Favored Variety and Cultural Othering:
Semantic Enclave in Hindi Cinema

J.A.H. Khatri, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor
School of Liberal Studies & Education
Navrachana University, Vadodara (Gujarat)
javedk@nuv.ac.in
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Abstract

Hindi cinema has a wide market across the world, and hence it affects the use of Hindi language to a large extent. But what is officially known as Hindi cinema also includes the movies in regional varieties of Hindi language without any acknowledgement of the variety. Varieties of signs are involved in generating a text of cinema, and hence it turns out to be a Semantic Enclave. The cinema develops a kind of Creole that is more or less understood by the standard Hindi language users. Present paper investigates the codes developed in three films based on regional milieu. The way the standard codes are modified, and newer text-specific metaphors are generated are the thrust of this investigation. The unavailability of standard Hindi subtitles is also significant. The fourth film, which acts as a counter example, implies the selection of regional variety which is to do with the dichotomy of rural and urban. The films also question the mainstream propaganda of development and how the reality is alienated from the audience at large.

Keywords: Hindi cinema, Semantic enclave, regional codes, metaphors, micronarratives, intention, Cultural Othering.

1. Introduction

India is a multilingual and multicultural space. Multilingualism is a norm and not an exception. Under such circumstances, the biggest and richest film industry of the country, Bollywood, is basically a Hindi film industry. And more interesting fact is that the centre of Hindi film industry is in a non-Hindi dominated state, i.e. Maharashtra. The official language of the state is Marathi. Bollywood produces more than 350 films a year and it represents 43% of Indian net box-office revenue. The Hindi films are released all over India, including the non-Hindi speaking states and all other major countries of the world. Thus, Bollywood is one of the most powerful instruments of spreading Hindi language in the world.

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Indian education system has accepted three-language formula: the state language, Hindi and English. So the children whose native variety is not accepted by the state have to learn all three languages at the school level without any prior exposure to these languages. The children are exposed to Hindi cinema to some extent and normally TV or films are their first encounter to standardized Hindi or English. Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, and Rajasthan are the states where Hindi is accepted as an official language. But all these states have multiple varieties of Hindi language spoken in different regions of the states. When I say, Bollywood is a powerful instrument of spreading Hindi language; I am talking about the 'standardized' variety of Hindi. I prefer the term 'standardized' instead of 'standard' because "standardization" is a deliberate and artificial process; 'Standard Hindi' or 'Standard Language' implies "naturally" standard, which is not the case.

For our present purpose, I have selected four recent movies, each situated in one of the "Hindi" states. Any work of art is significant if it has some universal appeal. The selected films are categorized as per their themes. Feminism is one such theme that appeals across the borders. The films '*Anarkali of Aarah*' and 'Parched' have this theme. And the other two films, '*Guddu-Rangeela*' and '*Talvar*' have the theme of crime, especially, honor killing. The themes have an appeal to all the classes and types of audience. But, out of these four, three films are in regional varieties of Hindi language which are quite difficult for the audience to comprehend. 1. 'Parched', released in 2015 the film is a story about four female friends and their day-to-day struggle of survival and sexuality in the state of Rajasthan. The state of Rajasthan has accepted Hindi and English as its official languages. 2. '*Anaarkali of Aarah*', released in 2017, the film is a story of a female dancer from *Aarah*, a small town in the state of Bihar. Bihar accepts Hindi and Urdu as official languages. 3. '*Talvar*', released in 2015, the film is based on murder mystery situated in Noida of Uttar Pradesh. The state of Uttar Pradesh also accepts Hindi and Urdu as its official languages. 4. '*Guddu Rangeela*', released in 2015, the film is based on caste-ism and *Khaap Panchayat* of the state of Haryana in which Hindi and Punjabi are accepted as official languages. Though the themes have universal appeal, the audience doesn't have the direct connection with the issues raised in the films. How will the audience connect and comprehend the cinematic texts? Will the linguistic variety used in the movies be hindrance to the comprehensibility? Except '*Guddu Rangeela*', the rest of the films are considered multiplex-movies, i.e., they target the upper-class, upper-middle class, while '*Guddu Rangeela*' is for the audience of single-screen theatres, more popular in nature than the other three. Does the urban-multiplex-audience interpret the themes correctly, or they enjoy it in terms of "otherness" of the characters? What is the impact of linguistic variety used? How different is the used variety from the standardized variety? Isn't it a risk to make a cinema in a single language in the multilingual market?

2. Mainstream Hindi Cinema as Semantic Enclave

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Communication is understood in terms of recoding and decoding the messages. The language of cinema includes visual codes and linguistic codes. One doesn't normally need the formal training in comprehending visual codes, but linguistic codes require prior exposure in order to be effectively comprehended. Majority of the movies normally use the 'so called' standardized variety of Hindi and hence, don't generally pose question for us. The challenge is the films made in regional varieties of Hindi. Regional varieties of Hindi are used very frequently; even the movies which are made in standardized Hindi have some characters who speak regional variety, plus there are characters who use Hindi with Gujarati, Marathi, Punjabi or Bengali words and phrases. Urdu is also used quite lavishly, especially in songs. Earlier films' title used to be given in three languages: Hindi, English and Urdu, but now-a-days Urdu is slowly evaporated, at least in written form. Thus, there is not a single code which can be decoded and comprehended without problem, in fact, the code of Hindi is modified and moderated as per the need of the characters and communication. Thus, Hindi cinema has always been a 'semantic enclave', i.e. various sign systems can be found in a single text or work of art (Wallis, 1971: 4; Harris, 1998: 228).

There are very few examples of films which are made entirely in some regional variety. The 1961 film *Gunga Jumna* was entirely in Avadhi variety of Hindi which is dominantly spoken in Allahabad area of Uttar Pradesh. Normally, screen-writers amalgamate regional lexicon with the standardized language to create an effect of the regional variety, at the same time it remains more or less comprehensible for the audience. They create a kind of Creole for the screen which is understood easily and still it carries some features of the distinct regional culture and nuances. Communication is a process in which we exchange our thoughts, ideas, emotions, etc. with others. But in terms of Media communication, the case is little different. In ordinary communication the roles of addressor and addressee keep changing, but in media communication the audience always remains at receiving end. The form of media, the cinema in this case, is the addressor. Media communication is unidirectional and directive in nature.

3. Language and Identity

There is a wide-spread belief that in media, regional or social variety is invoked to highlight and target a specific group of people. Moosmuller (1989: 165) claims that, "Standard language variants is most often associated with intelligence, competence and status-related traits whereas dialect language variants are generally associated with sociability, social attractiveness and trustworthiness." Woods (2006: 12) also expresses similar stand discussing the language in advertisements and claims that,

> research on television advertising in New Zealand finds, for example, that advertisers tend to favour speakers with strong local dialects, in order to associate their products with

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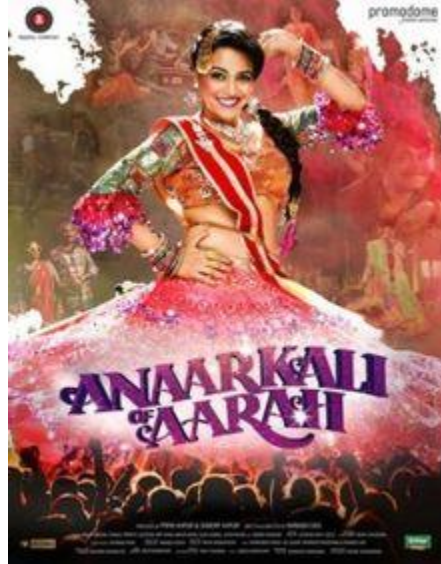
Kiwi identity and values. For broadly similar reasons, advertisers may employ speakers with foreign accents or deliberately use foreign words to evoke an impression of mystery or a sense of the exotic.

While Bollywood employs many characters using "bad" Hindi to imply that the specific character is outsider or non-Hindi speaker. The most employed characters are the British who speak accented Hindi with blond wig. But, for the major characters' native identity, the variety of language is just a supplement. The identity is formed more audio-visually with the help of their clothes, music and surroundings. Say for example, if the character is Gujarati, from the state of Gujarat, *Garbaa* – the traditional dance from of Gujarat will inevitably be used. Apart from that, an entire sentence in the respective language will be put in the mouth of the character; but, that would be one or two sentences only, the rest of the dialogues will be in Hindi.

In the case of the selected films all the characters are 'Hindi' speakers from the perspective of linguistic identity. But, from the perspective of the province, they are either Rajasthani or Haryanvi or Bihari. So, in order to give them, the complete character traits, apart from their accent, their clothes, surroundings and music play an important role. The distinct vocabulary in their language makes them rustic and genuine. In the movie *Parched*, the characters are also tattooed in the traditional Rajasthani fashion. Thus, only linguistic variation is not enough to bestow the character an authenticity for the given situation and text.

4. Significance of the Selected Texts

The most essential role of any work of art is to represent the socio-cultural and political milieu faithfully. In this age of Visual media and internet, the authorities can easily portray an illusory rhetoric of all-round development and happiness. The development is normally confined to the metros and big cities, as the notion of 'development' is also directly associated with industrialization and mechanization. "But it is often punctuated, interrogated, and domesticated by the micronarratives of film, television, music, and other expressive forms, which allow modernity to be rewritten more as vernacular globalization and less as concession to large-scale national and international policies." (Appadurai 1996: 10) The movies in question attempts to put local issues on a global platform.

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Courtesy: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anaarkali_of_Aarah

The exploitation of local entertainers, especially the female ones, by the powerful people is presented realistically in the movie *Anarkali of Aarah*. The name Aarah refers to a small town in the state of Bihar. Through the movie, we get to know the plight of public performers in general and the adult-performers in particular. Above all, the audience is exposed to the whole new realm of adult-performance which includes vulgar dances and songs. The common man's way of looking at such performers is also portrayed well. All the characters, in this movie, used linguistic variety which is clearly different from the standardized variety of Hindi. Even the educated characters use the same variety. The linguistic variety is consistent throughout the movie and it's not just insertion of some words of some different variety in the Hindi phrases. The variety is so rustic that audience has to depend on the subtitles for complete and literal sense of the dialogues. For this film, the subtitles are available in English and Persian.

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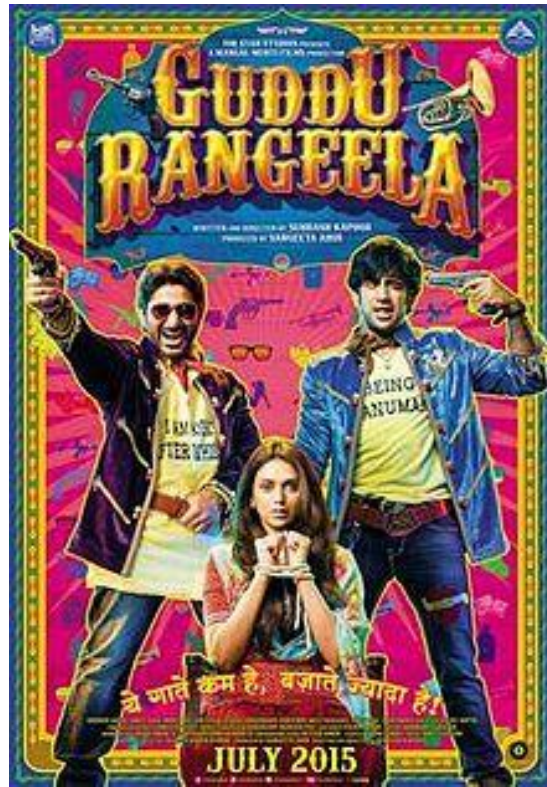
Courtesy: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parched

'Parched' is a story of three female friends set in a small village of Rajasthan. It raises the issues of female sexuality, freedom and empathy. The day-to-day struggle of the female-folk in this small village and the dominant patriarchy are portrayed. The village is not specified. Though it is called a Hindi movie, almost all the characters use the Hindi with a mixture of many Gujarati words. There are two educated characters that use some standardized Hindi as well as English. We are not sure how authentic variety of Hindi is this. But, for a person who is not aware of Gujarati language or some of the Rajasthani varieties may find the dialogues difficult to comprehend. For this movie, one can find the subtitles in Persian, French, Greek, Indonesian, Malayalam, and Sinhala, apart from English. The movie was first screened at Toronto International Film Festival 2015 and it was also nominated at 10th Asia Pacific Screen Awards (for screenplay). In terms of box-office, the film was most successful in France and Spain.

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Courtesy: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talvar_(film)

'*Talvar*' is a double-murder mystery inspired from the real events. The entire movie is about this double-murder and its investigation by police and other national agencies. The entire film is set in the city of Noida. Interestingly, there is no hint of any linguistic variation; everyone – including the Nepali compounder and the security guard – speaks standardized variety of Hindi. It is understandable that the South Indian and Punjabi officers of CDI speak Hindi quite fluently as they are trained, but the Nepalis who work in the city also speak fluent and flawless Hindi without any variation of accent; there were five Nepali characters. There are no indigenous metaphors developed which are different from the standardized variety of Hindi. And not a single character uses a single abusive word in the entire movie. Arabic, English, Persian, French, Indonesian, Italian, Spanish, and Vietnamese subtitles are available for this movie. The film was screened at 2015 Toronto International Film Festival, 2015 BFI London Film Festival and Busan International Film Festival.

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Courtesy: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guddu_Rangeela

"*Guddu Rangeela*" is a revenge drama with a background of caste-ism in the state of Haryana. Almost all the characters use the accented variety of Hindi spoken in the state; but the most conspicuously different variety is used by the antagonist, Billu Pehlwan. The possible explanation could be the identity built-up. Only the outsiders used the 'standardized' variety of Hindi. Some expressions are so different that one needs to depend on context or subtitle. Here also, we can see a little difference between the linguistic usage of educated and uneducated characters. For this movie, you can have subtitles in English and Arabic.

There is something unusual in the languages of the subtitles available. One cannot find the subtitles of the movies in Hindi. One can easily find the English subtitles for the English movies, but finding a Hindi subtitles for Hindi movies or even for the movies in many other languages is very difficult, if not impossible. Recently, the Gujarati film '*Hellaro*' (2019) is screened, and the theatres provide the English subtitles even in the state of Gujarat. There are no Gujarati or Hindi subtitles available. Both '*Talvar*' and 'Parched' are screened at international film festivals and hence one can find subtitles for these movies in many languages. Subtitles are also created considering the possible audience of the movie. In the movie, '*Guddu Rangeela*', the subtitles for all the abusive words are presented with asterisk, not giving the complete word for them, and the proper names like 'Saddam' and 'Obama' are maintained, but 'Meena Kumari' is not maintained in the subtitles. Based on this, it can be said that the subtitles are prepared for

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young Indian audience. Subtitles for the movie 'Parched' maintain all the abusive words, in case of unavailability, English abusive words are replaced. At the same time, famous proper names are not maintained, for example Indira Gandhi, Salma Agha, and Ramayana. For the movie '*Anarkali or Aarah*', again, similar pattern is followed, the cuss words are maintained in English, but some proper nouns are replaced by similar English nouns, for example, *Devdas* is replaced by Romeo, while *Majnu*, by Casanova. For the movie '*Talvar*', no such special tools are needed, there were no abusive words. All these later three films target the international audience and hence their subtitles are made as comprehensible as possible. One advantage of subtitles is that they make the intentions of the characters clear.

5. Metaphors and Abusive Words

Languages are full of metaphorical expressions and abusive words. The varieties of Hindi used in the given movies are also rich in such expressions. Here, we are concentrating on the terms which are different from the standardized Hindi, means, unique to the discursive texts of the movies.

5.1 *Parched*

In terms of abusive words, there are two categories: first, the abusive words referring to sex and female genitals; and second, the simple words used to question the intelligence of the person, more like a word to insult. In the first category, one can find the same words used by other varieties of Hindi speakers. But, in second category, we can notice the creative and somewhat indigenous usage. The word used for girl is *maal*, which means 'goods' or 'material'; thus, putting the girls in a category of non-humans, an article to be utilized. Some other words used in the movie are:

Table 5.1: Typical words/phrases used in the movie 'Parched' with their meaning and subtitles.

Usage	Translation	Subtitle
Muee	Dead (female)	---
Lajjo raani	Lovely queen	"Princess"
saaLaa	Brother-in-law (used as an abusive word)	---
Ghaaghraa-chod	Skirt-fucker	"Skirt-fucker"
Haraami	bastard	---
Aaitam	Item	"Hilarious"
Mungi mar	Die silently	"Duffer, quite !"

Apart from the words/phrases shown in the Table 5.1, some metaphors of animals are used to indicate the stupidity or simplicity. For example,

1. *bilkul gaay he* (Just like a cow), implying "very innocent" person.

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2. *bakre kaa bacchaa* (baby goat), implying "idiot"
3. *khunte se bandh diyaa* (to tie to a pole), implying "got someone married"
4. *chikNaa saandh lage se* (handsome like a bull), implying "very handsome"

For them these animals which are their main source of income provide a spectrum of analogies to see the world around them. Both, male and female characters use the same abusive words. The females are married off as if they are some animals tied to some poles whether they like it or not and this fact is reflected in their linguistic practice as well. The females are normally compared with cows, which is a positive comparison meaning 'innocent', while the similar comparison for males may mean 'an idiot' instead of 'innocent'.

Some proper and common names are used which are not mentioned in the subtitles. The dialogue runs as, "*padhi likhi ne indiraa gaandhi banane se"* (**literally**, Do you want to become *Indira Gandhi* after all these studies?) which is not subtitled at all. Here, Indira Gandhi is a proper name which refers to former Prime Minister of India. Her name is used as a metaphor for power. In another such instance, the proper name, '*Salma Agha*' is subtitled as "Marilyn Monroe". Salma Agha is a Pakistani born British bollywood actress who was active during 1980s and famous for her beauty and singing. Her name is used as a metaphor for beauty, here. Education has been associated with 'collector' at couple of times, especially for females, they said sarcastically; "*kolektarni banegi"* (will become collector). And the education is considered harmful for females and family structure; once it is said, "*padhi-likhi ne collector-magistrate bananaa se?*" (**Literally**, "Do you want to become collector or magistrate after all these studies?") which is subtitled as "Girls who read make bad wives!" The subtitle, here, clears the intentions of the speaker.

5.2 *Anaarkali of Aarah*
Abusive words, in this case, are all related with female genitals and gender which is quite understandable as the protagonist, herself, is an adult entertainer and earns by singing and dancing on double meaning erotic songs in public. These abusive words are also quite normal in standardized form of Hindi. But, the interesting part is the words, which are not abusive in nature, are used as abusive words. See for example:

Table 5.2: Simple words used as abusive words in 'Anaarkali of Aarah', with their meaning and subtitle

Usage	Translation	Subtitle
betaa	Son	"Asshole"
Raani	Queen	"bitch"
Maharani	Great-queen	"drama-queen"

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The words in Table 5.2 are used in a normal discourse with their stated dictionary meanings. In the movie, they have been used in a derogatory manner and they were subtitled as direct abuse. I haven't included the other abusive words with sexual connotations as they are same as used in standardized Hindi.

This movie used the metaphors from the domain of food. Even the name *Anaarkali* is shortened to *Anaar* meaning "pomegranate", which reminds us of the famous Hindi proverb – "*ek anaar, sou bimaar*", literally, 'one pomegranate, and hundred patients', implies that many people are after a single thing or person. This is exactly the position of *Anaarkali*, the protagonist, in the movie. The other terms used for her are mentioned below:

> 1. *desi tandoor* (Indian tandoor) implying "very hot, chilly and ready to serve" (used for the woman – the protagonist)
> 2. *anaarkali angaaraa* (*Anaarkali* on-fire) based on the analogy of the popular dish "Chicken-*angaaraa*"
> 3. *man ghughani aur mizaaz parothaa ho gayaa* (people went berserk with enjoyment), here, *ghughani* is a Bihari food item and *parothaa* is a type of bread used in North India. This is one of the most important dishes for middle-class, lower-middle class people, consumption of which is considered to be one of the best pleasures. Thus, the literal meaning is people's mind and mood turns to consume the delicacies like *ghughani* and *parothaa*. Normally, *mizaaz hariyal honaa* is used, i.e., "mood becomes fresh like green", but here, to go with the food item, *hariyal* is replaced by the *parothaa*.
> 4. *lahsuniyaa* type *ki baat* (rubbish talk) "*lahsuniyaa*" refers to 'garlic'
> 5. *laal tamaatar* (red, hot chilly) used for *Anaarkali*, it literally means 'Red tomato'
> 6. *ab kadhaai aapkaa hai, tel aapkaa hai, ab usme puri chhaanie ke halwaa banaaie aap* (The oil is yours and so is the pan. Isn't it up to you if you want to make a pudding or a pancake?) It is spoken to reiterate the possession of *Anaarkali* and how she can be 'consumed' by the antagonist.

Interestingly, all the major metaphors used in the movie are based on edible items and almost all of them are used for the female protagonist. This fact implies that a female who performs in front of the people is more of an item of consumption and hence has to be 'served' hot (*angaaraa*) and spicy (*tandoor*). Such metaphors and easy comprehension of such metaphors also imply the societal mentality at large. At the same time, it also implies that the food is one of the most important things to derive the pleasure from, for the lower and lower middles class people. Their ultimate pleasure is associated with their taste buds and hence the food-metaphors have been so successfully used and understood in the movie.

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There are some unique nouns mentioned in the movie which are subtitled in a very different way. There is a mention of '*sati saavitri*', a name that has become an epitome of piousness in Indian mythologies. It was a name of a queen who sacrificed herself on the pier of her husband. But, here, this name is translated as 'Goddess of Purity'; she is made into a Goddess. The name of famous Bollywood actress *Aishwarya Rai* is translated as 'Beauty Queen', although she is famous worldwide. The famous tragic character of *Devdaas* is translated as 'Romeo' drawing the analogy between two literary protagonists. At the same time, *Majnu* is subtitled as 'Casanova'. Though the name of *Majnu* is associated with only one female *Lailaa*, the translation of 'Casanova' appears perfect in the given context as it is used for the lecherous traits of the character. When talking about the music, the studio owner says, "*Bihaari chaltaa hai*" in which '*Bihaari*' is used for *Bhojpuri*; the other names are used as *ansaari-fansaari* implying 'stupid, useless'. There is a dialogue which says, "*yahaan Mahaabhaarat chal rahaa hai, uhaa Raamaayan shuru ho gayaa*", which mentions the names of two epic poems, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. The names of these poems are used to metaphorically indicate the drama in their lives; they were not subtitled. *Lankaa-kaand* term is used for 'shameful event' which is yet another reference to the epic. Such references signify the ever-connectedness with the cultural-mythological baggage of the society, which has become part of their day-to-day practices and thinking process.

5.3 *Talvar*

This movie is an exceptional case out of four as it doesn't provide any linguistic variation, no indigenous metaphors or abusive words. The film strictly follows the standardized variety of Hindi.

5.4 *Guddu Rangeela*

Many abusive words from standardized Hindi have been used in the movie but most of them are wiped out from subtitles. In case of proper names, in most of the instances, the same name is used in the subtitles. All the major characters are either thieves or underworld-dons and hence we cannot expect a sophisticated language. Let us first look at some unique abusive words used in the movie in the table below:

Table 5.3: Abusive words used in the movie 'Guddu-Rangeela' with their translation and subtitles provided in the movie

Usage	Translation	Subtitle
Saale	Brother-in-law, used derogatorily	--
Pichhwaadaa	Rear (body part), ass	--
Kathor	Hard (strong hearted man)	--
Tere chiche kaa jalandhar maaru	Harm you in indirect manner	--
Saalaa	Brother-in-law, used derogatorily	"rascal"

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Fati padi hai	Scared as fuck	"sc****"
Do kaudi ki laundiyaa	Woman of no value	"cheap b****"
Maa ki aankh	Eye of the mother (used derogatorily)	"do hell with"

It is noteworthy that the abusive words have been put in subtitles in a very neutral sense, avoiding all the taboo aspects from them. They have also employed the use of asterisk (*) to hide the complete word, which is normally the feature of social media.

Good number of metaphorical expressions are also used which are typical and different from standardized variety. Some of the usages are given below:

1. *tijori thandi* (safe was cold) implying that 'safe was empty'.
2. *pichhwaade me dam nahi* (**literally,** no strength in ass), implying that the person was without courage.
3. *meri paarti hai* (this is my party), this is my heist; normally 'party' means "customer" in nativized terms, here, "Party" is equal to Heist, the house of heist is considered a customer.
4. *uski kheti* (his farm) here it means, his (God's) will.
5. *bhaai* (brother) here it is used for Don, Goon.
6. *bajaate jaadaa ho* (play a lot) implying that they make others dance on their tunes.
7. *afim ki pudiyaa* (packet of opium) used for the heroin, implying that she is troublesome and cannot be easily kept hidden.
8. *yo bhi langot pahene* (He also wears underwear) here, 'underwear' signifies masculinity, the sentence is a sacastic remark which means "He is a man too."
9. *kaun saa nau kaa pahaadaa hai?* (This is not a table of ninth) It is not very difficult to understand.

There is no specific design or area from which the metaphors are taken from but majority of them are not used in standardized variety of Hindi. Apart from this, plenty of proper names are used to mean something else. The protagonist, Rangeela, is described as *Mirpur ke Kumar Sanu* (Kumar Sanu of Mirpur), here, Mirpur is the name of the town and Kumar Sanu is a famous Hindi singer. The names are kept as they are in subtitles. The expression *saabaash mere Bill Gates* (Bravo, my Bill Gates) was not provided any subtitle, but the term Bill Gates is used to imply someone very rich. "*Sholay ke Jai-Veeru hai*" (You two are Jai-Veeru of Sholay), here, "*Sholay*" is the name of a famous Hindi film and Jai-Veeru were the protagonists of the film who were famous for their bravery. The terms are used for the protagonists Guddu and Rangeela. "*Tum to Santa-Banta nikle*" (You turned out to be Santa-Banta), again used for protagonists, Santa-Banta are famous characters from jokes. In subtitles, they have mentioned Sholay, Jai and Veeru; but not Santa-Banta. The Sholay metaphor is extended and called the heroin 'The

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Thakur' from the movie that employs Jai and Veeru to capture the villain. Here, the heroin hires the protagonists to capture Billu. The word *Daku Haseena* (Female bandit) is subtitled as "danger". And the name *Meena Kumari* (She was an Indian film actress and was famous for tragic roles) is subtitled as "Emotional person". The word *Tees Maar Khaa* (The terms is normally used for someone who is very adventurous) is subtitled as 'Superman'. There is a mention of 'Saddam Hussein', which is subtitled as 'Saddam'. An expression, *Gulaab Singh naam hai meraa* is subtitled as "My name is Gulaab Singh and I'm the Boss" where the second part is taken from the attitude with which the first part is spoken.

6. Comprehensibility

If we observe Saussure's Speech-circuit (Saussure 2011: 11-13) which says that the communication is a process involving heads; it is elaborated as Speaker A develops a message in his/her mind (psychological) and then utters (physiological) it; listener B listens to the message (physiological) and sends it to the mind to comprehend (psychological). The listener B assumes the role of the speaker and the utterance runs through the same procedure. It assumes that both A and B have the same level of linguistic knowledge. The circuit doesn't account for context of the communication, the relation between A and B, and above all, advocates the fixed code in the minds of A and B, i.e., both A and B have the same concepts for the forms triggered by the communication. As Saussure (2011: 13) puts, "Through the functioning of the receptive and coordinating faculties, impressions that are perceptibly the same for all are made on the minds of the speakers." In integrational linguistics and semiology, such a perception of speech-circuit is labeled as 'Telementational Model' and the fixed one-to-one relationship between the signifier and the signified is termed 'fixed-code' theory. For a detail discussion on Telementational model check Harris (1998), Taylor (1998) and Toolan (1998) and the references cited there and for a discussion on 'fixed-code', one can refer to Love (1998).

The practice of communication doesn't go with Saussure's Speech-circuit or one-to-one relation of signifier and signified. Let us take few examples from the selected movies:

1. *Bakre   kaa   bacchaa   samajaa   se?*
    Goat   possessive marker   child   believe   auxiliary (Present)
    Am I a billy to you? (**Subtitled:** "You think I'm an idiot.")

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Image 6.1: A frame from the movie 'Parched'

The words like '*bakre*', '*bacchaa*' and '*samajaa*' are used both in Hindi as well as in Gujarati; "*kaa*", the masculine possessive marker is used in Hindi and "*se*" – auxiliary is used in some varieties of Gujarati, and Rajasthani varieties of Hindi. As a non-native speaker of Hindi, I, like most of the audience, did not find any problem in comprehending the literal and metaphorical meanings of the utterance. But, if we go by Saussure's Speech-circuit and his belief in the sign system, we would never reach the intended meaning of the utterance. As mentioned above, the movie employs metaphors based on animals; this is one example of such metaphors. The sign '*bakre kaa bacchaa*' (Baby-goat or Billy) stands for "stupidity", the correlation between the signifier and signified is not a-priori. No dictionary defines this word, the way it is used here.

2.   *e   mahaa-raani, nikal.*
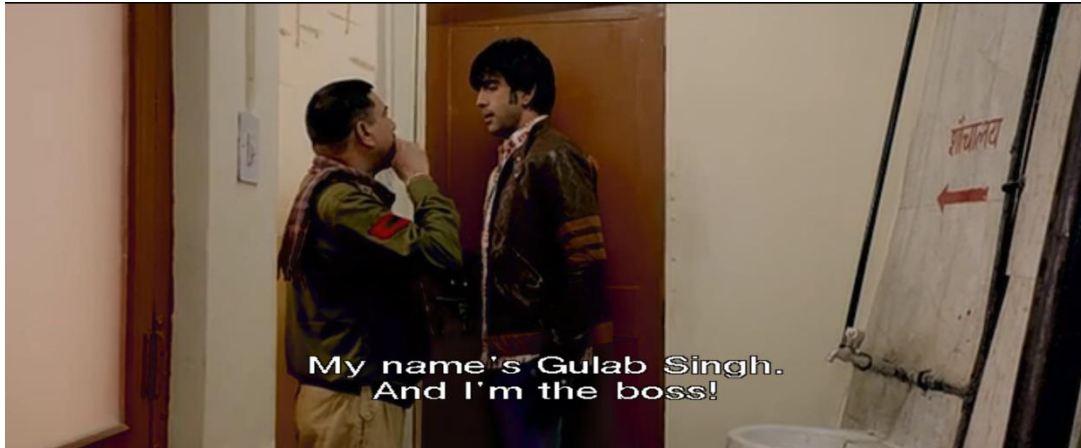   hey   great-queen, come out.
        Great queen, come out. (**Subtitled**: Hey, drama queen. Get up, come out.)

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Figure 6.2: A frame from the movie 'Anarkali or Aarah'

The dialogue, here, is spoken by the female protagonist's band-master from the movie '*Anarkali of Aarah*'. Anarkali is in the prison and her band-master bails her. When the dialogue is spoken, Anarkali is still inside the prison but the door of the prison is open. As per the fixed code approach, it can be 'only' comprehended that the character is talking to the 'great-queen', as the word bears this meaning. For us, the utterance seems inappropriate because the very next word after "queen" is an imperative in Hindi, which contradicts the style of talking with the people of great social status, like the queen in this case. This fact and the context in which it is spoken lead us to interpret the utterance in a different manner. We do not have any problem in interpreting the word "*mahaa-raani*" as a sarcastic remark. The word is subtitled as "drama-queen" which fits the given text and context.

3.   *Gulaab Singh naam hai   meraa*
    Gulab Singh   name   is   my
    My name is Gulab Singh. (**Subtitled:** "My name's Gulab Singh and I am the Boss!")

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Figure 6.3: A frame from the movie 'Guddu-Rangeela'

According to Telementational Approach, this is an utterance in which Speaker A, i.e. Gulab Singh, makes a statement through which he tells his name to Hearer B, i.e., Audience and another character on screen. The approach does not consider anything more. But, when we actually look at the context of this utterance, we realize that the utterance is redundant. Contextually, it is spoken in the middle of the movie, and it is not an introductory scene for the character. In fact, audience is already aware about the name as well as characteristics of the speaker. Second important point is how it is spoken. It is not spoken as a statement to provide information; it is spoken with a tone of authority: a police officer telling this to a small-time thief. The intention of the utterance is to establish an authority. Considering these three aspects – context, tone, and intention – we come to understand that it is not merely an informative statement. It is intended to convey the authority in the given situation and the other character is supposed to accept the authority of the speaker.

There is no means of knowing whether the utterances and the lexical items containing in those utterances are clearly understood or not. The Saussurean Telementational approach argues that 'speakers and hearers do not possess any ideas other than those given to them by the signs of their language' (Taylor 1998: 200). Our issue, here, is a step ahead because we are talking about various varieties used in the movies, not a single language, hence not a single signifying system. Interestingly, the audience doesn't have any problem in comprehending the varieties of Hindi used in Rajasthan, Haryana and Bihar, which means there is something more to communication than just linguistic codes. Communication is a process in which meaning-making is paramount and hence the signs used by the interlocutors are contextually significant.

7. Revisiting Semantic Enclave

Though all the films mentioned above are considered Hindi, all of them have used written English; on the other hand, written Hindi is not used at all, except for the title. The spoken varieties are altogether a different issue; almost all films use some variety other than

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standardized Hindi, albeit in a very limited sense. But, above three films out of four, use variety prominently and the standardized Hindi is on the periphery. The appreciation of this work solely depends on the impact these multi-semiotic systems make on the audience.

For communication to take place, the sign system in which it is encoded needs to be deciphered correctly. The primary goal of any cinematic communication is to appeal to the audience and earn the profit out of it; the message of the movie is, though important, secondary. The strategy of the said appeal is how the message is conveyed, and this 'how' is more important than the 'what' of the message. Various semiotic systems – visual signs, written linguistic signs, standardized language, varieties, etc. – used, fall in this notion of 'how'. To be noticed and generating curiosity are very important here, especially from the point of view of the market. Thus, semantic enclave, for the cinema, is not an outcome of some stylistic mode but a necessity.

It is also important to see the scenario from the perspective of the receiver of cinematic communication, i.e. the audience. Cinema-going is a communicative event, and the goal of this event is, primarily, to get enjoyment. The audience is a passive participant here; they cannot reply back to the message of the cinema, they, just, can receive. The ultimate feedback is the emotional acceptance of the message being conveyed. In case of the movies related with regional issues, the case turns out to be little different. The characters are being seen as "exotic others", somewhat similar to seeing the animals in the zoo. Their complaints and cries are strange and queer as they speak in a different signifying system.

The distribution of standardized language and linguistic variety is not arbitrary. On the first look, we feel that they are distributed between educated and uneducated characters. But, the educated characters also used the regional variety in *Parched* and *Anarkali of Aarah*; and even the uneducated characters also use the standardized variety in *Talvar*. The real segregation is between the urban versus the rural: all the urban characters use standardized variety, while the rural, non-standardized. This fact, unconsciously, helps in pushing the bias that the urban people are well-educated and, in a way better than the people of rural background. Under such situation, cinema itself becomes a meta-sign. These films having a multiplex audience passes the statement that denigrates the rural life. In a way, it conveys the idea that these problems are problems because of the rural life-style and illiteracy. It puts the problem away from the main-stream discourse. The audience sees it "as the exotic 'otherness'" which is not going to affect them out of the cinema-hall.

8. Concluding Remarks

The issues narrated in the films directly question the mainstream narrative of development and equality. The micronarratives of inequality are manifested in linguistic forms as well; the regional and standardized varieties are distributed in terms of rural and urban

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characters respectively which are not an authentic distribution. The plight of women, lower class, and exploited class is represented in detail and appropriate vernacular metaphors are also developed. But, due to the exotic nature of the code used by them, their problems are not taken as the problems of the general public by the audience. The semantic enclave of the cinematic text is part of this larger discourse where the codes are for the aesthetic purposes, the basic comprehensibility of the text is primary concern, though. Absence of subtitles in the regional languages, including standardized Hindi, is also a significant aspect.

Indian multilingualism is full of prejudices against 'the others'; these 'others' may be defined in terms of other language families, languages, or linguistic varieties. The three language formula is gradually moving towards 'English Medium' formula which makes the things even narrower. The kind of creoles used for the cinematic purposes, gives the impression that the given characters are not competent enough in the standardized languages. It is unable to convince the audience that another code to express the same idea and pain is also valid. As mentioned above, Hindi cinema could be a very important tool for the spread of Hindi language, but this is just about standardized Hindi language. The regional varieties in all their (mis)representations have to succumb to the 'favored' forms. With each submission, you will lose a folk-tradition and capacity to express yourself in the dust and jungle of the province.

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J.A.H. Khatri, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor
School of Liberal Studies & Education
Navrachana University, Vadodara (Gujarat)
javedk@nuv.ac.in

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