From Elision to Conversion:
Guru English as Language of Enchantment

Teruko Vida Mitsuhara
University of California, Los Angeles

1. Introduction

This paper argues that the adoption of what Srivinas Aravamudan (2006) called "Guru English" by the first generation of Anglo-American Hare Krishna priests plays a key role in their ability to attract followers. The analysis of recorded instances of spontaneous uses of Bengali Indian English shows that Hare Krishna priests rely on a small number of morphosyntactic and phonetic features to constitute the canonical Guru English register of their Indian Guru, Srila Prabhupada, and that the priests' followers are sensitive to the accumulated effect of different combinations of such features. Standard American English questions such as, "What good will their promises do?" is said in Guru English as: "And what good their promises will do." The salient differences between the two are in the placement of the auxiliary verb and the declarative intonation in an otherwise question-statement.

Similar constructions will be examined in this paper, with specific attention to sentences where a critical verb or noun phrase is moved or removed from the sentence. The crucial point in this paper is that part of a Hare Krishna priest's rhetorical skill includes the ability to speak in the Indian English reminiscent of their guru. Surveys distributed in the temple indicated that these subtle changes in syntax and in some cases, intonation, have an effect on devotees' positive evaluations of the priests' lectures as "great" or not. Analysis offers an understanding of how linguistic resources orient congregants towards "holy" and against "profane" identities. Moreover, this research demonstrates how a register becomes sacred as congregants are socialized by the priest class to connect with a positively valenced Indian spirituality.

2. Data & Methodology

The study draws upon research conducted between 2009-2013 with the Los Angeles Hare Krishna community. Data collection included person-centered interviews, video-recordings of festivals, and archived audio-recordings of daily scripture lectures in the temple. The present study focuses upon a corpus of seven lectures, each approximating an hour and half, delivered by three visiting and resident priests.

Among the dozens of priests considered for this study, the audio-lecture corpus focuses on three of Prabhupada's Anglo-American disciples, Sankirtana, Narada, and Muditah.[1] They were chosen for this study because they are direct disciples of Prabhupada, these men, unlike newer preachers in the movement, have heard Prabhupada speak in person and have a stronger connection to him and the religion as they have been preaching Hare Krishna religious doctrines for over forty years. Their lectures were delivered to an audience comprised mostly of Indian and Anglo-American congregant members.

Data are analyzed using quantitative and qualitative methods. The priests' speech will be compared to that of the Hare Krishnas' Founding Guru, Srila Praphupada's using the phonetic analyzing software, Praat. In addition, linguistic analysis is made consulting three texts: *Dialects of English: Indian English* (Sailaja, 2009)*, Contemporary Indian English: Variation and Change* (Sedlatsheck, 2009), and *The Syntax of Spoken Indian English* (Lange, 2012). This study provides qualitative analysis of transcribed excerpts from the audio-recorded data of scripture lectures, surveys to the monks and nuns called "ashram women" living at the temple, and devotees' evaluations of scripture lectures.

3.   The Hare Krishnas

ISKCON formed in the United States in 1965. It traces its beginnings to the Krishna-*bhakti* movement founded by Caitanya Mahaprabhu in the early 16th century in India (Rochford, 2007, p. 12). The yogic system of *bhakti,* which is devotional worship of Lord Krishna above all other deities, promulgates love and service to Krishna as well as practices of austerity such as abstaining from sex outside of marriage, gambling, and consuming alcohol and meat. The ultimate goal for devotees is to spend their life regulating personal sense gratification and instead engage in behaviors that encourage loving service to Krishna. They believe that this will liberate their souls and help them reach Goloka, Krishna's abode. Though they do not self identify as Hindus, they are generally classified as "a monotheistic tradition within a larger Hindu culture" (Ketola, 2008, p. 45).

Founded during the Sixties counterculture revolution, the majority of first generation ISKCON devotees were hippies. The motivations for conversion to the Hare Krishnas has intrigued religious studies scholars (Shinn, 1987; Bromley and Shinn, 1985), sociologists (Daner, 1975; Rochford, 1985, 2007), anthropologists (Judah, 1974), and cognitive scientists of religion (Ketola, 2008) since the movement's inception. Though each of these studies examines different aspects concerning conversion and devotee practice, a common thread throughout this literature is the prominence of the Hare Krishna Founding Guru, Prabhupada, as the chief impetus for conversion. Prabhupada's books, teachings, and movement inspired a generation searching for spirituality and stability.

After Prabhupada died in 1977, the main face of ISKCON changed from an aged Indian guru to hundreds of young White males preaching Krishna consciousness. Today, these once hippie youth are now advancing into their seventies and running ISKCON's temples that have spread across the globe with hundreds of temples and thousands of devotees living and preaching both in India and several Western countries (Rochford, 2007, p. 14). The official discourse within the movement is that anyone can preach who has both total love

---

[1] Though these scripture classes are posted on the temple's website, I promised devotees that any work I produce would safeguard participants' identities. Names have therefore been changed.

for Krishna and Prabhupada and who also does not change Prabhupada's message to suit personal whims. This study illustrates that this stance has been extended to include the maintenance of Prabhupada's morphosyntax, phonetics, and phonology resulting in a new genre of religious speech, Guru English. This paper focuses only on one aspect of morphosyntactic enregisterment: elision of articles and noun phrases.

4. Enregisterment of Guru English

Hare Krishna priests appropriating parts of Prabhupada's Guru English is a case where an individual's voice is reanalyzed and forms a new register, a process called *enregisterment* (Agha, 2007). Enregisterment describes "processes whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language users" (Agha, 2005, p. 38). In other words, enregisterment is the enacting of stereotyped behavioral signs (whether, linguistic, non-linguistic, or both) across a population (Agha, 2007, pp. 55, 80). For example, from statements garnered in interviews and surveys, devotees considered the speech of their Founding Guru, Srila Prabhupada, to be "beautiful", "honest", "wise", "sweet," "transformative," and so on. This paradigmatic set of adjectives form a "*denotational stereotype*" – meaning the "set of expressions predicable of [the expression]" (Agha, 2007, p. 119). When I asked devotees, "How would you describe a good speaker or lecturer?" or "What makes a good speaker?," the metasemantic descriptions included a set of predicates:

> 'A good speaker
> (is wise, is kind, is good, is honest, is deep, practices
> what he preaches, doesn't change Srila Prabhupada's
> teachings, touches my heart, etc.)'

This class "of which *all* of these properties are predicable" (meaning that a speaker is not simply "wise" but also "deep" and "practices what he preaches") creates a stereotype that corresponds to all of these properties (Agha, 2007, p. 120). When these descriptions are regularly repeated within a population of speakers like the Hare Krishnas, a normalization or standardization (i.e denotational stereotype) of a 'good speaker' is created. In a less obvious, yet very much connected, way a paradigmatic set of linguistic features can also form a denotational stereotype of a good Hare Krishna priest or lecturer. What I have found is that priests and lecturers who speak with their guru's intonation, syntax, and so forth were also the priests who were highly ranked for their lectures. Basically, great preachers and speakers in the movement are also ones whose linguistic features mirror Srila Prabhupada's speech. The next section examines two of those features after which, an analysis follows on the implications of this emergent sacred genre.

5. Guru English: Elision

All Hare Krishna devotees, especially the preaching priests, listen to the audio lectures of their Founding Guru several times each week, if not every day. They play Prabhupada's lectures in the car; they listen to his singing and teachings on their iPods while walking or exercising; and when on New Dwarka temple grounds, Prabhupada's singing voice is heard

nonstop from the speakers playing in the background. His voice, for many devotees in the *New Dwarka* temple, is a constant sound throughout the day. Though these Anglo-American priests interact with Indians in their community, Prabhupada's IE is the only consistently heard model of how a guru sounds. For this reason, this study focuses on Prabhupada's IE as the base for Guru English.

The syntax of Standard Indian English (SIE) as opposed to its phonology is supposed to more closely resemble British English (BritE) but the ways in which SIE differs from or maintains BritE morphosyntax is debated among Indian English linguists (Sailaja, 2009, pp. 39-41). From my analysis of Prabhubada's IE morphosyntax, the following morphosyntactic features were the most copied by Sankirtana, Narada, and Muditah.

Below are data collected based on analysis of Prabhupada's most downloaded lectures entitled, *Lecture at Rotary Club – There are so many anomalies*. This lecture was delivered to English-speaking devotees at Ahmedabad in the state of Gujarat, India on December 5, 1972.

Among the three priests' speech analyzed, Sankirtana showed the most phonological Guru English features (116%) and Muditah, the devotee who is hailed as one of ISKCON's greatest preachers, uses the most morphosyntactic features of Guru English (86%). Sankirtana's percentage of phonological Guru English features is more than his Guru's because Sankirtana says [v] instead of [w] in words like *away*, which is an over-generalization of Prabhupada's Guru English. Muditah only appropriates 50% of Prabhupada's phonetic and phonological features and 86% of the morpho-syntactic ones. He is considered "the best" speaker in some of the surveys given to devotees and I posit that this is because morphosyntactic appropriations are less obvious than the phonetic ones.[2]

The priests appropriate only a few of the Guru English linguistic structures and they do so in an inconsistent manner. Not all priests speak in Guru English and the ones who do, do not use every feature. For example, some will elide articles but not retroflex the plosives /t/ and /d/. Others will pronounce the /t/ as a dental ejective [t̪'] and not use Indian English pitch or intonation. Priests do not use this register throughout their lectures or even in the same semantic or syntactic environment of their earlier utterances. Since it is not a stable register, each speaker appropriates different features of their Guru's Indian English and with varying frequency. The aim of this section, however, is not to focus on why some priests choose one feature over the other, but rather to illustrate the linguistic complexity of this emergent religious genre of speech.

5.1. *Article Deletion ((AD))*

Several empirical works on Indian English (IE) article use (Sailaja, 2009, p. 52; Sand, 2004; Sharma, 2005) indicate that the variation of when IE speakers will and will not use them is difficult to generalize (Dixon, 1991). Nonetheless, article elision or article deletion ((AD)) as I refer to it here, is common in Prabhupada's Indian English and the priests also elide articles when speaking in the Guru English register. Articles "the," "an," or "a" can be placed in the slot labeled ((AD)). I have not labeled which article would be placed inside the

---

[2] In a different publication, I discuss the role of mocking and linguistic appropriation within this temple community.

((AD)) spot as it is unclear which the priests would have picked. Though, in sentences like Example 8, Sankirtana uses "**a**" when saying: "He is blessed with **a** strong material body" and then elides it when speaking about how living beings "are blessed with **((AD))** eternal spiritual body" meaning the soul. The subject matter of the first turn construction unit might suggest that when speaking about material or profane subject matter, Sankirtana maintains the articles and while discussing spiritual matters, the articles are elided. However, the same speaker in Example 11 elides articles when discussing the material human body and how ugly it is. There is no clear pattern when speakers will use articles and when they will not.

In Example 17, Sankirtana like the other priests, utters sentences which are missing verbs. The ending in the turn construction unit in Example 17 and 12 consists of a floating noun phrase tagged onto the ends of the sentence or uttered with an intonation suggesting that they are in fact complete sentences. When these sentences were played back in their original context for members living at the temple ashram, the sentences were not marked for their grammatical structure but rather for their subject matter and as examples of great preaching moments. The following charts provide a few more examples of the type of elisions within the three priests' speech.

Prabhupada's Utterances

(1) What is ((AD)) SOUL
(2) So that's ((AD)) classic example of PREyas.
(3) He's completely in ignorance about the existence of ((AD)) soul.
(4) As it is explained in ((AD)) English dictionary, "kind of faith."

Sankirtana	Narada	Muditah
(5) But his body was so strong that even ((AD)) lightning bolt would strike […]	(6) Superman was ((AD)) imitation Krishna.	(7) And ((AD)) human form of life is a very short opportunity to, well, it's called […]
(8) He is blessed with a strong material body and we are blessed with ((AD)) eternal spiritual body. That is ((AD)) very big difference.	(9) They, ((AD)) song-writer gives us a glimpse.	(10) So it's not just a new thing. This is going on ((AD)) long long time Krishna says.
(11) But actually, an ugly body is very:: a- n-naked body is ((AD)) very ugly thing.	(12) Superman was ((AD)) imitation Krishna. (0.5) ((AD)) Comic book character.	(13) So that is ((AD)) classic example of preyas.
(14) Prabhupada points out in his purport, in ((AD)) other place […]	(15) You're far more beautiful than what you see in the mirror. ((AD)) spirit soul is beautiful.	(16) So it's a very dangerous path in ((AD)) human form of life.

(17) It wasn't a BBT publication those days, some kind of manuscript, you know (0.2), ((AD)) hand copied thing.	(18) And the flowers in ((AD)) comb were falling from her hair.	(19) It's only ((AD)) two-sentence purport.

5.2. *Object Elision*

Similar to the above section on Article Deletion, this following also deals with elision. However, this is the elision of objects following transitive verbs. In non-standard IE, transitive verbs are converted into intransitives (Sailaja, 2009, p. 45). For example, "Ok, I'll take for transport;" "I didn't expect;" and "We enjoyed very much" (Sailaja, 2009, p. 45). Praphupada's speech frequently transforms transitive verbs into intransitive ones, a few examples are below:

Prabhupada's Utterances

(1) We practically see ((XX)) in our experience.
(2) So actually my position is (.1) that I can go everywhere. Just like we are trying ((XX)).
(3) I was a child. Everyone was ((XX)). Everyone remembers ((XX)).
(4) It is compared with the tree because the living entity's enjoying the fruit of the tree, and the other living entity, Supreme, Paramatma, He's simply witnessing ((XX)).
(5) A hog is eating stool, but he's thinking that, "I am enjoying ((XX)), very nice." He's becoming fat. This is called illusion.

Sankirtana	Narada	Muditah
(6) The scientists are promising ((XX)).	(7) Yashoda can hear that the milk that she was, uh, boiling, had boiled over, so she has to take care ((XX)).	(8) So when the body dies, even ((XX)) we may be respected as Prabhu or Isa […]
(9) But an-a no other acarya has ever done ((XX)).	(10) When your chanting is pure, then and only then, will Krishna reveal ((XX)).	(11) In Bhagavad-Gita, we have um, many many wonderful instructions given ((XX)).
(12) Don't get in any accidents because very soon, we will co-come up with the m-means to keep you alive eternally, this scientist was pro-mising ((XX)).	(13) Just like you cannot say, NOW I'm going to lift 800 pounds today. When I've never even lifted ten. No. You have to build up ((XX)). SO you cannot JUMP to this spon-taneous platform.	(14) You have simply to look in the past and find so many ex-amples of those who have gone before ((XX)) and who have successfully carried out this process.

(15) The greatest acarya in the history has come ((XX)) .	(16) No. You have to just keep ((XX)). You cannot fake it.	(17) N/A
(18) That gives the greatest enlivenment to Sri Radharani. She is given very very nice poetry. Radharani is given ((XX)) she says.	(19) Krishna's leading her and Yashoda's trying to capture ((XX)).	(20) N/A

Based on surveys to men and women living on the temple grounds, the only reason why these priests sound like Indian English-speaking gurus and yet, are not pegged as "mockers" of Indian English by the community is because 1) Indian Hare Krishnas are not voicing any dissatisfaction about Indian English and 2) these priests, for the most part, appropriate grammatical features that have not been identified with Indian English by the community during the year of Guru English research.[3] For example, Hare Krishna congregants noticed when Sankirtana, the St. Louis devotee used [v] instead of [w] intervocalically in the word, "away." However, they did not notice that the pseudo clefts in the priests' speech converge more with Indian English than with SAE. The devotees also did not notice that the following sentence, "So much disturbance he has caused today," is a non-SAE use of fronting but is actually quite common in Prabhupada's IE.

The best speakers are the ones who appropriate Prabhupada's syntax and alter the phonology in subtle ways. In other words, these varying levels of awareness affect which language ideologies are formed in what ways they are manifested in interaction. When investigating the entire register including phonetic, phonological, and morphosyntactic forms, I found that the speaker who could mirror the guru's syntax was deemed more intelligent, wise, and true; whereas, the speaker who appropriated more phonetic features of the guru had the lowest rating of the three speakers. This suggests that syntactic changes are lower on the metalinguistic awareness of the congregation and that there is some sort of community specific *mock threshold* — meaning, that a white priest whose rhetorical skill contains more syntactic change was not offensive until he uttered too many phonetic features of his guru. It is unclear if this threshold could ever be numerically defined, but it is nonetheless evident that a threshold exists because the community allowed for a large amount of linguistic appropriation when it was syntactic in nature and when too many phonetic features were used, the speaker's overall ratings decreased.

6. Language Ideologies and Recursivity

In the Hare Krishna community ancient India, Sanskrit language, Indian philosophy, their Guru, traditional food and clothing, and classical Indian music and instruments are all considered better than anything the "modern" world could offer. The prestige of ancient India refracts upon those who can evidence their knowledge of and affiliations with India. Speaking Guru English not only enacts a holy space, it also creates a linguistic space for the priests that distance them from the modern and wider Anglo-American community.

---

[3] A longer discussion of mocking and Indian English linguistic appropriation is forthcoming in an upcoming publication.

Four years of ethnographic research with devotees has revealed how appropriation of features Prabhupada's Indian English acts a counter-discourse against Western hegemonic norms, which includes its banner language, English. If "Standard English becomes the unifying emblem of nation-statehood" (Silverstein, 1996, p. 286), then devotees moving away from standard American cultural and linguistic norms begins to make sense. The priest group maintains its identity as the spiritually educated class separate and distinct from the American English-speaking community by speaking in Indian ways.

The Hare Krishna convergence towards their guru's IE and divergence from a Standard American English (SAE) can be understood in terms of iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure (Irvine and Gal, 2000). Iconization describes the process whereby "linguistic features that index social groups or activities appear to be iconic representations of them" (Irvine and Gal, 2000, p. 37). Devotees consider Prabhupada's speech to be "beautiful", "honest", "wise", "sweet" and so on. In lectures to the congregation, one priest noted, "Prabhupada's transcendental sound vibrations carry the potency to awaken anyone's dormant, spiritual consciousness." Gurus are considered spiritual beings sent to liberate the material world and their words "carry the potency" that gurus have been endowed with by God. Prabhupada's words have become iconic of him. His "transcendental sound vibrations" are representative of him. Given that his own initiated devotees speak in a sort of quasi-Guru English, Indian English phonology and syntax "carry the potency" of Prabhupada as well. Similar to Spitulnik's (1998) study of ethnolinguistic diversity on Zambian radio, there is an "indexical transfer of social stereotypes about speakers to the languages they speak" (p. 174). In the Zambian case, the radio stations did not give as much air time to languages linked to "rural," "backward" people. In the Hare Krishna context, Prabhupada's Guru English speech is revered. In and of itself, it is believed to be wise and powerful because he, as a guru was wise and powerful. Applying the notion of iconicity to Prabhupada's Guru English, we can see that Guru English is iconic of wisdom, truth, and numerous other positive indexes.

Guru English is not the only code in the Hare Krishna spiritual repertoire. Sanskrit, the holy language for many Hindus and Hare Krishnas, is considered to be a living language of transformation and power. Because it is believed to be the language spoken by Krishna Himself, the sounds and mantras are representations of Him. As it says in the seventh chapter of their holy text, *Bhagavad-Gita*: "I am the taste of water, the light of the sun and the moon, the syllable OM in the Vedic mantras" (tr. Prabhupada 1983, p. 313). OM along with many other Sanskrit mantras and texts is Krishna in the form of the Holy Word. In this way these mantras and texts are iconic representations of Krishna. Sanskrit, as the iconic representation of Krishna, stands separate and above all non-Sanskrit languages. In this way, Sanskrit is analogous to non-Sanskrit languages as Guru English is to non-Guru English languages. Defined as the "projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level," recursivity is seen between the relationship of Sanskrit and Guru English (Irvine and Gal 2000:38). On the utmost holiest level, Sanskrit is iconic of God. When others (gurus), speak it they are associated with spirituality and, in a sense, become spiritual. On the local temple level, Guru English has become iconic of wise gurus, specifically of Prabhupada. When others (Anglo-priests) speak like him, they become wise. The prestige of holy language is reproduced at the temple level with Guru English being the register iconic of wisdom. Thus, invoking the language of an Indian guru makes a speaker, irrespective of ethnicity and native dialect, authentic. To sound like a guru is to be wise like a guru. But we must keep in mind that Guru English is the variety that the *priest*s are trying to speak. What actually ends up happening is that a reduced form of Guru English is spoken by priests, which could be called a *quasi*-Guru English.

Finally, Hare Krishna generalizations about Sanskrit being the one true holy language erases the legitimacy and power of other languages. For example, Sanskrit as the holy language is considered superior than Arabic, Chinese, and certainly Western languages such as English. Guru English therefore presents an interesting middle space between holy and profane language because Guru English's retroflexed sounds, article deletion, IE intonation and so forth erases the fact that these priests are still, after all speaking English. Compared to Sanskrit, English is *supposed* to be a mundane language holding no spiritual power. Yet, Guru English by way of iconicity and recursivity mirrors the prestige of Sanskrit in the community as the language accessed only by the learned priest class. It is English enough to be understandable but Indian enough to be spiritually powerful – Guru English in this way acts as both foreign and local. It exists between the spiritual world (Sanskrit-filled) and the material world (English-filled).

7. Concluding Discussion: affective registers and language enchantment

Ideologies surrounding race in the community socialize devotees into conflating Indianness and stereotypical Indian ways of talking with authentic spirituality. Or to state this in a way that situates this as a form of social interaction, Indian English *keys* (Goffman, 1974) both the scripture lecture and priest as being spiritual. It is this spirituality imbued in the register that facilitates converts' evaluations of the lectures and lecturers as being "good," "powerful," and "truthful." For example, a question that I often asked devotees, "How do you know that the speaker speaks the truth?," received responses as variable as: "He doesn't change what Prabhupada (the Hare Krishna founder) said;" "It's in his voice, the knowledge of the scriptures;" "He is wise. He has the gift of speech." These evaluations suggest that a register has the capacity to move the emotion of the scripture lecture and congregation toward a state of spiritual enchantment. As Irvine (1990) asserts, "[t]he study of registers is a convenient way to look at the verbal aspects of affective display, because it suggests a set of complementary representations of feelings that are conventionalized among a community of speakers" (p. 127). "Conventions, linguistically expressed, represent a cultural construction of available emotions, personalities, and so on that […]" the person has to draw on for affective display, the terms in which his or her behavior will be interpreted by others, and the framework of interpretation for the experiencer as well" (Irvine, 1990, p. 131). *Affective registers* are distinguished by not only linguistic features, but also by affective performance. In this sense, performance of an Indian guru stereotype through speaking in Indian English conveys an affective stance of desire for Indian spirituality and evokes spiritual enchantment among devotees. Ochs (2012) asserts that, "ordinary enactments of language, i.e. utterances, are themselves modes of experiencing the world" (p. 142). In this sense, speaking like an Indian can create an experience of Indianness for a Hare Krishna preacher and congregation. The experience of speaking in Indian ways evokes a sense of spiritual enchantment for the New Dwarka community.

According to Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), when people interact, especially with those to whom they are attracted and share similar beliefs, they adjust their speech, syntax, gestures, intonation and other vocal patterns to accommodate their interlocutor (cf. Tarone, 1980; Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991; West and Turner, 2000). Given the high prestige accorded to ancient India and Indians in the New Dwarka community, linguistic accommodation could be a reason why Hare Krishna priests use Guru English linguistic features. Yet, these priests are *not* speaking to a room comprised only of Indian congregants. If that were the scenario, CAT and "foreigner talk" (Ferguson, 1971,

1975)[4] would be explanatory frameworks for why these native, American English speakers would speak slowly and in ways that sound "Indian guru-esque." Instead, the Hare Krishna congregation consists primarily of Anglo Americans. As such, the priests are not "speaking Indian" to be understood by the Indian congregants. Nevertheless, the notion that speakers adjust their linguistic behaviors when surrounded (even if it is an imagined community) by people with whom they are attracted and share similar beliefs applies to the New Dwarka congregation. Hare Krishnas love their Founding Guru, Srila Prabhupada and love the India that both he and their deity, Krishna, represent. I propose that speaking in Indian ways facilitates a genre of experience-near Indianness. This means that the enregisterment of Indian English as being the prestige, "spiritual" register is enacting an ethos of Indian spirituality in the temple.

Speaking Guru English can be understood as constant modifications of the congregation's attention to Guru English sounds (retroflexed consonants, article deletion, connected speech, Indian English prosody and so on) as "enacting the ethos" (Garro, 2011, p. 304) of spiritual truths and Krishna's messages. As linguistic "forms encode all-important temporal, epistemic, affective, modal, actional, stative, attributive, and locative meanings" (Ochs, 2012, p. 148), so too does the Hare Krishna Guru English register encode the spiritual affective meanings. Spirituality attributed to Prabhupada's speech is projected onto the speech of the priests. Enacting this ethos transpires through the utterance of either Prabhupada's speech or a speech variety that approximates Guru English. In other words, the iconicity of Prabhupada's Guru English register enacts the emotion and personality of his speech and is then recursively applied to the Anglo-American priests when they speak in Guru English. Thus when Anglo-American Hare Krishna priests utter the religious doctrines and preach to their congregation in a register associated with their beloved guru, Prabhupada, then their speech, along with other semiotic resources, realizes the setting as a place of spirituality. This enactment of spirituality would of course not be efficacious if not for the ideological power undergirding Indian English and the guru figure in the Hare Krishna community. Guru English register is a vehicle for the enactment of enchantment—to speak it is to key affect, to genre emotion.

In sum, for Anglo-American priests and audiences—who may never master the language of the spiritual world (Sanskrit) and who can never fully embody the authenticity and spirituality of Srila Prabhupada—Guru English functions as an intermediary step to Krishna's paradise. It is so rhetorically attractive that devotees find themselves swept up in the sounds, spirit, and power. Devotees have cried while priests speak, because their words, as an informant said, "awakened [their] dormant spiritual consciousness." Guru English enchanted them and syntactic elision is but one part to how these priests accomplish the rhetoric necessary to emotionally move their audience.

References

Agha, A. (2007). *Language and Social Relations*. UK: Cambridge University Press.
Aravamudan, S. (2006). *Guru English: South Asian Religion in a Cosmopolitan Language*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

[4] FT: In this type of talk native speakers adopt features such as "slower speech rates, shorter and simpler sentences, more question and question tags, greater pronunciation articulation amongst others" (Zuengler, 1991, p. 243).

Bhatt R.M. (2008). Indian English Syntax. In: R. Mesthrie (ed) *Varieties of English 4: Africa, South and Southeast Asia*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 546-562.

Bromley, D. G. & Shinn, L. (eds). (1989). *Krishna Consciousness in the West*. London: Associated University Press.

Daner, F. J. (1975). Conversion to Krishna Consciousness: The Transformation from Hippie to Religious Ascetic. In: Roy Wallis (ed) *Sectarianism: Analyses of Religious and Non-Religious Sects*. London: Peter Owen, pp. 53-69.

Dixon R.M.W. (1991). Some observation on the grammar of Indian English. In: B. Laksmi Bai and B. Ramakrishna Reddy (eds) *Studies in Dravidian and General Linguistics: A Festschrift for Bh. Krishnamurti*. Hyderabad: Center of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Osmania University, 437-47.

Ferguson, C.A. (1971). Absence of Copula and the Notion of Simplicity: A Study of Normal Speech, Baby Talk, Foreigner Talk and Pidgins. In: Dell Hymes (ed.) *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ferguson, C.A. (1975). Toward a characterization of English Foreigner Talk. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 17: 1-14.

Garro, L. (2011). Enacting Ethos, Enacting Health: Realizing Health in a California Family of Mexican Descent. *Ethos* 39 (3): 301-331.

Giles H., Coupland J. & Coupland N. (1991). Accommodation Theory: Communication, Context, and Consequence. In: *Contexts of Accommodation*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Goffman, E. (1961). *Asylums: essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates*. Anchor Books.

Goffman, E. (1974). Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Irvine, J. T. & Gal, S. 2000. Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation. In: Kroskrity P.V. (ed.) *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Polities, and Identities.* Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, pp. 35-83.

Irvine, J. T. (1990). Registering Affect: Heteroglossia in the linguistic expression of emotion. In: Catherine A. Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod (eds.) *Language and the Politics of Emotion*, pp. 126-161.

Judah, J. S. (1974). *Hare Krishna and the Counterculture*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.

Ketola, K. (2008). *The Founder of the Hare Krishnas as Seen by Devotees: A Cognitive Study of Religious Charisma*. Brill: Hotei Publishers.

Lange, C. (2012). *The Syntax of Spoken Indian English*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins North America.

Mesthrie R. & Bhatt R.M. (2008). *World Englishes. They Study of New Linguistic Varieties*. Cambridge: CUP.

Mitsuhara, T. V. 2013. "Guru English and spiritual enchantment among Hare Krishnas." M.A. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles.

Ochs, E. & Garro, L. (2013). Anthropology 297 Seminar on, "Genres of Emotion." Winter Quarter. University of California, Los Angeles.

Ochs, E. (2012). Experiencing Language. In: *Anthropological Theory* 12:2: 142-160.

Prabhupada, A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami. (2012 [1972]). *Lecture at Rotary Club – There are so many Anomalies.* Ahmedadbad, India. http://krishna.tv/index.php?jz_path=Lectures&ext.html. Audio recording.

Rochford, B. E. (1985). *Hare Krishna in America*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Rochford, B. E. (2007). *Hare Krishna Transformed.* New York University Press: New
York.

Sailaja, P. (2009). *Dialects of English: Indian English*. Edinburgh University Press:
Edinburgh.

Sand, A. (2004). Shared morpho-syntactic features in contact varieties of English: Article
use. *World Englishes 23*, 2: 281-98.

Sedlatschek, A. (2009). *Contemporary Indian English: Variation and Change.*
Philidelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Sharma, D. (2005). Transfer and universals in Indian English article use. *Studies in Second
Language Acquisition* 27, 4: 535-66.

Shinn, L. D. (1987). *The Dark Lord: Cult Images and the Hare Krishnas in America*.
Philadelphia: Westminster Press.

Srimad-Bhagavatam. (1999). In: A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada (ed)
Bhaktivedanta VedaBase.

Tarone, E. (1980). Communication Strategies, Foreigner Talk, and Repair in
Interlanguage. In: *Language Learning* 30 (2): 417-431.

West, R. & Turner, L. H. 2000. *Introducing Communication Theory: Analysis and
Application*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill College Division.

Zuengler, J. (1991). Accommodating in Native-Nonnative Interactions: Going Beyond the
"What" to the "Why" in Second-Language Research. In: Giles H, Coupland J and
Coupland N (Eds) *Contexts of Accommodation*. New York: Cambridge University
Press.

Teruko Vida Mitsuhara, M.A.
University of California, Los Angles
tmitsuhara@ucla.edu