Advertising in the periphery: Languages and schools in a North Indian city

C H A I S E   L A D O U S A

Department of Anthropology
Miami University
Oxford, OH 45056-1879
Ladouspc@muohio.edu

A B S T R A C T

Written school advertising in Banaras, a North Indian city, creates corre-
spondences between a language activity and central and peripheral places.
In spoken discourse, complex relationships inhere between ways of describ-
ing languages as varieties and the sociological value that is said to exist in
the fit between a language variety and its domain of use. Education is one
such domain because the educational system itself is organized in popular
discourse by medium, Hindi or English. In spoken discourse, Hindi- or
English-medium schools can indicate central or peripheral dispositions. Ad-
vertising, however, includes a meaningful element unavailable to speakers
in the flow of interaction – a distinction between lexical designation and its
rendering in Devanagari or roman script. Therein lies its power to establish
English as central and Hindi as peripheral. (Language politics, genre, lan-
guage community, advertising, North India.)*

While conducting fieldwork in Banaras, a city of approximately two million in
North India, I decided to take the fourteen-hour train trip to Delhi, the national
capital. There, I met with a retired official of one of the many school accreditation
boards in India. We talked about schooling and language. I explained that most of
the Banaras residents, students, teachers, and even school principals with whom
I had been working were not aware of many of the topics she had mentioned. The
retired official was not surprised, and she replied quite simply, "Education out-
side of Delhi is a disaster." Her statement constructed Delhi as a center, a place of
order where the activities and aims of educational bureaucracies are known to its
inhabitants; people who reside outside, in the periphery, are ignorant. On the
return trip, I met a couple of middle-class appearance traveling from Delhi to
Banaras to visit relatives. As the train slowed on its entry into Banaras, the man
lifted the aluminum shade shielding us from the sun. His wife, glancing out of the
window as she readied their things to disembark, exclaimed in Hindi, 'We have
reached hell' (*narak pahūc gaye hãĩ*). The clever woman enacted an arrival sce-
nario whose ironic twist relied for its effect on Banaras's place in the periphery.
She toyed with potential meanings of hell (*narak*), one contradicting Banaras's

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pan-Indian reputation as a Hindu holy site, and the other constructing the scene in front of her as unpleasant, and, as she told me moments later, 'dirty' (*gandā*).

The train provides a conduit from the periphery to the center and back again. Although specific descriptions and constructions vary, the difference created by distinctions between a center and its periphery is often salient in conversations across North India. Interchanges like those described above intersect and reenact notions expressed in other places and times. A fairly common rendition, for example, is that Delhi, the center, is orderly and provides bureaucratic and commercial employment opportunity for migrants, but also heightened risk. In contrast, places outside Delhi are disordered, isolated, and economically stagnant, but also relatively safe on account of their well-entrenched notions about class and the potential for mobility.

Constructions of center and periphery in North India are not always played out in such discrete and neat juxtapositions of place. This article investigates the ways that Hindi and English can be used to construct center/periphery distinctions in talk about schools located WITHIN Banaras. Before I consider how language distinctions are used to create centers and peripheries, however, it is necessary to understand that they embody another relation, that between the local and the global. People in Banaras identify local schools and local people associated with them as Hindi- or English- "medium," according to the language in which most school subjects are taught. The designation of practices as "Hindi" indexes (Silverstein 1976) them as local and indigenous, and "English" indexes them as Delhi-like and foreign; "medium" transposes these qualities onto schools and those who attend them or are in their employ. Language medium distinctions constitute what Urciuoli calls a language "border": "Borders are places where commonality ends abruptly; border-making language elements stand for and performatively bring into being such places" (1995:539). Mention of a school's medium launches the school into an oppositional contest configured by a language border dividing local Hindi from global English. Silverstein notes that any construction of locality is relational: " 'Local' language communities do not exist in a state of nature; the very concept of locality as opposed to globality presupposes a contrastive consciousness of self–other placement that is part of a cultural project of groupness" (1998:405). Discourse about medium in Banaras indexes the local in contrast to the global, but institutional examples of the global – English-medium schools – can be found locally.

One of the most fascinating aspects of spoken discourse about medium is that speakers' transformations of the relationship between the local (Hindi) and the global (English) into distinctions between a center and its periphery are not always predictable. Explored in this article are the ways that a speaker might praise Hindi-medium schools as patriotic and indicative of the nation (center), and disparage English-medium schools as not just foreign but unpatriotic (periphery). Another might disparage Hindi-medium schools as tied to an isolated Hindi region (periphery), and English-medium schools as offering a language of pan-

Indian or international value (center). The value of attending one or the other medium is constructed relationally, but it is variable within shifts of what is central and what is peripheral.

Gupta & Ferguson ask, "How are understandings of locality, community, and region formed and lived?" (1997:6). Answers may depend significantly on the particular sphere of language activity about which the question is asked. School advertising in Banaras is another domain of language activity involving educational institutions. My parallel consideration of spoken discourse and written advertising demonstrates that constructions of center and periphery are not always variable in language activity in Banaras that involves schools. Spoken discourse and written advertising offer different possibilities for the construction of the central and peripheral, and the difference depends crucially on the semiotic tools provided by each domain of linguistic activity. In sum, advertising for schools presents a domain of linguistic activity in which "structures of reception and evaluation" differ significantly from those in spoken discourse (Spitulnik 1993:297). Advertising includes written language and provides distinctions between scripts, not just languages, as indexes in linguistic constructions of central and peripheral spaces. I present examples of school advertisements below in order to demonstrate that different combinations of languages and scripts are indexical in a realm of linguistic activity in which center/periphery relations between Delhi and Banaras are quite certain and, relative to spoken discourse, inflexible.

LOCAL AND GLOBAL IN SPOKEN DISCOURSE ABOUT LANGUAGE MEDIUM

The very mention of schools in North India often invokes a contest in value.[1] Hindi and English are opposites and competitors, and the mention of a school often invites its demarcation as Hindi- or English-medium and its comparison with the other type. In order to understand the capacity of language distinctions to denote schools in this bipartite, competitive structure, it is necessary to understand that talk about schools necessarily excludes many other languages spoken in Banaras – even some that are taught in schools. Concomitantly, the opposition of Hindi and English that medium entails radically transforms the value of Hindi in other domains beyond its indexing a school as Hindi-medium. In its dual manifestation as Hindi or English, medium effects a self-contained construction of the local and the global, respectively.

India's sociolinguistic scene has been perceived as unique because of its relatively stable plurilingualism over social and geographic space and within individuals (Aggarwal 1997). In sociolinguistic work in North India, one of the most salient distinctions is between a standard and its plural, more localized varieties. Banaras is typical of North Indian locales in that it lies in the region of a recognized standard – Hindi – and in the domain of a more limited regional variety, Bhojpurī. Gumperz (see Gumperz 1958, 1961, 1964, 1969; Gumperz & Das Gupta

1971; Gumperz & Naim 1971) has provided the most sophisticated sociolinguistic description of the North Indian Hindi-speaking region in a three-tier model. First, a more or less unified morphological, phonological, and syntactic system exists as a standard. It is utilized in many literate contexts and can be associated with vocabulary derived from Persian and Arabic vocabulary that cues its manifestation as (Muslim) Urdu, or with a Sanskrit-derived vocabulary in its manifestation as (Hindu) Hindi.[2] Although much disagreement exists on the point, neither association is a necessary feature of the standard's use in conversation. Therefore, I will call it "Hindi." The language defines a vast region of North India as the "Hindi Belt," a set of states that share Hindi as an official language. Second, Gumperz defines the Hindi area as comprised of a set of regional varieties. Within the Hindi Belt, Banaras lies in the Bhojpurī language region. Some scholars have deemed Bhojpurī more language-like and some more dialect-like,[3] but whatever its designation, Bhojpurī is spoken in a much smaller area than is Standard Hindi and itself contains several demarcations of consistent variation (Grierson 1927).[4] Gumperz's (1958) third level of linguistic variation is the village, and Banaras, lacking the distribution of castes by area on which this third level is based, perhaps manifests a different sort of variation. Nita Kumar 1988 describes the salience of neighborhood designations in Banaras, and many people associated linguistic distinctions with neighborhoods when describing these to me.

The pre-college school is an institution that creates particularly strict and salient demarcations in social space between these levels of linguistic variation. Already present in Gumperz's description of linguistic plurality is the idea that languages in North India are not distributed evenly over social spaces (K. Kumar 1991, 1997). Descending tiers in Gumperz's model reflect decreasing geographical spaces and decreasing presence in institutions, official contexts, and publishing venues. Among language varieties, however, only the state-recognized standard language is appropriate for use within schools.[5] The "three language formula" is the name of the Indian government's policy on what languages students should study in schools. The three languages include "their [students'] own regional language [in Banaras, Hindi], a foreign language (almost always English), and either Hindi in the non-Hindi-speaking areas or a language other than Hindi in the Hindi-speaking areas" (Brass 1990:143). This formula provides a particularly clear articulation of how linguistic varieties in Banaras reflect demarcations of social space. Nowhere in the formula is there the provision for instruction in Bhojpurī. Without exception, when I asked people in Banaras whether Bhojpurī should be taught in school, my question was met with laughter, and sometimes open derision. To my further queries, people offered that Bhojpurī is a 'language of the home' (*ghar kī bhāṣā*) or a 'language of the village' (*gā̃v kī bhāṣā*) – in other words, too local to be used in school.

While the formula excludes Bhojpurī from the school, it constructs the school as a place where Hindi as well as other languages are necessarily found. The official rationale for including three languages in pedagogy is that it combats the

isolationist promotion of state languages only. India is a nation comprised of many linguistically demarcated states; the formula provides knowledge of languages that transcend state-based linguistic differences. Hindi receives special mention in the formula because many in the central government hoped that Hindi would become a national language. Universal competence in Hindi, according to its proponents, would bridge the mutual unintelligibility between state-recognized standards. That Hindi was already the state-recognized standard of a large and powerful block of states in North India, the Hindi Belt, was not lost on other states, however. The formula has increasingly represented a compromise in national language politics because the specific languages required were adjusted in the wake of region-based resistance to the pan-Indian privileging of Hindi (Das Gupta 1970, Brass 1974). Resistance to Hindi was especially fierce, and sometimes even violent, in the South; Tamil opposition to pan-Indian adoption of Hindi was particularly effective (Ramaswamy 1997). Brass explains that, in its enactment, the three language formula has largely failed "for lack of genuine desire to implement it in most states, lack of teachers competent in the various languages willing to move outside their home states, and the recognition in North India of Sanskrit, Urdu, and the regional languages and dialects of the north as alternative third languages in the formula rather than languages of the non-Hindi-speaking regions" (1990:143). The formula, however, continues to inform what languages a school-going child should master.

The notion that schools are sites where plural languages are offered to integrate students into the national linguistic realm is largely lost on Banaras residents. They are not nearly so concerned with the languages offered in schools as they are with the demarcation of schools by means of language distinctions. Those with whom I worked in Banaras find the language "medium" – Hindi or English – in which subjects are taught to be a highly charged, compelling aspect of a school's identity. Many types of schools exist in Banaras whose mention does not require language distinctions: those that are supported by the government, those that take fees, Montessori schools, convent schools, voluntary schools, or those based in religious affiliation. There are also many boards which set syllabus requirements and testing and whose identification does not require language distinctions. One, the Uttar Pradesh (UP) Board, is administered by the government of Uttar Pradesh, the state in which Banaras is located. Others are administered by institutions that largely exist outside the state; private, fees-taking schools are associated with these.

Medium, however, organizes many of the aforementioned types of schools and boards into a dichotomous realm of contestation. The medium of a school is so important because it resonates with practices in domains outside and beyond the school. Bourdieu 1977, 1992 has argued that when the value of linguistic practices arises across domains of use, a "market" for that language exists. Schools provide conduits to language markets in which students will bring to bear linguistic capital provided by their school experiences. The designation of a partic-

ular school's medium – Hindi or English – opposes it to members of the other set; the medium of a school indexes the school's position within a dichotomous set of associations that point to discrete markets. Hindi-medium schools are largely associated with the government, with the nation, with a lack of cost, and, in a metonymic transposition to be discussed below, with the Uttar Pradesh Board. In contrast, English-medium schools are associated with the families who own them, with places outside the Hindi Belt or the Indian nation, with high cost, and with boards not administered by the state of Uttar Pradesh.

This dual configuration of language markets and its realization in medium distinctions is made possible by schooling's transformation of the ways that language distinctions interact with the local and global outside literate or institutional contexts. Outside such contexts, as in Gumperz's three-tier description, Bhojpurī is the language of the region, the house, and the local; inside such contexts, Bhojpurī is excluded, and Hindi assumes the value of the local. The three language formula's construction of the global – the idea that a language other than Hindi might enable communication with places outside the Hindi region – is preserved in language-based demarcations of school types, and it is embodied in English. Thus, Hindi is local, but only in contrast to global English.

Perhaps the clearest configuration of English as global and Hindi as local was born out of statements by students, parents, principals, and even persons not involved with schools that, in order to 'go outside' (*bāhar jānā*) or to 'roam' (*ghumnā*), control of English is a valuable asset. Some asserted that to go elsewhere, 'English is necessary' (*ãgrezī zarurī hai*). People associated with either Hindi- or English-medium schools explained that English (and not Hindi) is a ticket for departure. Departing Banaras requires English and offers greater access to employment. Whether for leisure or work, travel outside Banaras is one goal of those attending English-medium schools. Indeed, many people explained to me that English-medium education makes one like Delhi residents whose English is uncluttered with Hindi. Travel, jobs, and linguistic competence converge in English-medium schools in Banaras because those particular schools are indicative of life in other places.

CENTRAL AND PERIPHERAL IN SPOKEN DISCOURSE
AND ADVERTISING

Hindi- and English-medium's ability to index the local and the global does not exhaust medium's potential to construct social space. Local Hindi and global English can be configured within another set of relations: the central and the peripheral. What is possible in such configurations, however, depends crucially on the sphere of communication in which they take shape. In the heat of discussion, parents, students, and teachers have two configurations open to them: In one, English embodies the center and Hindi the periphery; in the other, Hindi embodies the center and English the periphery. Advertising for schools, in con-

trast, offers but one configuration: central English and peripheral Hindi. In the rest of this article I investigate the reasons that spoken discourse and advertising provide different possibilities for the construction of Hindi- and English-medium schools as central or peripheral. I argue that advertising, relative to spoken discourse, presents indexical relationships that are less creative in constructing Hindi- and English-medium schools as central and peripheral.

One configuration of the two types of schools in spoken discourse as indexical of a center and periphery has already been noted. English-medium schools provide a route out of Banaras because they offer access to jobs elsewhere, particularly in Delhi. Initially confusing to me was the fact that children of parents engaged in the lowest-paid occupations figured frequently in descriptions of English-medium student bodies, but not in those of Hindi-medium schools. Upon further questioning, people included increased access to jobs as a rationale for attendance by the poor. Mohan reflects on English's centrality succinctly: "The Indian student . . . is a disadvantaged individual seeking a secure niche at the top of a shortages-economy in a ruling group largely defined by its mastery of English" (1986:16). In contrast, Hindi-medium schools do not provide access to a center defined, in Banaras, by increased employment opportunities elsewhere. Some people claim that attendance at Hindi-medium schools makes movement outside impossible and therefore denies outside employment opportunities. Other people, associated specifically with Hindi-medium schools, offered that attending Hindi-medium schools indicates 'satisfaction' (*santuṣṭ*) specifically because the desire to go elsewhere is missing. Satisfaction established Hindi-medium schools as an alternative to the desire for relocation's economic possibilities and indicated a laudable willingness of Hindi-medium students to remain in the periphery. Many of these same people scoffed at the efforts of the poor to gain economic benefit from English-medium schools. They explained that without necessary connections, the poor would not be able to get jobs.

Increased employment opportunities did not comprise the only construction of language and education in terms of a center and its periphery. Another possibility exists in spoken discourse that sets Hindi firmly in the center and English in the periphery.[6] Fox 1990 has noted the rise of the "Hindian," an identity based on the construction of India and its inhabitants as essentially Hindu. One of the primary ways that Hindu fundamentalist organizations have equated India with Hinduism is by juxtaposing both to English; they describe English as the language of colonialism and foreigners. Hindi, deriving lexical items from Sanskrit (and not Urdu), has become the language of the "Hindian" and has served to differentiate the loyal from the foreign. This construction of the nation in terms of opposition to the foreign, while rooted in notions of an essential Hindu identity, has extended the imagination of Indian identity beyond Hinduism per se.

In Banaras, many Hindi-medium school-goers explicitly indexed patriotism and national loyalty with their mention of Hindi as well as their attendance at Hindi-medium schools. [7] Only once in a year of fieldwork did I hear nationalism

indexed through Hindi's ties to religion. I decided to visit a Hindi-medium school run by the Hindu nationalist group, the RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh).[8] Throughout our lengthy conversation, the principal provided Sanskrit-derived alternatives for many of the words I used. He explained very politely that I had learned much Urdu in America, and that I should endeavor to learn 'pure' (*shuddh*) Hindi. Sanskrit-derived terms provided the principal a Hindu corrective to my problematic alien language. Much more commonly, however, Hindi-medium school-goers and their families explained that Hindi is India's 'national language' (*rāṣṭrabhāṣā*). In discourse that equates Hindi with the nation, Banaras as a whole occupies a place of centrality by virtue of its place within the Hindi Belt.[9] Many of these same people explained that English is an 'international language' (*antarrāṣṭrabhāṣā*). English-medium students explained Hindi's status similarly, but they never ventured toward Hindi-medium students' claims that English is 'foreign' (*videshī*). Hindi is an index of the Indian nation, but for Hindi-medium school-goers, its opposition to English indexes inclusion, a center. Thus, many Hindi-medium students described English-medium students to be 'not Indian' (*bhāratīya nahī̃*).

Advertising for schools presents a sphere of linguistic activity in which dominance and subversion are not nearly so malleable as in spoken discourse about schooling. Hanks, drawing on Bakhtin's (1986) writings on genre, notes that "conventional discourse genres are part of the linguistic habitus that native actors bring to speech, but that such genres are also produced in speech under various local circumstances" (1987:687). School advertising and everyday conversations about schools comprise different genres in part because they provide different means of constructing relationships between languages and institutions. The very possibilities of the construction of value within the two linguistic markets of Hindi- and English-medium thus vary according to whether the construction occurs within spoken discourse or in advertising. Markets are accessed by certain modes of linguistic activity whose semiotic properties seem, potentially at least, to make all the difference in what may be dominant and what may be contested.[10]

In order to understand advertising's comparatively limited indexical possibilities, it is necessary to understand that certain semiotic properties extant in advertising for schools are not available to speakers in spoken discourse. Nowhere in advertising (as is quite common in spoken discourse) is the relationship between language variety and its appropriate use raised to the level of ostensive reference – for example, "English is the language of some in Delhi." Written language makes available a kind of semiotic relationship unavailable in everyday conversation; both Hindi and English lexical items can be represented orthographically in Devanagari[11] or roman script. This mixing is of a kind impossible to represent with the spoken word; speech can only describe the relationship between lexical affiliation and its scripted representation.

Advertising presents two realms of indexical activity: advertisements found around town, and advertisements found in newspapers that reach Banaras from

Delhi or Lucknow, the state capital. School advertisements found around Banaras contain all possible combinations of Hindi and English lexical items with Devanagari or roman script. School advertisements that reach Banaras via newspapers, in contrast, lack such variability in combinations of lexical item and script; only one combination of lexical affiliation (English) and script (roman) is present in school advertisements in newspapers. The sum total of lexical and script combinations in school advertisements in the newspaper thus corresponds to only one of the possible combinations in Banaras – the combination, we will discover below, that indexes the most expensive schools. Newspaper advertising thus renders the plurality of indexical possibilities in advertising found off the printed page – around town in Banaras – itself an index (Silverstein 1996).

The lack of indexical play in school advertisements in the newspaper renders other combinations of lexical item and script, prevalent around town, indexes of Banaras's peripheral status. Advertisements for schools in newspapers arriving from elsewhere are indexes of the center as a result of their paucity of lexical/ script combinations. Banaras's bid for centrality, in which the Hindi-medium school indexes the Indian nation, is subsumed in local advertising as but one participant in Banaras's apparent diversity, and it is altogether missing in advertisements in newspapers coming from the center. Banaras as a whole, from the perspective of indexical possibilities present in the newspaper, is a peripheral place where deviation exists.

ADVERTISING SCHOOLS

All combinations of lexical affiliation (Hindi or English) and writing system (Devanagari or roman) can be found virtually anywhere in urban centers in India, where advertisements clog the public visual field. Advertisements created by schools, however, form a special group vis-à-vis other advertisements. Among school advertisements, the relationship between lexical item and script is a meaningful sign. This differs from advertisements generally, where lexical items and scripts are not necessarily coordinated. School advertising differs from other types of advertising because it presents predictable combinations of lexical element and script, depending on what school or board is being advertised. The combinations in advertisements for schools and tutorial services in Banaras presented below are indexical because English lexical items rendered in roman script and Hindi lexical items rendered in Devanagari script are present in advertisements that represent the most expensive English-medium schools and the most government-associated Hindi-medium schools, respectively.

Deviations (other combinations of lexical item and script) are quite prevalent in Banaras, but they are always subject to the charge of being "muddled." Parents, teachers, and principals associated with both mediums were unconcerned about combinations of lexical item and script in commercial domains exclusive of education. Advertising by educational institutions, however, was a different matter.

Larger ideologies about the necessity of standard language for participation and success in school intersected with evaluations of lexical/script combinations in school advertising. Teachers and parents consistently identified spelling and grammar as two of the hardest things for students to master. Each of these practices presupposes a standard written in a standard orthography. Notions of standard drew the line between inconsequential lexical/script combinations in advertising for commercial products, and lexical/script combinations in advertising for educational institutions in which pedagogical effects inhere. Thus, while the denotation of the particular school is handled by the school's name, the combination of lexical affiliation and script embody a separate sign function that indexes the social value of the school. The efficacy of this indexical sign function presupposes that it is indeed an educational institution that is being advertised.

In Banaras, as elsewhere in urban North India, it seems that one is never out of sight of an advertisement for a school. There are cloth, paper, plastic, or metal signs hung over the street or affixed to walls; there are huge billboards set behind and high above the walls lining streets; metal or wooden signs nailed high on telephone, electric, or other kinds of poles advertise schools. Perhaps most commonly, signs are painted directly onto walls lining the streets. I remember reading daily, while getting a *pān* (a betel nut and leaf packet with spices that is chewed) at the nearest crossing, a sign, long faded, advertising a local school. It had been painted directly onto the neighboring *pān* stall before the one I patronized was built, obscuring the advertisement from all but customers who had visual access to the one-foot space between.

In Banaras, advertising creates a stark contrast between government-administered schools and private schools. Most schools have a sign near the entrance gate, and government-administered schools are no exception, but this is the extent of government-administered schools' advertising. Private schools of both mediums, in contrast, advertise vigorously. Besides the sign at the entrance, private schools have signs placed all over the city's public spaces, so that they are among the most advertised items in town. Both Hindi-medium and English-medium private schools advertise, but in very different ways. An obvious difference was in the script used, and less variably, in the language in which the advertisement appeared. One might predict, as I did initially, that English-medium schools advertise in English, using roman letters, and that Hindi-medium schools advertise in Hindi, using Devanagari letters, but this was not always, or even mostly, the case. My initial predictions did hold in the case of the convent school on the outskirts of the city and the fees-taking English-medium branches of one of the most expensive schools in Banaras, the Seacrest School, in which I conducted fieldwork. Their signage always looked the most expensive to produce, and their advertisements were the only ones to reach the domain of television. Among these schools, issues of language and its representation in script were moot, for no Hindi or Devanagari appeared.

a: बालक विद्यालय

b: टाड्लर कान्वेंट

c: अँग़ेज़ी मीडियम

d: इंग्लिश मीडियम

e: सी. बी. एस. ई.

f: उ प्र

g: यू पी

FIGURE 1: Devanagari-rendered items that appear in the text.

Other schools' advertisements were somewhat less predictable in terms of a match between the language medium of pedagogy and that of advertising. Some schools left the medium of pedagogy completely unmentioned. Their names might utilize Hindi words – *bālak vidyālaya* 'child school' (for original, see Fig. 1a), for example – or English words, such as "Toddler Convent." Sometimes the English words appeared in Devanagari renditions – *tāḍlar kānvent* (Fig. 1b); sometimes, though seldom, the Hindi titles appeared in roman renditions, such as, "Baalak Vidyalay" ('child school'). Among these schools, there was no easy way to guess, unless it was explicitly stated, what medium was being advertised. The sign in front of government schools, in contrast, was always in Devanagari, and in the few "Central Schools," regarded as the most prestigious of the government schools, the English name, "X Central School," was followed by its representation in Devanagari.

Rarely did schools advertise that they were Hindi-medium. Advertisements for hundreds of schools included only one or two examples of schools that put "Hindi-medium" on their sign or in their roadside advertisements.[12] Self-proclaimed English-medium status was much more common and many fees-taking schools stated explicitly in their advertisements that they were English-medium. Most often this was advertised in roman letters, though sometimes the lexical items were rendered in the Devanagari equivalent: *angrezī mīdiyam* 'English-medium' (Fig. 1c), *angrezī* being Hindi for 'English', or *īngliś mīdiyam* 'English-medium' (Fig. 1d), a direct transliteration. Not until the end of my stay did it strike me how ridiculous it would be to see "Hindi-medium" (English lexical items in roman script).

Some schools also advertised their board affiliation. The Uttar Pradesh Board, commonly called the "UP Board" in conversation, is located in Allahabad, Banaras's closest urban neighbor. It oversees many schools that are government-

Language

Hindi English

Script — Devanagari / Roman

	Hindi	English
Devanagari	बालक विद्यालय (bālak vidyālaya)	टाड्लर कान्वेंट (tāḍlar kānveṇṭ)
Roman	Baalak Vidyalay	Toddler Convent

FIGURE 2: The range of language representations in school advertising in Banaras: combinations of language and script.

funded and administered. Much more commonly advertised, however, was a school's affiliation with the Central Board of Secondary Education, centered in Delhi. The acronym usually sufficed, whether in conversation or advertisement; in advertising, one would see "C. B. S. E." (Central Board of Secondary Education), or the Devanagari letters referring to the English letters of the acronym – see Fig. 1e (*sī. bī. es. ī.*). Consistently, CBSE affiliation is claimed by the most expensive schools in town. In turn, the CBSE is juxtaposed to the UP Board in conversation. The two boards stand in opposition, parallel to the relationship between English– and Hindi–medium schools. Whereas UP Board affiliation is rarely advertised, claims of CBSE affiliation are often the subject of comment and dispute. People targeted precisely these schools when they made accusations that English-medium, fees-taking schools' claims of board affiliation were false.

These combinatorial possibilities are presented to demonstrate how advertising illustrates a difference in schooling through language use in visually represented form. Though types of advertising are many, most advertising forms utilized by schools in Banaras include only written words in representing their commodities. Two exceptions are the photographs of particularly successful students that

appear in the advertisements for tutorial services, and the school crest, which sometimes appears within a school's advertisement. Some expensive English-medium schools (the Seacrest School, for example) have begun to air television advertisements on local cable, but they are the only type of school to have done so.[13] Most commonly, school advertising uses only written language as its representational form.

The correspondence between school medium and linguistic medium of advertising was not universal; however, two of the schools I focused on during fieldwork – a government-administered, Hindi-medium school that I will call the Saraswati School, and the fees-taking, English-medium Seacrest School – represent end-points in the spectrum of what happens linguistically in the public representation of schools through advertising. For these two schools, the relationship between school type and characteristics of advertising (language medium, language used in advertisement, script used in advertisement, board affiliation) was predictable. For other schools, these variables intermixed significantly, and some used the "inconsistencies" to build a commentary on the school's legitimacy.

Considered together, lexical choice between Hindi and English and the script in which either is written illustrate particularly clearly the way that advertising constructs an index of language medium. In other words, lexical/script combinations index the particular institution represented by the advertisement as belonging to a type. Two consequences result from a lexical/script combination's indexical function. First, the indexical nature of lexical/script combinations in advertisements for schools disregards linguistic complexity within the institutions indexed. The realm of advertising does not have to account for the more complex linguistic interactions that actually take place in all types of schools – for example, the linguistic maneuvering in Hindi and English that goes on in the Seacrest School's principal's office when parents bring their children for the entrance examination, or a rather complex discussion between a veteran government school teacher and myself of the changing ways that Hindi and English have been used in government school teaching. School and tutorial service advertisements thus seem like particularly total examples of what Gal & Irvine have labeled "semiotic erasure": "the process in which ideology, in simplifying the field of linguistic practices, renders some persons or activities or sociolinguistic phenomena invisible" (1995:974). The end-points of advertising's combinatorial possibilities of lexical and script choice erase the semiotic possibilities of the use of both languages in such conversations; consequently, advertising exists as a somewhat self-contained system of school differentiation. This is possible because advertisements for schools rely for meaning construction on differences that are not necessarily salient in advertising for other products. This is the second consequence of the indexical force of lexical/script combinations, and it illustrates why the indexical nature of medium distinctions in written advertising differs from that in spoken discourse. The two types of schools that stand as end-points

Language

Hindi English

	Hindi	English
Devanagari	(UP Board) Government-administered Hindi-medium	
Roman		Fees-taking English-medium (CBSE Board)

(Script — vertical axis label)

FIGURE 3: Relationship of script and language in school (and board) advertising, with predictable cases specified.

in the spectrum of possible combinations of languages and scripts do so precisely because, in their cases, those combinations are predictable within the larger linguistic scope of advertising, school-based or not.

The cases of other schools, where combinations are more variable and "muddled," correspond to what one might call "non-elite" sites of literacy in North India. These sites are characterized by a lack of internal systematicity between representation and language on the one hand, and language and script on the other (see Fig. 2). One might find examples in advertisements for products such as soap, matches, or even automobiles that are ubiquitous in North India. In these arenas, it is possible that elements of a product's linguistic representation might draw comments about the correspondence between language and the product's symbolic consumption. There is nothing predictable, however, in representational choices between English and Hindi lexical items, and roman or Devanagari script.

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FIGURE 4: Mr. Barman's shop.

Fig. 4 shows the name of the store, prominently painted in Devanagari over the entrance: *barman sṭors*, named after its owner. Just outside the store proper are many accouterments of daily life: water buckets and plastic cricket bats, and just inside the entrance, hanging from the ceiling, baby dolls and toy animals. Inside, one can find all the manner of general goods, from paper to underwear. The photograph was taken in the hot season and an air cooler sits on the end of the counter for the clerk's comfort – a comparative luxury, complementing the ceiling fan found in most stores like this, but not in smaller stalls where more limited selections of household goods can be found. Painted with the store's name above the entrance is a symbol for a soft drink company and the address and phone number of the store. There is all manner of advertising, from a popular battery manufacturer (entirely in English) to a sign in the upper right-hand corner of the door frame for *saral kocing* ('easy coaching'), an advertisement for a local Hindi-medium tutorial service. 'Coaching' is borrowed from English, but it is a common term for tutoring across North India.

Fig. 4 shows a general store, while Fig. 5 shows the larger group of stores in which it is situated. Barman Stores is the next store on the left, out of the picture. From left to right, there is a dry-cleaner, another general store, a pharmacy, and a laundry service. Advertising abounds; logos and lexical items utilize Hindi and

FIGURE 5: A typical line of shops.

English, and use Devanagari or roman script as means of representing both. Fig. 5 illustrates all possible combinations. *śri nāth janaral sṭors* (Shri Nath General Stores) is painted in Devanagari just above the entrance to the store, just as in the case of Mr. Barman's shop, and written again, but in roman script, "SHRI NATH GENERAL STORES." This roman-script rendition is included on a plastic signboard for a soft drink whose consumption many associate with activities foreign or attributable to 'big people' (*baṛe log*). (However, another sign for the same soft drink company, not more than a mile away, utilized Devanagari script to convey its English lexical items, *janaral sṭors*.) Just underneath is a cigarette advertisement, brand name in English[14] (roman script) and accompanying slogan in Hindi (Devanagari script). Painted on the head of the bench in front of the row of stores is *yahā̃ par viḍiyo gem kirāye par diyā jātā hai* ('video games are rented here'), all rendered in Devanagari. As in the case of soft drinks, many people claimed that videos and video games are something foreign; nevertheless, they sit comfortably in an entirely Hindi sentence.[15]

   Advertising is susceptible to multiple interpretations and can trigger multiple commentaries or criticisms. What is possible depends on the historical circumstances of the viewer's life, current contextual factors, and the imagination of those engaged, but advertising done in the domain of schooling is less open to

flux than are other kinds. The point here is not that school advertising comprises a domain in which script and language are in proper synchronization; linguistic play, as illustrated above, occurs in all domains of advertising in North India and figures in commentary that links various contextual factors of the message, product, or location of advertisement with ideological dimensions of language. What is present in the domain of school advertisement but not elsewhere is a set of predetermined correlations (judged as proper) between linguistic representations of persons, objects, or institutions and their manifestations in advertisements, which, in turn, may be referenced in explanations of their correct functioning. Hindi lexical items in Devanagari script and English lexical items in roman script index polar opposites configured by language medium. This is possible because, within school advertising, nationally derived distinctions (the boards) find their place in local institutions (schools that claim their affiliation). We now turn to the advertising habits of another institution – tutorial services – which utilizes language difference in selling distinctions in school mediums.

ADVERTISING TUTORIALS

Schools are not the only educational institutions in North India that utilize advertising to attract students. Many parents explained to me that, in order to pass their yearly exams, their children needed more instruction than school alone could provide. Many called on the services of a "tuition" (tutor). Most of the families I knew hired a tutor through family or neighborhood-based friendship connections. Many had a "cousin-brother" who was taking classes at Banaras Hindu University or Kashi Vidyapith, the two local universities, who was either willing to tutor or knew of someone else who might be. Families who approached a tutorial service were the exceptions.

Nevertheless, advertising for tutorial services is intense. Tutorial services largely utilize the same varied media as schools: signage around town and advertisements in the newspaper.[16] Some tutorial service advertisements index the school medium to which the service caters through the conjunction of lexical item and script. Some, furthermore, index parallel and discrete medium affiliations in their bid to attract students from both mediums – something that never happens in school advertisements. The advertisement shown in Fig. 6 demonstrates that tutorial service advertising is a realm for the creation of medium distinctions in which the salience of conjunctions of Hindi and English lexical items, and Devanagari and roman scripts, respectively, is apparent in a single message. This advertisement was displayed high over the road. It is transliterated and translated as follows:

M. S. S. TUTORIALS sāyākāl	'M. S. S. Tutorials evening
kakshāyē III se VIII u. pra. borḍ CBSE	from level three to eight UP Board CBSE
māruti shikshaṇ santhān raji.	Maruti Learning Institute Raji.
B-31/36 sankaṭ mocan mandir ke pās	B-31/36 near the Sankatmochan Temple
bhogābīr vārāṇasī	Bhogabir Banaras'

Abbreviations such as "M. S. S." are not uncommon in North India. Nita Kumar's experience with such abbreviations is worth quoting:

> "I am the daughter of the I. G." The man was a fresh recruit and didn't grasp the meaning of what I said, but he took me through the inspector's empty office, nodding at questioning countenances on the way, "She's a big person." In fact, it wasn't the I. G. that was crucial; any two or three initials would do. As for reaching closed places, if we had a jeep all we needed to do was to put a large plate on the front reading "R. S. C., Varanasi City" (Research Scholars from Chicago) to match such signs as "A. D. M." (Additional District Magistrate), "C. S. C." (Civil Surgeon City), "C. E. E." (Chief Executive Engineer), "U. P. S. E. B. M. D." and the plates of other VIPSs who could reach places. (Kumar 1992:120)

Although Kumar is speaking of abbreviations attached to offices of power whose physical manifestations seem to require an automobile, her reflections nicely illustrate the degree to which such abbreviations are used in North India. Perhaps what letters were actually used in her example was inconsequential precisely because their ability to denote power was presupposed, triggered by their presence on the plate of a car.[17] In other contextual renditions, what is denoted by the initials has a broader range than rank, government service occupation, or office; abbreviations are not confined to official, power-laden domains. Political parties, companies, and commercial products, as well as standard tokens of everyday reference (STD, standard trunk dialing, is used for the public pay telephone) are commonly named by abbreviations.

Fig. 6 is presented here because it displays the conjunction of language of representation and script that one not well versed in the range of possibilities within advertising in North India might expect. English terms are presented in roman script, and Hindi terms in Devanagari. Even so, interesting processes are at play in the advertisement, especially concerning the relationship between what is referenced and its appearance as Hindi or English. An abbreviation suffices as the name of the company; not until the third line does one find out what the abbreviation stands for. Roman letters come to stand for Hindi words (the last of which, *santhān*, is misspelled, and should be *sansthān*). The letters are followed by the roman-rendered English, "Tutorials." Without the information provided beyond the first line of the sign, one would have no idea that the company name is comprised largely of Hindi words.

The time of availability, 'evening' (*sāyākāl*), is indicated in Devanagari-rendered Hindi, as is 'levels' (*kakśāyẽ*) on the next line. Roman numerals denote the grade levels served. The abbreviations for board affiliations are telling: 'UP Board' is rendered in Devanagari, but also in an abbreviated Hindi. The sign could have said *yū pī borḍ*, which would have given a Devanagari rendition of the roman characters (a not unusual practice). For that matter, it could have said, "UP Board." However, it preserves a perfect dichotomy be-

FIGURE 6: Advertisement for a tutorial service.

tween Hindi/Devanagari and English/roman script, precisely because it depicts 'UP Board' in a less abbreviated form in which Devanagari represents an abbreviated Hindi and not an abbreviated English. 'CBSE', an abbreviation for a board that specifically oversees the requirements of some English-medium fees-taking schools, is left unexpanded. The actual name of the institute comes next, but not until the third line of the advertisement. *Raji* most likely stands for 'registered'. The address is split between the block designation and the number (B-31/36) and the neighborhood (Bhogabir), typical in North India. Finally, and perhaps most important, the location of the institute is placed near an important landmark, the Sankatmochan Temple, not far from Lanka.[18]

The only exception in the sign in terms of the correspondence between Devanagari and Hindi on the one hand, and roman and English on the other, is in the title of the company. The divergence is particularly apparent in a sign that otherwise precisely preserves correlation between Hindi and English lexical items, and Devanagari and roman scripts, respectively. Two factors lend the divergence meaning – one in the domain of linguistic practice within advertising in general, and the other present in the sign itself and spatially configured. Advertisements frequently use roman initials as a company's name, and these initials may stand for either English or Hindi lexical items. Advertisements may also employ Devanagari to represent Hindi or English lexical items.[19] The spatial configuration

of abbreviation and corresponding lexical item in Fig. 6 reminds one of Kumar's impression that the abbreviation itself carries persuasive force; here, it is what one encounters first in the sign, only later to be explained.

The relationship between abbreviation and the language it indexes is a bit more complicated in Fig. 6 than in Kumar's examples, for two reasons. First, the abbreviations do not index languages in the manner typical of the rest of the sign. In other words, "M. S. S." refers to the letters that would begin a roman script rendition of the unambiguously Hindi name of the company. An act of translation has occurred in the sign, one essentially different from that entailed in the rendering *u pra* for Uttar Pradesh, or *CBSE* for the Central Board of Secondary Education (line two). Thus, within the rest of the sign's own construction of a properly functioning language-indexing script, "M. S. S." is marked or unusual. Second, the renditions in lines one and three do not match. One who understands both Hindi and English[20] and the conventions for their abbreviation is left wondering whether the company's name is *māruti śikṣaṇ sansthān TUTORIALS* ('Maruti learning institute tutorials'). But precisely this discrepancy exposes the language processes at work. The title as rendered on the first line is not an English equivalent of the information present in the rest of the sign (unreadable to anyone nonliterate in Hindi). In fact, as shown above, the sign drives home the need to keep separate Hindi and English, and the scripts that properly index them. This makes the title odd and therefore noticeable.

That the marked or referentially charged item in the advertisement appears first is no accident: Abbreviations are popular means of identification in North India for everything from government offices to personal names. However, whereas those examples can demonstrate the easy representation of "Hindi sounds" with English-based orthographic representation, and "English sounds" with Hindi-based representation, such that scripts' language-indexing functions blur, the sign examined here represents a domain where those functions have been constructed "on the spot." Furthermore, it illustrates that in North India, scripts' language-indexing functions can be used to effects other than language-indexing. A roman-script-based translation of sounds that begin Hindi words appears first in a sign that later works to keep script and language in strict correspondence (Devanagari/Hindi vs. roman/English). For the Hindi-reading public implied by the sign's use of Hindi in all but two abbreviations and one word, English is the language of catchy identification and semiotic innovation.

ADVERTISING THE LOCAL, ADVERTISING THE NATIONAL

The advertisements for educational institutions that clog Banaras's public spaces are not the only such advertisements in town; newspaper readers encounter them, too. Newspapers, like schools, are divided according to language medium,[21] available in Hindi, Urdu, English, and some other languages in Banaras, even if they are not produced there. Educational advertising is confined largely to nationally

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distributed dailies, which contain sections that focus on major metropolitan areas in India and their environs, apart from strictly national news; the section covering Banaras comes from either Delhi or Lucknow.[22]

Most of the institutions advertised in the newspaper read in Banaras exist elsewhere, in cosmopolitan cities like Delhi, Mumbai, and Chennai. Concomitantly, the indexical plurality provided by lexical/script combinations prevalent around town is absent from the newspaper. Only one possibility exists in the national daily: English lexical items written in roman script. Examples presented below demonstrate that advertisements emanating from the center for institutions located there index Banaras and its educational institutions in two ways. On one hand, national advertising for educational institutions corresponds to the advertising practices of only the most expensive English-medium schools in Banaras, because only they produce advertisements in English rendered in roman script. Expensive English-medium schools in Banaras, thus, are indexical of the center, and other schools in Banaras are not. On the other hand, national advertising indexes Banaras as a place on the periphery, because medium distinctions, a large part of the indexical labor done by lexical/script combinations around Banaras, are wholly absent in newspaper advertising for educational institutions. In Banaras, some parents of children enrolled in English-medium schools and other people who read English newspapers explained to me that, in comparison with newspaper advertisements for schools, school advertisements encountered during a walk around town look disordered.

Like local advertising for education, advertising in the national daily is produced by both schools and tutorial services. In the newspaper, however, tutorial services' advertising strategies differ from schools' more significantly. No local schools advertised in the nationally distributed dailies widely available in Banaras. No local tutorial services did, either, but the correspondence-based lessons offered by some tutorial services extend to Banaras. Some prestigious schools with national reputations advertise in national dailies, but these differ from tutorial services' national advertising practices in one crucial way.[23] Prestigious schools that advertise in national papers ostensibly draw students from all over India (in the case of boarding schools) or from the major urban centers in which they are located (day schools). Nationally-advertised tutorial services, however, may reach out to students living all over India. The latter often have branches in several urban areas, sometimes nationwide. Sometimes tutorial services advertise nationally for only one location (usually in a major urban center), and sometimes institutes offer correspondence courses toward a degree, but these seem to be exceptions.

The prototypical elite schools for Indians are boarding schools, many established during the period of British rule. These schools draw students from all over India. They represent the paradigmatic institutionalization of English in the modern postcolonial Indian setting as a cross-over language uniting state or region-based languages. Some major urban areas have English-medium schools that

EXCELLENT RESULT OF CLASS X & XII - NO FAILURE

LOVELY PUBLIC SR. SEC. SCHOOL
Priyadarshini Vihar East Delhi - 110092

Heartiest Congratulation on the Grand Success

BRILIANT RESULT IN CLASS XII WITH 209 DISTINCTIONS

SHWETA PAHWA TOPPED SCORING 100% IN BIOLOGY

SUBJECT TOPPERS :

Biology	:	100 % Shweta Pahwa
Physics	:	97 % Parminder Gulani
Maths & Economics	:	96 % Vipin Malhotra
Pol. Science	:	94 % Komal Kapoor
Business Study	:	93 % Abhishek Chhabra
Chemistry	:	91 % Parminder Gulani
Physical Education	:	90 % Amit Bararia
English	:	81 % Harsh Khera
Accountancy	:	97 % Sundeep Bararia & Nidhi Goel

SHWETA PAHWA

OUT STANDING RESULT IN CLASS X WITH 317 DISTINCTIONS

SCHOOL TOPPERS
Ritika Gupta & Sachin Chaudhary Secured 93 % Aggregate

SUBJECT TOPPERS :

Science : 98 % Ambika Kathuriya
Sanskrit : 99 % Ambika Kathuria
    Vandna Singh,
Maths : 97 % Priyanka Jain,
Stuti Arora, Ritika Gupta, Niti Chopra.
Prashant Chaudhary Ambika Kathuriya
Hindi : 92 % Preeti Sehgal
English : 92 % Abhishek Rathor
S. Studies : 94 % Sachin Chaudhary

RITIKA GUPTA

SACHIN

ADMISSION OPEN FOR CLASS XI
Commerce / Science / Humanities Stream
Scholarship for Meritorious Students

REGISTRATION OPEN FOR N.T.T. (Govt. Recognised)
from 01.6.97. Between 9 & 11 A.M. Lmited Seats.

R.P. Malik
(M.Com., B.Ed., L.L.B., S.A.S.)
FOUNDER CHAIRMAN

Ph. : 2241034, 2247753

FIGURE 7: Advertisement for a school in Delhi in a locally distributed national daily; from *India Express*, Lucknow (8 June 1997).

advertise in widely distributed dailies but draw their students primarily from their own urban centers. Such a school's advertisement appears here as Fig. 7.

Most attention-getting in the advertisement are the faces of students who have been particularly successful in exam scores. The first student is commended for

her perfect score in biology, and the next two students for their high scores over all. Top-scoring students were not absent from Banaras schools, but their pictures were not used in advertising.[24] Rather, photographs of students making top scores on exams would be published in the yearbooks produced by both schools focused on in this study, which were distributed to students and their families and not used for general advertising. The rest of the advertisement in Fig. 7 is typical for schools that advertise in nationally distributed papers. High results from class twelve are separated from class ten because these crucial exam-taking points in a student's career largely determine in which "line" the student will continue. The actual percentage scores received are listed. All schools that advertise mention that their students receive top scores on exams, but not all are as meticulous or comprehensive as the one in Fig. 7. The lines or "streams" are listed toward the bottom: "Commerce," "Science," and "Humanities." Class ten results are as crucial as those of college-going class twelve students, and this fact is displayed by the announcement "ADMISSION OPEN FOR CLASS XI." Entrance to class eleven is based largely on the results of exams taken on completion of class ten. "NO FAILURE" is proclaimed, and there is not a hint of Hindi in the advertisement.

What is immediately apparent in many advertisements for tutorial services is the bewildering array of educational boards across the country. Fig. 8, an advertisement for a tutorial service that helps students gain entrance to colleges with a medical focus, is typical for tutorial services that advertise nationally. It emphasizes the success its students have attained. "First" is the largest word in the advertisement, and the explanation before the list of exemplary students flourishes a lexicon of success. The students are able to "hog the highest ranks" because of the "monumental labour" of the tutorials. Most relevant to this discussion of advertising is the next section, which lists the "firsts" in the medical entrance exam who have been associated with the tutorial service and the cities where the students took the exam. The most common city is Delhi, but there are others, giving the advertisement national appeal. The "rank" category is redundant, but this redundancy is effective as an advertising tool: All students have ranked "first." The last column translates location into the idiom of educational institutions, specifying the testing board for each student. As in Fig. 7, more than one board is mentioned, but the boards in Fig. 8 have lost the element of local competitiveness and, instead, are present to add to the tutorial service's proof of success. State boards and private boards mingle without any comparative frame.

Though many places and tests are named, the CBSE is mentioned first in the list. One cannot attribute that position to the student's homes in the national capital, because many of the students taking other tests hail from Delhi. CBSE is also mentioned first in the box, just under the list of model students, and again later. It is the only board mentioned in the advertisement's copy. In light of the CBSE's national popularity, it is no surprise that, in Banaras, it is the board to which schools' affiliations are often claimed to be false.

FIGURE 8: Advertisement for a tutorial service in a locally distributed national daily; from *India Express*, Lucknow (8 June 1997).

Although, at the national level of educational identity, the CBSE is particularly valued,[25] it is only one board among many. This advertisement mentions that one of the reasons the tutorial service is so successful is related to the lack of uniformity among the various boards' exams: "And the painstaking process of updating the Lesson Papers and Question Bank, based on the changing syllabi and testing patterns of the various Medical Entrance Exams." Here, the advertisement presents the nation's complement of educational boards as a disorderly bunch that requires diverse knowledge on the part of the centralized tutorial service. Most obviously, and most unlike the advertisement depicted in Fig. 6, Fig. 8 contains no Hindi. As in Fig. 7, English is the sole medium of advertising. Fig. 7 comes from Delhi, and Fig. 8 from Chennai in South India.[26] As with the boards and newspaper language mediums that contain them, the school's and tutorial service's advertisements are clearly supralocal messages, but in different ways. If one attends the school advertised in Fig. 7, one might excel in Hindi, but only as one subject among many requiring examination in the board's structure. The message that English is the language of success is unambiguous. This is true also of the tutorial service, but whereas the school is a local institution of national (linguistic) scope, the tutorial service is simply a national institution that has become so by catering to diverse exam requirement structures. Both have enacted their sales pitches through English; within these, a discourse of rivalry like that established in Fig. 6 is not possible.

CONCLUSION

Whether discursive activity about schools occurs in Banaras within spoken discourse or within printed advertising entails different possibilities for the construction of the relationship among language variety, language value, and language community. In spoken discourse, multiple constructions of Hindi- and English-medium schools as indexes of centrality and peripherality are possible. In terms of economic opportunity, English-medium schools provide conduits to a center to which Banaras residents look, and Hindi-medium schools lie in the periphery because of their lack of possibilities. In terms of nationalism, Hindi-medium schools locate Banaras in the center, and English-medium schools suggest a peripheral stance suspected of lacking patriotism. In spoken discourse generally, Hindi- and English-medium schools are contested, and they are productive of differences that betray a unified hierarchical principle.

In printed advertising, the centrality of English and the English-medium schools for which it is employed is more certain. In order to explain what makes English so decisively indexical of the center in advertising, one must include more than language distinctions per se. Script distinctions matter too, and they mingle with language distinctions to produce an indexical regimentation of the center and its periphery. A process occurs in advertising for schools in the newspaper in which adherence or nonadherence to only one possibility of lexical/script alignment

(English/roman) establishes the indexical ground of the metalinguistic judgment of what is centerlike and what lies on the periphery. Peripherality's indexical salience in advertisements for educational institutions in Banaras is constructed by newspapers that are published elsewhere; advertising done by schools and tutorial services in Banaras confirms that the city lies at the fringe of an all-English possibility. Consistently, a look in the newspaper, where advertisements for institutions at the "center" can be found, confirms that English lexical items in roman script are the only ones present, whereas a quick walk around town exposes one to other combinations. School and tutorial service advertising's message for Banaras's newspaper-reading residents is clear: Places elsewhere are for an English unadulterated by Hindi, whereas Banaras as a whole is subordinate to such locations precisely because, in Banaras, languages and their institutions are visibly plural and in contest.

NOTES

[1] Although some scholars have included language in their discussions of politics in India, few have explicitly focused on language in education as an ethnographically approachable topic. Schooling and matters of education are often mentioned and described in ethnographic writing on North India (e.g., Minturn 1993, Wadley 1994, Jeffery & Jeffery 1997), but a systematic treatment of relations between language and education in India is yet to be done. The relationship between gender and education is the explicit focus of essays in Mukhopadhyay & Seymour 1994, as well as of Kumar's (1994) historical consideration of schools in Banaras.

[2] For Hindi's increasing separation from Urdu and the former's association with Hindu identity and the latter's with Muslim identity, see Rai 1984, Lelyveld 1993, King 1994, and Dalmia 1997. For the ways that colonial projects enlisted linguistic distinctions, often with the result of increasing their association with religious distinctions, see Raheja 1996 and Cohn 1997.

[3] See Masica 1991 for a grammatical treatment of variation in the Hindi Belt and beyond.

[4] Simon 1986 analyzes the ways that residents of Banaras utilize both Bhojpurī and Hindi, sometimes within a single interaction, so that switching is a potential realm with its own metapragmatic effects.

[5] For a historical treatment of the use of languages in educational institutions in India, especially in the transition from the colonial to the postcolonial world, see Kumar 1991. For the importance of official policy regarding language and education for those engaged in pedagogy, see Khubchandani 1983 (especially chap. 4) and 1997.

[6] Woolard 1985 problematizes Bourdieu's notion of dominance within a market by pointing to salient notions of resistance mobilized by "dominated" practices. Discourse about medium in North India joins her critique in that its configurations of dominance are multiple and its possibilities for resistance complex.

[7] See the preceding discussion of the three language formula, however, for reasons that regions outside the Hindi Belt have not shared enthusiasm for Hindi as India's national language.

[8] For an explanation of the RSS's relationship to another Hindu organization, the VHP (Vishva Hindu Parishad), and political party, the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party), see Basu 1996.

[9] Some parents, and nearly all teachers at schools of either medium, explicitly identified Banaras itself as the center, pointing to the city's role in the standardization of Hindi and the development of a literary legacy (Dalmia 1997, King 1994). All of the people who pointed to Banaras as the origin of modern Hindi, however, acknowledged that such activities have now passed into the hands of the government.

[10] Irvine 1989 critiques Bourdieu's conceptualization of dominance across markets for his lack of attention to this kind of difference between spheres of communicative activity: "It [Bourdieu's conceptualization] tends to reduce language to presuppositional indexicality and to derive language's role in political economy entirely therefrom" (1989:256).

[11] Devanagari, Hindi's writing system, has as an ancestor the Brahmi script once modified for use with Sanskrit. For a description of Devanagari's evolution, see Masica (1991:133–51). Masica explains that "Nagari (literally the "city" or "metropolitan" script < *nagar* 'city', also called Devanagari) is the official script of Hindi, Marathi, and Nepali, and of the new (or revived) literatures in Rajasthani, Dogri, Maithili (and other Bihari dialects), and Pahari dialects (e.g., Kumauni) when written" (1991:144).

[12] Notice the gap between the predominance of English-medium advertised schools and the virtual absence of Hindi-medium advertised schools, and the political rhetoric of officials (Mulayam Singh Yadav, former chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, was the primary official discussed during my stay) against English as a foreign language of the colonizer. Many middle- and upper-class people explained to me that such moves were useless because advertising showed that people obviously wanted English-medium education, or harmful because they only incited the uneducated to anger. Notice the process by which the government system of schools is left out of the picture by middle- and upper-class reactions to criticism, as well as by the practice of advertising. In turn, during my fieldwork, this gap was described as a "craze" for English-medium education.

[13] Thus, perhaps ironically, the school that includes strictly English lexical items and roman script in its written advertisements is the only type of school that involves nonliterate persons in its public exposure, through television, which has become a rather natural indication of middle-class status in Banaras; however, televisions exist in public spaces as well, where they are watched by much larger audiences.

[14] This example illustrates particularly well the ways that visual advertising uses script difference to represent language difference. In interactions between clerks and customers, I heard entire conversations in Hindi in which the brand names of cigarettes or other items were the only lexical items that might be identified as English. These cannot be called examples of code-switching, but in their visual representations, such as the cigarette advertisement in front of the store, items' representations are clearly demarcated as English.

[15] This should not, however, imply that in all contexts utterances are to be judged within a set whose members include "Hindi" and "English." One biology teacher explained to me that "technical terms" present an arena in which "one's own language" (Hindi) comes to be inhabited by another language, Hindi "technical terms" derived from Sanskrit that are less understandable than equivalent terms derived from English.

[16] However, I never saw or heard of a television advertisement for a tutorial service that was broadcast in Banaras.

[17] Narayan 1993 writes of a village woman's performance of a wedding song (*suhāg*) in which she uses "V.I." and "V.P." to name the (fictional) educational degrees of the groom. Narayan poses the possibility that her own scholarly presence may have inspired the woman to speak of degrees; the singer, not familiar with their particular nomenclature, probably created "V.I." and "V.P." out of the familiar "V.I.P."

[18] Maruti, a title of the deity Hanuman, may be used purposefully for the name of a company located near the Sankatmochan Temple, a home of that god.

[19] The use of Devanagari seems to present more options. For example, "Uttar Pradesh" may be rendered: (1) as shown in Fig. 1f (*u pra*, as in the sign), or (2) as Fig. 1g (*yū pī*). (1) represents the Hindi, while (2) represents the English abbreviation for the Hindi (in Devanagari). One never sees *yu pee* or *yoo pee* (roman script-rendered transliteration of the acronym's letters), or either of the first of these with *p*; one sees *UP* in public use. Perhaps what accounts for the Devanagari-rendered English is that UP is the abbreviation for a political boundary, and is a part of official, English-medium nomenclature and the abbreviated forms that Kumar 1992 describes. They are so common in everyday parlance that their Devanagari-rendered abbreviations are widely understood.

[20] The logic of the sign's linguistic construction, however, is that one must know only one or the other to identify at least what the company offers.

[21] This analogy, however, is not to be taken to mean that the complexities in communication caused, at least in part, by medium distinctions within newspapers nearly approach those in schools. If there is disagreement on this point, think of the complexity a conversation about what is published in the newspaper adds to what is necessary to understand written meanings among its readers.

[22] This situation was changing, however; one daily from Lucknow was beginning to feature a weekly section specific to Banaras.

[23] Schools with such national advertisements are generally boarding schools as well as English-medium.

[24] However, a friend who had a television in his house with cable service told me that he had seen an advertisement for the Seacrest School on the portion of the programming designated for local sources. He told me that some children would feel very proud because their pictures had been displayed as a result of their good marks.

[25] The principal of the Seacrest School (fees-taking English medium and affiliated with the CBSE) remarked that the students match the standard of the school, which, in turn, matches the standard of the board. Board affiliation, in her school's case, provided a sign of quality.

[26] Chennai was once Madras. Across India, many city names have been changed from the names given to them in the colonial period; Mumbai was once Bombay.

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