA Think hai  
yes okay is  
"Okay, that's good"

Rajesh is so close to the microphone that there is an auditory explosion on the /h/ of hai. The utterance is relaxed; it is resonant but not fully voiced.

(4.0 - 4.5) M

aacchaa  
"Okay."

This word is very common in Hindi. It is used to mean "yes"; "good"; "right"; "okay"; "really?"; "I see"; "please go on"; etc. Many of these uses will be illustrated in the present analysis. An impression of continued breathlessness is given here by the trailing off of the utterance into an exhalation.

(4.5 - 5.0) R

ham bolUU kyaa  
"What should I say?"

Again Rajesh is too close to the microphone, and at the point of highest stress there is another explosion of microphone noise.

Mimi has taken her previous conversational turn without adding content to the discourse. Rajesh now takes up the problem she posed in her first question--returning to it, but not answering it.

The word "what" is moved from object position (this is a subject-object-verb order language) to postverbal marked position. Intonational contour of the sentence is not altered. The movement rule seems to operate for stylistic reasons; the unmoved version would mean "What should I say?" (mAI kyāa bolUU); the sentence as actually spoken, with primary stress on the verb, means "What should I say?"

Incidentally, this sentence is homophonous with the reading "Should I talk?", but on the grounds of context I would exclude this reading.

The use of the plural first person pronoun ham in the place of the singular form mAI is not unusual for many speakers of Hindi, some of whom, like Rajesh, alternatively use both.

(5.5 - 9.0) M

m kis ke baare mE bolnaa c -- bolnaa caahte ho tum Hm  
 mm what about to-talk to-talk want aux. you Hm?  
 "Mm, what do you want to talk about?"

Continued breathlessness is indicated by low and steadily lowering intensity throughout and by the reduction of the second syllable in the first attempt at the word bolnaa. Apparently realizing that she is becoming difficult to understand, Mimi returns to the beginning of the verbal complex. The inhalation-exhalation is of lower vowel quality here than in the previous occurrence (0 - 1.0), suggesting that she is catching her breath.

In this conversational turn, Mimi asks Rajesh essentially the same question he has just asked of her. The postverbal (marked) positioning of tum "you" is notable; it is as though she intends to keep the problem in his lap. The utterance is strategic: the question can be interpreted as a bit of politeness, intended to leave the interlocutor's options secure with him.

When Rajesh's answer is delayed by more than half a second as she inhales-exhales, she nudges him with "Hm?"; but he is already by now replying.

(8.5 - 11.0) R

tum pacciis minute tak to time barvaad kar diyaa  
 you 25 minutes till emph. waste do gave  
 "You wasted twenty-five minutes"

In all styles of Indian English, Western English stop alveolar consonants are rendered with the corresponding post-alveolar ("retroflex"). Thus note his pronunciation of the word time.

Rajesh seems to have hesitated in order to size up the situation. His remark (not reply) is astute: here you are putting on me the demand of finding a conversational topic, after you have wasted so much of my time --what nerve! The primary stresses on the words "twenty-five" and "time" emphasize the degree and nature of her offense.

The use of barvaad, a Persian-derived word, rather than a Sanskrit-derived alternative item, places Rajesh squarely in the realm of Western Hindi speakers. Persianized lexical selection is a dialect feature distinguishing Western Hindi from Eastern.

Why does Rajesh code mix the word "time", and having so done, why does he not code mix in English the word "waste", which would have been perfectly natural? I cannot answer the second, but I believe I know the reason for the first. Time sense in India is different from time sense in the West; in the Indian cultural context one cannot waste a specific amount of someone else's time, even though one can waste time in general (in the sense of goofing off). The foreignness of the conception of time Rajesh is talking about here causes him to designate it as such--English time.

It should be added that minute is the usual word for "minute" in Hindi.

Rajesh's omission of ne, the past marker, may reflect Panjabi influence.  
 (11.0 - 12.5) M

laughter

The brief hesitation between Rajesh's remark and Mimi's response may have been used in trying to decide how to respond to Rajesh's correct (and embarrassing) observation. When the response comes it is again strategic: she parries the facts by pretending that Rajesh's mentioning them is a joke, the appropriate reaction to which is, of course, laughter. Glottal release and rasp throughout indicate tension. The overintense first wave of laughter (with a prolonged burst of microphone noise) is due to the fact that she is diverting herself with a task that brings her closer to the microphone: she is adjusting it to point upward. From this point, Rajesh is no longer

overloud.

(12.0 - 14.5) R.

An' I'm gonna-- tu(mh)E -- is ke liye  
to-you this for

"And I'm gonna--to you--for this--"

There are three hesitations in this utterance. Clearly Rajesh is in some kind of distress. The forceful articulation and undervoicing of the first three words is feigned truculence, for he intends to make a threat (as will be seen below). But truculence yields to distress when he is unable to make the threat in Hindi. The question is why Rajesh switches to Hindi at all at this point, since he makes it clear (18.0 - 19.0) that he knows how to convey the message in English. My only guess is that Rajesh feels pressure to perform in Hindi.

Note that the reduced diphthong of I'm is a general feature of Rajesh's Indian English, where diphthongs tend to be reduced.

After "gonna" Rajesh stops himself with a bilabial nasalized closure, pauses, then utters two bizarre-sounding syllables and pauses again. The two bizarre syllables could only be Hindi, given the final nasalized vowel. And in fact this piece of utterance is not bizarre at all, but represents the word tumhE with two middle segments syncopated (probably as a result of Rajesh's distress). This word appears in Rajesh's eventual utterance (24.5 - 27.0), where he completes his threat in Hindi.

Rajesh pauses again after liye before giving up the attempt to state his utterance in Hindi. He fails again because is ke liye means "for", but if used in the Hindi sentence "I'm sending you the bill for this" (this meaning the twenty-five minutes Mimi has wasted), there is the implication that this is something Mimi has offered Rajesh in exchange for which he is offering her something, namely a bill. What Rajesh needs to say, as indeed he does in (24.5 - 27.0), is "this thing's bill". I have heard students of Hindi incorrectly use the postpositional phrase NP ke liye in such contexts as a bill for NP (a thing or service), and indeed I have made this error myself. It is striking that Rajesh is making the same error here, and it is strongly implied that Rajesh is thinking in English. Rightly so, in view of our remarks on the term bill in 1.3.1 above.

(15.0 - 17.0) M

Hm. [ʔs]

The level-then-falling intonation signifies, "Yes, go on" The next bit of phonetic material conceivably could be the oblique demonstrative is, which must be followed by a postposition. Conceivably she could be about to utter the sentence which emerges in 27.5 - 28.0: is ke baare mE bollo "Talk about this:".

(16.0 - 19.0) R

M hindii mE I don('t) know kaise bolte hAI I will bill you for this  
 Hindi in how they-say  
 "I don't know how to say in Hindi I will bill you for this."

At the beginning of the utterance Rajesh audibly both hesitates (m) and shifts in his chair uneasily. Nevertheless he does not allow Mimi to usurp his turn, responding to her near-interruption with double rasp and forceful articulation so that she stops almost immediately. The sentence begins in Hindi, switches to English, returns to Hindi, then goes back to English once more. But the syntax is strictly Hindi: postpositional phrase (hindii mE) first, followed by subject-verb nucleus, followed by postverbal object complement sentence (how they say X). The diphthongs [æʔ] and [oʔ] are foreign to Hindi, but the length of his [ʔ] diphthong is equally foreign to Western English in the standard British or standard American dialects. As to the several code shifts here, I would hypothesize that hindii mE is code-mixed into an English matrix in this case, since it is natural to speak of Hindi in Hindi; then, when Rajesh catches himself talking English, he switches back hurriedly (glottal segregates), probably due to performance pressure.

In the complement clause, we may note as features of Rajesh's Indian English the phones [ɹʔ] and corresponding [tʰ] for /ʒ/ and /θ/ respectively; also the pure vowel [u] in you; also fronted l in bill. Returning to diphthongs, Rajesh frequently omits or reduces nondistinctive diphthongization.

(19.0 - 20.0) R

hindii mE kaise bolEge  
 Hindi in how they-will-say  
 "How do you say it in Hindi?"

The purpose of this utterance may be threefold: to go his surprising admission one step further, thus making the whole situation to look like a joke;

to subtly mock the informant-investigator interaction itself by using Mimi as an informant; and, while accomplishing the interactional objectives, to elicit the answer!

(20.0 - 22.0) M

You don't ~~have~~ have to talk all the time in Hindi.

The rounding on stressed words, unrounding on nonstressed words in the first part of this utterance is peculiar. The nearest thing I can recall to it in my experience is the articulation of baby talk used by some primary school teachers when I was a child. Perhaps this reflects how Mimi conceives of the roles of herself and Rajesh at the moment.

The fronted /l/ and emphatically post-alveolar /t/, /d/, are Indianized.

The answer is more on the order of helping the interview than helping Rajesh. Rasp and double-rasp may indicate uneasiness. The long utterance-final decrescendo is characteristic.

(22.0 - 24.5)

jo bhii tum pasand karoge vo hii kar karo  
WH emph. you pleasing will-make it emph. do do  
"Do whatever you like"

After she has reassured Rajesh that he need not speak in Hindi, her own switch back is ironic indeed. The correlative relative clause (which... that) is very common in Hindi. Rasp and, as the utterance terminates, double-rasp, may indicate continued discomfort. The stuttering over the word kar ("kar-karo") may be due to the fact that it isn't quite what was meant; "say whatever you like" would have been more appropriate.

(24.5 - 27.0) R

aacchaa to fir mE tumhE is kaa bill bhej duUgaa  
okay so then I to-you this gen. send will-give  
"Okay, so then I'll send you the bill for this"

The lax, seemingly absent minded articulation of aacchaa suggests that he has paid little attention to what Mimi said--especially given the fact that he disregards her assurance that he need not speak all the time in Hindi.

(26.5 - 33.5) M

aacchaa is ke baare mE bolo . Uh tumharii niece vo paidaa huii is desh  
okay this gen. about talk your she born was this country  
mE naa hindustaan mE  
in or India in

"Okay, talk about this: your niece, was she born in this country or in India?"

The glottal segregate at the beginning of the utterance is a correlate of the change to a fresh topic. aacchaa, the term Mimi uses to indicate that she has heard and understood Rajesh, is cut short, the final vowel not fully open. The lengthened bolo, glottal hesitation, hesitation on niece, vo, huli, and naa, and intermittent rasp at points of hesitation, suggest that Mimi is translating this utterance mentally phrase-by-phrase. niece is code mixed because, with the complicated Indian kinship system, Mimi cannot remember the Hindi.

Mimi at last presents a topic for conversation.

(33.5 - 35.0) R

hAA hindustaan mE waise paidaa hogii  
 yeah India in how born she-will-be  
 "Yeah, how could she be born in India?"

The forceful articulation and ~~rasp~~ convey Rajesh's irritation at a question he regards as stupid. hAA is used by Rajesh much as Mimi uses aacchaa.

(35.5 - 37.0) R

Don('t)act like a big cuutiya  
 dummy  
 "Don't act like a big dummy"

The click ([ʈʌqk]) is curious. Could it indicate derision? Since items such as curses and terms of derision are among the last things to be controlled in a second language, as they are highly culturally bound, it is natural for Rajesh to feel more comfortable with an Indian term of derision. Here and elsewhere Rajesh displays a tendency to delete the last member of final consonant clusters in English (don('t)).

(37.0 - 38.0) M

aacchaa?

The relaxed articulation and rising intonation conveys unoffended inquiry. She is of course not asking whether she is a big dummy, but rather confirmation of the niece's birthplace as India.

(37.5 - 39.0) R

How can she be born in India?

Irrealis time, rendered in the future tense forms in Hindi, is rendered with the present tense in Indian English, the past conditional in Western

English. (hence could). Compare this utterance with (33.5 - 35.0). Both participants often translate their own utterances for emphasis. The use of yes-no-rising question intonation in this non-yes-no question is non-Western. Rajesh also has a general tendency to stress the first verbal element in a sentence (here, can), another non-Western English feature. That Rajesh finds it necessary to translate his question and repeat it in English is a possible indication that he does indeed consider Mimi to be a big cuutiya.

(39.0 - 41.5) M

aacchaa. Uh... Well...

This aacchaa has slightly falling intonation, indicating that she concedes the point. The not fully voiced quality sounds like further breathlessness, but could equally well be the result of tenseness due, possibly, to irritation or embarrassment. The next two hesitating utterances suggest that she is casting about for something to say. The falling "Well" intonation, ending in an intermediate intonational terminus, suggests embarrassment. One reason Mimi may be having trouble finding something to say is that she is distracted. It is at this point that she, afraid that the noise of Rajesh's doodling will affect the recording quality, has arisen to remove his props from him.

(40.0 - 43.5) R

They were here. Well I won't scratch it give it back to--

The peculiar 2-2-2 intonation of the first utterance recurs at one other point in the analyzed portion of this interview, namely (179.5 - 180.5). Rajesh seems to use it to sum up a point which has already been elaborated in the conversation. In the second part of the utterance, the use of [w] for /v/ and the use of regressive voicing assimilation (in fact, general regressive assimilation; it give = [ɪdʒɪv], it back = [ɪd bæk], won't scratch = [wɒns skrætʃ]) rather than progressive devoicing assimilation is non-Western English. Again Rajesh places stress on the first verbal form (won't).

Rajesh is responding, of course, to Mimi's attempt to remove his props.



(52.5 - 55.5) M

They never saw your nn n your n their grandchild. Then?

This utterance has several marks of Indianized English: primary stress on the first verbal element (saw), the cluster [dʒ] for /ʒ/ in their, the use of Then? to translate Hindi to?, which would be used with the same rising intonation in Hindi to elicit a response as to the logical consequences of the fact just stated.

The switch to English may reflect nervousness, of which there are other pieces of evidence: stuttering, rasp, dysrhythm, the abandonment of "your niece", which she unsuccessfully attempts to say, for the more apropos referential term "their grandchild".

(55.0 - 57.5) R

Oh, yeah, sure, of course.

The inhalation is almost a gasp. The widened pitch contour, glottal segregate, dysrhythm, and initial rasp together contribute to the emphaticness of the utterance. Observe Indian English [ɽ] for /r/.

Newspaper rustling begins here and continues for an extended time.

(58.5 - 59.0) M

Then?

Since Rajesh has only acknowledged the correctness of her question's assumptions without answering her question, she repeats it with higher pitch contour as a nudge.

59.0 - 64.0) R

My mother misses the baby very much but what can they do I won't scratch it the sound won't come through don('t) be stupid.

The downward intonation at the end of the first part of the utterance (the reply to the question) indicates that Rajesh's question is rhetorical. After the breath intake the paralanguage changes drastically as Rajesh fights for the right to his props, which Mimi has again attempted to remove. (Of course, he does continue to scratch it, and the sound does come through.) Note baby [be.wi]. In Hindi there is a common phonological process which Rajesh has here extended to English; compare "wife" biibii [bi:bi] or [bi:wi].

"I won't scratch it" and "the sound won't come through" have primary stress, not on the first verbal element, but the verbal nucleus, which again is foreign to Western English. The phrase "don't be stupid", according to a discussion with Rajesh I had before this recording was made, is a translation of a corresponding Hindi expression and has the mildness in Indian English of "Don't be silly" in Western English.

Rajesh drops intensity and pitch after the first two words of his outburst (61.5), perhaps realizing that he has been using paralinguistic overkill. But his utterance is such a bombshell that there is a pause of two seconds when he finishes it. At this point Mimi gives up the tug-of-war over the props.

(65.5 - 71.0)

a tael ab k aur kitnaa detaa baat karnaa mere bolo tum ne bolaa thaa  
 more how- to- talk to-do to-me say you past said had  
 much give (noun)

aadhaa ghaNTaa. You (h)ave ally already consumed twenty five minutes.  
 half hour

"And now tell me now much talking I have to do--you said half an hour. You have already consumed twenty-five minutes."

The hesitation phenomena and the blends are discussed in 3.3.3 below. The irascibility is signalled by forceful articulation, thin resonance, breathiness, and irregular rhythm. Also notable is the aspiration of the first segment in tum and the reduction of the unstressed aspirated stop in aadhaa.

Rajesh decides to press his advantage; since Mimi has heaped a further indignity on him by trying to deprive him of his props, he castigates her once again (but this time in English) for the twenty-five minutes wasted. Thus he does not hesitate even to speak out of turn (and in fact interrupts her).

Peculiar to this utterance is the genitive mere for mujhe "to me", the standard indirect object pronoun. This may possibly reflect Panjabi influence.

Notable is the fact that he deletes the middle syllable from already and then starts the word over. Also notable is the hypercorrect (at least, by my American English standards) palatalization of /s/ before /u/ in consumed.

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5 British English influence?

(71.0 - 72.0) M

m aacchaa?

A nonchalant reply: "Oh, really?"

(72.0 - (72.5) R

How much more?

Another repetition in English of something already said in Hindi (66.5 - 67.0). Continued breathiness and thin resonance, but the articulation has relaxed. Rajesh's truculence gambit is fading.

(72.5 - 74.0) M

How much time will you allow me?

The dental [l] and exaggeratedly high diphthong in allow represent features of Indianized English. After the initial glottal segregate, the parrying of the question, with its smooth rhythm, relaxed articulation, resonance, and low pitch and intensity, is quick and cool.

(74.0 - 75.0) R

Half a minute.

The careful release of final /t/ in minute is notable as a feature of Rajesh's Indian English. Rajesh also generally uses schwa where my American English would use either [ə] or [ʌ], depending on stress, as allophones of the neutral vowel. Elsewhere Rajesh, in free variation, often uses the allomorph [ɛ] or some lowered version of same for the article a. (See, for example, "one and a half" at 46.0.)

Breathiness, lack of resonance, narrowed pitch range and low pitch and intensity are all components of the toughness Rajesh is trying to project.

(75.0 - 75.5) M

Only!

The energy of this utterance is in shocking relief against Mimi's speech characteristics in previous utterances. The extended use of paralinguage conveys astonishment, but the absence of rasp, undervoicing, or underresonating reveal that the horror is mock only. One would have also expected glottal segregates had her horror been genuine. The choice of lexicon is pure Indian English and represents, in fact, a translation of bas (76.0). Observe also the exaggerated diphthongization, again, a feature of her

Indianized English.

(75.5 - 76.0) R

Yeah.

More toughness. Perhaps tonality and intensity are reduced because he is abashed by her flippant response.

(76.0 - 76.5) M

bas?

Only?

More mock astonishment with a code switch to Hindi.

(76.0 - 76.5) R

(h)AA

Yes.

Rajesh in his turn switches to Hindi, with still lowered tonality and intensity in the face of her bemusement. The toughness is definitely fading.

(76.5 - 78.0) M

Half a minute mE kyaa karUUgii  
in what I-will-do

"What can I do in half a minute?"

High pitch and forceful articulation in a continued demonstration of mock excitement. As in "aan kar diyaa" (2.5 - 3.0), she code mixes a phrase used by Rajesh in repetition of him.

(78.0 - 79.5) R

tum that is your headache.  
you

Rajesh starts to follow Mimi's use of Hindi, but is forced to code switch because Hindi has no equivalent for this idiom. The primary stress on headache is non-Western English.

(80.0 - 82.5) M

M. aacchaa niece kii baare mE m baat ciit karo  
okay about talking do  
"Okay, talk about your niece"

The rasp and thinned resonance on Mimi's "M" may indicate her distress at finding the conversation once again at an impasse, if not at Rajesh's flip remark. The second hesitation probably occurs as she constructs the remainder of the Hindi sentence in her mind. Once again she tries to establish the niece as a topic of conversation. Rajesh toys with conversational topics as much as with his props.

(82.5 - 83.5) R

What about her?

(84.0 - 85.5) M

What kind of kid she is?

The pre-utterance pause with glottal segregate may indicate that Mimi did not expect a question in response to her question and is caught off guard. The syntax is Indianized. A cliché feature of Indian English question syntax is the nonexistence of a rule of Subject-Verb inversion. Note the use of the word kid; Rajesh, in his next utterance, uses child instead.

(86.0 - 91.0) R

She is a very...she's a very smart child.

The marked hesitation phenomena (stuttering, pauses, slow rhythm) without distress features (rasp, etc.) suggest that Rajesh is thoughtfully pondering his words. The undervocicing here can be considered typical for Rajesh, since it is almost more unusual for him not to speak with undervocicing.

(90.5 - 92.0) M

aacchaa?

The slight pitch rise implies, "Yes, I'm listening, please go on."

(92.0 - 97.0) R

She's very beautiful...she's very smart...always jumping around."

The rising intonation at the end of each clause indicates that a series listing is being given, and is used to hold on to one's conversational turn. The increased tempo on the second clause suggests enthusiasm. The greatest pitch rise is on the third clause, a signal that the other person is now free to assume his conversational turn, even though the intonation is not that 2 - 3 - 1 pattern of a typical complete declarative utterance.

(97.0 - 99.0) M

M. tum ko pasand kartii  
you to pleasing she-makes.  
"Mm. Does she like you?"

Note contrastive stress on tum. "M" is used here like aacchaa to mean "I follow". Mimi has assumed on the basis of Rajesh's remarks that he likes his niece (logically enough!).

(99.5 - 101.0) R

Yeah! She likes me very much.

The high pitch on "Yeah" indicates surprise at the question.

(101.0 - 103.5) M

aacchaa doesn('t) it hurt your parents they can't see her?

aacchaa here seems to be used as a device to smooth the topic transition. Without it, the following utterance would have sounded like an abrupt change of subject. Its lack of lexical content is supported by the fact that Mimi uses fast tempo and cuts it short.

Having successfully reintroduced the topic of the niece, she attempts to reestablish the topic of the distress of the grandparents.

(104.5 - 110.5) R

Of course it hurts. What ca--what can--I mean...m I don('t) know.

Breathiness, forceful articulation, dysrhythm, initial glottal segregate, stuttering and so forth all indicate agitation. This, of course, is due to the sensitiveness of the topic. Rajesh is about to once more state "What can they do?", but then takes a more remote perspective on the problem, as indicated by his "I don't know" with high falling intonation for contrastiveness. The hesitation phenomena between "I mean" and "I don't know" correlate with his ruminating on the matter. Observe the non-diphthong in mean; another Indian English feature. We may also note that the conversation is getting off the ground at last.

(110.5 - 119.5) R

Of course it hurts. My sister-in-law wanted to take um...her daughter...to India but...

The paralinguage now is much different; no rasp, undervoicing, or underintensity. Following the inhalation between the two sentences, the paralinguage clears up almost entirely. Rajesh is now more relaxed with the topic.

The hesitation phenomena before "her daughter" and after may indicate perplexity as Rajesh hunts for the correct kin terms. The pause at the very end of this utterance, with two glottal stops and rasp in the first syllable to follow, suggests that Rajesh has to think out how to continue the sentence.

(119.5 - 123.5) R

at that time my parents could not be in New Delhi; soon they were going to De(h)ra Dun.

After "parents", Rajesh resumes normal rhythm. This suggests that he has planned the sentence now to its conclusion. This pattern of hesitation, spurt of conversation, hesitation, spurt, hesitation, rapid finish, is used by both speakers. (For an example with Mimi, see again 26.5 ff.) This is interesting evidence that could be brought to bear on an hypothesis of how speech production strategies proceed; but that is not our purpose here.

The utterance devoices steadily as it proceeds. This may indicate residual tension. Soon, placed clause initially as here, is marked in Western English; that Rajesh uses it in this prosaic context clause-initially is another non-Western feature.

Dehra Dun is a city with an Indian hill-station atmosphere located in the foothills of the Himalayas in Uttar Pradesh. As indicated in the conversation to follow, Mimi is familiar both with Dehra Dun and with Nussourie, a hill station located a half hour up (almost literally) the road.

(123.5 - 125.0) M

acchaa? kis ke liye  
what for  
"Really? What for?"

The intensity and pitch rise is so reduced that Rajesh only realizes after a second of silence that it is now his turn; for her signal, the terminal contour, is weak.

(126.0 - 127.0) R

kis ke liye Dehra Dun?  
what for  
"What for Dehra Dun?" ("Why Dehra Dun?")

The high pitch suggests peevishness.

(127.0 - 127.5) M

hAA  
"Yes."

(127.5 - 130.0) R

(Tch) (to?) vo jaan ke kyaa karoge tum. tumhaare mat-- (lab)  
so. that know-ing what will-do you your mean--(ing)  
"What will you do when you know it? Your mean--"  
The click is sarcasm and the glottalicness is irritation. The first syllable may be the word to heavily disguised; it is used to mean roughly "so" as a noncontrastive transitionalizer.

The translation above of this utterance is literal. The message is "Why should you want to know that? What business is it of yours?" (note postverbal tum). The paralanguage contributes to an impression of gruffness: narrowed pitch range, undervoicing.

Rajesh uses the masculine, not the feminine form of the verb. Generalization of masculine Verb forms is not unusual in Hindi.

(129.0 - 130.0) M

M?

Rajesh's intensity has dropped so low at this point that Mimi cannot understand him. At the interruption Rajesh stops in the middle of the word matlab ("meaning"; he is probably about to ask her what she means by her question) to repeat the previous sentence.

(130.0 - 131.5) R

tum jaan ke kyaa karoge? har--  
you know-ing what will-do ?  
"What will you do if you know it?"

Rasp is added after the first three words due to irritation. The segment after karoge may be the word har, "every".

(131.0 - 133.0) M

Rice--m rice khariid ke le lEge.  
buy -ing will-take.  
"They must have bought rice"

Intensity is increased to effect the interruption, then decreased as soon as the floor is gained. The hesitation may anticipate her code switch.

Dehra Dun is famous for its high quality rice; I have met travelers leaving Dehra Dun carrying huge sacks of rice, bound for homes in parts distant.

(133.5 - 135.0) R

Rice?? Dehra Dun a--?

High rising pitch, undervoicing, and glottal segregate terminating the interrupted utterance signal perplexity. **Rajesh** has not made the Dehra Dun-rice connection Mimi is referring to.

(134.0 - 136.0) M

hAA, caaval khariid ke lEge  
Yes rice buy -ing they-will-take

"Yeah, they must have bought rice"

The first word again interrupts Rajesh. Mimi misplaces the source of the difficulty, apparently believing that Rajesh will understand the word "rice" more easily in Hindi than in English!

(135.5 - 140.5) R

Anyway Dehra Dun <sup>in</sup> me my parents ~~have~~ land. so they were thinkin(g) of

"Anyway my parents have land in Dehra Dun"

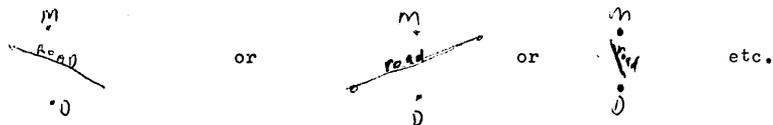
goin(g) uh there a when they retire."

Comments on code mixing follow in 3.3.1. Hesitations occur on either side of the word "there" (referring to Dehra Dun"; perhaps Rajesh is mentally translating again. This time Mimi has been toying while Rajesh persists on the topic.

(140.5 - 146.0) R

Actually there is a road a between a which leads out of Dehra Dun to M<sup>u</sup>ssourie. A(nd i)t's a beaut--

Rajesh hastens to improve on the accuracy of his previous utterance (the pause between the previous and the present utterance has been unusually brief). The first hesitating selection of the lexical item between, which is perfectly acceptable, followed by its rejection for a circumlocution "which leads out of..." leads one to ask why Rajesh should decide that between is not acceptable. I hypothesize that he is monitoring himself in Hindi. The reason is that if one translated the sentence with between word for word into Hindi, the following mental picture is painted, where M stands for M<sup>u</sup>ssourie and D for Dehra Dun:



Therefore Rajesh decides that the English word between is not accurate.

It is interesting that this, the reverse process of what an English speaker does in trying to say this sentence in Hindi while thinking in English, occurs here.

(145.0 - 146.0) M

hAA--!

Mimi perhaps believes that Rajesh has completed his utterance with "retire". Her interruption in any case is an outburst of enthusiasm, but she manages to contain herself for the moment. Rajesh pauses to allow her to continue, but when she does not do so, he resumes.

(146.0 - 148.0) R

I(t)'s a beautiful ond a ar road--

Mimi perhaps believes here that "road", whose articulation is fluffed by Rajesh, signals another potential opportunity to usurp the turn. Rajesh, unwilling this time to give up his turn, increases intensity and raises pitch as a signal. Apparently, having done so, he feels secure enough to inhale before proceeding.

(147.0 - 148.5) M

bahut sii!  
very so  
"Very!"

The enthusiasm is obvious in the paralanguage.

(148.0 - 151.0) R

...and the surroundings are m magnificent!

The refusal to be interrupted must be due to Rajesh's enthusiasm, which here reaches its apex. The hesitation before "magnificent", with glottal segregate, stutter, and stage whisper on the word itself, are used for dramatic effect. It wins a gasp of quasi-vicarious admiration from Mimi.

(152.0 - 153.0) R

itnaa anochaa kyaa kahne k(ii ha)d n(ahII) bilkul nature mE...  
so- good what to- gen. way not completely in  
much say

"So fantastic, how can you describe it? Completely surrounded by nature..."

Rajesh is so excited that there is considerable ~~reduction~~ and junctures (through we have not included them in the microtranscription) disappear to the extent that I had to replay the tape for Rajesh and find out from him what he had said.

This is another case of anacoluthon. Rajesh starts out with the interrogative marker kyaa, but finishes with the declarative "there's no way to say it".

The translation I have given is nonliteral.

There is no Hindi equivalent for the word nature used in the above sense. The Sanskrit word prithivi is borrowed into Hindi to refer to nature as a spiritual essence embodied in the world; the use of this word is stylistically marked. In the present instance its connotations would be all wrong. So Rajesh code mixes.

Rajesh indicates by his nonfinal intonation contour before he inhales at 153.0 that he has not yet ceded his turn. Mimi inserts a non-interrupting murmur of approbation.

(153.5 - 159.5) R

us ke paas as it a goes through winding its way through the mountains.  
it beside

"Nearby as it a goes through winding its way through the mountains."

And there's a land over there.

A code switch after the prepositional phrase, followed (perhaps as a result of switch) by an inhalation and a hesitation accompanied by dysrhythm. Tempo and, apparently, enthusiasm (he is no longer, after the first three words, speaking Hindi), are on the decline. After through the articulation becomes very careful until the end of this utterance, perhaps because he is again translating mentally.

Mimi inserts another murmur of approbation. Rajesh's glottal openness in the phrase "winding its way through the mountains" is unusual for him, a person who normally undervoces and frequently rasps. There are any number of possible explanations, including such a trivial one as gastric causes.

(158.5 - 164.0) R

And there's a land over there. And a the-re liicii kaa peR aaluu kaa pe --  
lichi gen. tree potato gen. tr--

aaRuu kaa pe--aa--aa--a--apple tree.  
peach gen. tr--

"And a there lichi trees, potato tr--peach tr--apple tree."

"a land" means a piece of land, in this case his parents'. In Hindi, a piece of land is one/a land, a loaf of bread one/a bread, etc.; the Indian English expression results from the Hindi.

Disyllabification of there and a pause are hesitations preceding the code switch, which again may be motivated by Rajesh's identification with his

topic. As he lists the local trees he accidentally substitutes /l/ for /R/ in aaRuū "peach". This is a minimal pair and Rajesh ends up saying "potato tree", which he corrects raspily. Another long and raspy hesitation follows, the reason for which is unclear. He may still be thrown off by his bizarre mistake; he may be momentarily aphasic, unable to recall the Hindi word for apple (seb), which may be the reason he code switches again. His final intonational contour is non-terminal, and he draws a breath and continues.

(165.0 - 168.0) R

And then--then--then--tha'tt)'s the..place my father owns land. The hesitation here is characterized by a vibrato-like humming effect. After hesitating on the word then Rajesh abandons it, but two words later he hesitates, then resumes ~~course~~ again. Now he resumes the undervoicing typical of much of his speech; and as he reaches a terminal contour it is as though he has touched ground again.

(168.0 - 171.0) M

aacchaa? mE ne dekhaa to mE ne saRak--  
Really? I past saw indeed I past road  
"Really? I have seen it, I the road--"

The excitement for Mimi this time is genuine. Observe the pulling out of the stops on the paralinguistic on aacchaa. The rest of the utterance interrupts Rajesh's response to aacchaa. He, now less enthusiastic than she, allows himself to be interrupted for the time being. But as she is about to tell him of her journey on that road, he reclaims his turn.

(169.0 - 171.5) R

(h)AA so there -- (h)AA so -- eh--my--my--  
yes yes

Perhaps Rajesh has heard Mimi talk before about her trip to Missouri. Whatever his motivation for reclaiming his turn, he does not, once he gets it back, have what he wants to say organized, resulting in hesitation phenomena, notably stammering.

(171.5 - 176.5) R

so my parents think they will settle down there after their retirement. It's a beautiful place, ideal for retirement.

Another instance of stress placement on the first verbal unit, here, think. The slight break before "their retirement" may be related to the Westernness

of the concept. In the second sentence intensity increase and glottal segregate are used for emphaticness. With terminal contour he cedes his turn.

(176.5 - 180.0) M

aacchaa vo hai Mussourie aur Dehra Dun ke biic mE hii  
 okay that is and between emph.  
 "Okay, that's right between Mussourie and Dehra Dun?"

This is a quasi-rhetorical question of 3 - 2 - 1 intonational contour; it expects affirmation. Again, the hesitation phenomena and uneven tempo suggests that the sentence is being constructed in stages. Rajesh begins to make an audible sound before Mimi completes her utterance.

(179.5 - 180.5) R

saRak kaa ?  
 road gen. ?

The last word is so unintelligible that Rajesh, listening to the tape, could not make it out. The intonation contour on this utterance has been discussed under (40.0 - 43.5) above.

(180.5 - 183.0) M

aacchaa. tum kitne baar Mussourie ga(y)e?  
 you how-many times went  
 "aacchaa. How many times have you been to Mussourie?"

Even though Mimi has not understood Rajesh's utterance, she takes it as assent and goes on.

(183.0 - 185.5) R

koi che saat baar.  
 about... six seven time  
 "About...six or seven times"

Hesitation on koi as he considers. The intensity is so low that Mimi makes out only the /e/ in che and believes she hears ek, "one".

(186.5 - 187.0) M

ek baar  
 one time?

(187.0 - 187.5) R

che saat baar  
 "six or seven times"

Double stress on che for contrast, as well as much use of paralinguistic, which dissipates very quickly over the utterance toward its end.

(188.0 - 189.5) M

che saat baar. aacchaa  
"Six or seven times. Oh."

Repetition as a monitoring device.

(189.5 - 190.5) R

Mainly when I was a kid.

The peculiar pitch and intensity drop on this utterance culminating on non-primary stress on kid is non-Western. Note that Rajesh, where he earlier used the word child to refer to his niece, now uses kid.

(190.0 - 193.5) M

M hm. You (h)ave been to um Gun Hill?

"M hm" is uttered with agreement-signifying down-up intonation. Her hesitation (um) is a memory search. Observe the Indianized dental /l/ in Hill.

(194.0 - 194.5) R

Gun Hill?

Echo question.

(194.5 - 195.5) M

maalum n(ah)II Gun Hill kya hai  
known not what is  
"You don't know what Gun Hill is?"

nahII telescoped, kyaa hai spread. Gun Hill is set off by slight breaks before and after.

(195.5 - 196.0) R

na(h)II  
No.

(196.0 - 200.5) M

vo sab se ...uh--uncii jagah hai Mussourie mE  
that all than tall place is in  
"That's the highest point in Mussourie."

Much hesitation phenomena suggesting once more that she is translating in chunks mentally.

(200.5 - 201.5)

(h)AA na(h)II  
yes no  
"No"

hAA is used here like aacchaa, and nahII is the actual answer to the question.

(201.5 - 204.5) M

acchaa to kahAA gae kahAA-kahAA ghuum rahe w(ah)AA--?  
 so where you- where-where wander were there--  
 want

"Okay, so where did you go -- where-all did you visit?"

Rajesh perhaps inadvertently interrupts, believing she has finished speaking with aacchaa. Both stop, but when he fails to continue his utterance, she resumes her turn. Rajesh's utterance here has been unintelligible to myself as well as to him on the tape recording.

vahAA is much reduced. Rajesh does not wait for her completed utterance to begin his answer.

(204.0 - 209.0) R

na(h)II yaad na(h)II--m--bahut bacpan mE gayaa thaa.  
 No, memory not very childhood in gone had  
 "No, I don't remember, I went when I was a very small child!"

Uh--for the las(t) five to six years I never wen(t) there.

The mm hesitation is ruminescent. The Hindi utterance is very relaxed, without the customary undervoiding. At the point of code switching there is a hesitation with anticipation of the first segment of "for". Tempo quickens toward the end of the utterance. "I never went there" is Indian English distinctly (for "I have not been there").

(209.0 - 212.0) M

aacchaa. Hm.

Her thoughtful-sounding assent ends the conversation which began with the niece and ended up with Dehra Dun. Since Mimi gives no evidence of having anything to say, having apparently run out of ideas, Rajesh grasps the thread of conversation.

(212.0 - 213.0) R

What will you do with this?

Change of subject. The articulation is forceful, the question emphatic. This refers to the tape recording. It is, of course, an impertinent question, asked impertinently.

(214.5 - 216.5) M

You tell me what I will do with it.

Contrastive you, me. Indianized fronted /l/'s. This represents the first time in the interview that Mimi has called Rajesh's bluff instead

of responding with mildness. Impertinence here meets sarcasm--and very rasped sarcasm at that.

(217.0 - 220.5) R

Don't play silly tricks on me I'm very too tired anyway.

And Rajesh retreats! Chuckling, clicks, and glottal segregate at utterance beginning are abashment. He pleads mercy on grounds of tiredness, apparently the first excuse that came to mind. The stress on final anyway is peculiar, as is "very too".

(220.0 - 221.5) M

hAA what happened today?

hAA is used here as acchaa. This is a new opening gambit. Mimi has seized on Rajesh's last utterance to renew the conversation.

(222.5 - 224.0) R

What do you mean, what happened today?

As he throws the question back at her he returns to the gruffness gambit: overflow, oversoft, narrowed register.

(224.0 - 225.5) M

You had class?

And we are back to the same routine, as Mimi turns a gentle question to a rough response.

(226.0 - 233.5) R

Oh, the same old rut. Life is a big shit san(d)wi(ch). Every day another bite. Same old rut/rot.

Boredom is evoked, in the first sentence, by slow tempo and high falling pitch; in the second, by narrowed register, continued slow tempo, under-voicing and thin resonance. All such vocal dramatics evoke the tedium Rajesh is trying to convey. The precise articulation of the final segment in bite is notable. The final "rut" has a lowered vowel; the word could even be rot, but Rajesh, listening to the tape, denied this. We might also note, although we have not transcribed juncture, that another is pronounced like an other.

(234.0 - 236.0) M

M. So how was class?

The rasp on "M" suggests residual irritation with Rajesh's self-indulgent complaints. It is followed by returning to business (the topic). Note

that Mimi has taken her question (224.0 - 225.5) to be answered in the affirmative.

(237.0 - 239.5) R

Lousy...Boring...

Rajesh continues to pile it on. The paralanguage on these two utterances, separated though they are by about a second, is very similar. The accompanying bilabial clicks convey deprecation. The response "Boring" interrupts Mimi's response to "Lousy":

(238.5 - 240.0) M

What hap-- kyaa huaa  
 what was  
 "What happened?"

When Rajesh responds to her question "What hap(pened)" by interrupting with more complaints, Mimi switches and repeats the question in Hindi, a pattern of behavior much seen in this interview.

(240.5 - 242.5) R

vo (h)ii jo roz hotaa (h)ai cuutiyaai pantii  
 that emph.WH dai- happens dummy business  
 ly

"The thing that happens every day, dummy business!"

Note nonterminal final intonation. A flip answer. It evokes the desired response: laughter from Mimi.

(245.0 - 247.5) R

cuutiyaai pantii is an adjective; I don't know whether you know about it or not.

This time, Rajesh, apparently pleased with Mimi's response, willingly takes on the role of informant. (But cuutiyaai pantii is in fact not an adjective.)

(247.5 - 248.0) M

kaun sii?  
 which like  
 "Which is (an adjective)?"

Mimi in turn slips into the role of the inquiring investigator.

(248.0 - 251.0) R

cuutiyaai pantii. (It) is an adjective made of one of cuutiyaai.  
 Mimi's interruption is unintelligible. Note Rajesh's careful articulation of cuutiyaai pantii followed by ellipsis of it. The item one is curious.



(265.5 - 267.5) M

aacchaa? ho saktaa

really? be can

"Really? That's possible."

A nonchalant response with further sarcasm conveyed by the pretense of interested inquiry.

(266.5 - 268.0) R

ho sakta na(h)II hai!

be can not is

"Not it's possible, it is!"

The advantage is seized once again. All the appropriate vocal dramatics are present toward conveying vehemence: forceful articulation, dysrhythm, overintensity. The coup de gr<sup>â</sup>ce culminates with double stress, double intensity and even double rasp.

(268.0 - 272.0) M

aacchaa. So what else did you do today?

aacchaa is a prolonged and gentle assent. Then Mimi returns to business. The slow tempo, reduced terminal contour, and open glottis in combination sound a bit like boredom.

(274.5 - 279.0) R

Nothing much. I woke up at ten thirty... went to lunch...

Rajesh decides to cooperate again. His paralanguage returns to the typical undervocicing and underresonance. Much is carefully articulated. The final intonational contour indicates another series listing is at hand.

(277.5) R (279.5) M

M. M. (Punctuating Rajesh's utterances)

An echoed rising-intonation indication of interest in hearing further; then a stressed and shorter punctuating "M".

(277.5 - 281.0) R

...came to the class...

Final pitch contour here is higher than in the previous utterance, suggesting that this is next to last in the series. The Indian English use of come in some contexts where Western English uses go, as here, is worth nothing.

(281.0) M

M.

(282.5 - 283.5) R

Came here...

The fall-rise intonation with quantity lengthening leaves the series indeterminately finished.

### 3.1 Biographical Sketches of the Participants

#### 3.1.1. Rajesh

Rajesh is a 22-year-old native speaker of Hindi born and raised entirely in Delhi. His first languages at home were Panjabi and Hindi. Rajesh's family could be loosely described as socio-economically-educationally upper middle class. The religious background could be described as disaffected Hindu. The family consists of the parents; an older married sister living with her husband away from the home; an older brother who is a physician married to an American, with one child, and living in the Chicago area; and Rajesh, the youngest, as yet unmarried. The family had lived as a nuclear unit in various parts of middle-class, fashionable South Delhi since Rajesh's birth. It is presently located in a section of Delhi called Greater Kailash, in government-provided housing; the father is an officer in the Indian Ministry of Defense. The mother has never worked for salary, but before marriage did volunteer social work--commonly done by middle and upper class Indian youths. Both parents are from eastern Panjab; the father from a village, the mother from a larger town. Both parents spoke Panjabi at home as children. The father was educated in English at British-run public schools. He can read and write Hindi and Urdu and learned some Persian at school. The mother was educated in Urdu medium and can also read and write Hindi. Neither parent can read or write Panjabi, not remarkable in view of Panjabi's low status. As the youngest child, Rajesh has been greatly indulged by both parents; he admits that they never disciplined him. This, again, is not unusual in middle and upper class Indian families.

Like his brother and sister, Rajesh learned English early on. He began English study at home about the age of seven or eight. His formal instruction in it began about age ten, and the language of instruction in his education at the advanced level has been exclusively English. He has also studied German in the university. He has an M.S. degree in physics from the very prestigious Presidency College of the University of Delhi. Presently he is a graduate student in business at the University of Chicago. This is his first extended visit to the U.S., following a brief tour in the summer a few years ago. Otherwise he has not travelled outside India.

Other relevant details have been noted in 1.2.2.2.3 above.

## 3.1.2. Mimi

Mimi is a 22-year-old native speaker of American English raised in Hollywood, Florida, a medium sized community devoted largely to the tourist industry. It is located between Miami and Ft. Lauderdale, Florida. No other language than English was spoken at home, except for the father's occasional Yiddishisms. The family could be loosely described as socio-economically-educationally lower middle class. The religious background could be described as disaffected Jewish. The family consists of the parents, one older married sister no longer living at home, and Mimi, the youngest, as yet unmarried. The mother was educated through high school and worked during wartime as a secretary in the Pentagon prior to marriage. The father has a bachelor's degree in business. He has worked for the city of Hollywood at a desk job for over fifteen years. The mother was raised in Montgomery, Alabama; the father in Omaha, Nebraska. The father has been very indulgent to Mimi throughout her childhood; her behavior, including her speech behavior, tends to take after his.

In high school Mimi studied Spanish, later majored in it at college (the University of Pittsburgh). She visited Spain for two months in 1972. In undergraduate and graduate school she has studied a number of the standard European languages and some North Indian languages (including Sanskrit) and some Tamil. She is presently a graduate student in linguistics at the University of Chicago, specializing in Indic languages. Among these she has done most of her work and research in Hindi. In summer, 1974, she visited India for three months. During this time she lived for two months in south Delhi within a few miles of Greater Kailash, where Rajesh's home is presently located.

3.2. Before stating the findings of this project regarding code shift, the following general comments are warranted. In the discussion of code switching below, a distinction will be made between intra and inter personal switching (switching when one speaker only is involved, as opposed to switching when one speaker responds to another).

Mimi's reticence relative to Rajesh does not affect the data on inter-personal code switching. In this interview I have counted 102 turn taking events in which the person responding to the other participant has uttered lexical material (not merely "Mm"). In the case of an interruption the interruptor was regarded as having taken a turn, but the interruptee who continues speaking was not. How much a person says during his turn is clearly immaterial to whether or not he switches codes in taking it.

Mimi's reticence relative to Rajesh, for the phenomenon of code mixing, seems to have had little effect, since the number of instances in which she code mixes is only slightly less than the number of instances in which Rajesh does so.

Where her reticence, in particular, the brevity of her utterances, does possibly affect the results is in intrapersonal code switching, where Mimi and Rajesh are not evenly matched in the number of instances.

## 3.3. Code Shift

3.3.1. In this recording I have isolated some cases of code mixing as listed below. I have not included instances in which a word was being used as a non-signifier, as for example (248.0 - 246.0), "cuutiyaa pantii is an adjective..."

1. (1.0 - 2.5) R sab ciizE rikaardiing aan kar diyaa
2. (2.5 - 3.0) M aan kar diyaa
3. (8.5 - 11.0) R tum pacciis minute tak to time barvaad kar diyaa
4. (24.5 - 27.0) R aacchaa to fir mE tumhE is kaa bill bhej duUgaa
5. (29.0 - 30.0) M tumhaarii niece
6. (35.0 - 37.0) R Don't act like a big cuutiyaa
7. (76.0 - 78.0) M bas? Half a minute mE kyaa karUUgii?
8. (80.5 - 82.5) M aacchaa niece kii baare mE m baat ciit karo
9. (131.0 - 133.0) M Rice--m rice kharid ke le lEge
10. (135.5 - 137.5) R Anyway Dehra Dun mE my parents have land
11. (152.0 - 153.0) R bilkul nature mE
12. (264.5 - 265.5) R Do you know that you are a big cuutiyaa?

These break down as follows:

|               |             |                                   |                     |                       |                     |
|---------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| <u>Rajesh</u> | <u>Mimi</u> | <u>Rajesh: H to E<sup>6</sup></u> | <u>Mimi: H to E</u> | <u>Rajesh: E to H</u> | <u>Mimi: E to H</u> |
| 7             | 5           | 5                                 | 4                   | 2                     | 1                   |

Mimi and Rajesh are fairly close in the number of instances of mixing (Mimi's slightly lower number of instances can be attributed to her reticence relative to Rajesh) and in preferring the mixing of English into a Hindi matrix over the reverse.

In almost every case one feature is associated with code mixing: primary stress. The one exception is (10) above, where only secondary stress occurs on the phrase "Dehra Dun mE". Other aspects of Rajesh's language and para-language at the microlevel in cases of code mixing are unremarkable, but for Mimi the case is otherwise. For example, in instance (5), there is associated rasp, lengthened quantity (feature 13), falling pitch, and final intonational contour following the word "niece". In example (7), the first segment of "half a minute" has a glottal segregate. In (9), the hesitation and repetition of the word "rice" is characterized by dysrhythm and by resonance as opposed to lack of resonance in the remainder of the utterance. Mimi's code mixing

<sup>6</sup>H = Hindi, E = English

is as appropriate as Rajesh's<sup>7</sup>, but it tends to have something extra in the paralinguistic. The only instances where this is not so or is less so are (2) and (7), instances where she is repeating a phrase which appeared immediately previously in the discourse and which was uttered by Rajesh. We can conclude that, despite the general appropriateness of Mimi's use of code mixing, she finds its use less natural than does Rajesh. I might add that, from my experience in acquiring Hindi and in watching others do so, I would say one of the most difficult things to learn is the control of code mixing, without which one cannot possibly speak correctly (that is, naturally).

We may also formulate the following general hypothesis:

H<sup>1</sup> Items are most appropriately mixed which may bear primary sentential stress. That is, loosely speaking, content words or phrases containing primarily stressable content words may most appropriately be mixed.

As distinguished from this, motivations for code shifting are discussed below, section 3.4.

3.3.2. I have found 35 instances of interpersonal code switching in this interview. Out of 102 turns taken this represents roughly one third.

The instances are as follows:

1. (19.0 - 22.0) R - M H - E hindi mE kaise bolEge? You don't have to talk all the time in Hindi.
2. (37.0 - 39.0) M - R H - E aacchaa? How can she be born in India?
3. (37.5 - 39.5) R - M E - H How can she be born in India? aacchaa.
4. (39.0 - 41.0) M - R H - E aacchaa. They were here.
5. (45.5 - 48.0) R - M E - H she's only one and a half years old. Give it to me. (Interrupting:) aacchaa.
6. (51.5 - 53.5) R - M H - E kya matlab? They never saw your---
7. (69.0 - 72.0) R - M E - H You have ally--already consumed twenty five minutes. aacchaa?
8. (71.0 - 72.5) M - R H - E aacchaa. How much more?
9. (75.5 - 76.5) R - M E - H Yeah. bas?
10. (78.0 - 81.0) R - M E - H that is your headache. aacchaa
11. (81.0 - 83.5) M - R H - E niece kii baare mE m baat ciit karo. What about her?
12. (89.0 - 92.0) R - M E - H she's a very smart child. aacchaa?
13. (91.0 - 93.5) M - R H - E aacchaa? She's very beautiful...
14. (95.0 - 99.0) R - M E - H ...always jumping around. M. tum ko pasand karti?

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<sup>7</sup> (See following page)

15. (97.5 - 101.0) M - R H - E tum ko pasand kartii? Yeah! She likes me very much.
16. (99.5 - 101.5) R - M E - H She likes me very much. acchaa.
17. (122.0 - 125.0) R - M E - H soon they were going to Dehra Dun. acchaa. kis ke liye?
18. (131.0 - 135.0) M - R H - E Rice--m rice khariid ke le leGe. Rice? Dehra Dun a--
19. (133.5 - 134.0) R - M E - H Rice? Dehra Dun a-- (Interrupting:) hAA, caaval khariid ke leGe.
20. (134.0 - 137.5) M - R H - E hAA caaval khariid ke leGe. Anyway Dehra Dun mE my parents have land
21. (145.0 - 146.0) R - M E - H A(nd i)t's a beaut- (Interrupting:) hAA!
22. (146.0 - 148.5) R - M E - H I(t)'s a beautiful ond ar r road-- (Interrupting:) bahut sii!
23. (166.0 - 169.0) R-M. E - H tha(t)'s the place my father owns land. acchaa?
24. (169.0 - 171.0) R - M E - H (h)AA so there-- (Interrupting:) mE ne dekhaa to mE ne saRak--
25. (170.0 - 174.5) M - R H - E mE ne saRak-- Eh my--my--go my parents think they will settle down there after their retirement.
26. (175.0 - 180.0) R - M E - H ideal for retirement. acchaa vo hai Mussourie aur Dehra Dun ke bilic mE hii.
27. (187.5 - 190.5) M - R H - E che saat baar. aacc(h)aa. Mainly when I was a kid.
28. (194.0 - 195.5) R - M E - H Gun Hill? maalum n(ahII) Gun Hill kyaa hai?
29. (206.6 - 210.0) R - M E - H for the las(t) five to six years I never wen(t) there. acchaa.

<sup>7</sup>My evaluation of Mimi's and Rajesh's code mixing as in some sense "appropriate" is mainly subjective, the impression of a person who has been listening to various Indian Englishes for the past five years. The circumstances under which code mixing is or is not appropriate are poorly understood. There are circumstances under which no one code mixes in Hindi, as Kachru's examples (37, 38) (1975: 86):

37. \*mujhe lagtaa hai that raam kal aayegaa  
to-me seem -s Ram tomorrow will-come  
"I think that Ram will come tomorrow"
38. mujhe lagtaa hai ki raam will come tomorrow  
"I think that Ram will come tomorrow"

Under H<sup>1</sup> the incorrectness of (37) would be explained by the inability of that in this sentence to bear primary stress. (Kachru was dealing entirely with the written language, and therefore did not discuss stress.)

30. (209.0 - 213.0) M - R H - E aacchaa. Hm. What will you do with this?
31. (218.5 - 221.5) R - M E - H I'm very too tired anyway. hAA what happened today?
32. (239.0 - 240.5) R - M E - H Boring. kyaa huaa?
33. (246.0 - 248.5) R - M E - H I don't know whether you know about it or not. kaun sii?
34. (254.0 - 256.5) R - M E - H I can't explain such things to you. aacchaa.
35. (258.5 - 260.0) R - M E - H even if I explain. aacchaa.

Of the above examples, nearly half (fifteen) involve Mimi's phatic use of the word aacchaa, and another involves her phatic use of "yes" (hAA) (example 21).

The instances of code switching break down as follows:

|                    |                    |                    |                    |
|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| <u>R - M H - E</u> | <u>R - M E - H</u> | <u>M - R H - E</u> | <u>M - R E - H</u> |
| 2                  | 22                 | 11                 | 0                  |

Two observations can be made. The first is that there is interpersonal code switching only about one-third of the time (34 instances out of 102 turns taken). Were interpersonal code switching a random phenomenon, we should expect the ratio to run about fifty-fifty. We can assume that the ratio of interpersonal code switches to turns taken will vary with different interlocutors. In any event we can state the following, not very surprising hypothesis:

H<sup>2</sup> Part of the continuity in discourse situations, where code shift is manifested, is the tendency to respond in the same code in which one is addressed.

The second observation is that it is Mimi who tends to initiate the use of Hindi, while Rajesh tends to respond to her Hindi in English. Rajesh rarely, when speaking to Mimi in Hindi, elicits a response in English. It is not difficult to tell who is investigator and who is informant.

3.3.3. In this interview I have found 25 instances of intrapersonal code switching. These are the following:

1. (8.5 - 13.0) R tum pacchiis minute tak to time barvaad kar diyaa. An'  
I'm gonna-- H - E
2. (12.0 - 15.0) R An' I'm gonna--tu(mh)E--is ke liye-- E - H
3. (16.0 - 18.0) R hindii mE I don't know... H - E
4. (16.5 - 18.5) R I don't know kaise bolte hai E - H
5. (18.0 - 20.0) R I will bill you for this. hindii mE kaise bolEge? E - H
6. (20.0 - 23.5) M You don't have to talk all the time in Hindi. jo bhii  
tum pasand karoge E - H
7. (33.5 - 37.0) R hindustaan mE kaise paidaa hogii? Don't act like a  
big cuutiya. H - E
8. (48.5 - 50.0) M aac(h)aa. Bbut doesn't this-- H - E
9. (48.0 - 51.5) M Bbut doesn't this--maa baap ko kaST na(h)II lagtaa? E - H
10. (63.0 - 67.0) R don'(t) be stupid. a taal ab k aur kitnaa detaa E - H
11. (68.0 - 71.0) R tum ne bolaa thaa aadhaa ghanTaa. You (h)ave ally  
already consumed twenty five minutes. H - E
12. (78.0 - 79.5) R tum that is your headache. H - E
13. (101.0 - 102.5) M aacchaa doesn't it hurt your parents H - E
14. (148.0 - 152.5) R and the surroundings are m magnificent! itnaa aacc(h)aa  
kyaa kahne k(ii ha)d n(ahII) E - H
15. (153.5 - 152.0) R us ke paas as it a goes through H - E
16. (158.0 - 161.5) R And there's a land over there. And a there liicii  
kaa peR... E - H
17. (162.5 - 165.0) R aaRuu kaa pe(R)--aa-aa-a-apple tree. H - E
18. (169.0 - 170.0) R (h)AA so there-- H - E
19. (170.0 - 170.5) R (h)AA so-- H - E
20. (204.5 - 209.0) R bahut bacpan mE gayaa thaa. Uh for the las(t) five  
to six years I never wen(t) there. H - E
21. (220.0 - 221.5) M hAA what happened today? H - E
22. (240.5 - 246.0) R vo(h)ii jo roz hotaa (h)ai cuutiyaa panti. cuutiya  
panti is an adjective... H - E
23. (256.5 - 259.0) R tum(h)aaraa itnaa akal na(h)II (h)ai samajhne ke  
liye even if I explain. H - E
24. (259.5 - 262.0) M aacchaa. Okay. Thank you. H - E
25. (268.5 - 272.0) M aacchaa. So what else did you do today? H - E

These break down as follows:

|               |             |                      |                    |                      |                    |
|---------------|-------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| <u>Rajesh</u> | <u>Mimi</u> | <u>Rajesh: H - E</u> | <u>Mimi: H - E</u> | <u>Rajesh: E - H</u> | <u>Mimi: E - H</u> |
| 18            | 7           | 12                   | 5                  | 6                    | 2                  |

Despite the disparity in numbers of instances for the two participants, the tendency to prefer Hindi to English switching rather than the reverse is of similar extent for both: of 25 instances, Rajesh demonstrated Hindi to English shift in some 73% of cases; Mimi, some 84% of cases.

Switching took place about as often at sentence boundaries as not:

| <u>Switching at sentence boundaries</u> |             | <u>Not at sentence boundaries</u> |             |
|---|-------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| <u>Rajesh</u>                           | <u>Mimi</u> | <u>Rajesh</u>                     | <u>Mimi</u> |
| 8                                       | 4           | 10                                | 3           |

Several switches involved phatic acchaa or hAA followed by code switch to English (8, 13, 18, 19, 21, 24, 25), of which all but two examples (18, 19) were utterances by Mimi. Several examples involved starting the phrase over after code switching (2, 9, 12). Finally, several examples involved a real switch in the middle of a sentence, without starting over; often in these cases switching occurred at phrase boundaries, that is, at traditional syntactic boundaries; thus, after an adpositional phrase in (3), (15), (23); after the verb in (4); after a noun in a coordinate construction in (17). But switch after a phrase boundary was not a universal phenomenon; witness (2) and (16) and (12). There is no example here of switch within a word, but this is no evidence in itself that it cannot happen.

One result which was not wholly expected, and which Kachru (1966), dealing as he did with written language, could not have predicted, was the occurrence of hesitation phenomena in a large number of examples at or near the point of code switching (examples 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, and 20 being the most marked).

In example 2, the English part of the utterance is cut off with a bilabial nasal closure and a pause; the next part of the utterance has two segments deleted and another pause follows; then the utterance is continued for one postpositional phrase and another pause takes place. The repeated failures and subsequent admission by Rajesh that he cannot think of how to say what he wants to in Hindi, indicate that Rajesh is translating from English into Hindi. One might have expected that, when a speaker translates mentally at all, he translates from his first language

into the acquired language and not vice versa. But it appears that this is not necessarily the case. (For more commentary on example 2 and on all examples cited below, see 2.5.) The hesitation in this example occurs anticipatorily as well as after the point of code switch.

The hesitation in (4) involved anticipatory glottal segregates.

(8) is a case of stammer at the point of code switching, that is, an extra segment.

(9) involves more marked stammer at the point of code switching, preceded by pause, and accompanied by rasp.

(10) is a spectacular example. taal is probably a blend of tum ("you") and the first syllable of already; if so it is actually a series of code switches which can be said to have taken place here, not merely one! But since we cannot be sure that this is the case, we will refrain from drawing conclusions here. Less dubious is k aur; the k almost certainly comes from kitnaa "how much", and aur is "more". This means that Rajesh started out to place kitnaa before aur, but stopped himself and corrected the syntax, resulting in aur kitnaa. This means that Rajesh code switched on the levels of phonology and lexicon before making the switch on the level of syntax.

(11) is a case of syncope ~~four~~ syllables after the point of switch. This may be due merely to factors at the phonological level.

(15) has anticipatory inhalation and insertion of [ɔ].

(16) has anticipatory insertion of [ə] and disyllabification of the first syllable following the point of switch.

(17) is another spectacular example; the final segment preceding the point of switch is deleted; there is prolonged (feature 13) and raspy hesitation on three inserted vocalic segments; there is anticipatory bilabial closure and glottal segregate.

(20) has anticipatory inhalation, insertion of [ə], and stammer.

From the above we can characterize intrapersonal code switching phenomena, adding some explanatory hypotheses, as follows:

H<sup>3</sup> Code switching is typically accompanied by hesitation phenomena.

H<sup>4</sup> These phenomena almost always involve the insertion of additional phonological material, whether it be a case of stammer, insertion of a vowel segment, or of a glottal stop, or some other, e.g. superfluous syllabification.

H<sup>5</sup> A cause, perhaps the cause, of hesitation phenomena in code switching

is the effort and time required for mental translation. The fact that code mixing, unlike code switching, involves little hesitation phenomena, indicates that mental translation usually does not occur in the case of code mixing. Translation is from the code spoken in into the code to be spoken in.

H<sup>6</sup> Switch does not necessarily occur simultaneously at every level.

H<sup>7</sup> Where switch does not occur simultaneously at every level, it may be universally the case that the level of syntax lags after the phonological and lexical levels.

H<sup>8</sup> The hesitation phenomena are usually but not always anticipatory.

I might add that I am deliberately sticking my neck out with most of the above, since for an hypothesis to be interesting, it must say something.

### 3.4. Motivations for and General Factors Affecting Code Shift

Some motivations for code mixing are discussed in Kachru (1975). He reduces the basic types of motivations to three: role identification; register identification; and elucidation and interpretation. The first refers to mixing of codes as a mark of the social network in which one functions and as a mark of the mutual social attitudes of the interlocutors. The second refers to the use of such registers as the technical or scientific. The third is only mentioned by Kachru with respect to phrases beginning with "that is to say"-expressions.

Since these three types of motivations are both broad and narrow--limited by their generality while unable to represent the full range of contextually related causes of code mixing--I will here enumerate some motivations not only of code mixing, but of code shift in general, using examples from the present interview.

3.4.1. Culturally bound terms. Ideas particularly associated with the culture related to one of the codes in use, especially if these ideas are foreign to the culture related to another code in use, tend to be expressed in the language of the related culture. Example: see the discussion of bill in 1.3.1.

3.4.2. Technical jargon. In a Hindi-English code shift situation technical jargon is almost obligatorily rendered in English. Example: recording (1.5 in the microtranscription).

3.4.3. Emphatic repetition. In this interview both participants repeat at times in Code 2 what has recently been said in Code 1. This seems to function for emphasis. Example: Rajesh: "hindustaan mE kaise paidaa hogii" (33.5) and "How can she be born in India?" (37.5) Also: Mimi: "only" (75.0) and "bas" (76.0)

3.4.4. Occasionally an utterance contains an untranslated repetition of a word, phrase, or even sentence uttered by an interlocutor. Example: Rajesh: "Half a minute" (73.0) Mimi: "Half a minute mE kya karUUgii?" (75.5.)

3.4.5. Genuine incompetence in one of the two codes. Thus, Rajesh momentarily has to say "I will bill you for this" (18.0) in English because he can't work out the Hindi. Also, Mimi says "niece" (as, 29.5) because she can't remember the kin term for one's brother's daughter in Hindi. Rajesh may use "cuutiya pantii" for "foolishness" for the same reason (241.5).

3.4.6. Idioms and cliches are often untranslatable and result in code switch. Example: (78.0) Rajesh code switches when he realizes there is no Hindi for "That is your headache".

3.4.7. Lexical gap in one of the codes. (This would be related to 3.4.6.). Example: "nature" (152.5),

3.4.8. Empathy with the topic of conversation. Thus Rajesh code switches to Hindi when he begins to discuss the beauties of Mussourie (150.5 ff).

3.5.9. It seems probable that Rajesh in this interview controls code in such a way as to maintain psychological distance from the topic--either his own distance or Mimi's. That is, he uses code to maintain a psychological boundary to prevent Mimi's intrusion by participation in matters personal to him. Thus throughout the interview he never uses Indian kin terms, though Mimi does. In (114.0 ff) he seems to have trouble remembering the English kin terms for the relationship of his sister-in-law to his niece, yet he does not switch to Hindi. In this connection I am reminded of another example, that of my landlady in Delhi, who, when referring to her late husband while speaking in Hindi, always code mixed the English word death.  
(e.g., jab un kii death huii "When he died..")  
when he gen. was

## 4.0 Final Remarks

The data presented here is not yet analyzed for every parameter. In those parameters along which analysis has been completed, there is a great deal of untouched material. Many fascinating projects suggested themselves as I worked with these interview materials. For example, it would have been extremely interesting to discuss symptomatic features of Mimi's and Rajesh's audible behavior, or to attempt to characterize their interaction in terms of some interactional parameters. The wealth of raw and partially processed data available here will be a rich source for future reference. Time has been the only factor which has limited me to the modest study made here.

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