Hindi and Urdu since 1800
A common reader

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HERITAGE
HERITAGE PUBLISHERS
NEW DELHI
INDIA
As coming from an Eastern Land,
I'd have the cousins understand,
'Tis absolutely stiff with speeches,
An Eastern printing offices teaches,
And rich with Hindu mystery
In Tamil, Urdu and Hindi

For instance - when the loathsome 'tár'
Calls the 'chuprassi' from afar
And at your 'hookum' swift he goes
A 'tunda moorghie' - minus clothes
Across the 'maidan's' icy space
With 'kummels' clouted round his face
    This to the English mind - I'm sure -
    Might seem a little bit obscure
But to this Anglo-Indian one
It shows his labour is begun.

Rudyard Kipling c. 1883
SOAS South Asian Texts

During the period of British colonial rule in India, members of the education services and others felt it to be a natural part of their duties to edit important works of South Asian literature, so as to make them more accessible to English-speaking readers. The initiative represented by these nineteenth century editions, which are now difficult to obtain, has sadly long since been allowed to lapse.

The present series of SOAS South Asian Texts represents an attempt to revive this tradition in such a way as to meet the rather different requirements and expectations of students of South Asian literature today. The series is designed for those who have a basic reading knowledge of the language, but require the assistance of explanatory material in English in approaching original literary texts.

All volumes in the series accordingly begin with an editorial introduction in English, followed by the text itself, which is accompanied by explanatory notes and a glossary that includes all words except those assumed to be familiar to those with an elementary knowledge of the language. It has not been thought necessary to provide translations of modern prose, but older verse texts are accompanied by full English translations. Though these renderings are primarily designed to assist understanding of the originals, and themselves make no claim to any literary merit, it is hoped that they and the editorial introductions may serve to introduce some of the classics of South Asian literature to those unable to read them in their original language.

Christopher Shackle
Rupert Snell

Series Editors
Preface

The parallel evolution over the last two hundred years or so of modern Hindi and Urdu as intimately related but ever-increasingly divergent languages is both a fascinating and an extraordinarily confused process. The purpose of this Reader is both to underline the fascination and to attempt to remove some of the confusion.

The book has been designed primarily to meet the needs of second-year university students with a first-year knowledge of Hindi-Urdu and a familiarity with both scripts. It is hoped that, for them, a hitherto unfilled gap in the provision of suitably annotated material giving an overall picture of both languages is now filled. It is also anticipated that it may prove helpful to students with competence in only one of the two languages, who should benefit from the detailed study of the passages in either Hindi or Urdu and the broader context established by our jointly conceived format. Perhaps optimistically, we also hope that the extensive introduction and the prefatory notes to the passages will serve to underpin a wider academic audience’s generalizations.

The arrangement of the book is broadly in conformity with the format conceived for the SOAS South Asian Texts series. The introduction is divided into two parts. The first consists of a broad sketch of the evolution of Hindi and Urdu towards their present mutually defined roles. The second part comprises a more technical linguistic account of the differential modifications of their shared core-components by overt or tacit incorporations of elements from Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, and English. Maps serve to indicate the geographical context, and a bibliography of useful English sources to suggest both the narrower and wider issues involved.

The main part of the book consists of 24 prose extracts drawn equally from Hindi and Urdu sources and presented in the appropriate script. Each passage concerns some aspect of language use, and is prefaced by a short introduction summarizing its content and setting it in its historical and stylistic context. A supplementary note indicates the source of the text and mentions relevant secondary materials in English, whether translations or appropriate contextual materials. The passages are followed by extensive notes commenting upon both style and content. Vocabulary items not expected to be known by second-year students are fully covered in the glossaries, with the necessary addition of romanized transcriptions in the case of the Urdu-English glossary. An index of linguistic terms follows, since we have conceived it as part of our task to initiate likely readers into some necessary familiarity with these, if they are ever to be able to pick their way through the Hindi-Urdu tangle.

While Rupert Snell has had initial responsibility for devising the Hindi sections of this book, and Christopher Shackle a similar role for its corresponding Urdu-based portions, this has been very much a joint endeavour, and we hope that our readers will learn as much from it as we have from each other during its devising. Mistakes are equally our own, and no responsibility attaches to our shared gratitude to those colleagues who have helped so much in our preparation.
We wish to thank Oxford University Press for permission to quote from Kipling’s ‘A Cousin’s Christmas Card’, from *Early verse by Rudyard Kipling 1879–1889* edited by Andrew Rutherford (1986).

We are also grateful to the following copyright-holders for their kind permission to reproduce the extracts shown: Majlis-e Taraqqi-e Adab (4); Hindi Sahitya Sammelan (7); Vividh Bharti Prakashan (8); The Educational Book House (13); Shaikh Ghulam Ali (22); Ramvilas Sharma (23); Ainul Haq Faridkoti (24). Silence from the other publishers, all of whom were approached, has been taken as consent.

We are also grateful to the SOAS Publications Committee for meeting the full costs of publication; and to Martin Daly for his unfailing help and encouragement.

Christopher Shackle
Rupert Snell

London
April 1988
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Conventions

The convergent systems of transliteration employed for the representation of Hindi and Urdu words in bold Roman type are explained in paragraphs 511–2 of the introduction.

Place names are throughout written without diacritics in their conventional English spelling. Personal names are similarly written in accordance with chosen English spellings or — in the case of older writers — in the most easily recognizable forms, e.g. ‘Ghalib’, ‘Harishchandra’, etc. In the names of languages, diacritics have been used only is designations which may be unfamiliar, e.g. ‘Dakani’ (cf. unmarked ‘Urdu’).

A similar double standard has been applied between the spellings of Hindu-Urdu book-titles, which are strictly transcribed in italics, versus the looser romanizations of the names of publishers.

Bibliographical references are made in accordance with the note which precedes the list of secondary titles in English given at the end of the introduction.

Abbreviations of language-names, e.g. H = Hindi, and of common grammatical terms, e.g. s. = singular, are set out in the table following.

Cross-references

References to passages are to the serial numbers set out on pp. ix–x, and are printed in bold, e.g. cf. 6.

References to the introduction are in terms of its numbered paragraphs, e.g. cf. 741.

References within the notes to the passages are deliberately internal only, without cross-references to other passages, and follow the convention ‘cf. 6 abhyās’, where the numeral indicates a line number.

A note on practical use of this book

The passages are arranged chronologically, without regard to intrinsic difficulty of language. In terms of teaching or private study, the following order of approach to the passages might be suggested:

Hindi:  19, 5, 21, 12, 16, 17, 15, 20, 8, 7, 2, 22.

Urdu:  9, 18, 4, 24, 10, 14, 6, 22, 13, 1, 3, 11.
### Abbreviations

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>Arabic</td>
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<td>A-</td>
<td>Arabic × Hindi-Urdu</td>
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<td>abs.</td>
<td>absolutive</td>
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<td>acc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>adjective, adjectival</td>
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<td>adv.</td>
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<td>cj.</td>
<td>conjunction, conjunctive</td>
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vi. intransitive verb
vs. versus
vt. transitive verb

Note also the following signs:

< (is) derived from
> (has) become
Numbers of Hindi and Urdu Speakers in India and Pakistan

The following statistics are based upon the 1981 Censuses (with some necessary extrapolations from 1971 figures) but are to be regarded as being at best only rough approximations. The different criteria adopted by the census officers in India and in Pakistan, not to speak of the intrinsic difficulties imposed on them by low levels of literacy, the high politicization of language-issues in both countries, and the virtual impossibility of a neat delimitation of ‘mother-tongue’ speakers in the Hindi-Urdu area, should indicate the need for very considerable caution in any reliance on these official figures.

The figures for total populations given in the first column may be regarded as reasonably reliable. But the totals for speakers of Hindi and Urdu in the second and third columns (with the percentages of the whole population indicated in brackets) are necessarily less certain. All figures have been rounded out, with population totals expressed in millions. Literacy rates refer to literacy in any language/script.

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<td>70</td>
<td>52 (75%)</td>
<td>6 (9%)</td>
<td>26%</td>
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<td>Delhi</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5 (78%)</td>
<td>– (6%)</td>
<td>61%</td>
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<td>Haryana</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11 (87%)</td>
<td>– (2%)</td>
<td>36%</td>
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<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
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<td>4 (87%)</td>
<td>– (–)</td>
<td>42%</td>
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<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>42 (83%)</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>29 (91%)</td>
<td>– (2%)</td>
<td>24%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>94 (88%)</td>
<td>11 (10%)</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other states</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>4 (7%)</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>4 (5%)</td>
<td>5 (7%)</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjab</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4 (20%)</td>
<td>– (–)</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>4 (6%)</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIA</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>256 (38%)</td>
<td>32 (5%)</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>(male 47%; female 25%)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Baluchistan       | 4           | – (–)        | – (1%)       | 10%           |
| N.W.F.P.         | 11          | – (–)        | – (1%)       | 17%           |
| Panjab           | 47          | – (–)        | 2 (4%)       | 27%           |
| Sind             | 19          | – (–)        | 4 (22%)      | 31%           |
| PAKISTAN         | 84          | – (–)        | 6 (8%)       | 26%           |
|                  |             |              |              | (male 35%; female 16%) |
1. The Relationship between Hindi and Urdu

Ever since the establishment of classical philology as a scientific discipline was made possible by the European discovery towards the end of the eighteenth century that Sanskrit was ultimately related to Greek and Latin, it has become natural to see relationships between languages in terms of family trees. Thus Hindi and Urdu can be described as being ultimately descended from Sanskrit, near relatives of such contemporary New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages as Panjabi or Bengali, quite closely related to the next languages of the vast Indo-European family, such as Persian, and still more distantly connected to languages such as English and Portuguese belonging to remoter branches. Such relationships can be objectively demonstrated by reference to shared grammatical structures or to etymologically shared vocabulary, e.g. Hindi-Urdu māñ, Sanskrit mātr, Persian mādar, English mother. And at this level, the genealogical image works quite well.

But languages are not simply composed of the bones of grammar and vocabulary, for they live as the creations of human societies and as the instruments of their cultures. The patterns of historical contact and of influences through the borrowing of loan-words, even of syntactic structures, are much less easily fitted into a family-tree framework. So Sanskrit is not simply the etymological ancestor of both Hindi and Urdu, but — through its continuing prestige as the great language of classical Hindu civilization — the chief determinant of the separate identity of Hindi. Similarly, while Persian is quite closely related to that common NIA core of Hindi-Urdu, the spoken lingua franca often called ‘Hindustani’, it is the historical role of Persian as the great language of Indo-Muslim culture which ensures its continuing role as the major shaper of Urdu, as opposed to Hindi. And while purist adherents of both languages are for once united in their opposition to English as the former colonialist language of the Raj, both are influenced by its huge importance in the post-colonial world.

Committed partisans of either Hindi or Urdu have, of course, no difficulty in extending the genealogical imagery to accommodate such culturally-determined differences. And while Western students are spared the physical dangers that can all too easily be produced by the fierce linguistic chauvinisms of South Asia, they may find it difficult not to be influenced unconsciously by the insidious simplifications which would present Urdu as a bastardized version of Hindi, or alternatively Hindi as some illegitimate offspring of Urdu.

The first part of this introduction attempts to dispel such prejudices by providing a general account of the historical and cultural factors which have led to the bifurcating evolution of the two rival languages. It is above all important to regard them as rivals of equal legitimacy. The simple charms of the shared Hindustani genetic stock may appeal to some: but the identical twins have chosen to dress themselves as differently as possible, and it is hardly helpful to begin with prejudgements as to the relative attractiveness of simple homespun, Persian silk and Indian brocade.
11. The Indo-Aryan context

The history of the easternmost branch of the Indo-European language-family, known as Indo-Aryan (IA), dates back at least three thousand years to the earliest hymns of the Rigveda, the most ancient of the sacred texts of Hinduism. When the natural processes of linguistic change threatened to corrupt the sacred Vedic texts and thereby sap their ritual power, the world’s first linguists emerged from the ranks of the Brahmins to codify and thereby artificially preserve their language. This process reached its culmination in the grammar of Panini (c. 4thc. B.C.), which fixed Old Indo-Aryan in the stage of ‘Classical Sanskrit’.

The elevated status which Classical Sanskrit continued to enjoy in India over the last two and a half millenia has subsequently derived more from its function as the vehicle of the overlapping entities of high Hindu culture and religion than from its spoken use (although there has always been a minority of learned pandits throughout India who can and do converse in the classical tongue). Thus while the language called sanskṛta or ‘refined’ continued to serve as the language of literature, so-called pārkṛta or ‘natural’ speech developed as the medium of conversation. But the subsequent evolution of the IA languages has always been powerfully governed by the huge prestige of Sanskrit to their Hindu speakers, not to speak of its long use as a learned medium for the elite classes of all parts of the subcontinent. The very factors which maintained Sanskrit as the predominant language of Hindu culture encouraged the use of the grammatically simpler Middle IA languages (MIA) by the various non-Brahminical religions: thus Buddhism adopted Pali as its sacred language, and the later Prakrits were used for the scriptures of the Jain faith. The linguistic changes entailed by the passage of time eventually made these languages almost as distinct from everyday speech as Sanskrit.

By about A.D. 1000 the various languages of the NIA group — Panjabi, Hindi, Bengali, etc. — had effectively emerged out of their MIA parents, although the characteristic Indian preference for using highflown and archaic language for literary records entails a paucity of direct evidence for them at this early stage of their existence, and their reconstruction must depend largely upon deduction from the more richly preserved writings of later centuries. In the task of such reconstruction, it is always essential to bear in mind the continuing influence of earlier stages of IA. Alongside the naturally evolved vocabulary of so-called ‘tadbhava’ words, there has always been a continued role for their etymological ancestors from Sanskrit or Prakrit, collectively known as ‘tatsama’. Such a common word as Hindi-Urdu lōg, for instance, looks as if it must be a tadbhava representing the last possible stage of evolution from Sanskrit loka, since it is obviously not one of those ‘desi’ words like tabbar ‘family’ for which there is no Sanskrit etymon. In fact, it represents the MIA stage of Sanskrit loka > Prakrit loga > (Old) Hindi loa, and is really a sort of tatsama. So, in looking at the etymology of Hindi-Urdu words, it is always as well to consult the best etymological dictionary (Turner 1966) rather than out-dated guides such as Platts 1884 and its numerous living descendants in both Hindi and Urdu monolingual dictionaries.
This palimpsest pattern applies to vocabulary rather than to grammar, where the natural laws of change over time have proved more effective. Such formidable items of Sanskrit paradigms as the dual number, and the elaborate system of verbal conjugation had been largely simplified before NIA came onto the scene: and an even more deep-seated change is that from a ‘synthetic’ to an ‘analytic’ syntax, i.e. from one in which syntactic relationships are expressed through a fully inflexional system to one in which case is shown by the use of independent words such as postpositions, or tense and mood by the use of auxiliary verbs.

12. The Impact of Muslim Rule
While a fairly long interval elapsed between the conquest of the Panjub by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna (d. 1030) and the Muslim capture of Delhi in 1192, the vast subsequent expansion of Muslim rule both eastwards to Bengal and southwards into the Deccan was rapidly effected. From the fourteenth century Muslim rulers controlled most of India, apart from such isolated areas as Rajasthan and the extreme South. Although the Delhi Sultanate later dissolved into a number of regional kingdoms, central authority was soon re-established by the Great Mughals (1526–1707): and the long period of Muslim rule was ended only in the eighteenth century by the triple impact of fresh invasions from Afghanistan, internal revolt by the Hindu Marathas, and the ultimately successful expansion of British power. This centuries-long Muslim political dominance naturally had profound effects on the cultural evolution of South Asia, as is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the use of language.

The rapid initial expansion of Islam in the seventh century brought Arabic as the sacred language of the Quran to all the vast territories of the Caliphate, but as a spoken language only to the Middle East and North Africa. In the eastern lands of Iran and Central Asia, Persian continued to be spoken and soon evolved as a literary language also. This classical Persian, the most prominent representative of the Iranian languages which are quite closely related to IA, retained its Indo-European structure and basic vocabulary, but incorporated a huge number of loan-words from Arabic — a Semitic language quite unrelated to Indo-European — and was written in the Arabic script. Although many of the invading warlords and their followers had some form of Turkish as their mother-tongue, it was this Arabicized Persian (in which Turkish elements amount to only a few loan-words) that they brought to India as their principal cultural language.

While some knowledge of Arabic was always expected of all educated Muslims, and those who wished to join the clerical establishment of the maulvis had to study it thoroughly, it was Persian which came to form the main medium and the central component of Indo-Muslim education. Not only was the most lavish patronage of kings and emperors reserved for Persian poetry, but administration was also conducted in Persian. The elementary mosque-schools (maktab) run by the maulvis consequently appealed not only to Muslims but also to the many Hindus who sought a place in the bureaucracy: some Hindu castes, notably the Kayasths, indeed developed a sound knowledge of Persian as the cornerstone of their professional skills as scribes, clerks and administrators. As a natural
consequence the rival elementary schools (pāṭhśālā) run by the pandits came to have primarily a religious significance only, with Sanskrit being relegated to the narrower sphere of Hindu concerns.

As always in South Asia, however, few people used the same language for both writing and speaking. Although Persian is historically quite close to the IA languages, it is hardly mutually intelligible with them, and some form of lingua franca mixing Persian with Old Panjabi must have emerged soon after the permanent Muslim conquest of the Panjab in the eleventh century. Although Persian continued to be reinforced for many centuries by fresh immigrations of native speakers, their numbers even among the Muslim minority were soon much smaller than those of Indian converts. With the capture of Delhi, it was the local Kharī Bōlī (KhB) or 'Upright speech' of the city and the adjacent area which came to form the local element, together with considerable numbers of Persian loan-words, in the lingua franca of the Muslim empires which was eventually to give rise to modern Hindi and Urdu.

13. Medieval Hindi

With their culturally conditioned indifference to most things Indian, the Muslims in their Persian writings casually referred to this spoken language in the same way as most other IA languages they came across in such vague terms as hindī 'Indian language' or hindui 'Hindu language'. The modern perception of the medieval cultivation of Hindi (still known by its Persian name) is quite as generalizing and quite as misleading.

As the result of politico-linguistic developments in the modern period, the 'Hindi area' is now considered to extend across North India from Rajasthan to Bihar. Since the KhB dialect of the Delhi area which forms the basis of modern Hindi was hardly cultivated as a written language during the medieval period, historical justification has been effected by using the name 'Medieval Hindi' as a somewhat misleading umbrella term to cover the wide diversity of regional languages — now regarded as mere dialects of Hindi — which were so cultivated.

At the western extreme, medieval Rajasthani is richly preserved in a literature which concentrates upon courtly, martial and romantic subjects, produced largely by the hereditary bards attached to the Rajput courts. At the other end of the area, in the Avadh ('Oudh') region around Lucknow, the patronage of local Muslim rulers encouraged the development of a major tradition of Sufi verse in the Avadhi dialect of Eastern Hindi. The geographical location of the Rama myth in Avadh made Avadhi peculiarly appropriate also for the version of the Ramayan epic by the sixteenth century poet Tulsidas, which is still regarded as forming the crowning glory of the whole of Hindi literature.

The prime style of literary Hindi from the late fifteenth century onwards is, however, based on the Western Hindi dialect of Braj Bhāṣā. This derived its inspiration from the association of the Braj area, to the south-east of Delhi, with the childhood of Krishna. A proliferation in the sixteenth century of sectarian Krishnaite poets, of whom the most famous is the semi-legendary Surdas, laid the foundation for a more generalized use of Braj for a wide range of literary and semi-literary genres over much
of North India. This development was encouraged not only by the sacred association with Krishna, but also by the location of the Mughal capital of Agra in the Braj area: courtly patronage thus came to be added to religious devotion. Until the closing decades of the nineteenth century, it was in fact Braj and not the neighbouring KhB which was meant by the designation ‘Hindi’ in the perception of most Hindus, and the erroneous theory that Urdu is somehow the product of a mixture of Persian with Braj — a theory still to be encountered in Muslim accounts of Urdu — continues to reflect the dialect’s past domination of the Hindi scene.

14. Classical Urdu
The Muslims of North India were as indifferent as the Hindus to the cultivation of KhB in the medieval period. Although there are notable Muslim contributions to e.g. Avadhi, Braj or Panjabi poetry, the vast bulk of medieval Indo-Muslim literature is written in Persian.

By another of those paradoxical developments in which the history of Hindi-Urdu so abounds, the first substantial tradition of writing in Urdu was founded not in the North but in the Deccan, where the lingua franca of Delhi had been introduced into the quite alien linguistic territory of Telugu and the other Dravidian languages by the Muslim invasions of the thirteenth century. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Deccan was divided among several powerful Muslim kingdoms, and the rulers of Bijapur and Golkunda (modern Hyderabad) in particular were notable poets and patrons not only of Persian but also of the archaic local variety of Urdu known as Dakanî. Motivated in part doubtless by a wish to assert their separate identity from the Mughal empire which was to absorb them by 1687, these courts produced considerable quantities of Dakanî verse, although their archaic language effectively separates them from the mainstream of classical Urdu.

This literary tradition was established as the double consequence of the conquest of the Deccan kingdoms by Aurangzeb (d. 1707) and the collapse of stable central authority which ensued so rapidly after his death. The migration of poets from the Deccan introduced the jaded Persian poets of the capital to the charms of vernacular poetry more or less at the point when the chaos wreaked by fresh invaders from Afghanistan called into question the attractiveness of Persian as the sole cultural medium of Indian Islam. Although detailed developments are necessarily obscured by the political turmoil of the mid-eighteenth century, it is quite clear that Urdu, suitably refined to meet the cultivated norms of the Delhi literati, soon replaced Persian as the preferred poetic vehicle of the Muslim elite. Their Persianized standard was to survive the enforced migration of many of their number to such safer havens as that carved out for themselves in Avadh by the Navaab-Vazirs who ruled from Lucknow; it was also to determine directly the subsequent elevation of Urdu, and indirectly to govern the contrary development of modern Hindi as its more successful rival.

Although such classic masters of early Urdu poetry as Mir (d. 1810) continued to favour Persian for their prose works, the gradual shift from Persian to Urdu was soon to gather an unstoppable momentum. It took
rather longer for Urdu to gather its modern name. Until well into the
nineteenth century, the old Persian labels of hindī, etc., were supplemented
by a vogue for the Persian designation rěxtā ‘Mixed language’. Eventually,
however, it was apparently the splendidly mixed title of the cantonment
area of Mughal Delhi, known as Urdū-e mu'allā ‘The Exalted Camp’ —
combining the Turkish loan urdū (meaning ‘camp’ and cognate with
English ‘horde’), the Persian izafat-construction -e, and the Arabic
adjective mu'allā — which by abbreviation gave the language the name by
which it has come to be known.

2. The British Raj

In the narrow terms which used to be set by colonial historians, the British
supremacy over South Asia was established as the successful result of a
long process of infighting, largely at sea, between the expansionist countries
of western Europe. From the early sixteenth century, the Portuguese had
been the most successful of these, and their historic role as the first militant
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as padre > pādrī ‘priest’ and egreja > girā ‘church’.

As a result of the military victories won by Clive at Plassey in 1757 and
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dominate the political evolution of South Asia until Independence in 1947.
Although the British rulers were at first unwilling and later unable to
establish their local cultural presence in terms of large-scale conversions
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impact upon the linguistic evolution of Hindi-Urdu was to prove even
greater. In this process, the immediate input from the superior military
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civilatrice of Victorian England and the subsequent emergence of English
as the premier world language, first from Britain and later from America.
Although English is identified as the language of colonialism in India and
Pakistan, the powerfully imposed heritage has become quite as difficult to
escape for both Hindi and Urdu protagonists as the separate inheritances
of Sanskrit and Persian with which each are so much more at home. In
their differential preferences, the shadows of imperial ‘divide and rule’ of
course continue to flicker: and it is therefore worth tracing in some detail
the triple process of increasingly polarized reactions between the dominant
imperial power, Muslim protagonists of Urdu and Hindu protagonists of
Hindi.

21. The Impact of British Rule

The Muslims were only the last in a succession of invaders of South Asia
through the passes allowing access on its north-western frontier. The long-
mounted process of European naval assaults on the coasts of the
subcontinent brought substantial territorial reward only when the British
were able, as a result of internal dissension, to capture the soft underbelly
of Bengal, where they established their capital until 1912 at Calcutta.
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subcontinent’s heartland in the Doab between the Yamuna and the Ganga from which South Asia has always been dominated. But the westwards move, through Plassey rather than through Panipat, which was thus enforced upon the expansion of British sovereignty, did much to determine the ways in which Hindi and Urdu would evolve.

The realms opened to the East India Company by Clive’s initial victory, which included most of modern Bihar and Orissa as well as Bengal, were both conveniently masked by the Company’s assumption of the role of divâni to the notional authority of the Mughal emperor, and practically by the use of Persian to administer its new territories. The progressive extension of British control over North India until the nineteenth century continued to exist under this convenient fiction, through which Company servants would administer their Indian subjects under Mughal rules in Persian. The handover of cultural supremacy from Persian to English was therefore extraordinarily long drawn-out.

While the process has, with some justification, come to be seen by Hindu nationalists as a rather cosy deal between the British and their Muslim predecessors (whose total subjugation by the Hindu majority of North India was in the interests of neither party), the truth of the matter is somewhat more complex. The British began by drafting their new laws in English, while continuing to require the Company’s servants to administer them to its Bengali-speaking subjects in Persian. The implicit awkwardness of this situation eventually led to the establishment of Fort William College in Calcutta in 1800 as an academy designed to impart some knowledge of Indian languages to young British officials, and several of the simple adaptations and translations devised as textbooks for the new College achieved a certain fame, particularly in the already half-developed medium of Urdu prose (1).

The internal switch from Persian to Urdu within the Muslim community, now increasingly subjugated to the direct impact of British rule, was somewhat lurchingly realized in prose, as opposed to poetry. The eccentric litterateur Insha (d. 1818) played with KhB sans its Persian loans to produce one of the first pieces of sustained Hindi prose (2). But this is something of a sport, and the real evolution first of Urdu, then of Hindi as the major literary languages of the old heartlands of North India was determined by the less whimsical factors of the deliberate cultural self-determination of its Muslim and Hindu inhabitants and the uncertainly applied patronage of their English-speaking rulers.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the triple operation of these very divergent forces was to lead first towards the encouragement of Urdu as a sophisticated medium for all types of prose writing, and more gradually towards the evolution of a KhB-based Sanskritized Hindi written in the Nagari script. The new style of Hindi captured the sympathies of the then under-privileged Hindu majority and came to challenge the supremacy of the medieval Brâj tradition in the literary field; its relationship to Urdu became increasingly one of rivalry, and eventually the naked opposition between the causes of Hindi and Urdu was to become an important factor in the communal conflict which led to the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947.
22. *The Heyday of Urdu*

Urdu seemed for a variety of reasons to have everything going for it from the early nineteenth century to the early twentieth century: because it was becoming increasing congenial to the Muslims, for whom its debt to the classical past compensated for their own increasing remoteness from the Persian heritage; because the British, who called it 'Hindustani', seized upon it as a convenient medium for the administration of the territories which fell under their control during their westwards progress from Bihar through present U.P. until their eventual conquest of the Panjab in 1849; and because the specialist Hindu castes who had acted as record-keepers for their erstwhile Muslim political masters were ready to cooperate in the shift from Persian to English and to Urdu at the higher and lower levels respectively of the administration demanded by their new political masters.

Within the North Indian Urdu-speaking Muslim community itself, long dominant in the towns and cities of their historic heartlands in U.P. and Bihar, there was never any question as to natural linguistic allegiance. Further reinforced by the cautious British allowance of at least notional rule by the Kings of Avadh in Lucknow until 1856 and the nominal survival of the Mughal emperors in Delhi until the suppression of the Mutiny in 1858, the Muslim elite turned with enthusiasm to the cultivation of Urdu as a worthy classical successor to Persian poetry. Standards of correct usage were elaborately defined, with a nice sense of the difference between Delhi and Lucknow norms; and these were gradually transferred to prose usage also, as Urdu finally came to replace Persian during the early nineteenth century as the natural medium of expression for Indian Muslims. Stylistically, this internal process achieves its apogee in the letters written by Ghalib (d. 1869), the greatest of classical Urdu poets and one of the last who was equally at home in Persian (3).

At a sub-literary level, the great debate among Indian Muslims induced by their palpable loss to the British of political control of their destinies and by their increasingly-feared domination by the numerically superior Hindus who had once been their subjects equally came to be conducted in a more down-to-earth variety of Urdu. One of the bluntest pamphleteers was Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (d. 1898), scion of a family with long traditions of service to the Mughals, whose enthusiasm for his co-religionists' espousing of the British cause came to be matched only by his suspicion of the claims for increased imperial recognition of Hindi being voiced by some of his Hindu fellow-countrymen (4).

While Sir Sayyid lived, however, Urdu continued to enjoy the security of British patronage across North India as the official language of Bihar, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and the Panjab, not to speak of the more traditional patronage it continued to receive in the Deccan from the Nizams of Hyderabad, the premier native princes of British India allowed theoretically absolute responsibility for the rule of a state about the size of France. Nevertheless, from the late nineteenth century, the linguistic rivalry between Urdu and its increasingly promoted rival Hindi within the terms set by English-speaking rulers became increasingly intense.

Although increasingly hampered by their historically privileged status as an urban minority in North India, the Urdu-speaking Muslims were still
able to field many competent champions. Not the least of these were disciples of Sir Sayyid’s such as the poet Hali (d. 1914), whose own prescriptions for the development of Urdu attempted to steer his co-religionists away from the ever more sterile debate between the differential niceties of Delhi and Lucknow usage in favour of a more generous appreciation of the common-or-garden ‘Hindi’ element in their language (6).

Even though the demands of an increasingly articulate Hindu middle class induced the British gradually to abrogate Urdu’s privileged status first in Bihar (1881) and then partially in the U.P. (1900), they too continued to favour ‘Hindustani’ (i.e. simplified Urdu) as the language into which government recruits fresh from England were immediately pitched. The great dictionary of Platts (1884) is an early reflection of this preference, which continues to be illustrated in the bias of many later text-books, produced under highly-skilled British patronage with an ensured sale to hopeful candidates from the Indian Services until 1947 (9).

This odd kind of British Army Urdu, though so useful for issuing orders to recruits (rangrūt) at the level of ‘shoulder arms karol!’, and so bewitching to Kipling and his imitators, bears little relation to the typical output of Urdu prose writers. The evident threat posed by the official recognition of Hindi as a provincial language of equal status with Urdu in the U.P. is reflected in the obsessions of much early twentieth century writing. By yet another of those famous paradoxes, some self-statements by Urdu writers date from the time when their language was soon to succumb in the face of the inexorable advance of Hindi.

Perhaps the best advised were those who looked to the codification of Urdu, such as the long-lived grammarian and lexicographer Abdul Haq (10). But it is hard not to feel a greater sympathy with those who recorded their admiration of the former previous culture of Lucknow, as did Sharar (11); and if his rebarbatively Persianized style is sufficient to repel, adequate recompense may be found in the reminiscences of Old Delhi conjured up by Farhatullah Beg (13), whose wizard style illustrates how the KhB dialect adapts equally well to Urdu as it does to Hindi norms.

It is, however, significant that all these writers were at some stage impelled to move south to seek the safe patronage of the Nizams of Hyderabad. Sharar’s stay there was admittedly short and stormy: but Abdul Haq’s reputation as the Bābā-e urdū owed much to his appointment as Professor of Urdu in the Nizam’s Osmania University, while Farhatullah Beg’s elegant evocations of old Delhi might hardly have been produced were it not for his advancement through the state’s judicial hierarchy.

In its casually unjust fashion, British India allowed for all sorts of such processes of cultural advancement. But the demographic realities of relative communal numbers were eventually to ensure that the crucial heartlands of North India would pass from cultural domination by their historic Muslim elite into the hands of a middle-class majority made ever more aware of their Hindu heritage.
23. The Rise of Modern Hindi

As the last decades of the nineteenth century passed by, the position of Hindi stood in stark contrast to that of Urdu, and increasingly the two languages began to perceive each other as rivals in an arena in which political and communal issues were growing inexorably in importance. Various impediments stood in the way of Hindi; one of the most insuperable was the disjunction between the new KhB style — increasingly being promoted as the basis for literature as well as practical usage — and the Braj Bhāṣā tradition which had served for so long as the literary language of the Hindi area. Whereas Urdu had enjoyed an unbroken sequence of literary development with KhB as its foundation, and was well equipped to exploit as literary copy the sweetly sorrowful nostalgia which accompanied the social changes of the times (11), Hindi was having to undergo the painful process of a switch from one dialect to another. The incipient development of a journalistic prose style was achieved without great difficulty on English models (5), but the delayed birth of a new basis for Hindi poetry was an altogether more fraught experience, calling for the expert attentions of literary midwives such as Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi (d. 1938) (12).

In the area of education and administration Hindi endured a number of setbacks in the nineteenth century. In 1835 the Government had committed itself to the propagation of Western culture through English-medium education at the expense of Indian vernaculars, and to the use of English in the higher courts; then two years later it was Urdu, not Hindi, which succeeded Persian as the administrative language of the North-Western Provinces. While such changes were often academic insofar as they did little to make official procedures more comprehensible to the lay populace (7), they underline the fact that despite the slow but steady progress being made in the rarefied world of Hindi litterateurs there was still no widely accepted modern style of Hindi which could be promoted to perform the essential administrative functions of government.

Backing for Hindi came from unofficial quarters, broadly to be categorized as literary and reformist. The writers and educationalists comprising the first category propagated Hindi in a spirit which glowed in the Sanskritic Hindu tradition; but at the same time they often had a catholic and non-communal approach underpinned by the educational norms of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in which literacy in Persian was still an accepted part of schooling for middle-class Hindu boys (19). In the second category came the parallel but opposite forces of Christian proselytism and reformist Hinduism, notably the Arya Samaj founded by Swami Dayananda. The example of Bengali, which had been in contact with British influences for much longer because of the British presence in Calcutta, did much to encourage the proponents of Hindi both in terms of the potential for the development of a viable communal vernacular and in terms of suggesting directions for the fledgling literature. But perhaps inevitably the Hindi movement’s own fulcrum came to be located in Benares and Allahabad, the twin bases of Hindu power in Northern India, from where the majority of future Hindi writers were to emerge: a geographical dimension was thus given to the rift dividing Hindi
from Urdu, which had its traditional bases in Delhi and Lucknow.

The rivalry between Hindi and Urdu hinged on its most obvious and graphic manifestation, that of script. This had been much less of an issue in earlier periods of the development of Hindi, since the old genres of literature had largely been transmitted orally — as was appropriate in a population whose cultural life was not based solely or even primarily upon literacy. The new Hindi was uncompromisingly that of the literate classes, a tiny minority in the Hindi-speaking area but one in whose hands lay all the potential for employment in the middle-class professions. As the beginnings of a national consciousness spread across India from Bengal in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the growing middle-class readership of Hindi responded with enthusiasm to the increased availability of a widening variety of Hindi publications. The All-India National Congress had been founded in 1885, and its more extremist leading edge began to inculcate the 'swadeshi' ideal which emphasized the importance to national unity of promoting home-grown products and boycotting imports. India's discovery of its own glorious past, emboldened by the enthusiastic researches of Western Indologists (24), aided the recovery of national self-confidence and the development of this consciousness of national unity. Language was a natural subject for the swadeshi principle, and there was a growing awareness of the inappropriateness of the dependence on English as the medium of administration and high culture. At the same time, exposure to English literature and writing offered an alluring demonstration of the potential lying untapped in the new style of Hindi prose. Against this background the first experiments in creative writing were made, faltering steps in imitation of English or Bengali models but real Hindi literature nonetheless. By the end of the century the ground-rules for a Sanskritized style of Hindi prose were well established, and while literacy in Urdu had once been the norm amongst educated Hindi-speakers, a continuing tradition of education in Urdu alongside Hindi (21) and Sanskrit (20) held off the day when literacy in Urdu was to be equated more and more narrowly with membership of the Muslim community.

Pride in the ancient glories of India yielded to more politically-orientated expressions of nationalistic thought in the output of poets and prose-writers alike, and an expanding circle of Hindi writers took up these themes, encouraged by the new demand for literature reflecting the aspirations of nationhood. Real power, of course, continued to lie in the hands of the English-speaking administrators, both English and Indian; and the swadeshi insistence on the use of Indian vernaculars and its concomitant rejection of English was at least partly a symbolic gesture, like the burning of Lancashire-milled cotton in favour of the domestic product dubbed by Nehru 'the livery of our freedom'.
3. **Before and After Independence**

The language question in the decades leading up to Independence was dominated by the issues of the broader nationalist debate, in which the confrontation between the Indians and the British was accompanied by communal rivalries between Hindu and Muslim. Although all nationalist parties were agreed on the desirability of replacing English after Independence, much energy was consequently devoted during the 1930s and 1940s to arguing the respective merits of Hindi, Urdu, and the compromise Hindustani as its natural successor.

In the event, there were to be no absolute winners on either side of the new frontiers established by the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947. English, though formally demoted in status, has continued to be the natural language of the elite in both countries. Hindi, although greatly encouraged by its post-independence promotion as the national language of India and cementing its hold in the states of the North, has yet to achieve the total supremacy envisaged for it by its most committed proponents. Urdu, while gaining new status in Pakistan, found its position *vis-à-vis* Hindi much weakened in India. And while Hindustani has received no official patronage, it actually continues to command the greatest popularity of all, as the de facto language of the mass media. The fact that the influence of the language of a Bombay blockbuster movie can easily outweigh and undo that exerted by the innumerable agencies set up to promote the higher registers of Hindi in India or Urdu in Pakistan needs to be borne in mind when reading the following account of linguistic politics over the past decades; also to be remembered is the ironic reality that the question of script, while necessarily central to the question of language in the Hindi-Urdu context, does not actually touch the illiterate majority of the speakers of the two languages.

31. **The Urdu-Hindi-Hindustani Debate**

By the time that the All-India National Congress was finally transformed into a genuine mass movement under Gandhi's leadership after the First World War, the Hindi cause was sufficiently developed and the language had achieved sufficient official recognition in the populous provinces of U.P. and Bihar to make it an increasingly serious rival to Urdu. For a while, the Congress commanded wide support across the communal divide, aided in part by the fact that the nationalist leadership was itself often more at home in English than in any Indian language: Nehru and Jinnah are the outstanding examples of such Anglicized nationalists. For such men, the adoption of Hindustani in 1925 as the language of Congress, however politically desirable, must have felt as unfamiliar as the donning of the homespun cotton cloth which Gandhi introduced as the Congress uniform. Nor must it be forgotten that, even after Jinnah's assumption of the leadership of the Muslim League in 1935 and his increasingly successful promotion of it as the major party of the Muslims, there were always Muslims in the Congress leadership, many of whom, such as Abul Kalam Azad (14), were rewarded with senior positions after 1947.
Nevertheless, the two extremes of the political spectrum came to be dominated more and more by the Hindu demand for Hindi as the national language, matched by the Muslim demand for the separate retention of Urdu, each community seeing in its language the quintessence of its cultural identity—not to speak of a continuing practical usefulness in the case of Urdu. At this stage, it is important to remember, the possibility of Partition had not arisen, and it was the choice of an indigenous all-India language to replace English that was at issue.

Gandhi, himself a native-speaker of Gujarati educated in English, was insistent that the answer to the language problem lay in a compromise between Hindu and Muslim interests. His advocacy of a middle-of-the-road Hindustani seems at first glance to have been eminently reasonable, as it exploited the already widely current lingua franca without offering offence to either side. It certainly appealed to such influential Gandhians as the author Premchand (d. 1936), the Hindu Kayasth who was the only writer to have achieved an equally great reputation in both languages—first in Urdu and then in Hindi (15). But in fact Gandhi’s Hindustani was culturally neither fish nor fowl but a compromise whose political usefulness depended on its convenience as a rallying-cry in the fight against the imperialism of the British and their language: it offered no offence but at the same time invited no committed enthusiasm from any substantial section of the population. Most important of all, the question of script was entirely begged by the Hindustani camp: Gandhi’s bland assumption that ultimate acceptance of Nagari would present no real problem to the Muslim minority seems in retrospect to have been hopelessly naive.

By the 1940s, as the political divide between Hindus and Muslims became even deeper, Gandhi’s Hindustani was already coming to be seen as a non-starter. Hindi-promoting organizations which had previously felt constrained to give the compromise language some support under Gandhi’s lead now abandoned even this lip-service (16). And even the Communists, whose expressly non-communal concern with the Indian masses provided the Marxist inspiration behind the Progressive movement that then dominated both Hindi and Urdu literature, were able to suggest only that Hindi and Urdu should be given equal recognition (18).

In retrospect, much of the Urdu-Hindi-Hindustani debate may seem largely academic. But, although overtaken in the real world by the traumatic events and consequences of the Partition of 1947, the arguments then advanced can still prove illuminating in considering the tangled relationship of the twins. Perhaps they might have lived as Siamese twins after all: but the surgery effected by the abrupt departure of the British was to ensure that they would develop quite separately.

32. Hindi in India

Doubts about the appropriateness of introducing Sanskritized Hindi as the national language continued to be voiced after Independence, notably by Nehru, the Anglicized scion of a distinguished family of Kashmiri Pandits—a group who share with the Kayasths a cross-communal combination of Hindu religion with Persian culture. The draft Constitution of 1948 left the issue unresolved, and the debate rumbled on inside and outside Parliament.
for another year, with the old question of script and in particular the choice between Nagari and Arabic numerals proving to be sticking-points. The Constitution finally provided that Hindi in the Nagari script (but favouring Arabic numerals) was to be the official language of the Union, but also that English would continue to be used for official purposes for fifteen years, Hindi being used in parallel in certain circumstances. As a precaution, the possibility of English being used beyond the fifteen-year period was also allowed for.

Thus for the first time in its history, Hindi had been promoted to the status of national language: but both intrinsic linguistic factors and the wider political issues inevitable in such a linguistically diverse federal state as the Republic of India have inhibited a full assumption of that role. Intrinsically, although ever more careful guidelines for the correct usage of Hindi have been prescribed (17), the translation into Hindi of English-language statutes and official papers demanded the coining of tens of thousands of neologisms in the areas of technical and administrative vocabulary: but although a copious supply of words, largely drawn from the inexhaustible resources of the Sanskrit lexicon, have been readily provided by official bodies, it has proved less easy to induce their effective currency.

Modern Sanskritized Hindi, as promulgated by Central government, thus continues to reflect the artificiality which imbued its idealistic creation in the nineteenth century. Although there can be no doubt that it has — at least in its less rebarbatively Sanskritized forms — gradually achieved a much wider level of acceptance in the four decades since Independence, it has yet finally to overcome its traditional rivals, whether English or Urdu: and the very strength of its official promotion has encouraged a backlash effect from speakers of other Indian languages (particularly in the South, where opposition to the imposition of Hindi has been at its most virulent), who feel their interests to be threatened. It can be of little surprise that decades of official propagation of Hindi have seen only partial success, for real changes in language use cannot be achieved through the training of stenographers or the passing of recommendations as to office procedure. The real power for bringing about changes in language use lies with the mass media, especially the cinema, whose colossal influence either on the big screen or nowadays through video encourages the continued use of a natural and honest mixture of linguistic registers, thereby helping to preserve the centuries-old status quo of an eclectic Hindustani. The ‘Hindi’ film owes just as much to Urdu as it does to Hindi in its dialogue and songs, and many of its greatest stars come from backgrounds which reflect this mixture (21).

Moreover, at the national level, Hindi continues to have to assume a somewhat subordinate role in relation to English. The dominance of English in the public sector, enshrined in the Official Languages Act of 1963, derives from its triple status as the major contemporary language of world communication, its continuing attractiveness to the Indian elite (whose education at the Doon School and similar establishments involves only fairly elementary competence in Hindi) and its convenience as a language shared, however thinly, by all parts of the country while
belonging to no part of it in particular. Six northern states (U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh) and the Union Territory of Delhi have Hindi as their official language: and the obvious advantages to be derived from this head start in the competition for government jobs if Hindi were to be made the exclusive central language of India have always been apparent to the often more prosperous citizens of the peripheral states. English therefore continues to be a symbol of their security as equal citizens. India is at present governed by the so-called ‘three-language formula’, which recommends teaching at secondary level in (a) Hindi, (b) a regional language (preferably a Dravidian one if the regional language is itself Hindi), and (c) English. But this largely remains an abstract ideal, with most states having adapted the formula to their own ends.

Nevertheless, at the crucial state level which controls the education system and consequently the basic language of literacy (even if this remains well below 50%), Hindi has secured a powerful success in its own bloc, and the production of ever-greater numbers of Hindi-educated secondary school graduates is matched by the success with which modern Hindi is seen to be the natural heir of such intrinsically diverse forms of NIA as Braj, Avadhi and Rajasthani, whose once proud status as major literary languages in their own right has now been reduced to that of ‘dialects’ of Hindi.

The often poisonous heritage of the intimate association between communal politics and language in India has, however, ensured the rival survival of languages often far more closely related to modern Hindi than such NIA variants as those just mentioned. In their truncated Panjab, the Sikhs have secured the establishment of Panjabi as a language quite separate from Hindi. And while the depletion of Muslim influence entailed by the migrations which followed from Partition has destroyed the former power-base of Urdu-speakers in the cities and towns of U.P. and Bihar, the recognition officially accorded to Urdu as an official language of India by the Constitution continues to assure its role as a focus of loyalty for the country’s largest religious minority.

33. **Urdu in India and Pakistan**

The ferocious communal violence of 1947, which led to such tragic losses of life and homes for all the major religious communities of what was formerly northern India, resulted in the effective destruction of the Urdu-speaking Muslim middle-class of U.P. and Bihar as a major political force. Many chose or were forced to emigrate either to West or to East Pakistan, and those who remained have been compelled to come to terms with their destiny as citizens of Indian states in which the long-fought struggle between Hindi and Urdu has resulted in the former’s conclusive triumph. Of course, both in these states and in other outliers of the formerly Muslim-dominated urban realm, notably the city of Hyderabad and its environs in the former domain of the Nizams, now the capital of the Telugu-speaking state of Andhra Pradesh, Muslim institutions continue to thrive and Urdu continues to be cultivated. But the security which derived from past imperial privileges is irrevocably lost, and even the Urdu of the
younger generation has more than a touch of the Sanskritic influence of their Hindi schooling in terms of natural choice of vocabulary. Somewhat bizarrely, Urdu survives as a state language only in Kashmir. The still-contested legitimacy of Kashmir’s accession to the Indian Union, which has so bedevilled subsequent relations between India and Pakistan, has served to preserve Urdu in India as the official language of the only state with a Muslim majority, even if most of them speak Kashmiri, an IA language about as remote from the norms of Hindi-Urdu as it would be possible to conceive.

In Pakistan, by contrast, the cause of Urdu — further fuelled by the emigration of so many Urdu-speakers to the new Islamic homeland — found the most enthusiastic initial welcome. But this keenness to make Urdu the national language of the new country in the same way as Hindus in India were attempting to replace English with Hindi soon foundered on the linguistic realities so conveniently removed from the hurriedly drafted terms of the Radcliffe Commission, which was appointed to draw the Partition line exclusively on the basis of communal majorities, district by district. Quite as proud of their premier Bengali culture as their Hindu cousins across the border in West Bengal, the inhabitants of East Pakistan soon made it clear that their accession to a South Asian Islamic state by no means implied their abdication of their Bengali heritage in favour of Urdu.

The authoritarian regime of Ayub Khan (1958–69) attempted to achieve a balance of interests between the divided wings of Pakistan by amalgamating the linguistically diverse provinces of the West into the so-called ‘One Unit’ where Urdu was given supremacy on an equal basis with Bengali as the natural language of the monolingual East wing, with the customary de facto preservation of the status of English (albeit on a narrower basis than in India). This uneasy compromise was destroyed by the revolt in the East which led to the Indo-Pakistan war of 1971, and to the secession of Bangladesh as an independent state.

Within the surviving western wing of Pakistan, Urdu has continued to be officially fostered, although the level of encouragement given to it has been determined by the different calculations made by the various conformations of the regimes which have governed the country. At the regional level, the numerical predominance of the Panjab, whose inhabitants mostly speak some variety of Panjabi but are now some of the most enthusiastic adherents of Urdu as a cultural language, is balanced by the latent hostility to Urdu felt by the inhabitants of the smaller provinces, notably Sind whose largest city, Karachi, became home to the largest concentration of Urdu-speakers in South Asia as a consequence of Partition (22). The ideology which brought Pakistan into being as an Islamic state has thus yet to be supplemented by a shared cultural understanding capable of doing justice to its intrinsic linguistic diversity, in spite of the efforts of its anti-Indian philologists (24).
4. The Range of Hindi and Urdu

The preceding sections have attempted to provide a minimal background for the understanding of the modern evolution of Hindi and Urdu. Inevitably concentrating upon reference to externally determining factors, these have largely disregarded the internal dynamics which make Hindi and Urdu what they are today.

Part II of this introduction is devoted to a serial description of the linguistic components of these twinned but now separate languages. But, while a technical acquaintance with the formation of Arabic and Persian or Sanskrit words is crucial to a full understanding of all styles of Urdu or Hindi, these styles also demand a more general appreciation. It is to such a necessary preliminary overview that the paragraphs of this section are dedicated.

41. Hindustani-Urdu-Hindi

The respective circumstances over which Urdu and Hindi have evolved over the past couple of centuries provide the chief parameters in which written styles of language are first to be viewed. But, as in any language, it is that individual contribution forthcoming from an individual writer’s genius or talent which allows one to delight in any particular register, and the way in which it has been suited to meet the demands of expression to be expected in a particular genre of writing.

A great many varieties of style within the triangle determined by the three extreme points of deliberately down-to-earth Hindustani, highly Persianized Urdu and highly Sanskritized Hindi are inevitably to be detected from a superficial reading of texts in both languages: and the specimens selected for this book fall at various points around this triangular pattern. Given the time-depth we have sought to explore, perceptions of historical development should also rightly colour stylistic appreciation. On the other hand, our selection has necessarily been restricted by practical considerations: and many typical styles are hardly represented. Although we have attempted to steer some sort of middle course between the extremes of Sanskritized Hindi and Persianized Urdu, and have deliberately rejected speciously produced examples of ‘fine writing’ in either language per se, we have — for instance — nevertheless not found room for exemplification of the style of sports reportage which, whether in Hindi or Urdu, continues to be so profoundly influenced by both technical English loans and by English syntax.

The following sections are accordingly composed as brief overall introductions to the pieces we have succeeded in including in this anthology. If a certain bias emerges towards the more flexible styles which continue to be practised to such effect in both Hindi and Urdu, this perhaps reflects our double impatience with the ultra-varieties so disastrously attractive to the ‘purists’ in either camp.

42. The Range of Urdu

In spite of the latter-day efforts of protagonists of Hindi to depict Urdu as a deviant version of the ārya bhāṣā of India, the simple fact remains that it is a language which people in large numbers — albeit not geographically
concentrated — actually speak as their mother tongue.

Urdu did nevertheless have to face the formidable heritage of its Persian predecessor, for so long cultivated as the formal medium for prose-writing of all kinds by the Muslim courts of medieval India. The more remote Indo-Persian became from its spoken origins in Iran and Central Asia, the more obsessive the attention that was paid by its Indian practitioners to the niceties of the elaborate rhymed style (inşā) which was demanded from munshis supposedly competent in Persian. The British requirement for simplified texts which underlay the Fort William enterprise modified this heritage, without excoriating all its formalistic redundancies or — of course — being able to avoid what have come to be seen as archaisms (1).

From a subsequent perspective, this early example of the Urdu of c. 1800 is also distinguished stylistically by a rather lax intertwining of its Persian and KhB elements. The preciosity of the declining courts of Lucknow and Delhi did their best to excise such imprecisions, principally in poetry but also in prose: but happily they were never quite to succeed in their attempted regulation of Urdu into a nicely-schooled niece of Persian. Ghalib, unquestionably one of the greatest of all Urdu poets, was quite casually eclectic in the inimitable prose-style he evolved for his letters, incorporating Persian and Arabic phrases, constructions and tags in the most natural fashion with an underlying syntax determined by the norms of Hindustani speech (3). Ghalib was, however, a great stylist: and without his linguistic genius, Urdu was equally capable of falling unaided into the pit of Sir Sayyid’s rough style (4), or — with British encouragement — into the lifeless translations of their prescribed Hindustani textbooks (9).

While Urdu still looked as if it would enjoy a secure future in an undivided South Asia, a great range of styles was able to flourish. These ascended or descended — according to one’s point of view — from the magically contrived ‘simple’ evocations of Delhi usage achieved by such master-stylists as Farhatullah Beg (13) to the oportundly Persianizing journalese preferred by Sharar in his capacity as self-appointed memorialist of the lost kingdom of Avadh (11). Between these extremes, a more natural literary idiom came to be evolved for such diverse purposes as literary criticism (6), linguistics (10), political autobiography (14) or pamphleteering (18). Although more Persianized both in vocabulary and constructions than spoken Urdu, this everyday literary Urdu style has a rather closer relationship to the norms of educated spoken Urdu than exists between literary and spoken Hindi.

Unfortunately for the continuance of this intrinsically natural Urdu style, as developed by native speakers from present-day Haryana to Calcutta in India, its evolution has come to lie in the linguistically alien territory of Pakistan. Cultural chauvinism vis-à-vis India, together with the inferiority-complex vis-à-vis the native-speakers of Urdu now settled in Pakistan, have come to encourage the development of a hyper-Persianized idiom quite as artificial as the modern hyper-Sanskritized Hindi of India. While given a certain force by the country’s most prominent orators (22), the style of most Urdu writing in Pakistan all too accurately reflects the bombastically Persianized register of the official media (24).
43. *The Range of Hindi*

The unsympathetic attitude of the Hindi camp towards Urdu described in the previous section is reciprocated in the typical Urdu-speaker's view of Hindi — namely, in the memorable phrase of a character created by Anita Desai, as a 'vegetarian monster'. The style of Hindi which has prompted this view is the officially-promoted language with its heavy reliance on Sanskrit loans and neologisms, use of which is invariably equated with the concept of linguistic 'purity' (17). The degree of Sanskritization adopted by an author is the most important variable in Hindi prose style. It depends not only on chronology (though an increased use of *tatsamas* is certainly a feature of the modern language), but also on the background of the individual writer, the degree of abstraction of his subject-matter and its position on a scale stretching from deliberately elitist polemic to the more natural registers of creative or narrative prose.

The first attempts at writing Hindi prose such as those of the eccentric Insha (2) were necessarily experimental and self-conscious, and it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that a more natural style was to emerge. At that stage, before the Hindi-Urdu question had become an acrimonious communal issue, a high proportion of Sanskrit vocabulary did not necessarily have the corollary of a low number of Perso-Arabic loans, and a spontaneously eclectic register was achieved by such innovators as Harishchandra (5); and despite the constant attraction of Sanskrit loans, a mixed style of this kind has continued to find favour with gifted Hindi authors (21). Specialized subjects such as literary criticism, however, have of course always drawn heavily on the ready-made technical vocabulary of Sanskrit (12), and a similarly Sanskritized register invariably accompanies any subject matter with a specifically Hindu cultural context (20).

In the early decades of the present century it was the norm for Hindu boys of some social standing to be tutored in Urdu and Persian (19), a fact which obviously had its effect on the Hindi style adopted by writers with this background. Such an education was, however, far from universal, and the use of high-flown Urdu in public life and administration often caused an unbridgeable comprehension gap between the servants of the state and the lay public (7); even for the literate sections of society the use of Perso-Arabic words in the Nagari script was a somewhat baffling problem (8).

In the years leading up to Independence, the question of linguistic register assumed a new importance: no longer a merely academic issue, it became one of the clearest symbols of cultural identity in the turmoil of communal politics. While the more fervent Hindu nationalists saw Sanskritized Hindi as the appropriate choice of national language for independent India, those seeking a rapprochement of Hindu and Muslim interests joined Gandhi in a more conciliatory stance supporting Hindustani (16). Some important voices such as the Bengali poet Tagore were at best ambivalent to the attribution to Hindi of the new national role, since they regarded their own regional languages as having a better-established literary tradition; this revived the old question about the connexion between the language of literature and that of everyday speech — a debate whose echoes go back to Insha's generation — some advocates of Hindi such as the poet Nirala insisting that the connexion was an
irrelevance (23). Ironically, much of the polemic with which the Urdu-Hindi-Hindustani debate was fought was heavily influenced by English in its syntax and its rhetoric (15), and this most insidious of influences continues to show its impress on most modern styles of both Hindi and Urdu.
5. The Basic Components of Hindi and Urdu

Hindi (H) and Urdu (U) are susceptible to the same categories of detailed analysis as any other languages. But, of course, what makes them so interesting as a pair is the tension between their shared heritage as developments of the KhB dialect of the Delhi region, and their culturally-conditioned differential debts to other languages. Since it is assumed that users of this book will have at least a first-year student's knowledge of the core components shared by H and U, the emphasis of this part of the introduction is upon the description of the differences between them, in the context of the simple linguistic categories needed to understand these objectively.

A deliberately rapid review of the core-components of H and U in this section is accordingly followed by presentations in turn of the different loan-components provided by Sanskrit (S), Arabic (A), Persian (P), and English (E). In crudely diagrammatic terms, the pattern of these influences might be represented as:

```
  A
 /|
 / |
S | P
 /|
 / |
U ----- H
      | E
      |
      |
```

In other words, P (including the huge A component which it assimilated) has had a massive influence upon the formation of U and continues to make something of its presence felt in H, whereas S — as a source of loans, as opposed to its historical status as the etymological ancestor shared by HU — is immensely prominent in H but virtually absent from U. Only E, in however underground a fashion, exerts an equally powerful influence on both H and U.

Since the diversity of these various loan-components is anyway intrinsically so great, and demands such a considerable feat of memory for the grasp of their respective outlines, no attempt has been made here at any very sophisticated linguistic analysis. Arranged by source-language, the following five sections are accordingly sub-divided into the broad categories of (1) phonology, i.e. the sound-systems and their reflections in the scripts; (2) lexicon, i.e. vocabulary and typical processes of word-building; (3) morphology, i.e. grammatical rules and the inflexion of words; (4) syntax, i.e. the rules governing the linking of words in phrases and sentences.

Because this book is designed for use by those who can cope quite well with the vocabulary and structures of such a common HU sentence as āj tumhāre
liye beți ne câval banăe haiñ, the sections of this part of the introduction are somewhat differently weighted. This HU section, assuming a basic knowledge, is devoted to a brief discussion of the differences between H and U and the explanation of the basic grammatical terminology used in this book. The following sections (6–8), on S, A, and P, emphasize their most salient features as loan-sources for H and U respectively, principally under the categories of lexicon and morphology. The final section (9) on E should prove easier reading.

51. Phonology

The phonological structure of a language is determined by the distribution of its phonemes, i.e. those sounds whose substitution by another affects the meaning of a word. Like most NIA languages, HU has a rather simple 10-vowel system albeit with the further possibility of contrast through nasalization, and a much more complex system of consonants. The complexity of the intrinsic IA consonantal system is further compounded by the existence of loan-phonemes from S and Perso-Arabic (PA) which are somewhat differently treated in H and in U respectively.

The shared HU vowel-system can be represented on a conventional phonetic grid as:

```
   BLACK  |  FRONT  |  ROUNDED
   """"""""  | """"""""  | """"""""

HIGH
    i  i  u  û
     e  a  o
     ai au

LOW  
    å
```

Contrasts between these 10 vowel-phonemes are readily distinguished on the basis of such minimal pairs as:

- mil | meet | vs. mîl | mile
- melâ | fair | vs. mailâ | dirty

A further contrast is that of nasalization, transcribed in this book as ñ. This phonemic contrast applies to the peripheral vowels of the diagram, conventionally referred to as ‘long’ vowels in terms of their role in both H and U poetics:

- sâns | mother-in-law | vs. sâns | breath
- hai | is | vs. haiñ | are
The consonantal inventory is principally governed by the elaborate contrasts of voicing and aspiration across five points of articulation. In addition to 31 basic phonemes, a further 8 consonants with variable phonetic and phonemic status may also be distinguished. These are asterisked in the following grid:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GLOTTAL</th>
<th>VELAR</th>
<th>PALATAL</th>
<th>RETROFLEX</th>
<th>DENTAL</th>
<th>LABIAL</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VOICELESS</td>
<td>*q</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>p</td>
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<tr>
<td>— ASPIRATED</td>
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<td>ch</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ph</td>
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<td>VOICED</td>
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<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— ASPIRATED</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>jh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASAL</td>
<td>*n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRICATIVES</td>
<td>*x</td>
<td>*s</td>
<td>*s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>*f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— VOICED</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>*g</td>
<td>*z</td>
<td>*z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLAPS, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— ASPIRATED</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMIVOWELS &amp; LIQUID</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contrasts between the basic phonemes are readily established by such minimal pairs as:

- dāî nurse vs. dhāî two and a half
- parnā to fall vs. parhnā to study

But the asterisked loan-phonemes are less fully distinguished, often being assimilated to the intrinsic phonemes nearest to them in articulation. The following distinctions of PA phonemes are carefully preserved in standard U, but are often disregarded in H speech:

- *q/k
- *x/kh
- *g/g
- *z/j
- *f/ph

The weak U distinction *z/*z hardly exists in H. Similarly, the S loan-phonemes found in very careful H speech in the distinctions *n/n and *s/s are absent altogether from U, except as allophones, i.e. positionally governed variants of other phonemes. The phoneme n, for instance, is regularly pronounced in both H and U as the retroflex n before a retroflex consonant, e.g. anḍā 'egg'.
511.

511. *Hindi script and transcription*

The following conventions are used here in the transcription of H from the Nagari script:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>अ</th>
<th>आ</th>
<th>इ</th>
<th>उ</th>
<th>ऊ</th>
<th>ऋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>aː</td>
<td>iː</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ऐ</td>
<td>ओ</td>
<td>औ</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ːn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>काँ</td>
<td>ख</td>
<td>खह</td>
<td>घ</td>
<td>ङ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्ष</td>
<td>क्षः</td>
<td>ग</td>
<td>गः</td>
<td>घ</td>
<td>ːṅ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>च</td>
<td>छ</td>
<td>ज</td>
<td>जः</td>
<td>झ</td>
<td>ङ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठ</td>
<td>ठः</td>
<td>ड</td>
<td>डः</td>
<td>ढ</td>
<td>ːṅ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त</td>
<td>ठः</td>
<td>ठ</td>
<td>ठः</td>
<td>ढ</td>
<td>ङ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प</td>
<td>फः</td>
<td>फः</td>
<td>भ</td>
<td>भः</td>
<td>म</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>य</td>
<td>र</td>
<td>ल</td>
<td>व</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The characters of the Nagari syllabary do not have names as such (with the exception of the designation reph for the allographs of r), but are referred to by suffixed -kār: ‘a-kār’ etc.

The superscript anusvār either denotes vowel nasality (transcribed ŋ), in which case it is an alternative form to candrabindu (‘'); or it substitutes one of the five nasal consonants in a conjunct syllable (and is transcribed accordingly, as in andā, hindī etc.). Vowels with either anusvār or candrabindu precede unmarked vowels in dictionary order; some lexicographers list all words with vowel + candrabindu before words with vowel + anusvār, but the more usual practice is to treat them as a single category.

*Visarg*, all too easily confused with a colon in H texts, is often silent in pronunciation, though in S contexts it usually echoes the quality of the preceding vowel, so that sāntih for example is pronounced as though written sāntihi. In dictionary order, *visarg* precedes the vowels, so that duhkh for example will precede duā.

Although the Nagari script was devised to record IA sounds and the letters therefore correspond closely to H phonology, not all of them indicate independent phonemes. The spellings of S loans, in particular, naturally reflect the norms of S rather than H pronunciation. In the system of transcription used in this book, the inherent vowel a is written only where it is pronounced in H (except in section 6, dealing specifically with S forms).
512. **Urdu Script and Transcription**

The concessions made to S norms in the spelling of Nagari are minor indeed compared to the degree to which the U use of the PA alphabet is determined by the conventions of A spelling (711) and those of P orthography (811).

Thus the alphabet contains many redundant letters, asterisked in the following table, which indicated separate phonemes in A (71) but do not do so in U. The U names of the letters are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>alif</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>dāl</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>zvād</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>mim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dāl</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>toe</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pe</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>zał</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>zoś</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>vāo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>re</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>aś</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>choṭi he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>re</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>aś</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ze</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>fe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>jīm</td>
<td>ž</td>
<td>ze</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>qāf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ce</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>sīn</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kāf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>barī he</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>sīn</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>gāf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>xe</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>svād</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>lām</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowels are transcribed as pronounced according to the usual system, i.e. as a ā i ī u ū e ai o au, and the nasalizing nūn gunnā is transcribed as ň. Final silent he is written as -ā, e.g. baccā ‘child’. Written hamzā is normally disregarded in the transcription, but ‘āin is transcribed as an apostrophe. The silent vāo after xe is written as w, e.g. xwāb ‘dream’.

513. **Hindi-Urdu contrasts**

The systems of transcription used here have deliberately been made as similar to one another as possible, in order to bring out the underlying similarities between H and U which are so often obscured by their totally divergent scripts. A few purely orthographic contrasts nevertheless continue to be represented in this homogenized romanization. U š corresponds to both H s and ʂ, so that frequent instances will be encountered of a purely visual contrast between e.g. H (and S) bhāsā and U bhāsā; similarly, H has only one way of writing the final sound -ā, thus lacking the U orthographic distinction between e.g. sīnā ‘to sew’ and sīnā ‘breast’: cf. U tarā vs. H tarah.

The most obvious area of real contrasts lies of course in the differential status of loan consonant-phonemes (51). The syllabic structure of the two languages in their most sophisticated forms is similarly influenced by the different patterns of S on the one hand and PA on the other. While both languages are very careful about the spelling of their ‘own’ loan-words, and careful speakers often attempt their original pronunciation, each is equally careless about the other’s, to which the more casual rules of basic HU phonology and spellings are readily applied.
This basic phonology typically prefers a syllabic structure in which consonants alternate with vowels, avoiding clusters of consonants either initially or finally within a word: this is why E words like ‘strength’ are such tongue-twisters for HU-speakers. S, by contrast, abounds in such clusters, and there are plenty of them in final position in A words also. So S jann(a) ‘birth’ would be realized in pronunciation as janam by all U-speakers and most H-speakers. A similar rule applies to the pronunciation of unaccented short vowels, where original distinctions between i and that commonest of all IA vowels, a, are often lost. The A word intiṣār ‘waiting’, for instance, is pronounced and spelt by most H-speakers as intaṣār.

In spite of the utterly different character of the two scripts, word-boundaries in H and U are generally drawn in the same places. Minor exceptions concern such common graphic contrasts as the writing of postpositions after pronouns, the conjunctive participle, and the infinitive participle, where modern norms tend to differ between one-word H usne, muskarākar, bolnevālā and U us ne, muskara-kar, and bolne-vālā, as transcribed in this book.

The extremely casual application of E punctuation-marks to the very different norms of HU syntax in both the Nagari and the PA scripts is hardly to be reduced to contrastive rules. Where necessary, the transcriptions follow the originals.

Since an U word cannot end with a short vowel, final -i or -u in S loans must be either dropped or lengthened when represented in U: thus bhūm (= S bhūmi), bhakti (= S bhakti).

Although H spellings of AP vocabulary will normally be based on HU phonetic norms, some etymological AP spellings are occasionally preserved in H: khab/xvāb (pronounced without the -v-), and the archaic muāf, muālūm for current māf, mālūm.

52. Lexicon
The common stock of shared HU vocabulary derives from S, A, P, and European languages, and also includes a large number of vernacular words described as desī (the term ironically being Sanskritized to desī in H usage). H-speakers rarely discriminate between A and P loans, just as U-speakers designate both tatsama and tadbhava levels of S-derived vocabulary under the one category of ‘hindī’. Although HU has its own processes of word-formation (522), the effective application of these is severely curtailed by a preference for the infinitely more prolific word-forming processes of the loan-sources S and PA.

521. Indo-Aryan Etymologies
The process by which the characteristic forms of NIA vocabulary derive from their S etymology can be observed in the CDIAL, an etymological dictionary which records the various stages of development of a huge range of IA vocabulary and by so doing plots the history of linguistic change from OIA to the wide variety of NIA languages. An important and invaluable feature of CDIAL is the fact that it shows not only ‘vertical’ or chronological development but also the ‘horizontal’ variations which account for the varying sound patterns distinguishing HU from
neighbouring languages such as Panjabi or Bengali: e.g. 9349 bhagini- > Prakrit bha(g)i- > bahi > Panjabi bhaini, HU bhain, Bengali bon.

The CDIAL is best approached through the ‘Hindi’ section of its index, which gives the OIA headword reference for a given HU word. An asterisk before a headword indicates that it is not an attested S word but a hypothetical reconstruction based on the evidence of the MIA and NIA lexicon: this demonstrates how the observed connexions between the various stages of language development can be formulated as rules for the accurate construing of etymologies.

The changes from OIA (S) through MIA (Prakrit) to NIA (HU) typically involve progressive simplifications of the complex phonology of S. The regular loss of the S final short vowels -a -i -u is accompanied by many other shifts of vowel-quality and quantity. These are, however, less immediately obvious than the major changes of consonants, which may be summarized in terms of the following typical developments:

(a) The simplification of most S consonant clusters, first to doubled consonants in Prakrit (still preserved in Panjabi), then to single consonants in HU. The preceding vowel is regularly lengthened in HU, and is often nasalized; e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CDIAL</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>Prakrit</th>
<th>Panjabi</th>
<th>HU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>agni</td>
<td>aggi</td>
<td>agg</td>
<td>āg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2892</td>
<td>karman</td>
<td>kamma</td>
<td>kamm</td>
<td>kām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14024</td>
<td>hasta</td>
<td>hattha</td>
<td>hath</td>
<td>hāth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Some common HU words are in fact of the ‘Panjabi’ types, preserving the doubled consonant form; makkhan, acchā, gaddī.)

Nasalization appears in e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CDIAL</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>Prakrit</th>
<th>Panjabi</th>
<th>HU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>aksi</td>
<td>akki</td>
<td>akkh</td>
<td>ānkh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>ištakā</td>
<td>iṭṭakā</td>
<td>iṭṭ</td>
<td>iṅṭ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) the loss of many S single medial consonants, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CDIAL</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>Prakrit</th>
<th>HU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10016</td>
<td>mātr</td>
<td>māyā</td>
<td>mān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6507</td>
<td>*deksati</td>
<td>dekkhai</td>
<td>dekhe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) the reduction of S aspirated consonants to medial -h- in HU, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CDIAL</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>Prakrit</th>
<th>HU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2703</td>
<td>kahayati</td>
<td>kahai</td>
<td>kahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6146</td>
<td>dadhi</td>
<td>dahi</td>
<td>dāhi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(d) regular changes of many S consonants, e.g. of initial y- v- to HU j- v-, of medial -r- -rh- to HU -r- -rh-, and of S š to HU s in all positions, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>HU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10452</td>
<td>yāti</td>
<td>jāai</td>
<td>jāe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11511</td>
<td>vādya</td>
<td>vaija</td>
<td>bājā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10496</td>
<td>*yotayati</td>
<td>jodei</td>
<td>jore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7712</td>
<td>pāṭhaṭi</td>
<td>pāḍhai</td>
<td>parhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12278</td>
<td>śaṭa</td>
<td>saya</td>
<td>sau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6227</td>
<td>dāṣa</td>
<td>dasa</td>
<td>das</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is worth noting the typical origin of the HU phonemes r rh which are lacking in S, and the absence of š in native HU tadbhava words. The re-establishment of the phoneme here transcribed as š for H and s for U is due to the double influence of loans from S and PA.

Although H and U share this pool of tadbhava vocabulary, there are occasions on which they adopt as standard the derived forms of parallel etymons. This explains, for example, H khaṅcnā versus U khaincnā, deriving from the reconstructed roots *khaṅc- and *khainc- respectively. Similar discrepancies may occur, sometimes regionally, within H and/or U: e.g. the two forms andherā and andhiyārā, both deriving from *andhikārā.

A separate category of HU vocabulary is that of desī words, those words of vernacular origin which do not derive from S etymons. Relatively rare in the literary prose exemplified in this book, desī words are typically associated with domestic contexts and the names of artefacts; in form they resemble the simpler tadbhava words, being free of the consonant clusters of tatsama vocabulary. Examples are ṭabbar ‘family’, ḍaul ‘way’.

522. Semantic range
Their unique historical background gives to the sister-languages of H and U a unique potential range of vocabulary and register. While on the one hand the high ranges of PA and S designate ‘pure’ U and H respectively, the common ground between the two guarantees a certain minimum shared base from which neither language can in any honesty dissociate itself: on the one hand U is anchored to its basic NIA vocabulary, e.g. roṭī, barā, khānā, and on the other, H cannot operate fully without its legacy of P syntax and vocabulary — both of which are exemplified in the essential syntactic function of the P cj. ki.

Within the two extremes of dissimilarity and symbiosis there is an enormous range of flexibility in vocabulary use. In the context of everyday speech, most speakers of H and U will have at least a passive knowledge of two words designating many common items, e.g. kitāb/pustak, hindustān/bhārat, dost/mitra. The full lexical range is exemplified in sets such as the following, of which each member will be appropriate in a given context or register:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>HU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>varṣ</td>
<td>san</td>
<td>sāl</td>
<td>baras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhāṣā</td>
<td>līsān</td>
<td>zabān</td>
<td>bolī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While it is often the case that the PA word represents the colloquial norm in both U and H, the semantic field of any particular word is likely to have some specific cultural implication which affects usage: H sevā karnā implies a piety deriving from Hindu ideals of religious service which makes it semantically distinct from the more neutral U xidmat karnā. Conversely, the vast movement of populations after Partition led to the adoption in U of A mujāhir ‘refugee’, with its etymologically explicit invocation of the Hijra from Mecca to Medina, versus the looser connotations in the H synonym implied by S šaṇārthī.

523. Word-formation
Both S (62) and P (82) are outstanding examples of Indo-European languages with richly productive patterns of word-formation: although belonging to the quite different Semitic language-family, A (72) is equally well-endowed in this regard. These formidable well-equipped models, latterly joined by E (92) with its ready capability of generating fresh words from its Germanic, Latin and Greek resources, stand collectively in marked contrast to the native patterns of HU, which are much less obviously productive in the formation of fresh words from pre-existing elements.

It is true that there are many instances of prefixation, changes in internal vowel-quality, and suffixation to be observed in the analysis of related HU words. But these tend to be ‘bound’ forms, conditioned by the evolution of NIA from the much freer possibilities for fresh word-formation existing in S, e.g. an-parh ‘illiterate’, milnā ‘to meet’ vs. mel ‘union’, or miṭhās f. ‘sweetness’ vs. miṭhā adj. ‘sweet’.

In the generation of fresh words, H therefore tends to rely upon S patterns, and U upon those of A and P. Productive vernacular formulae seldom extend beyond one or two common suffixes, e.g.:

(a) -pan, derived from S -tvana, used to form m. abstract nouns from adj. and concrete nouns, e.g.:

bhaddā adj. clumsy
larākā m. boy
bhaddā-pan m. clumsiness
larak-pan m. boyhood

The last example may be compared with bac-pan m. ‘boyhood’ from P baccā, also with the less common -āpā, e.g. burhāpā ‘old age’.

(b) -ī, derived from S -in, used to form adj. from nouns, e.g.:

pahār m. mountain
pahārī adj. mountainous
dhan m. wealth
dhānī adj. wealthy

Since the same suf. -ī is also immensely productive in S (622c), A (722), and P (822b), etymological confusions are frequent. But the native activity of HU -ī is confirmed by such coinages as filmī ‘to do with the films’.

H is perhaps more accommodating to other native suffixes than U, e.g. the adj. -āū in such words as paṇḍītāū ‘pandit-ish, pedantic’.
524. **Compounds**

Most HU compounds are of the type called *dvandva* in S terminology (625a), i.e. they consist of two words in juxtaposition, e.g.:

- bāp-dādā  
  
  mp. ancestors  ('fathers & grandfathers')

- len-den  
  
  m. dealing  ('taking & giving')

The same pattern is freely extended to nouns borrowed from other languages, where P would insert the copula o (842) or E would have 'and', e.g.:

(A) savāl-javāb  
  
  m. question and answer

(A) mihnat-mazdūrī  
  
  f. toil and labour

(S) sīkṣā-ḍīkṣā  
  
  f. education and initiation

Jingle-compounds, involving plays on the vowels or initial consonant of the first element, are more characteristic of HU speech than formal styles in either language, e.g. *ṭhik-ṭhāk* adj./adv. 'fine', *rāzi-bāzī* 'O.K.', *khānā-vānā* 'grub', though not all such jingle-compounds are quite so informal.

The similar pairing of synonymous verbs both of which are independently conjugated is intrinsically natural to both H and U, e.g. *khelnā kūdnā* 'to play about' or *larnā jhagarnā* 'to quarrel'. The same sort of vague phonetic resemblance between the elements of such pairs is to be seen in verbal compounds whose second element has no independent function in HU, e.g. *milnā julnā* 'to resemble', vs. *milnā* 'to meet', etc.

53. **Morphology**

The main NIA morphological features of HU are shared in common, and call for little comment here, although the inflexion of the demonstrative pronouns constitutes a major shibboleth between the two. It is, moreover, the HU verb which constitutes the most morphologically complex part of speech, and so the opportunity is taken to establish a common terminology here to aid subsequent comparison between the notes to the H and the U passages of this book.

531. **Pronouns**

(a) The U s.dir. 3rd person demonstratives *ye* and *vo* contrast with H *yah* and *vah*. The theoretical distinction in H between *yah* as s. and *ye* as p. is often overlooked, *yah* being used for both numbers by many writers, and *ye* often serving as a s. form in speech. Likewise *vah* is essentially a written H form, being given its full phonetic value only when spoken very deliberately in isolation; indeed some writers have adopted *vo* as a H spelling, albeit non-standard. *ve* is standard as the p.dir. 3rd person demonstrative in H, but is not used in U which has *vo* (frequently found in H also).

(b) H has some rarely encountered forms of the indefinite pronoun which have been virtually dropped from U: *kinhīn*, *kinhomē*.

(c) Loans into HU from S (e.g. *svayam*) and P (e.g. *xud*) are noted in 633 and 833 respectively.
532. Parts of the Verb
The names of the simple tenses — present (pres.), future (fut.), past, imperative (imp.) and subjunctive (subj.) — are in general currency, like the infinitive (inf.) and the broad category of participles (ptc.). Other parts of the HU verb are variously named in different grammars of H and of U, and the following terminology is adopted here:

(a) absolutive (abs.): the unmarked stem so frequent in compound verbal phrases, e.g. ṛṭhā le gae.

(b) adverbial participle (adv. ptc.) the obl. form in -e of the pres. or past ptc. used adverbially, e.g. baiṭhe baiṭhe.

(c) conjunctive participle (cj. ptc.): the extended form of the abs., typically with -kar, e.g. H muskarākar = U muskarā-kar (513).

(d) extended participle (ext. ptc.): the extension of the pres. or past ptc. with forms of huā, e.g. bhejā huā xat.

(e) infinitive participle (inf. ptc.): the extension of the obl. inf. with -vāḷā, e.g. H bolnevāḷā = U bolne-vāḷā (513).

The term ‘phrase-verb’ is used to denote conjuncts of nouns or adj. with karnā etc., while ‘modal verb’ is loosely used to cover such diverse verbal conjuncts as kar ḍālnā, kar denā, and kar saknā.

54. Syntax
The syntax of the simple HU sentence is distinguished by the typical word-order subject-object-verb, the use of postpositions (ppn.), not prepositions, but of pre-modifying adjectives before nouns, and the frequent use of enclitic particles, sometimes called ‘emphatics’: all these features govern the syntactic of even so simple a sentence as main bhī āp ke bhāī ko aisī kahānī sunā saktā hūn, vs. E ‘I too can tell your brother such a tale’.

It is a major purpose of this book to illustrate the ways in which writers of H and U prose build upon such basic structures. And many of the notes to the passages draw attention to the underlying influence of the often different syntactic patterns of the major loan-languages, especially P (84) and E (94), to the deliberate exploitation of the alternative resources provided by these languages or to the felicitous combinations of borrowed structures with colloquial idiomatic expression achieved by the best writers of H and U, who from their different perspectives are equally aware of the multiple resources available to them from their complex linguistic heritage.

A basic understanding of the underlying patterns of HU syntax is taken for granted in these notes, especially of the fundamental contrast between the HU preference for parataxis, in which clauses are placed side by side, which contrasts so strongly with the preference of even the simplest styles of E for the subordination of subsidiary clauses, e.g. jo lāṛkī kal āi, vo merī bahin hai vs. E ‘the girl who came yesterday is my sister’. This HU preference underlies the first of the features to which brief attention is drawn below (541).
541. **Pre-modifiers**

One of the most striking contrasts between everyday HU speech and the norms of formal H and U prose usage is furnished by the formal preference for extended phrases, typically incorporating S or PA elements, in writing, where simple spoken styles would naturally prefer a relative clause. A phrase familiar from its initial formulation by E-speaking officials of the Raj, such as ‘the name written below’, might be most naturally realized in HU as a relative clause beginning jo nām nīce likhā huā hai, .... The alternative pre-modifying ext. ptc. (532d) will, it is true, yield nīce (kā) likhā huā nām: but this is hardly more than a pale attempt to indigenize the complex borrowed pre-modifiers much more likely to emerge in official usage, whether reflected in the H take-over of S nimnalikhit nām or the contrary U preference for the PA mundarajā-e zail nām. In this respect, both S and PA come together in encouraging both formal H and U to develop often artificial pre-modifying phrases of the type illustrated in E by the Germanic model of 'the Fascist-loathing professoriate': as so often, the apparent Sanskritisms of H do little more than reflect the ubiquitous presence of Indo-Persian officialese, still so apparent in U, or subsequent coinages from E.

542. **Indigenous resources**

The influence of the loan-languages upon indigenous patterns of HU syntax, so conspicuously illustrated by the preference of formal H and U styles by their incorporation of pre-modifiers, is reflected in many other aspects of the language of the pieces included in this book. Notice is drawn in an overall fashion thereto in the succeeding sections (6–9), and is further incorporated into the notes on the passages which follow.

Particular attention may, however, be initially drawn to two general features of the native syntactic patterns of HU, which serve to determine the inclusion of many specific notes:

(a) phrasal reduplication:

Although sometimes confusable in appearance with the characteristic dvandva-type compounds already described (524), this process serves a vital syntactic function in HU. Vaguely covered by the blanket terms ‘emphasis’ or ‘distribution’, there is seldom a one-to-one correspondence with E, e.g. thik thik nahīn jān sakte ‘cannot perceive (quite) accurately’, surū′ surū′ meṃ ‘in the very beginning’, ek ek dost ke liye ‘for each (individual) friend’, abhyās karte karte ‘through (constantly) practising’, or samay samay par ‘from time to time’. That seductively convenient but utterly unhelpful label ‘intensive’, so frequently employed by E-speaking grammarians of HU to cover all sorts of inconvenient phrasal constructions, similarly applies only remotely to the equally productive insertion of kā into reduplicated adj. patterns. e.g. kore ke kore ‘(all) utterly dumb’, or sab ke sab ‘all (and every)’. 
6.

(b) enclitics:

The three common enclitic particles ...to, ...bhī, ...hī tend to be very awkwardly introduced into elementary teaching grammars with such E glosses as 'however', 'also', 'indeed'. This awkwardness stems largely from the impossibility of their full introduction to learners who have not yet been exposed to real H or U sentences and paragraphs. While it is true that hī tends to function within a sentence either as an 'emphatic' or in the restrictive sense of E 'only', the other particles very commonly serve to link sentences within the loose paratactic norms of HU with what has gone before. If the same sort of thing is being said, then bhī is the natural indicator of this: the frequent U preference for aur, whose equivalent 'and' is so strictly forbidden at the beginning of formal E sentences, perhaps continues to reflect the convenient vāo that indicates PA va... 'And...'. The preference in U for A lekin or P magar 'but', reproduced in the H substitution of S parantu, may similarly serve to obscure the basic resource of the shared HU adversative enclitic ...to, whose subtle implications in relation to the prior statement are best illustrated in notes ad loc., rather than by any attempt at establishing overall rules here.

6. The Sanskrit Component

The influence of S on all the modern languages of India is very marked: this influence extends not only to the IA languages directly descended from S, but also to languages of the distinct Dravidian group, which are now major borrowers of S vocabulary. The emergence of the modern style of formal H has largely been achieved through the massive increase in the number of S loans borrowed into the language, displacing often well-established loans from PA and attempting to displace that important if smaller body of vocabulary borrowed from E.

Insofar as all NIA languages are descendants of S, many of their grammatical and formal features are clearly traceable to S patterns. The phonology of HU and the script of H are very largely directly inherited from S (51), and many features of S morphology are apparent in HU forms (52). Despite the formal parallels between HU and S, however, the most important aspect of S vis-à-vis NIA is its availability as a source of loanwords: a glance at the H glossary of this book will show the extent of the debt of H to its ancestor. While U will in most circumstances prefer PA loans, and S has never been a major source of loans for U or indeed for other languages such as Sindhi having a clear Muslim identification, there are a number of S words which have found their way into the more general register of HU; these words, such as samāj 'society', are typically free of the heavy consonant clusters so unappealing to U-speakers, and are readily accommodated by the U script. Specifically Hindu cultural contexts such as the pūjā 'worship' in the mandir 'temple' will clearly generate a predominance of S vocabulary in U as well as H usage; and the same applies in certain technical subjects such as music, for which the ground-rules were developed within the Hindu tradition.
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Given the importance of the S lexicon as a source of loans, the greater part of this section has been allotted to a description of the word-forming processes by which both original and neological S vocabulary comes into being.

61. Phonology and Script
The S syllabary, whose systematic phonological arrangement demonstrates the sophistication of the Indian grammatical tradition from a very early period, underlies all its NIA derivatives. Before the standardizing influence of the printing press made its mark on Indian culture, S was often written in the various regional scripts, most of which bear strong formal and stylistic resemblances to the Nagari script and share its phonological arrangement; but in modern times, S has increasingly become associated with Nagari, and the regional scripts have accordingly become more or less exclusively the vehicles of the vernacular languages.

The S syllabary differs from that used for H (511) only in the realized values of some of the characters and in the absence of diacritically marked graphs representing sounds such as r, q and z which have no place in the S sound-system.

There is much variation in the HU realizations of S sounds; the more self-conscious H speaker with a knowledge and appreciation of the S forms will certainly give characteristic S sounds their full value, even if they are unrepresented in the simpler phonology of HU, but more generally such sounds are assimilated to HU norms in pronunciation, though this process of simplification does not normally extend to written forms.

Of the vowel series a ā i ī u ū r ř l e a i o au, only the syllabic liquids r, ř and l call for comment: r has the value /ri/ in both H and S pronunciation, though both /ru/ and /ra/ are found as variants; ř (्र) is r lengthened, and l (ল) is pronounced as the ‘-le’ in ‘fable’. Graphic r is met in H only in S loans, the sound /ri/ otherwise being represented as ri (though some confusion of r and ri existed before the conventions of H spelling became standardized early this century); ř and l do not occur in HU, but may be encountered occasionally in the citation of S texts.

The sounds n and s maintain their retroflex quality in S pronunciation, whereas in H they are commonly equated with n and s respectively (unless forming a conjunct with another retroflex consonant as in kaṇṭh, kaṣṭ). The historical pronunciation of the conjunct jñ, which has its own graph ( ḋ ), approximates to the medial sound in E ‘onion’, though starting with the tongue position for a dental ‘d’; the more common HU pronunciation however is as gy, as evidenced by the E spelling of the personal name ‘Gyan’ (vs. HS jñān ‘knowledge’).

The realization of anusvār is also subject to variation. Before y and v (e.g. saṅyukti), anusvār represents a nasalization of the preceding vowel; before r, l and s (e.g. sanskṛti) it usually represents a nasal consonant closely similar to dental n, but will come closer to a labial nasal m in some pronunciations; before ś it usually represents a nasal consonant midway between dental and palatal position, though this may be weakened to simple vowel nasality for some speakers. In final position, anusvār is pronounced as m (e.g. svayam, written स्वयम् ).
A change in the pronunciation value of \textit{anusvār} will occur with the formation of some words through a \textit{vrddhi} vowel gradation (623): thus the \textit{anusvār} in \textit{sāṅskṛti} ‘culture’ approximates more closely to a full nasal consonant than the \textit{anusvār} in \textit{sāṅskṛtik} ‘cultural’, which represents vowel nasality only.

The subscript sign \textit{virām} in S and H indicates the absence of the inherent \textit{a} vowel from a consonant, as in \textit{परिशद} \textit{pariśad}; it provides a convenient alternative to writing the more cumbrous conjunct characters such as those produced by \textit{d + bh} or \textit{t + th}, and is an essential component of typewritten Nagari, in which many conjuncts have to be represented in this manner.

The showing of word-boundaries in S is a modern development; traditionally, words are not separated, and indeed often coalesce in the process of sound-change called ‘sandhi’ (611): this is in sharp contrast to P orthographic conventions (811).

Unlike H, S observes the rule that an unmodified consonant is followed by the ‘inherent’ vowel \textit{a} even medially and at the end of the word (thus S \textit{Rāma}, \textit{avasara} vs. H \textit{Rām}, \textit{avsar}. The convention of showing all inherent \textit{a} vowels in transliteration is therefore followed in this section (only).

611. Sandhi

In E, pluralizing ‘-s’ is pronounced as /s/ after a voiceless sound but as /z/ after a voiced sound, as in ‘clocks’ and ‘clogs’ respectively. Sandhi or ‘junction’ is the process by which S acknowledges graphically such sound changes produced by adjacent sounds in a word or phrase. The rules for this process are complex, but a summary of the basic rules is essential for an understanding of the composition of S loans.

The main features of vowel sandhi are:

(i) \textit{a/ā} combines with a following vowel as shown:

\begin{align*}
a/ā + a/ā &= ā:\kārya & \text{work} & + ālaya & \text{place} & = kāryālaya & \text{office} \\
a/ā + i/i &= e:\parama & \text{supreme} & + īvara & \text{lord} & = paramēśvara & \text{God} \\
a/ā + u/u &= o:\varṣa & \text{year} & + utsava & \text{festival} & = varṣotsava & \text{annual festival} \\
a/ā + ē = ar/ār:\mahā & \text{great} & + ēṣi & \text{sage} & = mahārṣi & \text{great sage} \\
a/ā + i/e &= ai:\sadā & \text{always} & + īva & \text{indeed} & = sadai/eva & \text{always, ever}
\end{align*}

(ii) Vowels of the same quality, long or short, combine to form a long vowel:

\begin{align*}
\text{avani} & \text{earth} & + īśa & \text{lord} & = avaniśa & \text{‘lord of the earth’}
\end{align*}
(iii) i/ɨ changes to y, and u/ū to v, before a vowel of a different quality:
prati per + eka one = pratyeka each

The commonest sound-changes of consonant sandhi are shown in the grid below, which is not exhaustive but which will resolve most examples of sandhi encountered in S loans in H:

First word ends: + Second word begins:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>k</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>(s)</th>
<th>aḥ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>g/gh, d/dh, b/bh, y/v, r, vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>aʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>aʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>ṇ</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

jagat world + ambā mother = jagadambā the mother goddess
dus bad + jana person = durjana rogue
manas mind + rañjana pleasing = manorañjana entertainment
sat true + guna quality = sadguna virtue
sat true + jana person = sajjana gentleman

As some of the above combinations demonstrate, the process of sandhi tends to obscure the separate identity of the individual words involved, and the breaking down of sandhi combinations into their constituent parts is an essential first step in the construing of a S sentence or in the understanding of many S loans in H. The situation becomes more complex (and therefore more difficult for the language-learner, as any student of S will testify) when sandhi combinations themselves join forces with the diverse processes of word-compounding (625) which are such a characteristic feature of S grammar.

612. Guṇa and Vṛddhi
The vowel changes noted above follow a process codified in the rules of guṇa and vṛddhi, a two-stage process of vowel gradation which is an important element in S word-formation (623). This system recognizes three qualities of 'simple' vowel, a/ā, i/ɨ and u/ū. Each of these is augmented to the so-called guṇa stage by combining with a preceding a-vowel; the guṇa vowel is similarly augmented to form the vṛddhi stage by again combining

38
with a. The process is best seen diagrammatically:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple vowels:</th>
<th>a  ā  i  ī  u  ū  ṛ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guṇa</td>
<td>a  ā  e  o  ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vṛddhi</td>
<td>ā  ai  au  ār</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus a itself remains unchanged in the guṇa stage, and ā likewise in both stages.

62. Lexicon
The majority of S loans in H are nouns and adjectives, which of course have a further important role in the phrase-verbs and postpositions so prominent in the grammar of HU. The use of S conjunctions and adverbs (such as evam ‘and’ and kramaśāh ‘respectively’ respectively) tends to be restricted to the higher, more formal register of H, but the tendency is for this register to spill over into current speech habits, thereby maintaining the pace of the long-established processes of Sanskrization. Loans fall into three main categories: (a) simple borrowings of genuine S usage (e.g. patra ‘letter’); (b) borrowings of existing S words for meanings other than their original ones (e.g. ākāśa-vānī ‘All-India Radio’, and hence ‘radio’ generally, originally meaning ‘heavenly voice, oracle’); (c) neologisms coined from S roots to designate new concepts or artefacts (e.g. dūrabhāśa, ‘telephone’). This tripartite distinction counts for little with most H-speakers, although the take-up of neologisms into actual usage varies from item to item (and is often in direct competition with a well-established E loan such as telīfōn).

621. Prefixes
Like Latin and Greek, S makes full use of prefixation in the formation of words, and a knowledge of this process aids an understanding of S-derived H vocabulary. The most common are listed below. The use of affixes is distinguished from true compounds (625), where each of the two components may function alone as a separate word.

Note that in some usages the pref. merely intensifies the meaning of the word to which it is attached; also that the sense of the resultant word is not always fully predictable from the literal meaning of the pref.

(a) a-, an- ‘un’ etc.:

- khandā segment akhandā continuous
- tithi date atithi guest (of uncertain period!)

(b) anu- ‘according to, with regard to’:

- sāra essence anusāra conformity
- artha meaning anvartha intelligible

(c) apa- ‘contrary, inferior’:

- māna respect apamāna affront
- bhrāṇa breakdown apabhraṇa corruption

(d) ava- ‘downwards’:

- guṇa quality avaguna defect
- rohaṇa ascent avarohaṇa descent
621.

(e) **ud-** ‘upwards’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gama</th>
<th>going</th>
<th>udgama</th>
<th>source, origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tāpa</td>
<td>heat</td>
<td>uttāpa</td>
<td>great heat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(f) **upa-** ‘subordinate’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mantrī</th>
<th>minister</th>
<th>upamantrī</th>
<th>deputy minister</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pati</td>
<td>husband</td>
<td>upapati</td>
<td>paramour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(g) **ku-** ‘deficient’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>karma</th>
<th>action</th>
<th>kukarma</th>
<th>evil deed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rūpa</td>
<td>form</td>
<td>kurūpa</td>
<td>ugly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(h) **dus-** ‘bad, hard’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>jana</th>
<th>person</th>
<th>durjana</th>
<th>rogue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vacana</td>
<td>word</td>
<td>durvacana</td>
<td>abuse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(i) **nis-** ‘without, away’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kalaṅka</th>
<th>stain</th>
<th>niśkalaṅka</th>
<th>immaculate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>svārtha</td>
<td>selfishness</td>
<td>niśsvārtha</td>
<td>unsselfish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(j) **para-** ‘other’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>desa</th>
<th>country</th>
<th>paradeśa</th>
<th>foreign land</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>upakāra</td>
<td>good deed</td>
<td>paropakāra</td>
<td>charity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(k) **pari-** ‘around; fully’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>atana</th>
<th>wandering</th>
<th>paryatana</th>
<th>touring</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>śrama</td>
<td>work</td>
<td>pariśrama</td>
<td>toil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(l) **punar-** ‘again, re-’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ca</th>
<th>and (enclitic)</th>
<th>punaśca</th>
<th>P.S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āgata</td>
<td>arrived</td>
<td>punarāgata</td>
<td>returned</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(m) **pūrva-** ‘before, pre-’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kathana</th>
<th>statement</th>
<th>pūrvakathana</th>
<th>prediction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kāla</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>pūrvakāla</td>
<td>past time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(n) **pra-** ‘forward; very much’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kriyā</th>
<th>action</th>
<th>prakriyā</th>
<th>process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gati</td>
<td>movement</td>
<td>pragati</td>
<td>progress</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(o) **prati-** ‘each; per; reciprocal; contrary’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kriyā</th>
<th>action</th>
<th>pratikriyā</th>
<th>reaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukti</td>
<td>statement</td>
<td>pratyukti</td>
<td>reply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śata</td>
<td>hundred</td>
<td>pratiśata</td>
<td>percent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(p) **vi-** ‘distinct’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>desa</th>
<th>country</th>
<th>videśa</th>
<th>foreign land</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ghaña</td>
<td>occurred</td>
<td>vighaṇita</td>
<td>disrupted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(q) **sa-** ‘with, having’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ānanda</th>
<th>happiness</th>
<th>sānanda</th>
<th>happy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>citra</td>
<td>picture</td>
<td>sacritra</td>
<td>illustrated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(r) *sam*- 'with, together with, complete':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arpana</td>
<td>offering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūrṇa</td>
<td>full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samarpana</td>
<td>dedication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sampūrna</td>
<td>complete</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(s) *sama*- 'same, equal':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ākāra</td>
<td>shape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>artha</td>
<td>meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samākāra</td>
<td>of the same shape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samārtha</td>
<td>synonymous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(t) *saha*- 'with':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jāta</td>
<td>born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udara</td>
<td>belly, womb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sahajāta</td>
<td>congenital, twin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sahodara</td>
<td>sibling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(u) *su*- 'good':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ruci</td>
<td>taste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>varṇa</td>
<td>colour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suruci</td>
<td>good taste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suvarṇa</td>
<td>gold</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(v) *sva*- 'one's own':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>artha</td>
<td>purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tantra</td>
<td>system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>svārtha</td>
<td>self-interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>svatantra</td>
<td>independent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of S pref. is usually restricted to S nouns, though exceptions such as H *sajīlā* (S *sa- + A jīlā*) 'bound, hardback (book)' are encountered.

622. **Suffixes**

Hardly less prominent than the pref. listed above are the S suf.; these are typically affixed to *ṛddhi* forms or other allomorphs, as is the case with many of the examples given here:

(a) -ka, -kā, f. (agentive):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kāra</td>
<td>action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pātha</td>
<td>read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāraka</td>
<td>grammatical case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāthaka</td>
<td>reader (m.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāthikā</td>
<td>reader (f.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) -ika (adj.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>śikṣā</td>
<td>education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itihāsa</td>
<td>history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dina</td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaiksika</td>
<td>educational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aitihāsika</td>
<td>historical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dainika</td>
<td>daily</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) -in/-ī (adj. and m. nouns: -ī is the S nominative ending, used generally in H to the exclusion of -in); f. -inī:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dharma</td>
<td>religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grantha</td>
<td>book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāga</td>
<td>melodic mode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dharmī</td>
<td>pious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>granthī</td>
<td>reader of books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāgīni</td>
<td>subordinate mode</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) -kāra (agentive):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saṅgīta</td>
<td>music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>svarṇa</td>
<td>gold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saṅgītakāra</td>
<td>musician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>svarṇakāra</td>
<td>goldsmith</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(e) -ja (‘-born’):

| jala   | water  | jalaja | lotus    |
| agra   | first, anterior | agraja | elder brother |

(f) -jña (‘-knowing’):

| višeśa | particularity | višeśajña | specialist |
| kṛta   | done          | kṛtajña   | obliged, grateful |

(g) -tā (f.), -tva (m.) (abstract nouns, ‘-ness’):

| gambhīra | profound | gambhīratā | profundity |
| mahat    | great    | mahattva   | greatness  |

(h) -da (‘-giving’):

| jala   | water  | jalada | cloud    |
| sukha  | pleasure | sukhada | pleasant |

(i) -pūrvaka (adverbs):

| sukha  | pleasure | sukhapūrvaka | happily |
| śānti  | peace    | śāntipūrvaka | peacefully |

(j) -maya (‘full of, characterized by’):

| śānti  | peace    | śāntimaya | pacific |
| harṣa  | joy      | harṣamaya | joyful  |

(k) -mān m., -matī f. (‘characterized by’):

| buddhi | wisdom   | buddhimān | intelligent |
| śri    | dignity  | śrīmān    | (m. honorific) |
|        |          | śrīmati   | (f. honorific) |

(l) -ya (m. verbal nouns; adj. ‘-able’):

| dhr-   | hold    | dhairyā | patience |
| gama-  | go      | gamyā   | accessible |

(m) -vat (adj. and adv. of comparison, ‘-like’):

| pāśu   | animal  | pāśuvata | bestial |
| vidhi  | rule    | vidhivata | regularly |

(n) -vāna m., -vatī f., (adj. of possession):

| dhana  | wealth  | dhanavāna | wealthy |
| saubhāgya | good | saubhāgyavatī | woman with living husband fortune |
623. Vowel-changes
A vṛddhi (612) vowel gradation is commonly involved in word-formation, typically in the forming of adjectives from nouns, or of abstract nouns from concrete nouns:

\[ a \rightarrow ā: \]

- parvata: mountain, pārvatī: mountain-born, Parvati
- vyāvahāra: practice, vyāvahārika: practical
- samāja: society, sāmājika: social

\[ i \rightarrow ai: \]

- vidyā: learning, vaidya: learned, doctor
- viṣṇu: Vishnu, vaisṣṇava: Vaishnavite
- śiva: Shiva, śaiva: Shaivite

\[ u \rightarrow au: \]

- kumāra: bachelor, kaumārya: bachelorhood
- buddha: Buddha, baudha: Buddhist

\[ r \rightarrow ār: \]

- krṣa: thin, kāṛṣa: thinness

624. Numerals
The S numerals (particularly the lower ones) are in common use in H in formal or ceremonial contexts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinals</th>
<th>Ordinals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>eka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>catur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pañca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ṣaṣṭha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sapta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>aṣṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>nava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>daśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>ṣatam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

625. Compounds
H makes extensive use of the various categories of S compound (samāsa, 'placing together'), and HU forms its own vernacular compounds on the same models. In this section, the constituent parts of the examples are hyphenated for clarity, except where joined in sandhi combination. The order in which words are connected is generally as in E, e.g. go-rasa ‘cow-juice, milk’.
(a) Dvandva. A co-ordinative or dual compound, in which the component parts would be in the same case and connected by ‘and’ if uncompounded. S anna-jala ‘sustenance’, lit. ‘food and drink’; sukha-duhkha ‘joy and sorrow’; HU bāp-dādā ‘ancestors’, lit. ‘fathers and grandfathers’.

(b) Tatpurusa. A determinative compound, i.e. one in which the last member is qualified by the first without losing its grammatical independence (and thus contrasting with (c) below). The name tat-puruṣa ‘his servant’ is itself an example of this class. Of the various varieties, the following two are the most important:

Karmadhāraya, in which the component words would stand in the same case if the compound were dissolved: prāṇa-priya ‘dear-as-life’, rājarṣi (= rāja + rṣi) ‘royal sage’; HU bar-bhāgi ‘fortunate’.

Dvigu, in which the first member is a numeral (as in dvi-gu, ‘two cows’): S pañcāṅga (= pañca + āṅga) ‘almanac with 5 types of astrological data’, catur-māsa ‘four months of the rainy season’; H caupāi ‘quatrain metre’.

(c) Bahuvarhi. An adj. or possessive compound in which the last member loses its character as a noun and together with the first member becomes adj., as E ‘four-berth’ in ‘four-berth cabin’. The name bahu-vrīhi, lit. ‘much rice’ but meaning ‘having much rice’, is an example of the class. S catur-bhuja ‘four-armed’, golākāra (= gola + ākāra) ‘spherical’; HU haṅs-mukh ‘jovial’.

Though the examples given here each comprise two words only, multiple compounds are a characteristic feature of S composition. The rhetoric of poetic description makes frequent use of adjectival compounds in series, undiluted by the cj. and other syntactic connections so essential to the E phrase. Thus in the following half-verse from the Bhagavadgītā giving the description of Krishna, the S text (which would show no word-breaks in a traditional Nagari layout of the text) has no need of the equivalents of the bracketed E words:

anādīmadhyāṅtam-anantarvīram-anantabāham-śaśisūryanetram ‘without beginning, middle, [or] end, almighty, many-armed, [with] eyes [that are] sun and moon’.

S words only rarely combine with non-S words to form compounds in H: zilādhīś ‘district magistrate’ (A zilā + S adhiśa). (There is rather greater freedom in the compounding of HU with P words: ḍak-xānā etc.)

63. Morphology

Only rarely is the complex inflexional system of S apparent in HU, whose analytical use of ppns. to indicate case represents a wholesale simplification of the eight-case structure of the S paradigm. An example of the intrusion of S synthetic syntax into H is the rare and ultra-formal loan-usage of the S agentive termination -ena to form an adverb: rupeṇa ‘in the manner (of)’, e.g. sthāyī rūpeṇa (alongside H sthāyī rūp se) ‘permanently’. 

44
631. Gender
Those nouns which are m. or f. in S generally retain their genders in HU
(though there are exceptions to trip up the unwarly), and the genders
indicated by the formative affixes listed in 622 hold good. Neuter S nouns
tend to become m. in HU, though not invariably. The characteristically f.
-ā ending of S (ambā ‘mother’) is of course in marked contrast to the
extended m. -ā ending of HU nouns and adj. (chotā larkā ‘little boy’).
Numerous m./f. pairs on the model of kaniṣṭha m. ‘younger brother’ /
kaniṣṭhā f. ‘younger sister’ are encountered; f. -ikā endings often make
diminutives, as pustikā ‘booklet’.

632. Adjectives
The S ptc. adj. in -ita (less commonly -ta, -na) is used in the more formal
registers of H as a syntactic alternative to an ext. ptc. construction: S
likhita for H likhā huā/likhī huī (541). As generally, the inflexions of the S
adj. are not carried through into H, which treats likhit as invariable. The
ptc. adj. allows a very close rendering of E syntax, with its fondness for the
verbal adj., and is therefore particularly common where E syntax is only
thinly disguised by its H overlay. Further examples are datta ‘given’, krta
‘established’, gata ‘gone, passed’, bhinna ‘different’.

The only other feature to impinge extensively on H is the use of S
comparatives and superlatives, formed by the suffixation of -tara and -tama
respectively to the simple adj.: this usage exists alongside the much more
common periphrastic comparative construction involving the ppn. se.
Examples are uccatara ‘higher’, uttama ‘best’ and priyatama ‘dearest’, all of
which are typically found in formal or formulaic contexts.

633. Pronouns
The only S pronoun to have currency in H is the reflexive svayam, which
regularly replaces P xud (833) in formal contexts. Usually written with
anusvār, it may alternatively be written with a full ma-kār + virām (61).

64. Syntax
Many of the characteristic features of HU syntax derive from S patterns,
exemplified by the following sample:

(a) a commonly-used past passive construction with the logical subject put
into the instrumental case (with -ena ending) underlies the H agentive
construction in which the logical subject is marked by ppn. ne.

(b) periphrastic expressions circumventing the need for a verb ‘to have’ are
common in S and appear in such HU expressions as mere do bhāi haiṁ ‘I
have two brothers’.

(c) an important class of causative verbs in S is created by adding the suffix
-aya to a strengthened verb root (i.e. one with a guṇa vowel): e.g. the verb
darsāvati ‘cause to see, show’ from root drs (cf. lengthening of stem in HU
dekh-/dikhā-).

(d) the plural number is used for honorific register in both languages — as
also in A, P, and old E.
(e) the relative clause constructions so characteristic of HU, with their associated preference for paratactic sentence construction, derive from S models. The HU relative pronouns and adverbs beginning j- (jo etc.) correspond to S equivalents in y- (ya- etc.), and have correlatives beginning t- as in dialects of H other than KhB; and anyone familiar with HU relative-correlative constructions and with the S enclitic adverb iva ‘likewise, just so’ should be able to construe without difficulty the S motto of the Indian navy flagship *Viraat*: *jalameva yasya balameva tasya* ‘He who holds the ocean holds the power’.

An extension of this list would give further but unnecessary evidence of the uncontentious fact that HU is derived from S. Yet though S syntax certainly determines many NIA patterns through historical descent, its direct influence is relatively small. In many ways P has had a more profound influence on the development of HU syntax than has S; and the S element of modern H prose is often a mask for underlying E patterns, just as the *Viraat* is in fact the superannuated HMS *Hermes*, refitted and recommissioned.

7. The Arabic Component

Whereas S, P and E have in their different ways directly affected the evolution of H and U, the influence of A has historically been more indirectly exerted through the large A component already built into P (21). The analysis of H thus hardly calls for elaborate distinctions between A and P items or compound PA forms, and it is customary to treat common words of A origin, e.g. kāfī ‘quite’, kitāb ‘book’, kursī ‘chair’, simply as belonging to the shared P component of HU. This approach is, however, quite inadequate for the proper understanding of U, in which the A component is immensely more prominent. The orthography of the U script itself continues to be heavily influenced by its A origins, several features of A grammar regularly appear in formal U styles, and it is above all the vast resources of the A lexicon which continue to provide U with the greater part of its learned and abstract vocabulary. Over half the words listed in the Urdu-English glossary at the end of this book, for instance, derive from A.

It is thus hardly possible to appreciate literary U without some understanding of the structures of A. Since A is a Semitic language like Hebrew (cf. A salām = Hebrew shalom), these structures are quite different from the familiar Indo-European patterns shared by HU with S, P and E, and are dominated by the principle of modifying consonantal roots through prefixes, infixes and suffixes, both to form words and to indicate different grammatical forms. The idea of ‘writing’ is, for instance, regularly expressed in HU and S by some form of likh- or lekh-, but in A by the triliteral root KTB, which yields the following U nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kāṭīb</td>
<td>calligrapher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kīṭāb</td>
<td>book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kīṭābat</td>
<td>calligraphy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūṭūb</td>
<td>books</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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An extension of this list would give further but unnecessary evidence of the uncontentious fact that HU is derived from S. Yet though S syntax certainly determines many NIA patterns through historical descent, its direct influence is relatively small. In many ways P has had a more profound influence on the development of HU syntax than has S; and the S element of modern H prose is often a mask for underlying E patterns, just as the Viraat is in fact the superannuated HMS Hermes, refitted and recommissioned.

7. The Arabic Component

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- KāṭīB calligrapher
- KiṬāB book
- KiṬāBat calligraphy
- KuṬuB books
It is worth noting that the A script is a much better guide in indicating the etymological connexion between these words than either Roman or Nagari spellings. The non-representation of short vowels, so confusing at the outset to most learners of U, is in fact rather well suited to writing A words, since the radical letters are thereby given greater prominence.

Most A roots are of the triliteral type exemplified by KTB. Various special rules are involved when the root has identical consonants as second or third members, e.g. HQQ 'right', or involves one of the letters alîf, vâo or ye which double as vowels, e.g. FYD 'benefit'. These are mentioned only in passing below, like the less common quadrilateral roots, e.g. TRJM 'translate'. It is the typical triliteral consonant roots which dominate A, and their commonest modified patterns which must first be grasped in understanding the A component of U.

71. Phonology
The A script was devised to record the sounds of classical A, whose phonemic contrasts are very different from the typical IA pattern of U. The casual notation of vowels, for instance, which is so characteristic a feature of the script, can be seen to be justified by the simplicity of the A vowel-system, which contrasts only 6 simple vowels (a à i î u û) with two diphthongs (aw ay). These can be easily indicated by the three vowel-letters, further supplemented where necessary, as in the sacred text of the Quran, by the three vowel-signs for a (A fathâ, P zabar), i (A kasrâ, P zer), and u (A zammâ, P pes). The distribution of the 28 consonant-phonemes is quite unlike the HU pattern, or indeed that of most Indo-European languages. The characteristic sound of A derives largely from the prominence of sounds produced from the throat, q, the glottal stop ' written with hamzâ, and the pharyngeal ' and h, plus the emphatic lateral series l d ñ z. Classical A also distinguishes the dental fricatives θ δ as in E ‘thin’ and ‘then’. The contrasts indicated by the letters of the A alphabet may be represented schematically as:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>9</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```
The arrows indicate the assimilations already effected to fit the quite different phonology of P (81) which were carried over into U. The brackets indicate the process by which both A hamzâ and 'ain were first reduced to a glottal stop in P, then lost altogether in U as independent phonemes.

By contrast, the syllabic structure of classical A is much closer to that of HU than S. There are no initial consonant-clusters, and only two-member medial clusters. It is, however, true that the loss in P and U of the final short vowels which play an important part in the grammar of classical A has resulted in a number of significant changes. These have been typically effected either by the insertion of epenthetic a, e.g. A qadr(u) > U qadar ‘amount’, or by the simplification of doubled consonants, e.g. A haqq(u) > U haq ‘right’.

711. Script
While on the one hand the religious prestige of the A script has encouraged its adaptation by Muslims to write languages quite different in structure from A, on the other the continuing tradition of teaching a reading knowledge of the Quran has helped foster an adherence to strictly A spelling-norms. This tension is reflected in the orthography of U, which takes little account of long-established phonetic assimilations when it comes to writing A loans. It is consequently the original pattern of A roots rather than the different rules of U phonology which determine the use of barî he vs. choṭî he, of toe vs. te, of se or svâd vs. sîn, or of zâl, zvâd or zoe vs. ze in such spellings. Similar rules apply to the writing of 'ain, realized as a consonant in U only in artificially Arabicized pronunciations as demanded e.g. in a maulvi’s sermon.

The norms of A are also preserved in the special rules applied to the pronunciation of phrases involving the definite article al- ‘the’. Further discussed below (741), these imply an assimilation of the final -l- to the sound of those consonants, technically called ‘sun letters’, which fall within the dotted lines on the diagram above (71).

The historic divergence of the Meccan dialect spoken by the Prophet from the classical A norms which accorded full phonemic status to the glottal stop resulted in a rather complex set of rules for writing hamzâ in A. Although well-established in U as a device for indicating sequences of vowels in native words, hamzâ is consequently used somewhat erratically in U spellings. This is hardly surprising in view of the absence of the glottal stop in HU phonology. But it does result in frequent deviations from careful A spelling norms, e.g.:

-su'arâ poets

No attempt has been made to standardize such doublets in the U passages of this book.

In one other respect also, the A script was not quite able to do justice to its language. The characteristic termination of f. nouns and adjectives is in -â in independent and final position, but in -at before a following word. This equivocation was reproduced in A orthography by the ingenious device of placing the two dots of te over choṭî he so as to produce the compound character called tâ marbûtâ. But the P preference for one or
other phonetic realization was given added point by the intrinsic HU distinction between -ā as a characteristically m. marker in contrast to the typically f. implication of final -at. Hence the U distinction between such originally ambiguous A loans as:

\[
\begin{align*}
A \text{idāfa(t)} & \quad \text{f.} \quad \text{increase; genitive} \\
U \text{izāfat} & \quad \text{f.} \quad \text{genitive, izafat} \\
U \text{izāfā} & \quad \text{m.} \quad \text{increase}
\end{align*}
\]

The compound tā marbūtā only exists in the repertoire of U typographers to indicate careful spellings of derived forms from such A f. nouns, or f. nouns of central religious status. In both cases it is pronounced as t in U, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
daftān & \quad \text{adv.} \quad \text{suddenly} \\
salwāt & \quad \text{f.} \quad \text{prayer}
\end{align*}
\]

72. Lexicon
Very many of the A words which had been transmitted to P were in turn handed on in India to become intrinsic parts of the shared HU word-stock. As already indicated, however, the long-established example of drawing from A followed by almost all writers of P prose was more than amply imitated by their South Asian successors in U. In this respect, the obvious historic influences exerted by the primacy of Quranic studies and the related disciplines of e.g. grammar and literary criticism have come to be profusely supplemented by the twentieth century emergence of A as a language of major world significance, whose purism in the devising of coined neologisms has come to exert an additional influence on contemporary U vocabulary.

Across this very wide range of semantic areas, extending far beyond the obvious territory of Islamic vocabulary, loans from A are nevertheless typically concentrated in quite few grammatical categories. These above all consist of nouns, including adjectives, and those slots into which the grammatical structure of HU allows loan-nouns to fit so easily, i.e. compound postpositions and phrase-verbs. The dictionaries will produce the A-derived verb qabūlnā ‘to accept’ from the A root QBL ‘precede, approve’, but a much more typical pattern of the grammatical distribution of its derivatives in U is indicated by the following list of common loans:

\[
\begin{align*}
QāBiL & \quad \text{adj.} \quad \text{capable} \\
maQBūL & \quad \text{adj.} \quad \text{popular} \\
QāBiLiyat & \quad \text{f.} \quad \text{ability} \\
maQBūLiyat & \quad \text{f.} \quad \text{popularity} \\
(\text{se}) \ QaBL & \quad \text{ppn.} \quad \text{before} \\
(\text{ke}) \ QāBiL & \quad \text{ppn.} \quad \text{worthy of} \\
maQBūL \ karnā & \quad \text{vt.} \quad \text{to approve} \\
maQBūL \ honā & \quad \text{vi.} \quad \text{to be approved}
\end{align*}
\]
721. Derived verbal forms

The primary part of speech in A is not the ‘noun’ (ism), corresponding to both nouns and adjectives in HU, or the ‘particle’ (harf), embracing the miscellaneous categories of pronouns, prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions and interjections, but the ‘verb’ (fi’l) (10). The simplest vocalization of the root KTB is, after all, the verbal form KaTaBa ‘he wrote’: and it is this form which constitutes the head-word governing the arrangement of A dictionaries.

As is well recognized by U authorities, however, it is the ism rather than the fi’l which dominates the pattern of A loans in U. Very many of these loans are to be assigned to derivatives of the complex system of the A verb, which far surpasses the simple model of HU dikhnā ‘to be seen’, dekhnā ‘to see’, dikhānā ‘to show’, etc. Commonly used forms of the A verb, conventionally distinguished by Roman numerals, distinguish between e.g. I ‘simple verb’, II ‘intensive’, III ‘reciprocal’, IV ‘causative’, V ‘reflexive of II’, VI ‘reflexive of III’, VII ‘passive’, VIII ‘reflexive’, X ‘desiderative’. A long process of semantic specialization has done much to obscure these primary functions, but the formal links in the system do much to underly the etymological relationships between a great many of the A loans used in U.

These loans are formally classified in terms of A grammar as verbal nouns (masdar) or as active or passive participles. The modifications of the root are best described in terms of the standard A paradigm-root F‘L ‘do’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>verbal noun</th>
<th>active ptc.</th>
<th>passive ptc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Fi’L etc.</td>
<td>Fā‘iL</td>
<td>maFūL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>taF‘iL</td>
<td>muFa‘iL</td>
<td>muFa‘aL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>muFā‘aLā(t)</td>
<td>muFā‘iL</td>
<td>muFa‘aL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>iFāL</td>
<td>muF‘iL</td>
<td>muFaL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>taFa‘uL</td>
<td>mutaFa‘iL</td>
<td>mutaFa‘aL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>taFā‘uL</td>
<td>mutaFā‘iL</td>
<td>mutaFa‘aL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>inFī‘āL</td>
<td>munFa‘iL</td>
<td>munFa‘aL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>iFī‘āL</td>
<td>muFta‘iL</td>
<td>muFta‘aL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>istiFāL</td>
<td>mustaF‘iL</td>
<td>mustaFa‘aL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While form I has very distinctive forms for the active and passive ptc., the derived forms rely for this distinction upon the contrast between -i- and -a- which is very weakly maintained in HU (513): and for this reason rather few such contrasts are preserved in U.
It is much more important to learn to recognize the correlations between the verbal nouns, typically beginning with the ‘servile’ syllables ta-, mu-, i-, in-, ist- and the corresponding ptc., typically an adj. in U, beginning with mu-, since such pairs are extremely common. The following examples illustrate such typical correspondences, whose connexion is seldom straightforwardly apparent from the alphabetical order of U dictionaries:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verbal noun</th>
<th>adj. ptc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I  ’iLM</td>
<td>m. knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma’Lūm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II ta’LiM</td>
<td>f. education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III muTāBaQat</td>
<td>f. conformity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>muTāLa’ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV iSLāM</td>
<td>m. Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V ta’ajJuB</td>
<td>m. amazement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI taFāVuT</td>
<td>m. difference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII inKiSāR</td>
<td>m. humility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII iNtiZāR</td>
<td>m. wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X  isi’MāL</td>
<td>m. use</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is to be noted that the nouns in the first column are normally m. in U, except for the II form taFīl, which generates large numbers of f. nouns, and the variant of the III form in -at which is f. by rule. The overlap between adj. and m. nouns in the second column is of course entirely in line with the blurred distinction between these two grammatical categories in HU.

722. Other Derived Forms
Besides the patterns of the derived verbal forms, most nouns and adj. are formed by the same sort of modification of the verbal root. Nouns of place, for example, are indicated by the pattern maFāL, as illustrated by such common loans (from the roots TB‘ ‘print’ and KTB) as:

| maTBa‘        | m. press      |
| maKTAmb       | m. mosque school |

The commonest adj. pattern is Fa‘iL, e.g.

| JaDiD         | adj. modern, new |
| QaDiM         | adj. ancient, old |

The corresponding abstract nouns are, however, less predictable in pattern than adj. of this form. Thus JiDDat f. ‘modernity, innovation’, vs. QaDāMat f. ‘antiquity’.

51
The great richness of vocabulary generated by all these patterns of root-modification allows A to dispense with the use of prefixes of the Indo-European type. Of the very few suffixes, by far the commonest is -ī, which converts a noun into an adj., and its extension -iyat, which converts the adj. into a f. abstract noun. U has many sets of this type, e.g.

-asl m. basis insān m. man
-aslī adj. real insānī adj. human
-asliyat f. reality insāniyat f. humanity

73. Morphology
The grammatical inflexion of A is effected by the same devices as word-formation, i.e. both by modification of the root and by the addition of suffixes. Both features are present in the inflected forms of A nouns and adj. which are used in U.

731. Gender
Although A is a two-gender language like HU, there is no direct correlation of gender between A and HU because of the transmission of A loans through P, which resembles E in having no grammatical gender. So kitāb, for instance, is m. in A but f. in HU.

The characteristic A f. suf. -a(t) appears in U either as -ā m. or as -at f., e.g. izāfā m. ‘increase’ vs. izāfat f. ‘izafat’ (711). Only in a few pairs of animate nouns does the suf. -ā indicate a f. in U, e.g.

sāhib m. Mr. sāhibā f. Mrs.
vālid m. father vālidā f. mother

732. Declension
In classical A, the singular noun has three cases: nominative (nom.), accusative (acc.), and genitive (gen.), distinguished by the three short vowels in pronunciation, though not usually in the script. There is also a distinction between definite forms, typically prefixed by the definite article al- ‘the’, and indefinite forms, indicated by tanvīn:

nom. al-kitābu the book kitābun a book
acc. al-kitāba the book kitāban a book
gen. al-kitābi the book’s kitābin a book’s

The indefinite acc., written with tanvīn and with alif (except after f. -at), appears in U in a number of common A loans, as a specialized adverbial suf., e.g.

taqriban about fauran immediately
daf’atan suddenly maslan for example

Since U words do not end in short vowels, the endings of the definite cases are normally lost. The nom. -u is however preserved in many compound names and phrases borrowed from A (741).
733. Duals and Sound Plurals
The dual number of classical A, used to indicate pairs, is represented in U only by a few fixed loans with the ending -ain, which are treated as p. nouns, e.g.:

\[\text{taraf} \quad \text{f. side} \quad \text{tarfain} \quad \text{mp. both parties} \]
\[\text{vâlid} \quad \text{m. father} \quad \text{vâlidain} \quad \text{mp. parents} \]

Most m. nouns in A have ‘broken’ plurals (734), as opposed to ‘sound’ plurals which are formed by the simple addition of endings to the s. The mp. ending -in is occasionally used in U (but suggests a high-flown style), for instance:

\[\text{mandûb} \quad \text{m. delegate} \quad \text{mandûbin} \quad \text{mp. delegates} \]

By contrast, A f. nouns regularly form ‘sound’ plurals, by changing the s. ending -â(t) to -ât, and this pattern is very commonly followed in U, e.g.:

\[\text{jazbâ} \quad \text{m. feeling} \quad \text{jazbât} \quad \text{mp. feelings} \]
\[\text{rivâyât} \quad \text{f. tradition} \quad \text{rivâyât} \quad \text{fp. traditions} \]
\[\text{‘imârat} \quad \text{f. building} \quad \text{‘imârat} \quad \text{fp. buildings} \]
\[\text{nazriyyâ} \quad \text{m. theory} \quad \text{nazriyyât} \quad \text{mp. theories} \]

The gender of the p. in U is thus normally determined by that of the s.

The sound p. suffix -ât is also freely added in U to A nouns not ending in -at or -â, especially to abstract nouns, e.g.:

\[\text{asar} \quad \text{m. effect} \quad \text{asarât} \quad \text{mp. effects} \]
\[\text{ihsâs} \quad \text{m. feeling} \quad \text{ihsâsât} \quad \text{mp. feelings} \]

Particularly free use of the ending -ât is found in the debased officialese of legal documents, etc., where it may be added even to native HU words, e.g.:

\[\text{caukî} \quad \text{f. guard-post} \quad \text{caukiyât} \quad \text{fp. guard-posts} \]

Finally, in modern U, the suf. -iyyat, technically the p. of the A abstract suf. -iyat (722), is used to form f. nouns indicating academic disciplines, e.g.:

\[\text{islâm} \quad \text{m. Islam} \quad \text{islâmiyyat} \quad \text{f. Islamic studies} \]
\[\text{lisân} \quad \text{f. language} \quad \text{lisâniyyât} \quad \text{f. linguistics} \]

It is to be noted that the A endings -ain, -in, and -ât do not permit the further addition of the HU obl. p. marker -oň, e.g.:

\[\text{‘imârat} \quad \text{buildings} \quad = \quad \text{‘imârateň} \]
\[\text{‘imârat mâň} \quad \text{in the buildings} \quad = \quad \text{‘imârateň mâň} \]
734. *Broken Plurals*

Most m. nouns in A have 'broken' plurals, formed by the same type of re-patterning of the radical letters as the numerous derived forms illustrated above (721–2). The contrast with the characteristic A f. sound plurals may be illustrated by such sets as:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Šāʻi} & \text{R} \quad \text{m. poet} & \text{ŠuʻaRā} \quad \text{mp. poets} \\
\text{ŠāʻiRā} \quad \text{f. poetess} & \text{ŠāʻiRāt} \quad \text{fp. poetesses}
\end{align*}
\]

Many of the commonest patterns of these broken plurals are freely employed in written U in all but the most deliberately simple styles, and it is consequently essential to learn to recognize them. Collectively, they are formally treated in U in the same way as the sound plurals in -āt, i.e. their gender is normally the same as that of the s., which may be m. or f. in U (731), and they do not add -oḥ in the obl. case.

Some twenty types of broken-plural pattern can be exemplified from A loans in U, but the following seven patterns account for the great majority of examples. Since the form of the s. is seldom completely predictable from that of the p., the essential requirement is to learn to recognize just that a given pattern indicates a broken plural, rather than, e.g., a derived verbal form or an adj.: but the commonest forms of corresponding singulars have been indicated in the following descriptions.

(a) aFāL.

This is the commonest of all broken-plural patterns for nouns of the basic types Fa'L, Fa'al, FiL, etc.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Si} & \text{R} \quad \text{m. verse} & \text{aŠ′āR} \quad \text{mp. verses} \\
\text{ʻaMaL} \quad \text{m. action} & \text{aMāL} \quad \text{mp. actions} \\
\text{LaFZ} \quad \text{m. word} & \text{aLFāZ} \quad \text{mp. words}
\end{align*}
\]

Other common examples from roots which do not have fully consonantal members (7), e.g. SM, ŠY', WQT, include the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{iSM} \quad \text{m. noun} & \text{aSMā} \quad \text{mp. nouns} \\
\text{ŠaI} \quad \text{f. things} & \text{aŠYā} \quad \text{fp. things} \\
\text{VaQT} \quad \text{m. time} & \text{aUQāT} \quad \text{mp. times}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) FuʻūL.

The next commonest of broken-plural patterns corresponding to nouns of the same basic s. types, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{HaRF} \quad \text{m. letter} & \text{HuRūF} \quad \text{mp. letters} \\
\text{ʻiLM} \quad \text{m. science} & \text{ʻuLūM} \quad \text{mp. sciences}
\end{align*}
\]
This pattern reveals the original structure of A 'doubled' roots as HQQ or XTT, where the s. has been simplified by the rule which forbids final doubled consonants in HU, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>MP. Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HaQ</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>right</td>
<td>HuQūq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XaT</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td>XuTūT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Fu’aLā.

This common pattern regularly denotes the p. of m. animate nouns. The writing of the final hamzā is a somewhat pedantic Arabicism in U, and is often omitted (711). There are two corresponding s. patterns.

The commonest is the active ptc. Fā’iL (721), e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>MP. Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Šā’ir</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>poet</td>
<td>Šu’āRā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TāLiB</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>student</td>
<td>TuLaBā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘āLiM</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>scholar</td>
<td>‘uLaMā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other s. pattern is the typical adj. model Fa’iL (722), e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>MP. Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RaFiQ</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>colleague</td>
<td>RuFaQā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FaSiH</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>orator</td>
<td>FuSaHā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) Favā’iL.

This pattern is reserved for the p. of inanimate nouns of the same active ptc. type Fā’iL(ạ), e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>MP. Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ZāBiTā</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>rule</td>
<td>ZavāBiT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qā’iDā</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>rule</td>
<td>Qavā’iD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e) Fa’āiL.

This pattern is also reserved for the p. of inanimate nouns, but of the adj. type Fa’iL(ạ), e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>MP. Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ZaMiR</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>ZaMāiR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VaSiLā</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>resource</td>
<td>VaSāiL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(f) maFā’iL.

This pattern is the standard broken p. for all nouns whose s. has four consonants and which have a short vowel before the last consonant. These notably include the nouns of place following the pattern maF’aL (722), also maF’iL, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>MP. Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maILiS</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>organization</td>
<td>maJāLiS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maKTaB</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>mosque school</td>
<td>maKāTiB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nouns from quadriliteral roots also conform to this pattern, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>MP. Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TaRJuMā</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>translation</td>
<td>TaRāJiM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DaFTaR</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>office</td>
<td>DaFāTiR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

55
(g) maFā‘īL.

This pattern is also reserved for nouns whose s. has four consonants, but also one of the long vowels ā ī ū before the last consonant, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>taFSīL</th>
<th>f.</th>
<th>detail</th>
<th>taFāsīL</th>
<th>fp.</th>
<th>details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SulLTāN</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>emperor</td>
<td>SaLāTI N</td>
<td>mp.</td>
<td>emperors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maZMūN</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>theme</td>
<td>maZāMI N</td>
<td>mp.</td>
<td>themes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is worth noting how the separate formal origins of the s. forms, whether the I passive ptc. maζmūn, the II verbal noun taʃsīl, and the quadriliteral noun suʃtān are equally subject to the same formal rules of A in the formation of their broken plurals, as regularly used in U.

All the A p. forms, whether sound or broken, which occur in the U passages are separately entered in the Urdu-English glossary, with the necessary citation of the corresponding s. forms. It is, however, to be noted that many common A loan-nouns in U can appear in all sorts of p. forms, since the native HU system is so regularly supplemented by recourse not simply to both the sound and broken formations of the A p., but also to the doublets occasionally permitted by the variety of A broken-plural patterns. Two examples of the triple choices thus sometimes available in U illustrate the possibilities:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>taFSīL</th>
<th>f.</th>
<th>detail</th>
<th>taFSīLāt</th>
<th>fp.</th>
<th>details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>taFSīLeŋ</td>
<td>fp.</td>
<td>details</td>
<td>taFāsīL</td>
<td>fp.</td>
<td>details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TāLI B</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>student</td>
<td>TuLaBā</td>
<td>mp.</td>
<td>students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TāLI B</td>
<td>mp.</td>
<td>students</td>
<td>TaLaBā</td>
<td>mp.</td>
<td>students</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All six of these p. forms would be perfectly legitimate in contemporary written U: but — perhaps fortunately — most loans are able to generate only one realistic form of their A plural.

735. Adjectives

As in most inflected languages (including HU), the declension of the A adj. is considerably simpler than that of the noun. By the rules of A grammar, all adj. qualifying a f. noun must be put in their f. form, with the typical ending -â(t): and by a further peculiar rule of A, the same applies to the broken plurals of m. nouns, which are treated as f. in gender. Laboriously assimilated into the learned usage of P (which has no genders of its own), this rule is reflected in U only in a few set PA loans, e.g. aqvām-e muttahidā fp. ‘United Nations’, which uses the P izafat to link the (a)-type broken plural aqvām of qaum ‘nation’ with the A f. form of the adj. muttahīd ‘united’.

Instead of the comparative and superlative degrees of the adj. marked by different suffixes in S, P and E (although not in HU), A has only a single intensive form. Called the ‘elative’, this is realized in the pattern aF‘aL (f. Fu‘Lā, written with final ye), but is used in U only as an etymological source for separate lexical items, or for names, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KaSīR</th>
<th>adj.</th>
<th>numerous</th>
<th>aKSāR</th>
<th>adv.</th>
<th>often</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SaGīR</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>less, small</td>
<td>aSāGāR</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Asghar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SuGRā</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>Sughra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
74. Syntax
Two types of compound A phrases are frequently used in U: and these are explained below. The frequency with which more complex A expressions are freely employed in many styles of U also makes it useful to have some understanding of the structure of the simple A sentence, which is quite as different from HU norms as are the characteristic processes of A word-formation and inflexion.

74.1. Possessive Phrases
The A possessive construction resembles the post-modifying pattern of E ‘the rights of the child’, vs. the pre-modifying HU kā, e.g. U bacce ke huqūq ‘the child’s rights’. The construction is used to form a number of compound phrases in U usage, including both nouns (especially proper names) and adj.

Its simplest form is illustrated by the elegant synonym for ‘wine’ favoured in classical U poetry:

\[ \text{bintul-'ināb} \quad \text{f. the daughter of the grape} \]

The first noun bintu has the definite nom. ending [-u] (732). The second noun (technically in the genitive) is preceded by the definite article, which is elided in pronunciation with the preceding -u, although written in full as al-'ināb ‘the grape’. Exactly the same formal structure is found in the common A loan-phrases head by dār ‘place of’, e.g.:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{dārul-hukūmat} & \quad \text{m. capital (‘the place of the government’)} \\
\text{dārul-'ulūm} & \quad \text{m. university (‘the place of the sciences’)}
\end{align*} \]

The most frequent use of the construction is in the formation of many Muslim names, e.g.:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{abul-kalām} & \quad \text{m. Abul Kalam (‘the father of the word’)} \\
\text{'abdul-halīm} & \quad \text{m. Abdul Halim (‘the slave of the Clement’)} \\
\text{'ainul-haq} & \quad \text{m. Ainul Haq (‘the eye of the Truth’)}
\end{align*} \]

The same rule of elision applies to the numerous names ending in allāh, e.g.:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{asadullāh} & \quad \text{m. Asadullah (‘the lion of God’)} \\
\text{farhatullāh} & \quad \text{m. Farhatullah (‘the delight of God’)}
\end{align*} \]

When the second noun begins with one of the ‘sun letters’ (71–711), the written lām is assimilated to this letter in pronunciation, e.g.:

\[ \text{'abdur-rahmān} \quad \text{m. Abdur Rahman (‘the slave of the Merciful’)} \]

The same rules of pronunciation apply to the adj. compounds formed by the use of this construction, e.g.:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{jalīlul-qadar} & \quad \text{adj. illustrious (‘glorious of worth’)} \\
\text{'azīmūs-sān} & \quad \text{adj. splendid (‘great of glory’)} \\
\text{vājibut-tark} & \quad \text{adj. to be eschewed (‘worthy of leaving’)}
\end{align*} \]
This adj. formation is so well-established in U that it can occasionally accommodate a non-A word, e.g.:

\[ \text{sanskritul-asl} \]  \text{adj. Sanskritic ('Sanskrit of origin')} 

742. Prepositional Phrases
Yet another contrast between HU and A syntax is furnished by the use of prepositions in A. Some of the commonest of these appear as the first members of loan-phrases in U, which are typically adverbial in sense, e.g.:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{bi-} & \quad \text{in, on} \\
\text{baina} & \quad \text{between} \\
\text{hatta} & \quad \text{up to}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
'\text{al}a & \quad ('\text{ala}) \\
\text{fii} & \quad \text{in} \\
\text{li-} & \quad \text{for}
\end{align*} \]

These govern the genitive case in A, but the ending -\(i\) (732) is preserved in U only in the middle of possessive phrases. The only common example is:

\[ \text{bismillah} \quad \text{in the name of God} \]

The pronunciation and spelling of adv. phrases beginning with bi-demands somewhat careful attention. The written alif of the article is elided in pronunciation with bi-, which is joined to it in writing, and the 'sun letter' rule may also govern the pronunciation of the written laam, e.g.:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{bit-taxis} & \quad \text{adv. especially ('in the particular')} \\
\text{biz-zat} & \quad \text{adv. essentially ('in the essence')} \\
\text{bil-kul} & \quad \text{adv. quite ('on the whole')} \\
\end{align*} \]

\[ \text{li- 'for' is also joined to the following letter in writing:} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{li-haza} & \quad \text{cj. therefore ('for this')} \\
\end{align*} \]

Other prepositions are written separately, but elisions of the article regularly occur in pronunciation, e.g.:

\[ \text{bainal-aqvami} \quad \text{adj. international ('between the nations')} \]

Those prepositions which end in a long vowel shorten this in pronunciation before the article, although they are written in full, e.g.:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{hattal-imkan} & \quad \text{adv. as far as possible ('up to the possibility')} \\
'alal-'umum & \quad \text{adv. generally ('on the general')} \\
\text{fil-jumla} & \quad \text{adv. overall ('in the aggregate')} \\
\text{fil-haqiqat} & \quad \text{adv. actually ('in the reality')} \\
\end{align*} \]

\[ \text{fii 'in' is also the only A prepn. to have independent status in U, where it is used as a convenient synonym of E 'per', itself of course borrowed from Latin. It is freely used not only with A but also with P and even native HU words, e.g.:} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{fii s\=al} & \quad \text{per year} \\
\text{fii shaxs} & \quad \text{per person} \\
\text{fii ghan\=at} & \quad \text{per hour}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \text{fii-sad} \quad \text{percent} \]
743. Arabic Sentence-structure
The typical A sentence-order is verb-subject-object. A is thus classified as a VSO language, quite unlike P or HU, which are SOV languages, or English, which is an SVO language. Since the A sentences and expressions that commonly occur in U tend to be restricted to quite simple religious formulae, the full pattern seldom emerges.

The placing of the verb first in the sentence or clause is, however, to be noted in such expressions as:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a'ūzu billāh} & \quad \text{I take refuge with God!} \\
\text{inšallāh} & \quad \text{if God wishes!} \\
\text{illā māšallāh} & \quad \text{except as God wishes!}
\end{align*}
\]

In the last two phrases the verb šā ‘wish’ precedes the subject allāh.

A is also a language which favours nominal sentences, i.e. sentences without a verb, which would be expressed in languages like HU or E with some form of the verb ‘to be’. The commonest examples of all are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{as-salāmu 'alaikum} & \quad \text{peace (be) upon you!} \\
\text{va-'alaikum as-salām} & \quad \text{and upon you (be) peace!}
\end{align*}
\]

A similar pattern is also found in negative sentences, beginning with the negative adv. lā ‘not’, e.g.:

\[
\text{lā haul va lā quvvā illā billāh} \\
\text{(there is) no strength or power but through God!}
\]

Note that such A phrases are conventionally distinguished in calligraphy by being written in the nasx script, as opposed to the nasta’liq employed for U and P. Examples may be seen in the texts of 3, 6 and 13.

8. The Persian Component
The status for so long enjoyed by P as the premier language of Indo-Muslim civilization (12–21) continues to be reflected in the immense importance of the P component in U, particularly in vocabulary, in processes of word-formation, and in the syntax of many common types of phrase. Although the deliberate differentiation of H through Sanskritization has naturally resulted in a much lower prominence for its P component, a great many common P words, e.g. dost ‘friend’ or nān ‘flat bread’, continue to be used in all natural styles of H, many of whose syntactic structures also continue to be influenced by the underlying example of P. The P component of H is, in other words, of much greater significance than the minimal S component of U.

The historic spread of P far beyond its homeland in the central Iranian province of Fars, which gave the language its name fārsī, was surely due in large part to its intrinsic simplicity. If HU can be reasonably compared in terms of difficulty to prospective learners with Italian or Spanish, P is more like E. Having a remarkably straightforward phonemic system and nouns
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  except as God wishes!

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without genders or cases, P must have proved even more readily acceptable in India thanks to its intrinsic character as one of the nearest cousins of the NIA group to which HU belongs. Several common words are identical, e.g. *andar* ‘inside’ or *do* ‘two’: and many more are obviously closely related, e.g. *P cahâr = HU câr* ‘four’.

A general understanding of this intrinsic closeness between P and HU is taken for granted in the following paragraphs, which also assume a similar understanding of the status of P as a composite language that already incorporated many A elements before its transfer to India. Such elements are marked as ‘A’ where appropriate below.

81. Phonology

Like all languages long imported into alien speech-territory, the P of South Asia has come to assume a number of archaic and locally-determined features. The following descriptions of P are therefore to be understood as relating to Indo-Persian, which is quite as different from the modern P of Iran as Indian E is from the contemporary E of Britain or of the United States.

This consideration applies particularly to the phonology of the vowels, where Indo-Persian has the same 10-term system as HU, i.e. *a ā i ē u ū e ē o au*, with an amalgamation in pronunciation of the common written final -ā with -â, and with the possibility of the final nasalization -ā. This convenient congruence with IA norms has long been lost in standard Iranian pronunciation, and is one of the main reasons for the difficulties experienced by those South Asians who can still speak P in conversing with Iranians.

While the 23-term system of consonantal phonemes is both simpler and much closer to HU than the characteristically Semitic pattern of the A consonants (71), the typically Iranian preference for fricatives — as opposed to the IA distinction of aspirated consonants (51) — is notably different from HU. Features to notice in the following table, therefore, include — besides the *q* imported from A — both the way in which the oddly assorted A series of ‘simple’ plosive consonants is filled out by the P phonemes *g c p*, which demanded intrinsic modifications of the A alphabet to write P, and the very full set of fricative consonants, demanding only the addition of a letter to write *ž* to the A alphabet, but to be transferred only with some difficulty to the norms of IA pronunciation so accurately reflected in the Nagari writing-system (511). For the sake of clarity, the table disregards the A letters already assimilated to P phonemes (71):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>̀y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The syllabic structure of P is quite close to that of A: in this respect it resembles HU rather than S. There are no initial clusters, and no medial clusters of more than two members, nor any final short vowels. Two-member final consonant-clusters are, however, very common: these are easily assimilated to HU norms when the first member is a sibilant, e.g. *dost* ‘friend’, somewhat more awkwardly when it is a distinctively P fricative, e.g. *daraxt* ‘tree’, liable to be pronounced by speakers careless of proper U usage as e.g. *darakhūt*.

811. Script
Apart from the addition of letters to write the P phonemes $p$ c $q$ $g$ absent from A phonology, which subsequently provided the model for the addition to the alphabet of modified characters to write the U phonemes t d r, the A script proved intrinsically quite well adapted to the writing of P.

Subsequent phonetic changes have resulted in only a few historically determined ambiguities in the spelling of P loan-words in U, notably the redundant writing of vāo after initial xe, e.g.:

\[ \text{xud} \quad \text{pr. self} \quad \text{xuš} \quad \text{adj. happy} \]

These historical spellings continue to reflect the long-obsolete pronunciations xwad and xwaś, cf. U xwāb ‘dream’.

The A script also had to be adapted to record that most characteristic of P constructions, the izāfat -i which is normally pronounced in Indo-P and U as -e (841), and so written in Nagari where it occurs in P phrases in H. U spelling-rules for the izāfat are adapted from P, and may be summarized as follows:

(a) after a consonant, the optional writing of zer is regularly reproduced in the text of the U passages in this book, e.g.:

\[ \text{barr-e sağir} \quad \text{m. subcontinent} \]
\[ \text{qāid-e ā'zam} \quad \text{m. ‘Great Leader’, i.e. Jinnah} \]

(b) after final -ā or -ī, the standard P and U notation of hamzā over he or ye is followed, e.g.:

\[ \text{sarmāyā-e alfāz} \quad \text{m. stock of words, vocabulary} \]
\[ \text{vādī-e sindh} \quad \text{f. the Indus Valley} \]

(c) after final -ā or -ū, the standard U practice of writing baṛī ye after hamzā is observed, e.g.:

\[ \text{daryā-e sindh} \quad \text{m. the River Indus} \]
\[ \text{urdū-e mu'allā} \quad \text{f. the Exalted Camp} \]

Finally, while the A script is admirably suited to indicate the Semitic process of root-modification, it copes much less well with long polysyllables of the kind which result from the Indo-European preference for word-formation through compounds. Hence the practice of breaking such compounds into their constituent elements in P and U orthography,
82.

e.g.:

P  kitāb-farōs  m. bookseller
S  janam-bhūm  f. birthplace
E  ṭāip-rāṭar  m. typewriter

82. Lexicon

The close genetic relationship between the Iranian and the IA groups within Indo-European, illustrated by the obvious similarity between many pairs of P and HU words (8), is to be seen in such etymological rules as that which establishes the correspondence of Iranian h- -fī- d with IA s- -pt- dh, hence:

P  haft  num. seven  =  S  sapta > HU  sāt  num. seven
P  hind  m.  India  =  S  sindhu > HU  sindh  m. Indus, Sind

Except in the language of classical P poetry (in its turn largely transferred to U poetry), however, it must be remembered that this native P vocabulary tends to be outweighed by the huge numbers of A borrowings and the many composite PA forms developed therefrom. P also incorporates a few loan-words from Turkish, some of which have been transferred to HU, e.g. the name urdū itself, qulī ‘porter’, or qaincī ‘scissors’, besides the agentive suf. -cī found in bāvarcī ‘cook’ or tabalcī ‘tabla-player’.

But P is extremely rich in native processes of word-formation, through the use of prefixes, suffixes, and compounds. In this respect, P is quite comparable to S (62), although it lacks the archaic S features of sandhi or guṇa and vṛddhi. U therefore draws upon the rich resources of P word-formation in the same way that H does upon those provided by S, to make up for the meagre patterns provided by the native HU component (523). Not only have great numbers of P and PA derivative forms been historically assimilated into U, but it is also P patterns of word-formation which are chiefly relied upon in the coinage of U neologisms calqued upon E, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{taraqqī-pazīr} & \quad \text{adj. developing ('progress-receiving')} \\
\text{taraqqī-yāftā} & \quad \text{adj. developed ('progress-found')} \\
\text{gair-taraqqī-yāftā} & \quad \text{adj. undeveloped ('non-progress-found')} 
\end{align*}
\]

821. Prefixes

Although P prefixes function in the same way as those of S (621) in the formation of derivatives, typically converting a noun into an adj., most of them also have an independent status in the language as adj., adv., or prepzn. (843). The commonest P pref. include:

(a)  bā- ‘with’, typically the opposite of (c) be-:

A  qā’idā  m. rule  bā-qā’idā  adj. regular
A  murād  f. desire  bā-murād  adj. as wished for
(b) *bad-* ‘bad’, typically the opposite of (d) *xūb-* or (e) *xuš-*:

- **A tamīz** m. manners *bad-tamīz* adj. rude
- **A sūrat** f. form *bad-sūrat* adj. ugly

(c) *be-* ‘without’, one of the commonest negative pref.:

- **A qā‘idā** m. rule *be-qā‘idā* adj. irregular
- **kār** m. work *be-kār* adj. unemployed

(d) *xūb-* ‘good’:

- **A sūrat** f. form *xūb-sūrat* adj. beautiful

(e) *xuš-* ‘happy, nice’ (cf. S su- 621u):

- **bū** f. smell *xuš-bū* f. fragrance
- **A qismat** f. fortune *xuš-qismat* adj. fortunate

(f) *A ġair-* ‘other’, very common in the sense of E ‘un-’:

- **A mutavāzī** adj. balanced *ġair-mutavāzī* adj. unbalanced
- **A matłūb** adj. desired *ġair-matłūb* adj. undesired

(g) *kam-* ‘less’:

- **A sin** m. age *kam-sin* adj. young

(h) *A lā-* ‘not’, another common negative pref.:

- **A sānī** adj. second *lā-sānī* adj. unequalled
- **A ta‘āvun** m. cooperation *lā-ta‘āvun* m. non-cooperation

(i) *nā-* ‘not’, with *be-* the commonest negative pref.:

- **gavārā** adj. pleasant *nā-gavār* adj. unpleasant
- **A vāqif** adj. acquainted *nā-vāqif* adj. unacquainted

(j) *ham-* ‘co-, con-’ (cf. S sama- 621s):

- **A ma‘ne** mp. meaning *ham-ma‘ne* adj. synonymous
- **A vatan** m. country *ham-vatan* m. compatriot

Although the independent status of many of these pref. blurs their distinction from the P compounds of the *bahuvrīhi* type (825c), the frequency with which e.g. *xuš-* or *kam-* are used in word-formation makes it sensible to treat them under this heading.

822. *Suffixes*

A great number of suffixes are simply inbuilt into P, in the sense that they exist in several words without generating new forms: this type of bound suf. is of course equally characteristic of HU (522). P examples include:

(a) *-ār*, used to form f. nouns from verbal roots:

- **raft** f. movement *raftār*
- **gufi** f. speech *gufiār*
(b) -iš, a very common alternative to (a):

āmez- mixing āmeziš f. mixture
koš- trying košiš f. effort

Other such bound suf. are used to derive adj. from nouns, e.g.:
(c) -mand:

dāniš f. wisdom dāniš-mand adj. intellectual
hoš f. sense hoš-mand adj. sensible

Besides such numerous bound suf., there is also a smaller number of P. suf. which continue to generate derived words in U. These fall into two formal classes, the first serving to generate adj., the second nouns. The commonest adj. suf. are:
(d) -ānā, added to both nouns and adj. to generate fresh forms, often patterned on E "-ly, -ical, -al", e.g.:
dost m. friend dostānā adj. friendly
A sā’ir m. poet sā’irānā adj. poetical
A falsafī adj. philosophic falsafīyānā adj. philosophical

(e) -ā, an adj. extension with various functions in U, including semantic differentiation, e.g.:
A maujūd adj. present maujūdā adj. current

This P -ā is, however, most frequently used in U to distinguish adj. not so much in meaning as in their use as qualifiers before a noun, e.g. muqarrarā vaqt par ‘at the appointed time’, vs. the predicative vaqt muqarrar ho gayā ‘the time was appointed’. The suf. is to be distinguished from the graphically identical -ā which marks the f. of the A adj. (735).

(f) -ī, the exceedingly common adj. suf. which P shares with A, and which consequently marks huge numbers of adj. in U:
berūn adv.outside berūnī adj. external
pākistān m. Pakistan pākistānī adj. Pakistani

Nouns ending in -ā produce adj. with the written ending -āī:
A sūbā m. province sūbāī adj. provincial
A ‘ilāqā m. locality ‘ilāqāī adj. local

The commonest suf. of the second class, used to generate nouns, is formally identical:
(g) -ī, the standard marker of abstract nouns derived from P adj., in U equivalent in function with the extended A -iyat (722):
bihtar adj. better bihtarī f. welfare
xūb adj. good xūbī f. excellence
Adj. ending in -ā, whether this is intrinsic or determined by the addition of the suf. (e) -ā, regularly follow this pattern with the special termination -agī:

śāistā adj. cultured śāistagī f. culture
PA maujūdā adj. current maujūdagī f. currency, presence

This nominal suf. -ī is applied in U with complete freedom to derived adj. of all types, whether formed by prefixation (821) or the suffixion of P verbal elements (823):

PA taraqqī-yāftā adj. developed taraqqī-yāftagī f. development
PA xuš-uslūb adj. elegant xuš-uslūbī f. elegance

Other P nominal suf. are more specialized in function, e.g.:

(h) -dān m. or -dānī f. ‘receptacle for’:
A qalam f. pen qalam-dān m. pen-case
HU nas m. snuff nas-dānī f. snuff-box

(i) -zādā m. ‘son of’:
A navvāb m. prince navvāb-zādā m. princeling

This in turn produces the U suf. -zādī f. ‘daughter of’:
śāh m. king śah-zādī f. princess

(j) -stān m. ‘home of’ (= S -sthān):
pāk adj. pure pākistān m. Pakistan
hindū m. Hindu hindustān m. India

(k) -gāh f. ‘place of’:
A dars m. teaching dars-gāh f. college
dast m. hand dast-gāh f. grasp

While many other P nominal suf. may be distinguished in U, it is often hard to place them in a formally separate compartment from P compounds of the karmadhārāya type (825b), given their additional status as independent words, e.g. xānā m. ‘drawer’, besides numerous suf. uses as in dāk-xānā ‘post office’ or ‘ajāib-xānā m. ‘museum’.

823. Verbal suffixes
The P pref. and suf. types so far described for U largely overlap with the S types so actively employed in H (621–2). U also, however, makes much use of a special type of P suf., those derived from the P verb (834).

Although P verbs are often closely related to their HU opposite numbers in etymology and conjugation, their main parts are differently classified. Most HU verbs follow the regular model of ānā ‘to come’, from which the stem ā- and the past ptc. āyā can be regularly derived: only a few follow the
pattern of jānā ‘to go’, with the regular stem jā- but the irregular past ptc. gayā ‘gone’. The P verb is rather different, since the inf. is formed from the past stem ending in -d- or -t-, e.g. āmadan ‘to come’, past ptc. āmadā ‘came’, or raftan ‘to go’, past ptc. raftā ‘gone’: and, like the majority of common P verbs, these form their present tenses from irregular bases, ā- ‘coming’ and rau- ‘going’. It is these ‘present-stems’, sometimes matched by the corresponding past ptc., which furnish the majority of the P verbal suffixes in active use in U.

From the 50-odd P verbs so used in compound U nouns and adj., the following commonest examples may be cited as illustrations of typical word-building formations.

(a) pasandīdan ‘to approve’, pres. stem pasand- used in U to represent E ‘-ive, -ist’:

A taraqqī f. progress taraqqī-pasand adj. progressive
A dahsāt f. terror dahsāt-pasandī f. terrorism

(b) dāstan ‘to have’, pres. stem dār- very commonly used in U as a simple adj. suf., with the f. derivative -dārī:

A tamīz f. manners tamīz-dārī f. discretion
xūs-bū f. fragrance xūs-bū-dār adj. fragrant

(c) dānistān ‘to know’, pres. stem dān-, not to be confused with the ‘receptacle’ suf. -dān (822h):

A ‘arabī f. Arabic ‘arabī-dān adj. Arabic-knowing
fārsī f. Persian fārsī-dānī f. knowing Persian
A qadar f. worth qadar-dān m. patron

(d) didan ‘to see’, with the quite irregular pres. stem bīn-:

jahān m. world jahān-didā adj. experienced
dūr adv. far dūr-bīn m. telescope

(e) mālīdan ‘to rub’, pres. stem māl-:

pā m. foot pā-māl adj. trampled
rū m. face rū-māl m. handkerchief
goš m. ear goš-mālī f. punishment

(f) yāftan ‘to find’, pres. stem yāb-:

A taraqqī f. progress taraqqī-yāftā adj. developed
dast m. hand dast-yāb adj. obtainable
kām m. desire kām-yāb adj. successful
824. Numerals
The lower P numerals, whose etymological relationship to their HU counterparts has been indicated above (82), are very frequently used in U where E favours a Roman numeral, e.g. 'George VI', 'volume II', etc., exactly as H favours the use of S numerals in similar contexts (624). This is particularly true of the P ordinals, formed with the suf. -um:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinals</th>
<th>Ordinals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>yak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>cahâr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>panj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>sîs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>haft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>haêt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>nuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>dah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The established A loan avval ‘first’ is sometimes supplemented, e.g. in king-lists, by the following A ordinals sâní ‘second’, sâlis ‘third’, râbi ‘fourth’, xâmis ‘fifth’, etc.

Higher numerals are seldom encountered, except for the standard hazâr ‘thousand’.

825. Compounds
The formal categories into which S compounds are slotted (625) are less tidily applied to the classification of P compounds, given the overlap with the various types of derivatives formed by the prefixes and suffixes described above (831–3).

(a) dvandva-compounds are effectively replaced in P by phrases joined with the copula o ‘and’ (842), e.g. xuści o gam ‘joy and sorrow’, vs. S sukha-dužkha.

(b) Most P words that might be assigned to the tatpurûsa category may equally be treated as suffixed derivatives (822). But the dvigu-type, whose first element is a P numeral, is well represented in compounds also incorporating P, HU, or A components, e.g.:

- P + P cahâr-šambâ m. Wednesday (‘day 4’)
- P + HU se-pahar m. afternoon (‘watch 3’)
- P + A yak-tarfâ adj. one-sided

(c) bahuvrihi-compounds of various types, though similarly hardly distinct from many pref.-formations (821), yield many P adj., e.g.:

- PA pur-fâidâ adj. edifying (‘full of benefit’)
- P zabar-dast adj. overwhelming (‘upper-handed’)

67
83.

Morphology
While P is historically much richer than HU in resources for word-
formation, it is much simpler in grammatical structure. It is therefore
possible to treat the substantial influence of morphologically-derived P
forms on U, also far from negligible in H, in terms of lexically conditioned
items.

831. Nouns
P nouns have no distinction of gender, and virtually none of case (unless
the object-marker -rā is treated as synonymous with the HU ppn. ko).
There are two types of p., both of which appear only in the most formal U
styles:

(a) -ān for animate nouns:
   dānīšmand  m. intellectual  dānīšmandān  mp. intellectuals
   A ʿāqil    m. wise man  ʿāqilān    mp. the wise

The p. of animate P nouns ending in -ā appears as -agān:
   baccâ    m. child  baccagān    mp. children

(b) -hā for inanimate nouns:
   A kitāb   f. book  kitāb-hā    fp. books

This p. ending is more frequently used in adv. phrases in U, and may be
added therein to HU nouns:
   bār      f. time  bār-hā    adv. time after
   HU baras m. year  baras-hā   adv. year after
   hazār   num. thousand  hazār-hā   adv. thousands of

As the last example shows, this P -hā is often used as a learned equivalent
of the specialized functions of the HU obl. p. -ōn, e.g. hazāroh ‘thousands
of’.

832. Adjectives
Although simple P adj. do not decline, they share with E the regular
pattern of a comparative form in -tar ‘-er’ and a superlative in -tarīn ‘-est’.
The commonest examples in U are:
   xūb  good  bih-tar  better  bih-tarīn  best
   bad  bad  bad-tar  worse  bad-tarīn  worst

Since HU lacks any mark of distinction between the comparative and
superlative degrees, such P adj. forms tend to be treated in U as intensives
of the same type as the single A elative degree (735).
The P comparative suf. -tar thus generates a few intensive adv. in U, e.g.:

A  ziyādā  adv. more  ziyādā-tar  adv. mostly
    kam  adv. less  kam-tar  adv. seldom

The P comparative construction employs the prepn. az which is directly comparable to the HU’ppn. se ‘from, than’ but also involves the use of the comparative suf. -tar, e.g. the equivalent renderings of the tag ‘the excuse is worse than the sin’:

P  ‘uzr bad-tar az gunāh ast
   U  ‘uzr gunāh se burā hai

833. Pronouns

While the general rule of comparative linguistics which states that languages are seldom influenced in such basic components as pronouns by other languages is almost universally true, the profound influence of P upon U is illustrated by such completely assimilated pronominal loans as xud ‘self’ for HU āp, cand or PA ba’z for HU koī ‘some’, and the P har ‘every’ in har koī or har kuch for HU sab koī ‘everyone’ or sab kuch ‘everything’.

Otherwise, the organization of personal pronouns in P is very similar to that of HU, although the genuine 3rd person s. pr. o ‘he, she, it’ exists in P alongside the frequently employed demonstratives ān (= HU vo) ‘that’ and in (= HU ye) ‘this’.

834. Verbs

The conjugation of P verbs is determined by the basic contrast between the pres. and the past stem (823). Although personal forms of the P verb seldom appear in U except in set loan-tags, it is useful to have a picture of the basic paradigms, as illustrated by the common verb dādan ‘to give’, pres. stem dih-:

dīhandā pres. ptc. giving  dādā past ptc. given
  mī-diham  1s. I give  dādam  1s. I gave
  mī-dīhī  2s. you give  dādī  2s. you gave
  mī-diḥad  3s. he gives  dād  3s. he gave
  mī-diḥīm  1p. we give  dādīm  1p. we gave
  mī-dīhīd  2p. you give  dādī  2p. you gave
  mī-dīhand  3p. they give  dādand  3p. they gave

Apart from their function as suffixes in word-formation (823), verbal stems appear independently in a few common U nouns, e.g. the doublets just-jū f. ‘search’ and guft-gū f. ‘conversation’.

The participles have a certain artificial independence in the most Persianized styles of U, e.g. in’ām-dīhandā ‘prize giver’ for the inf. ptc. in’ām dene-vālā, but are more genuinely restricted to a number of common adj. loans. The pres. ptc. has the ending -indā after vowel-stems, e.g. āindā ‘coming’, used in U as an adj. ‘next’: cf. the P phrase from the Pakistani
national anthem pākistān pāīndā bād ‘may Pakistan endure!’.
(The 3s. bād ‘may it be!’ also occurs in the common HU expression mubārak-bād
‘congratulations!’ Another specialized P 3s. is the HU adv. sāyad
‘perhaps’.)

Many P past ptc., ending in -dā or -tā, appear as adj. in U, e.g. sāistā
‘cultured’, guzaštā ‘past, last’, besides such compounds as pas-māndā
‘backward’ or in’ām-yaftā ‘prize-winning’. The past ptc. raftā ‘gone’ is used
as an adv. in U raftā raftā ‘gradually’.

84. Syntax
If P resembles S in its rich patterns of word-formation, it is more like E not
only in the simplicity of its morphology, but also in the apparent simplicity
of its syntax, several of whose most characteristic phrasal constructions are
regularly used in U. More generally, the continuing overt debt of U to P is
directly reflected in many features of U syntax: and the same patterns
continue to characterize H syntax also, even if P words may have been
replaced by S loans.

841. Izafat Phrases
Rules for writing the izafat -e in the U script are explained above (811). In
meaning, the izafat has two principal functions in P: the indication of a
possessive relationship between two nouns, or the qualification of a noun
by an adj. In both types, the P word-order is the reverse of the comparable
HU constructions.

Izafat phrases of noun + noun correspond to those linked by kā in HU,
e.g. šurafā-e lakhnaū mp. ‘the gentlemen of Lucknow’ for lakhnaū ke šurafā.
Although formally of this type, phrases headed by the PA ahl-e ‘people of’
are effectively used as compounds in U, e.g. ahl-e zabān mp. ‘native
speakers’, or ahl-e mağrib mp. ‘Westerners’.

Izafat phrases of noun + adj. similarly follow the reverse order of words
from HU, e.g. zamān-e darāz m. ‘a long time’, vs. lambā vaqt. Many izafat
phrases of this type also are effectively used as compounds in U, e.g. barr-e
sagīr m. ‘subcontinent’, from A barr ‘continent’ + A sagīr ‘small’.

A third possibility provided by the flexible izafat is the linkage of adj. +
noun, e.g. sar-garm-e safar ‘actively embarked on the journey’: but this is
less common than the two main types. The frequency with which izafat
phrases are employed is one of the most obvious indicators of a Persianized
style in U, whose heaviest varieties may occasionally resort to phrases of
more than two members, e.g. ahl-e zabān-e lakhnaū ‘the native speakers of
Lucknow’.

842. Copular Phrases
The P copula o tends to be restricted in U to a number of common phrases
which effectively function as compounds of fresh meaning, e.g.:

āb o havā f. climate (‘water & air’)
āmad o raft f. traffic (‘coming & going’)
našv o numā f. development (‘growth & production’)

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843. Prepositional Phrases
Like A, but unlike HU, P has prepositions. These frequently appear as the first members of loan-phrases in U, typically adverbal in sense, just like the A prepositional phrases (742). The commonest simple P prepositions include:

(a)  
\( az \) ‘from, than’:
\( az \) sar-e nau  
afresh (‘from a new head’)
\( kam \) az kam  
at least (‘less than less’)

Compare the HU synonyms nae sire se and kam se kam.

(b)  
\( ba- \) ‘by, with’, to be distinguished from A [bi-] ‘in, on’ (742), but similarly often written together with the following word:
\( ba-xūbī \)  
well (‘with excellence’)
\( ba-rāh-e rāst \)  
directly (‘by the straight path’)
\( roz ba-roz \)  
day by day

The last type of reduplicated adv. phrase gives rise to fresh formations incorporating native HU words, e.g. the HU synonym \( din ba-din \) ‘day by day’, or \( pīrīhī ba-pīrīhī \) ‘generation by generation’.

(c)  
\( bar \) ‘on’:
\( bar-pā \)  
afoot (‘on foot’)
\( bar-zabān \)  
by heart (‘on the tongue’)

(d)  
\( dar \) ‘in’:
\( dar \) asl  
in fact
\( dar \) miyān  
in between

844. Compound Prepositions
Besides these simple prepositions, comparable in number to the small HU set kā, ko, tak, par, mēn, se, P has a large number of compound prepositions.

Typically linked to the following noun by the possessive izafat, these may be simple words, e.g. mānind-e or misl-e ‘like’, or compounds introduced by a simple prepn., e.g. ba-jā-e ‘in place of’, ba-taur-e ‘by way of’, bar-xilāf-e ‘in opposition to’, bar-vazn-e ‘on the pattern of’.

In older U prose, such compound prepositions are frequently encountered, either in their purely P form with the izafat, or as prepositions without the izafat but with ke written after the noun. The modern preference for full loan-translations as ppn. headed by ke or kī thus took some time to become fully established. The process may be illustrated by successive versions of the phrase ‘like other poets’:

\( mānind-e sā'irān-e digar \)  
(P)
\( mānind aur sā'iron ke \)  
(older U)
\( aur sā'iron kī mānind \)  
(modern U)
Although the intrinsic formation of compound postpositions is native to the NIA component of HU, a great many individual items have been transferred from P compound prepositions by this somewhat roundabout route. Direct loan-translations in U have often been further adapted in H by the substitution of S loans, e.g. P ba-taur-e > U ke taur par > H ke prakār ‘by way of, like’, or P qābil-e > U ke qābil > H ke yogya ‘worthy of’.

A few P prepositions are compounded with az ‘from’ instead of the linking izafat, e.g. peš az ‘before’. This may account for the exclusive U preference for se pahle, vs. the possibility of ke pahle in H.

845. Phrase-verbs
In exactly the same way as H and U have adapted their modern loans from E to function as verbs by the addition to nouns and adjectives of karnā or honā, e.g. ūlījōn karnā ‘to telephone’ or pās honā ‘to pass’, so too did P expand the relatively small stock of its native verbal stems by adding kardan ‘to do’ or śudan ‘to become’ to great numbers of A loan-nouns and adj. Although it is not always possible to determine the order of historical priority, the influence of P in the development of many HU phrase-verbs is certainly often comparable to that described above for compound ppn. sets (844), e.g. P rāzī kardan > U rāzī karnā > H santuṣṭ karnā ‘to satisfy’, similarly P rāzī śudan > U rāzī honā > H santuṣṭ honā ‘to be satisfied’.

846. Sentence-structure
In terms of its typical sentence-structure, P is much closer to HU than to E or A (743), since it has the order SOV. Historically, however, P was developed much earlier than either H or U as a language of high culture and official administration, and the intrinsic resources of its syntax were correspondingly developed to meet the requirements of formal written expression. It is for this reason that the P component of HU extends beyond the familiar loan-categories of nouns and adj. to embrace not only compound postpositions and phrase-verbs or adv. and intj. like sāyad ‘perhaps’ and kās ‘if only!’, but also the conjunctions which form the basic link-elements in the structure of the complex HU sentence.

The native HU preference is for the linking of clauses in parallel parataxis, e.g. jo... , vo... or jab... , to... , and for the linking of sentences through the enclitic particles bhī or to (54). More sophisticated clause linkages are largely expressed in U by the use of P loan-conjunctions, whose syntactic function is exactly reproduced in H by S substitutions.

The basic P conjunction is ki ‘that’, equally used in U and H to introduce reported direct speech. It also appears in many P compound conjunctions used in U, e.g. balki ‘but rather’, bā-vuţude-ki ‘in spite of’, tā-ki ‘so that’, cünkī ‘since’, not to speak of the familiar HU kyoňki ‘because’. The P marker -ci functions similarly in the formation of cunānci ‘accordingly’, or the extension of P agar ‘if’ to form agarci ‘although’, exactly synonymous in U with hālānkī. Although H yadi ‘if’ and yadyapi ‘although’ are impeccably S in appearance, they are better understood as deliberately introduced loan-conversions from the P conjunctions, preserved in U, which did so much to facilitate the officialese of the Mughal chanceries.
9. The English Component

The history of English in South Asia since the mid-eighteenth century is in many ways remarkably similar to the preceding role of Persian from the thirteenth century until after 1800. Both languages are of Indo-European origin, both grammatically rather simple, both initially implanted as colonial media in the Indo-Aryan territory of Hindi-Urdu, both then eagerly cultivated locally. The double process of adoption and adaptation which once led Indo-Persian to emerge as a fossilized variant of High Urdu (and the tacit formulation of its Sanskritized rival) was largely repeated. ‘Indian English’ is as immediately a target for simple fun from a British perspective as the Persian of Delhi once was to the nice critics of Shiraz: and the contemporary Hindi of India or the official Urdu of Pakistan are hardly to be savoured without an awareness of the process which has fostered their emergence as twin look-alikes of the English of the Raj, to whose deliberate replacement so much of the energies of the architects of Independence was once dedicated.

91. Phonology

E contrasts quite sharply with HU, both in the phonemic distribution of vowels and consonants, and in syllabic structures. Although equally Indo-European, E is thus much further removed from HU than P.

It is assumed that users of this book will be familiar with the complex system of E vowel-phonemes (often involving diphthongal realizations), and the many consequent simplifications involved in the pronunciation and spelling of E loans in HU. Attention need only be drawn to the amalgamation of three E phonemes, i.e. /ɔ/ as in ‘lorry’, /ə:/ as in ‘law’, with /aː/ as in ‘laugh’, yielding HU ā in lārī, lā and lāf and a similar realization of all the vowels except the last in the phrase pāl skāts lāst nāval ‘Paul Scott’s last novel’.

Although E consonant-phonemes are more simply organized, HU adaptations sometimes involve slightly confusing transfers. These are best understood by reference to the following table of E phonemes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>k</th>
<th>ch</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng (/ŋ/)</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th (/θ/)</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>th (/ð/)</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>sh</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zh (/ʒ/)</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The E contrast between /v/ and /w/ is notoriously difficult for HU speakers, for most of whom E ‘very wide vowel’ is an impossible tongue-twister; the problem is exacerbated for those speakers prone to substituting
for \( v \) in stressed positions. Other problems concern the sibilant fricatives. ‘Bridges’ is quite difficult for many H-speakers who lack the contrast between \( j \) and \( z \), while ‘pleasures’ is unattainable for all but the most sophisticated U-speakers who carefully distinguish \( z \) and \( z \). The varying realisation of E ‘s’ as /s/ or /z/ depending on position causes much confusion, as in the spelling *mises* for ‘Mrs’.

The de-aspiration of the E consonant sounds /k/, /ch/, /t/ and /p/ is quite marked in HU pronunciations of loans such as kăr ‘car’, carc ‘church’, tāip ‘type’ and pin ‘pin’. The first of these examples also demonstrates the universal HU tendency to realize the full phonetic value of final ‘-r’ in loans where it is silent in British E.

The main area to be noted is, however, that of the very marked contrast between the dental consonants, where HU \( \tilde{t} \) th \( \tilde{d} \) dh \( \tilde{t} \) th \( \tilde{d} \) dh correspond rather erratically with E /t d/ and the grapheme ‘th’ which represents either the unvoiced /θ/ as in ‘three’ or the voiced /ð/ as in ‘the’. Outrageously transmitted loan-spellings tend to reflect the following pattern (as borne out by HU realizations of e.g. ‘the third director’ as dī tharḍ dāirektər):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E</th>
<th>/t/</th>
<th>HU</th>
<th>/t/</th>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>diar</td>
<td>Dear</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θ/</td>
<td>/θ/</td>
<td>thiaṭar</td>
<td>theatre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ð/</td>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>brādarz</td>
<td>Bros</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many of the most well-established HU loans from E, however, diverge from this strict pattern. In some cases it is reasonable to postulate the influence of prior assault on Indian ears of European languages with less retroflexing pronunciations of /t/ and /d/, e.g: both HU botal and pāḍrī, which presumably reflect Portuguese ‘bouelhã’ and ‘padre’ rather than the E /b\( ʊ \)t\( ʊ \)l/ and /paːdɾiː/. In others, which include many of the most fully assimilated loans from E employed in HU, it must be assumed that a possible retroflex has been replaced by a more congenial dental, e.g. HU sitambar ‘September’.

Such ‘Indianized’ forms not infrequently form doublets with freshly-borrowed HU representations of the same E word, the well-established aktūbar and amrīkā for example having to compete with aktəbar and amerikā. A similar but rather more bizarre process is at work in the re-importation of Indian words in Anglicized forms, e.g. the use in HU of inḍiyā (whose retroflex \( ḍ \) betrays its passage through England despite its P origin), or of the name taigor (E ‘Tagore’) alongside original thākur.

Initial E consonant-clusters beginning with ‘s’ are problematic for HU speakers, as is frequently demonstrated by the pronounced values of such essential E loans as ‘station’, ‘school’, ‘street’ ‘state’. While NIA often explores such consonant clusters, yielding pronunciations such as siṭeśan, clusters in initial position are more commonly resolved by the special device of a prothetic \( i \)-, giving istešan, iskül, istriṭ and (confusingly) iṣtet. In some instances this phonetic convenience is recognised orthographically in U, which has istešan as a standard spelling. H however prefers the spelling šešan, regardless of its pronounced value; and the tendency for \( s \) before a retroflex consonant to pick up a retroflex quality also goes unrecognised in the written form.
911. Script
Both H and U are adept at utilizing their respective scripts to represent E
loans. Nagari makes somewhat sporadic use of the superscript sign - to
represent E ‘o’ vowels alien to Indian phonology; but still without
distinguishing /a:/ from /a:/ (91).

The spellings of ‘typewriter’ in either H or U nicely illustrate the recourse
which must be made to the use of independent Nagari vowels for H, or of
hamzâ for U:

H टाइपराइटर U داسپ راکر

92. Lexicon
E clearly dominates a great range of semantic fields not represented in this
book, whose passages are mostly selected from the works of writers whose
chosen means of expression is H or U. A very different picture would have
been presented if we had included examples of more journalistic usage such
as a passage of either H or U film-criticism or cricket coverage, when säid-
hiro and kāvar-dràiv would doubtless have emerged as shared loan-
compounds. The passages in this book, directed as they deliberately are
朝着 high usage on both sides (no matter how well their writers knew
E), tend to obscure this somewhat.

921. Word-building
Like P and S, E is a conveniently word-building language, with the further
benefit of the orthographic device of the hyphen (complementing in U the
inherited P convention of showing word-breaks between the elements of a
compound (811)). Transfers to HU should need little spelling-out to E-
speakers, who should readily be able to decipher such phrases as incārj
maiṭārṇīti sekṣan.

922. Use of English Loans
The most obvious category of E loans comprises nouns imported along
with the object they designate: many of these belong to the areas of
technology and administration, with well-established words such as tēlīfōn/
tēlīfūn and jaj resisting the competition of PA- or S-based neologisms. Such
loans are extremely common and call for little comment; but the extent to
which they are absorbed sometimes varies between H and U. Thus while U
prefers the E loans graiōmar and nāval (‘grammar’ and ‘novel’), H uses S
vyākaraṇ for the former and S upaṇyās (lit. ‘statement, setting down’) for
the latter. But certain words have become so well accepted that they are
allowed to rub shoulders with formal S (or PA) loans, as in the title of
India’s prestigious saṅgīt nāṭak akādēmī ‘Academy of Music and Drama’.

More far-reaching in their cultural implications are those E loans which
in particular contexts are felt to be more apposite than their HU synonyms.
The word frend neatly circumvents the gender-specific connotations of HU
dōst and sahēlī, and in so doing, defuses the potentially explosive
connotations of relationships outside the family (often faimīlī rather than
H pārivār or U xāndān, especially if the domestic group is a nuclear rather
than an extended one). Though such usages are especially prevalent in the
HU-speaking diaspora, they are also common enough back home in India (so frequently referred to as *indiyā*, a name which avoids the implications both of *bhārat* (implying the Hindu-majority post-Independence republic) and of *hindustān* (often taken as referring principally to the northern part of the sub-continent with its associated legacy of Muslim culture).

The fondness for things Western which continues to thrive unabated in the subcontinent inevitably lends a certain attraction to such assumedly fashionable E colloquialisms as slang, nick-names and the softer swear-words; thus many a Hindu boy blessed with a polysyllabic S name such as Abhimanyu or Venkateshwar will be known universally as ‘Bobby’ or ‘Sonny’, and will revel in the sophistication of expressions such as *dām* (or *daim*) and *blađi* — the latter not restricted to adj./adv. usage but also soldiering on alone as an expletive. A few E words have filtered through almost all levels of education and social class, and if the circumstances demanded it there would be few whose affirmative answer to a question could not be given as a resounding *yast!*

There is a large class of E loans which either no longer form a part of current standard E or have never done so. Bobby, who wears *hāf-painṭ* (‘half-pant’, i.e. shorts) made from a *kat-piš* (‘cut-piece’, i.e. remnant of cloth from the end of a roll), breakfasts on *dabol roṭi* (‘double bread’, i.e. a loaf of the Western type, presumably so-called because it is made from twice-risen dough), and then perhaps does his homework in his *kāpi* (‘copy’, i.e. exercise book).

923. *Calques from English*

The policy of substituting E terminology with HU coinings continues apace, albeit with varying degrees of success; but the widely-used calques from E are not subject to the same process, their veneer of PA or S usually being sufficient to pass them off as genuine autochthonous forms. Most passages of modern prose will yield examples such as the U *yak-tarfa* for ‘one-sided’, the H *ek sābd dhanyavād kā* for ‘a word of thanks’, and the HU *savāl uthtā hai* for ‘the question arises’. The very term used by H grammarians for such loan-translations, *udhār anuvād*, is itself an example of its own class.

The ultimate relationship of HU with its distant cousin E occasionally throws up formal parallels such as that between Latin-derived E ‘circumstance’ and its S-derived H calque *paristhiti*; and the use of P or S prefixes facilitates the production of calques such as U *gair-ftirī* ‘unnatural’ and *a-hindi-bhāśi* ‘non-H-speaking’.

A rather different category is that of expressions which have their own S or PA pedigree and yet whose usage is determined by E conventions. For example, the convenient formulae S *priy* and HU *tumhārā/āp-kā* for ‘Dear’ and ‘Your(s)’ have a permanent place in the conventions of informal H letter-writing, with E *diar* and U *piyāre* competing with A *mukarram* in U usage. And ironically — given the elaborate and extensive nature of honorific expressions in HU — it is E ‘Mr’ and ‘Mrs’ which provide the model for the modern uses of *śrī* and *śrīmatī* in H and of *janāb* and *begam* in U.
The excessively literal rendering of E terms into a HU guise often gives the more banal calques a somewhat comic quality, such as in H bas-sevā for ‘bus service’ (inappropriate because sevā implies the offering of deferential servitude rather than the provision of a public facility), H sajjān ki sātkil, sounding like ‘the bicycle of a gentleman’ rather than the intended ‘gent’s bicycle’, and H stambh-lekhak for ‘columnist’, based on the S word for ‘column’ in the architectural context.

93. Morphology

Like the majority of loans from S or A and P, most E loans fall into the same HU word-classes of nouns and adjectives. By far the greatest number of E loans in effective use are s. nouns, many of which generate phrase-verbs through productive combination with karnā; e.g. pās karnā ‘to pass’, cailinj karnā ‘to challenge’, dīpend karnā ‘to depend’ and even, in the video age, fāst-fārvād karnā ‘to fast forward’. The use of E nouns in the formation of pppn. is restricted, and the relatively formal contexts of most of the HU passages included in this book do not provide examples of such unexpected colloquialisms as the pppn. ke thrū ‘through’ (in the sense ‘through the offices of, by means of’). A similar restriction applies to the use of E morphemic suffixes such as ‘-s’, ‘-ed’, ‘-ing’, ‘-er’ etc., seldom encountered in HU except in such usages as brādarz ‘Bros’ (91) and sanz ‘Sons’, both common in HU company-names, and in rarer delights such as U īvīnāgar ‘evening paper’.

As in the case of loans from S (631) and from P and A (731) assignment of gender is generally determined by existing synonyms, e.g. bas and kār are both f. by analogy with gārī, while the f. gender of pulis ‘police’ is probably by analogy with S senā and/or the f. assigned in HU to A fauj ‘army’.

The growing tendency in E to apply p. agreements to s. collective nouns (‘the government are’ etc.) is not carried through into HU loan usage, where s. concord is strictly followed not only with sarkār/hukūmat/ gavarnmeṇṭ (or gaũrmeṇṭ) but even with pulis. Conversely, some E pl. forms are borrowed into HU as though they were s., e.g. mācis f. ‘match’ and darāz f. ‘drawer’.

Finally the extensive use made in modern HU of the numeral ek as equivalent to the E indefinite article may be noticed. Sentences such as main ek ūcār hūn, in which it is quite redundant, depend entirely on the E model, and elsewhere ek is often used as a substitute for koī.

94. Syntax

The intimately continuing symbiosis in South Asian linguistic reality hardly makes it sensible to distinguish individual syntactic elements, since so much conscious effort from both the H and U sides has gone into the demonstration that neither are the directly calqued reworkings of E that they can both so frequently be demonstrated to be. Many examples will be found ad loc. in the annotations to the later H and U passages.

While the extent to which E loans have infiltrated HU is demonstrably remarkable, there are of course numerous examples of parallel expressions being thrown up spontaneously by HU on the one hand and E on the
other: thus *hameşā hameşā ke liye* is not dependent upon the E equivalent 'for ever and ever', and in many instances where a connexion may be suspected it is unprovable.

'Indian English' is nevertheless still a dominant model for both H and U modern styles. Given the degree of bilingual command which exists between E and HU speakers at the higher end of the educational range, it is hardly surprising that calqued patternings on either side should resemble each other so closely.
Bibliography

Commonly cited titles are referred to in abbreviated forms as:

CDIAL
— the standard etymological dictionary of IA, reference to which is essential for the understanding of the relationship between S and native HU vocabulary.

LCND
Das Gupta, Jyotirindra, *Language conflict and national development: group politics and national language policy in India* (Berkeley: University of Los Angeles, 1970)
— the fullest study of India’s national language question in its historical and political perspective.

UL
— a short literary history, designed for the general reader.

Other general works in English which may usefully be consulted include those in the following briefly annotated list:

Ahmad, Z.A., ed., *National language for India, a symposium* (Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1941)
— a useful anthology of short articles illustrating the views of different parties in the Hindi-Urdu-Hindustani debate of the pre-Independence years.

— an assorted collection of articles on many aspects of NIA, particularly HU, by the Nizam’s Reader in Urdu in the University of London.

— by far the most ambitiously full teaching grammar of U, whose treatment in vol.2 of the A component (pp.88–102) and the P component (pp.148–167) is particularly recommended for further reference.

— traces the development of the Hindi grammatical tradition from 1768 to the present day.
— gives not only an essential overview but also much fascinating detail in the discussion of NIA forms, and thus provides an excellent companion to the data given in CDIAL.

Brass, P.R., *Language, religion and politics in North India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974)
— a triple study from a political science perspective, particularly illuminating in Part II (pp.119–274) which deals with the gradual abrogation of the privileged status of U in U.P. and Bihar c. 1860–1970: and in Part III (pp.277–400), which deals with the varied fortunes of HU and Panjabi in the Panjab.

— brings a prodigious breadth of learning to various aspects of the development of Hindi in the context of NIA generally, though not always still reliable in detail.

— a useful overall guide, with a particularly helpful explanation of sandhi rules on the tables facing p. 36.

— documents the history of Hindi in the context of national language policy since Independence.

— a brief account which sets literary trends in their social context, with very full bibliographical coverage.

— the enormous body of data resulting from the only survey done on such a large scale is now dated, but still of great interest; vols. VIII and IX cover the HU area.

— the only Hindi grammar to attempt a synopsis of all the ‘dialects’, including Braj Bhāśā, Avadhī and Nepali, with a wealth of tabulated comparative material.
— a brief paper giving a succinct and perceptive summary of the emergence of new trends in Hindi literature.

— masterly coverage of a wide range of literature, with useful chapter-introductions giving a clear picture of the main characteristics of the period and genres covered.

— the fullest concise grammar of modern Hindi, with exercises and appendices on sandhi and word-formation.

— the best reference book for Indian English, organized as a dictionary, and supplemented by a prescriptive dictionary of pronunciation.

— a standard reference work: not always reliable with respect to its etymologies, but unsurpassed for its composite coverage of both U and H, and the model and source for many generations of lexicographers.

— an eccentric account of its subject, containing many useful examples and citations from other studies.

— provides the contextualization necessary for a proper understanding of the context in which HU have evolved; Sections 1–3 of Chapter IX discuss the languages and literatures of the culture area now necessarily referred to by the septenary designation of the title.

— the phonological and grammatical analysis of ‘Indian English’ reflects the differences between E and HU.


— a collection of short profiles of the history and characteristics of the major NIA languages, including HU and their neighbours.
1

Mir Amman:

Bāḡ o bahār (1801)

The growingly apparent need for British officials of the East India to have a working knowledge of Indian languages led in 1800 to the official decision to open a training College at Fort William in Calcutta. The post of 'Professor of Hindooostanee' was given to Dr. John Gilchrist (1759–1842), the enthusiastic author of several pioneering works with such picturesque titles as 'The Hindee Roman Orthoepigraphical Ultimatum'.

One of Gilchrist's main duties was to oversee the production by the staff of munshis assigned to him of translations of suitable books from often flowery Persian into simple Urdu prose. While most of these Fort William versions have the lifeless quality to be expected in a series of officially-sponsored translations, one work stands as an exception to this general rule. This is the Urdu version of the Persian 'Tale of the Four Dervishes' attributed to the great Amir Khusrau (d. 1325), produced by Mir Amman, the member of an old Delhi family of munshis who had been attracted to Calcutta by the prospect of British patronage for his skills.

The passage is taken from Mir Amman's introduction, in which he has already bewailed at some length the personal hardships he had suffered in the political turmoil of late eighteenth century India before finding his present haven. The first paragraph outlines his own understanding of the formation of Urdu as a consequence of the social intercourse between the Muslim military cantonment of Delhi and the Hindu shopkeepers who operated its bazaar. The second paragraph evokes, in somewhat rambling fashion, the past glories of the Mughal imperial capital: and the third moves on to pay graceful tribute to the discerning patronage afforded by Gilchrist to Mir Amman, who ends by briefly praising the vernacular speech of his native city.

The Bāḡ o bahār (whose title not only means 'The Garden and the Spring' but also incorporates a chronogram indicating the date of its composition) achieved a steady sale as a prescribed examination text-book until the end of the Raj, besides being reprinted many times in local editions to cater for its popularity amongst the Indian Urdu-reading public. A continuing life has thereby been ensured for the rather vague sketch of the origins of Urdu given by Mir Amman in this passage. The rather naive theories advanced are, however, now of less interest than the author's style in this, the first 'real' book of Urdu prose.

The text is based on the most popular of the nineteenth century text-book editions, Bāḡh o bahār, consisting of entertaining tales in the Hindūstāni language, ed. D. Forbes, 4th ed. (London: W.H. Allen, 1873), pp. 7–8. (Both Philott 9 and Abdul Haq 10 subsequently produced their own editions.) Besides translations by Forbes himself and by his rival Eastwick, there is also the version 'into literal English with copious notes' by Adalut Khan, 9th ed. (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1905), pp. 5–7.

جہب کی بارش اور مٹان کے مکمل سے بہت کم ہوتی ہے۔ جب بھی بارش اور مٹان کے مکمل سے بہت کم ہوتی ہے، نظریہ جو گھٹنے پیچھے جوہر میں میں ممکن ہے، کیونکہ بارش گھٹنے کے نظریہ اور بارش کے نظریہ ہے۔ جب بھی بارش اور مٹان کے مکمل سے بہت کم ہوتی ہے، نظریہ جو گھٹنے پیچھے جوہر میں ممکن ہے، کیونکہ بارش گھٹنے کے نظریہ اور بارش کے نظریہ ہے۔

5

86
Mir Amman

Besides carrying-over several features of P syntax, Mir Amman's style is based on the vernacular U of eighteenth century Delhi, thus differing from stricter later standards in several respects. Obsolete features of this kind are asterisked in the following notes to the passage.

1 * haqiqat urdu zabân ki: ‘the true story of the U language’, half carrying-over the word-order of the P izafat phrase haqiqat-e zabân-e urdu (841). There are several similar instances in the passage.

2 * cau-jugi: ‘as old as time’, through having existed through the 4 aeons (S yuga) of Hindu cosmology. Mir Amman’s casual use of obsolete semi-aitisama forms is equally illustrated by the following * bhâkhâ ‘vernacular’ = S bhâṣâ.

3 The successors of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna (d. 1030) were overthrown in the late twelfth century by the Ghor dynasty, who initiated the Muslim conquest of Delhi in 1192. The later Lodi dynasty (1451–1526) immediately preceded the Mughals.

5 Amir Taimur (1336–1405), E ‘Tamberlane’, was a Central Asian warlord who sacked Delhi in 1398 (well before the Lodis), and who was an ancestor of the first Mughal emperor Babar (1526–1530).

5 ab talak = modern ab tak.

5 nâm nihâd saltanat kâ: ‘the name and family of the empire’, a reference to the vestigial survival of the Mughals in 1801.

6 laškar kâ bâzâr: cf. 17 urdu-e mu‘allâ.

6–8 The second Mughal emperor Humayun (1530–1556) was the son of Babar and the father of Akbar (1556–1605). Driven into exile by the Pathan ruler Sher Shah Suri, he returned to the throne with Persian support only in 1555.

7 vilâyat: ‘home country’, here in the classical sense of the Indian Muslims’ homelands in Iran and Central Asia, before its transfer to ‘Blighty’.

7 * ân-kar = modern â-kar.

9 * qaum: ‘people, tribe’, always f. in modern U.

10 qadar-dâni: initiating a sequence of phrases ending in -âni, in accordance with the traditional fondness for rhyming prose in P.

11 huzûr: ‘royal presence’.

12 * judi judi: the f. inflexion contrasts with the modern rule which treats P judâ ‘separate’ as an uninflected adj., like dânî ‘wise’, etc.

12 len den: introducing a set of three compounds (524).


13 qil’-e mubârak: lit. ‘the August Castle’, i.e. the Red Fort.

14 taxt-e tâus: ‘the Peacock Throne’, the fabulously valuable Mughal throne looted in Nadir Shah’s sack of Delhi in 1739, and subsequently broken up. While javâhir ‘jewels’ is technically the A broken p. of jawhar, it is often used as a s. in U, cf. ‘Jawahar Lal Nehru’.

14 dal-bâdal: lit. ‘mass of clouds’, a HU compound also denoting a large tent.

15 Navvab Ali Mardan Khan (d. 1657) was a prominent noble of Shah Jahan’s court, chiefly remembered for the construction of this canal from the Yamuna.

16 dârul-xilâfat: an A possessive compound equivalent to the modern dârul-hukûmat (741), but implying Mughal aspirations to the authority of the Caliphate.

16 Shahjahanabad is now a dimly distinguished part of Old Delhi, situated to the south of the Chandni Chowk which runs west from the Red Fort.

19 The long reign of Muhammad Shah (1719–48) saw the Mughals’ final collapse. He was followed by Ahmad Shah (1748–54), whose own successor adopted the grand regnal title of Alamgir II (1754–59). However nominal their power, the titles of king-emperors demand the use of P or A ordinals in U (824).

20 * nidân: ‘finally’, much used in eighteenth century U, now replaced by A âxir.
20 * manjte manjte aisi manjī: ‘became so refined through such continual polishing’, a nice illustration both of the use of the adv. ptc. (532b), and of the way in which the natural patterns of HU differ from E, with its careful proscription of repetition.

21 * kisi: = modern HU kisi.

23 gyān aur agat: the use of aur to link this semi-tatsama pair is to be contrasted with the following P copula phrase talās o mihnāt.

23 * qāʾidā: ‘grammar, primer’, a meaning long since added in U to the original A sense of ‘rule’.

24 Hindustan here has its restricted sense of the U-speaking heartlands in North India.

24 nāe sir se: ‘afresh’, a HU adv. phrase equivalent to P az sar-e nau (843a).

25 dastār o guftār o raftār: lit. ‘turban, speech and gait’, i.e. ‘the way he dresses, talks and behaves’, a triplet proverbial in P.

26 nām rakhte hai: i.e. ‘gives them a bad name’.

26 * apne tāmīn: = modern apne ko.

26 xair, ‘āqilān xud midānand: ‘well, the wise are those who know best’, a P tag used to round off the argument in the same way as an equivalent A formula is cited at the end of passage [6].

The chronogram or tārix incorporated in the title Bāg o bahār is based on the system called abjad, which allocates numerical values to each of the intrinsic letters of the A alphabet (71) in accordance with the ancient Semitic norms which prevailed before the arrival in the Middle East of the much more convenient Indian system of decimal numbers. The discrepancy with actual A alphabetic order necessitates reference to the mnemonic sequence whose first member gives the abjad-system its name:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{abjad} & \text{havvaz} & \text{huti} & \text{kaliman} & \text{sa'fas} & \text{qurliśat} & \text{saxxaz} & \text{zaẓag} \\
123 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10
\end{array}
\]

The addition of the A letters required to write Bāg o bahār (2 + 1 + 1000, + 6, + 2 + 5 + 1 + 200) consequently results in the total 1217, yielding the Ḥijrī year of the work’s completion, corresponding to A.D. 1801–2.

The abjad-system survives in U to indicate the equivalent of lower-case Roman numerals in introductory pages and sectional headings, thus e.g. jim = (iii). It also continues to be used by practitioners of the elegant art of chronogram-writing or tārix-goī, whose strict rules demand the reduction of the additional P letters pe ce ze gāf and the extra U letters te dāl re to those of their A originals, i.e. 2, 3, 7, 20 and 400, 4, 200.
Insha Allah Khan (c. 1756–1818) was an Urdu poet who found patronage in the courts of Lucknow, Murshidabad and Delhi; it was in Lucknow that he wrote the delightfully eccentric ‘Tale of Queen Ketki’. Though it is this text for which Insha is remembered in Hindi circles, he was primarily a prolific literary virtuoso whose oeuvre included compositions in Persian, Arabic, Turkish and Panjabi; he was Extraordinarily versatile, his range extending from frivolous verses on women’s underwear to the Daryā-e Latāfat, the first methodological treatment of Urdu grammar and dialect.

The tale is written as a self-conscious linguistic exercise, deliberately turning away from established literary conventions in order to produce a piece of writing based on the spoken style of ‘Hindavi’; the deliberate exclusion of all non-Hindi vocabulary, including tatsama words as well as the more obviously ‘foreign’ loans from Arabic and Persian, makes this an entirely artificial experiment.

Insha’s story is a romantic tale full of supernatural and fantastic events, elements derived from the age-old traditions of oral story-telling: the narrative is based on a well-tried formula, the tribulations of star-crossed lovers whose families are locked in internecine strife. The extract here is from the opening of the text and forms a preface to the narrative.

The first section is a formulaic expression of humble supplication to Allah and of eulogy of the Prophet and Ali, and a statement of allegiance to the Shia tradition; all the Islamic references are necessarily expressed euphemistically, in conformity with the author’s self-imposed ban on Arabic and Persian vocabulary. The extract begins with a couplet of doggerel (loosely based on the dohā metre) in which the author sets out the nature of his experiment, and this theme is taken up again in the second half of the extract. Here Insha reports how the idea of writing a story in the unmixed vernacular came to him, and how the plan was ridiculed by a conservative old-timer who considered the project unworkable; the author vigorously defends his scheme, insisting that he knows what he is doing and that he is not making any excessive claims. The extract ends with the author addressing his audience directly in the manner of an oral story-teller as he exhorts his audience to pay full attention.


यह वह कहानी है कि जिसमें हिंदी पूट।
और न किसी बोली का में है न पूट।

सिर सुधाकर नाक रागधार १८ उस अपने बनावताले के सामने जिसने हम सब को बनाया और बात की बात में वह कर दिखाया कि जिसका भेद किसी ने न पाया। भावितार्य जातियों

जो सबसे भी, उसके बिन ध्यान यह सब पाँच है।
यह फल का फुलता जो अपने उस खेलनाकी की सुध राखे तो खराई में की खाड़ी पड़े और कड़वा कहीला क्यों हो।
उस फल की गिडाई चबखे जो बड़े से बड़े गलों ने चबखी है।

देखने को दो आखें दीं और चुनने को दो कान।

नाक भी सब में उठी कर दी मरतों को जो धान।

१० मिट्टी के बासन को इतनी सकत कहीं जो अपने फुस्सार के करतब कुछ ताड़ सके। सच है,
जो बनाया हुआ हो, सो अपने बनावताले की बात सराहे और क्या कहे। यो जिसका जी
चाहे, पढ़ा बके। सिर से लगा पाँख तक जितने रोगत दे, जो सबके सब बोल उठे और सराहा
करे और उनसे बससी उसी ध्यान में रहे जितनी सारी नदियों में रेत और फूल फिली बेटे में
है, तो भी कुछ न हो सके, कराह करे।
इस तरह दुखने के साथ ही दिन रात जगता हू उस

अपने दाता के भेजे दुएं घाये की जिसके लिये यो कहा है - जो तु न होता तो मूं कुछ न
बनाता; और उसका चेहरा भाई जिसका म्याड़ उसके पर हुआ, उसकी सुरत मुझे लगी रहती
है। में फुलता अपने भाष में नहीं समाया, और जिसके उनके पड़के-बांधे हैं, उन्हीं को मेरे जी में
चाह नहीं। और कोई कुछ हो, मूं मैं नहीं भाता। मुझको उस घरने छो किसी बैर केह से क्यों
पड़े! जीते और मरते भाषरा उन्हीं सभों का और उनके घरने का रखाता हूं तीस घड़ी।

२० डॉल डाल एक अनोखी बात का

एक दिन बैठ-बैठे यह बात अपने ध्यान में बही कि कोई कहानी ऐसी कहिए कि जिसमें
हिंदी पूट और किसी बोली का पूट न मिले तब जाके मेरा जी फूल की कही के रूप में बिले।
बाहर की बोली और गंधारी कुछ उसके बीच में न हो। अपने फिलनेरारों में से एक कोई बड़े
उग-लिखे, पुराण-पुराणे, रूप, बड़े धागे यह खतरनागर लाए।

सिर हिलाकर, मूं धुपाकर

२५ नाक भी बढ़कर, आखें फिराक कर लगे कहे - यह बात होते दिखाई नहीं देती। दिखाई है भी

बबल, बैल सारा भी न हो। बस जैसे भेजे बोलकर खड़े रहे और बर्छासी की न हो। यह नहीं होने का।
जैसे उनकी
अंधे साम का घायेक फुल-फुलाकर कहा - मूं कुछ ऐसा बड़-बोला नहीं जो राह की
परत कर दिखाई और छूट सब बोलकर खुलाईयाँ नचाई, और बेसंर के बढ़कर आँपी।

२५ जसवी-सुखवी बात का उनका नाम।

जो मुझे से न हो सकता तो यह बात मूं से क्यों निकालता?

िच बबल से होता, इस बढ़के को टालता ! ...

वह भाषाओं के ने, आखें मिट्टे के, समन्ह मूल्यों होके टोक दिखाई, किसी बबल से बड़े
बला हूं और अपने फूल की छंदी जैसे होते से किस-किस रूप के फूल उगाता हूं।
Insha Allah Khan

Insha exploits the possibilities of alliteration and rhyme almost to the point of self-indulgence, and delights in the extravagances of metaphor and idiom. Archaisms in his language show the norms of early nineteenth century idiom and orthography, while the writing of cj. ptc. as two words shows that H usage had not yet developed separately from that of U (513).

4 bät ki bät meh: ‘in the twinkling of an eye, instantaneously’ (542).
4 vah kar dikhāyā ki jiskā bhed kisi ne na pāyā: ‘made manifest that [creation] whose secret none can fathom’. ki (846) is pleonastic, as often with a relative pr. not followed by a correlative clause (jo ki etc.); cf. 21 ki jismēn hindāvī chut.
4 bhed: one of only a handful of tatsama words in the whole passage.
4 āthīyān jātiyān jo sāhseh hain: ‘those breaths which come and go’. The ptc., with full fp. concord as still found in Panjabi, is archaic.
5 uske bin dhīyān: ‘without meditation upon him’, i.e. the Creator.
6 khatāī meh kyon pare: ‘why should he fall into unpleasantness’; the image, extended by the alliterative karyā kasaīlā ‘bitter and astringent’ alludes to the suffering which can be avoided if man remembers his maker.
6 cakkhe: the archaic doubled consonant is for rhyme with 6 rakkhe, where it is a genuinely preserved feature (H rakkhāna < rakṣati: 521a,b).
9 nāk bhi sab meh ūnci kar dī: ‘has raised [our] status amongst all’.
9 martōn ko jī dān: ‘to the dying, the gift of life’ — the phrase is governed by 8 denā; ptc. martā used nominally (532).
10 îti sakat kahān: a rhetorical use of kahān, ‘how could it have the power’ (sakat < šakti); cf. rhetorical 11 kyā sarāhe aur kyā kahe.
11 yoh jiskā jī cāhe, parā bake: ‘whoever so chooses may lie around gabbling uselessly’, i.e. all attempts at praising God are in vain.
12 lagā: an adv. use, completely replaced by lekar in modern HU.
12 sabke sab: ‘the whole lot, each and every one’ (542a).
13 nadiyōn meh ret aur phūl phalīyān khet meh hain: rhyming prose bolsters the hyperbolic poetic image.
14 karāhā karain: ‘moan as they may’, i.e. their attempts at praise would be useless. karain (for karen) is archaic.
14 us apne dātā ke bheje hue pyāre ko: ‘that Beloved sent by out Lord’, i.e. Muhammad, sent by Allah.
16 uskā cacerā bhāī jiskā byāh uske ghar hūa: i.e. the Prophet’s cousin Ali, who married the former’s daughter Fatima. Cf. 17 unke lārke-bāle i.e. the descendants of Ali, leaders of the Shia sect.
17 main phūlā apne āp meh nahiīn samātā: ‘I cannot contain my joy’, an idiom based on phūlnā ‘to blossom with joy’, usually without apne āp meh.
18 kisi cor ṭag se kyon parǐ!: ‘why should I have anything to do with any thief or plunderer!’ — possibly a derogatory reference to the Sunni sect, or alternatively to Krishna, the ‘butter-thief’ (mākhan-cor).
19 fīte aur marte: ‘living and dying’, i.e. in life and in death.
19 unke gharāne kā rakhtā hūn tisōn gharī: to the [allegiance] of their lineage I ever pledge myself’. tisōn gharī: ‘all 30 gharīs’, i.e. all day long. A gharī is a period of 24 minutes, thus one thirtieth of twelve hours.
22 tab jāke: ‘and then [and then only]’ — a common HU expression, often tab kahin jākar ‘then maybe, with luck’.
24 yah khatrāg lāe: ‘introduced this note of discord’. khatrāg derives from S ṣat + rāg, ‘[all] six musical modes’, i.e. cacophony.
25 yah bāt hote dkhāl nahiīn deti: with its adv. use of the obl. ptc. hote (532) the idiom is very close to the E ‘I don’t see this happening’.

91
25 hindavipan bhī na nikale aur bhākhāpan bhī na ho: an ambiguous rhetorical statement, probably meaning 'It would neither lose its Hindavi [U] quality nor take on the character of the regional vernacular [Brajb].'

26 acchōh se acche āpas men bolte cālte hain: 'talk amongst themselves in the best way'; cālnā echoes bolnā as in bolcāl 'conversation' (524).

27 chāngh kisi ki na ho: 'there should be no semblance of any other [language]'. In modern H chānh is replaced by its S etymon chāyā (17).

27 yah nahi hone kā: 'this isn't possible, this can't happen'.

27 unki ṭhanḍī sāns kā ṭahokā khākar: 'suffering the blow of his deep [lit. 'cold'] sigh', i.e. after having to listen to his sarcastic sighing.

28 barh-bolā: 'exaggerator, tall-talker' (perhaps implying 'one who can magically bring things into being just by speaking to them').

28 rāl ko parbat dikhānā: 'to present something as it is not' — quite distinct in sense from the E idiom 'to make a mountain out of a molehill'.

29 ungliyān nacānā: = ungliyon (par) nacānā 'to have dance at one's fingers', i.e to make dance to one's own tune.

29 be-sīr be-thikāne ki uljhī-suljhī bāteh: 'muddled matters having neither rhyme nor reason'.

30 muh se kyōn nikkāltā: 'why would I even utter it?'.

31 jis dhab se hotā: 'in whatever way it could be done'.

32 kān rakh ke ānkheh milā ke: 'listening attentively and looking [me] full in the face'.

32 kis dhab se barh cāltā hūhn: 'in what fine style I proceed'.

33 kis-kis rūp ke phūl: 'flowers of what varied beauty' (542a).
3
Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib: Letter to Tufta (1862)

Mirza Asadullah Khan (1797–1869), whose bold choice of the pen-name (taxallus) Ghalib ‘Triumphant’ has turned out to be amply justified by his later fame, is chiefly remembered for his Urdu poetry (UL, pp. 87–93). The short collection of the Divân-e Ghalib is still compared by many Urdu aficionados to the Vedas in terms of its divine inspiration.

Ghalib himself was, however, quite as proud of his much larger output of Persian poetry and of his authoritative status as a lexicographer of Persian: and these interests are naturally prominent in his memorable Persian and Urdu letters, which provide matchless insights into the workings of a complex and far from modest literary genius. The Urdu letters were published in two volumes, ‘Ūd-e Hindī (1868) and Urdu-e Mu’allā (1869), from whose appended selection of letters dealing with literary themes this passage is taken.

The letter is one of a long series addressed by Ghalib to one of his Hindu pupils and intimate friends, Munshi Har Gopal Tufta, whose death was soon to end their long and close association. It has as its underlying theme Ghalib’s enormous pride in his knowledge of Persian, which he claimed to have learnt from a Persian-speaking convert from Zoroastrianism, and which had led him recently to compile his Qātī-e Burhān or ‘Decider of the Proof’ in attempted rebuttal of the standard Indo-Persian dictionary, the seventeenth century Burhān-e Qātī or ‘Decisive Proof’.

Ghalib’s first paragraph disclaims any special expertise in Arabic only to underline his often-proclaimed total command of Persian, to whose classical masters he compares himself in the second. A point raised in a now lost letter from Tufta is taken up in the third paragraph, where the suggestion that Ghalib might have copied one of his odes from the seventeenth century poet Naziri is angrily rebutted. Another point of Tufta’s, this time concerning the correct use of Arabic zamān ‘time’ and its derivatives in Persian, is taken up in the fourth paragraph, which leads to a devastating final attack on one of Ghalib’s favourite targets, the so-called Indian authorities on Persian.

The apparent dryness of this subject-matter is immediately belied by the legendary magic of Ghalib’s style, which intersperses the most colloquial and outspoken Hindustani mode of Urdu with Arabic and Persian tags and technicalities in a uniquely natural fashion.

صباح:

روحانی وزارت سے مرکب ہے۔ پہلی ناری مختار: بیگ ناری، بیک علی، سینیٹر اس منصوبہ منور خاتم کی پیش گزر گیا۔ بیک علی کا عالم خصوصی، گنگا ناری بچی بنی باپی۔

بیس انتخابات پر کے اس زبان کے ناٹے کا حتمی فنون۔ عادے ہو پرچم کا صمائل

ورسند کا فنکار بلبھا ہوئے۔ ناری خود میں سیالی کیا یا سمجھیہ کہ وہ دو رستاگاہ سے ہے۔

اور اس زبان کے قواعد و ضوابط بہت ضرورت میں اس طرح جاری کیا ہے۔ سبیل وفادہ میں جمہوری

بیج بادی سی اور میں دو طرح کے نمازت پر: بیک تو یہ کہ ان کا خواہ آیران

اور رجس مولہ بندیرسالان، دوسرے یہ کہ وہ نگر آ جگے پہچی۔ سدو سو، پارس، آئش، سو

پر پہچان پہیا ہوئی ہے۔

کی مینی کی بے۔ کم مانند اور گشنون کے حتمی کچھ کا بچو، خودکار یہ ہوگی، جو اس رویز یا قصیدہ

سنتھ مگر نیا، اوئے کے توان کو لگنے ان کی پر اور مذہبی نے لگنے والوں۔

ابنا۔ ہیں کی بچو مرن رہنے کے مکا ہوئے، لعنہ سے مہما جہہ اور نیا نے کیے رہنے

سریئہ کا درس کے قواعد پر نظر مرکز کے سے حسن و صرف مکرور روشن تے۔

واقعہ ریکار لیا اور اوئے زمین کی خون، قصیدہ کھچی ہوگئی۔ تا چکہ پھل کہ یہ اوریہ کا چونہ، وہ انت خبر قصیدہہ

بیج نفلوبگا اور جیسے کے چاہیے جا شدیتا۔ اس پر نگار ہوگا۔ واقعہ اکثر ہے اس خط

کے ریکار۔ سے پچا کی بچو جیتا ہوئی کہ اس زمین کی نظری کا قصیدہ کھ ہے

پہ جاکر اکثر پھو مر شرک کہای شانو مختی آمزین ہے۔ قائد بیجا نے س

زمان " لنگر علی " اور " " بھی، دوسر طرح ناری میں سمنسل - "زمان " بیک زمان

"زمان " "دنز زمان " دری زمان " دریان زمان " سب میں اور فنیت۔ بٹ آس کو

غلافیا کے ہوگا۔ باقی اپنے سے استعفا ہو۔ وہ "موج " و "موم " دیں کہ "۔ پر کر

زمان " استعفا کیا ہے۔ بیک زمان " کوہیں نے چھپے ہوگا نگار جو بوگا۔ کسی کے خش

گیاکی کی جاہت؟

سنواں: مہرے دم دم، ہیں بچوئی لوگ جب روشنی ناسی دلی میں سید مارک ہو

ہر اچیق قیاس کو نفلہ ہے کے دیگر اپنے مکاہ کی بھی، بہتیہ ہو گاہی، عالم کا اپنے ہو

خونی "نامور" کو غلافیا کیا ہے اور یہ آتا ہے پینا نظر "صحبتار کہا" "شوقتتم کہا" "منظر

کہا "گو کو" "ہل کہا" کو غلافیا کہا ہے۔ بیج نفلوبگا ہے۔ سیاسی سی میں گھی نہیں جون جبر "بیک زمان

کوہیں کون کہ؟ ناری کی مزید کی مزید پینا تازہ ہے ہے۔ پہلے اخیر کہ غلافیا المسکر

 غالب

مریم ایاز شریفہ 30 مارچ 1962ء
Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib

Mihr’s careful edition preserves the spelling-conventions favoured in nineteenth century U books: besides the spelling 27 hār for hāth, the chief point to note is the very convenient distinction through the use of written vāo of us, un, etc., from is, in.

1 sāhib: an opening address entirely appropriate to a very old friend, cf. 10 tum, 17 bhai, 23 suno miyāh.

2 donon zabānoh se murakkab hār ye fārsi muta’araf: perhaps ‘it’s as a compound of the two languages that this Persian is familiar’ — but Ghalib’s effortless incorporation of PA loans into colloquial HU syntactic patterns repeatedly defies attempts at producing definitive E translations.

3 mantiq: here ‘everyday speech, colloquial’, vs. the modern U specialization of this loan in the sense of ‘logic’.

3 lugāt: in its original A sense of p. ‘words’, vs. modern s. ‘dictionary’.

3 nirā jāhili bhi nahīn: ‘not a complete ignoramus either’, whose self-deprecation is splendidly picked up by bas tini bāt hai ki . . .

4 muhaqqiq: cf. taḥqiq f. ‘research’ (721).

5 sana‘: here ‘authority, precedent’, vs. the modern sense of ‘certificate’. Since both A and P were learnt languages for most Indians, doubts as to the correct usage of particular words could only be resolved by the sort of authoritative guidance Ghalib himself provides in his final paragraphs.

5 mabda‘-e fayyāz: ‘Bounteous Source’, implying the God-given origins of Ghalib’s expertise in P.

6 jaise faulād mein jaahar: ‘as the temper is in steel’.

7 ahl-e pārs: = 20 ahl-e fārs, ‘the people of Fars’, i.e. the classical Persian poets like Sa‘di and Hafiz, both born in Shiraz, in the province of Fars or Pars. Neo-E ‘Farsi’ derives from A — which has no phoneme /p/ (71) — vs. ‘Persia’, ‘Persian’, and ‘Parsi’: cf. A > U iflātīn vs. ‘Plato’.

8 āge piche: ‘one after another, in succession’.

10 māīnān aur šā‘īroh ke: an obsolete prep. construction (844).

10 usīdā ki ḡazal yā qasīdā: the rest of the paragraph demands some acquaintance with the technical terms of classical P and U poetry (UL, pp. 17–25).

The usīdā, a living or dead master, provided the example for composition in the two main genres of the ḡazal ‘lyric’, and the qasīdā ‘formal ode’, both of which were formally defined in terms of the triple criteria of bahr ‘meter’, ḡāfīyā ‘rhythm’, and radīf ‘end-rhyme’, collectively constituting the zāmīn ‘ground’ of the composition.

Ghalib’s own famous U ghazal beginning ḍil-e nādān tujhe huā kyā hāi is in the metre called xaffī ‘light’, scanning ~– ~–~ ~–~ ~– on the mnemonic pattern Fā‘iLātun maFā‘iLun FiLun (cf. 721), the rhyme -ā, and the end-rhyme kyā hāi.

11 lā haul va lā quvā illā billāh: a common A formula, explained earlier (743).

12 rextā: the P loan formerly used to designate U (14).

12 likhne lagā hūn: ‘ever since I started writing’.

12 la‘nat hai mujh par: ‘may I be accursed’, with entirely natural U word-order in this interjectional expression.

14 Nazirī (d. 1613) was one of the many Persian poets who achieved a successful career and an enormous posthumous reputation in India.

14 vaqt-e tahrīr-e qasīdā: ‘at the time of writing the qasīdā’, an adv. P izafat phrase.

17 ci jāe ānki vo sīr: lit. ‘what place for that verse?’, i.e. ‘let alone that verse!’. The mixture of P ci ‘what?’ and ānki ‘that’ with U vo is entirely typical of Ghalib’s omnivorous style.

18 The paragraph lays down rules for the correct use of A zamān ‘time’, its broken plural azmān, its PA derivatives zamānē ‘for some time’, yak-zamān ‘contemporary’, ḫar-zamān ‘all the time’, zamān zamān ‘from time to time’, dar-īh zamān ‘at this time’, dar ān zamān ‘at that time’, besides its P extension zamānād, on the pattern of A mauj ‘wave’ > PA maujā.
21 Sa'di of Shiraz (d. 1292) was one of the ultimate Persian masters, whose Gulistān or ‘Rose-Garden’ was drilled into countless generations of Indian children in their Persian classes.

23 suno miyān: ‘listen, my dear fellow’, a very informal phrase sardonically juxtaposed in Ghalib’s usual fashion with the elaborately PA vādī-e fārsi-dānī lit. ‘valley of acquaintance with P’.

24 vo gḥāgas: ‘that dodo’. While HU is quite as rich as E in genitally-based four-letter words, the rules of Mughal courtesy dictated a preference for bird or animal names in curses, cf. 31 ullū kā paṭṭhā ‘owl-sprat’, or the very common 20 vo gadhā ‘he’s an ass’.

24 Abdul Vasi Hansavi, a late seventeenth-century writer on P grammar, is a favourite target for Ghalib’s acid criticisms of Indian ‘experts’ in P, like the Hindu convert Mir Muhammad Hasan Qatil (d. 1823).

25 The huge possibilities opened by the freedom of prefixation and suffication in P (821–2) led to an uncertainty in Indian minds as to the correctness of many PA derivatives, e.g. nā-murād ‘wretched’, or safvar-kadā ‘council-chamber’, šafqat-kadā ‘compassion-chamber’, ništār-kadā ‘lancelet-chamber’ (all elaborate synonyms for ‘heart’), or hamā-ālam ‘world-wide’ and hamā-jā ‘everywhere’.

27 mizin ya’ni tarāzū: ‘balance, i.e. scales’, a nicely throwaway gloss of an A word by its more familiar P synonym.

27 lilāhul-hamd va lilāhul-ṣukr: ‘to God be the praise and to God be the thanks’, a typical use of an A formula (743) to close the communication.

28 marqūmā cahār-šambā: ‘dated Wednesday’. P names for days of the week share jum‘ā with U, but otherwise prefix numerals (824) to šambā ‘Saturday’, from yak-šambā ‘Sunday’ through to panj-šambā ‘Thursday’.

96
Sayyid Ahmad Khan: 
*Musāfīrān-e Landan* (1869)

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–1898) was one of the outstanding figures of nineteenth century Indian political, religious and cultural life. He devoted his formidable energies to persuading his fellow-Muslims that their destiny lay in loyalty to the British and in a maximum absorption of the values of Victorian civilization. Although his castigation of the Muslims for their backwardness in relation both to the British and other Europeans and to their Hindu fellow-countrymen won him many enemies, his reformist message also attracted many devoted adherents to his cause, one of whose major elements was an enthusiastic advocacy of the use and development of Urdu. The works of Sir Sayyid’s disciples constitute a major part of the Urdu literature produced around the turn of the century (*UL*, pp. 99–103).

Sir Sayyid was himself a tireless writer of books, tracts and articles on all manner of subjects. Although no great stylist, he always wrote with vigour and enthusiasm: and these qualities shine through the often rough-hewn style of what now seems a rather old-fashioned Urdu.

The passage is taken from the beginning of the travel-diary (*ṣafar-nāmā*) of his visit to London in 1869, sections of which were regularly sent back for serial publication in the journal of Sir Sayyid’s Aligarh Scientific Society made, in characteristically forceful style.

The first paragraph deals with the impression made on Sir Sayyid during his journey by train from Allahabad to Bombay by the splendid arrangements instituted for the dispensing of water to thirsty passengers at stations en route through the charity of wealthy Hindus. A typically caustic contrast is then drawn with the situation in his home province, where even in the main junctions near Agra and Benares, let alone such minor stations as Aligarh or Hathras, no such admirable initiatives have been undertaken by the lazy and selfish locals.

A brief comment on the various groups of outsiders brought in to work on the railways leads to the interesting observations of the final paragraph, in which Sir Sayyid makes much of his ability to communicate in Urdu with all classes of the people he met during his journey, through present-day Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. He ends with a dig against the ‘Allahabad Association’ and their advocacy of some supposed ancient tongue, i.e. the Hindi to whose promotion at the expense of Urdu Sir Sayyid remained actively and fiercely opposed throughout his long political life.

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جب بیم بلکے کے ایک ایک وجوں تو مین سے بنیا میں رہنا ہوئے ہے۔ مزید سمجھ کر ہوئے ہے کہ میں نہیں ہم ہوئے ہے۔ جو کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔

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25

اس فرق کو دیا ہے پہلی اور دوسری اور دوسری سے تباہ کرنے سے نکلنے کے لئے بحث کی جمہوری طرف

جب بیم بلکے کے ایک ایک وجوں تو مین سے بنیا میں رہنا ہوئے ہے۔ مزید سمجھ کر ہوئے ہے کہ میں نہیں ہم ہوئے ہے۔ جو کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے۔ میں کچھ کو سنین کو شخصیت منظر میں بنیا ہے۔ میں نہیں ہے。
Sayyid Ahmad Khan

The editor has modernized Sir Sayyid’s original spelling, hence the differences from the nearly contemporary preceding passage (3).

1 bulgām: presumably Pulgaon, a town near Bombay. The U script is not always very helpful in determining the pronunciation of unfamiliar names.

2-3 nihāyat: both as an adj. ‘extreme’ and as an adv. ‘extremely’, this A loan is one of Sir Sayyid’s favourite words, occurring several times on almost every page of his forceful prose.

3 sāf: here used as an adv. ‘absolutely, very’, similar in sense to nihāyat.


4 rel vālo: ‘you train-passengers!’, like pine vālo a vocative p.

5 bartan bhī un brāhmaṇon ke: ‘and the pots as well of those Brahmans’, illustrating both the common use of bhī as a sentence-linker (542b), and the way in which Sir Sayyid’s hurried style often slips into the free word-order more characteristic of HU speech than formal writing.

6 bit-taxis: an A prepn. phrase (742).

8 jīvan rām jādāvā sēth: Jivan Ram is the personal name, Jadava (= Yadav) is a caste-name, and Seth the title commonly given to bankers or merchants.

9 sākīn-e kāmpatī: ‘resident of Kampati’ (a town near Nagpur). This izafat phrase (841) is a typical fragment of U officialese, which is characterized by an abundance of such Persianisms. The style came naturally to Sir Sayyid, as a former district official, and colours much of his prose.

9 pau (sābil): the glossing of a typically Hindu word, implying a drinking-stand which must be operated by Brahmans to avoid pollution, by an A term suggesting a drinking-stand established for thirsty Muslims is striking testimony to the basic cultural divide which underlies the linguistic divide between H and U.

11 dīl mēn baith gai: ‘deeply impressed itself upon me’.

12 xās: here ‘leading’.

13 bīthā rakhī hai: here rakhnā is used as a modal verb, cf. 14 bandobast kar rakhā hai, implying the sense of effective establishment, not simply that of physical placement.

14 illā: ‘otherwise’, an obsolete use of A illā, best known for its inclusion in the formula lā illā halluc illā-lāh ‘there is no god but God’. The modern U equivalent cj. is P vannā ‘otherwise’.

16 apne mulk par: i.e. Sir Sayyid’s home-province (called the North-Western Provinces and Oudh until 1902, when it was re-named the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, until re-entitled Uttar Pradesh in 1947), as opposed to the ‘foreign’ parts made accessible to him by the newly constructed railways.

18 Rail-travellers have to change at Tundla Junction for Agra, at Moghul-sarai Junction for Benares. Sir Sayyid was obviously as impressed as modern enthusiasts by the splendours of nineteenth century Indian railway architecture.

21 is taraf: ‘down here’, i.e. where he has been travelling. The elite groups referred to are the Parsis, who are Gujarati-speaking Zoroastrians, and the Nagar Brahmans, another Gujarati-speaking community, while dakhnī ‘Southerner’ is a collective term perhaps indicating the way in which North Indians tend to lump all South Indians together.

22 bangālī: the westward spread of Bengali-speaking officials during the early and middle decades of the nineteenth century was an important factor in the contemporary cultural evolution of North India.

23 bande ne: the self-depreciating use of P bandā ‘slave’ instead of the 1st person pronoun is one of those standard features of polite P usage which were transferred to U.

23 ilāh-ābād: the standard U spelling of Allahabad.

23 kyā..., aur kyā..., aur kyā...: ‘whether in... or whether in..., or whether in...', a simple rhetorical device very characteristic of Sir Sayyid’s hectoring manner.
23 caukiyāt: the addition of the A p. suf. -āt to a native HU word is characteristic of U officialese (733). Although modern usage tends to employ the term cauki to designate a toll-post for the collection of local taxes, it here perhaps has the wider sense of an official post or station of any kind.

24 mahkame ke caprāsiyon: ‘peons of a law-court’.

25 ba-xūbī: a P prepn. phrase (843).

27 faranc: an accurate perception of the international role of French in nineteenth century Europe, but one unlikely to have occurred to many of Sir Sayyid’s contemporaries in the parochial H and U worlds of North India.

28 har-cand talās kiyā: ‘however much I tried to find out’, with a following ki being understood.

28 ilāḥ-ābād aisosl-eśan: the barbed reference is apparently to the Allahabad Committee formed a few years earlier under the secretariatship of Babu Saroda Prashad Sandial to act as a pressure-group demanding the replacement of U by H as the official language of the N.W.P.
5
Harishchandra:
*Dilli darbār darpan* (1877)

Despite the artificial boost given to Kharī Bolī Hindi by the activities at Fort William College, little real advance in its use had been achieved by the mid-nineteenth century. The time was ripe for the arrival of writers who would lend credence to the new style of Hindi by using it for a wide range of purposes, and by so doing establish it as a genuine vehicle of communication rather than a mere literary plaything such as the Braj dialect had effectively become.

This renaissance was led by Harishchandra of Benares, who in his brief lifespan (1850–85) devoted enormous energy to the fostering of new literary developments, including journalism, travelogue, drama, the essay and satire. As a devout Vaishnava he also maintained the old traditions by composing prodigious amounts of devotional verse in Braj Bhāṣā, and as a broadly-educated man of catholic tastes he also wrote in Urdu, and translated into Kharī Bolī Hindi many classics of Bengali and English literature. The title ‘Bharatendu’ or ‘Moon of India’ was bestowed on him in recognition of his distinguished career — or, according to anecdote, because of his somewhat rakish moral character (tainted, like the moon).

Harishchandra’s education embraced English, Persian and Sanskrit, and he accordingly had a large linguistic arsenal at his disposal. He was opposed to the wholesale Sanskritization which was at an incipient stage in his lifetime, and which he rejected as elitist, and his Hindi contains a free and eclectic mixture of vocabulary. Any lack of stylistic polish in his prose is more than made good by his verve, his wry wit, and his unmistakable enthusiasm for his subject-matter.

Though Harishchandra was a tireless critic of British rule, and consequently never won official patronage, he nevertheless had an innate respect for aristocracy and royalty. A description of the Delhi Darbar of 1877, at which Queen Victoria was declared Queen-Empress of India, (and on which occasion Harishchandra acted as the Prince of Wales’s guide to Benares) was therefore a natural choice of subject for him.

The tone of this passage shows Harishchandra as identifying closely with the patrician attitudes of the Viceregal party rather than with the comically described supplicant rajahs who came for audience with the imperial power. The first paragraph describes rather unkindly the provinciality and lack of finesse of those received at the Darbar, and their difficulties with the English protocol and language; one unfortunate is lampooned for his obsequiousness, another for his unfounded confidence in his own proficiency in English. Nor is the Viceroy’s diplomatic but condescending air lost on Harishchandra. The passage ends with a description of the Maharani of Tanjore and her interpreter.

The text is from *Dilli darbār darpan*, presumably first published in one of the Hindi journals published and edited by the author, but now collected with other essays in Kesarinarayan Shukla, *Bhāratendu ke nibandh* (Benares: Sarasvati Mandir, 1951), pp.78–91.

बहुत से छोटे छोटे राजार्जी की बील चाल का धंग भी, जिस समय वे बाइसरय से मिलने आए थे, संस्कृति के साथ लिखने के योग्य है। कोई तो दूर ही से हाथ जोड़े आए, और दो ऐसे थे कि जब अदिकांक्षा के बदल दुसरकर इशारा करते पर भी उन्हें ना सलाम न किया तो अदिकांक्षा ने पीठ पकड़ कर उन्हें धीरे से खुला दिया। कोई खैर कर उठाने जाते ही न थे, यादृ तक कि अदिकांक्षा को ‘उठो’ कहना पड़ता था। कोई झंडा, तपाई, सतारी और बिहारी पाने पर भी एक गद्द धन्यवाद का नहीं बोल सके और कोई बिहारी इन में से दो ही एक पदार्थ पा कर ऐसे प्रसन्न हुए कि श्रीपुत्र बाइसरय पर अपनी जान और बाल निष्कास करने को तैयार थे। सब से बड़कर बुझिमान हुवे एक महात्मा देख पड़े जिन से बाइसरय ने कहा कि अपना का नगर तो तीर्थ पिना जाता है। पर हुआ भासा करते ही कि भाषा इस समय बिल्ली को भी तीर्थ ही के समान पाते हैं। इस के बजाए में बड़े बेहड़क बोल उठे कि यह बहुत तो सब तीर्थों से बड़ा है, जहां भाषा हमारे ‘बुद्धा’ मौजूद है। नीवाब सुतार की भी अंगरेजी में बात चीत सुन कर ऐसे बड़ा बुझ रहे होंगे निज़ दुकसी न भाल हो। नीवाब साहिब बोलते तो बड़े बेहड़क घड़के थे, पर उसी के साथ कायदे और महानवे के भी बुझ हाथ पांख लोटे थे। किसी आपात ऐसे में जिनके कुछ बार्त ही नहीं हो सकते, पर नीवाब साहिब को अपनी अंगरेजी का ऐसा कूद बिवाह था कि वहने मुंह से बेखल अपने ही को नहीं वर्त अपने दोनों लड़कों को भी अंगरेजी, हरवी, योजित, गणित बादी ईस्वर जाने किंतु नीवाब किसी बिवाहों का पंडित बनाना था। नीवाब साहिब ने बहुत कहा कि हम ने देख दियः की तरह अपनी उपर बेखल में नहीं गराई वर्त दरकार ही के बिवाह के परिमित नहीं देते और दिव्य है। पिता के परिवार नीवाब साहिब के बड़े से रामपाल के साथ भी बहुत थे। बाइसरय ने उठाने दिया कि हम भाषा की अंगरेजी बिवाह पर इतना मुराद बाद नहीं देते जितना अंगरेजी के समान भाषा का चिंत्र होने के लिये। पिता नीवाब साहिब ने कहा कि मैं ने इस भारी अवसर के बीच में हरवी और फातीस का एक बह वर्ष बनाया है जिसमें चाहता हूँ कि किसी समय श्रीपुत्र को सलांक। श्रीपुत्र ने जबाब दिया कि उन्होंने भी कविता का बड़ा बनाया है और मैं आपस्रां एक भाई कवि (Brother-Poet) देख कर बहुत प्रसन्न हुआ, और आप की कविता चुनौत के लिये कोई अवकाश का समय बिल्ले निकालूँ।

34 तारीख की सब के अन्त में महारानी तंजर बाइसरय से मुलाकात की भाई। वे तलाश का सब बस्त लगने थे और मुंह पर भी बाल तास का नज़ब पड़ा हुआ था। इसके सिवाय उन के दृष्टांत दस्ताने और गुमे से ऐसे देखे थे कि सब के ली में उनके देखने की इशारा ही रख गई। महारानी के साथ में उन के पति राजा सहबारान साहिब और दो लड़कों के सिवाय उन की अनुवादक मिलसंघ भी थी। महारानी ने पहले भाकर बाइसरय से हाथ मिलाया और अपनी कुश्की पर बाकी गई। श्रीपुत्र बाइसरय ने उन के हस्ते जाने पर अपनी प्रसन्नता प्रकट की और पूछा कि भाषा को इतनी भारी यात्रा में असंभव कूद तो नहीं हुआ। महारानी अपनी भाषा का बोलचाल में बेबुढ़ पूरान की तरह बुझ न थी, इसीलिये जियावस बालचीत मिलाया फर्ष से जुआ, जिन्हें श्रीपुत्र ने प्रसन्न हो कर “मनभावी अनुवादक” कहा। बाइसरय की किसी बात के सार में एक बार महारानी के मुंह से “यह” निकल गया, पर श्रीपुत्र ने बड़ा हुसन प्रकट किया कि महारानी के अनुरोधवती भी बील सकती हैं, पर अनुवादक में वह सहिष्णु ने कहा कि वे अंगरेजी में दो चार शब्द से अभिधा नहीं जानती।
Harishchandra’s vocabulary register is very much dictated by the circumstances of the Darbar he is describing. On the one hand, descriptions of the rajahs’ finery necessarily borrow heavily from the PA vocabulary of the courts of Northern India, while on the other the H rendering of E speeches gives a free reign to Harishchandra’s Sanskritizing tendencies, such that even a Muslim Nawab is made to use such S expressions as pandit and kavi.

1. choṭe choṭe rājāon: ‘petty princes’ (542a).
2. jis samay ve...āe the: the change in grammatical subject from bol cāl kā ḍhāng to rājā causes a disjunction from the remainder of the sentence, and exemplifies the awkwardness of carelessly drafted subordinate clauses.
3. vāśrāy: this spelling of E ‘-roy’ suggests its H cognate rāy.
4. sakhṣep ke sāth: ‘with brevity’, an expression now generally replaced by sakhṣep meṁ ‘in brief’.
5. hāth jore: ‘with hands joined’ (532b), i.e. performing the namaskār.
6. do ek: ‘a few’. ek following a number gives the sense of ‘approximately’; cf. 7 do hī ek, ‘just a couple or so’.
7. edikāngē: ‘aide-de-camp’. The nazalized final vowel of the French term, transmitted through E, is realized not as a simple nasal āṅ but with a velar consonant; the modern preference would be for the initials ‘A.D.C.’.
8. koi baith kar utmān jānte hi na the: ‘some didn’t even know to get up once they had sat down’.
9. yahān tak kī: ‘to the extent that, such that finally’.
10. utho: the tum imp. indicates the A.D.C.’s view of the rajahs’ status.
11. jhandā, tagmā, salāmī aur khīṭāb: the tinselled trappings of royalty which the British in imitation of their Mughal predecessors dispensed to the native states in return for loyalty.
12. ek śabd dhanyavād kā: ‘a word of thanks’, calqued from the E (923).
13. sab se bāṛkkar buddhimān: ‘the cleverest of all’; sab se bāṛkkar is an adv. expression qualifying adj. buddhimān. Cf. adv. bāṛkkar in 10 sab tīrthoṁ se bāṛkkar ‘superior to all sacred sites’.
15. dekh pāre: a rare usage of dekhnā as intransitive (= dikhnā).
16. ham āśā karte hain ki āp...pāte hain: ‘We hope that you find’, both verbal expressions no doubt calqued from the Viceroy’s E reported here.
17. nābāb luhārū: ‘the Nawab of Loharu’ (a hundred miles to the west of Delhi). The title immediately precedes the place name, as E ‘Lord’: cf. 26 mahārāṇī tanjaur and 33 begam bhāpāl.
18. bolte to bare bēdharak dharāke se the: ‘he rattled away unhesitatingly’: the disjunction of bolte from its auxiliary the suggests sarcastically that the speed of the Nawab’s speech, which this word-order emphasizes, was not matched by its idiomatic accuracy.
19. khūb hāth pāṁv torte the: ‘did grievous damage to...’.
21. īśvar jāne kitnā vidyāōn kā pandit bakhān gae: ‘praised... as authorities in God knows how many disciplines’. The joint object is ‘himself’ and ‘his two sons’, but as the object is marked with ko, the referent pandit is singular. For the expression īśvar jāne, with subj. verb, cf. the similar xūdā jāne and na jāne. In bakhān gae, jānā gives a sarcastic emphasis of thoroughness — ‘praised fulsomely’.
22. khel kūd: ‘fun and games’ (524), here with a derogatory tone.
23. vidyā ke upārjan meṁ cītī lagāyā: ‘applied my mind to the acquisition of knowledge’: notice the effective contrast of register with the colloquial umar khel kūd meṁ nahn gavā ‘didn’t fritter my life away in fun and games’.
rājbhakti ke vākyā: vākyā here has its primary meaning of ‘statement, utterance’, to which its more common modern H sense of ‘sentence’ is secondary.

citra: apparently meaning ‘appearance’ here.

bhārī avsar: ‘momentous occasion’; cf. 32 bhārī yātrā ‘onerous journey’.

āpśā ek bhāī kavi (brother poet) dekh kar: ‘seeing a brother poet like you’; non-honorific s. āpśā catches the Viceroy’s patronizing tone. Use of an E parenthesis is a common (if typographically awkward) way of glossing an unfamiliar expression such as the calque bhāī kavi.

samay avaśya nikālīṅgā: ‘I will certainly find the time’, subtly intimating a social pecking-order, with the Viceroy agreeing in a concessive tone to fit the Nawab into his busy schedule.

sab ke jī men... icchā rah gāi: ‘the desire remained in everyone’s heart’, i.e. was unfulfilled.

un ki anuvādak mises pharth: ‘her interpreter Mrs Firth’. m. forms are often retained for f. subjects in occupational designations such as anuvādak; cf. the androgynous pradhān mantri. In the case of occupations in which females figure more commonly, S f. forms are preferred: adhyāpikā ‘schoolmistress’ (m. adhyāpak), kavayitri ‘poetess’ (m. kavi) etc.

mises pharth: note the HU realization of E mīsēz (91).

apnī prasannā pragat kī: ‘expressed his pleasure’. The spelling pragat has been replaced by tatsama prakaṭ in standard H, and now has a rather archaic or rustic ring.

begam bhūpāl: the Begam of Bhopal was an Urdu poetess who wrote under the taxallus ‘Rūp-ratan’, and who was much favoured by Harischandra.

ziyādā: the standard H spelling is now zyādā, with conjunct zy.

manbhāvī anuvādak: ‘charming interpreter’; the H expression is rather forced in its formal register, but is of course a translation of the Viceroy’s formulaic E expression.

mahārāṇī ke muh se ‘yas’ nikal gayā: ‘the word ‘yas’ popped out of the Maharani’s mouth’. The Nagārī spelling perfectly catches the familiar H-speaker’s pronunciation of the one E word that everybody knows.
Altal Husain Hali: 

*Muqaddimâ (1893)*

In both his life and his writings, Hali (1837–1914) symbolizes the transition of the Urdu literary tradition from its courtly past to the more serious and dominantly middle-class preoccupations of the past hundred years (*UL*, pp. 100–3). Born in Panipat (now in Haryana), Hali came as a young tutor to Delhi where he became close to Ghalib (3) in his last years, before moving to Lahore as a reviser of Urdu textbooks for the British. His return to Delhi brought him into association with Sir Sayyid (4), under the influence of whose reformist ideals the bulk of Hali’s work was produced, notably his hugely popular epic poem, the *Musaddas* (1879).

Hali is best known for his poetry, largely composed in the ‘natural’ style he developed under the influence of English poetic ideals in conscious opposition to the elaborate artifice of classical Urdu poetry. He was also, however, a prose-writer of great distinction, and the author of important biographies of both Ghalib and Sir Sayyid. If the lucid organization of his prose style never quite matches Ghalib’s throwaway elegance, it is much superior in fluency to Sir Sayyid’s rough-hewn idiom and in ease of comprehension to the inflated writing of all too many of his Urdu contemporaries and successors.

The passage is taken from the lengthy introduction composed as a preface to the verse-collection of Hali’s *Dīvān* (1893). Still the most outstanding piece of sustained literary criticism in Urdu, this has achieved separate status under the title *Muqaddimā šīr o šā‘irī* or ‘Introduction: on Poetry’, and has as its central theme Hali’s advocacy of his ‘natural’ style as the only possible medium for the serious and relevant poetry which he considered to be demanded by the circumstances of his time.

Summing up the mixed origins of Urdu with Hali’s usual clarity and balance, the first paragraph ends with a memorable image, whose vivid use of everyday ‘Hindi’ words is both so characteristic of the simplifications entailed by Hali’s literary ideals and in such contrast to the Persianized register of Urdu literary criticism apparent from the rest of the passage.

In the second paragraph, Hali — who was naturally very much a Delhi man — attacks the excessive linguistic purism so often associated with the Urdu preciosi of Lucknow. In the third, the same specific target serves to demonstrate Hali’s usual good sense in the endless debate as to the ‘correct’ pronunciation of Arabic loan-words in Urdu, and to illustrate the technicalities of expression involved in any discussion of distinctions of vowel-quality in all languages written in the Arabic script.

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ندارد ہے قدیم ہیں کہ عالمی اور انسانی مین کے متعلق اور نبی مسیح کے لئے مثبت سبب میں در دست واپسی ہوئے ہے۔ اور زبان کا بارہ جہاں کا ملک، ان کے نظام اور نظام میں ملتے جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ۔ اور زبان کا مالوزہ ہے جس کے متعلق عام جانے والے نظام میں نبی ہے۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں کہ مہر کا کوئی بیجو ہے۔ اور مالوزہ نے اپنی تاریخی بارہ جہاں مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے ہیں۔ اور مالوزہ کا نظام جاتے 106
1 sirf..., balki...: the re-emphasis of this implicit PA contrast by the characteristic HU enclitics ...hi..., ...bhi... is to be noted (542b + 846).

2 dilli yā lakhnāū kī zabān: the nineteenth century debate between these nicely prescribed two urban standards of correct U usage still has a certain life.

3 kam se kam mutavassit darje kī liyāqat: a phrase nicely implying both Hali's views on the need to down-play PA elements in U and his famous personal modesty.

2-4 hindi bāhāz: as so often in U usage, this implies the non-PA 'Hindi' component of U, rather than the modern sense of 'the Hindi language'.

4 afāl: the adaptations of inherited A grammatical terminology to the very different norms of U are outlined in the final note to 10 below.

7 mutlaq nahīn: the A adj. mutlaq 'absolute' functions in U exactly like the P adv. hargiz 'ever' as a strong negative reinforceer.

8 ke tān: 'under the pull of', a typically Hali-ish coinage from HU tānnā 'to pull', which deliberately sets up the demoticizing vocabulary involved in the expansion of his bullock-cart image.

11 necral: this E loan is to be understood in the context not only of Hali's own passionate advocacy of a 'natural' U poetic style, but also of the attacks levelled by traditionalists against his mentor Sir Sayyid, whose attempts to re-interpret Islam in the light of Victorian natural science led his followers to be described as necari, a coinage then much more opprobrious in U than 'naturalist' ever was in E.

12 vus'at: 'breath, expansion', an A loan-word nicely serving both to underline Hali's argument in favour of allowing due weight to its 'H element' and to introduce his gradually built-up case against nice Arabics in U.

13 tang karte jāte hain: 'keep on restricting', a characteristically Delhi-centred expression of resentment at the continuing pretensions of precious Lucknow 'authorities' to determine correct U usage in the light of artificially upheld PA norms.

14 muqaṭā'-e vaqāt: 'the demands of the time', a phrase very typical of urgent perceptions of Sir Sayyid and his disciples.

15 šir o suxan 'poetry', lit. 'verse & word', a PA copular phrase (842) very common in U.

15 kuch īpur pacās: the obvious rendering 'somewhat over 50' provides a nice instance of the ways in which E phrasal syntax may sometimes happen to coincide with HU patterns.

16 sāhib-e risālā: 'the gentleman who wrote the essay', ironically picking up 14 ek sāhib at the same time as illustrating a typical U use of the P izafat-phrase format (841).

16 vājībut-tark: 'to be eschewed', cf. 18 tark karnā 'to eschew'. Such A possessive phrases (741) beginning with vājīb are often formally comparable with the PA prepns. phrases (844) beginning with gābil-e which so often indicate U calques from E '-able', e.g. gābil-e bardāštī = 'tolerable'. As often in U, however, the A formation is stricter in implication, e.g. vājībul-qatl 'deserving of execution'.

16 ba'ze: the familiar A ba'z 'some' is extended with the P indefinite suf. -e, cf. common phrase ba-qaul-e sāxs-e 'in someone's words'.

17 When writers on correct U usage move outside the formally studied areas of A and P grammar, they tend to rely simply on feel, as in the support given here by Hali to the standard Delhi forms andherā 'darkness', ujālā 'light, dawn', kyonkar 'how?', vs. Lucknow andhiyārā, ujīyālā, kyonkar se. Cognate forms of the first two pairs are listed in the CDIAL, under 386 andhakāra- and 1673 * ujīvalaka-: these show how, as quite often, the HU area is split down the middle, with 'Delhi' forms resembling those of western NIA languages and 'Lucknow' forms those of the eastern languages.

19 ham bhi: the editorial 'we' is much more natural in HU than in modern E usage.

24 graimar: long established from elementary E classes as a fully naturalized f. noun in U, where it is much more commonly used than the grander PA copular phrase sarf o nāhv f.
24–26  Hali's sensible support for the U pronunciations *mausam* 'weather', *mayyat* 'corpse', *našā* 'development', vs. A *mausim*, *mayyit*, *našat*, has to be somewhat cumbrously expressed, given the nature of the A script.

The three short vowels *a i u* are indicated by the signs called *fathā*, *kasrā*, *zammā* in A (= P *zabar*, *zer*, *peš*); hence 24 *ba-fath-e sin* 'with an “a” on the “s”', 26 *ba-kasrā-e yā* 'with an “i” under the “y”'.

An easier way to indicate the pronunciation of A words is by referring to their *vażn*, the pattern according to which they are formed by root-modification through the insertion of vowels: hence 25 *bar-vażn-e 'vafā* ‘on the pattern of ‘vafā’, i.e. *-a-ā*, *bar-vażn-e 'masjid* ‘on the pattern of ‘masjīd’, i.e. *-a-i-, 26 *bar-vażn-e 'vahdat* ‘on the pattern of ‘vahdat’, i.e. *-a-at*, indicating the pronunciation of the *ṭa marbūtā* (711) as *-t*.

27  *ʿilm-e lisān*: ‘science of language, philology’, an izafat phrase replaced in modern U by the coinage *lisāniyāt* ʿf. ‘linguistics’ (733).

29  *illā māssallāh*: ‘except as God pleases’, an A formula (743) conventionally used to disclaim any power of the human mind to fathom the mysteries of divine omnipotence. Passage 1 concludes with a similar P tag.
Badrinarayan Upadhyay 'Premghan':
Hamare deś kī bhāṣā aur aksar (1895)

Before the development of a Western-derived narrative tradition in the early twentieth century, the most important medium for the nascent style of modern Hindi prose was polemical journalism; its often disputatious content was well suited to the new writers with their love for the grandiloquent diction characteristic of essay-writers and polemists the world over. Among the most energetic writers and journal-editors of this class was Premghan (1855–1922), born in Mirzapur (on the Ganges between Benares and Allahabad), an associate of Harishchandra (5). In the spirit of the nineteenth century Hindu revivalist movements, Premghan looked back to the much-admired golden age of Indian culture, not hesitating to find fault with its modern manifestations in his contemporary compatriots. He also looked askance at the British presence, which he regarded as self-seeking and exploitative; and he was at once supportive and critical of the rising star of Congress, a favourite theme in his essays.

Given the circumstances of the time, in which the question of language was becoming increasingly tied up with that of communalism, it was natural for journalists to turn rather incestuously upon their own medium when choosing subjects to write about; and Premghan was typical in his passionate commitment to discussing language and the social and cultural implications of its use. Despite its dated style his Hindi is a delight to read because of its richness of expression and because of the gusto with which the author throws himself body and soul into the chosen issues.

The essay Hamare deś kī bhāṣā aur aksar argues the case for the use of Hindi in the Nagari script in official contexts. The essay has a double purpose: firstly to act as a pro-Hindi polemic, secondly to stir the author's listless compatriots into action in defence of their own culture and language. His main argument is the unintelligibility of the Perso-Arabic script to the majority of the population, and the problems which would ensue from introducing the use of the Roman script as a compromise between the proponents of Urdu and Hindi respectively.

The first paragraph describes the plight of the North-Western Provinces where British policy promoted the use of Urdu at an official level. Premghan exaggeratedly describes the confusions which arise as a result of the misreading of Perso-Arabic words written in the prevalent shorthand of legal documents, citing some delightful (if rather far-fetched) howlers in support of his argument.

The second paragraph goes further into the context of litigation, contrasting the vernacular submissions of the plaintiffs with the high-flown Urdu of the court officials; he points out how the system can be manipulated to trick the ignorant public, at the same time pulling the wool over the eyes of the naive British adjudicator who is led to approve judgements framed in a flowery language completely beyond his comprehension.

बुद्धिभार राज्य की निर्माण नीति की प्रमाण से भारत बर्म के प्रायः समस्त प्रदेश और प्रांतों में प्रदेशीक और प्रातिक भाषायें प्रचारित हैं, परन्तु भाषायें कि भाषाओं परिवर्तन प्रदेश में उद्देश्य (जो भरभरी, पारसी, तुर्की बांट और भाषाओं की पंचमेस खिचड़ी सी है) और यह भरभरी बांट प्रचारित है। इसके उद्देश्य में भाषाओं में बड़ी की छोटी बड़ी बहुत हो गई है। कारण इसका यह है कि भरभरी पारसी बांट के भाषा के अतिरिक्त अन्य भाषाओं के बाद सामान्य तौर पर उसमें अत्यधिक कठिनता से लिखी जाती, और यह पुस्त बढ़ते तो कड़ी बनती है और यही कि यहां मीठा उद्देश्य नियम लोगों को मिलते है। इसी भयंकर भरभरी बांट पारसी के बाद भी प्रायः हिन्दी बांट के प्रभ के बाद और अन्य बांट पड़ते जाते हैं, जैसे मालवारा को "उल्ल सिरा" और हाजी पुर इंटों को "चाची तो बिटाना" पढ़ा जाता है। निदान भरभरी बांट और उद्देश्य भाषा मिल कर इस देश का एक प्रकार स्वातन्त्र लिखे जाते हैं। न तो पहले के बाद बड़े बड़े मौतियों से पड़े जाते, और यह भाषा सामान्य के समस्त में भारी। भरभरी भाषाओं के कारण यह इतनी कठिन हो गई है कि उसे पारसी कई में कुछ बड़ी भाषाओं न होगा। यही कारण है कि क्या प्रान्त और क्या नागरिक सामान्ययज्ञ, जिन्हें विशेष कार्यबनों से सम्बन्ध नहीं है, जब कोई क्षमित्र के उद्देश्य लिखे कानून पारसी में उसे पढ़े जाते हैं, और बड़े बड़े धारक पारसी पढ़े जाते हैं, परन्तु जब तक कोई क्षमित्र का पहले बाद भरभरी पढ़े बाद न लिखे, कठिन है उसका बार्थ उद्देश्य नहीं बाट होता है। इसके अतिरिक्त भरभरी, पारसी बांट भाषाओं के गृह भाषों के अधिक समझे वाले की भी विशेष होती है।

न केन्द्रीय भाषा पद के देखे है, वर्तमान अवस्था में प्रायः क्या प्रामाण्य साधू प्रदाताओं बाटे तो वे बोलते ही बड़ी और लिखा जाता है कुछ, बिचारा साधू तो कहता है कि - "भारत एवं मैं बांट नियम", शरीरसदार साहिब लिखें - "मुस्लिम बांट: मुस्लिमिह"। तब यदि वह इजहार नागरिक सामान्ययज्ञ को सूचना भी जाय, तो बह क्या समझेन? किर न केन्द्रीय माध्यम, वर्तमान बड़े बड़े विचार इस्लामवानी साहिब लगे भी यह अबुलकशी तीव्रता नहीं समय सकते, और न बारबारा उसका बार्थ ही वापस से उनका सकते। क्योंकि यह समझे तो किर उन्हें अपने

शरीरसदार साहिब को मौलाना का पद देने, और स्वयं बांटने बन कर लिखे उनसे पढ़े उसके केन्द्रीय बड़े भाषाओं का बाद बाट ही मिल लगेन। पृथिवी की रिपोर्ट और कैदियाँ भाषा में भी प्रायः उल्लास पलन ऐसा ही किया करते कि अभाव तरह स्थल पर कोई भरभरी बांट का ऐसा कानून उद्देश्य कर ला पुस्तक देने कि प्रमाण साहिब बहादुर समाज की सकते हैं, और यदि पूरी तरह अभाव का अभाव बाट उन्हें पहला दिया। यही ही अभाव के पहले बाद बाद साधू बने देने का प्रयास करते हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त अभाव का अभाव बाद बाद साधू बने देने का प्रयास करते हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त अभाव का अभाव बाद बाद साधू बने देने का प्रयास करते हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त अभाव का अभाव बाद बाद साधू बने देने का प्रयास करते हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त अभाव का अभाव बाद बाद साधू बने देने का प्रयास करते हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त अभाव का अभाव बाद बाद साधू बने देने का प्रयास करते हैं।
Badrinarayan Upadhyay ‘Premghan’

Premghan’s language is dominated by the S register which parallels the high PA register forming the butt for his diatribe; the fact that the most effective phrases in the passage are those based on native HU Patterns is thus in keeping with his message but not with his Sanskritized medium. Some archaisms of usage and spelling betray the nineteenth century date of the piece.

1 brīśī: a hyper-Sanskritized spelling with r for ri.

2 brīśī āryī kī nirmal nītī kī prabhā se: ‘through the radiance of the immaculate polity of British rule’. prabhā begins an extravagant alliterative sequence of ‘p’ sounds typifying Premghan’s rhetorical style.

3 pradeś ... prânt: best translated as ‘region’ and ‘province’ respectively — cf. adj. pradeśik and prântik. The technical sense of pradeś as a ‘state’ follows the post-Independence re-drawing of the map of India.

4 yah urdā bhāṣā: the pr. adds a subtle touch of distaste, as though describing some unclean object held gingerly between thumb and forefinger.

5 kāraṇ īskā yah hai: the inversion stresses the noun, ‘the reason for this is’. Cf. the different emphasis of 13 yahī kāraṇ hai ‘this is why’.

6 sūddh sūddh parhe to kadācit jāte hi naihī: ‘can hardly at all be read really accurately’. The disjunction of parhe from jāte accommodates the separate but complementary emphases of to and hi respectively (542b).

7 hindī sabd ke bhram se: ‘through confusion with a H word’.

8 ālī bukhārā ... ullī bīcārā: the misreading derives from the minimalist representation in the rapid sīkastā script (used for legal documents etc.) of PA characters. Since the dots are generally omitted in this shorthand, jīm, ce and xe appear as the undotted baṛi he, nor is pe distinct from be, etc.

9 hāṛī pur itaunā: presumably referring to the two town names Hajipur (near Patna) and Itaunia (near Lucknow).

10 cācī to bitaunā: a meaningless collocation, ‘auntie then little son’ (bitaunā being a diminutive of bēṭā).

11 ghasīṭ ke akṣar: ‘scribbled characters’: cf. 16 kachāṛī kā ghasīṭ akṣar i.e. ‘scribbled court shorthand’.

12 sāmāṇyo ke samajh meh: though here used as m., samajh is normally f., like most nouns deriving from verbs.

14 kyā grāmīṇ aur kyā nāgarik sāmāṇyajan: a comma after nāgarik would elucidate the syntax, ‘ordinary folk, be they villagers or townspeople’.

16 pāṛi parhō: the p.obl. of ptc. parhā is here used nominally to mean ‘one who is literate in P, P-reader’: cf. the more regular 16 pāṛne vāḷā.

19 na keval yahī se iti hai: ‘nor does the matter end here’. S iti, like Latin finis, marks the conclusion of a text or speech, and by extension can mean ‘end’ more generally.

20 bolte to kuch aur likhā jātā hai kuch: ‘they say one thing and something different is written down’. Cf. 30 likhā to kuch aur parh diyā kuch aur (in which the first aur is a cj., the second an adv.).

20 more ghare ke niyare: ‘near my house’. Pr. more (cf. HU mere), inflected obl. ghare, and ppn. niyare (< S. nikate) are all Avadhi forms.
21 muttasil khānah mujhir: P muttasil-e xānā-e muzhir, 'adjacent to the abode of the deponent', strikingly distinct in register from the Avadhi. The use of visār (511) to represent the P silent he is ingenious, but not a standard transliteration.

22 na keval sāksī mātra: a taulogical construction, with enclitic mātra duplicating the sense of keval. Cf. 33 keval svikār mātra.

23 īnglistāṇī: a Sanskritized spelling for P īnglistāṇī. Cf. P -stān in 'Pakistan' vs S -sthān in 'Rajasthan'.

23 abulfazālī: grand Mughal terminology as associated with Akbar's great minister Abul Fazl (1551–1602).

24 pūch sakte: the tendency for long vowels to be nasalized in pronunciation is shown graphically here.

25 maulānā kā pad dene: the obl.inf. anticipates ppn. ke atirikt.

26 pūlās: though -ī- reflects more closely the E pronunciation, modern standard H has pulis. Cf. also colloquial rapāt for riport.

27 viśuddh marmm sthal par: 'at the absolutely most vital point'.

28 dhūnhr kar lā ghuser dete: roughly 'sought out, dredged up and dragged into use' — a wonderfully expressive verbal phrase.

28 pradhān sāhib bahādur: pradhān is here used nominally as 'the president (of court)'. bahādur following a name is a title equivalent to 'the honourable', here with a nice touch of sarcasm.

29 samjhi na sake hōn: the verb stem is the unextended samajh-, the final -ī being an agglutinated emphatic enclitic: cf. us/usī etc.

30 jo do vā tin prakār par parāhā jātā: 'which can be read in two or three ways'.

31 isse bare bare asambhav kārya sambhav kar diye jāte: 'in this way, wholly impossible things were made possible' (542a).

33 keval svikār mātra pūch lete: 'would ask for nothing more than confirmation', i.e. would not attempt a full analysis of the evidence.

34 un par ajnāt churi calā dete hain: 'runs an unknown knife into them', i.e. has no inkling of the harm his judgment may be doing them.
Balmukund Gupta: 
Hindi mein bindi (1900)

The essayist and journal editor Balmukund Gupta (1865–1907) was in many ways a successor to Harishchandra, with whom he shared a Vaishya background and a schooling in Urdu. As with his older contemporary, much of the lasting interest of his work derives from the broadness of his upbringing: born in the Panjab, he spent much of his life in Calcutta; he translated Bengali and Sanskrit works into Hindi, and in the course of his career in journalism he broached a wide range of subjects from the serious to the frivolous. His views on language were often diametrically opposed to those of such establishment figures as Mahavirprasad Dwivedi (12) and the Nagari Pracharini Sabha (N.P.S.), the Society for the Promulgation of Nagari (i.e. Sanskritized Hindi in the Nagari script) set up in Benares in 1893.

A strong personality shows through Gupta’s writing. On the one hand he is a forceful advocate of the use of Hindi, whose cause he championed in the Calcutta journal Bhāratmitra which he edited from 1899 to 1907; on the other, he is strongly critical of what he sees as the foolish attempts at the standardization of Hindi style made by Dwivedi and others. He writes with a passion that indicates a strong sense of mission.

Typical of Gupta’s Bhāratmitra pieces on language is the short article ‘Hindi mein bindi’ which appeared in 1900. The very pithiness of the title is portentous of the acerbity which is to follow, when Gupta criticises the pronouncement of the N.P.S. regarding the use of diacritically marked Nagari characters to transliterate Persian and Arabic phonemes.

Gupta’s provocative remarks begin with a mocking statement of the N.P.S.’s proposal to differentiate z and j graphically by the use of dotted characters. His contempt for this recommendation is matched only by his brazen dismissal of the very need for such a practice even in Persian. In the second paragraph he discusses the difficulties even writers of Urdu have in distinguishing the various /z/ forms, and points out that the use of a single dotted Nagari graph for /z/ is an oversimplified attempt at transliterating the extensive range of /z/ characters in the Persian script. The result of the N.P.S. policy, he maintains, would be an anarchic situation in which some people used dotted forms and some did not — a fairly accurate prediction of the present reality, through Gupta’s vision of chaos proves to have been rather too apocalyptic.

In the final paragraph, Gupta draws attention to some earlier writers who had contracted the ‘sickness’ of using dotted Nagari characters, and discusses their use by people who are not literate in Urdu and whose solecisms in the use of the dotted forms betray this ignorance.

काशी की नागरी-प्रचारिणी सभा हिंदी में बिन्दी चलाना चाहती है। यह बिन्दी भगवान के उपर नहीं, नीचे दुर्गा करने है। "अन्न प्रदान" का मतलब यह है कि उससे उर्ध्व दिशा में गुढ़ लिखे जाय कि हिंदी में खानी का होता है और उर्ध्व में 'जीम', 'जाल', 'जे' और बड़ी 'जे', 'ज्ञान' और 'जोय'। "जीम" के सिवा इस सब से उर्ध्व दिशा का उत्खरण जो 'के उत्खरण के तुर्क होता है। जो का उत्खरण झुक्ना के उर्ध्व में दिशा के साथ मिलने से होता है। नागरी-प्रचारिणी सभा चाहते हैं कि हिंदी के 'के जी' के नीचे एक बिन्दी लगाकर उर्ध्व की 'के' का उत्खरण करें। हिंदी में ऐसा उत्खरण नहीं है, क्योंकि बाल्यस्व तो 'जीम' ही का विकार है। वह फारसी आदि के कठिन का खराबी के सिवा और कुछ नहीं है। उस खराबी को नागरी-प्रचारिणी हिंदी में भी धौसाना चाहती है। परंतु इस दृष्टान्त से क्या लाभ है?

इसका पता ठीक नहीं लगता।

'के-जाल' की खराबी उर्ध्व में यहीं तक है कि बहुत लोग बच्चों ने खिला पाने तथा लोगों को कीड़ों की तरह बांट जाने पर भी 'के-जाल' का भेद ठीक-ठीक नहीं जान सकते। कितनी ही बार वह इस झगड़े में पड़ता है कि अनुमूलक व्याख्या जाता है। या जो 'के' जीवन बाल्यस्व की यह खराबी है, तब नागरी-प्रचारिणी सभा हिंदी की पराये कोटे में क्यों चपाटा नागरी-प्रचारिणी सभा के उर्ध्व में एक बिन्दी लगाने से सबका उत्खरण गुढ़ हो गया। परंतु इसमें 'जाल', 'ज्ञान' और 'जोय' की क्या पहचान रही? यदि 'जाल', 'ज्ञान' और 'जोय' का फर्म बना जाना है तो नागरी सभा की जरूर नहीं और उसे उर्ध्व में भेद समझा जाता है, तो फिर 'जाल', 'ज्ञान' और 'जोय' की कुछ पहचान नहीं बाहरिये। नागरी-प्रचारिणी सभा यह प्रचलित है कि इस बिन्दी से उर्ध्व न जानने वालों का क्या उत्खरण होता है?

बिन्दी की बीमारी नागरी-प्रचारिणी सभा के जगत के पुराने में हो चुकी है। बुद्धवास-बुद्धवासिक प्रणाली रामचरिणी गोस्वामी ने नागरी-बुद्धवासिक इसका प्रमाण छापा था। उसमें उन्होंने उर्ध्व दिशा में बुढ़ बिन्दी की परायन की थी। यहीं तक कि जिन बंदों के नीचे बिन्दी नहीं लगाने का भारी साधा है, उनके नीचे भी उन्होंने बिन्दी लगायी थी। खालीसी प्रणाली प्रतापायण रूप में उनके बड़े-बड़े लोट-पोट हो गये थे और कहा था कि यह बिन्दी की बीमारी हिंदी बाल्यस्व की बुढ़ी लगी। यह उनको दूर तक खराब करने की। नागरी-प्रचारिणी सभा ही जैसे मेंमारों में एक बहुत बड़े साधारण, जो सबसे बड़ी हिंदी के बड़े प्रणाली है। वह बड़ा बंदों में बड़ा काफ़ी बोलते थे। वह यह समझते थे कि बड़ा काफ़ी बोलने ही से उर्ध्व हो जाती है। उसने उनको यह समझाया कि बुढ़ा बिन्दी की प्रणाली ही है, बड़े नहीं है। इसी तरह बिन्दी की बीमारी में पड़कर उर्ध्व न जानने बालों को बड़ी ठोकरे खानी पड़ती है।
Despite his palpable prejudice against the PA heritage of U, Gupta's own language in this passage is relatively eclectic in its borrowings. The phonetic background to his arguments can be summarized as follows: (a) Standard U has two graphically distinct phonemes, q and k, whereas H effectively has only k, from which q can be graphically differentiated only by a diacritic. (b) Similarly, U has two strongly distinct phonemes j and z, the latter represented by the four graphemes zâl, ze, zvâd and zoe plus a semi-distinct ž (že); H effectively has only j, with z differentiated only by a diacritic. Gupta argues against the alleged necessity of distinguishing graphically the semi-distinct z and q in H; but his argument wrongly assumes that the purpose of the diacritic marks is to distinguish PA graphemes, whereas in fact it distinguishes U phonemes (511, 512).

1 kâṣā: 'the resplendent' — this is the classical name, preferred in religious contexts, for the town otherwise known as vârânasî (whose MIA form banâras (E 'Benares') is now out of fashion in Sanskritized H, though common in current speech).

1 callâr: 'bring into use, introduce': cf. the increasingly disparaging 2 lagâna 'impose', 9 dhânsânâ 'to stick in'.

1 akṣar ke ūpar nahîn, nice huâ karegi: 'will not be above the character [as anuvâra, the only S convention to use the dot] but below it'. The use of huâ karna, implying 'regular occurrence', has a sarcastic edge: 'is to be regularly placed below the character, [if you please]!'

4 bari je: adj. designations of this kind are essential in H when two or more U morphemes are assimilated to a single one in H; cf. 34 'bârâ kâf' and 35 'choîa kâf' for qâf and kâf respectively.

5 jihvâ ke ūpar ke dânto ke sath milne se: 'by the tongue meeting the upper teeth' — ūpar ke is an adj. phrase qualifying dânto which, like jihvâ ke, qualifies milne se.


7 hindî mën aisâ uccârañ nahîn hai: this begs the question entirely, since it allows of no differentiation between H and S phonologies.

7 'je' — 'jim' kâ hî vikâr hai: here and in the following sentence the author betrays the depth of his prejudice, in which non-S phonemes are dismissed as aberrations. Note the separation of subject je by punctuation, a clumsy device which careful drafting would have made unnecessary.

12 kiroh ki tarah: HU has not needed the help of E in arriving at the image of the 'bookworm', a literal and voracious reality in the libraries of tropical countries.

13 amuk šabd 'jâl' se hai yâ 'je' se: 'so and such a word is [spelt] with zâl or ze'. There is no convenient HU equivalent for E 'to spell'.

14 parâye kañtho men ghasînâ: 'to drag amongst someone else's thorns', i.e. to involve unnecessarily in the predicaments of others. 'N.P.S.' is subject; 'H' is object.

16 nâgari pracârîni sabhâ ke rûl se: a delightfully unselfconscious borrowing of E 'rule', given the concentration in this passage on the implications of word origins (922).

18 jarûrat: a nicely incorporated example supporting Gupta's thesis that diacritical marks are redundant in transcribing PA words into Nagari.

20 is bindî se urdû na jâmne vålôh kâ kyâ upkâr hai: this rhetorical question has a straightforward answer, namely that the dot distinguishes z from j in loanwords.

21 vah kaise jâmene ki kis šabd ke nice bindî lagânâ cahiye?: a legitimate answer to this would be, 'By the same minimal degree of knowledge of etymological spelling conventions that is necessary for the correct differentiation of e.g. š and s in S words used in H'. Gupta's implication that this knowledge depends on actual literacy in PA is an overstatement.

21 bindî lagâ-lagâkar: 'by constantly applying the dot' (542a).

22 miyâh miîthâ: 'Mr Sweet-talker', pet name for a parrot (E 'Pretty Polly')
23 *hindī khudā ke phajal urdū se bhi saral ho jāegi:* ‘by God’s grace H will become even easier than U’ — ‘saral’ is of course sarcastic, with an additional irony in the specifically *U khudā ke phajal.*

24 *tin iīye nau:* ‘three times three, nine’.

26 *koi ‘bindī’ lagāvegā, koi nahīn lagāvegā:* an accurate prediction, but one whose outcome causes no more confusion than does e.g. the use of intervocalic *-j-* as a variant form for *-y-* (or zero) in e.g. *lagāvegā.*

28 *nāgaridāś-kṛt ‘īṣk caman’:* ‘Nagaridas’ was the pen-name of Savantsingh (1699–1764), Rajah of the Rajput state of Kishangarh; he relinquished the throne in 1757 to live a life of devotion to Radha (or ‘Nagari’, ‘the urbane one’). He wrote much Braj Bhāṣā verse, but used P for his poem *‘Īṣq caman’ or ‘Garden of Love’.*

32 *yah bindī ki bimārī hindī válohn ko acchī lagi:* ‘the H-vālās have got a really good dose of this ‘dot’ disease!’

35 *sahab!: a good example of a technically honorific expression being used for precisely the opposite effect.*
The work from which this passage is taken has a somewhat curious background. One Sita Ram Pande, a Brahman from Avadh like so many of the native troops who ensured British victory in the numerous wars fought in India in the early nineteenth century, is alleged to have composed his memoirs in old age, in about 1861. This Hindi version has, however, never come to light: and the work first appeared in an English version by Sita Ram’s former commanding officer under the title *From Sepoy to Subedar* in 1873, when its ‘old-soldier’ loyalist tone ensured an enthusiastic reception from the Anglo-Indian press.

Some years later, this alleged autobiography was chosen by Lieut.-Col. D.C. Phillott, a senior member of the Government of India’s board of language examiners, as an eminently suitable text to be prescribed for the examination syllabus. Phillott prepared a simple Urdu version, which continued to be prescribed for the Higher Standard Hindustani examination from 1910 until the end of the Raj.

Phillott was himself a fine scholar of both Persian and Urdu, whose works include a magnificently full *Higher Persian Grammar* besides many ingenious Urdu teaching-manuals, such as his *Hindustani Stumbling-Blocks*. So his choice of linguistic register for his version was quite deliberate, as is made clear by the tone of his introduction, e.g. ‘generally speaking colloquial expressions have been substituted for literary ones… The student should practise on servants and sepoys what colloquial he has stored up in his memory from the book. He must, however, bear in mind the fact that the vocabulary of Hindus differs somewhat from that of Muslims…’

Both this artificial style — albeit the closest of all the passages in this book to that oddly elusive Hindustani middle-ground — and its outrageously loyalist sentiments are sufficient explanations for its failure to extend its role as a prescribed text for British officers, so as to secure the genuine place in Urdu prose literature achieved by the similarly British-inspired *Bāg o bahār* (1).

In the first paragraph, the old sepy affectionately recalls his first officers (c. 1812), true Sahibs who earned all sorts of nicknames from their devoted troops: in the second, he speaks of the Indian women they used to keep as mistresses. This leads to the final paragraphs, in which Sita Ram reflects not only on how well the officers of old used to get on with their men, but how much better they could speak Urdu than their later successors. All this is, of course, very much gist to Phillott’s didactic mill: as his introduction again observes, ‘it must be recollected that a language cannot properly be learnt from books alone; the ear and tongue require training, and this is only to be acquired by considerable practice.’


انظر صاحب، ان ذي القدر سيئان، بي رحيق، فكيف أن يكون نورماً كيلو، كن حكايتي، كأنما دم حكايتي، كي يشعر كأنما دم حكايتي.

كما يكون صاحب، الى ما كان، كأنما دم حكايتي، كأنما دم حكايتي، كأنما دم حكايتي، كأنما دم حكايتي، كأنما دم حكايتي.

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كما يكون صاحب، الى ما كان، كأنما دم حكايتي، كأنما دم حكايتي، كأنما دم حكايتي، كأنما دم حكايتي، كأنما دم حكايتي.
Some of Phillott’s own brief notes to his version are included below within double quotation-marks, with suitable adaptations of their format.

1 *paltan*: a disguised loan from E ‘platoon’, with the altered sense of ‘regiment’ in HU. E loan-words are naturally quite prominent in the military context of this passage (91–92), e.g. the following kampani phonetically easily adaptable to regular HU use in both its military and commercial senses, and kaptan, which perhaps reflects the Portuguese ‘capitão’ as much as E ‘captain’.

2 *asli sāhib*: the only realistic E translation is ‘pukka sahib’. Cf. 14 sāhib log ‘the Sahibs’. An exactly comparable instance of the way in which loan-words shift in sense as well as pronunciation with their transfer to other languages is provided by P sipāhi > E ‘sepoy’, but ‘private soldier, police constable’ in modern U: cf. the degradation of PA sūbe-dār from its Mughal sense of ‘provincial governor’ to its colonialist use to designate ‘Indian infantry N.C.O.’

3 “*hanūmān*: the monkey chief of the Rāmāyan; now worshipped as a god. He was of powerful build.”

4 *kuštī larte*: ‘would wrestle’, one of those idiomatic phrase-verbs upon which Phillott and his school were fond of laying such emphasis to British aspirants to mastery of the Hindustani colloquial.

4 “*akhārū*: ‘a wrestling place’; the earth is dug up, and there is generally a raised platform all round: hence any arena.”

5 *majāl*: ‘power’, an A loan typically used in U in this negative sense, i.e. ‘no soldier was able to’. 

5 “*nicā dikhānā*: generally = maṇīb karnā”, i.e. ‘defeat’.

6 *ek nā ek*: ‘one or another’. This pattern of HU jingle-compounds (524) is restricted to a few similarly pronominal doublets, e.g. koī nā koī ‘someone or other’, kaise nā kaise ‘somehow or other’, etc.

7 *laqab*: an A loan with the usual sense of ‘title’, but here = ‘nickname’, as in the deliberately idiomatic 6 nām rakh dete.

7 *dām*: ‘Damn’ (922), one of those E loans which keeps its place in HU in an oddly affectionate way, alongside such once-vilified words as tāmī ‘Tommy’ or tōḏī ‘toady’.

9 *bibiyān*: ‘women’. Although it is its P etymological doublet, bībī tends to lack in U the unambiguous status of bībī ‘wife’.

11 *barh-kar*: ‘exaggerating’, cf. the common adv. use of barh-kar ‘more’.

11 *rubshat*: here in the technical military sense of ‘leave’.

11 *kām nikāhā*: ‘to get something fixed’, another cunningly introduced idiomatic phrase-verb.

12 *mutthī garm kārin*: lit. ‘warm the fist’, i.e. ‘smoothe the palm, bribe’, another useful idiom for candidates to learn in Phillott’s day.

Asterisks in Phillott’s text indicate the tactful excision of the E original’s ‘but such men were usually of low caste, or else Mahommedans’. It remains something of a mystery just how A zāt, taken over into U in its original sense in such phrases as PA zāt-e ilāhī ‘the Divine Essence’, came to be confused with S jāt ‘caste’ so thoroughly as to yield such jingle-compounds as zāt-pāt ‘all that caste-business’, by conflation with jāt-pāt.

14 *bolī*: both implying ‘spoken language’, and representing Phillott’s choice of a deliberately down-market word. The same neutrality of NIA bolī has resulted in its modern use in Panjabi, on both sides of the international frontier, for E ‘language’, vs. the strong U preference for P zabān or A līsān, and that of H for S bhāsā (522).

14 “*kahīn acchī*: ‘far better’.”
15 milte julte the: ‘used to mix with’, one of those HU verbal compounds (524) whose apparently meaningless second member is term in U a tābī‘e muhmal or ‘nonsensical follower’. The original sense is, however, preserved in Siraiki julan and Rajasthani julnau (= HU calnā), whose continuing omission from the CDIAL illustrates the impossibility of cataloguing all such desi-words.

17 kameī: a well-engrained HU loan from E ‘committee’, nicely introduced by one who was for long himself a Chief Examiner.

17 intīhān dene: i.e. ‘taking an exam’, whose apparent U translation intīhān lenā has the complementary meaning of ‘to give an exam to’, in a striking illustration of cultural differences determining contrary uses in E and HU.

17 “parh saktā ho: parhnā ‘to read, generally to oneself; also to study’; but sunānā ‘to read aloud’. parhn lenā = sunānā, or parh-kar sunānā.”

18 “pājjī ‘wicked, naughty’, as pājjī larkā ‘naughty boy’: it also means low people.”

18 “suḥbat f. ‘companionship’; and also copulation of humans.”

20 nāc: ‘dance’, i.e. a session performed by professional semi-prostitute dancing-girls (tavāif).

21 jo: rather awkwardly picking up the antecedent sipāhiyōn ko.

22 pādrī: the dental -d- reflects Portuguese ‘padre’ (91), but older Anglo-Indian usage determines the word’s coverage in HU of priests and ministers of all Christian denominations.

24 bangle men: ‘in his bungalow’. Although much less numerous than the E loans in HU, the HU loans to E are subject to the same culturally conditioned rules of specializations in sense (cf. 1 asī sāhib above), e.g. not only banglā from ‘low-storey Bengali-style house’ to the ‘bungalows’ first of colonial India, then those of speculative developments in southern England, but also such items as HU lūtnā and khāt, vs. E ‘loot’, ‘cot’.

25 “un kī taraqqī: indirect narration. The direct could also be used — kī sāhib hamāri taraqqī kī sifārīs kareh.”

26 karnal: ‘colonel’, with -r- by analogy from jarnel ‘general’.

27 dīlī muhabbat: perhaps ‘genuine affection’, rather than lit. ‘heart-felt love’, vs. the tight tone of the original E ‘because we liked the Sahib’.

27 un se sulāk karte the: ‘behaved towards them’.
10

Abdul Haq:

Qavā‘id-e urdū (1914)

The title of Bābā-e urdū i.e. the ‘Grand Old Man of Urdu’, by which he came to be universally known, is testimony to the unchallenged status of Maulvi Abdul Haq (1870–1961) as the outstanding authority on the language. Born in Hapur U.P. and educated in Delhi, the central part of his long and productive scholarly career was spent as Professor of Urdu at Osmania University in Hyderabad, a post he combined with the secretarship of the Anjuman-e Taraqqi-e Urdu or ‘Society for the Development of Urdu’, which from its foundation in 1903 was the most prominent organization devoted to the promulgation of the language and its defence against the Hindi challenge. After the Partition of 1947, during which his library in Delhi was destroyed by rioters, he migrated to Pakistan, where he played an important part in the development of Urdu as the national language of the new state.

Abdul Haq is best remembered as a lexicographer and grammarian. His English-Urdu Dictionary (1931) was a deliberate attempt to extend the resources of Urdu vocabulary, largely through the coinage of neologisms from Arabic and Persian, to meet contemporary requirements. It has remained a standard work, and new editions keep being published. A similar reception has been given to the Qavā‘id-e urdū (1914), which has been through countless editions in India and Pakistan, where it is still regarded as the most authoritative Urdu grammar.

The passage is taken from Abdul Haq’s introduction, whose outline of the character and development of Urdu continues to govern the perceptions of most educated Urdu-speakers. The first paragraph rounds off a summary history of the language (which has previously covered its Indian beginnings and subsequent development under the Muslims) with a brief account of the role of the British in helping it achieve its pre-1914 status. The second paragraph emphasizes the ‘Hindi’ base of Urdu: after some disparaging remarks about the ugliness of Sanskrit and Prakrit, the attractiveness of these core ‘Hindi’ elements is emphasized, though with an equal stress on the complementary function of Arabic and Persian loans. The last paragraph briefly sets Urdu in the context of general linguistic development, i.e. as a modern ‘analytic’ language freed from the awkward restrictions of ancient ‘synthetic’ languages.

One does not look to grammarians for stylistic felicity: but rather few modern Urdu writers would be content to restrain themselves to the elegant model of Abdul Haq’s simple style, whose deliberate combination of Hindi-Urdu vocabulary with grander loans from Arabic and Persian, even with a few Sanskrit words where the sense demands them, nicely reflects his theme of the composite origins of Urdu.

The text is based on Qavā‘id-e urdū (Aurangabad: Anjuman-e Taraqqi-e Urdu, c. 1930), pp. 2–3.

Abdul Haq’s views on the Hindi-Urdu-Hindustani question are expressed in his contribution to Ahmad 1941, pp. 82–92.
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1. muğliyā saltanat: ‘the Mughal empire’, equivalent to the izafat phrase saltanat-e muğliyā, with the A f. -ā (735).

2. ek nāi qaum: i.e. the British.

3. ungī pakri: lit. ‘took it by the finger’, i.e. gave U support.


5. us ki rasāli ho gai: lit. ‘its admittance occurred’, vs. the natural E use of a simple verb, ‘it was admitted’.

6. rāj-dhānī: a S loan, like janam-bhūm, deliberately used to emphasize the Indian origins of U.

7. do-ābā: the Doab in western U.P. between the Yamuna and the Ganges, which lies to the immediate east of Delhi, and which has for so long been the cultural heartland of India.

8. dār dār phail calḥ hai: ‘has spread far and wide’. The modal extension of phail- by calnā underlines the active progress of U’s extension.

9. cale jāiye: ‘if one travels’. The impersonal sense of HU -iye is implicit in its origins as a 3s. passive, e.g. rakhiye ‘it is to be put’. Although generally obscured by the use of -iye forms to denote a polite imp., this impersonal sense underlines this use of them in conditional constructions.

10. sab se barhi carhi bāt: ‘the most outstanding thing’, incorporating a common verbal jingle-compound (524).

11. jallilu-qadar: like 8 ‘azimuṣ-zān, an A possessive phrase (741).

12. maqādār-bhār: ‘to the best of their ability, to their utmost’. The rather simple register selected by Abdul Haq is indicated by the choice of this compound of A maqādār m. ‘ability’ with the HU adv. suf. -bhār, in preference to the grander implications of the A prepn. phrase hattāl-maqādār (742).

13. āmar kiye jāne ke qābīl: ‘deserving to be reckoned’. The inf. has a major syntactic role in most styles of formal HU, and this can naturally involve such apparent complexities as the inflexion of the passive inf. of a phrase-verb.


15. sāistā: ‘civilized, cultured’, a term serving to set up the very chauvinistically pro-U tone of the following lines.

16. brīj bhāṣā: the erroneous theory that U developed from Brāj Bhāṣā (almost universally referred to by U-speakers as brīj-bhāṣā) is still widespread, thanks largely to the expressed judgment of Abdul Haq here.

17. zamān-e darāz: ‘a long period’, a P adj. izafat phrase (841).

18. bhaddā-pan: ‘clumsiness’, a HU formation (523), whose tone serves to describe the extremely disagreeable impression made then and now on most U-speakers by the heavily consonantal structure of many of the S loans so favoured in H (61–62).

19. jāī rahi: ‘going went for good’, i.e. ‘vanished’. This idiomatic modal compound is also illustrated by 30 jāī rahi hain.

20. chūṭ chūṭa-kar: the juxtaposition of a simple verb with its causative reinforces the sense, i.e. ‘thus freed and released’.

21. sidhe sāde: ‘simple, straightforward’, one of the commonest HU adj. compounds, involving the combination of NIA sidhā with P sādā.

22. asmā o sīfāt: these and the following grammatical terms borrowed from A are explained in the final note below.

23. The free use in U of, e.g. P xud or farmānā, needs to be remembered, however.

24. šān o šaukat: ‘splendour, grandeur’, a PA copular phrase (842) very appropriately used here.

25. ziyādā: ‘much more’.

26. hindī hi hai: ‘but it is H which is...’
us ke hindi hone mein: 'to its being H', cf. the note on 10 above.

asiyat o māhiyat par kuch asar nahīn: the obvious influence of E patterns on so much later writing, repeatedly remarked in the later passages of this book, must now qualify this characterization of U.

sūrat-e tarkīb: 'synthetic form', an U coinage of Abdul Haq's to reproduce a contemporary term of E philology, like the following hālat-e tafsīlī 'analytic stage'.

zarā zarā se farq aur pher se: 'by the minutest differences and alterations', i.e. as in the elaborate paradigms of Sanskrit (or Latin and Greek).

* * *

Just as E relies on Latin for its grammatical terminology and H does on S, so too does U follow the equally prestigious but even less appropriate terminology devised for A.

The main parts of speech are well enough served:

<table>
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<th>m.</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>asmā</th>
<th>mp.</th>
<th>nouns</th>
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<td>sifat</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>sifāt</td>
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<td>zamīr</td>
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<td>fīl</td>
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<td>verb</td>
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The two-gender system shared by U with A also results in the useful transfer of the following verbal derivatives of form II (721):

tazkīr | f. | being m. | muzakkar | adj. | masculine |
tānis | f. | being f. | muannas | adj. | feminine |

A similarly natural transfer is effected in the pair vāhid 'singular' and jama' 'plural', or the set mutakallim 'speaker = 1st person', hāzir 'present = 2nd person', gāib 'absent = 3rd person'.

The fundamental differences between the structures of A and U do, however, soon surface, e.g. in the application of A terms to the U tense-system, or in the classification of the parts of speech assigned in A to the category:

| harf | m. | particle | hurūf | mp. | particles |

Thus Abdul Haq's distinction in 17 of hurūf-e fīl, mafūlī, izāfat, nisbat, rabt, lit. 'particles of the nominative, accusative, genitive, relationship, connexion' is at best a very clumsy way of describing HU ne, ko, kā, se, etc.
Abdul Halim Sharar: 
*Guzâštâ Lakhnaũ (c. 1920)*

The pedigree of the modern prose literatures of South Asia tends to be derived from the remarkably productive output of a quite small number of writers active around the turn of the century. The prolific Urdu journalist, chronicler and novelist Abdul Halim Sharar (1860–1926) was just such a writer: and his hundred-odd books, plus countless essays and articles, continue to assure his respectful mention in all literary histories (*UL*, pp. 78–9).

This passage is made up of extracts from a chapter of the work for which Sharar is best remembered, a composite memoir of the former glories of Lucknow as capital of the last major Muslim kingdom in North India. After the British annexation of Avadh in 1856, the last Muslim ruler was exiled on generous terms to the Matiya Burj estate outside Calcutta. It was there that Sharar grew up, before returning to spend most of his working life as a writer in his natal city of Lucknow, alternating with somewhat stormily terminated periods of service in the premier surviving Muslim princely state of Hyderabad.

Sharar’s evocations of Lucknow’s glittering past were first published from 1913 onwards in his one-man journal *Dil-gudâz* ‘The Melter of Hearts’, and were then issued as a whole under the characteristically long-winded title of *Hindustân men mašriği tamaddun kā āxirî namûnâ ‘The Last Example of Eastern Civilization in Hindustan’*, for which modern editions prefer the briefer *Guzâštâ Lakhnaũ ‘The Lucknow of Old’*.

Sharar’s extremely orotund style is characteristically Lakhnavi in its inclusion of huge numbers of Arabo-Persian loans, especially in its fondness for the inclusion of a great many Persian izafat and copular phrases.

The first two paragraphs illustrate the great pride still taken in their traditions of elaborate formal courtesy by all who can claim association with the former Muslim ruling class of Lucknow. In the original, Sharar then rambles on at length on similar themes, pausing to touch adversely on the ‘*naî paidâ kî huî hindi zabân*’ for its failure to reproduce the subtle usages of Lucknow Urdu, here illustrated in the third paragraph by the carefully graded formulae for asking after people’s health. The famously deferential courtesy of Lucknow — now equally famous through its repeated caricature by the comic stars of Hindi films — is more broadly characterized in the fourth paragraph, before Sharar is finally moved to an ageing man’s gloomy reflections on the later proletarianization of the aristocratic traditions of his beloved native city.


بہت بہت تحسین کی حاصل ہے کہ زبان پر مکمل اور فنکارانہ زبان کے ساتھ ساتھ افگانیت۔

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خوش بزنگے ہے، انا اعلاء ہے! یہ خوش بزنگی اور مکملی کہ ہے، ان کی حمایت اور متفقہ میں

ادب و تعلیم کے خیال کرگا، انا میں ایسا خیال، ہے کہ وہ مثل اور چھپی ہے۔ انا جریان کے

ضرورت ہے، انا لقب اور لونگ سے، انا یہ لقب اور لونگ سے بات کریں گے، انہوں

کے انداز میں کہ انا نہ مبتلا ہے اور انا نہ مبتلا ہے۔ 

ان باولی کی زبان میں ایک مرکز اور امر الامر اور امر الامر کے افراد اور متعلقات کے

یہ کہ جانو کہ زبان کے چند شاخصات اور محتویات کے حوالے سے

خیال ہے انا پہلے پہلی کہ انا ایسا ہے، ان کا پہلا نمایاں کہ ہے، ان کے قبائل اور رواد کے

ہے کہ وہ اور چھپی ہے۔ انا اور اور اور اور، ان کے ساتھ اور رواد کے

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tahzib: ‘culture’, an A loan of verbal form II (721), with the corresponding adj. muazzab. P sāistagī f. ‘good manners, refinement’ and the corresponding adj. sāistā ‘refined, civilized’ express the central ideal of the code of politeness so assiduously cultivated in Lucknow, and hence occur frequently below. The linking of near-synonyms in P copular phrases (842), as in tahzib o sāistagī, is a favourite device of high-flown U styles, and is frequently employed in this passage, often to add more to the sonority of the language than to its meaning.

zabān: here in its basic sense of ‘tongue’.

agār ... zarūrat peh bhi āe: ‘if it (actually) does prove necessary’. Cf. 4 agār girān guzreñ bhi for this sense of bhi in conditional clauses.

P girān: lit. ‘heavy’, i.e. ‘unpleasant, hurtful’. Lightness of touch is the essence of Lucknow courtesy.

is bārā-e xās: ‘in this particular respect’. P bārā is more familiar in U in the common ppn. ke bāre mēn lit. ‘in respect of’.

ahl-e zabān-e lakhnā: an extended izafat phrase (841).

angrezī asar se mu‘arrā kar-ke: ‘without having regard to British influence’, i.e. as mentioned in 6 maujūdā ta’tīm o tahzib.

biz-zār: an A prep. phrase (742).

sāistagī o sustagi-e zabān: combining a copula with an izafat. P sustagi f. ‘polish’ and the adj. sustā ‘polished’ are natural pairs for the key sāistagi and sāistā. Yet a further extension with P rufā ‘refined’ occurs below in 23 sāistā aur sustā o rufā.

lohā mānnā: lit. ‘to acknowledge the iron (sword)’, i.e. ‘to bow before the superiority of’. The ext. ptc. māne hue havān as usual implies a state, thus emphasizing the established authority more than logon ne ... lohā mānnā hai.

jis qadar ... hai: the grudging tone has already appeared in 6 ek had tak.

cunān cunān: a compound of two P pronominal adj., corresponding to HU vaisā and aisā, used in U as a f. ‘high-flown talk, palaver’, vs. 11 sāf sāf bāteñ ‘simple straight talk’.

dar asl: a P prep. phrase (843).

ye ‘uzr bad-tar az gunāh hai: ‘this is a case of the excuse being worse than the sin’, incorporating a P tag based on the P comparative construction (832).

mizāj-e ‘ālī/mubahārk/aqdas/muqaddas/mu‘āllā: lit. ‘(how is your) lofty/blessed/most revered/revered/exalted health?’ This is a splendid illustration of the resources of A vocabulary formerly quarried for the expression of elaborate courtesies, now reduced to mizāj-e šarīf and its few current synonyms. aqdas is an elative form (735) from the same root as muqaddas.

šurāfā-e lakhnā: ‘the polite classes of Lucknow’, whose elaborate courtesy is the subject of the following paragraph. The concept of the šarīf, p. šurāfā, is as fundamental to the values of traditional Indo-Muslim society as that of the ‘gentleman’ to its British counterpart.

munāsib darje tak: ‘to a suitable degree’. The qualification is very characteristic of the Lucknow code, like the following 21 šajqat o muhabbat ‘kindness and affection’.

mazkūrā-e bālā: ‘aforementioned’, consisting of A mazkūr(ā) and P bālā ‘above’. This occasional use of the flexible izafat to indicate the qualification of an adj. by an adv. is also illustrated by the common antonym munhadarāj-e zail ‘below-mentioned’.

zamār: ‘pronouns’, referring to a previous discussion of ṭū tum āp and their social implications. Besides noting the particularly careful use of āp in Lucknow U, Sharar also mentions the general use of tum in U by Englishmen, Arabs and Persians, whose languages lack the additional resource of an āp-form for the nice expression of courtesy.

zī ‘ilm: ‘educated, learned’. A zī ‘possessor of’ is occasionally used in this way in U, as a pref.: it also occurs in the names of the last two months of the Hijri year, zī qa‘dā and zil-hijjā. It is originally the obl. of zī, the first element in zuflīqār ‘possessor of the vertebrae’, the name of a sword given to Ali, and part of the given name of Zulfīqar Ali Bhattu.

maqar afsos: ‘but alas!’
26 *berūni log*: the collapse of the old order in Lucknow which followed the annexation of the kingdom of Avadh in 1856 naturally led to an influx of ‘outiders’ from the surrounding areas, often more vigorous than the displaced former ruling class.

27 *qānūni āzād*: ‘legal freedom’. The phrase loosely indicates the theoretical equality granted to Indians of all religious communities and classes under British rule.

27 *juhalā o avām*: ‘the ignorant and common people’, as opposed to the *ṣurafā*. Here paired with the derogatory *juhalā*, the term *avām* has since acquired the positive sense of ‘the people, the masses’, as in 18 and 22 below.

28 *adabi xūbiyān*: ‘beautiful forms of courtesy’. The A noun *adab* means ‘courtesy, manners’, as well as ‘literature’: cf. the use of the broken p. *ādāb* as a polite greeting in U.

28 *cand roz ba’d*: lit. ‘a few days later’, i.e. ‘in a short while’.
Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi:
*Kavi kartavya* (1921/22)

The ‘Dwivedi era’ of Hindi poetry constituted the watershed between the declining tradition of rhetorical-cum-devotional verse, written mostly in Braj Bhāṣā, and new genres of Kharī Boli poetry showing the literary influence of the English Romantics and the political influence of a new social awareness and Indian nationalism. The era takes its name from M.P. Dwivedi (1864–1938), who came to literature through an unorthodox route including clerical work in the Telegraph Department and the railways; as a result of moving with his employment from place to place he picked up a fluency in Gujarati, Marathi and Bengali as well as Sanskrit and English. From 1903 to 1920 he was editor of the Hindi literary magazine *Sarasvati*, and during his reign in the editor’s chair his pronouncements regarding linguistic and literary conventions were regarded as authoritative.

Dwivedi was anxious to broaden the reference of modern literature by making it more relevant to everyday life; in his editorials he sought to persuade fellow-writers to bridge the gulf between literary and colloquial styles, though this ideal was not always achieved even in his own writings. The essay *Kavi kartavya* or ‘A Poet’s Duty’, first published in 1921/22, deals primarily with choice of language, vocabulary, semantics, and theme, and represents a distillation of the topics regularly covered at greater length in the editorial columns of *Sarasvati*. The extract given here is from sections entitled ‘language’ (*bhāṣā*) and ‘subject’ (*viṣay*).

The first paragraph argues for an end to the distinction between prose and verse styles, pointing out the fact that prose is a relatively new development in Hindi and underlining the need for a literary register which reflects the language use of ‘civilized society’. He notes with approval the increasing use of metaphor and idiom in modern poetry, and looks forward to the confidently predicted day when Kharī Bolī will assume the status held by Braj Bhāṣā as the natural style for poetic composition.

The second paragraph makes scornful reference to the ivory-towered world of traditional Hindi verse, showing by contrast to its narrow range the infinite possibilities of theme open to the modern poet. His controversial views challenged long-established traditional values with important religio-cultural overtones; and Dwivedi buttresses his radical argument with an ironic voice. He maintains that the author must not depend upon the grace of his muse, the goddess Sarasvati, as an automatic reward for the blind pursual of literary rhetoric.


कविता लिखने में व्याकरण के नियमों की अवस्था न करनी चाहिए। गुद्द भाषा का बिना मान होता है। नहीं का उत्तर नहीं होता। व्याकरण का विचार न करना। कवि की तद्विपर्याय भाषान्तर का सूचक है। कोई-कोई कवि व्याकरण के नियमों की ओर दृष्टि तक नहीं करते।

गद्द निकृष्ट ज्ञान के नियम न बिगड़ना चाहिए।

गद्द और पद की भाषा पृथक-पृथक् होनी चाहिए। हिंदी ही एक ऐसी भाषा है। भाषा में एक प्रकार की और पद में दूसरे प्रकार की भाषा लिखी जाती है। सब-संज्ञा की जो भाषा हो उसी भाषा में गद्द-प्रत्यय साहित्य होना चाहिए। गद्द का प्रत्यय हिंदी में शोध दिनों से हुआ है। पहले गद्द प्रत्यय न था। हिंदी साहित्य केवल पदभाषा था। गद्द-साहित्य की उत्पत्ति के पहले पद में व्याख्या ही का सापेक्षिक प्रयोग होता था। अब कुछ अन्तर होने लगा है। गद्द का इस समय उत्पत्ति हो रहा है। बहुत क़ब्र यह यह समय नहीं है कि गद्द की भाषा का प्रचार पद पर न बढ़े। जो प्रचार होता है वह निर्भर को अवगत करने वाले जोरबूझकर कर लेता है। यह बात भाषा के सम्बन्ध में भी तड़के पाई जाती है। पनास वर्ष पहले के कवियों की भाषा इस समय के कवियों की भाषा से मिला कर देखिए। देखिए उस तकनीक की जायगा कि भाषाविद कवियों के बोल-बाल की हिंदी भाषा में अपना प्रभाव डालना भारत के साहित्य के लिए है। उन्होंने वहीं वे वर्तमान कवियों की कविता में बोल-बाल की हिंदी भाषा में बोल-बाल (बड़ी-बोली) के निम्नतम गद्द और मुड़कर जोरदार उन्नत नर्तकी पद को कविता में कदापि न मिला। यह निर्देश है कि किसी समय बोल-बाल की हिंदी भाषा, वर्तमान के कवियों के स्थान का अवगत छीन लें।

इसजैसे कविता की कविता को कहा कि वे वर्तमान के गद्द की भाषा में भी कविता करना आरम्भ करें। बोलना एक भाषा और कविता में प्रयोग करना दूसरी भाषा। वर्तमान के कवियों के बिन्दुमात्र है। जो लोग हिंदी बोलते हैं और हिंदी ही के गद्द-साहित्य की शेष करते हैं, उनके पद में वर्तमान की भाषा का आधिपत्य बढ़ता दिनों तक नहीं रह सकता।

कविता का विषय मनोरंजक और उपदेश-जनक होना चाहिए। यमुना के किनारे केलि-कोतुल का मनन-मदुमात्र बने बदूदर हो चुका। न पत्रकारों पर प्रत्यावर्तन लिखने की जगत कोई आकारभाषा है और न स्वकारों के 'मतामत' का पहरी बुझाने की। चौथी से लेकर हीरे परियतिं पदपुस्तक के लेखक राजा परियतिं मनुष्य, जिसे लेकर समूह परियतिं जन्माता, बनता माही, बनता पुरस्कार, बनता पदवी। भाषा पदवी - सभी पर कविता ही सकती है। सभी जो उपवर्तन मिल सकता है और सभी के वर्ण में मनोरंजन हो सकता है।

फिर क्या कारण है कि इन विषयों को छोड़ कर कोई-कोई कवि तितियों की बेचाराओं का वर्णन करना ही कविता की जरूर सीमा निर्देश है? केवल विचार और व्यवहार परम्परा! यदि 'मेमनाद वश' भवना "श्रावनलीय महाकाव्य" के नहीं लिख सकते, तो उनकी ईश्वर की निस्कृत सूक्ष्म में से छोटे-छोटे सन्धान सम्बंधित पदार्थों को जोर कर उन्हीं पर छोटे-छोटे कविताओं करनी चाहिए।

अभ्यास करते-रहते शायद, कभी, कभी नया, वे इससे अधिक योगोत्सव दिखाते में समय हो और दस्तक कवि के कवितानुसार शायद कभी-कभी उन पर सज्जन हो जाय! नायक के हाथ-भाषाप्रेय के वर्ण का अभ्यास करने बालों पर भी सरस्वती की कृपा हो सकती है: परन्तु तर्क उसकी उपासना न करना ही अच्छा है।
The literary nature of Dwivedi’s subject naturally calls for a Sanskritized register; but the use of mostly very short sentences ensures the clarity of expression which Dwivedi was so concerned to maintain in his and others’ writing.


4 kavijan: ‘poets’, jan being used as a pluralizing suf. (cf. HU log).

7 prthak-prthak: this reduplication of the S adjective for ‘separate, distinct’ reflects the H usage alag-alag — a classic example of a loan translation comprising borrowed vocabulary grafted onto H syntax. (Cf. also Indian E ‘different-different’.)

7 hindī hi ek aisi bhāṣā hai, jiske…: ‘H is the only language whose…’. The statement is manifestly untrue, a distinct poetic register being a stylistic feature of many languages — not least U. Cf. 21, where the distinction is described as being ‘against the laws of nature’.

8 sabhya-samāj: ‘civilised [i.e. H-speaking Hindu] society’; the hyphen buttresses the postulation that such an institution is readily identifiable.

9 gadya-padyātmak: a compound in which the adj. suf. -ātmak ‘of the nature of’ relates to both the preceding nouns.

11 sārvedēśik: the elements of this adj. are the vṛddhi form of sarva ‘all’ + deś ‘place’; and usage of the H term to some extent reflects the currency of E ‘universal’. Dwivedi’s statement is rather sweeping: not all pre-modern H verse was in Braj Bhāṣā.

14 vaśīḥūṭ: ‘subject, brought under control’: vaśī- (a form of vaś ‘power, control’ used in compounds) + bhūt ‘become’.

14 tadvat: ‘similar(ly)’; S tat ‘that’ in sandhi with vat ‘-like’. (611) Cf. 15 tatkāl ‘at that time, immediately’, and 38 tadarth ‘with that object, for that end’.

15 milā kar dekhie: ‘bring together and look’, i.e. ‘compare’.

20 kaviyoh ko cāhie ki ve…ārambh kareh: ‘it behoves poets to begin…’. This impersonal construction allows an elegant alternative to the blunter kaviyoh ko…ārambh karnā cāhie ‘poets should begin…’.

21 kavitā karnā: ‘to compose verses, to versify’.

21 bolnā ek bhāṣā aur kavitā meh prayog karnā dūṣrī bhāṣā: the word order picks out ek bhāṣā and dūṣrī bhāṣā for emphasis, with the sense ‘for one language to be used in speech, and a different one in poetry’.

22 gadya-sāhitya ki sevā: the ‘service’ of H and its literature is a frequently aired concept; cf. U xidmat-e urdū.

23 braj ki bhāṣā kā ādhipatya bahut dinoh tak nahin rah sakta: the history of twentieth century H literature has of course proved Dwivedi right.

25 updeś-janak: ‘bearing a message, edifying’, i.e. ‘morally improving’.

25 yamunā ke kīnare keli-kautūhal kā adbhut-adbhut varṇan: ‘weird-and-wonderful description of the sports and revels on the Yamuna’s bank’ — an allusion to the mythology of Krishna which is so prominent in Braj poetry. The extravagant wording of the phrase is in deliberate and effective contrast to the colloquial bahut ho cukā ‘we’ve had enough of that’.

26 parkiyā…svakiyā: these are the two principal categories of heroine in the rhetoric of Indian poetic, categorizing the woman as being ‘the wife of another’ or ‘(the lover’s) own wife’. In the context of Krishna and Radha, the distinction has theological implications and is much discussed.

27 “gatāgu” kī paheli bujkāne: ‘to talk in riddles of the “coming-and going”’, i.e. the various romantic contexts which are the stock-in-trade of Braj Bhāṣā poetry. The ‘riddles’ referred to are the complex rhetorical word-plays which feature so commonly in early H verse.

27 cīṇhi se lekar hāthi paryant paśu: ‘animals from the ant to the elephant’; formal oppositions of this kind are a commonplace in rhetorical writing. Cf. 34 saṭīv athvā nirūv.
28 *parṣyaṇṭ*: the usual spelling is *parṣyaṇṭ*, i.e. *pari- + ant* in sandhi combination (611). The doubling of a consonant or semi-vowel in a conjunct with preceding *r* is a common tendency in *S*, though its appearance in *H* is now somewhat archaic; cf. *dharmmi, varṛmā* etc. It probably derives from a re-Sanskritization of the Prakrit form from which a dropped *r* had been compensated for by doubling of the consonant (521), thus *dharmī > dhammī > dharmmī* etc.

31 *chor kar*: the cj. pt. ‘abandoning’, rather than the ppn. ‘apart from’.

32 *meghnād-vadh, yaśvantrāḥ mahākāvyā*: ‘The Death of Meghnad’, a Bengali poem by Madhusudan Datta (1861) translated into Hindi by Maithilisharan Gupta (1886–1964), the leading poet of Dwivedi’s time; and ‘The Epic of Yashvantrao’, an epic poem of uncertain composition.

35 *kabhi, kisi samay*: ‘sometime, at some juncture’ — the tautology stresses (rather unkindly) the remoteness of the possibility alluded to.

35 *ve isse adhik yogyatā dikhlāne meh samarth hōn*: ‘they may be capable of showing greater capacity than this’, i.e. than of restricting themselves to *choṭi choṭi kavitāḥ* on narrowly defined topics and themes.

36 *danḍī kavi*: Dandin, a S poet of the seventh century. (The *H* -i ending derives from the nominative s. of the *S*-in declension). Dandin’s dictum from the *Kāvyādārsa*, cited in a note excised from this passage, maintains that Sarasvati (whose epithet *Vāgdevī* means ‘goddess of speech’) bestows her grace on all those who, even though untalented, persevere with their attempts at poetry through devotion and through study of the *śāstras*; Dwivedi may intend a playful reference to his own journal *Sarasvatī*, whose patronage was commonly sought by aspiring writers of *H*.

38 *tadarth uski upāśnā na karnā hi acchā hai*: ‘it is better not to worship her with that aim’ — a gentle warning, framed with the tactful diplomacy of an impersonal construction, that the grace of the muse should not be relied upon as automatically to be bestowed.
Mirza Farhatullah Beg: Nazir Ahmad ki kahani (c. 1925)

Although Mirza Farhatullah Beg (1884–1947) spent his working life in Hyderabad, where he rose to a senior position in the state's judiciary, he was born into an old Delhi family and it was in Delhi that he grew up. As a writer, he is chiefly noted for the very attractive essays which evoke the old Muslim culture of Delhi from his memory or his imagination.

The subject of the well-known essay from which this passage is taken is Maulvi Nazir Ahmad (1831–1912), himself an outstanding writer of narrative prose, who incidentally produced the official Urdu translation of the Indian Penal Code (UL, pp. 104–5). In the last period of his chequered career, he taught Arabic at the famous Delhi College. Farhatullah Beg was one of his students, and his essay records his memories of his old teacher.

The prestige of Delhi College attracted students from places as distant as Afghanistan, and the passage is a humorous description of the group of Pathan maulvis who attended Nazir Ahmad’s Arabic literature classes. The first paragraph describes their outlandish appearance, while the second reports Nazir Ahmad’s caustic judgment of their ability, in spite of the bright young Farhatullah Beg’s confidence that the hardest Arabic texts are well within the reach of any decent student. There then follows an anecdote, illustrative of the difficulties faced by all South Asian Muslims in mastering Arabic, which tells of the howler in translation committed by one of the pious Afghans. The story is nicely rounded off by the author’s description of his fear that his amusement might provoke the Pathans to attack him, leading him to a rapid exit.

Elsewhere in the essay, Farhatullah Beg is rather critical of Nazir Ahmad’s style, which he regards — with some justice — as having been adversely affected by his desire to show off his linguistic gifts. Farhatullah Beg’s own style, by contrast, is comparable in elegance to that of Ghalib’s letters (3), with which it shares a studied exploitation of all the natural resources of the spoken Urdu of Delhi. This is literary Urdu prose at its best, avoiding the excessive incorporation of weighty Arabic and Persian loans on which so many Urdu writers rely for effect, and composed in short sentences whose construction so often demonstrates both the clarity and the subtlety of natural Urdu syntactic patterns. Although the date given for the essay is to be regarded as approximate, it is to be noted that this is the last of the Urdu passages included in this book whose style is not transparently influenced by English modes of expression.


The finest of Farhatullah Beg’s evocations of old Delhi is available in the translation of Akhtar Qamber, The Last Musha’irah of Delhi (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1979), which gives a vivid picture of the world of Urdu poetry in the age of Ghalib.
5. بادوجر اس صنعت کے کورون سے رہنے کے موصوفات

موینی صاحب یہ میں یہ حال واقع میں کی مذکوری کا کردار اور کہا ہے، "بھیجی میں اس

مذکوری کی معاون سے خاک گا بھون، اسہم سے وقت مناظر کرنا ہے، میں بھی میں اس

جواب اس سے نہیں رہے ہوں ہے۔ دیکھ کر دل صمبو سبزی ہو گیا کون، اس میں کہتا ہے اس

نہیں ہوئی ہے۔ بیان میں ہونا چاہتا ہیں میں نہیں ہو ہے۔ بھیجی میں اس کا نقصان بیان

کیا میں نہ ہو ہے۔ فریق میں نہ ہو ہے۔ میں موزوزۂ بری کی ہے۔ جو ہے۔ اس کا کہا ہے جو ہے

کہ بیچھی ہے۔" ہم چیک، "میں میں صاحب اپنی بھی فضول کررہے ہیں۔ بڑھ کر جاری گا?

ہے۔ گھڑی نہیں نہیں اپنے کون سے شکار ہے۔ میں بھی جوڑ کر فکر ہے۔ کہ بھی میں نہ ہو۔"

ایک روز فرسنگئے نے کہا، "لڑک جم کر چھپ رہا ہے اور ان مولوی کو ایک بھی بجو ہے۔" گھرکو

کہ بھی میں نہ ہو ہے، وہ بھی جو بھی میں نہ ہو ہے۔ اس دور میں کم کوہ ہے۔ ہے۔ میں براد کر گہر

ہوئے ہے۔ کہ کہ جواہار کا ہے۔ ہے۔ میں نہیں صاحب کوئی ہے۔ ہے۔ میں اس کے ہے۔ ہے۔

کہ بھی میں جا ہے۔ اس روز مقاومتی حیرت کا بچے ہے۔ ہے۔ میں جو ہے۔ ہے۔ اور اس کا ہے

بھی میں نہ ہو ہے۔ بھی جو ہے۔ اس کرا پر اس کرا ہے۔ اس کرا کیا۔ ہے۔ میں ہے۔

ایک روز کے وقت مفرکن کے کوہ ایک وارم کے کا اس کوہ بھی ہے۔ ہے۔ میں بھی جو ہے۔

کہ بھی میں نہ ہو ہے۔ اور اس کیا کہ اس کرا پر ہے۔ اور اس کیا کہ اس کرا پر ہے۔

4. کوہ اور کوہ کرا پر اس کرا کا اس کرا پر ہے۔ اور اس کیا کہ اس کرا پر ہے۔

کہ اس کیا کہ اس کرا پر ہے۔ اور اس کیا کہ اس کرا پر ہے۔

55. بھی میں نہیں ہو ہے۔ بھی جو ہے۔ بھی میں نہیں ہو ہے۔ بھی جو ہے۔

ہے۔ میں بھی جو ہے۔ میں نہیں ہو ہے۔ بھی جو ہے۔ بھی میں نہیں ہو ہے۔ بھی جو ہے۔

6. بھی میں نہیں ہو ہے۔ بھی جو ہے۔ بھی میں نہیں ہو ہے۔ بھی جو ہے۔

6. بھی میں نہیں ہو ہے۔ بھی جو ہے۔ بھی میں نہیں ہو ہے۔ بھی جو ہے۔
1 sun cuke: ‘now you have heard’, a reference to the previous paragraphs describing the author’s own classes with Nazir Ahmad.

2 tamâm ke tamâm: ‘absolutely all of them’. The use of reduplication (542a) in this paragraph is a marvellous illustration of the possibilities it offers for ironic exaggeration in HU.

2 sarhad-pâr: ‘across the Frontier’, i.e. Afghanistan. The adv. suf. -pâr has something of the sense of the E pref. ‘trans-’.

3 thân: ‘bolt of cloth’, i.e. the full length of material sold by a cloth-dealer for the customer to have made up by a tailor. The outrageously baggy clothes described here are still favoured by orthodox Pathans.

3 ñamlâ ba-miqdâr-e ‘ilm: ‘turban-end in proportion to learning’, a P tag used to ironic effect.

4 paggar: the m. form of the familiar f. pagrî suggests the colossal size of their turbans. Cf. 15 charâ m., suggesting a more fearsome weapon than churi f., for another illustration of the HU distinction of m. and f. pairs to indicate large and small varieties of inanimate objects.

4 ser: ‘seer’, the traditional Indian weight, equivalent to 2lb. or about one kilo: 40 seers make a man ‘maund’.

4 batâsîh ki gâlî: ‘Sugar-puff Lane’, the name of a street in Old Delhi.

5 mînhat kî ye hâlat ki . . .: like the following thot haise ki . . ., the omission of the verb in this pointed phrase is a nice example of the economical possibilities of HU syntax.

7 motî aqî: ‘ thick head’. This is not a loan-translation, but one of those cases where U and E idioms converge.

7 bhâi: a familiar term of address, not to be confused with bhâî, and which is used to both men and women. Here the rough sense is ‘my dear boy’.

8 mullâhohn: ‘mullahs’, the obl.p. of mullâ.

9 javâb denâ: ‘to dismiss’ here, vs. the basic sense of ‘to answer’.

9 allâh miyân is a familiar term of address to men, also used as a pref. or suf., e.g. in miyân miâtha ‘Mr. Sweetie’ a pet term for parrots. The set phrase allâh miyân is characteristic of the way in which women talk to their children about God, but can hardly be translated directly into E.

10 hazâr samjhâta hûn: ‘however much I try to explain’.

10 bhâlâ: regularly used in HU to introduce questions expecting the answer ‘no’, and thus similar in sense to the E formula ‘I ask you . . .’.

10 The Hamâsâ or ‘Verses on Bravery in War’ is an early anthology of A poetry compiled by Abû Tammâm (d. 849), and is a regular part of the traditional syllabus of A literature, like the notoriously difficult poetry of Mutanabbî (d. 965).

11 hing: ‘asafetida’, used as a flavouring in many Indian dishes. The asafetida trade in India was traditionally carried on by Afghan peddlars, hence this addition to the traditional Pathan occupations of soldiering and labouring.

12 âp bhî gazab karte hain: ‘surely you are too going too far’.

13 ragar se patthar bhî ghis jâtà hai: ‘even a stone is worn by rubbing’, a proverbial expression.

14 lo: in its common sense as an intj. ‘well . . ., look . . .’.

14 rang: lit. ‘colour’, but here in its wider idiomatic sense, i.e. ‘see what they are like’.

12 The Maqqâmât or ‘Stations’ of Hariri (d. 1122) is one of the standard texts of classical A prose, pored over by generations of Indian Muslims.

18 a’ûzu billâh: ‘I seek refuge with God’, a common A formula (743).

17 Zaid the son of Haris (d. 629) was a famous hero of early Islam. The A bin ‘son of’ also appears in U as the PA ibn-e in personal names.
19  *fi anā` il-lail:* ‘in the time of the night’, an A prep.n. phrase of the same construction as *bismillāh* ‘in the name of God’ (742). The point of the anecdote is that A *anā* ‘time’ looks just like *inā* ‘pot’ in the script.

20  *qāmūs:* ‘dictionary’, an A word derived from the Greek *okeanos* ‘ocean’, thus suggesting the unfathomable depths of the A lexicon. The *al-Qāmūs al-Muhīt* by al-Firuzabadi (d. 1415) is the classic A dictionary, used for centuries throughout the Muslim world.

20  *sāmat-e a`māl se:* an ironically grand way of saying ‘unluckily’.

21  *allāh de aur bandā le:* ‘God proposes and man disposes’, another idiom introduced for ironic effect.

23  *parhne-vāle sāhib:* ‘the gentleman who was reading’. As often, the HU inf. ptc. corresponds to an E relative clause.

24  *muskara-kar:* ‘with a smile’. The cj. ptc. is here syntactically an adv., like the following *bure bure didoh se modifying the final dekhā*.

26  *kahih:* when followed by a negative subj. regularly has this sense of ‘I hope they don’t…’.

26  *ijazat cāhī:* ‘begged permission to leave’.

22  *zāra aur kuch sun jāo:* ‘listen to a bit more before you go’. Both the abs. *sun* and *jāo* have independent meaning.

28  *sar par pāōh rakh-kar bhāge:* ‘ran away as fast as my heels could carry me’.

28  *ghar paahunte pahūnte:* ‘as I was getting home’, a typical reduplication of the adv. ptc.
Abul Kalam Azad:  
*Tarjumān ul Qurān* (1930)

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888–1958) was one of the most notable Muslim figures in the Independence movement. Born in Mecca, he was brought as an infant to Calcutta by his father, who ensured his training in the orthodox Islamic disciplines. As his chosen pen-name ‘Azad’ indicates, however, he rapidly struck out on his own. In 1912 he founded the Urdu weekly *al-Hilāl* ‘The Crescent’, whose pan-Islamic line soon brought him into conflict with the authorities in Calcutta. As a result of the temporary convergence of Muslim and Hindu political aspirations in the anti-British agitation of 1920, Azad came into close association with Gandhi, and soon became one of the most prominent members of the Congress party. After Independence, Azad was made Education Minister, an office which he held until his death in 1958, and which he used to establish such important institutions of Indian cultural life as the Sahitya Akademi.

Azad’s background meant that his natural medium of expression was Urdu rather than the English preferred by so many Congress leaders: and as a committed Muslim, as well as being a politician, he was particularly concerned with the explanation of Islam to his Indian co-religionists. His greatest achievement in this area was the *Tarjumān ul Qurān*, completed in 1930, in which he sought to provide an easily intelligible Urdu translation of the Quran, with a commentary.

The passage is taken from that part of the introduction which describes the setbacks Azad had to face in the production of the *Tarjumān ul Qurān* as a result of the measures taken against him by the authorities on account of his political activities. Besides recording the harrassment suffered by so many nationalist intellectuals at the time (1919–21), the passage also highlights some of the intrinsic difficulties of Urdu book-production. Azad, having done his best while in detention to get the text of his manuscript into order by having it typed, describes how he was then diverted during his release by the immediate demands of his journal. His efforts to get the text of the book finally produced in calligraphy were then tragically frustrated by the seizure and destruction of all his papers. It was to be nine years before the work was finally published.

The style of the passage is governed by the considerable influence of English syntax and phrasal patterns characteristic of so much everyday Urdu prose over the last sixty years or so, although familiar English legal and political terms appear in the Persianized guise of their coined Urdu equivalents.


اس نقلانے کے مصورہ جغرافیائی سمندري دوزی کی اور اورلگریکی دروس کے خصوص کے حوالے کے بنا مفتی خیم میں رہنے کے لیے اورلگریکی دروس کے خصوص کے مکمل طور پر ہیں۔

5.

1912 وچ ایکس کے اشاعت کے لئے ایک جنگل کے نئے جوڑے کے لئے جنگل جاتے ہیں۔ اور جنگل کے سر کا نئی جاتے ہیں۔

10.

1913 وچ ایکس کے اشاعت کے لئے ایک جنگل کے نئے جوڑے کے لئے جنگل جاتے ہیں۔ اور جنگل کے سر کا نئی جاتے ہیں۔

15.

1914 وچ ایکس کے اشاعت کے لئے ایک جنگل کے نئے جوڑے کے لئے جنگل جاتے ہیں۔ اور جنگل کے سر کا نئی جاتے ہیں۔
1 is xiyāl se ki...: ‘with the idea that...’. As regularly in HU syntax, a long subordinate clause headed by ki is introduced by a demonstrative, hence the common Indian E ‘with this idea that...’.

2 tāip karānā: ‘to get it typed’.

4 riḥā kar diyā: ‘released’. riḥā karnā is an established HU legal term, like many of the words and phrases used in this passage.

5 ye vaqt vo thā ki...: ‘this was the time when...’.

5 harakat: ‘movement, action’, a looser term than the related A loan 8 tahrīk which is regularly used in modern U as a translation of E ‘movement’ in the political sense.

6 mavaḏ: normally meaning ‘material’ in U, as in 27 below. Here the term is rather vague in sense, perhaps ‘basis’.

6 taivār: the spelling with toe in place of the usual te is a careful Arabicism, still sometimes used in U.

6 jahān tak musalmānōn kā ta’alīq thā: lit. ‘so far as the Muslims’ connexion went’, i.e. ‘so far as the Muslims were concerned’. This very common use of ta’alīq after jahān tak is an example of the way in which so many U constructions have a one-to-one equivalence with an E construction, thus representing a particular type of loan-translation.

6 da’vat: here in its original A sense of ‘call to action’, rather than the usual modern HU sense of ‘invitation, party’.

6-7 sadā-e būz-gašt: ‘call for its return’, an izafat phrase (841).

7 buland hone: ‘to be raised’. P buland is regularly used in U as a grander equivalent of HU ūncā.

8 natījā ye niklā ki...: the standard U equivalent of E ‘the result was that...’.

8 tahrīk-e lā-ta’āvun: a straightforward PA calque from the E ‘Non-cooperation Movement’, the great anti-British campaign mounted by Gandhi in 1920.

9 nigāh: lit. ‘gaze’, a P loan, equivalent in this phrase-verb to HU ānhk uṭhānā.

11 tāip ki chapāi: ‘printing in type’, as opposed to 12 kitābat ‘calligraphy’, which is still the preferred method of reproduction for U books in India and Pakistan.

12 matan: ‘text’, i.e. the A text of the Quran, as opposed to the U translation and commentary.

16 avāxīr: ‘last days’, a specialized broken plural (734d) of āxīr. The antonym is avāil ‘first days’, p. of avval.

16 mutanahā-e ‘urāj: ‘its highest point’, lit. ‘the height of its zenith’. The ease with which the izafat can be used to link near-synonyms often leads to redundant hyperbole of this kind in U.

17 kam mēn lānā: ‘to employ, to deploy’, a common HU phrase-verb.

17 hukūmat-e bangāl: ‘the government of Bengal’. The U terminology of political institutions abounds in izafat phrases of this type, e.g. the pre-1947 hukūmat-e hind ‘Government of India’, qaisar-e hind ‘Emperor of India’, etc.

18 xilāf-e gānūn: ‘against the law, illegal’, another izafat phrase, this time from the copious repertoire of legal terminology.

19 ‘adam-muṭābā-at-e gānūn: ‘non-compliance with the law’, whose first element, the A ‘adam ‘non-existence, lack’, also appears in the common U compound 22 ‘adam-maujūdāgī ‘absence’. The prevalence of izafat phrases, often composed of strings of barely comprehensible A nouns, in U legalese was a major target for attack by the nineteenth century protagonists of H (?).

20 ba’z dīgar raťafā-ē bangāl: ‘some other colleagues from Bengal’. The frequent use of such hyper-Persianisms in this type of written U style lends some justification to the criticisms laid against it from the H side: here bangāl ke kuch aur raťaf(ō)h really would do just as well.

21 pres: a common HU loan from E, replaced in formal U by 27 matba’, from A.

21 xalal dānā: ‘to cause an upset’, a common U phrase-verb.
22 _ba-dastūr_: a P prepn. phrase (843).
24 _tafsīr_: the technical term for a commentary on the Quran. Commentaries on other texts, e.g. the _Divān_ of Ghalib, are termed _taṣřīh_ in U.
24 _‘ilm_: like the noun _‘ilm_, this adj. embraces a wide range of senses in U, from ‘scientific’ to ‘intellectual’ or ‘scholarly’, as here.
26 _mere bar-xilāf_: ‘against me’, equivalent to _mere xilāf_, but incorporating the P prepn. _bar_ (843).
26 _muqaddamā calānā_: ‘to issue a suit’, a phrase-verb standard in U legalese.
28 _talāši_: ‘search’ in the legal sense, vs. the more general _talāš_.
28 _jo log āe the, un meh koi aisā šaxs aisā na thā jo ..._: an illustration of the loose parataxis so characteristic of the HU relative-clause construction, vs. E ‘none of those who came was...’.
29 _jo cīz bhi_: ‘even the slightest thing’.
30 _uthā le gae_: ‘they removed and carried away’. Here _uthā_ is an independent abs., while _le_ and _gae_ are linked components of the familiar modal compound _le jānā_.
31 _kāpiyān_: ‘copy-books’, often used in HU as the equivalent of E ‘exercise-books’, but here presumably ‘copies’, i.e. the litho-forms prepared by writing in Indian ink on specially prepared transparent paper by calligraphers for the subsequent printing of U books by lithography, until its later replacement by photo-offset printing.
31 _milā ḍih_: lit. ‘joined’, i.e. ‘shoved into’.
15
Premchand:
_Urdū hindī aur hindustānī_ (1934)

Dhanpat Ray Shrivastava, who wrote under the pen-name 'Premchand', is the single most important figure in the development of a mature narrative style in both Hindi and Urdu. Premchand was born in 1880 near Benares, the son of a village postmaster; he was of the Kayasth caste, and he received the education in Urdu and Persian which qualifies the Kayasth for his traditional role as a record-keeper, scribe, or clerk. Premchand worked as a schoolmaster, then as an inspector of schools; around 1920 he began a literary career, first in Urdu, then changing to Hindi because of his awareness of the emergence of a growing readership whose literacy was in the Devanagari script.

Besides prose fiction, Premchand also wrote a substantial number of essays and journalistic pieces, whose language could be either Sanskritized or Persianized according to subject. His journalistic prose was sometimes marked by a certain banality of style, and English thought patterns often show through the veneer of Indian idiom.

The essay _Urdū hindī aur hindustānī_ addresses the problem of an appropriate style of speech for promotion as a national language. Premchand followed the Gandhian ideal of a middle-of-the-road Hindustani vernacular, as against the more specialized style of Hindi and Urdu; but he did not always follow his own prescriptions for the avoidance of a heavily Sanskritized register.

The passage begins by presenting the views of those who favour a _laissez-faire_ attitude to the separate development of Hindi and Urdu respectively. Premchand condones such a view when the languages are considered at the regional level, on a par with other vernaculars such as Bengali and Marathi; but he draws a distinction between this function of Hindi/Urdu and the function of a national language, which he says must be a compromise free from an excessive reliance on either Sanskrit or Perso-Arabic loanwords. His main argument is a practical one — that a national language must be accessible and widely comprehensible, and that pedantic etymological considerations have no place in this discussion. By totally ignoring the vital role played by cultural affinities in the choice of linguistic register, Premchand ingenuously arrives at the simplistic conclusion that 'Hindustani' should be adopted for the national role; and by a sleight of hand he recommends that the name of this language might just as well be 'Hindi'.

देश में ऐसे आदमियों की संख्या कम नहीं है जो उद्दूर की अवलम्बन और स्वतंत्र उन्नति और विकास के मार्ग पर बाधक नहीं होने का सादृश्य देते हैं। उन्होंने यह मान लिया है कि आरंभ में इन दोनों के स्वरूपों में चाहे कौन से एक और समानता रही हो, लेकिन फिर भी इस समय दोनों की दोनों की याद दर्शाने पर भी झूठ नहीं है, उसे देखते हुए इन दोनों में एक और एकता होना अस्माय है। प्रत्येक भाषा का एक प्राकृतिक प्रवृत्ति होती है। उद्दूर का फासो और आर्बी के साथ स्वाभाविक सम्बन्ध है। और अबो का संस्कृत तथा प्राकृत के साथ उसी प्रकार का सम्बन्ध है। उनकी यह व्यूह हुआ महत्वपूर्ण है और रोचक नहीं है कि फिर इन दोनों को आपस में मिलाने का प्रयत्न करने का मूल्य इन दोनों को हानि पहुँचाने?

यदि उद्दूर और अबो के दोनों अपने भाषाको अपने जन्म स्थान और प्रचार क्षेत्र तक ही परिभाषित रखें तो हमें इसकी प्राकृतिक वृद्धि और विकास के सम्बंध में कोई आपत्ति न हो। बैगल, आदी, गुजराती, राजस्थानी और बंगाली आदि प्राचीन भाषाओं के संस्कार में हमें किसी प्रकार की चिंता नहीं है। उद्दूर बाध्य है कि वे अपने भाषा की जितनी संस्कृत, आर्बी या लैटिन आदि भर्ती करें। उन भाषाओं के लेख और आदि स्वयं ही इस भाषा का निर्माण कर सकते हैं। परन्तु उद्दूर और अबो के बाद इस स्वयं स्वयं ही अनावश्यक नहीं है। यहाँ तो दोनों ही भारतवर्ष की राष्ट्रीय भाषा कहलाने का दावा करती है। परंतु वे अपने यहीं लागू में राष्ट्रीय आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति नहीं कर सकते और इसीलिए संस्कृत रूप में स्वयं ही उनका सपोर्ट और उन्हें आरंभ कर गया। और दोनों का इस समावेश व्यतीत हो गया जिसे हम बहुत ठीक तौर पर हिंदुस्तानी जनवर कहते हैं नाराज बात तो यह है कि भारतवर्ष की राष्ट्रीय भाषा न तो इस उद्दूर ही हो सकती है, जो आर्बी और फासो के अभिव्यक्ति तथा अपरिवर्तन शब्दों के भार से लदी रहती है और हम अबो ही हो सकती है जो संस्कृत के कठिन शब्दों के लदी हुई होती है। यदि इन दोनों भाषाओं के पात्रता और समाकार भाषाएँ सामने बढ़े हो कर अपनी साहित्यिक भाषाओं में वांछित करने के लिए एक दूसरे का कूच भी मलबा न समझ सकें। हमारी राष्ट्रीय भाषा तो नहीं हो सकती है जिसका भाषार सर्वसामान्य अभिव्यक्ति लाती है - जिसे सब लोग बहुत में समझ सकें। बहु इस भाषा की क्यों परवाह

करने लगी कि अनुकूल शब्द इसलिए छोटा दिया जाना चाहिए कि वह फासो, आर्बी या संस्कृत का है? यह तो केवल यह मान्यता अपने सामने रखती है कि जनसाधारण यह शब्द समझ सकते हैं या नहीं। और जनसाधारण में हिंदू, मुसलमान, पंजाबी, बंगाली, महाराष्ट्रीय और गुजराती सभी समावेशित हैं। यदि कोई शब्द या वृद्धि या पारस्परिक शब्द जनसाधारण में प्रवृत्त है तो फिर इस शब्द की परवाह नहीं करती कि वह कहला से निकला है और कहाँ से आया है। और यही हिंदुस्तानी है। और जिस प्रकार अंगरेजी की भाषा अंगरेजी, जापान की जापानी, इरान की इरानी और चीन की चीनी है, उसी प्रकार हिंदुस्तान की राष्ट्रीय भाषा को इसी तौर पर हिंदुस्तानी कहना केवल उचित नहीं है, विक आवश्यक भी है। और बार केवल इस देश की हिंदुस्तान न कह कर केवल इस रूप कहते हैं कि इसकी भाषा को हिंदी कह सकते हैं। लेकिन यहाँ की भाषा को उद्दूर तो किसी प्रकार कहा नहीं जा सकता, जब तक हिंदुस्तान की उद्दूरात्मक का न कहते लोग, और अब किसी प्रकार सम्बन्धी न हो नहीं है। प्राचीन काल के लोग यहाँ की भाषा को हिंदी ही कहते थे।
1 sahkhyā kam nahīn hai... bādhak nahīn honā cāhte: the double negative is inelegant; for a similar lapse of style cf. the repetition of 9–10 in dono ko.

2 unnati aur vikās: ‘progress and development’. Premchand shows in full measure the H propensity for pairing nouns (usually S loans) of similar or identical meaning: cf. 3 ekta aur samāntā, 4 mel aur ekta, 9 jamstha aur pracār kṣetra, 10 vṛddhi aur vikās, 16 sahyog aur mel, 21 pakṣapāti aur samartha, etc.; cf. the U convention of pairing PA words linked with the copular o (842).

5–6 prākṛtyik... svābhāvik: both mean ‘natural’; both are calques from E.

5 pravrtti: ‘tendency, leaning, predilection’ — the word suggests ‘motion towards’, and is thus well chosen to describe the tendency of H and U to look to S and AP respectively for a supply of loanwords.

6 aur hindī kā sanskrit tathā prākṛti ke sāth: this phrase demonstrates the distinction between the two words for ‘and’: aur is a true cj. with a wide range of functions, while tathā simply compounds syntactically parallel nouns within the phrase.

9 jamstha aur pracār kṣetra tak hi parimit rakhe: the function of tak is restrictive here.

10 hame... koi āpatti na ho: ‘we would have no objection’: the subj. suggests that this is hypothetic, and that in fact an objection is about to be raised.

12 cāhe jīnī sanskrit... bharti cale: ‘go on absorbing as much S... as they like’.

14 yahān to: as so often, yahān has a general demonstrative sense, ‘as regards this situation’, rather than a specifically spacial reference.

15 rāṣṭry bhāṣā: adj. rāṣṭry suggests a rather less official status and technical implication than does the nominal form rāṣṭra bhāṣā. The distinction can be imitated in E by exploiting the distinction of upper and lower case letters in ‘national language’ and ‘National Language’ respectively.

16 unkā sahyog aur mel ārambh ho gayā: this is a misrepresentation of the actual process, since Hindustani is not a product of a growing together of H and U, but rather the natural state of the vernacular unmodified by the H and U camps.

18 bhāratvār kī rāṣṭry bhāṣā...: the situation described here as unthinkable has become the status quo in Pakistan and India respectively in the half-century since Premchand was writing.

20 ladī rahī hai: compare this construction with the semantically similar ext. ptc. construction of 21 ladī hū hōi hai.

21 āmne sāmne: ‘face to face’: āmne is a phonetic imitation of sāmne, ‘opposite’, but unlike most ‘echo-words’ holds first position in the phrase; cf. ās-pās, E ‘dingle-dangle’.

23 jiskē ādhār sav-sāmāny bodhgamyatā ho – jise sab log sahaj mēn samajh saken: ‘whose basis should be universal comprehensibility — which everybody could easily understand’. Though here deliberately and somewhat playfully underlining the message of the sentence, this use of a second register to gloss a first is a fairly common feature of H prose. Note how the change of register from formal to simple is here accompanied by a change of syntax from simple to complex (i.e. from adj. clause with simple verb to subject-object clause with adverbially qualified modal verb).

24 kyoh parvāh karne lagi: the perfect tense expresses a hypothetical situation, as in a conditional sentence. (The f. subject of the verb is rāṣṭry bhāṣā.)

27 hindū, musalmaan, panjābi, bangāli...: in the context of a discussion of HU language register, the designations ‘Hindu’ and ‘Muslim’ form natural categories alongside those of the regions.

28 mahārāṣṭriy: the S name for and etymon of ‘Marathi’. The federal state of ‘Maharashtra’ did not exist in Premchand’s time, though the term itself has long been used to designate the cultural area.

29 kahān se niklā hai aur kahān se āyā hai: nikalnā relates to origin or etymology, ānā to subsequent areas of usage.
30 *jis prakār angrezon ki bhashā angrezi...*: with characteristic ingenuousness, Premchand proposes a wildly simplistic interpretation of the world's linguistic situation in order to make a rhetorical point. The fact that the language of Iran is called *farsi*, not *irānī*, is conveniently overlooked.

33 *agar is des ko... keval hind kaheh to iski bhashā ko hindī kah sakte hain*: the seriousness of Premchand's argument degenerates even further with this sentence, which begs the question in an astonishingly brazen manner anticipating the gross misrepresentation of the final sentence of the passage.

36 *prācin kāl*: 'ancient times', here meaning the late medieval period; the commonplace telescoping of historical time in Indian tradition often results in relatively recent dates having great antiquity attributed to them.
During the years before and shortly after Independence the question of rāṣṭra bhāṣā, 'national language', was hotly debated. The cause of Sanskritized Khāri Bōlī in Nagari script was promoted by institutions such as the Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan (H.S.S.; 'Hindi Literature Assembly'), founded in Allahabad in 1910; but an equally determined body of opinion espoused by the Hindustāni Pracār Sabha (H.P.S.; 'Association for the Promulgation of Hindustani'), favoured Hindustani — with the choice of script a hotly-debated question. Though he had earlier advocated the use of Hindi as the vehicle of Congress politics and was closely associated with the H.S.S., of which he was elected President in 1918, Gandhi (1869–1948) came increasingly to see the value of the widespread currency of Hindustani, and he balanced his support for Hindi with parallel support for the Urdu cause. His insistence that literacy in both scripts should be the norm led him into inevitable conflict with the H.S.S. establishment, particularly its founder-member and President, Purushottamdas Tandon (1882–1962), an Allahabad lawyer and Congress politician who was passionately committed to the Hindi cause.

With the exception of his autobiography (written in his native Gujarati) the vast majority of Gandhi's writings is in English. But in his letters Gandhi increasingly turned to the use of Hindi, even when realising that its use was problematic to correspondents such as Nehru.

In this exchange of letters Gandhi consults Tandon on the anomalous position of being a member of both the H.S.S. and the H.P.S., offering to resign from the former, of which Tandon had been elected President in 1923. Tandon's reply is conciliatory, and maintains that there is no fundamental conflict between the tasks of the two organizations. In his first paragraph he refers to Gandhi's support of Urdu as a 'new development', and although the tone of his letter is deferential to a fault, he manages to show his disapproval of this divergence from the unequivocal support for Hindi, rather than 'the Urdu style of Hindi', as the vehicle for the nationalist movement; in his second main paragraph, Tandon reassures Gandhi that there is no reason why a member of the H.S.S. should not also support the H.P.S.


The views of the two protagonists are given in Ahmad 1941 and are discussed in Peter Brock, 'Gandhi and the Hindi movement' in John L. Hill, ed., The Congress and Indian nationalism (London: Curzon Press, forthcoming 1990); some of Gandhi's journalistic writing on the subject is collected in Our language problem (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1965). For the general context see LCND.
भई टमानी,

मेरे पास उद्दा खटाते हैं, हिंदी भाषा है और गुजराती। सब पूछते हैं, मैं ही हिंदी साहित्य समस्या में यह सकता हूँ और हिंदुस्तानी सभा में भी? वे बहसते हैं। समस्या की दृष्टि से हिंदी ही राष्ट्रभाषा ही सकती है जिसमें नागरी लिपि की ही राष्ट्रीय स्थान दिया जाता है; जब मेरी दृष्टि में नागरी और उद्दा लिपि को स्थान दिया जाता है, जो भाषा न फरसीमय है न संस्कृतिमय है; जब मैं समस्या की भाषा और नागरी लिपि को पूरा राष्ट्रीय स्थान नहीं देता हूँ तब मुझे समस्या में से हट जाना चाहिए। ऐसी दशिल मुझे योग्य लगती है। इस हलाल में स्था समस्या से उत्कर्ष मेरा फर्म नहीं होता है! ऐसा करने से लोगों की दुखिया न रहेगी और मुझे पता चलेगा कि मैं कहाँ हूँ।

कुछ भी उत्तर दे। मैने के कारण मैंने भी लिखा है, लेकिन मेरे अंश पढ़ने में सबको मुसीबत होती है इसलिए इसे लिखकर भेजता हूँ।

आप मत्थे होंगे।

आपका, मो. क. गांधी

10 क्रास्पेट रोड, इलाहाबाद

15 पूर्व बापूजी, प्रणाम!

आपका 25 मई का पत्र मुझे मिला। हिंदी साहित्य समस्या और हिंदुस्तानी-प्रचार-सभा के कामों में कोई मौलिक विरोध मेरे विचार में नहीं है। आपकी अपनी हिंदी साहित्य समस्या का सदस्य रहते हुए लगभग स वर्ष हुए, इसी की बीज आपने हिंदी-प्रचार का काम राष्ट्रीयता का दृष्टि से किया। वह सम काम गया था, ऐसा तो आप नहीं मानते होगे।

20 राष्ट्रीय दृष्टि से हिंदी-प्रचार बालूवीय है, यह तो आपका सिद्धांत है ही। आपने नए दृष्टिकोण के अनुसार उद्दा-विकास का भी प्रचार होना चाहिए। यह पहले काम से भिन्न एक नया काम है जिसका चक्कल काम से कोई विरोध नहीं है।

समस्या हिंदी को राष्ट्रभाषा मानता है। उद्दा को यह हिंदी की एक शैली मानता है जो विशिष्ट जनों में प्रचलित है।

25 स्वयं यह हिंदी की साधारण शैली का काम करता है, उद्दा शैली का नहीं। आप हिंदी के साथ उद्दा को भी चलाते हैं। समस्या उसका तनिक भी विरोध नहीं करता है। किंतु राष्ट्रीय कामों में अंग्रेज़ी को देखते हैं वह उसकी सहायता का स्थान करता है। भेद केवल इसने है जब आप दोनों चलाना चाहते हैं। समस्या भारत से केवल हिंदी चलाता आया है। हिंदी साहित्य समस्या के सदस्यों को हिंदुस्तानी प्रचार सभा के सदस्य होने में रोक नहीं है।

20 हिंदी साहित्य समस्या का विषय से निर्वाचित हिंदुस्तानी एकदमी हिंदी और उद्दा दोनों शैलियां और इंग्लिश चलाती है। इस दृष्टि से मेरा निभावन कि है कि मुझे इस बात का कोई अवसर नहीं लगता जिसका भाषा समस्या छोड़ें। . . .

मुझे जो बात उचित सम, घर निभावन किया। किंतु यदि आप मेरे दृष्टिकोण से सहमत नहीं हैं और आपकी भाषा यही फ़ूटती है कि समस्या से अलग हो जाकर तो आपके अलग होने की बात पर बहुत खेद होते हुए भी नतमस्तक हो आपके निर्णय को स्वीकार करंगा।

हाल में हिंदी और उद्दा के विषय में एक बक्कल मैंने दिया था, उसकी एक प्रतिलिपि सेवा में भेजता हूं। निभावन है कि इसे वह लीजिएगा।

विनीत,

पु. दा. टेंडन
Gandhi's H is simple and unpretentious; he prefers short sentences and straightforward syntax, and uses loanwords freely. Tandon's H reflects the more formal and literary style of the Sanskritized register, but does not despise PA loans and is far from being pedantic. Both writers' language is heavily influenced by E.

2 bhāī tandaṅjī: this informal opening contrasts strongly with Tandon's more reverential 15 pūjya bāpūjī, pranāmī, the distinction underlining the relative status of the two writers. Cf. the contrast between the two styles of signing off: Gandhi's 13 āpkā, Tandon's 38 vinīr 'humble [servant]'.

6 phārsimayī: the use of a S suffix with a non-S word is rather unusual.

8 hāt jānā cāhiē: 'should clear out' — the colloquial register makes this a deliberately blunt and forceful expression.

10 main kahān hūn: a very clear calque from E 'where I am', i.e. where I stand on this matter.

11 kṛpayā śighra uttar dēh: 'kindly reply promptly'. More formal in register than the overall tone, this is a typical letter-writing formula.

11 maun ke kāran: probably a reference to one of Gandhi's regular vows of silence, when he would communicate only in writing.

12 ise littvākhe bhejī hūn: a perfect example of the word-economy of HU syntax, here using the cj. ptc. of a causative verb.

13 āp acche honge: an economical way of saying 'I trust you are well', very clipped and unceremonious.

13 mo.ka.gandhi: note the traditional abbreviation to the first syllable of the name; cf. 38 pu.dā.tandan. The usage tends now to be replaced by the practice of transcribing the pronounced value of the English initials, e.g. 'em.ke', 'pi.di', also followed in U.

14 krāsthvēt rod: 'Crossthwaite Road', named after a governor of the United Provinces. Most roads in the 'Civil Lines' areas of Indian towns had English names deriving from provincial English or from the names of British administrators etc.; since Independence these have been largely replaced by Indian names such as 'Mahatma Gandhi Marg'.

17 āpkō... sadasya rahte hue lagbhag 27 vars hue: 'you have been a member for about 27 years': use of rahnā rather than honā is dictated in such phrases, as meaning 'continuing to be, remaining' rather than 'becoming'.

19 vah sab kām galat thā, aisa to āp nahīn mānte honge: 'I'm sure you don't consider all that work to have been wrong?' — a typical HU paratactic construction, the proposition vah sab kām galat thā being stated first, then negated in a second clause linked with correlative aisa. Cf. the following sentence, in which the postulate comprising the first clause is picked up by the pronoun yah in the second.

20 yah to āpkā siddhaṁt hai ki: 'this is after all your principle'.

21 šikṣā: 'instruction, teaching' — distinct in sense and gender from the more abstract f. šikṣā 'education'.

24 viśiṣṭ janoh men pracalit: 'current among certain people'. The intended implication is that U is the language of a minority group, while H enjoys widespread currency among the population at large: something of an over-simplification of the real situation at the time.

25 svayam vah: 'it itself' — the reference is to the Sammelan.

26 calāte haiṁ: 'help advance, support the cause of'.

26 sammelan uskā tanik bhi virodh nahīn kartā hai: 'The Sammelan does not oppose it [Urdu] in the slightest'. Retention of auxiliary hai with the negative gives emphasis to the denial.

28 hindī sāhiyā sammelan ki or se nirvācit: 'elected by the H.S.S.', a pre-modifier to hindustāni ekedāmi. ki or se commonly has the sense of 'by, through, under the auspices of'; cf. similar ki taraf se.

31 merā nivedan hai: 'my submission is', 'I submit'.

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āpkī ātmā... kahti hai: 'your spirit says' — the usage perhaps reflects the Western concept of 'conscience' rather than the original sense of ātmā as 'self, spirit'; cf. the more natural HU expressions with ḫî — ḫî cāhnā, ḫî karnā etc.

natmastak ho: 'with bowed head', i.e. 'humbly'. ho is the abs. (532a).

nirṇay: 'judgement' — distinct from niścay 'determination, resolve', though both can translate 'decision'.

sevā mehn: 'in submission to you, for your consideration'; cf. U xidmat mehn.
Ramchandra Varma's *Acchi Hindī* is an influential guide to the correct use of Hindi prose; it represents a continuation of the pioneering work of Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi (12), the first authoritative arbiter in the establishing of grammatical and stylistic conventions. Varma's study, which has become a standard work of reference and has been published in countless editions since it first appeared in 1946, has something of the status of Ernest Gowers' *Plain Words* or Fowler's *Modern English Usage* in the context of English prose styles, and addresses similar problems.

Varma's ideas about language use are representative of the views of most advocates of the Sanskritized style of Hindi. While his principle objective is to recommend a clear and accessible style for prose-writing, he has a clear bias in favour of that so-called 'purity' of style which accepts Sanskrit loans with open arms but which regards Arabic and Persian words as entirely alien to the nature of Hindi. He himself writes in a highly Sanskritized style, not only because it is in keeping with his message but also because linguistic and literary analysis in Hindi naturally looks to the norms and procedures of its historical ancestor.

In the present chapter Varma writes about *chāyā-kaluṣīt bhāṣā*, that is, language which bears the imprint of foreign influences. His main concentration is on the important impact of English on Hindi, but he also discusses the 'polluting' effect of Indian languages such as Bengali, Marathi and Urdu; the first paragraph of the extract emphasizes the importance of recognising the 'true nature' of Hindi, and defines what is meant by the very revealing term *chāyā-kaluṣīt*.

In the second paragraph, Varma discusses the influence of Persian and Arabic vocabulary and syntax on Urdu, his own heavy bias towards Hindi being clearly apparent from the very first sentence. He supports his pro-Hindi arguments with a quotation from the influential Hindi literary critic and historian Ramchandra Shukla; and he goes on to voice some specific objections about the use of particular Persian or Arabic words for which, he claims, existing Sanskritic synonyms are to be preferred.

हमें हिंदी लिखने से पहले उपकरण प्रकृति और ठीक स्वरूप का पूरा-पूरा भान प्राप्त करना चाहिए। बिना इस प्रकार का भान प्राप्त किये जो हिंदी लिखी जायगी, बहु ज्ञानी निःशरीर और ठीकरा की न होगी। यद्यपि नहीं, संख्या है कि उस दमाल में हमारे लेखों में बहुत-सी ऐसी बातें भी जो हमारी भाषा की प्रकृति और स्वरूप के विरुद्ध हों। और इसके तुलना से हम कुछ बनाया भाषा भी जानते होंगे, तो हमारे लेख में उन भाषाओं के मुहावरों, क्रिया-प्रायों और भाव-व्यवहार-व्यवस्थाओं की भी बहुत-कुछ छाया जा जायगी। जिस भाषा पर इस प्रकार की परक्रम भाषाओं की घोटी या बहुत छाया हो, वहीं "फ्रास्ट" है।

यद्यपि तात्पर्य दृष्टि से उद्द और हिंदी में कोई विशेष भेद नहीं माना जाता और यहीं कहा जाता है कि उद्द भी हिंदी का एक रूप अपना विश्वा साथ ही है, परंतु भी कुछ बातों में उद्द और हिंदी में कई छोटे-मोटे अंतर हैं। उद्द से जिस प्रकार अत्यधिक और फारसी से अपने शब्द लेते हैं, उसी प्रकार वे अपने बायकों के रूप भी यथासाध्य अत्यधिक और फारसी की वायु-वानस्पतिक की अनुसूचि हो रहा चाहते हैं। अत्यधिक और फारसी की प्रतिकृतियों में परस्पर अंतर है। यह अत्यधिक साक्षात्कार की भाषा में होता है, और उद्द की हार्मोनिया या संस्कृत परिवार की संस्कृति में जो किसी भी भाषा की सामाजिक और धर्मात्मा सम्बन्ध है, उद्द से उसका उत्तर ही दृढ़ता और दुर्लभ है। दोनों के इतिहासों में यह विषय बराबर बहुत हुआ दिखाई देता है। उद्द से अत्यधिक और फारसी के इस अंतर पर ध्यान न देकर दोनों ने अपने शब्द भी रख लें, और भाव व्यक्त करने की भाषाओं और बायु-वानस्पतिक भाषाओं के प्रकार भी। परंतु, उद्द का भी है तो संस्कृत-जन्म पुरानी हिंदी ही। इसीलिए उद्द में हिंदी, अत्यधिक के बायकों की अनेक बातें का विवरण मिलाकर दिखाई देता है। जिन्हें उद्द का विशेष विषय होता है अपना जो इन्द्रुप से अनुबंध करने भूत करते हैं, उनमें इन विवरणों का प्रभाव भी दिखाई देता है। और उद्द का भाषा बायक-फारसी की छाया से दृढ़ता रहती है।

स्कृत भाषा के रामचरित में युवक ने जो नारी "हिंदी साहित्य का इतिहास" में वर्णन किया है कि "भाषा का भाषा में हिंदी से उद्द में भिन्नता हो रही है।

"उद्द से जिस प्रकार अत्यधिक और फारसी के स्वरूप तत्सम रूप में लेते हैं। दूसरे, उद्द पर फारसी के व्याकरण का प्रभाव के सबूत अभियुक्त हो रहा है। बायकों के निर्देशताक की विभिन्नता का लोप करके उनके स्वरूप पर ए की इनवातक करके समाप्त-पर बनाते हैं। और और यह व्यापक विश्वास को ही करने से पहले रखना अत्यधिक प्रकार के हम और पत्रित्विक करके अपना वायु-विवाह ही निराला कर लेते हैं।" कुछ हिंदी लेखकों की कृतियों में ये सब या इन्द्रुप से कई प्राप्त होता है दिखाई देता है।

फिरसे दूसरी भाषा से शब्द लेने में कोई बुराई नहीं। इसलिए इस प्रकार के शब्द-प्राप्त मानवाकृति नहीं होना चाहिए। यद्यपि हम अपने पर शब्दों का पत्रित्विक करके और शब्दों के प्रयोग लेते हैं, तो यह कुछ अत्यधिक भाषा का बायु-वात होगा। परंतु इस प्रकार का आत्मिक स्वरूप होगा। परंतु इस अंतर का है कि उद्द का प्रभाव हम पर इस्तान अभियुक्त पड़ा है कि हम "सशिया" और "सशिया" की तो सहज समझते हैं।" पुष्करण के हम "कश्यप" एवं "कश्यप" ही रह जाता है। हमें "पृथ्वी" की जगह "जगीत", "आनंद" की जगह "आनंद" और "अभ्यस्त" की जगह "अभ्यस्त" कहने की आवश्यकता पड़ गई है। कुछ लोग सिर, नहर, तंगक और धोखा की जगह उद्दके से देखी शरद, भूक, खोट, ठंडक और भूत की जगहह "हदारों" की जगह "हजारश" भी लिखते देखते जाते हैं।
1. pūrā-pūrā jñān: 'a full and complete knowledge' (542a).
2. ṭhikāṇe kī: 'appropriate'.
3. yahā nahīn: 'not just this', i.e. 'furthermore'.
4. kriyā-prayogoh aur bhāv-vyājan-pranālīyoḥ: 'verb usages and ways of expression'; the vocabulary of grammatical analysis in H naturally comprises S loans, and its main terms are given on the following page.
5. tāttvik drṣṭi se: 'from the fundamental view', i.e. 'essentially'. tāttvik is the vrddhi form of the noun taitva 'element, essence'; cf. 14 sāmipya 'proximity', the vrddhi form of samip 'near' (612).
6. urdūvāle: Varma squanders no honorific expressions on the supporters of H's main linguistic rival.
7. yathāsādhya: a S expression formed from yathā 'in which manner, as' + sādhya 'feasible'. Cf. yathāśīghra 'as promptly as can be managed'.
8. ke anurūp: 'in conformity with, following the form of'; emphasizing the form (rūp) of the thing described, this ppn. is distinct from the more abstract ke anusār 'according to' (anusār 'according to' + sār 'essence'), with which it is often confused.
9. prakṛtyoḥ men paraspar antar hai: 'there is a difference between their natures'; paraspar 'mutual', though tautological in E, has a natural place in the H sentence because the ppn. men does not alone carry the contrastive sense of E 'between'.
10. bhi...bhi: 'both...and', here separated by a long clause.
11. phir urdū kā hai to...purāṇi hindī hī: 'And after all, the origin of U lies in nothing but...Old H'.
12. sanskr-t-janya: 'S-derived'. (S subj. janya 'born of, derived from'.)
13. urdū me...vilākṣan miśraṇ dikhāī detā hai: Varma here perpetuates the myth of the alleged 'purity' of H in comparison with the 'mixed' nature of U.
14. unpar...prabhāv pāre binā nahīn rahā: 'the influence cannot but fall on them', i.e. 'they cannot fail to be influenced'.
15. sva.: an abbreviation for svargīy, 'the late, deceased'.
16. ācārya rāmchandra ji śukla: ācārya is an honorific title used for spiritual preceptors and highly revered academics. Ramchandra Shukla was a founding-father of the modern study of H literature, of which his Hindi sāhiya kā itīhās (1939) is a standard history. Notice how ji follows the given name rāmchandra rather than the Brahman caste-name śukla.
17. hindī se urdū me bhīnнатā ho rahi hai: 'U is becoming increasingly distinct from H', implying that H is the norm from which U is deviating.
18. tatsam rūp: though the tatsam/tadhava contrast is usually used in discussing S-derived languages, it here applies to A and P borrowings.
19. kriyā ko hi kartī se paḥle rakhkar: 'placing the verb before the subject', i.e. on the model of e.g. kahā hai kisi ne.
20. aprā vākyā-vinīyās hi nirālā kar lete hain: 'make their very syntax bizarre'; the irony of modal lena suggests a willfulness in the way these these Urdūvāle tamper with the 'proper' syntax.
22. parītyāg: suff. pari-, 'fully', strengthens the sense of tyāg, rather as 'abandon' is rather stronger than 'give up'.
23. pratyut: 'but rather'; being very much less current than P balki in H usage, this S borrowing is rather anomalous in a sentence which stresses the value of domestic vocabulary. This shows clearly how loans from S are not regarded as loans at all, no matter how obscure they may be, while even well-established PA loans are considered to be beyond the pale.
Sajjad Zaheer: 
*Urdū hindī hindustānī* (1947)

Many of the most prominent younger Urdu and Hindi writers of the 1930s and 1940s were united in their commitment to the Marxist ideals of the ‘progressive’ movement, even if they were divided by nomenclature between Urdu *tarāqqī-pasandī* and Hindi *pragatīvādi*. Founded in London in 1935, the All India Progressive Writers’ Association was from the outset dominated by members of the Communist party.

This passage is taken from a short pamphlet dealing with the vexed question of the choice of a national language for India, written by Sajjad Zaheer, a hard-line Communist writer who played a key role in the foundation and subsequent direction of the P.W.A. Published at Annas 12 in 1947, it was obviously written somewhat earlier, since it takes no account of the creation of Pakistan, to which all members of the Communist Party of India (including those from Muslim backgrounds) were opposed in principle.

Although the aspirations of left-wing writers in South Asia to reach the masses are frustrated by the stubbornly high levels of illiteracy in both India and Pakistan, Sajjad Zaheer was clearly aiming at a popular audience. The passage opens with seven deliberately short paragraphs, which set out very simply and very forcefully the entrenched attitudes of the Hindi and the Urdu camps, and are suitably dismissive of the Hindustani compromise suggested by Gandhi. The longer following paragraph rejects both extremes, and points with Marxist logic to the mass support for Hindi and Urdu, as clearly evident from their huge spread throughout undivided India. The suggestion that it is therefore the ‘will of the masses’ which must prevail in the formulation of language policy is made explicit in the final paragraph. Neither here nor elsewhere in the pamphlet does Sajjad Zaheer come down on the side of one language or the other: his eventual conclusion is, in fact, that both Hindi and Urdu should be the national languages of India, with a suitable enhancement of their shared elements. No matter which perspective they were writing from, therefore, no proponent of compromise was able to suggest any very realistic solution to the language question: and Sajjad Zaheer differs only in the greater role implied for Urdu from Premchand in his identically titled essay (15).

The style has most of the obvious features which typify Marxist writers of the period, no matter which European or Asian language they were writing in. The syntax is rather simple, and the choice of vocabulary straightforward. There is plenty of repetition to drive the points home, with the usual prominence being given to core ideological terms, e.g. the Urdu equivalents of ‘masses’, ‘popular’, ‘progressive’, ‘democratic’, etc.


Similar views on the language question are expressed by Mohammad Din Taseer in Ahmad 1941, pp. 221–236.
جب مریم نازیا کی آپر مشترکہ زبان کا سوال اٹھائیے تو اورہ وہمی کا انتباہ اگر معاوضہ اج.

بعد مہیے کے حاضرات بنی کی مریم نازیا کی راغبی جاں جاہیں کا حسن مرت ہمیں گرا ہے۔

اتردو وہ احالی کرنے پر اور اوردو حضرت کی زبان کی بنیت ہے۔

تمہارے کئی اوردوکانہ کی بھی کئی اوردو کتاب کی بنیت ہے۔

اکے زبان کی اپر مشترکہ زبان کا سوال اٹھائیے تو اورہ وہمی کا انتباہ اگر معاوضہ اج

اس طرح دم مکیہ بنی کی حضرت میں۔ اپر مشترکہ زبان کی ایک تو ہے۔

اب حضرت معصومہ بنت زینب حضرت میں۔

از کبھی دوسرے سے نہ رکھیے رہے ہیں۔

ہمیں نہیں ملے ہیں جہاں جہاں وہ دوسرے سے جوشو"۔

ہمیں نہیں ملے ہیں جہاں جہاں وہ دوسرے سے جوشو"۔

قدح نظر ہیے۔

اب سوال بہ ابتکارہ کا ایک بہ سپب کے متعلق سے۔

ہمیں نہیں ملے ہیں جہاں جہاں وہ دوسرے سے جوشو"۔

ہمیں نہیں ملے ہیں جہاں جہاں وہ دوسرے سے جوشو"۔

قدح نظر ہیے۔

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قدح نظر ہیے۔
The shortness of the opening seven paragraphs (extended only by two further similarly brief paragraphs after 4 in the original) is a stark rhetorical device deliberately designed to draw attention to the polarization of pro-H and pro-U attitudes.

1. <i>savāl</i> <i>ūṭhā hai</i>: ‘the question arises’, a common modern phrasal loan from E, cf. 12 below.

2. <i>rāśtar-bhāsā</i>: the S loan so natural in H strikes a deliberately discordant note in U. But the PA equivalent <i>gaumī zabān</i>, naturally employed to describe the pro-U position in 3 below, has already somewhat begged the question in 1 <i>muṭsarākā gaumī zabān</i>, cf. the final 29 <i>muṭsarāk zabān</i>.

5. <i>himāyat</i>: ‘supporter’, equivalent to the A loan <i>2 hāmī</i>, also to the following <i>himāyat karne-vālōh</i>. A similar choice of the simple HU <i>-vālā</i> is to be seen in the use throughout the passage of the straightforward terms <i>hindī-vāle</i> and <i>urdū-vāle</i>.

6. <i>gāndhi ji ke tasavvur vālī hindustāṇī</i>: ‘the Hindustani conceived of by Gandhi’, illustrating the further common use of <i>-vālā</i> as an adj. ppn. formally comparable with <i>kā</i> but corresponding in sense to an E post-modifying phrase or relative clause.

7. <i>P maidān</i>: here in its common sense of ‘battlefield’.

7. <i>E kaimp</i>: one of those loans from military usage (9), which have long been so well established in HU.

8. <i>lar jhagāra rahe hain</i>: ‘are struggling’, lit. ‘are fighting and quarrelling’, a very common jingle-compound (524).

8. <i>dīn ba-dīn</i>: a P-type prepn. phrase (843).

8. <i>ziyādā sadhī hotī jātī hai</i>: ‘keeps growing ever more fierce’.

10. <i>fariq</i>: the technical term for a ‘party’ to a lawsuit, also used in the A dual (733) <i>fariqīn ‘both sides’</i>.

10. <i>apne ko sacāī par samajhte haiin</i>: ‘think that they have truth on their side’.


14. <i>taraqqī</i>: ‘progress, development’. This is a key term in the U of all Leftist U writing, like <i>avām</i> ‘the people, the masses’, and its derivatives.

15. ‘i‘lmi: ‘scholarly, learned’, also ‘scientific’.

16. <i>taraqmaūnī</i>: ‘representation’, derived from <i>taraqmaūn</i> ‘interpreter’, vs. <i>taraqma</i> ‘translation’.

17. <i>mauqa’ parne par</i>: exactly equivalent to ‘when the opportunity arises’, and probably representing one of those phrasal loan-translations from E which are so common in modern U.

18. <i>bainal-aqvāmī</i>: ‘international’, i.e. bridging the country’s internal frontiers. The international status claimed for so many years by their respective protagonists for both H and U has really never been achieved in fact, unless viewed purely as a consequence of emigration from South Asia to many countries overseas. <i>bainal-aqvāmī</i> is formally an A prepn. compound (742).

19. <i>bolte aur likhte parakte hain</i>: the position of <i>aur</i> is dictated by the pairing of ‘read and write’.

20. The Anjuman-e Taraqqi-e Urdu, whose chief spokesman was Abdul Haq (10), was the leading pro-U organization in India at this time.

20. Calicut in modern Kerala is one of the main centres of the Malayalam-speaking Mappilla Muslims. It is thus more appropriate here than <i>rās kumārī ‘Cape Comorin’</i>, the usual southernmost contrast to Assam.

20. <i>cat-gāh</i>: Chittagong in modern Bangladesh, now usually referred to as <i>cat-gām</i>. The sentence was of course written before the Partition in August 1947, which left both Chittagong and Karachi on the Pakistan side of the new frontier.

21. <i>hindī ko bhī</i>: the mention of H almost as an afterthought is revealing.

22. <i>jab tak nā hōn</i>: as usual, the single HU negative construction corresponds both to ‘so long as they are not . . .’ and ‘until they are . . .’ in E.

24. <i>bōli</i>: ‘spoken language’, vs. <i>zabān</i> or <i>bhāsā</i> (522).
24 xās guroh: 'elite group'. The positive identification with the 'avām at the expense of the xavās or 'elite' is a reversal of the values attached to these antonyms by U writers with conservative attitudes (11).

25 'umūmī haisiyat: 'popular character, mass status', reflecting the common origin of 'umūmī and 'avām, from the A root 'MM.

26 jumhūrī aur taraqqi-pazīr: 'democratic and progressive', two more loan-translations from E commonly used in Leftist U writing.

26 kalcar: a phonetically-spelt E loan, frequently used in U as a synonym for A tahzīb or saqāfīt: cf. the adj. kalcaral.

26 ālā-e kār: lit. 'tool of work', i.e. 'effective instrument', illustrating the way in which P izafat phrases often serve in U to represent E phrases consisting of an adj. and a noun.

28 muxtālīf zabān bolne-vāle 'ilāqoh ke logoh kī: 'of the people of different linguistic areas'. The inf. ptc. is here used as an adj.
Rajendra Prasad: 
Ātmakathā (1947)

Rajendra Prasad (1884-1963) was the first President of the Indian Republic, a post which he gained after years of involvement in the Indian National Congress, and which he held from 1950 to 1962. It was under the influence of Gandhi that he chose Hindi as the medium for his modest output of essays and other writing; but his schooling had been primarily in Urdu, Persian and English — all essential qualifications for his chosen career as a lawyer — while Hindi and Sanskrit had been rather lower in his list of priorities.

Though 'Rajendra Babu', as he is commonly known in Hindi sources, did write on literary topics, and though his status ensures a degree of critical praise for his writing skills, he had no real aspirations to sophistication in his writing style, but rather maintained an almost conversational naturalness and simplicity in much of his work, preferring short colloquial words to long literary ones. His choice of vocabulary is, nevertheless, evidence of his literacy in the three cultural languages of Persian, Sanskrit and English.

Prasad's autobiography, Ātmakathā, was published in the year of Independence, much of it having been written between 1942 and 1945 while serving the jail sentence which was the lot of so many Congress politicians involved in the Independence struggle. Much of the book is concerned, unsurprisingly, with the narration and analysis of political developments (including, in Chapter 115, the 'national language' question); but of equal interest is the description of Prasad's childhood, and it is from this early part of the book that the extract is taken.

The passage begins with an account of Prasad's initiation into the world of literacy by the Maulvi Sahab, a humorous but rather daunting figure who made a great impression on the boys in his charge. The second paragraph recounts details of the Persian classes given by the Maulvi in his little room adjacent to the family house; the daily routine started early, with lessons before sunrise, but allowed sufficient time for relaxation and the taking of meals; in the early afternoon the boys would rest with their teacher in his room, secretly playing chess and other games while he slept; after another round of lessons and relaxation there was the evening lighting of lamps before the final lesson of the day.

A description of the recitation of the Hindi Rāmāyan follows in the third paragraph. In a predominantly illiterate society, few people were able to carry out the simplest of tasks to do with reading or writing; but a basic literacy in the Kaithi script was imparted to some of the villagers by a member of the Muslim weaver caste, and on the basis of such shaky education there would be almost daily readings of the Rāmāyan in which the assembled audience would repeat the Hindi verses aloud and so learn a few stanzas and prayers by heart.

The Hindi text is taken from Ātmakathā (Patna: Sahitya Sansar, 1947), pp.62–7, 8–9, and 12–13. A very loose English version, apparently translated by the author, is published under the title Autobiography (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1957), the relevant passages being on pp.7–8 and 11. For the background to Prasad's involvement in the national language issue, see LCND, chapter V.
पाँचवें या छठे बरस में मेरा भक्तिमय कराया गया था। उस समय मेरे भाई श्रीरंजीवी पढ़ने के लिए छापे भेजे जा चुके थे। उस समय की प्रतिचित प्रायों के भनुसार भक्तिमय गीतवादी साधु ने कराया था। जिस दिन भक्तिमय मुझे, मीली साहब बाबा, बिस्मिल्लाह के साथ भक्तिमय गुज़ारा, शीर्ष बाँटी ही और उनको सूझे भी दिये गये। हम तीन विद्वान उनके सुपूर्ण किये गए।
एक में और दूसरे दो गये, युक्ति के ही चीजें भाई, जिनमें एक युग्म मुहूर्त जी सबसे बड़े और मुझसे दो बरस बड़े हैं, तीसरे बाब नहीं रहे; यह भी मुझसे बड़े थे।

पढ़ने का तरीका था कि पृथ्वी सबेरे हम लोग उठकर मक्खन में बने बाते। मक्खन में पककर मक्खन से बना एक झटके मक्खन के भाऊस में था। एक कोठरी का जिसमें मीली साहब रहा करते और सामने भाऊस में दुकान बिकार हम लोग पढ़ा करते। मीली साहब रोचक भन्ने चारापाँ और कभी ताजमहल पर बैठकर पढ़ा करते। सबेरे भक्ति पढ़ने का पढ़ा हुआ सबक एक बार आमोलका करना पड़ता और जो जितना जल्द आमोलका कर लेता उसको उठाना ही जल्द नया सबक पढ़ा दिया जाता। में बनसर अपने दोनों सालयों में से पढ़कर मक्खन में पूछा जाता और आमोलका भी पढ़ने बातके करने सबक इसके पढ़ा निकल कर जाता। वह करते सुरूषीय होकर छूट दिन भी निकल गए। तब सौकर्य भाषा और साथ में जाकर मृत्त-हार बुधा देखा और में माँ के पास कुछ बिखालने के लिए पहुँचा देता। इसके लिए प्राये: भाषा चर्चा पैट बैठे की छूट मिलती। नाशा करते लौटने पर सबक याद करना पड़ता और सबक याद करके सुना देने के बाद मीली साहब देखते होते। निर्देश बनना रखे। इस दोनों क्रिमियों के बीच कुछ समय खेलने-खूटने का भी मिल जाता या दोबारा जरा जरा कुछ खा लेने का भी मोक्का मिल जाता। अगरी पर लिखना होता हार और जब तभी भर जाती तो उसी धीमा पढ़ता।

इस क्रिया में भी कुछ समय में हुकूमें-खेलने का मिलता। दोपहर को नहाय-बातने के लिए एक-देव खंडी की छूट मिलती और बाकी फिर मक्खन में ही उसी दुकान पर सूझना पढ़ता। मीली साहब चारापां बैठते हैं। हम लोगों को असर नहीं आती और तबाताप पर लेट-लेटे, शारंज खेलते और जब मीली साहब के नागने का बक्त होता उसके पढ़ने ही गोटियों को उठाकर रख देते। उसी मारने में कभी शारंज खेलना भी भाग था, उस पर उसका पता नहीं कि कब, कैसे और फिससे सीखा। फिर सिपाह को दससे बड़ी सबक किल्मा और उसकी कुछ हृद तक याद करके सुनाने के बाद खंडी-न्दा-खंडी दिन रहते खेलने के लिए इसी मिलती। इसी समय वेद, जिकरा हमारी खेल खेलते जाते। संघ को फिर सराय-बाती ढाला फिकाब बिखेत करने के लिए बैठना पढ़ता।

दिन के दोनों सबक याद करके फिर सुनाने पढ़ते और तब दुरु मिलता, फिलाब बन रहे। फिकाब बन करने, काम्य दे मुत्तिका मीली साहब को आदर करने, घर जाकर सो जाते।

एक चीज, जिसका भार मुस्लिम बाजार से ही पढ़ा है। रामायणार्थ है। गांव में भक्तिमय तो वोट पत्री लोगों को था। उन दिनों एक भी भारतीय या भक्तिमय का स्लूल उस गांव वस्त्र कहीं जवार-भर में नहीं था। मीली साहब हम लोगों को तीन-चार स्वयं भक्तिमय और भोजन बाधा फिरते थे। गांव में एक दूसरे मुसलमान, जो जाति के जूनाहा थे, मामा कैप्टी लिखना जाते थे। मुकदमा हस्ताक्षर भी जाते थे, विवाद महा पाकी, दशों में न जाते थे। उसमें के बारे में, जबा हो जाते हैं और एक बादशाह रामराय की पुलत से चापाइया बोलते और दूसरे सब से उठाते हैं। मीली में ब्राह्मण और ब्राह्मण भी जाते थे।

वन्दना का हिसाब तो जब रामराय का पाट शारम्भ होता तो जहर दुहाराया जाता। इस प्रकार भक्ति के समय भी गांव में बदूदों ऐसे लोग थे जो रामराय की चौथाईयां जाते और दुहारा सकते और विशेष बनने के कुछ दोहों को तो सभी प्राय: वरजबान रखते थे।
1 *akṣarārāmbh*: ‘initiation into literacy/schooling’ — one of the rites of passage celebrated during childhood.

2 *mere bhāi*: honorific p. exemplifies the respect traditionally shown to an elder brother.

3 *chapra*: Chapra is a town in Bihar, to the west of Patna.

4 *bismillāh*: ‘In the name of God’, a Muslim invocation uttered at the commencement of any new work (742); cf. the taking of the name of Hindu deities, particularly Ganesh, in the Hindu tradition (and cf. also the phrase-verbs *bismillāh karnā* and *śrīganaś karnā*, ‘to commence’).

5 *śirni* (= *P śirni*): a gift of sweetmeats made at the celebration of an auspicious event.

6 *kutumb*: ‘household’; a more commonly used term than *parivār*, which is more restricted in its reference, as is E ‘family’ (and HU *faimili*: 922).

7 *ab nahin rahe*: ‘is no longer [with us]’, one of the very large number of HU euphemisms for death.

8 *ham log uhkar maktab mein cale āte*: ‘we would all get up and troop in to the schoolroom’. The habitual nature of the actions described in this and the following sentences is underlined by the ptc. (*āte* etc.) without auxiliary. A *maktab* is a mosque school (722), the Muslim equivalent of a *pāthsālā* which teaches the rudiments of Hindu learning.

9 *takhtpū*: a low wooden frame with a cloth covering.

10 *pahle kā parhā huā sabak*: ‘the previously learnt lesson’ (541).

11 *āmokhā* (= *P āmoktā*): a P ptc. meaning ‘learnt’, used in the context of U education for going over or revising a learnt lesson.

12 *jo jitā jald... usko utnā hī jald*: once one relative-correlative construction has been set up, it can readily carry a second in parallel.

13 *yah karte sūryoday hokar kuch din bhi nikal ātā*: ‘while [we were] doing this, the sun would rise and a little daylight would appear’. The delightful word-economy of this sentence is made possible by typical HU ptc. usage (*karte* and *hokar* in their distinct functions).

14 *usi jamāne mein kabī śatrani khelā bhi ā gayā*: ‘it was sometime in those days that I picked up how to play chess’; *bhi* has little emphasis here, but provides a link with the previous sentence as do the words ‘it was... that...’ in the E sentence. (542b)

15 *sepahar*: ‘in the early afternoon’: this P compound (825) is common in U but not in H, which has *tirā pahar* as the standard form.

16 *ghanā-derh-ghanā din rahte*: ‘while an hour or so of daylight remained’.

17 *cirāg-batti jalte*: ‘with the lamps burning’. The compounding of P *cirāg* ‘lamp’ with *batti* ‘lamp, wick’ is generalizing: ‘the various lamps’.

18 *ādāb karke*: ‘making a salutation’; the A word *ādāb*, the p. of *adab*, is central to the complex Muslim code of good manners and etiquette.

19 *rāmāyanpūth*: ‘reciting of the *Rāmāyaṇa*’, which by default refers to the ‘Hindi *Rāmāyaṇa*’, i.e. the *Rāmacaritmānas* of Tulsidas. This is the one text with a truly universal currency throughout the H area; its dual attraction is its strong narrative line and its depiction of the characters in the story as ideal models for human life and behaviour. The text is widely used both for straightforward recitation, or as the basis of the *Rāmāliṇī*, the enormously popular dramatic enactment of the Ram story performed by semi-professional troupes throughout the H-speaking area.

20 *kaithi*: the Kaithi script is a simpler version of Devanāgarī, without Devanāgarī’s characteristic top line, used particularly in Bihar and also in U.P. Its main use is in accounts and record-keeping, and it is usually the special province of the Kayasth writer caste (which gives it its name).

21 *jāti ke julāhā*: ‘by caste a Julaha’. Most North Indian members of this caste were converts to Islam. Most famous of all was the fifteenth century H poet Kabir.

22 *dāyaurh*: ‘half-as-much-again’, the reckoning of interest at 50%.
34 *man-ser ki bikri*: ‘selling prices by the “maund” and “seer”’. A *ser* is just over two pounds, a *man* is forty *ser*. These traditional measures of weight have now been largely replaced by metric units (*kilo* etc.), though they live on in idiom just as the *aun* does in expressions of currency.

35 *khol rakhi thi: khol rakhnā* means ‘to set up’, rather than simply ‘to open’, modal *rakhnā* adding a sense of ‘establishing’ to the main verb.

37 *math*: a place where sadhus live, sometimes having a formal organisational structure under a *mahant* or ‘abbot’, but often (as here) a rather more informal institution.

38 *caupaī*, and 41 *dohā*: the prevalent metres of the *Rāmcaritmānas*, and early H literature generally. The *caupaī* is particularly well suited to prolonged recitation, being a quatrain with a regular rhythm and a strong rhyme; rhythmic and structural variation is provided by the *dohā* couplet (2).

39 *vandanā kā hissā*: that part of the text comprising verses of praise and dedication, rather than dealing with the narrative itself.

41 *barjaban*: (P; 843c) ‘on the tongue’, i.e. learned by heart and able to be recited. Cf. S *kāntāhasth* ‘situated in the throat’, with the same sense.
Rahul Sankrityayan (1893–1963) was a prolific polymath, whose output of well over a hundred books covers biography, travelogue, literature, religion, history, politics and lexicography, in addition to an impressive amount of prose fiction: unsurprisingly, he is dubbed mahāpandit. He travelled widely; visits to communist countries converted his Congress socialism into fully-fledged communism in the late 1930s, and an extended stay in Ceylon led him to adopt the Buddhist faith in preference to the orthodox and Arya Samajist Hinduism to which he had adhered earlier.

Sankrityayan’s autobiography, Merī jīvan-yātrā, fills five lengthy volumes. It is largely informally written, with vocabulary taken unselfconsciously from whichever register suits the subject-matter. Interest is sustained by a skilful weaving together of description and narrative, and although the casual admission ‘I don’t remember much about...’ is a stock formula, the autobiography makes a fascinating and sensitive record of childhood in a village near Benares at the turn of the century. The reader is constantly reminded, as at the beginning of this passage, of the precariousness of life before the availability of modern medicine; and also of the great dynamism and complexity of tradition which underlies every aspect of a child’s upbringings in Indian society.

The passage given here is from early in the first volume, and describes events of 1902, when the author was nine years old. Like most boys of his generation and social class, Rahul was given a broad educational grounding which included the study of Urdu as well as Sanskrit; this passage describes his tuition in Sanskrit at the hands of his uncle. The use of Sanskrit texts in the home is described alongside other details of domestic circumstances, and the first two paragraphs give a clear impression of the young boy’s sense of reverential awe at his uncle’s scholarly prowess: so great a pandit was he that he once went mad for a whole year with the weight of his learning. But Rahul was thrilled to be allowed to go with his uncle to enrol in his village pāthśālā, where teaching centred on the traditional study of Sanskrit grammatical texts. In the last two paragraphs Sankrityayan describes the school and recalls his desire to dedicate himself full-time to the study of Sanskrit, while noting the difficulties his uncle had in keeping students when the attractions of Benares were so close at hand.

कैलासके हैते हमारे चरका कोई नहीं मरा था, यह कह भारे हैं। बीमारीके बनत शयद 'आजी' ने शतचंदी (श्री बार चंदी) का पाठ माना था। शयदकल नहीं पाठ चल रहा था। चलने वालों थे हमारे फूफा पंडित महावर पांडे और उनके मोरे से भाई महावर तिवारी। महावर तिवारी एक-एक भाव टटोल-टटोलकर पढ़ रहे थे, किन्तु फूफा फरफर पड़ते जाते थे। उनके पास नसलानी रखी हुई थी, बीज-बीजमें वे नस लेते जा रहे थे। शमके नससे भरी समाल सराफ़ की जाती थी। सम्मे पाठ समाप्त कर गरम दृश्यमें भिगोया घरके बुधशुदार धानका चुरा नामकों के लिए तैयार रहता। शयद उसके बाद फिर पाठ चलता। पाठ संस्कृतमें होता - चंदीपाठका भाषा में अर्थ नहीं फिरा जाता। दोपहरके भोजन, फिर विभाग। शमके १५ वर्ष फूफा साध्य घरमें बसाये आते। फर्मिर एक और वह बैठते, और समने बैठी मेरी मां, शयद चाची भी (उन्हें मैं काफी कहता करता)। मेरी कोई बुजू, कुटटबी की भाषा दो-दीन चाची-बुजा। दामोदरसे स्वागतमें ऐसे गोष्टियों रखनेकी प्रथा है, इससे उसका मनोरंजन होता है। बारातियोंका विषय पत्रार्थका भाषा-भाषा और कुछ हैं जस्ती-मजाक। फूफूंके मे बहुत जल्द निल-निल गया और एकदा बार उनकी इस गोष्टियों में मयां हुआ। शायद का पानी बरस चुका था, और कैलासके ताल-सालों, उसके दबरों (नाले) में पानी भरकर बह गया था। शमके फूफा साध्य दूर पूर्व तरफ़ चले जाते, और वहं शौच-स्तंभ करते लोटे।

फूफा महावर पंडितके बारों में मैं विनयी ही बारे सुनी थीं। वह बहुत भारी पंडित हैं - इतने भारी, जिन्होंने कि बारातिया दय-दीन कोस में कोई नहीं। बहुत विष बड़ा जानके करण ही वह एक बार साधन भर पाया रहता। उस बार तो मुझे विश्वास होता था, जैसे बहुत खानेसे भोजनका बिर्जन होता है, उसी तरह बहुत पढ़ जाने से विषाका बिर्जन होता है, किन्तु यह संस्कृत पहेलाओंकी ही। शावंती पाठ समाप्त होते में शयद एक मास लगा। उसके बाद जब फूफा अपने गांव बसकर जाने लगे, तो मुझे ही लेते गये। शयद परवालोंसे उन्होंने संस्कृत पहेलाओंकी स्कृति में भी मे मैं नहीं। मैं फूफूंके साथ उनकी धारीपर चढ़ा। रातों मैं गई नदी में काफी पानी था। मुझे कन्धे पर चढ़कर पाठ किया गया।

फूफा महावर पंडित संस्कृत व्यक्तियोंका ब्राह्मण ब्राह्मण थे। उन्होंने महाभाषपाल व्यक्तकर पढ़ा था, और पढ़ यह बहुत कठोर थी। उनके पास काफी बेटे और अन्न-सन था, भाषा उनके लिये अपनी विषाका और कोई उपयोग भाषाकर न था। वे वहीं अपने द्वारसे विद्वानोंको संस्कृत पढ़ा करते। व्यादर विद्वान्यां सारस्वत विद्वान, मुद्दितभाषार्थके होते थे, किन्तु नितने ही सिद्धांतकौमुदी भी पढ़ते थे। फूफा जी बारातियोंके गांवोंसे विद्वानोंको सीधे अन्न मिलने का संघ भी लगा देते थे, किन्तु जहां आफी तीसरा विद्वानकौमुदी समाप्त हुई, कि विद्वानी बनास्स दीड़ जाते। बनास्सका नववीक रहना महावर पंडितकी पाठशालाकी उन्नतिमें भारी बाधा थी।

सताह बिते-बिते फूफा ने मुझे भी सारस्वत पाना शुरु कर दिया 'तत्त्वसारस्वती देवी' और आपका पानी भी मैं कठोर कर दाला। सम्राज्यमें मेरी बहुत तीव्र थी। मैं फूफूंके यहां पढ़ने को छोड़ दिया जाता। संस्कृत बूढ़ पढ़ा। प्रेम सारे कठोर होते, क्योंकि अभी यह धारणा मुझे नहीं हुई थी, कि रतना बुढ़ी चीज़ है।
1 kanaike: in this passage, ppn. are regularly attached directly to nouns as well as pronouns, though hereafter are shown separately in the notes. Kanaila is in the Ajamgarh district of U.P., to the North-East of Benares.

1 yah kah äye hain: ‘this we (= ‘I’) have already said’.

2 äfī: the nickname for Sankirtyayan’s dādi (paternal grandmother). Other relations referred to in the passage are 3 phūpā ‘husband of paternal aunt’; 3 mauserā bhāl ‘maternal aunt’s son’; 10 cācī/kākī ‘paternal uncle’s wife’; 11 buā ‘father’s sister’; 11 dāmād ‘son-in-law, bridegroom’; and cf. 11 do-tīn cācī-buā ‘a few miscellaneous aunts’.

2 satcāndi ... kā pāth mānā thā: ‘had sanctioned a recitation of the Ṣatcāndi’ — a S text eulogizing the goddess Candi (Durga), here recited as a protection against the cholera epidemic. A pāth often extends over several days or weeks (cf. 21 ek mās lagā), with a succession of readers.

4 tatol-tatolkar parh rahe the: ‘was groping his way along the text’: the emphasis of the repeated verb stem is further underlined by use of the continuous tense, here in contrast with the modal imperfective of phūpā pharpar parh jāte the, ‘Uncle would race through it’.

5 bīc-bīc men ve nas lete jā rahe the: ‘from time to time he was taking snuff’: lete jā stresses the repetitiveness of the action.

5 nas se bharī rūmāl: not as unpleasant as it sounds, since a rūmāl (823e) is not used for actually blowing the nose!

6 ghar ke khusbūdār dhān kā cūrā: ‘fragrant home-grown rice-flour’. dhān ‘rice in the husk’ is distinguished from cāval ‘husked rice’ and bhāt ‘cooked rice’.

8 candpāth kā bhāṣā men arīh naḥīn kiṭā yā jāta: ‘the Candī recitation was not translated into the vernacular’; the ritual function of the pāth depends upon the untranslatable power of the S verses themselves.

9 ghar men: ‘into the [private inner part of] the house’.

11 dāmād ke svāgat men aśi gosṭhī rakhe ki prathā hai: ‘it is the custom to arrange such a session to welcome a bridegroom’ — implying that the pāth, though seriously undertaken, has a relaxed and festive mood.

12 vārttālāp kā viṣay...: ellipsis of the verb generalizes the context, no tense being stated.

12 hāl-cāl: ‘condition and manner’, i.e. ‘how things were going’.

14 sāvan kā pānī: ‘the [monsoon] rain of the month Savan’ (July–August).

14 tāl-talaīyōn, tathā dābroñ (palvalōn) men: talaīyā is a diminutive of tāl ‘pond’; S palval glosses HU dābrā ‘pool, puddle’.

16 sauc-snān: lit. ‘purification by evacuation, and washing’, a euphemism similar to ‘ablutions’ (though more concerned with ritual purity)

17 kīti hi bāteñ: the sense is rhetorical, ‘so many things’; cf. 30 kīne hi ‘many [people]’.

18 itne bhārī, jīte ki āspās das-bīs kos men koī naḥīn: ‘so prodigious that there was no-one like him for many a league around’.

18 bahut vīyā parh jāne ke kāraṇ hi: ‘simply as a result of wading through so much learning’.

21 sanskrīt parhnevālo kon hi: ‘only in the case of S scholars’.

22 bachval jāne lage: ‘set out for Bachwal’ — phūpā’s village.

22 mujhe bhī lete gae: ‘went taking me with him’, i.e. ‘took me along’.

24 māngai nādi: ‘the river Mangai’; in such a tatpurusā compound (625b), the specific name precedes the class noun: cf. hindi bhāsā etc.

26 mahābhashyānt: the Mahābhāṣya is the ‘Great Commentary’ of Patanjali (second century B.C.) on the grammatical exegesis of Panini (fourth century B.C.); suff. ant (622), here in sandhi (611), means ‘the whole of, the entire work’.

27 kanṭhasht: learning by heart is the time-honoured method by which the continuance of Hindu textual tradition is maintained.
27 ann-dhan: ‘grain and wealth’, i.e. general prosperity (524).

28 apni vidyā kā aur koi upyog āvaśyak na thā: ‘no other utilization of his knowledge was necessary’, i.e. he was not dependent upon the usual ceremonial functions of the pandit for a regular income.

28 apne dvār par: ‘at his house’ (lit. ‘doorway’).

29 sārasvatacandrīkā, mukhūrtacintāmaṇi: the titles of S texts.

30 siddhāntakaumudi: a seventeenth century exegesis of Paninian grammar.

31 muthiyā: apparently a variety of grain, though (as the inverted commas suggest) this is not a widely known term.

31 jahān ādhā cauthāḥ siddhāntakaumudī samāpt huī, ki vidyārthī banāras daur jāte: ‘no sooner had a half or quarter of the Siddhāntakaumudi been completed than all the students would run off to Benares’. The cj. ki stands in correlation to jahān ‘at the point (that)’.

33 banāras kā najāk rahnā...bhārī bādhō thi: as the subject is nominal m. rahnā, verbal agreement with the predicate f. bādhā is irregular.

34 sapāḥ: a S synonym for its P cognate hačā, ‘7 days, week’.

34 nattvā sarasvatim devim: a S dedicatory invocation to Sarasvati, goddess of learning, of the kind typically found at the beginning of a Hindu text.

35 āge kā pannā bhi maine kaṇṭhasth kar dālā: modal dālnā gives the throw-away sense of an impulsive action — ‘for good measure I learnt the next page by heart too’.

35 smaraṇsakti meri: the inversion implies the sense ‘As for my memory’.

36 phūphā cāhte the ki main saṃskṛt pāṭhūn: i.e. full-time, or formally.
Harivanshray Bachchan:  
*Kyā bhūlūṇ kyā yād karūṇ* (1969)

Harivanshray Bachchan (b. 1907) is one of the most popular Hindi poets of the present century. Accessibility is his hallmark, and he has earned an unrivalled reputation as a forceful reciter of verse in public performance. His writing is largely free of the wholesale Sanskritization which characterizes the verse of his contemporaries and forebears who wrote in the *Chāyāvād* style. Among his most popular compositions is his *Madhusāla*, which borrows from Persian and Urdu poetry the traditional images of wine-cup and wine-bearer (his fondness for this theme led him to be dubbed a *hālāvādi* or ‘wine-poet’); in this borrowing, and in his success as a *musāʿirā* performer, he represents that wing of Hindi literature lying closest to its Urdu cousin. Bachchan studied in Cambridge, writing a PhD thesis on the poet W.B. Yeats, and the impress of English is often to be seen in his syntax and choice of vocabulary.

The passage is taken from his autobiography, first published in 1969. The book shows Bachchan to have an eye for the close observation of domestic detail, and is particularly interesting in the way it shows the various cultural influences impinging on the education of a young man growing up in the early years of the twentieth century. Bachchan allows himself a free reign in incorporating digressions into the chronology of his autobiography, which is also laced with excerpts from his own poetry and that of others.

Amongst those described here are his maternal aunt Surasati and his maternal grandmother. No formal schooling was provided for the female members of the household: the first paragraph describes his grandmother’s state of literacy, sufficient for her to read traditional devotional texts but insufficient for the task of written communication (which would hardly have been expected of her in any case). Bachchan’s own mother, we are told, was hardly more successful in her attempts at mastering the Nagari script; but by sitting in on her brother’s sessions with the Maulvi, she was able to acquire the rudiments of Urdu as well as Hindi — a relatively rare achievement.

These memories remind Bachchan of his own education, and in the second paragraph he describes the process by which he endured the task of learning to write Urdu by overwriting in ink his mother’s etchings of the characters on a chalked board; in typical free-ranging style, Bachchan also extends the account to describe the way in which his own son, the film star and politician Amitabh, was taught the rudiments of literacy.

सुरसती को केवल हिंदी की सिसिता दी गई थी, पर पर ही, संभवतः उनकी माता के द्वारा।
मेरी नानी हिंदी पढ़-लिख लेती थी। रामायण वे नित्य पढ़ती थीं। अपनी दैनिक पूजा में;
बेंकेटवर प्रेस का ल्या सुरसागर भी दी जिन्दों में उनके पास था, पर उसके मन ही यदा-कदा ही पढ़ती थीं। यथा उन्हें अपने पास सुरसागर की पोथी थी और संभवतः र्समाराज की भी जिसे वे कभी-कभी दिन में अपनी पढ़ोसियों के बीच बैठे बाँधा करती थीं। सिविल उनकी बहुत जरूरी नहीं थी। एक सीधी लफर पहले बाँध देती और उसी में बांध और माटरों को लटका देती।
सुंदरकाण्ड उनके बस का नहीं था, हर्ष की जगह दीर्घ और दीर्घ की जगह हर्ष लगा देता उनके लिए मापूर्ति बात थी। और किसी की उनका लिखा पढ़ने में कठिनाई लगी, पर मेरी माता जी उसे बिलकुल ठीक पढ़ लेती थी। वे सब कमजोरियाँ मेरी मां की लिखावट में भी थी। मां से बैठी दिन में उनका का कम सिर्फ़ इतना था था कि बैठे पढ़ती सीधी लफर नहीं बहुत थी, एक-एक बशर लिखकर उत्सर्ज लफर लगाती थीं। पर एक बशर को दूसरे बशर से भला करने की बात उन्होंने न सुप्रसिद्ध की। नतीजा यह हुआ है कि उनके हाथ की लिखी भजन, लोकगीत, ग़ज़लों की एक पूरी काम मेरे पास रखी है और मैं उसे बहुत प्रसन्न करने पर भी नहीं पढ़ पाता। उनकी स्मृति बड़ी जरूरी थी और उन्हें सेकुड़े गीत-भजन याद थे जिन्हें वे समय-समय पर गाती थीं और बाद को उन्होंने एक काम में लिख दाले थे।
उद्दौला की वर्णमाला भर जाती थीं - बलिका से लेकर दो चम्बै के है तक, जिसे वे बड़ी खबर देती के साथ लिख भी सकती थीं। जब उनके छोटे भाई बिधवेनी भजन को पढ़ने की मोली साहब रखने के लिए उन्होंने आगे के पत्रों में लिखा है और वह उनके पास जाकर बैठ जाती और इस प्रकार उन्होंने उद्दौला की वर्णमाला पढ़ने की तैयारी की। जब उन्होंने अपने लिखित भजन, लोकगीत, ग़ज़लों की एक पूरी काम भी उनके पास रखी है और मैं उसे बहुत प्रसन्न करने पर भी नहीं पढ़ पाता।
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Harivanshray Bachchan

Bachchan’s prose style is casual, often reflecting the syntactic patterns of speech rather than the more complex arrangement of written Hindi. His vocabulary register is mixed, as appropriate to the various domestic and didactic situations described.

2 rāmāyan ve nitya parhi thīn: placing the object (rāmāyan) at the beginning of the sentence distinguishes this book from any other she might have read — ‘The Rāmāyan she would read every day’; cf. 5 likhā unki ‘as for her writing’. āpni dainik pūjā meh is tackled on to the sentence as an afterthought. The Rāmāyan referred to is the sixteenth-century H text of Tulsidas.

3 venkateshvar pres kā chapā sūrśāgar: ‘the Sūrśāgar printed by the Venkateshwar Press’. This pre-modifying construction (541) is based on genitive kā; cf. 13 unke hāth ki likhī…kāpī. The Venkateshwar Press, located in Bombay, was one of the first printers-cum-publishers to bring out popular editions of the Hindi religious classics such as the Sūrśāgar, an anthology of verses by the sixteenth century devotional poet Surdas.

3 yadā kadā: a S borrowing calqued on kabhi kabhi.

4 sukhsāgar: a popular rendering in modern H prose of the S Bhāgavata Purāṇa, constantly being reprinted in cheap bazaar editions.

4 pothī: ‘volume’; narrower in sense than its etymon pustak, pothī tends to designate a bazaar-printed edition of a traditional text.

4 premsāgar: Lallu Lal’s H prose version of the Krishna story from the S Bhāgavata Purāṇa, first published at Fort William College in 1810.

7 sahyuktāksar: sahyuktta ‘conjunct’ + akṣar ‘character’ in sandhi (611).

8 unkā likhā: ‘her writing’, ptc. likhā being used nominally here.

9 bilkul thik parh leī thīn: lenā here gives a sense of ‘to manage (quite well) to’.

10 unnati kā kram: ‘the march of progress’, the deliberately high register of the H being tongue-in-cheek.

12 unke hāth ki likhī: agreement is with f. kāpī.

13 lokgī: a well-established calque from E ‘folk song’.

13 rakkhī: this form with historical -khh- (< S -kṣ-) is commonly retained in speech, but less so in writing. (521b)

14 smṛti: this unusual use of the word to mean ‘power of recall’ reflects the breadth of meaning in the E word ‘memory’, of which it is a calque; smṛti normally has the more restricted sense ‘recollection, remembrance’.

15 likh dāle the: ‘wrote out, transcribed’.

16 varnamālā bhar: ‘the alphabet and nothing more’.

16 do caśmi he tak: he is not actually the last character in the U alphabet — the author is perhaps thinking of the Nagari syllabary.

17 xūsūrti ke sāth: this usage of the ppn. ke sāth (lit. ‘in company with’) in place of se is not uncommon in the modern language, and may reflect the breadth of ablative usage familiar from E ‘with’.

18 rakkhe gae: ‘was taken on, appointed’.

18 aur is prakār…aur avasya hi: the linking of successive clauses by aur is characteristic of the casual style of composition in this passage.

21 kām-dhandho: ‘household tasks’ (524).

21 lagi hain: the historic present of this and pher rahā hūn subsequently gives way to the more common usage of ptc. without auxiliary (22 pher leī…dikhlāīī).

21 caṭāi par baith: this use of the unextended abs. is common in narrative prose, especially when several actions occur in sequence; cf. 23 pānī chīrāk, khariyā pot, 31 qalam calā.

25 syāhidār qalam: ‘inked pen’ (823b).
26 ve...ūb jāṭih, par main na ūbtā: following a negative a simple verb is preferred to a modal verb.

28 iski kalpanā...: this picks up the reference of the preceding clause in the paratactic fashion typical of HU syntax (54).

29 Amit: the author’s son Amitabh, possibly the best-known face in India from the late 1970s when he gained an enormous following as a Hindi film star before beginning a less successful career in Congress politics.

29 parhne yogya: note two distinct senses of this expression, according to context: of a book, ‘worth reading’; or of a child (as here), ‘capable of reading’; cf. U ke gābil.

31 phir ā pahuncta, ‘aur liklo!’: ‘would again come up [saying] “write some more!”’. De-aspiration of a consonant, as in lik- for likh-, is characteristic of the speech of children (and foreign speakers of Hindi).

32 āpse kuch adhik kām lekar hi santuṣṭ hotā hai: ‘is only content when he’s got rather more effort out of you [than you got out of him]’.

36 baccā cālāk bhi kam nahīn hotā: H prefers a s. noun to express a gnomic observation, whereas E prefers a p.: ‘Children aren’t short on cunning’.
22

Kausar Niazi:

_Urdū zabān kī ahammiyat_ (1972)

Although officially fostered as the national language of Pakistan, Urdu is spoken as a mother tongue by less than 10% of its citizens: so while some of this passage's contents have been outdated by subsequent political changes, most of its themes are still very much live issues, notably its picture of the implicit rivalry between Urdu and the English of the elite on the one hand, or between Urdu and local languages like Sindhi on the other.

Born in Mianwali (1934), one of the remoter western districts of the Panjab, and consequently speaking Siraiki as his native language, Maulana Kausar Niazi first became known as a powerful preacher (xātīb) in Urdu, which is almost universally used for sermons in Pakistan. The reputation thus established drew him to the notice of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (d. 1979), the wealthy Sindhi landlord who, as leader of the People's Party of Pakistan (P.P.P.), dominated Pakistani politics during the years following the secession of Bangladesh in 1971. The heady enthusiasm of the early days of the Bhutto period is reflected in the tone of this passage, taken from the conclusion of an address delivered on the occasion of the centennial celebrations of Oriental College in Lahore, at a time when Kausar Niazi was Minister of Information and Bhutto had yet to exchange the presidency of the country for its premiership.

The first paragraph begins by referring to a preceding translation of a speech made in English by Jinnah in 1948, in which he assured the inhabitants of East Pakistan that Bengali would be given equal status with Urdu. Bhutto's recently announced formula for the solution of the language-problems of the surviving western half of Pakistan is then described, with passing reference to the fierce Sindhi-Urdu language-riots that had prompted it. The second paragraph pays fulsome tribute to the way in which Bhutto had followed the example of Jinnah in deliberately abandoning English in favour of Urdu for his public speeches. The address concludes with a resounding cry for national unity under the new leader.

The style has the oratorical ring to be expected from one of Pakistan's most celebrated public speakers: although included in a collection of articles, the author himself describes this essay as really being more of a speech. The copious use of Perso-Arabic neologisms so characteristic of the formal Urdu learnt by most Pakistanis not at home, but at school and in college, is here put to excellent rhetorical effect: and the concluding sentences of both paragraphs are particularly effective.

The text is taken from 'Barr-e ṣaḡīr kī islāmī saqāfet mēn urdū zabān kī ahammiyat', included in the published collection _Andāz-e bayān_ (Lahore: Shaikh Ghulam Ali and Sons, 1975), pp. 182-3.

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1 qāid-e a'zam: lit. 'The Great Leader', the title by which Jinnah is usually referred to in Pakistan, where the usual E spelling is 'Quaid-e Azam'.

2 iرشاد farmāyā: 'directed'. A doubly honorific phrase-verb, composed of A iرشاد 'direction, guidance', and the P-derived verb farmānā 'to order, to command' which is frequently used as an honorific replacement for kahnā or karnā in formal U in imitation of the corresponding P farmādān.

3 un ke ba'd āne-vālōn ne: 'those who came after him', a typical use of the inf. ptc. where E would use a relative clause.

4 bis baras tak: i.e. until 1968, the year which marked the collapse of the authoritarian regime of Ayub Khan, which had tried to enforce the use of U at the expense of the local languages.

5 qāid-e 'avām janāb zulfiqār 'all bhutto: Bhutto assumed the title of 'The People's Leader' as part of his attempt to represent himself as the natural successor to the Quaid-e Azam. While A janāb has long been used in P and U as a polite term of address, e.g. janāb-e man 'my dear sir', its modern use before names appears to be an imitation of E 'Mr.', like the H use of S shri.

6 'avāmī hukūmat: i.e. the 'people's government' of Bhutto's P.P.P.

7 tamām sābon kī: 'of all the provinces'. The four provinces of Pakistan and their principal local languages are: Panjāb (Panjabi), Sind (Sindhi), N.W.F.P. (Pashto), and Baluchistan (Baluchi).

8 rābite kī zabān: 'link language', to be used for communication with central government and between the provinces.

9 ye bhi vāsīh kar diyā gayā hāi: 'it has also been declared'. The E impersonal passive is often thus imitated in contemporary HU.

10 intizāmī yūnit: 'organizational unit', combining a modern coinage of A origin (but calqued on E) with a straight E loan.

11 'ilāqā: 'local', another calque from E common in Pakistani U.

12 kāmil istiyyār rakhtā hāi: 'has complete authority'. While HU have of course no direct equivalent of E 'to have', rakhnā is increasingly employed to fill the gap in such phrasal loans.

13 qadam ba-qadam: a P prepns. phrase (843).

14 hangāmā-ārā: 'unrest', a P-type compound (823) of hangāmā 'riot, disturbance' with the pres. stem ārā- 'arranging'.

15 baras-hā baras: 'years and years', incorporating the P p. -hā (831b).

16 khul khelnā: lit. 'to play openly', but with the usual idiomatic sense of 'to come out into the open (with something nasty)'.

17 sindhi aur urdu: the reference is to the language-riots which had just occurred in Karachi and other parts of Sind between the Sindhi-speaking 'sons of the soil', and the U-speaking immigrants — known as muhājir 'refugees' — who have since 1947-48 formed a substantial but only partially assimilated minority in Sind.

18 hālānī ke zabānē hī nahiē: 'although these are not just languages', i.e. they are really symbols of ethnicity.

19 paiğğam-bar: 'message-bearer', vs. the parallel paiğğam-bar 'Prophet'.

20 sālōn se multāvī zabān kā masalā: an example of the fondness for long pre-modifiers in formal U (541).

21 lisānī aur saqāfati lihāz se: 'linguistically and culturally'. When used as a ppp. after a noun ke lihāz se has the sense of 'in respect of', but after an adj. lihāz se in modern U is hardly more than an adv. marker, like E 'ly'.

22 sar-garm-e safār: 'actively embarked on its journey', an izafat phrase (841) used to round off the paragraph with suitable grandiloquence.

23 intīxābi mūhm: 'election campaign', a straight calque from E.

24 sadr-e pākistān: 'the President of Pakistan', a standard izafat phrase.
18 ṭūṭe hue jahāz ki nāxudāɨ: ‘the captaincy of the broken vessel’, a reference to the breakaway of Bangladesh. P nāxudā ‘ship’s captain’ is a very high-flown word in U, where terms of E or other European origin continue to designate commissioned officers (9).

18 az sar-e nau: a P prepn. phrase (843).

19 ‘avāmī taqārīr: ‘speeches to the people’.

22 Jinnah was born into the Khoja Ismaili community, the followers of the Agha Khan. Formerly concentrated in Gujarat, many Ismailis still have Gujarati or Kacchî (‘Cutchi’), a Sindhi dialect strongly influenced by Gujarati, as their home language. The unstated parallel with the equally Anglicized Bhutto and his Sindhi background would be obvious to the audience.

22 kām angrezî zabān men kiyā: an exact reproduction of ‘worked in E’.

23 tahrîk-e pākistān: ‘the Pakistan Movement’, another calque from E.

23 The immense biographical literature devoted to Jinnah records many affectionate anecdotes about his difficulties in mastering U quite late in life, e.g. his humble acceptance of his driver’s correction of his Anglicized pronunciation of ī as ī.

26 sadr... bhūṭo ki qāīm ki hul rauṣhānī men: another example of the sort of long pre-modifier favoured in formal U, cf. 13 above.

27 hamārī qaum aur hamārā mulk bhi: ‘both our nation and our country’. Since qaum has the double connotation of ‘nation, people’ and ‘religious community’, it is often difficult to decide on the most suitable E rendering: the fusion of the two ideas is, however, of course very much a part of the contemporary South Asian context.

29 pākistān pāindā bād: ‘may Pakistan endure!’, a P phrase (834) from the Pakistan national anthem, frequently invoked on public occasions.
23

Ramvilas Sharma:
Nirālā ki sāhitya sādhana (1972)

The poet Suryakant Tripathi ‘Nirala’ (1899–1961) is perhaps the most respected and original Hindi poet of the present century. He belonged to a quartet of poets (the other three being Mahadevi Varma, Jayashankar Prasad and Sumitranandan Pant) whose work constituted the ‘reflectionist’ style of poetry called Chhayāvād; but as his pen-name ‘The odd one’ implies, Nirala was an individualist not containable by any single school or style. Although his family was from U.P., he was born and raised in Bengal, and his early literary career began in Calcutta. Nirala was much influenced by Tagore, whose receipt of the Nobel prize in 1913 had such a positive impact on Indian writers well beyond the borders of Bengal.

The work of Nirala has attracted a large critical literature in Hindi, of which Ramvilas Sharma’s two-volume study is probably the most comprehensive; its title, which equates literary creation with spiritual endeavour, is an indication both of the sentiments underlying much of Nirala’s poetry and the reverence it inspires in its critics. The passage given here is taken from a chapter entitled Bhāṣā aur rāṣṭra, and deals with the ‘national language’ debate in which Nirala, as an eloquent but catholic champion of Hindi, was necessarily engaged.

The main argument in this passage centres on the ideal nature of a rāṣṭrabhāṣā — is it necessary for such a language to have a rich literature? In an argument diametrically opposed to that of M.P. Dwivedi (12), Nirala maintains that literary use of a language is distinct from its function as a means of spoken communication; and he goes on to defend the literature of Hindi against its critics who compare it unfavourably with that of other Indian languages. Nirala accepts the claims of Bengali to have a superior corpus of modern literature, but is critical of Tagore, Gandhi and others who are less than generous towards the heritage of Hindi and its future role. He suggests that Hindi writers have not been given the prominence they deserve (a point he was to make forcefully to political leaders such as Gandhi and Nehru elsewhere), and looks forward to a time when this situation will be amended.

The highly Sanskritized register of most literary criticism is tempered here by the inclusion of verbatim and indirect quotations from the arguments of the various camps. The citations from Nirala’s various journal articles show some influence of his Bengali background; and his almost legendary outspokenness is apparent in his brusque criticisms of those whose views on the language question oppose his own.


173
हिन्दी के विरोध में सबसे बड़ा तर्क यह था कि वह एक पिछड़ी हुई भाषा है। साहित्यिक समृद्धि में गुण भाषाएँ उससे आगे बढ़ी हुई हैं, तब उसे राष्ट्रभाषा के पद पर कैसे बिठाया जाए। इस तरह का भाषार यह निर्मया कल्पना थी कि राष्ट्रभाषा का व्यवहार मुख्यतः साहित्य के पलन-पलन के लिए होगा। निराला का तर्क था कि साहित्य का प्रश्न राष्ट्रभाषा से जुड़ा हुआ है, फिर भी दोनों एक नहीं हैं। "साहित्य और भाषा का प्रश्न बहुत कुछ होते हुए भी बहुत कुछ अलग भी है।" कहते है यह गुणी हिन्दी का राष्ट्रभाषा सरल, सुविधाही हो, "सबसे विभिन्न बोली तथा समझी जाती हो।"

भारतपुर हिंदी साहित्य समूह में रवीन्द्रनाथ ठाकुर ने कहा कि हिंदी को राष्ट्रभाषा बनाना ही तो साहित्य की भौगोलिक करो। हिंदी प्राप्ति में ही मंगेजी पढ़े-लिखे लोग हिंदी की उपेक्षा करते हुए पूछते थे - हिंदी में है क्या? उत्तर भारत में भद्र से बिलियत युवा का एक दल योद्धा करते रहे। उन्होंने एक युवा ने कहा कि हिंदी में हिंदी का साहित्य का भाव है। इन्द्र भाषासमूह समूह में बैंगला की समृद्धि के मुकाबले हिंदी की दरिद्रता का उल्लेख महत्वानुमान नहीं किया।

हिंदी साहित्य की दरिद्रता के इस निरंतर उल्लेख से निराला का सुधार होना स्वाभाविक था। यह उल्लेख आप्रवत्कर्षिय का केवल राष्ट्रभाषा का उपयोग मुलक़: विषय प्रदेशों की जनता के बीच संपर्क भाषा के रूप में होना था। अंग्रेजी को न हुता पाने पर गुणी समाजवाद पर पड़ा बालने के लिए यह एक बाह्य बनाना था। विषयाना आदर करने के लिए अंग्रेजी को जनता और विधायी का माध्यम बनाए रखना चाहिए - यह निपटने भी हिंदी की दरिद्रता से भाग नाकर निकलता था। निराला ने बड़े घरेलू से और अनेक बार इस तरह का

उत्तर दिया।

"विज्ञान" वाले बैंगला लेख के प्रसंग में उन्होंने लिखा, "भारतवर्ष के लिए एक सारांश और चित्र भाषा का निर्वाचन करते समय यह देखने की आवश्यकता नहीं है कि भारत की प्रधान भाषाओं में साहित्यिक उद्देश्य किसी भी देश में हो। इस विषय में हिंदी किसी प्राचीन भाषा से पीछे नहीं है। यद्यपि हम मानते हैं कि बैंगला साहित्य कई दृष्टियों से और की अपेक्षा उत्कृष्ट है, परंतु हिंदी साहित्य का मुकाबला बैंगला नहीं चल सकती। बैंगला का प्रभाव वैज्ञानिक कवियों पर काफ़ी पड़ा है। बैंगला में एक व्यापार जीवन है, हिंदी में तुलसीदास, सूर, कवियों तीन है। . . .

बैंगों भारत के हर प्रस्तर पर अंग्रेजी भाषा का रोक-दाब था, किंतु अन्य प्रदेशों के अंग्रेजी पढ़े-लिखे लोग जहां अपने साहित्य से परिचित थे, उस पर गर्व करते थे, वहाँ हिंदी प्रदेश के अंग्रेजी पढ़े-लिखे लोग हिंदी भाषा और साहित्य का उपेक्षा का दृष्टिकोण से देखते थे, हिंदी के प्रति अपने भावना पर उनके भाव में ज़रा भी ग्लानि न थी। बैंगला, महादी भाषाओं के साहित्य को तोड़ने ने समृद्ध किया "पर हुमारे यहाँ के उच्च विद्यासाहित्य विद्वान् हिंदी को देखकर नाक-भी सिखावते हैं। पितामह में प्रदेशक का अंग्रेजी माध्यम है। यह साहित्यिक चरित्र के पतन की हद है। यहाँ विद्या नहीं, बैंगला का सामाजिक है।" यहाँ के अंग्रेजी पढ़े लोग करते कुछ नहीं, सिफारिश-चौहाड़ी बात करते हैं। अन्य प्राचीनवालों के तरह वे भी कहते हैं, हिंदी में है क्या?

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1 pichaṛ huī bhāṣā: ‘language which has fallen behind’, the ext. ptc. being used as pre-modifier (541).

2 anya bhāṣāen: the reference is mainly to Bengali, which was quick to develop a modern literature on the E model through its early contact with the British in Calcutta; and to U, which unlike H had an unbroken line of literary development since Mughal times.

6 bahut kuch: ‘to a large extent’.

8 thākura: the proper Indian spelling, so preferable to the commonplace H usage which transliterates E ‘Tagore’ as tāgor. The -v- of raviṅḍrāṇāṭh, the name by which Tagore is usually known in Bengal, appears as -b- in Bengali, which has no v grapheme.

8 hindi ko rāṣṭrabhāṣā banānā ho: the impersonal sense of this inf. construction is best translated by a passive — ‘if H is to be made the national language’.

9 hindi prānton mēn hī: hī is here not restrictive (‘only’), but emphatic: ‘in the very H provinces themselves’.

10 hindi mēn hai kyā?: ‘What does H have?’, i.e. ‘Does H have anything?’ — a rhetorical question achieved by transposition.

11 yātrā karne āyā: because the main context of travel in India has always been pilgrimage, a sense of religious or educational purpose tinges the word yātrā and gives it a more emotive sense than E ‘journey, travel’.

12 ullekh mahātmā gāndhī ne kiyā: withholding the logical subject until late in the sentence gives it emphasis, equivalent to E usage with a passive verb — ‘was alluded to by Mahatma Gandhi’.

15 rāṣṭrabhāṣā kā upyog . . . sampark bhāṣā ke rūp mēn honā thā: a modest aim whose limitations would not be acceptable to all supporters of H.

18 rājbhāṣā: ‘state language’, i.e. the language of government and administration, as opposed to rāṣṭrabhāṣā ‘National Language’.

18 banāe rahnā cāhīe: ‘should be maintained’; obl. ptc. banāe is invariable in this construction.

18 — yah niṣkars: this picks up the postulate of the initial main clause in a typical paratactic construction.

19 bare dhairya se aur anek bār: ‘with great patience and on numerous occasions’: this linking of two adv. phrases with a cj. is for emphatic rhetorical effect, but is unusual in HU and perhaps reflects E usage.

21 vicitrā: the title of a Bengali periodical.

22 calit bhāṣā: the meaning of calit as ‘current’ is more common in Bengali than in H, which tends to maintain the S sense ‘unsteady’.

22 nirvācan karte samay: ‘while choosing’: this ptc. construction with samay, lit. ‘at the time of . . .-ing’, is especially common in the rhetoric of written and spoken debate.

23 sāhityik utoḵs kiskā barā hai: ‘the literary prosperity of which one is greatest’, i.e. ‘which one has the richest literature’.

26 ek raviṅḍrāṇāṭh hain: ‘there is only Rabindranath’. This is a wild exaggeration, as Bengali has a considerable medieval literature as well as a uniquely developed nineteenth century literature (much of which is widely read in H translation also).

27 tulsīdās, sūr, kabīr: the traditional triumvirate of the H literary ‘greats’, covering respectively the main devotional schools of rām bhakti, krṣṇa bhakti and the nirguṇ bhakti of the Sant poets.

32 ucc śikṣā prāpt vidvān: ‘highly educated scholars’.

33 nāk-bhauṅ sikorte hain: lit. ‘pucker their noses and eyebrows’, i.e. ‘turn up their noses’.

33 aṅgrezi mādyam hain: the word order emphasizes ‘English’, as opposed to any other language possible in the context.
35 angrezi parhe log: 'people who can read E', i.e. those literate in E — a contraction of the more usual 28 angrezi parhe-likhe log.

35 karte kuch nahi, sirf lambi-cauri baithe karte hai: the inversion of object and ptc. in the first clause is for emphasis — 'they don't actually do anything, they just speak fine words'.
Ainul Haq Faridkoti: 
Urdū zabān kī qādīm tārīx (1972)

While the Hindi-Urdu controversy continues to be very much of a live issue in many parts of India, it is the question of the proper relationship to be established between Urdu and the local languages which dominates much of the discussion of language-issues in Pakistan. Pakistani intellectuals have attempted to resolve the apparent contradiction between the historic role of Urdu as the language of the Muslims belonging to areas now in India and its present status as their own national language.

The Delhi-centred assumptions underlying Abdul Haq’s false theory that the ‘Hindi’ element in Urdu was Braj Bhāṣā ([10]) had long been criticized by Muslims from the Panjab, notably by Hafiz Mahmud Sherani, whose Panjāb men urdu (1930) rightly pointed to the prominence of Panjabi elements in older Dakani texts. The book from which this passage is taken, however, attempts in a much more extreme fashion to give Urdu an unambiguously Pakistani identity. As his name suggests, it was written by an author belonging to the Muslim minority of eastern Panjab, whose enforced migration in 1947 has produced many of the most fervent upholders of Pakistani nationalism: and, as the award to it of two prestigious literary prizes suggests, its ideas have found quite widespread acceptance in Pakistan.

The basic idea is that Urdu is not an Indo-Aryan language at all, but is to be assigned along with the local languages to the quite different Dravidian family, now restricted to South India, although with a genuine Pakistani outlier in the Brahu language of Baluchistan. In the usual fashion of such eccentric books, huge numbers of languages are culled for plausible parallel forms at second or third hand: but these can only be convincing to an audience more familiar with Arabic and Persian than with Sanskrit.

The first paragraph illustrates the book’s central theme by referring to the liberating influence of the Muslim conquests upon the development of the local languages, which were thus freed from the ‘Brahmanical conspiracy’ which had so long held them in thrall. This is followed by a delightfully sustained attack on the consequences of the European discovery of Sanskrit in the nineteenth century, here alleged to have blinded scholars from seeing the ‘true’ affiliation of Urdu and the local languages of Pakistan.

With its preponderance of pompous Persian compounds, the style is at first sight typical of all too much Pakistani Urdu prose. A rather nice irony, however, underlies the endless calques from English: and the sensitive reader — whatever he or she may think of the actual content — will quickly realize that the most high-flown resources of Urdu (or those of Hindi) can easily be exploited to deliberately belittling effect.


If the rest of the present book has not demonstrated in the most conclusive fashion the widely misleading character of the ideas advanced in this passage, it will have failed utterly in its purpose.
محمد علی ناول کے امید کے وقت جب پرزمیریوں میں جہود روز ہر روزمہی ہم ہوکر آپی مقدہ مزے عروستی کی بنیاد استوار پہلے ہوئی اور زبان نے اس منظر قائم سازی کے لئے تبادلہ کا مقدمہ کا موقع مل کیا اب پہیچ مذہبی اور اسیا میں بہت سی حیرت کا جواب بالا راست امتحانات کے ارتعاشی عملے کی کتاب میں بہت سی جواب بالا کو موجبہ راہ بہو بہت عیسی میں ترکیب کیے کا کسی اور زبان میں کوئی نشان جس میں ۔

چہ ایل مغز پرزمیریوں وارڈ بہونے تو روام میں سے نجس جنت میں ہے پہلے میں یہاں کی مقامات زبان کے ممالک میں سکھی طبیعیات سندحوع کریں۔ ہیں اس ان کے ایک نیٹیاں سے کہ دکھ کر بندونس کی مذہب زبان سنکرت کے سرمایہ غنا کا ایک بہت حسن بزیر زبان کے ہیں ممالک رکھنا ہے۔ بورڈ کے نال ویسے اس کے نال ویسے کے سنکرت اور زبان کے خانہ اور ججکیبی کی جریہا کی بہت سی حیرت کا جواب بالا کو موجبہ میں متعلق ہیں۔

یہ کہ کہ اس سے بہات سیر سب سے سی ویس ہیں۔ اس متعلق کے مولب دوبارہ اور اسیا کی تاریخ، تجدید و تمدن اور زبان کے اباد کے بارے میں معقولات سے ذمہ داری کا ایک

عوام قد انداز بھی ہے۔

تین ساتھیوں میں بھی ہے کہ ان کے دخلن بی صنکرت کا مقبولیہ ہے اس کی سواں

سماج کے ایک نفیل ظاہر کی رواں کے سامان ساتھ اپنی یہ ظاہر کی جاتا ہے بری بعض انتہائی میں ایک غیر مزیار نفروز کی جنم دی چھپی کا ان کے بہت باغ دھوسل اور موبایل ناول کی وہ سے ہے بیچون د بھی جو تکریا کا۔

پرزمیری کے نفیل وہ جمہوریہ خدا زبان کے سکریٹرіوں کے اجسیر یہ سادے میں ہے ان عرائشی زبان نفروز میں سے ایک سے ہوکر ان کے مزار کے سرمایہ میں عشقم موزیکو میں خیال کی بھی کریاں گا چاہیے میں درد زدن کے خلاف۔ اس کے کریزی دیکھنے نہ کی بات وہ جدید بھی اس طرح سے سایہ دکھ رہا کہ چٹنی پھیل ناں میں ہو چیزات بہت نہیں۔

اس اس سے نازکی کو چھاپنے کے
1 raja: a derivative of raja suggesting 'petty Hindu states'. The normal U word used to describe a 'princely state' of British India is the A riyasat, e.g. riyasat-e jammu o kashmir.

3 ba-taur ek zindâ zabân ke: 'as a living language', illustrating the survival of P-derived compound prepn. in U (844).

3 hamesâ hamesâ ke liye: 'for ever and ever'. This is an instance of straightforward convergence between U reduplication (542a) and E idiom.

4 'avâmi zabânein: 'languages of the common people'.

4 phalnâ phûlnâ: 'to flourish', a very common jingle-compound (524) with the lit. sense 'to fruit and to blossom'.

4 mazhabi aur adabi taxili: 'religious and literary creations'. The reference is to the earliest collections of Muslim religious verse in the NIA languages, e.g. to the thirteenth century Baba Farid in Panjabi or to the fourteenth century Amir Khusrau in HU (though the attribution of surviving examples is very doubtful in both cases).

5 ba-râh-e râst: a P prepn. phrase (843).

6 unhi: vs. 5 unhein. The omission of the final nun gunnâ conveniently serves to distinguish the emphatic form, but is far from standard.

6 irtiqâi silsilte kariyân: 'links in the evolutionary chain', whose status as a loan-translation from E is obvious.

7 sarf o nahv: 'grammatical', from PA o nahv 'grammar', a copular phrase combining sarf 'morphology' and nahv 'syntax'. The common E synonym graimar has no correspondingly convenient adj. in U. A book of grammar is normally referred to in U by the A loan qavâ'id, lit. 'rules', at a humbler level by the corresponding s. qâ'idâ 'primer'.

7 tarkib: 'construction', an A loan also used in the sense of 'compound', to which the P bandis more narrowly corresponds.

7 kalâsik: 'classical', cf. râmân 'romantic'.

9 ahl-e magrib: 'the Europeans', a specialized izafat phrase (841).

11 acambah: 'surprise, wonder', perhaps deliberately chosen as a markedly 'H word in preference to A ta'a'ijub or hairânî.

11 sarmâyâ-e alfâz: 'word-stock, vocabulary', illustrating the common U use of izafat phrases to represent E compounds.

12 yûrâpû: regular as an adj. in U, vs. the noun yûrâpiyan.

13 jangal kî âg kî tarâ: 'like a forest fire', almost certainly a loan-translation from E.

13 dars o tadrîs: 'study and teaching', a copular phrase combining a simple A noun with a form II derivative (721): cf. the pair 'ilm 'knowledge' and ta'âlîm 'education'.

13 dârul-'ulûm: 'university', an A loan (741) virtually equivalent to 16 dars-gâh, a PA compound (822).

15 is silsile men: 'in this connexion', a very common phrase in modern U.

15 sab se peh peh: 'considerably in advance of them all'. P peh 'before' corresponds to both HU âge and pahlê.

18 lekin sâth hi ye bhî hai kii... 'but at the same time there is also the point that...'. Even the most deliberately high-flown HU styles have sooner or later to resort to such colloquial linkages.

18 bhûtr: 'evil spirit', ironically evoking the idea of spirit-possession, present in at least the subconscious of nearly all HU-speakers.

19 yak-tarîfâ: 'one-sided', an apparent PA compound (825) which is really a transparent calque from E.

21 be-cûn o cîrû: a P prepn. phrase (843) with the lit. sense 'without how and why', i.e. 'without question'.

22 sanskritul-asli: 'Sanskrit in origin', an expression demonstrating the live use in U of an A phrasal pattern (741) to incorporate a non-A element.

25 Max Müller was one of the great German Indo-Europeanists of the nineteenth century whose work was inspired by Sir William Jones’s earlier demonstration of the genetic connexion between S and Latin and Greek. Hoernle and John Beames were nineteenth century comparative grammarians of the NIA languages. Although their insights helped Sir George Grierson to formulate the majestic scheme of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, their now dated works are these days more frequently cited in South Asia than in Europe.

26 bāvan-gaz: lit. ‘52-yarder’, i.e. ‘giant’, a charming example of a dvigu-compound incorporating a P loan.

28 cailanj kar sake: a surely deliberate choice of the E word, in preference to the synonymous A muqābalā.
Hindi-English Glossary

This Glossary lists all the vocabulary items occurring in the H passages except those items with which readers of this book are assumed to be familiar, omitting also proper nouns and those words glossed adequately in the text.

The siglum 'S' in the left-hand column designates not only genuine S words but also the numerous neologisms coined from S roots and/or by analogy with existing S forms. This makes any attempt at computing the percentages of genuine S loans rather unreliable; but a glance at the glossary will give an accurate enough indication of the preponderance of S loans or coinages in modern H prose.

In addition to the usual conventions, the abbreviations ho. for honā and ka. for karnā have been used in the glossary.

अ

बंड का बंड adj. nonsensical
s बन्तूर m. difference
s बंध- adj. pref. blind
s बंश m. part, element
s बाहर m. character, letter
s बाहरज्ञान m. knowledge of writing, literacy
s बाहररांभ m. initiation into literacy
बाला adj. next, former; m. elder, ancestor
s बाँजीण m. indigestion
s बाहात adj. unknown
s बानान m. ignorance
s बत: adv. so, therefore
s बताव adv. so, therefore
s (के) बताविक ppn. besides, apart from
s बत्तना adv. extremely
s बया cj. or
s बदुमूल adj. fantastic, supernatural
s बधिकार m. right
बधूरा adj. incomplete
s बध- adj. pref. half-
s बनंत adj. endless, infinite
s बनावस्यक adj. unnecessary
s बनुराम m. love, fondness
s (के) बनुरूप ppn. in conformity with
s बनुवाद m. translation
s बनुवादक m. translator, interpreter
s बनेक adj. several, many
बनेखा adj. unique, extraordinary
s बन्न-धन m. 'grain and wealth', affluence
s बन्ध adj. other; बन्धान्त्र adj. various
बपड adj. illiterate
s बपरिचित adj. unfamiliar, unrecognized
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>स्वेषा</td>
<td>f. requirement; की स्वेषा ppn. compared with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सर्वज्ञ</td>
<td>adj. non-current</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सर्वांगिक</td>
<td>adj. irrelevant, out of context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्रावणा</td>
<td>adj. unfortunate, unlucky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सद्भाव</td>
<td>m. deceased, lack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>साधनीय</td>
<td>m. law case, suit, accusation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>साहाय्य</td>
<td>m. practice, familiarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अस्तमा</td>
<td>m. official, court functionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अस्वात</td>
<td>adj. such and such, a certain one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अस्वार्थ</td>
<td>adj. unreal, false</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अमृता</td>
<td>m. first letter of the A alphabet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अर्थी</td>
<td>f. Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अस्मान</td>
<td>m. leisure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अतसर</td>
<td>m. occasion, chance, opportunity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अवकल्पा</td>
<td>f. neglect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अविचार</td>
<td>m. folly, lack of discrimination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अविद्वार</td>
<td>f. ignorance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अविद्वा</td>
<td>adj. impure, corrupted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>असंभव</td>
<td>adj. impossible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अवस्थाः</td>
<td>f. failure, lack of success</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अवतर</td>
<td>m. effect, influence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ना  | vt. to look at full in the face               |
| नाकाश   | m. sky                                        |
| नामार्थ  | m. (title for) teacher                       |
| नामस्कृत   | f. autobiography                              |
| नामस्मृत्या  | f. suicide                                    |
| नामस्य  | f. soul, spirit                               |
| नाय  | f. habit                                      |
| नायदार कर्ता | vt. to make a salutation                     |
| नायदि   | adv. etc., and other such                     |
| नायार   | m. base, basis, foundation                   |
| नायिकत्व  | m. supremacy                                  |
| नायूनूनिक   | m. modern                                    |
| नायति   | f. objection                                  |
| नायोपेक्षा   | m. learned lesson                             |
| नाय   | adj. Aryan                                    |
| नायू बढारा   | m. prune                                      |
| नायकेश्वरः   | m. surprise                                   |
| नायका   | m. shelter, refuge                            |

| ह  | f. desire, wish                              |
| हिरण्य   | m. expression                                |
| हित  | f. end                                       |
| हिन्द   | f. expression, style of expression           |
| हिंदीरा  | m. sign, signal, indication                 |
| हिस्सक   | m. love                                      |

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Romanization</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>उगलना</td>
<td>vt. to disgorge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उच्च</td>
<td>adj. high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उच्चारण</td>
<td>m. pronunciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उच्छ्वस्त</td>
<td>m. prosperity, excellence, eminence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उकृहत</td>
<td>adj. rich, excellent, eminent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उत्साह</td>
<td>f. origin, production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उत्पन्न</td>
<td>adj. produced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उदाहरण</td>
<td>m. example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उन्नति</td>
<td>f. progress, development, sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उपकार</td>
<td>m. assistance, good, favour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उपदेश</td>
<td>m. lesson, teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उपयोग</td>
<td>m. use, application</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उपार्जन</td>
<td>m. acquisition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उपासना</td>
<td>f. worship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उपेक्षा</td>
<td>f. disregard, neglect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उलझना</td>
<td>vi. to become tangled, complicated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उन्नदित-सीमं</td>
<td>adv. hurriedly, haphazardly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उल्लेख</td>
<td>m. mention, reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्रस्ताद</td>
<td>adj. cunning, skilful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>एकत्र</td>
<td>f. unity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>एक्षिकांग</td>
<td>m. aide-de-camp, A.D.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>एवम्</td>
<td>conj. and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बोधि</td>
<td>m. verandah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षिति</td>
<td>m. throat; voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षेत्र</td>
<td>adj. learned by heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षणिकरी</td>
<td>f. court of law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षिति</td>
<td>f. difficulty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षमा</td>
<td>adj. bitter, unpleasant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षणनाथीर</td>
<td>ppn. according to, in accordance with the words of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षेत्रचित</td>
<td>adv. perhaps, possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षेत्रपि</td>
<td>adv. ever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षति</td>
<td>m. feat, accomplishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्राहना</td>
<td>vi. to groan, moan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षय</td>
<td>m. subject (in grammar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षेत्र</td>
<td>f. machine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षली</td>
<td>f. bud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षुद्रित</td>
<td>adj. sullied, tainted, made impure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षणिन</td>
<td>f. imagination, assumption; क्षणिन कर to imagine, to suppose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कष्ट</td>
<td>m. hardship, suffering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षेत्रीय</td>
<td>adj. astringent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षेत्रीयी</td>
<td>f. criterion, test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कौटा</td>
<td>m. thorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कान रखना</td>
<td>vt. to lend an ear, to listen attentively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A कायदा</td>
<td>m. rule, practice, custom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S कायदा</td>
<td>m. work, job, task</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S कायदेम</td>
<td>m. programme; progress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S कायस्लिय</td>
<td>m. office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P कात</td>
<td>intj. if only, I wish that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S कात्वी</td>
<td>m. Benares, Varanasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S सिंतु</td>
<td>cj. but, moreover, however</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P फिलिक</td>
<td>f. piece of reed, reed pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कीड़ा</td>
<td>m. insect, worm, bug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S कुट्यु</td>
<td>m. family, household</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुमार</td>
<td>m. potter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S कुत</td>
<td>adj. composed by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S कृति</td>
<td>f. work (of art or literature)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S कैलि</td>
<td>f. game, sport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कैथी</td>
<td>f. a script similar to Nagari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A कैथियत</td>
<td>f. statement, description, account</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कौठीरी</td>
<td>f. small room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S कौश</td>
<td>m. dictionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कौस</td>
<td>m. a measure of distance, about 2 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S कौतूहल</td>
<td>m. wonder, curiosity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S कृत</td>
<td>m. order, succession; pattern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S क्रिया</td>
<td>f. verb; action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S लूब्ध</td>
<td>adj. disquieted, disturbed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S लोक</td>
<td>m. area</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ख    | m. line |
| खेलार    | m. discord, wrangling |
| खटाई    | f. sourness; खटाई में पड़ा vi. to be in dire straits |
| खड़िया    | f. chalk |
| PA खराबी    | f. defect, fault |
| खिचड़ी    | f. hotch-potch |
| A खिताब   | m. title |
| खिलना    | vi. to blossom |
| खींचना    | vt. to draw |
| P खुदा    | m. lord, master, God |
| P खुबूदार    | adj. fragrant |
| PA खूबसूरती    | f. beauty |
| खेत कुड़    | m. fun and games |
| खेताभी    | m. player |

| ग    | f. rusticity; provincial speech |
| गणित    | f. mathematics |
| A गजल    | f. ghazal, U Romantic lyric in couplets |
| S गतागत    | m. coming and going |
s गद्य m. prose
s गर्व m. pride
p- गवर्द्धन m. witness
गवाना vt. to waste, to squander
गणना vt. to count
गणना vt. to count, to enumerate, to list
गृह adj. obscure, abstruse
gोटी f. piece (in chess etc.)
s गोष्ठी f. meeting, assembly
s ग्रन्थ m. book, literary composition
s ग्रहण m. taking, holding
s ग्रामीण adj. & m. rustic
s ग्राम्यजन mp. villagers, rustics
s ग्लानि f. remorse, repentance

ष
भन्द्रोर adj. (intimidatingly) profound
s भनिष्ठ adj. close, intimate
भर्तार m. household
भर्ताना m. family, household, lineage
भस्त्र f. scribble, scrawl
भस्त्रातना vt. to drag
भाग m. wily old man
भस्त्रातना vt. to cram in, to foist upon
भोड़ी f. mare

ब
बंगीतना vt. to scratch, to inscribe
s बंधी f. the goddess Durga
s बंधा adj. restless, fidgety, playful
बनवना vt. to taste
बाटाई f. mat
s बुद्ध adj. clever, skilful, shrewd
s बुद्ध m. garden
p बुद्ध m. garden
s बुद्धम adj. ultimate, highest
s बुद्धि adj. current
बाटना vt. to lick; चाट जाना vt. to polish off, to gobble up
बाटाई f. low wooden bedstead with string base
p बाटाक adj. clever, cunning
चाह f. desire, love
विष्का m. a game
s विष्ा f. anxiety, concern
s विल m. mind; विश्व लागना vt. to concentrate
p विराग m. lamp
चोटी f. ant
p चीन m. China
p चीनी f. Chinese
चूरा m. flour, powder
स चेतः f. gesture, movement
चीपाई f. a quarter
चौपाई f. quatrain, four-lined verse
छ f. influence, effect, shadow
छांह f. influence, effect, shadow
छाया f. influence, effect, shadow
छिंकना vt. to sprinkle
छीनना vt. to seize
छूट ppn. apart from, except
छूटपन m. childhood, boyhood
छूटी f. knife
A- छोटा काफ m. letter of A alphabet
ज m. person
S जन adj.suff. -producing
S जनक f. population, the people
S जनसाधारण mp. the common people, people at large
S जन्य adj. born (of), produced (by)
जनना vt. to repeat (name of God etc.)
P जब्बन f. language, tongue
A जमा हो* vi. to be assembled, to gather
S जल m. water
A जल्द adv. quickly
A जवार m. neighbourhood
A जाल f. letter of A alphabet
A जाहिर adj. plain, obvious, apparent
A जिल्द f. binding; volume of a work
S जिज़्जा f. tongue
जी m. life; heart
A जीम f. letter of A alphabet
जुड़ना vi. to be joined
जुलाहा m. Muslim caste of weavers
A जेठ f. letter of A alphabet
जोड़ना vt. to join
A जोय f. letter of A alphabet
S जात adj. known
S ज्ञान m. knowledge
ज्ञोत्स का त्यो adj. unchanged, intact, as before
S ज्योतिष f. astrology
PA ज्ञानव f. letter of A alphabet
झ m. flag, banner
झपट f. spring, leap
झाल m. small cymbal
झुड़ुलाना vi. to fume, to get angry
vt. to bend
m. lie

m. blow, slap
f. comment, criticism
adv. a little, just

f. coolness
m. cheat, imposter, 'thug'
vt. to cheat, swindle
m. whereabouts; ढिकाने का adj. appropriate
f. stumble; ढोकर खाना vi. to stumble

m. pool, puddle
adj. gruff
m. form, appearance; ढोल-ढाल mp. circumstances
m. multiplying by one-and-a-half

vi. to be covered
m. manner, way
m. barrel-shaped drum

m. low wooden seat with a cloth covering
f. child's writing board
m. medal
adv. immediately
adj. & m. (word) of unchanged form
cj. and
adv. with that object, for that end
adv. similarly, likewise
adj. a little, slight
m. way, method
m. argument, reasoning
f. pool
vt. to guess, to perceive
adj. fundamental, essential
m. pond
m. brocade, cloth of gold
adj. multiplied by three
m. place of pilgrimage, sacred site
adj. sharp, strong
| P | तुर्की | f. Turkish |
| S | तुस्प | adj. like, equivalent |
| P | तेज़ी | f. speed, swiftness |

| ध | धुमाना | vt. to pout, to make a wry face |

| S | दंड | m. punishment |
| S | दरिद्रता | f. poverty |
| S | दर्पण | m. mirror |
| S | दल | m. party, group |
| A | दसील | f. argument, plea |
| S | दम | f. condition, circumstance |
| P | दस्ताना | m. glove |
| P | दस्तावेज | m. document, deed |
| S | दाता | m. benefactor, giver, God |
| S | दान | m. gift, offering |
| P | दामाद | m. son-in-law, bridegroom |
| A | दाबा | m. claim |
| दिन निकलना | vi. daylight to emerge |
| S | दीर्घ | adj. long |
| P | दुजायगी | f. difference, antipathy |
| S | दुराशा | f. vain hope |
| S | दुःखिण्या | f. dilemma, uncertainty |
| दुरुनिण्या | vt. to repeat |
| S | दूरलंक | m. remoteness, distance |
| S | दूर्सात | m. glance |
| S | दृष्टि | f. view, viewpoint |
| (की) देखा-देखी | ppn. in imitation of, in emulation of |
| S | दैनिक | adv. daily |
| PA | देशसमी हे | m. letter of U alphabet |
| दोहा | m. couplet |
| S | द्वार | m. door |

| ध | ध्यान | m. work, job, profession |
| ध्यानाना | vt. to thrust, to force upon |
| धड़के से | adv. rapidly, nineteen-to-the-dozen |
| धान | m. rice on the stem |
| S | धारणा | f. concept, notion |
| S | धर्ष्य | m. patience, fortitude |
| धोका | m. deceit |

| न | नङ्ग | f. veil |
| S | नमस्तक | adj. respectful, having head bowed |
| A | नधीचा | m. result, consequence |
| नरकुल  | m. reed  |
| सन्नावनागत  | adj. newly arrived; m. newcomer  |
| नाभ  | f. snuff  |
| प-नासदानी  | f. snuff-box  |
| नाक राहना  | vt. to rub the nose on the ground, to beseech  |
| स सागरिक  | m. citizen  |
| स साप्तना  | f. heroine  |
| स सिंदिसिम  | adj. endless  |
| स निवार  | f. offering, sacrifice  |
| स निव  | adv. always, daily, constantly  |
| स निवान  | adv. consequently, in the end  |
| स सिन्य  | m. rule  |
| स सिन्दुरुश्ता  | f. despotism, waywardness  |
| स सिनंतर  | adj. incessant  |
| स सिनाना  | adj. strange, peculiar, novel  |
| स निदिल  | adj. lifeless, inanimate  |
| स सिन्धिय  | m. decision, judgement  |
| स सिन्धी  | adj. faultless, free of error  |
| स सिन्दूरले  | adj. weak  |
| स सिन्धुङ्गल  | adj. unsullied, spotless, pure  |
| स सिन्धुङ्गल  | m. selection  |
| स सिन्धुङ्गल  | adj. elected, selected  |
| स सिन्धुङ्गल  | m. inhabitant, resident  |
| स सिन्धुङ्गल  | m. submission, request  |
| स सिन्धुङ्गल  | adj. definite, certain  |
| स सिन्धुङ्गल  | m. inference, conclusion  |
| स सिन्धुङ्गल  | f. policy  |
| प पीक  | f. point, tip  |
| प पीजाब  | m. title of Muslim governor, Nawab, 'Nabob'  |

| प  | f. petal  |
| पंचमेल  | adj. mixed, conglomerate  |
| स पंध  | m. side, party  |
| स पंधापारी  | f. partisan, advocate  |
| पंडार्गना  | vt. to overcome, to knock down  |
| स पंड नाथन  | m. studying and teaching  |
| स पंडर्वी-विश्वा  | adj. educated, literate  |
| स पंडन  | m. downfall  |
| स पंड-पेघन  | m. letter-writing  |
| स पंड  | m. position, job, status  |
| स पंडार्थ  | m. object, article, substance  |
| स पंड  | m. verse, poetry  |
| स पंडायम  | adj. in poetic form, in verse  |
| स पंडायम  | adj. in poetic form, in verse  |
| स पंडालक  | m. page  |
| स पंडरारा  | f. tradition  |
| स पंडीय  | adj. different, other, alien  |
परमाणु f. poetic heroine who is another man's wife
परल संक्षिप्त m. mountain, hill
परवाह f. care, concern
परस्पर adj. mutual, reciprocal
परामर्श adj. someone else's, alien
परिचित adj. acquainted, familiar
परियोजना m. abandonment
परिमित adj. limited; परिमित रखना vt. to limit
परिवर्तन m. change, alteration
पर्यटन ppn. up to, until
पर्वत m. mountain, hill
पत्ता m. pool, puddle
पशु m. animal, beast
पश्चिमोत्तर adj. north-western
पहाड़ m. multiplication table
पहेली f. riddle; पहेली बूझना vt. to talk in riddles, to pose riddles
पाठ m. reading or recitation of text
पाठशाला f. school
पारसी f. Persian
पारिभाषिक adj. technical
पछी vi. to lag behind
पीठ f. back
पुत्र m. admixture, touch
पुतला m. puppet, doll
पुनः adv. again
पुलिस f. police
पूर्व m. East
पूर्ति f. fulfilling, completion
पूर्वक adj. separate, distinct
पूर्वी f. earth
पैमाणत f. measuring, surveying
पीतता vt. to smear
पीती f. book, volume
प्राष्ट्रित adj. practised, used
प्रासन adj. pleased, delighted
प्राचीन adj. ancient
प्रदर्शन vt. to show, to make visible, to express
प्रकृति f. nature
प्रक्रिया f. process, technique
प्राप्त adj. manifest, obvious; प्राप्त करना vt. to express
प्रगाढ f. progress
प्रबरत adj. current
प्रबंध m. currency, prevalence, propagation
प्रणाली f. method, system
प्रतिकूल adj. opposed, contrary
प्रतिभा f. genius, talent
प्रतिलिपि f. copy, transcript
प्रयुक्त cj. but, rather
प्रत्येक adj. each, every
adv. firstly, at first
f. practice, custom
m. giving, delivering
adj. chief, pre- eminent; m. president, counsellor
m. essay, composition; arrangement
adj. strong, powerful
f. brilliance, radiance
m. influence, impact
m. effort, attempt
f. tendency, disposition
m. context
f. pleasure, delight
adj. natural
adj. ancient
adj. regional
m. province
adj. provincial
adj. provincial
vt. to obtain
adj. mature
m. grace, kindness
adv. swiftly
m. duty, obligation
f. pod
f. snare, trap
vt. to make rove about
m. husband of paternal aunt
vi. to blossom (with joy)
vt. to pass over, to draw over
vi. to gabble, to prattle
vt. to praise
m. mess, complication, imbrolio
m. letter of A alphabet
f. letter of A alphabet
m. exaggerator, tall-talker
f. lamp, light, wick
m. body, frame
m. revenge
adj. learned by heart
m. year
vi. to rain
adv. constantly, always; adj. even, level, equal
vi. to be within one's capacity
m. champion
m. excuse
adj. much, many, numerous
vt. to read
m. obstacle, hindrance
adv. time and again, repeatedly
m. pot, vessel
f. dot
m. drop
f. sale, selling
adj. poor, helpless
m. little son, lad
f. to make sit, to position, to place
intj. in the name of God
f. intelligence, prudence
adj. wise, intelligent
f. harm, fault
f. title for lady
adv. unhesitatingly, boldly, brazenly
f. comprehensibility
f. conversation
m. marriage
m. hymn, devotional song
f. abundance
adj. good, noble
f. way, manner, kind
f. (vernacular) language
vi. to be pleasing, agreeable
m. burden
adj. great, momentous, prodigious
m. idea, sense, sentiment
m. beggar
vt. to soak
adj. different, distinct
f. distinction, dissimilarity
f. hunger
m. difference, differentiation; secret, essential identity
m. food, meal
adj. innocent, simple-minded
f. eyebrow
m. confusion, misunderstanding
adj. approved, sanctioned
m. secretary, minister
m. school
m. residence of sadhus, 'monastery'
m. difference of opinion, dissension
m. 'maund', measure of weight equal to 20 seer
adj. charming
adj. according to one's wish, wanton, wilful
adj. interesting, entertaining
m. entertainment
adj.suff. full of, characterized by
m. vital part, essence
adv. only, merely, alone
f. vowel-sign in Nagari script
m. medium
m. respect, prestige, value
m. criterion, standard
m. road, path
m. goods, property
adj. monthly
f. earth, clay
m. sweet-talker, parrot
adj. false
m. honorific title for (Muslim) gentleman
m. mixture, combination
vt. to compete
ppn. in comparison with
adv. principally
m. a variety of grain
f. a kind of fast accounting script
ppn. according to
m. congratulation, felicitation
f. difficulty, calamity, misfortune
m. idiom, expression
m. origin, root, source
adv. basically
f. title for European ladies, ma'am
m. member
m. mixture, combination, unity, coming together
m. sock, stocking
adj. present
m. silence
m. Muslim cleric, teacher
m. Arabic scholar
adj. fundamental, original
m. cousin (son of maternal aunt)
adv. as far as practical, to the greatest possible extent
adv. occasionally, sometimes
f. ability, competence
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>र</th>
<th>m. aristocrat, nobleman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>रईस</td>
<td>m. aristocrat, nobleman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>राजना</td>
<td>vt. to rub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रचना</td>
<td>f. composition, artistic creation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रचना</td>
<td>vt. to create, to compose, to form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रचना</td>
<td>vt. to repeat, to learn by rote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>राई</td>
<td>f. mustard seed, tiny particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>राजभक्ति</td>
<td>f. loyalty to the country or state, patriotism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>राजभाषा</td>
<td>f. state language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रामायणपाठ</td>
<td>m. reading of the Ramayan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>राय</td>
<td>f. opinion, view</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>राष्ट्रीय</td>
<td>adj. national</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>राष्ट्रीयता</td>
<td>f. nationalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रिपोर्ट</td>
<td>f. report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रीति</td>
<td>f. way, manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रूप</td>
<td>m. form, manner, beauty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प</td>
<td>f. handkerchief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रेत</td>
<td>f. sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रोगदा</td>
<td>m. small hair of the body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रोक</td>
<td>f. restriction, ban, hindrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रोब-दाब</td>
<td>m. predominance, overbearing influence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ल</td>
<td>f. line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लगा</td>
<td>adv., pp. from, beginning with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ललन</td>
<td>f. pleasure, savour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लड़काना</td>
<td>vt. to suspend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लड़कपन</td>
<td>m. childhood, boyhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लदना</td>
<td>vi. to be loaded, laden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सप्त</td>
<td>m. blaze, heat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लबड़-धौरों</td>
<td>f. glamour and confusion, row</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लाभिम</td>
<td>adj. essential, obligatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लिखाई</td>
<td>f. writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स</td>
<td>f. script</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लुभात</td>
<td>mp. (often used as s.) dictionaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सेह</td>
<td>m. writing, article, essay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सेखनी</td>
<td>f. pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सोक-सीत</td>
<td>m. folksong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सोत-पोट</td>
<td>adj. convulsed with laughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सोप को</td>
<td>vt. to eliminate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब</td>
<td>f. worship, praise; prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बंडना</td>
<td>m. lawyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बास्तव</td>
<td>m. statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वरंच</td>
<td>cj. but rather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वरन</td>
<td>cj. but, on the contrary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स</td>
<td>m. description</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
स भर्माला f. syllabary
s- भर्मीभूत कविता vt. to bring under control, to dominate
s बल m. clothing
s बांधनीय adj. desirable
बा adv. or
e बाइसराय m. viceroy
s बांध m. sentence, utterance
s बांध-रचना f. sentence structure, syntax
s बांध-विन्यास m. sentence structure, syntax
s बांधकुंदी f. goddess of speech, Sarasvati
s बांधक m. speaker
s बांधवाण f. conversation
s- बांधव में adv. in fact, actually
s बांधविक adj. real, actual
s बिकार m. change, deviation, perversion
s बिकास m. development, growth
s बिस्मिल्लाह m. publicity
s बिश्वासित adj. notified, publicised
s बिधित adj. known
s बिबिया f. learning, science, discipline
s बिद्राम m. scholar
s बिनीत adj. humble
s बिविधित f. word-ending, termination
s बिविभिन्न adj. various
s (के) बिस्मठ ppn. against, contrary to
s बिषय m. antagonism, hostility, opposition
s बिलासण adj. remarkable, peculiar
s बिलासणता f. peculiarity
s बिलासन m. evaluation, argument
s बिलासत adj. particular, specific
s बिलासुद्रा adj. completely pure, unadulterated
s- बिलास-कर के adv. particularly
s बिलास म m. rest, relaxation
s बिलास्वतन m. knowledge of the world
s बिषय m. subject
s बृद्धि f. growth, increase
s- ब्रह्मण क्त vt. to express
s ब्रह्मितक adj. individual, personal
s ब्रह्म वर्ध adv. in vain, uselessly
s ब्रह्महार m. usage, application
s ब्रह्मकरण m. grammar

श

f. chess
s शब्द-महत्त्व m. choice or selection of vocabulary
s शर्त-स्वरूप m. record-keeper, clerk of court
s शाखा f. branch
s शान्त adj. peaceful, pacified
A- vi. to be included, to participate
S शिक्षण m. teaching, instruction
S शिक्षा f. education
S शिक्षित adj. educated
S शिष्य m. disciple, student
S शीघ्र adv. quickly, promptly
P शीर्णी f. offering of sweatmeats
S शैली f. style
S शौच m. ablution
S श्रीयुत m. honorific title, 'e excellency'
S श्रीमृद्धि f. enhancement of prosperity

S संकेत m. brevity, abridgement
S संबंध f. number
S संतुष्ट adj. content, satisfied
S संध्या f. evening
S संपर्क m. contact, link
S संबंधात adv. possibly, perhaps
S संचय adj. controlled, restrained
S संयुक्त adj. joint
S संयुक्तार m. conjunct character
S संयोग m. combination, union
S सक्त f. power
S सजीव adj. living, lively
S सत्याग्रह m. total ruin, devastation
S सदस्य m. member
S समुच्छ भ adj. opposite, face to face
S सप्ताह m. week
S संबंध m. lesson
S संघ f. assembly, association, society
S सभ्य adj. civilized
S समर्थ adj. capable, competent
S समर्थक m. supporter
S समर्थन m. support
S समस्त adj. all, entire, whole
S समस्त-पद m. compound word
S समानता f. similarity, equality
S समिति f. committee
S समुद्र adj. prosperous
S समृद्धि f. richness
S सम्बन्ध m. connection
S सम्बन्ध-कारक m. genitive case
S सम्बंधित adj. united
S सम्मेलन m. assembly, association, conference
P सर m. head
P सराहना vt. to praise
S सर्व-सामान्य adj. common, general
PA सलामी f. salute, gun-salute
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit Word</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>सहृदय</td>
<td>adj. easy, simple, natural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सहृदयत</td>
<td>adj. agreed, in agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सहायता</td>
<td>f. assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>साँस</td>
<td>f. breath; sigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सादेच</td>
<td>m. witness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सादृश्य</td>
<td>m. evidence, testimony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>साधन</td>
<td>f. practice, spiritual endeavour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>साधारण</td>
<td>adj. ordinary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सामान्य</td>
<td>adj. ordinary, general, common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सामी</td>
<td>adj. Semitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सामीय</td>
<td>m. proximity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>साम्राज्य</td>
<td>m. empire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सामवेदीक</td>
<td>adj. universal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सामन</td>
<td>m. the month Shravan (July-August)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>साहित्य</td>
<td>m. literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>साहित्यिक</td>
<td>adj. literary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सिकोड़ना</td>
<td>vt. to pucker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सिद्धन्त</td>
<td>m. principle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सिद्धिः</td>
<td>f. accomplishment, success</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(के) सिद्धिः</td>
<td>ppn. apart from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सीमा</td>
<td>f. limit, boundary, extent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुखाना</td>
<td>vt. to dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुध</td>
<td>f. memory, awareness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुपूर्द कः</td>
<td>vt. to entrust, to put into the charge of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुविद्य</td>
<td>adj. intelligible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुरत</td>
<td>f. memory, reflection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सूचा</td>
<td>adj. dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सूचक</td>
<td>m. indication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सूचना</td>
<td>vi. to occur to the mind, to be perceived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सूर्योदय</td>
<td>m. sunrise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सूर्योत्सर</td>
<td>f. creation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सम्भव</td>
<td>m. afternoon, 'third watch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सेर</td>
<td>m. 'seer', 2 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सेवा</td>
<td>f. service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सो</td>
<td>pr. he, she, it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्थल</td>
<td>m. place, site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्नान</td>
<td>m. bathing, purification, ablution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्पष्ट</td>
<td>adj. clear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्मरणशक्ति</td>
<td>f. power of memory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्मृति</td>
<td>f. memory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्मृतिः</td>
<td>f. ink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्मृतिक</td>
<td>f. poetic heroine who is faithful to her own husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्वतंत्र</td>
<td>adj. independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्वरूप</td>
<td>m. form, character</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्वर्गिय</td>
<td>adj. 'residing in heaven', the late, deceased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्वागत</td>
<td>m. welcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्वामी</td>
<td>adj. natural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्वीकार</td>
<td>m. acceptance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्वीकृति</td>
<td>f. acceptance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
हजारों  
vi. to withdraw, to move away

हटना  
vt. to remove, to eradicate, to dispel

हटाना  
vt. to remove, to eradicate, to dispel

हद  
f. limit, extent

हर्ष  
m. joy

हाथ मिलाना  
vt. to shake hands

हानि  
m. harm, loss, damage

हाल में  
adv. recently

हाल-चाल  
m. state of affairs, condition

हाल-भाव  
mp. gestures and blandishments

हिन्द  
m. India

हिल-मिलना  
vi. to get to know, to become familiar with

हिलाना  
v. to shake, to move

हकूम  
m. order, command

हेजा  
m. cholera

होठ  
m. lip

हस्त  
adj. short
Urdu–English Glossary

This glossary lists all the words and compounds which occur in the Urdu passages other than the simple vocabulary which should be known to users of the book, proper nouns and adjectives, and those words whose unique occurrence is thought to have been adequately glossed in the notes to the relevant passage.

Although artificially skewed by these criteria, the etymological distribution of the 778 head-words included here reflects quite accurately the preponderant influence of PA vocabulary, especially of A itself, upon U prose of all types. This may be seen from the following word-counts and percentages under each of the assigned etymological source-languages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HU</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures are, of course, to be regarded with the same caution as that indicated for the numerous ‘S’ items in the preceding Hindi-English glossary, i.e. many items marked as ‘A’ may be Persianisms transferred to U, while others marked as ‘A’ and ‘P’ are intrinsic U coinages from these historic loan-languages.

The glossary is arranged in U alphabetical order, with the necessary addition of the transcription of all head-words, and the provision of the s. forms of all A p. nouns. Abbreviations follow the usual conventions with the following additions in the citation of phrase-verbs:

d. denā

h. honā

k. karnā

r. rakhnā

azādi f. freedom, emancipation
āstān f. sleeve
āge baṛhnā vi. to advance
āge pīche adv. one after another
ālā m. tool, instrument
ālā-e kār m. effective instrument
āmādā adj. ready, prepared
āmad f. coming, arrival
āmad o rāft f. coming and going, intercourse
āmeziś f. mixture

apnānā vt. to make one’s own, to adopt
āsar m. effect, influence; āsar pārnā vi. effect to be produced
āsarāt (s. āsar) mp. effects, influences
ūjālā m. light, dawn

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ijtihādī adj. innovative, creative
ijrā m. carrying out, performance
acambhā m. wonder, miracle
thīrām m. honour
thitiyāt f. care, careful provision
ihsāsī (s. ihsās) mp. feelings
ixtiyār m. power, influence; ixtiyār r. vt. to have the power
adā k. vt. to express
adāb m. literature; respect, courtesy
adābī adj. literary
irtiqā m. evolution, development
irtiqāi adj. evolutionary
iršād m. guidance, direction; iršād farmānā vt. to direct
az prepn. from; than; az sar-e nau adv. afresh
istād adj. erected
istād m. teacher, ustad
istīdād f. ability, command
ustuvār adj. strong, firm
asmā (s. ism) mp. nouns
išā'at f. publishing
asl f. basis; adj. basic, actual, original
asli adj. original, real
aslīyat f. basic identity
usūl m. principle
izāfat f. izafat, genitive
izāfād m. addition, increase
izhār m. expression
‘ilān k. vt. to announce
‘alā adj. high, senior
a’mal (s. ‘aml) mp. actions, deeds
afsānā m. story
afsurdā adj. cooled, extinguished
afsos m. regret; intj. alas!
af‘āl (s. fi‘l) mp. verbs
iqdām m. move
aksariyāt f. majority
akhārī m. wrestling-ground
ugat f. inventive power
illā cj. otherwise, moreover
ilzām m. charge, accusation
alfāz (s. lafz) mp. words
alam-nākī f. tragedy
ullū m. owl
imtiḥān m. examination
amr m. thing, matter
intīzābī adj. electoral
intīzām m. arrangement, organization
intizamāt (s. intizām) mp. arrangements
intizāmi adj. organizational
intihā f. limit
anjuman f. society
andāz m. manner
infirādi adj. individual
ungī f. finger
avāxīr (s. āxīr) mp. last days
auqāt (s. vaqīt) mp. times
ahl-e pref. people of
ahl-e zabān mp. native speakers
ahl-kār m. official, clerk
ahl-e magrib mp. Westerners, Europeans
aham adj. importance
ahammīyat f. importance
ījad k. vt. to create, to make up
ek sāih adv. together
ek-gūnā adj. a certain, some
bādsāhat f. reign
bārā m. respect, regard
bāz-gašt f. return
-bāsī adj. suf. -smelling
ke bā'is ppn. because of
bāgh m. garden
bit-taxsis adv. especially, particularly
biz-zāt adv. essentially
bā-murād adj. successful, as one would wish
bāvan-gaz m. giant
ba-pā h. vi. to be afoot, to arise
batāsā m. hard sugar-puff
biṭhānā vt. to establish
kī(ke) ba-jāe ppn. instead of
bahr f. sea; metre
ba-xūbī adv. well, perfectly
bad-tar adj. worse
bad-tamīz adj. rude
ba-dastūr adv. as usual, as before
kī ba-daulat ppn. thanks to
ba-rāh-e rāst adv. directly
bar-pā k. vt. to set afoot, to cause
bartan m. pot, vessel
baratnā vt. to use
ke bar-xilāf ppn. against
baras m. year; baras-hā baras adv. for years and years
barr-e saḡīr m. subcontinent
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>barf</td>
<td>f. ice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar-vazn-e</td>
<td>prep. on the pattern of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barhnā</td>
<td>vi. to advance; to increase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buzurg</td>
<td>adj. old, senior; m. elder, senior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba’z</td>
<td>adj. some; ba’z auqāt adv. sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba’ze</td>
<td>adj. some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-taur</td>
<td>prep. by way of, as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balki</td>
<td>cj. but also, indeed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buland</td>
<td>adj. high, lofty, raised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buland-āhang</td>
<td>adj. high-sounding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buland-bāng</td>
<td>adj. loftily announced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binā</td>
<td>f. foundation, basis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bandā</td>
<td>m. slave, creature; pr. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunyād</td>
<td>f. foundation, basis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bojh</td>
<td>m. burden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boli</td>
<td>f. speech, spoken language, language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bahār</td>
<td>f. spring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhāsā</td>
<td>f. language, Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhākhā</td>
<td>f. local language, vernacular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhāgnā</td>
<td>vi. to run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bahānā</td>
<td>vt. to make flow, to shed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bihtarin</td>
<td>adj. best, finest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhaddā-pan</td>
<td>m. clumsiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bharosā</td>
<td>m. reliance, trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-ham pahūcānā</td>
<td>vt. to acquire, to get</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhūt</td>
<td>m. evil spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhoinkā</td>
<td>vt. to thrust in, to stab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayān</td>
<td>k. vt. to explain, to express oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-bāk</td>
<td>adj. shameless, brazen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-tamīzi</td>
<td>adj. indiscriminate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-cūn o cirā</td>
<td>adv. without question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berūnī</td>
<td>adj. from outside, external, foreign</td>
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<tr>
<td>be-kār</td>
<td>adj. unemployed</td>
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<tr>
<td>begānāgī</td>
<td>f. estrangement</td>
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<tr>
<td>bainal-aqvāmī</td>
<td>adj. international</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāf</td>
<td>m. uneducated person, low type</td>
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<tr>
<td>-pār</td>
<td>adv. suf. beyond, trans-</td>
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<tr>
<td>pā-māl</td>
<td>adj. trampled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāindā</td>
<td>adj. enduring</td>
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<tr>
<td>paṭṭhā</td>
<td>m. young of bird or animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paṭṭī</td>
<td>f. bandage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parjā</td>
<td>f. people, subjects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pas</td>
<td>cj. so, therefore</td>
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<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>adj. low; humble, subdued</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pas-māndā</td>
<td>adj. remaining</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pakarnā vt. to seize, to grasp
paggār m. large turban
pilānā vt. to give to drink, to serve water
E paḷṭan f. regiment
pau f. drinking-stand
P poṣāk f. dress
phalnā phulnā vi. to flourish
P pahlvān m. wrestler
pahuncā m. wrist
phansānā vt. to cause to be caught, to involve
pher m. alteration, variation
phailnā vi. to spread, to extend
payyā m. wheel
P pec m. wrestling-throw
P pādā adj. born; pādā k. vt. to create, to produce;
pādā h. vi. to be born, to be produced
Pārhi f. generation; Pārhi ba-Pārhi adv. from generation to generation
P- se pēš ppn. in advance of; pēš ānā vi. to occur, to present itself
PA pēš-e nazar adv. before one’s eyes
P pāigām-bar m. message-bearer
P pāvast adj. joined, connected

A tārīx f. history
A tāssuf m. regret
A tān m. pull, draw
A tatābbu' m. following, imitation
A tajvīz f. decision
A tahrīr f. writing, composition
A tahrīk f. movement
A tahqīq f. research; tahqīk k. vt. to investigate, to research into
A tahqīqī adj. research-
A taxt m. throne
P taxīfāt (s. taxīf) fp. creations, creative works
A tadbīr f. plan, contrivance
P tarāzū f. balance, scales
A tarjumān m. interpreter, interpretation
A tarjumānī f. representation, interpreting
A tarjumā m. translation
A taraqqī f. development, progress; promotion; taraqqī k. vt. to develop, to progress
PA taraqqī-pazīr adj. developing
A tark k. vt. to abandon, to give up
A tarkīb f. construction, compound
A tarkībī adj. 'synthetic'
tashīh f. correction

tasnīf f. composition; tasnīf k. vt. to compose, to compile

tasāvur m. imagination, conception

tāʾrīf f. praise; tāʾrīf k. vt. to praise

taʾassub m. prejudice, bigotry

taʾassubāt (s. taʾassub) mp. prejudices

taʿzīm f. respect

taʿalluq m. connexion

taʿlīm f. education

taʿmīr f. building, construction

taʿayyun k. vt. to determine, to fix

tağāful m. neglect, inattention

tafāvut m. difference

tafsīr f. Quranic commentary

tafṣīl adj. ‘analytic’
taqārīr (s. taqārīr) f. speeches

taqāzā (tāqāzā) m. demand

taqūrīr f. speech; taqūrī k. vt. to make a speech

taklīf f. trouble, distress

talāṣī f. search

talaffuz m. pronunciation

talak ppn. until

tamām adj. all

tamaddun m. civilization

tamīz f. proper behaviour, good manners

tamiz-dārī f. discretion

tang adj. narrow, restricted

tobrā m. bag, sack

thān m. bolt of cloth

tahzīb f. culture

tahzībī adj. cultural

ṭakkar khanā vt. to vie with

ṭhikānā m. place

ṭhoṭh adj. dense, stupid

ṭheīnā vt. to push along

sānī adj. second

saqāfat f. culture

saqāfātī adj. cultural

jārī adj. continuing
jahil adj. ignorant
judä adj. separate, distinct
jadiled adj. modern
jazbat (s. jazbâ) mp. feelings, emotions, passions
jur'at f. daring, courage
jar f. root
jarvâna vt. to cause to be studded
just-ju f. search
jaśn m. festival, rejoicing
jalvâ-gar adj. ensconced
jalîlul-qadar adj. illustrious
jamâ'at f. class, group, party
jama' f. plural; adj. gathered
jumlâ m. sentence; adj. all
jumhûrî adj. democratic
janâb m. Mr.
jang f. war
janam m. birth; janam d. vt. to give birth to
janam-bhûm f. birthplace
javâb d. vt. to answer; to dismiss
javâhir (s. jauhar) mp., m. jewels, jewellery
jotnâ vt. to yoke
jornâ vt. to fit, to join
jauhar m. jewel; essence; temper
jahâz m. ship, vessel
jhaqra m. quarrel, dispute, controversy; jhaqra khařâ
k. vt. to start dispute, to foment controversy
juhalâ (s. jâhil) mp. the ignorant
jheîpnâ vi. to feel embarrassed

capräsi m. peon
carcâ m. talk, discussion
caspân adj. suitable, applicable
cunân-cunîn f. smart talk
cunânîci cj. accordingly, so
cand adj. some, a few
candâ m. contribution, subscription
cob f. pole
cau-jugî adj. ancient
caukîyât (s. caukî) fp. stations, posts
cahâr-sambâ m. Wednesday
chapâ f. printing
chuṭnâ vi. to be released
churâ m. large knife, dagger
cahetâ adj. beloved, darling
| A | ħajat f. need |
| A | ħāsil m. acquisition; ħāsil k. vt. to acquire, to get; ħāsil h. vi. to be acquired |
| A- | ħāzikir k. vt. to present, to adduce |
| A | ħālat f. state, condition |
| A | ħāmī m. supporter |
| PA | ħattā kī cj. even |
| A | ħad f. degree |
| A | ħarakāt f. movement |
| A | ħarūf (s. harf) mp. letters; particles |
| A | ħusn m. beauty |
| A | ħissā m. part, portion; role |
| A | ħuzzūr m. presence |
| A | ħaqq m. right |
| A | ħuqūq (s. haq) mp. rights |
| A | ħukūmat f. government |
| A | ħal m. solution; ħal h. vi. to be solved |
| A | ħimāyat f. support; ħimāyat k. vt. to support |
| A | ħimāyātī m. supporter |
| A- | ħavālāppn. in the care of; ħavāl k. vt. to hand over, to entrust to |
| A | ħaisiyat f. status; respect, aspect |
| A | ħairān adj. astonished, bewildered, harassed |

| P | xāk f. dust, ashes |
| A | xālis adj. pure |
| A- | xatm h. vi. to end |
| P | xurd adj. young, junior |
| A | xitāb m. title |
| A | xutūt (s. xat) mp. letters |
| A | xalal m. damage; xalal dāhnā vt. to disturb, to damage |
| P | xūbī f. excellence, good quality, beauty |
| PA | xuḥ-uslūbī f. elegance |
| P | xūn m. blood |
| A | xiyāl m. thought, idea; xiyāl r. to bear in mind |
| A | xiyālāt (s. xiyāl) mp. ideas |
| A | xīmā m. tent |

<p>| A- | dāxīl h. vi. to enter |
| A | dārūl-xīlāfat m. capital |
| A | dārūl-ulūm m. university |
| A | dārī f. beard |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Persian</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dānā adj. wise</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dārīrā m. range, compass</td>
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<tr>
<td>Darāz adj. long</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dar-asl adv. really</td>
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<tr>
<td>Darbār m. court</td>
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<tr>
<td>Darjā m. degree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dars-gāh f. educational institution</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dars o tadrīs m. study and teaching</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ke dar-miyan ppn. between</td>
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<td>Dar-yāft k. vt. to inquire</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dastār f. turban</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dast-gāh f. ability, power, command; knowledge, understanding</td>
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<td>Da'vat f. call, proclamation</td>
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<td>Da'vā m. claim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daftār (s. daftar) mp. offices</td>
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<td>Diqqat f. difficulty, awkwardness</td>
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<td>Dil m. heart</td>
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<td>Dal-bādal m. pavilion</td>
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<td>Dil-shikanī f. breaking the heart, distress</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dil-nisīnī f. attractiveness, appeal</td>
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<td>Dilī adj. heartfelt, genuine</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dam m. breath; dam mārnā vt. to boast, to claim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dimāg m. brain</td>
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<td>Din m. day; din ba-din adv. daily</td>
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<tr>
<td>Do-bālā adj. double</td>
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<td>Daulat-mand adj. rich</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dharam m. religion, religious purpose</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dīdā m. eye, look</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dīgar adj. other</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Divān m. collected poetical works, divan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dhālnā vt. to mould</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dhālnā vi. to be moulded</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dher m. pile, heap</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zāxīrā m. stock, store, treasure</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zarī`ā m. means, medium</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zimmeh-dārī f. responsibility</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zīhn m. mind, intellect</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zī`-ilm adj. educated</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rābitā m. connexion, link</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
rahānī f. capital
raštar-bhāsā f. national language
rāh f. road, way
rāj adj. current
rābt m. connexion
rubā m. rank
rūjān m. tendency
rajvārā m. Hindu kingdom
radif f. end-rhyme
risālā m. treatise, essay
rasāfī f. reach, access
raštādī f. movement, gait
raštādī adj. refined
raftā raftā adv. gradually
rafqā (s. rafq) mp. colleagues
rukāvat f. obstacle
rāgar f. rubbing
rivāj m. currency, use
rivāyāt (s. rivāyat) fp. traditions
rūhānī adj. spiritual
raushānī f. light
rihā adj. released
rahn-nūmā m. leader, guide
rahn-nūmā f. leadership
zabān f. tongue; language
zabar-dastād adj. powerful, overwhelming
zamin f. earth, ground; scheme of rhyme and metre
zindā adj. living
zavāl m. decline
ziyādātādīr adv. mostly
sādagī f. simplicity
sākin m. inhabitant, resident
sāyāfīgān adj. overshadowing
sabab m. reason, cause
sabil f. drinking-stand
sacāfī f. truth, right
sīrā m. edge, limit
surāfī m. sign, trace
sar-parast m. patron
sarkār f. government
sarkārī adj. official, government-
sar-garm adj. active
sar-garmī f. activity
sarmāyā m. stock
sifāriš f. recommendation
sīlsilā m. chain, series; connexion
sultān m. sultan, emperor
saltanat f. sultanate, empire
sulūk m. behaviour; sulūk k. vt. to behave towards
samāj m. society
samāhānā vt. to make understand, to explain
sanbhāmlānā vt. to undertake
sanad f. authority, precedent
so cj. so
savār adj. mounted, riding
saudā-suluf m. business, trading
ke sahāre ppn. with the support of
siyāšī adj. political
ser m. seer, two pounds
šīnā f. chest
šā‘irī f. poetry
šāmat f. ill-luck
šān o šaukat f. grandeur
šāistaḵā f. civilized quality, gentlemanliness, chasteness
šāista adj. decent, gentlemanly, civilized
subhā m. doubt
sadīd adj. fierce
šustā adj. pure, chaste
šīr m. verse
šīr o suxān m. poetry
šīr o šā‘irī m. poetry
šu‘ārā (s. šā‘ir) mp. poets
šafqat f. kindness
šikār m. hunting
šumār k. vt. to reckon
šamlā m. end of turban
šauq m. pleasure, delight; šauq se adv. with pleasure
šahr-panāh f. city walls
sāf adj. clean; simple; adv. absolutely, very
suhbat f. company, society; assembly, social gathering
sahih adj. correct
sada f. call
sadārat f. presidency
sadr m. president
sarfi o nahvī adj. grammatical
safai f. cleanliness, hygiene; simplicity, clarity
sifāt (s. sifat) fp. adjectives
salāhiyat f. capability, potential
sūbā adj. provincial
sūbā m. province
sūrat f. form; way
zā′ k. vt. to waste
zīd f. stubbornness, obstinacy
zamār (s. zamīr) fp. pronouns
zamīr f. heart, mind; pronoun
zavābit (s. zābitā) mp. rules, laws
tāüs m. peacock
tabā′at f. printing
tabqā m. class
tariqā m. way, manner
tulabā (s. tālib) mp. students
talab-gār adj. desirous of, seeking
tanāb f. tent-rope
tūfān m. storm, flood
tūl o ′arz m. length and breadth
zāhir adj. apparent, obvious, expressed
′ājiz adj. in despair
′ālim adj. learned; m. scholar
′āmi adj. common, uneducated
′adam m. lack; pref. non-
′adam-maujūdagā f. absence
′uzr m. excuse
′arabī f. Arabic
′arabi-dān m. one who knows Arabic
′arsā m. period
′urūj m. zenith, high point
′azm m. intent, resolve
′azimuš-šān adj. splendid, glorious
′aql f. brain, intelligence
‘ilāqātī adj. local
‘ilāqāt m. area
‘ulamā (s. ‘ālim) mp. learned people, scholars
‘ilmī adj. scholarly, learned, scientific
‘umdā adj. excellent, fine
‘amal m. action, practice; rule; ‘amal k. vt.
to practise
‘umūmī adj. general, popular, universal
‘unsur m. element, component
‘unvān m. manner
‘avām (s. ‘ām) mp. common people, the people, the masses
‘avāmī adj. of the people, common, popular
‘ūd m. lute
‘ahd m. time, period

gālib adj. preponderant, overwhelming
garaz m. purpose, intent; cj. in short
gazal f. ghazal, lyric
gazab m. anger; injustice
galātī f. mistake
gair adj. other, different; foreign
gair-fitirī adj. unnatural
gair- mutavāzī adj. unbalanced

fārsī f. Persian
fārsī-dānī f. knowing Persian
fāriq adj. free, at leisure
fā‘īlī adj. nominative
fath(ā) m. the short vowel a
fitnā m. trouble, disturbance
fuhū adj. rude
farz m. duty
farmān m. order, command
farmānā vt. to order, to command
fariq m. party, adversary
fasād m. disturbance, mischief
fasāhat f. eloquence
fusāhā (s. fāsih) mp. the eloquent, men of letters
fāsih adj. eloquent, stylistically right
fiqrā m. sentence
fausāfīyānā adj. philosophical
fausu f. steel
fayyāz adj. bounteous
fil-jumlā adv. overall, broadly
A fil-haqīqat adv. actually, in fact
PA fi[z-rasānī f. liberalality

ق

A qābil adj. able, capable; ke qābil ppn. deserving, worthy of, worth
A qāʾid m. rule; primer, grammar
A qāfiyā adj. rhyme
PA qāfiyā-paimā f. rhymesmanship
PA qānūnī adj. legal
A qāid m. leader
A qāil k. vt. to convince
A qāim adj. established; qāim k. vt. to establish; qāim h. vi. to be established
A qabīl m. acceptance; adj. accepted, agreeable; qabīl k. vt. to accept
A qad f. height
A qudrat f. command, power
PA qadar-dān m. patron
PA qadar-dānī f. patronage
A qadam m. step; qadam uthānā vt. to take steps, to take action; qadam ba-qadam adv. step by step
A qādim adj. ancient, old
A qarār d. vt. to decide, to adjudge, to pronounce
A qarīban adv. approximately, about
A qasbā m. town
A qasīdā m. ode, qasida
A qitā m. piece, chunk
A qalāmī adj. handwritten
P qufī m. coolie, porter, labourer
A qavāʾid (s. qāʾidā) mp. rules, grammar
A qavāfī (s. qāfiyā) mp. rhymes
A qaum mf. people, tribe; nation, community
A qaumī adj. national
A qiyās m. estimate, imagination
A qaid f. bondage, confinement

ک

P kār m. work
P kār-āmad adj. useful, effective
P kār-gar adj. effective
P kār-nāmā m. achievement
A kāmil adj. full, complete
P kām-yāb adj. successful
A kitābat f. calligraphy
A kasrat f. abundance
P karaxtagī f. harshness, rigidity
kaṟī f. link
kāsaṟā m. the short vowel i
kuśādā adj. broad
kuśī f. wrestling
kalāsikī adj. classical
kalcar f. culture
kamāl m. perfection, supremacy
kam-tar adv. seldom
kam-zor adj. weak
kam-zorī f. weakness
koṭhā m. roof, upper storey
koṟā adj. blank, ignorant
koṇā m. corner
kharā k. vt. to raise, to start
khisaknā vi. to slip away
khul khelnā vi. to act openly
khulnā vi. to open, to come undone
khincvānā vt. to cause to be tightened
kaṟīfāt f. splendid sight; account, description
kaṟimp m. camp
gāonī m. village
gadhā m. donkey, ass
guzaśtā adj. past, former
girānī adj. heavy; disagreeable
girānī−qadar adj. valuable
girānī f. heaviness
garajnā vi. to thunder, to roar
gardānī f. neck
girfīṭār adj. arrested
girfīṭārī f. arrest
guroh m. group
gazī m. yard
guftār f. speech
guft-gū f. conversation
galā m. neck, throat
gunāh m. sin
ganvār m. peasant
go cj. although
gavārī f. pleasantness
gavvarmānī f. government
gos-mālī f. punishment
gośā m. corner
goyā cj. as if
goyāī f. speech, conversation
ghāgas m. a large fowl
gahṛā adj. deep
gharanā m. family
ghisnā vi. to be worn smooth
ghulāvāt f. mellowness
ghontnā vt. to squeeze, to throttle
ghernā vt. to surround
S
gyān m. knowledge, intellect

A
lā-ta’āvun m. non-cooperation
A
lā-sānī adj. unequalled, peerless
A-
laq ppn. suitable for
A
lihāz m. regard, note; respect; lihāz r. vt. to have regard to
A
lārnā jhagrnā vi. to fight, to quarrel
A
lisān f. tongue, language
A
lisānī adj. linguistic
A
lisāniyāt f. linguistics
P
laṣkar m. army, camp
A
la’nat f. curse
A
lugāt (s. lugāt) mp. words; s. dictionary
A
lugāt m. word, vocabulary; vocabulary, lexicon, dictionary
A
lugāvī adj. lexical
A
laqab m. title
A
loc f. pleasantness, sweetness
A
lohā m. iron
A
lahjā m. accent, pronunciation, delivery
A
liyāqat f. ability
A
len-den m. dealings, business

A
māxūz adj. taken, borrowed
P
mādari adj. mother-; mādari zabān f. mother-tongue
A
māl m. property, possessions
P
mānind prepn. like
P
māh m. month
A
māhiyāt f. essence
A
mabdā m. source
A
mutāba’at f. following, observing
A
matānāt f. determination, obstinacy
A
mutajassis adj. inquiring
A
muttāhid(ā) adj. united
A
mutahammal adj. bearing
A-
ke muttasil ppn. adjoinging
A
muta’ārāf adj. known, well-known
A
muta’ajjib adj. amazed
ke muta'alliq ppn. concerning, about
muttafiq(ā) adj. agreed, concerted
mutamavvil adj. wealthy, opulent
matan m. text
mutavassit adj. average, middling
majkā m. jar, pot
mițna vi. to be effaced, to fade
muțtihī f. fist
misl-e prepn. like, just as
maslan cj. for example
majāl f. power, ability
majālis (s. majlis) fp. organizations
majrūh adj. wounded, affected
muhabbat f. love, affection
muhtâj adj. in need of
mahdūd adj. confined, restricted
mahrūm adj. deprived
mahz adv. merely, only
muhaqqiq m. researcher, expert
mahkamā m. court, department
mihnat f. hard work, industriousness
mihnat-mazdūrī f. labouring
mujtab m. person addressed
muktas adj. special, especially associated with
muuddat f. period, a long time
mazkurā-e bālā adj. aforementioned
mazhabi adj. religious
marākiz (s. markaz) mp. centres
murattab adj. organized, edited
marqūm(ā) adj. composed, written
murakkab adj. compounded, compound
markāzī adj. central
muravvaj adj. current
marornā vt. to twist
mizāj-pursī f. asking after health
musāfirān (s. musāfīr) mp. travellers
musta'mal adj. used, current
mustafād adj. received, acquired
musallī m. draft, manuscript
musavvīdāt (s. musavvidā) mp. manuscripts
musavvidā m. draft, manuscript
muṣṭarak(ā) adj. common, shared
maṣgūl adj. busy, engaged
masnū'ī adj. artificial
mazāmin (s. mazmūn) mp. subjects, topics
muzmar adj. included, incorporated
ke mutābiq ppn. according to
mutābaqat f. conformity
mutāla'ā m. study; mutāla'ā k. vt. to study
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>matba'</td>
<td>m. press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>mutlaq</td>
<td>adj. fundamental, basic; adv. absolutely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>mu'arrā</td>
<td>adj. free, bare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>mu'azzaz</td>
<td>adj. distinguished, respected, respectable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>ma'qūl</td>
<td>adj. reasonable, decent</td>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>ma'ūmāt</td>
<td>(s. ma'ūm) fp. information</td>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>mu'allā</td>
<td>adj. exalted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>ma'mūlı</td>
<td>adj. ordinary, common-or-garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>ma'ne</td>
<td>mp. meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>ma'ne-āfirini</td>
<td>f. creation of ideas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>mufsid</td>
<td>m. troublemaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>maf`ūli</td>
<td>adj. accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>mufid</td>
<td>adj. useful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>maqām</td>
<td>m. place</td>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>maqāmī</td>
<td>adj. local</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>maqbuliyat</td>
<td>f. popularity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>muqtazā</td>
<td>m. requirement, demand</td>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>miqdār</td>
<td>m. measure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>muqaddamā (-imā)</td>
<td>m. preface, introduction; law-suit, case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>maqdid-bhar</td>
<td>adv. to the best of one’s ability</td>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>muqarrar(ā)</td>
<td>adj. established</td>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>mukarrar</td>
<td>adv. repeatedly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>makrūh</td>
<td>adj. improper, unpleasant</td>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>mukammal</td>
<td>adj. complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>multāvī</td>
<td>adj. postponed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>malkā</td>
<td>m. genius, mastery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>munāsalat</td>
<td>f. similarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>munāsib</td>
<td>adj. suitable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>muntaqal</td>
<td>adj. transferred, borrowed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>muntahā</td>
<td>m. limit, height</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>manjānā</td>
<td>vi. to be polished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>manzil</td>
<td>f. goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>manzil-e maqsūd</td>
<td>f. goal, destination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>munsif</td>
<td>m. judge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>mantiq</td>
<td>f. logic; spoken language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>manīgvanā</td>
<td>vt. to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>mavar</td>
<td>m. material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>ke muāfiq</td>
<td>ppn. according to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>mat</td>
<td>adj. thick, dense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>maujūdagī</td>
<td>f. presence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>maujūdā</td>
<td>adj. current, present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>mauzūnin</td>
<td>adj. suitable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>maulid</td>
<td>m. birthplace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>mahājan</td>
<td>m. banker, merchant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>muhlat</td>
<td>f. respite, leisure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>muhim</td>
<td>m. campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>miyān</td>
<td>m. sir, friend, title of respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>mayyat</td>
<td>f. corpse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
maidān m. field, battlefield
mīzān f. balance, scales

nā-balad adj. ignorant
nāc m. dance, nautch
nāxūdā f. captaincy
nā-gūzir adj. necessary, inevitable
nā-gavār adj. unpleasant, disagreeable
nā-vāqīfīyat f. lack of acquaintance, ignorance
nidān adv. finally, at last
nirā adj. downright, mere
ke nazdík ppn. near; in the opinion of
nīzād m. origin, stock, descent
nisbat f. relationship
nasā f. creation, production
našv o numā f. development; našv o numā d. vt. to develop
nisf m. half
nasib m. fortune, lot; nasīb h. vi. to fall to the lot of, to be granted to
nazriyāt (s. nazriyā) mp. theories
nazriyā m. theory
ni'mat f. comfort, delight
nafrat f. hatred
nuktā-ras adj. discerning
nigāh f. look, gaze
nigah-dāst f. regard, preservation
nihād m. stock
nihāyat adj. extreme, great; adv. extremely, very
nahr f. canal
nīz cj., adv. also, besides

vājibut-tark adj. to be eschewed
vādī f. valley
vārid h. vi. to arrive
vāzīh k. vt. to make plain, to explain, to declare
vāqī'ā m. event
vallāh intj. by God!
vahdat f. unity
varnā cj. otherwise, or else
vasāil (s. vasīlā) mp. means, resources
vus'at f. breadth, expansion, extension
vasī' adj. broad, ample, extended
vasīlā m. means, medium
vafā f. fidelity
A  vilāyat f. home country
A  valvalā m. enthusiasm

P  har-cand adj. however much; cj. although
A  hilāl m. crescent
P  ham-vatan m. fellow-countryman
A  hansī f. laughter
P  hangāmā-ārāī f. disturbance, rioting
P  hoś-mandī f. good sense
A  hon-hār adj. future, up-and-coming, promising
A  hīng f. asafoetida

P  yād-gār f. memorial, monument
A  yaqīn m. certainty; yaqīn dilānā vt. to make believe
P  yaksānī adv. in the same way, regularly
PA  yak-tarfā adj. one-sided
PA  yūnī adv. thus, like this
E  yūnit m. unit
Index of Terms

affix The collective term for the three kinds of morphemes which can be added to a word in different positions: prefix, infix and suffix. (pp.34,37)
allograph One of various possible forms of a grapheme: b, B, b are all allographs of the same grapheme. (p. 21)
alломorph One of various possible forms of a morpheme: ‘best-’ is an allomorph of ‘beast’ in ‘bestial’; H -ya vs. -ã, e.g. āyā vs. calā.
allophone One of various possible forms of a phoneme, e.g. the two ‘l’ sounds in ‘label’. (p. 20)
analytic(-al) That variety of language whose syntax is based on separate words (such as prepositions) and on variations in word order, rather than on inflexion; cf. ‘synthetic’. (p. 2)
antonym A word which is opposite in meaning to another; ‘antonym’ is the antonym of ‘synonym’.
aspiration The audible breath which accompanies the production of certain sounds. (p. 20)
assimilation The tendency by which one sound is affected by or takes on the quality of a neighbouring one; or by which an unfamiliar word takes on the form of a familiar one. (p.20)
‘bound’ form A morpheme which cannot occur on its own, e.g. E ‘-ish’, ‘un-’, ‘-er’; HU -e in kamre, kare.
broken plural (A) A plural formed by the re-patterning of the radical letters of the singular. (p.49)
calque A loan translation, in which the various components are separately translated from one language into the other: e.g. H dūrdaršan for E ‘television’, in which Greek ‘tele’ (‘distant’) + Latin-derived ‘vision’ are respectively rendered into S dūr + daršan. (p.70)
chronogram A phrase, or verse in which numbers are cryptically represented by letters or words. (p.82)
cluster A group of consonants occurring in a word, as the initial ‘str’ in ‘street’. (p.23)
cognate A form historically derived from the same source as another, as H pīta, E ‘father’ and Portuguese padre.
compound A word made up of two or more other words, e.g. E ‘blackbird’, HU dopahar.
copula A linking word, as the verb linking subject and predicate in ‘he is old’, or the P o ‘and’ in āb o havū. (p.65)
dental A sound made by the tip and rim of the tongue against the teeth. (p.20)
derivative A word formed from or historically stemming from another.
diphthong A syllable containing two distinct and successive vowels, as E ‘mice’, ‘go’, ‘house’; HU gaē, gae. (p.43)
doublet One of a pair of words in the same language representing the same ultimate word but divergent in meaning or form; e.g. E ‘royal’, ‘regal’.
dual A grammatical form expressing duality as opposed to s. or p. number. (p.2)
elision  The assimilation of a vowel, consonant or syllable in pronunciation, as e.g. the dropping of -me in a rapid pronunciation of 'prime minister'. (p.52)

enclitic A morpheme which always follows another word and cannot stand alone, e.g. HU hē.

epenthesis (-epenthetic) The insertion of a sound or letter into a word, as -a- in HU pronunciations of E 'film' as ḥilaṃ. (p.43)

etymon  The word from which a later form has derived. (p.25)

flap  An 'r' sound produced by rapid light contact between the tongue and the roof of the mouth. (p.20)

fricative  A consonant sound produced by friction when the breath is forced through a restricted opening.

glottal  A sound produced in the larynx, at the opening of the windpipe.

glottal stop  The sound produced by the release of a closure of the glottis (at the back of the throat), as medially in Cockney pronunciations of 'water', 'bottle', or initially before a strongly pronounced vowel as in 'art'. (p.43)

grapheme  A letter of the alphabet, or character of a syllabary.

guṇa  (A) A process of vowel extension in which a simple vowel is prefixed by a, as a > ā. (p.33)

hyperbole  The use of exaggeration for rhetorical effect.

infix  An affix which is inserted medially within a word. (p.42)

inflexion  The expression of syntactic relationships typically through variations in termination, as in HU kamrā - kamre - kamron.

izafat  (P) The suffixed -e which typically indicates a possessive relationship between the suffixed noun and the following one, e.g. zabān-e urdu 'the language of U', or the qualification of a noun by an adj. or noun, e.g. zamān-e darāz 'a long period'. (p.64)

jingle-form  A morpheme which, though usually meaningless independently, extends or generalizes the sense of a word by imitating its sound; e.g. -vānā in HU khānā-vānā 'something to eat, grub'. HU also has jingle-compounds, e.g. larnā-jhagārnā. (p.149)

labial  A sound produced by the lips. (p.20)

laryngeal  The quality of sounds produced in the larynx, the upper part of the windpipe where the vocal cords are situated.

lateral  A consonant produced with the sides of the tongue touching the teeth. (p.43)

lexicon  The vocabulary of a language, as distinct from its grammar and constructions.

liquid  The fluid quality of the sound 'l'. (p.20)

loan-translation  Another term for a calque, a word whose component parts are separately translated from another language. (p.70)

minimal pair  Two words differentiated in meaning by only a single sound, as 'mud' versus 'mug', or hai versus hain. (p.19)

modal verb  A verb in which the particular manner of an action is expressed by the combination of main verb + auxiliary; in HU the range of such auxiliaries is wide and includes lenā, denā, jānā, dālnā, rakhnā, saktnā etc. (p.28)
modifier A word or phrase which limits or otherwise qualifies the sense of another.
morpheme The smallest functioning unit in syntax, a word or component part or a word: 'sheepish' comprises the morphemes 'sheep' and 'ish'.
morphology That part of grammar which is concerned with the form of words or morphemes, i.e. with word-formation and inflexion, as opposed to syntax. (p.18)
neologism A new word or expression, often coined from existing words or roots.
nominal A word or phrase which stands as a noun, or has some of the attributes of a noun.
palatal A sound pronounced by contact between the middle of the tongue and the hard palate. (p.20)
paradigm The pattern of inflexions of a noun, verb or other word.
parataxis (- paratactic) The arrangement in which clauses are linked only by juxtaposition and not by subordinating connectives such as conjunctions. (p.28)
periphrasis A round-about expression, one which uses a phrase rather than an inflected word, e.g. 'greater in length' as opposed to 'longer'.
phoneme The minimal contrastive unit of sound in a language, e.g. any of the ten vowels of the HU sound system. (p.20)
phonetic Pertaining to the sounds of spoken language. (p.19)
phonology (- phonological) The study of the distinctive patterns of sounds of a language. (p.19)
phrase-verb A verb consisting of a sequence of separate words; in HU these are primarily verbs based on karnā, e.g. kī dekhbāhl karnā ‘to look after’. (p.28)
pleonasm (- pleonastic) Redundancy of a word or words; the use of more words than is necessary to express something.
plosive A sound produced by the sudden release of air pressure, e.g. ‘b’, ‘t’.
predicate (- predicative) The word or words which make an assertion or statement about something, as ‘is green’ in ‘the grass is green’.
prefix An affix which is attached to the beginning of a word, e.g. E ‘un-', P be-. (p.34,57)
pre-modifier A modifier which precedes the word it qualifies, as in HU angrezī bolne-vāle vakīl or its E translation ‘E-speaking lawyers’. (p.28)
prosody The study of metre and structure in verse. (p.89)
prothesis (- prothetic) The prefixing of a sound to a word to facilitate its pronunciation.
qualify (- qualifier) To express some quality belonging to something, the qualifier being grammatically dependent upon the thing qualified; in mezeni gandī haii the adj. qualifies the noun.
radical (A) A base or root form, modifications of which form words and indicate various grammatical forms. (p.42)
reduplication The repeating of a word, for an emphatic, syntactic or rhetorical effect. (pp.40–41)
register The range and variety of language used in a particular context, e.g. literary, technical, colloquial etc.
retroflex A sound produced when the tongue is curled back against the hard palate. (p.20)
rhetoric The affective, persuasive or eloquently expressive element in language use.
sandhi Modification in the sound of a phoneme in a particular context, e.g. S t > n in jagat + nāth = jagannāth, or E pluralizing ‘-s’ realized as /z/ after a voiced sound (‘dogs’ vs. ‘cats’). (p.32)
semantic Relating to the meaning of words.
semivowel A consonant which has some of the phonetic quality of a vowel: ‘y’, ‘v’. (p.20)
sibilant A fricative hissing sound, such as ‘s’, ‘sh’.
sound plural (A) A plural formed by the addition of suffixes (p.46).
stress The amount of force used in producing a syllable, dependent upon position in the word, and producing variations of loudness, pitch and length.
suffix An affix which is attached to the end of a word, e.g. ‘-ful’ in ‘wonderful’. (p.36, 58)
syntax That area of grammar which is concerned with the way in which words are combined in meaningful patterns. (p.18)
synthetic That variety of language whose syntax is based on inflexion rather than on the use of separate prepositions etc.; cf. analytic. (p.2)
tadbhava That form of a (usually S) word which has been through the processes of historical evolution and therefore differs in form from its etymon. (p.2)
tag A trite phrase or quotation, often intended to round off an argument.
tatsama A S word in its unchanged form, as used in a language which is historically derived from S. (p.2)
velar A sound produced by the back of the tongue against the soft palate. (p.20)
voicing The production of a sound with the vibration of the vocal chords; ‘b’ is voiced, ‘p’ is voiceless. (p.20)
vrddhi (S) A process of vowel extension in which a guṇa vowel is prefixed by a, or a simple vowel by ā. (p.33)