Chapter I

History and Classifications
CHAPTER – I

HISTORY AND CLASSIFICATION

A. History

1.1 Hindi: A Historical Account

The word Hindi is of Persian origin and literally means “Indian”, comprising Hind “India”, and the adjectival suffix /i/. The word was originally used by Muslims in North India to refer to any Indian language: for example the eleventh century writer Abu Rayhan Al-Biruni used it to refer to Sanskrit. By the thirteenth century “Hindi”, along with its variant forms “Hindavi” and “Hindui”, had acquired a more specific meaning: the “linguistically mixed speech of Delhi, which came into wide use across north India and incorporated a component of Persian vocabulary”. It was later used by members of the Mughal court to distinguish local vernacular of the Delhi region. Persian, was the official language of the court.

Evidence from the seventeenth century indicates that the language then called “Hindi” existed in two different styles; among Muslims it was liable to contain a larger component of Persian derived words and would be written down in a script derived from Persian, while among Hindus it used a vocabulary more influenced by Sanskrit.
and was written in Devanagari script. These styles eventually developed into modern Urdu and modern Hindi respectively. However the word “Urdu” was not used until around 1780: before then the word “Hindi” could be used for both purposes. The use of “Hindi” to designate what would now be called “Urdu” continued as late as the early twentieth century.

Now a days use of Hindi in the sense of “Indian” is chiefly obsolete; it has come to specifically refer to the language(s) bearing that name.

1.2 Evolution of Hindi

One of the Ancient Indian Aryan dialects in which the Buddhist scriptures were translated from the original eastern speech of Buddha was Pali. This Pali is wrongly believed to be the ancient language of Magadha or South Bihar; rather it is a literary language based on the dialects of the mid land extending from Mathura to Ujjain. In fact, it was a sort of Ancestor of Western Hindi. Pali, as the language of the Midland, was like Hindi or Hindustani of the present day, the speech of the centre of the heart of Aryavarta or Aryan land which was easy for people of the surrounding east, west and north-west, and south and south west to understand. The Pali version (and later on the Sanskrit version which came into being) of the Buddhist canon superseded the original canon in the eastern speech. Pali became the great literary
language of the Theravade school of Buddhism, which was taken to Ceylon and was established there; and from Ceylon this school passed on the Burma and Siam, taking its vehicle the Pali language with it and establishing it as the sacred languages of Buddhism in present day Indo-china. We have thus, after a period of superiority maintained by, the Eastern speech in the lands first of the primitive Buddhist and Jainas and then of the Mauna ruling classes with Pataliputra or Patna as their centre or homeland, the rise of the Pali language, which originated in the present western Hindi area.

In the subsequent history of the Aryan spoken dialects and the literacy languages which grew out of them, the mid land and the west and north west have a predominant position. Šaurseni Prakrit with Mathura as its centre, is looked upon as the most elegant of Prakrits or latter Middle Indo-Aryan speeches and Šaurseni is but an ancient form of Braj Bhakha, the present day language of Mathura, a sister and a former rival of Hindusthani. All cultured classes when not habitually speaking Sanskrit are made to speak Šaurseni in the Sanskrit drama, Side by Side with Šaurseni, another Prakrit appears to have had some predominance. This is Maharastri, regarded as the dialect current in the Maharashtra tract which ultimately became Marathi. But it has been suggested, against this current view that Maharashtri was not connected with the Maratha country or with Marathi, but it was just the speech of the Midland, one stage younger than Šaurseni.
Next after Śaurseni (including the so called Maharastri), comes Western Apabhramsa, a great literary language used in the courts of the Rajput Princes of Northern India for some centuries immediately before the Turki conquest of North India, which, was generally seen used by people from Maharashtra to Bengal: verses composed by Bengali poets and poets from practically the whole of northern India in this speech have been discovered. Western Apabhramsha is, therefore, the immediate predecessor, and partly the ancestor of Braj Bhakha and Hindusthani.

The Turk came and established himself as master of the Punjab in the 11th century, when it became a part of the territory of Ghazna, after the sensational raid of Mahamud of Ghazna into the interior of India in the last quarter of the 10th and the first quarter of the 11th century. In the 10th – 12th centuries the western Apabhramsa speech was in full vigour, and was the common language (a part from Sanskrit and the Prakrits) and undoubtedly also of general communication. The specimens of western Apabhramsa speech popular literature, which have been preserved in the prakrit grammar of the great Jaina scholar, Hema Chandra, who lived in Gujarat during 1088-1172, would, clearly show the extent the language of the times was approaching Hindustani. To give a few examples,
1. *bhalla hua ju maria, bahini, mahara kantu lajje jamtu vassiahu,*
   *ja ibha ggagharu entu.*

   (A Rajput woman says)
   “It is well, O sister, that my beloved was killed: if he came home defeated (or fleeing), among friends, I would feel shame”.

2. *juru ka sun a vallabau, dha nu punu kasu natthu?*
   *donni vi, a vasarini va diai, tina- sawaganai visiththu.*

   ‘To whom is not life beloved? To whom, again is not wealth a desired thing? When the (proper) occasion arises (lit the occasion having fallen), the superior man considers these two as straw’.

3. *jaina sa a vai, duil gharu, ka aho muhu tujjhui vaanuja khan dia tau sahie, so pin hoina mujju.*

   “O messenger! If he does not come, why art thou (lit art with thy face cast down)? If he breaks (his) word, then, O friend! He cannot be my beloved”.

4. *amhe thora, rihu bahula ka ara ewa bhanan:*
   *muddhi, nihalahi gaana ahi, kaijana jonha karanti?*
“We are few, our enemies are many cowards talk like that: O foolish woman! Look at the spaces of the sky: how many make moon light’.

5. *Putte jae kavand gunu? Ava gunu kavanu meena? Ja bappikhi bhumhadi campijai avarena?*

“What good if the son is born and what harm if he is dead? If the father’s land is attached (or seized) by another”?

The language that they first adopted was naturally that current in the Panjab. Even in these days, there is not much difference between the Panjab dialects, particularly those of Eastern Panjab, from these spoken in the western most part of Uttar Pradesh and eight or nine hundred years ago, we might imagine that the difference was still less; it is even likely that an almost identical speech was current in central and Eastern Punjab (if not in western Punjab and Hindu Afghanistan as well), and western Uttar Pradesh.

The dialects of northern India from the Punjab to Bihar (both the tracts inclusive) fall into four groups, in popular conception: (i) Panjabi; (ii) Pachhanha (Pachaha) or ‘Western’ Dialects; (iii) Purabiya or Purbi, i.e. ‘Eastern’ Dialects; and (iv) Bihari, south-west of (ii) is another group, (v) Rajasthani. The Punjabi and Pachhanha groups overlap to some extent. In the evolution of Hindustani, Purabiya and Bihari as well as the Rajasthani groups of dialects can be ommitted as in
grammar these are rather different, although speakers of the purabiya
dialects ('Eastern Hindi'- Awadhi or Baiswari, Bagheli and
Chattisgarhi), of Bihari (Bhojpuri, Maithili, Magahi and Chhota
Nagpuriya) and of Rajasthani (Numerous dialects, like mewati, Jaipuri,
Marwari, Malwi, etc) non have adopted Hindi or Hindustani (High Hindi
and to a very slight extent Urdu) as their language of literature and
public life. The bases of Hindi (Hindustani) are the pachaha dialects
(particularly of the Vernacular Hindustani’ and Bangaru groups), and
Easten Panjabi to some extent. The Pachhanha or western dialects
are the so called ‘Western Hindi’ dialects: Braj bhakha, Kanauji,
Bundeli on the one hand and the dialect known as ‘Vernacular
Hindustani’ (Meerut and Rohilkhand divisions and Ambala district) and
Bangaru or Hariani (Delhi, Rohtak, Hissar and Patiala) on the other.

Braj- bhakha, Kannauji and Bundeli differ in some important
matter from ‘Vernacular Hindustani’ and Bangaru.

1.3 Demography and status

According to the 1991 census of India (which encompasses all
the dialects of Hindi, including those that might be considered separate
languages by some linguists e.g. Bhojpuri), Hindi is the mother tongue
of about 487 million Indians, or about 40% of India’s population.
According to SIL International’s Ethnologue, about 180 million people
in India regard standard (Khari Boli) Hindi as their mother tongue, and
another 300 million use it as a second language. Outside India, Hindi speakers number around 8 million in Nepal; 890,000 in South Africa; 685,000 in Mauritius; 317,000 in the U.S.; 233,000 in Yemen; 147,000 in Uganda; 30,000 in Germany, 20,000 in New Zealand and 5,000 in Singapore, while the U.K. and U.A.E. also have notable populations of Hindi speakers. Hence, according to the SIL Ethnologue (1999 data) a combination of Hindi and Urdu language makes it the fifth most spoken language in the world.

According to Comrie (1998 data), Hindi is the second most spoken language in the world, with 333 million native speakers.

The 337 million number of the 1991 census includes the following:

- **Western Hindi**
  - 180m: Khariboli – 6Ms Kanauji
  - 13m: Haryanvi

- **Eastern Hindi**
  - 20m: Awardhi
  - 11m: Chhattisgarhi

- **Bihari**
  - 45m: Maithili (since gained independent status)
• 26m: Bhojpuri
• 11m: Magadhi
• 2m: Sadri

➢ 7m: Pahari
➢ 5m: Rajasthani

From 1991 to 2006, the population of India has grown by about 30% (from 838 to 1,095 million), so that the number of current speakers may be expected to be roughly a third higher than those given above.

The Constitution of India, adopted in 1950, declares Hindi in the Devanagari script as the official language (raja bhasha) of the Union (Article 343(1). Hindi is also enumerated as one of the twenty two languages of the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India, which entitles it to representation on the Official Language Commission. The Constitution of India has stipulated the usage of Hindi and English to be the two languages of communication for the central government.

It was envisioned that Hindi would become the sole working language of the central government by 1965, with state government being free to function in language of their own choice. This has not however, happened and English is also used along with Hindi for
official purposes. There was widespread resistance to the imposition of Hindi on non-native speakers. In some states, especially the anti-Hindi agitations in the state of Tamil Nadu, resulted in the passage of the Official Language Act (1963). This act provided for the continued use of English, indefinitely for all official purposes, by the Union government. However, the constitutional directive to the central government to champion the spread of Hindi was retained and has strongly influenced the policies of the Union government.

At the state level, Hindi is the official language of the following states in India: Bihar, Jharkhand, Uttarakhand, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Chattisgarh, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana and Delhi. Each of these states may also designate a "co-official" language, in Uttar Pradesh for instance, depending in the political formation in power, sometimes this language is Urdu. Similarly, Hindi is accorded the status of co-official language in several states.

After independence, the Government of India worked on standardizing Hindi, instituting the following changes:

- Standardization of Hindi grammar: In 1954, the Govt. of India set up a committee to prepare a grammar of Hindi; the committee's report was released in 1958 as "A Basic Grammar of Modern Hindi."
• Standardization of Hindi spelling

• Standardization of the Devnagari script by Central Hindi Directorate of the Ministry of Education and culture to bring about uniformity in writing and to improve the shape of same Devanagri characters.

• Scientific mode of transcribing the Devnagri alphabet

• Incorporation of diacritics to express sounds from other languages.

1.4 Hindi and Urdu

The term Urdu arose in 1645. Until then, and even after 1645, the term Hindi or Hindawi was used in a general sense for the dialects of central and northern India.

There are two fundamental distinctions between standard Urdu and Standard Hindi that led to their being recognized as distinct languages:

• The source of borrowed vocabulary (Persian/Arabic for Urdu and Sanskrit for Hindi); and

• The script used to write them (for Urdu an adaptation of the Perso-Arabic alphabet written in nasta’liq style: for Hindi, an adaptation of the Devnagri script).
Colloquially and linguistically, the distraction between the Urdu and Hindi is insignificant. This is true for the northern half of the Indian subcontinent, wherever neither learned vocabulary nor writing is used. Outside the Delhi dialect area, the term “Hindi” is used in reference to the local dialect, which may be different from both Hindi and Urdu.

The word Hindi has many different uses; confusion of these is one of the primary causes of debate about the identity of Urdu. These uses include:

1. Standardized Hindi as taught in schools throughout India,
2. Formal or official Hindi advocated by Parushottam Das Tandon and as instituted by the post independence Indian government, heavily influenced by Sanskrit,
3. The vernacular non standard dialects of Hindustani/Hindi Urdu as spoken throughout much of India and Pakistan,
4. The neutralized form of the language used in popular television and films, or
5. The more formal neutralized form of the language used in broadcast and print news reports.

The rubric ‘Hindi’ is often used as a catch-all of these idioms in the north Indian dialect continuum that are not recognized as languages separate from the language of the Delhi region. Punjabi,
Bihari and Chahttisgarhi, while sometimes recognized as being distinct languages, are often considered dialects of Hindi. In other words, the boundaries of “Hindi” have little to do with mutual intelligibility, and instead depend on social preceptors of what constitutes a language.

The other use of the word “Hindi” is in reference to standard Hindi, the Khari Boli register of the Delhi dialect of Hindi (generally called Hindustani) with its direct loan words from Sanskrit. Standard Urdu is also a standardized form of Hindustani. Such a state of affairs, with two standardized forms of what essentially one language is known as a diasystem.

Urdu was earlier called Zaban-e-Urdu-e-Mu’allah, the “Exalted language of the camp”. Earlier terms Hindi and Urdu are used interchangeably even by Urdu poets like Mir and Mirza Ghalib of the early 19th century (rather, the terms Hindawi/Hindi was used were often). By 1850, Hindi and Urdu more no longer used for the same language. Other linguists such as Sir G.A. Grierson (http://www.hagpon.linc.com/people/language.html) (1903) have also claimed that Urdu is simply a dialect or style of Western Hindi. Before the partition of India, Delhi, Lucknow, Aligarh and Hyderabad used to be the four literary center of Urdu.

The colloquial language spoken by the people of Delhi is indistinguishable by ear, whether it is called Hindi or Urdu by its
speakers. The only important distinction at this level is in the script: if written in the Perso-Arabic script, the language is generally considered to be Urdu and if written in devanagari it is generally considered to be Hindi. However, since independence the formal registers used in education and the media have become increasingly divergent in their vocabulary. Where there is no colloquial word for a concept, Standard Urdu uses Perso-Arabic vocabulary, while Standard Hindi uses Sanskrit vocabulary. This results in the official languages being heavily Sanskritized or Persianized and nearly unintelligible to speakers educated in the other standard (as far as the formal vocabulary is concerned).

These two standardized registers of Hindustani have become so entrenched as separate language that many extreme nationalists, both Hindu and Muslim, claim that Hindi and Urdu have always been separate languages. The tensions reached a peak in the Hindu Urdu controversy in 1867 in the then United Provinces during the British Raj. However, there were and are unifying forces as well. For example it is said that Indian Bollywood films are made in “Hindi”, but the language used in most of them is the same as that of Urdu speakers in Pakistan.

1.5 Hindustani: A Linguistic Description

The problems of linguistic description of Hindustani are inextricably involved with those of Hindi and Urdu. Linguists,
historiographers of Hindi and Urdu, and scholars of literature and textual criticism have mainly tried to grapple with the linguistic description of Hindi and Urdu, as is evident from the phonological and grammatical studies of those languages done during the last half century. Kelkar (1968:1) has argued that contemporary standard Hindi-Urdu “consists of a gamut of integrated variation that need to be studied together – within a single frame work” However, he concentrated mainly on standard Hindi – Urdu and considered Hindustani as “relegated to History” (Kelkar 1968:9), though he included it under the Hindi-Urdu continuum of style and took care of regional color to a certain extent.

Though the linguistic description of Hindustani has not drawn the attention of linguists for historical reasons, it raises several theoretical and empirical issues, which are relevant for linguistic analysis of both Hindi-Urdu and Hindustani written by John Gilchrist. At the end of the 18th century several other dictionaries were published in the late 19th century. It would be relevant to explore the range of borrowed Perso-Arabic words included in the dictionaries and to find out how far they have been assimilated or have become current in present day colloquial speech. Second, the works of several writers have been published in both Urdu and Hindi and have been claimed equally as Hindi-Urdu writers. Prem Chand occupies an important position in this respect. It would be worthwhile to explore the distinctive alternative
use of Sanskrit or Persian words in Hindi and Urdu versions of his works and to study whether the common vocabulary comprises native or tadbhava or fully assimilated Sanskrit and Persian words. Third, a number of textbooks have been published for teaching standard Hindi and Urdu to foreigners. Although they reflect common core grammar and distinctive characteristics of the respective languages, it would be relevant to study the range of Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic words that form an integral component of these languages. Doing so would help determine how far these textbooks support the common base of colloquial Hindustani. Fourth, it would be necessary to explore to what extent the linguistic analysis of Hindi and Urdu is based on the spoken data. Only this type of analysis can show the extent to which they differ in the choice of Sanskrit and Persian words and to what extent these words are common in both the spoken varieties and represent the colloquial Hindustani.

Finally, some studies show lexical differences between Hindi and Urdu and question the notion that they are two distinct languages. They raise significant issues related to the processes of convergence and divergence, the difficulty of drawing boundaries between Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic words assimilated in both Hindi and Urdu and the implications of choice for comprehension. These issues can be explored only on the basis of a large corpus. A corpus of 3 million words is now available for both Hindi and Urdu at the Central Institute
of Indian Languages, Mysore. On the basis of a comprehensive sample, it would be possible to explore in what kind of genres/texts both Hindi and Urdu show a common base of colloquial Hindustani and how they differ from one another, on the one hand, and from Hindustani, on the other, in terms of what kind of Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic words they use. In short, the search on the issues raised above can bring an understanding of the basic linguistic structure of Hindustani and superimposed structure of Hindi and Urdu that is characteristic of both the spoken and written styles.

B. Classification

The modern Indo-Aryan languages have developed from different Apabharamshas. From saurseni Apabharamsha have developed Khariboli, Braj Bhasha, Bangaru, Kannauji and Bundeli, together grouped as Western Hindi, Awadhi, Bagheli, and Chattisgarhi together are known as Eastern Hindi. The word ‘Hindi’ is used to include, besides these eight languages, Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili, as well as Rajasthani, Malvi and Mewati.

The elite Hindi language has a predominantly Sanskritic vocabulary. It is so large in the high literary and technical language that it seems far removed from the spoken form of Khari Boli, not to speak of languages as Braja, Awadhi, Rajasthani, Bhojpuri and Maithili (S. N. Ganesan).
1.6 Different views on Characterization of Indo-Aryan Languages

Now we are going to provide some major views discussed by the linguists regarding the characterization of Indo-Aryan Languages.

1.6.1 John Beames' (Contemporary Grammar)

The first important taxomony of the Indo-Aryan languages was formulated by John Beames in his *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan languages of India* (1872-79).

This work brought together extensive data from a number of modern Indo-Aryan languages through the methodology of comparative reconstruction. Although taxonomy perse is not a major goal of this work, we do find in it extensive discussion of what Beames believes to be the overall structure of the language family. By reading these statements we are able to gain insight into the kinds of criteria that Beames employed in determining if a given speech form is to be accorded the status of "dialect" or of "language". Beames views on these matters were quite influential and they provided a natural starting place for Grierson when he embarked upon his more scientific taxomony of the language family for the LSI.

Perhaps, the single most striking aspect of Beames' Comparative Grammar for the modern reader is the fact that no
attempt is made in it to justify the selection of the primary members of
the language family.

Beames holds the analogousness of the Aryan languages to the
Romance languages quite seriously. He maintains that the modern
Aryan languages all maintain the distinction between lexical items that
have been borrowed form Sanskrit fairly recently, the so-called
tatsama items, and those that have been derived from Sanskrit
through the cumulative effect of historical sound laws, the so-called
tadbhava items.

It is a peculiarity of Beames' Comparative Grammar, when
judged by the norms of European comparative grammar contemporary
to it, that it places such great emphasis on lexical, as opposed to
phonological factors.

It is vocabulary, without a doubt, that is central interest to
Beames in describing the relations among Indo-Aryan speech forms.

Beames attempts in his work to enumerate what he considers to
be the primary dialects of each of the major languages what he treats,
although at no point does his dialectology reach the level of formality
where he constructs explicit stammbaum schemata for these (Hindi,
Punjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya and Bengali) languages.
Beames considers the dialects situation of Hindi to be of particular importance within Indo-Aryan and he accords Hindi a position of pre-eminence in the language family.

Beames is quite emphatic in insisting that this Hindi language enjoys a position of linguistic superiority over the other standard Indo-Aryan languages.

In spite of these claims as to the supreme linguistic importance of Hindi within modern Indo-Aryan, Beames make no attempt to spell out the names and distribution of the major Hindi dialects, the task of empirically determining those dialects for Hindi, as well as for all other Indian languages, being left for Grierson and his associates during the preparation of the linguistic survey of India.

Beams wrote with a number of unstated, but nevertheless operative, criteria by which he was able to distinguish between major “languages” and their dialects. These criteria can be stated as follows:

i. Speech forms that have a modern written literature are more likely to be languages than those that do not;

ii. Pidginised or creolized speech varieties (i.e. those showing considerable admixture with other codes) are likely to have lower status than those codes not showing much “contamination”;
iii. Historically conservative dialects (i.e. those showing more Old Indo-Aryan features) are to be accorded higher status than those showing greater linguistic innovation.

1.6.ii Griersons' (Linguistic Survey of India) (Volume IX Part I)

Grierson has highlighted and discussed the basic development of Western Hindi and its dialects and also established the relationship between vernacular Hindustani and the five dialects. In this particular volume he has explained the geographical position of the western Hindi and its variations as:

The home of Western Hindi closely agrees with the Madhya desa, or Midland, of ancient Sanskrit geographers. The Madhyadesa was the country between the saraswati on the west and what is now Allahabad on the east. Its northern boundary was the Himalya Range, and its Southern the Narbada river. Between these limits lay, according to tradition the holy land of Brahmanism. It was the centre of Hindu civilisation and the abode, on earth of its daities. Western Hindi does not extend so far east as Allahabad its eastern limit is about cawnpore, but in other respects the area in which it is spoken is almost exactly the same as the Madhyadesa. It is spoken as a vernacular the western position of the united provinces, in the eastern districts of the Panjab in Eastern Rajputana, in Gwalior and Bundelkhand, and in the north-western districts of central provinces. Moreover, its most important dialect, Hindostani, is spoken and understood, and is even amongst some classes of the population a vernacular, over the whole of the Indian peninsula.
1.6.iii Suniti Kuar Chatterji’s (Indo-Aryan and Hindi)

According to Chatterji the dialects of Northern India from the Panjab to Bihar (both the tracts inclusive) fall into four groups, namely:

(i) Panjabi; (2) Pachhanha (Pachaha) or ‘Western’ Dialects; (3) Purabiya or Purbi i.e. ‘Eastern’ dialects; (4) Bihari; the South-West group, and (5) Rajasthani. The Panjabi and Pachhanha groups overlap to some extent. In the evolution of Hindustani, Purabiya and Bihari as well as the Rajasthani groups of dialects can be omitted, as in grammar these are rather different, although speakers of the purabiya dialects (‘Eastern Hindi’—Awadhi or Baiswari, Bagheli and Chattisgarhi) of Bihari (Bhojpuri, Maithili, Magahi and Chhota Nagpuria) and of Rajasthani (numerous dialects like Mewati, Jaipuri, Marwari, Mewari, Malwi etc.) now have adopted Hindi or Hindustani (High-Hindi and to a very slight extent Urdu) as their language of literature and public life, the bases of Hindi (Hindustani) are the Pachaha dialects (particularly of the Vernacular Hindustani and Bangaru groups), and Eastern Punjabi to some extent. The Panchhanha or Western dialects are the so-called ‘Western Hindi’ dialects; Braj-Bhakha, Kanaui, Bundeli, on the one hand, and the dialect known as ‘Vernacular Hindustani’ (Meerut and Rohilkhand Divisions and Ambala District) and Bangaru or Hariani (Delhi, Rohtak, Hissar and Patiala) on the other.
Braj Bhasha, Kannauji, and Bundeli differ in some important matters from 'Vernacular Hindustani' and Bangaru. The most noteworthy points of difference are these. The Braj Bhakha group has -au or -o as the ending of ordinary masculine nouns and adjectives (merau betau ayau, or mero beto ayo 'my son came'; wa main merau kah yau na man yau, or wai or un mharo kahyo na man yo 'he did not listen to what I said'), whereas the other group has -a (mera beta aya in 'Vernacular Hindustani' and Bangaru). It may be said that the Rajasthani dialects agree with Braj bhakha group of Panchhanha in being -au or -o dialects (e.g., mharo beto a yo or a yo-do), whereas the Punjabi dialects are -a dialects like 'Vernacular Hindustani' and Bangaru, (for example, mera betta) [puttr or puttar] a ea, Hindi usne mera kahana mana, in Punjabi usne mera ak khena na manea. Braj-bhakha group have forms like ta, wa, ya, ja, ka for oblique of the various pronouns, whereas the other group has forms like tis, us, is, jis, kis: Panjabi agrees with the 'Vernacular Hindustani' group in this matter (e.g. is or es, os, jis, kis). There are some other points of difference but the above are most noteworthy.

1.6.iv Cardona's Characterizations of Indo-Aryan

As stated above, the overall typology of Indo-Aryan that has come down to us is essentially that of the LSI, as modified through analysis of later census statistics. It is, we think, useful to briefly
summarize a recent description of the modern Indo-Aryan languages, that of Cardona (1974), in which recent census data of the time was used. Cardona arranges the Indo-Aryan languages into geographical divisions, with little attempt to construct a formal Stammbaum. Roughly speaking, Cardona considers Indo-Aryan to have eastern, northwestern, western/southwestern, and midlands groups, as well as two other, “Rajasthani” and “Bhili” whose positions vis-à-vis the others are somewhat problematical.

Cardona enumerates Assamese, Bengali and Oriya as constituting the eastern branch of Indo-Aryan. He considers the northwestern group to be composed of Punjabi, Lahnda, Sindhi (this including Kacchi, which has been claimed by some to be a dialect of Gujarati), the “Pahari” languages, and the Dardic languages (whose position within the Indo-Iranian family is open to dispute). The Pahari (or “mountain”) languages are subdivided into east, West and Central divisions, the primary example of the first being Nepali, the major examples of the second being Kumaoni and Garwali and the last encompassing 62 languages and dialects from the states of Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, and the Punjab area adjacent to Himachal Pradesh. Dardic is divided by Cardona into three subgroups: Dard – (East Dardic), Khowar (Central Dardic), and Kafir (West Dardic). The major Dardic language spoken in South Asia is Kashmiri, an East Dardic language. In the western and southwestern divisions
Cardona cites Gujarati, Marathi and Konkani. He also considers Sinhalese, originally an offshoot of a western dialect, to be a member of this group.

Cardona notes a large number of distinct speech forms in the midlands area. In describing the distribution of “Hindi” under its various rubrics he notes that:

That midland tract from the borders of Bengal and Orissa to Gujarat and Maharashtra is a large area where Hindi is the language of official business. The language called Khari boli, considered to be a standard Hindi, is based in a dialect of western Uttar Pradesh to the North-West of Delhi. The term hindi (also hindvi) is known from as early as the 13th c., when Amir Khusrau – a minister of the Moghul court – used it. Urdu is also recognized in the constitution of India... The term zaban-e-urdu ‘language of the imperial camp’ came into use about the 17th c. In the south, Urdu was used by Muslim conquerors of the 14th c, and this language, known as Dakhini Urdu (‘southern Urdu’) is still used in the area about Hyderabad. Structurally and historically Hindi and Urdu are one, though they are now official languages of different countries written in different alphabets.

Cardona also notes the existence of a large number of vernacular “languages” the midlands area, specifically the Bihari languages (Maithili, Magahi, and Bhojpuri), the Eastern Hindi
languages (Avadhi, Bagheli, Bagheli, and Chattisgarhi), Western Hindi (Braj and Bundeli), and Bangru.

A number of speech terms, Mewati, Ahirwati, Harauti, Malvi, Nimadi, and Marwari, collectively referred to as “Rajasthani” by Grierson, are said by Cardona to represent a shading from “West Hindi” in the east to Sindhi and Gujarati in the west. Another set of forms not enjoying a clear cut position are the Bhili dialects, being concentrated in the area where Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat meet, as well as in the area where Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat do so.

1.6.5 Shapiro and Schiffman’s (Language and Society in South Asia)

Shapiro and Schiffman have provided an interesting discussion on the family tree termed as Stammabaum and wave Models of linguistic History.

As is well known, one of the major advances of nineteenth and early twentieth century linguistics was the determination of familial relationships among the members of the so-called Indo-European family of languages. The work done in this tradition was designed to establish genetic relations among the languages of this family and to relate the chronologically later members of the family to the older. Furthermore it often reconstructed member languages through the
postulation of regular diachronic "laws" of linguistic change. The acceptance of such a goal presupposed a model of the nature of linguistic change of the evolution of new language varieties from older ones. One such a model only implied in the early writings of the tradition but fully spelled out by the end of the nineteenth century- is referred to as the stammbaum model. Although originally intended to serve as a frame of reference for linguistic reconstruction, this model has been highly influential in work carried on in language classification in general. It has appeared in one form or another in the classification of many South Asian languages.

The Stammbaum, or family tree, model of linguistic history was designed both in respect to and as a legitimisation of the attempted reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European through the systematic comparison of the morphological and phonological forms of its various daughter (i.e. historically later) languages. Based on the work of Grimm, Rask, Sir William Jones and others and first expounded by Bopp in the mid nineteenth century, the comparative method of linguistic reconstruction are used to determine the forms of earlier stages of languages through a systematic comparison of forms in the presumably related contemporary varieties of languages. The application of the comparative method of linguistic reconstruction leads to the production of a type of inverted tree structure; a substratum of spoken contemporary languages are said to be derived from a smaller
set of feeding branch languages, which are in term desired from a still smaller set and intimately from a single source language. In a simple classification of languages, the members of a family can be progressive subdivided into groups, where membership within a group or sub-group means that the languages are derived from a common reconstructed source. A model reflecting the characteristic example of such a taxonomy is given in the following. (Figure-1) This is with reference to the classification of Munda languages.
Figure-1: Classification of Munda languages
(Adapted from Pinnow, 1966:182)
The family trees resulting from comparative analysis can be of essentially two sorts. The first, which we shall call Historical, represents the reconstructed stages in the history of a language family. The entries at the bottom level of such a diagram most closely resemble modern spoken varieties, and those at the top indicate more distantly removed stages, which are arrived at only by reconstructed (there often being no written records of the earlier periods). Such charts frequently have entries for both reconstruction stages and stages for which there are extant records. The family tree history of the Indo-Aryan languages given in the following (Figure-2) illustrates this.
# Table Illustrating the Development of the Aryan Speech in India

**Indo-Iranian**  
(Aryan)

**Indic or Indo-Aryan Group**

Olestd Indo-Aryan:  
Vedic Dialects C. 1500 B.C.? 1200 BC.?  
E. Afghanistan; Kashmir, Panjab; N.W. Ganges Doab

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language/Region</th>
<th>Dialects/Influences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indic or Indo-Aryan Group</td>
<td>Indo-Iranian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odissi, Khowar, Baluchi, Rangi.</td>
<td>Dardic Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magahi, Bhojpuri, Maithili,</td>
<td>Iranian Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prakrit Speech of Bharat</td>
<td>Vedic Dialects C. 1500 B.C.? 1200 BC.?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Spoken Dialects, c. 1200-700 B.C.**  
Gandhara, Panjab, Upper Ganges Valley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language/Region</th>
<th>Dialects/Influences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oulic</td>
<td>Kharosthi and ohr N.W. Inscriptions from Ashoka down-wards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paikeli Prakrits</td>
<td>Praticya (Gujarati etc.) Dialects (South-West)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharol</td>
<td>Madhya-deshya (Kuru-Paflcal etc.) (Midland or W. Doab Speech)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharoshthi</td>
<td>Prachya (Kosala etc.) (Eastern-Speech of Buddha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharol</td>
<td>Asokan Speech of Jimir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratika</td>
<td>Latin, Saurashtri, Abhiri, Avanti (with Sauraseni &amp; (Gurjara- Dardic?) Influence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratika</td>
<td>Sauraseni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratika</td>
<td>Arthad-magadhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratika</td>
<td>Magadhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratika</td>
<td>Maharastri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratika</td>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratika</td>
<td>Magadhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratika</td>
<td>Maharastri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Literary Dialect (Brahmag Rastrika) Based on the Speeches of the North, West, and West Midland**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language/Region</th>
<th>Dialects/Influences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>Daksishwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>(Southern)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>(Pogram from Oulica, c.5th Century B.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>Garha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>(Mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>Maharastri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>Martial and Koltani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Modern Dardic Speeches: Kushti, and Urdu**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language/Region</th>
<th>Dialects/Influences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modern Dardic Speeches: Kushti, and Urdu</td>
<td>Modern Dardic Speeches: Kushti, and Urdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Dardic Speeches: Kushti, and Urdu</td>
<td>Western Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Dardic Speeches: Kushti, and Urdu</td>
<td>Eastern Hindi (Purabiya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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1.7 Some Observations on Braj Bhasha and Khari Boli

The North Indian vernacular which became established in the south was a sister speech to Hindustani, if not exactly identical with it, being of the same eastern Punjab and Western Uttar Pradesh origin.

The Muslim tradition of writing poetry in the various forms in Hindi-Braj bhakha, mixed Braj and Awadhi, and Delhi speech gradually passed away.

With the Musalmans, Braj bhakha was a pastime in the 16th and 17th centuries from the 18th, North Indian and Deccan Musalmans educated in Persian and Arabic cared for Urdu only, to the exclusion of other form of North Indian vernacular speech. The Hindus continued to cultivate Braj bhakha and Awadhi, when they wrote poetry. But from the 19th century, Urdu claimed their Chief attention, as the language of the law courts, and as the medium of instruction in the schools leading to the professions of law, medicine, engineering etc.

A great modern poet arose in Hindi-Bharatendu Harish Chandra slowly Hindus came to feel that there must be a revival of the Nagari Alphabet. The Nagari Pracarini Sabha was started at Banaras in 1890; and a new era – a variable rebirth of Hindi came into being. The example of Urdu poetry on the one hand and the archaic characters as well as the diversity of Awadhi and Braj – Bhakha on the other,
induced the Hindus to write poetry in High Hindi (Khari – Boli) or standard Hindustani also, from the fourth quarter of the last century; so that it has now become established in Hindi poetry as much as in Hindi prose. Modern Khari Boli (High Hindi) poetry is represented by a growing number of very capable poets, some of whom are men of true genuine and although Braj and Awadhi claim votaries from among Hindus who write ‘Hindi’ Poetry, the continuation of the literary life of these dialects is doomed expect, possibly, among those who could continue them as their home dialects. Speakers of Punjabi (except the Sikhs, who mostly hold on to their native Panjabi, written in the gurumukhi character), of Braj – Bhakha, of Kanauiji and of Kosali and the Bihari speeches, as well as of Rajasthani and a number of other languages and dialects, have gradually abandoned these for High Hindi or Urdu as the language of education and public life.

Popular or folk Hindi (Hindustani) of Northern India has brought in another element of controversy, which so far has not come to any prominence, but which is bound to come up sooner or later. In addition to the questions of culture words and of script, which two alone are now looming large in the Hindi-Urdu controversy, colloquial Hindustani has brought in the equally great, Perhaps the far question of grammar. Literary Hindustani, itself based on a colloquial dialect, or dialects, shows a grammar, which for those who do not belong to the ‘Home districts’ of Hindi (Hindustani) roughly western Uttar Pradesh and
Eastern Punjabi tracts – appears to be quite complicated and difficult. Among the speakers of the Eastern Hindi dialects, of the Bihari dialects, of Bengali, Assamese and Oriya, of Gorkhali, of the Dravidian languages, and also of Marathi, and even of Rajasthani, Gujarati, Sindhi and Eastern and Western Punjab, some of the prominent grammatical features of Hindi (Hindustani) have been considerably simplified when Hindi (Hindustani) is spoken by them in some cases these have been entirely done away with. The result has been, that side by side with literary Hindi and Urdu, and the various kinds of tolerably correct or grammatical Hindustani spoken by the masses in the ‘Home districts’ of Hindi (in western U.P. and Eastern Punjab), there is another kind of Hindustani, a Hindustani of the street and the market, of the workshop and the godown, of the army and the shipyard, which is habitually spoken all over India, outside of the native Hindi or Hindustani area.

Over 200 millions in the non-Hindi areas, who speak or use Hindi (Hindustani), speak this simplified Hindustani; and for them, the learning of literary Hindustani with its characteristic grammar, is a difficult process—even the most intelligent of them do not often find it an easy thing. This is the veritable Basic Hindi created by the unschooled masses of North India.
The vocabulary of Hindi, consists of a large number of words from many dead and current languages. Words from Indo-Aryan languages, Dravidian and other non-Aryan languages and many foreign, languages have been borrowed in “tatsama” and tadbhava” (original and Polluted) forms. The Dravidian word ‘Pillai’ is used in Hindi is ‘Pilla’ by which is meant a pup. The word “Kodi” (twenty) was borrowed from Kola language. During the reign of foreigners in India words from Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Dutch, German, French and English Languages crept into Hindi in a large number. The door for the entrance of Sanskrit words has all along been wide open.

Till very recently Braja bhasa occupied the place of literary language throughout the Hindi-speaking area, though “Ramacarita Mansa” (in Awadhi) by Tulsi Das got the widest popularity, by the 18th century, Braja bhasa had lost its vigour and Khari Boli Urdu had gained prevalence among the Muslims. In the beginning of the 19th century, the Britishers in India helped to make experiments of Khadi boli prose for Hindus and in Fort William college, Lallu Lal wrote “Prema Sagara” and Sadal Misra wrote “Nasiketo Pakhyana”. In literary prose, Khadi Boli took its due place in the latter half of the 19th century and credit must go to Bharatenda Harischandra in the literary and Swami Vivekananada in the religious fields. With the dawn of the 19th century, Khadi Boli Hindi, became the only literary language throughout Madhya Desa. Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi encouraged the
introduction of Khadi Boli in poetry. The present form of Hindi, as recognized in the Indian constitution is quite different from the spoken language of Maratha and Bijnaur and Sanskrit words are found in abundance therein.