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Terminological Styles of Hindi and Urdu*

Before analysing the various terminological styles of Hindi and Urdu we should first clarify the historical relationship between them and give a proper definition of both in connection with *Khaṛī bolī* and Hindustani.

For this purpose, the basic thing to do is to classify Hindi into its four aspects – General, Classical (old and medieval), New and Modern – and define it in those terms.

When we hear or read or use the word ‘Hindi’, we get easily confused since it has more than one meaning. For instance, when we say that Hindi is the third language of the world, after English and Chinese, do we mean only Hindi written in Nagari script or do we include Hindustani as well as Urdu?

We usually mean by ‘Hindi’ the National and official language of the Indian Union along with its dialects. But, from a strictly linguistic point of view, the same term can mean something different. In order to avoid confusion and understand its relationship with the other linguistic forms mentioned above, we must above all clarify the differences among General, Classical, New and Modern Hindi. This can be properly done with the help of the table on the following page.

As we can see from the table, from the general point of view, Hindi is a term that embraces all the idioms belonging to or developed from some forms of the medieval Indo-Aryan language Apabhraṃsh. By Classical, that is old and medieval, Hindi means that group of sub-languages directly developed from Apabhraṃsh and their dialects, one of which is *Khaṛī bolī*. The expression New Hindi may be used to indicate the forms of Hindi derived from Classical Hindi, among which is the new *lingua Franca* of India, Hindustani, an offshoot of *Khaṛī bolī* and parent of Modern Hindi and Modern Urdu (simply called Hindi and Urdu).

* This is an introductory study of the following works under preparation: 1) *Linguistic terminology of Hindi and Urdu* in three volumes: 1.1. *Basic Hindi/Urdu-English Glossary*; 1.2. *Supplementary Hindi/Urdu-English Glossary*; 1.3. *Trilingual Linguistic Dictionary*, divided in three parts: Hindi/Urdu-English-Italian, English-Italian-Hindi/Urdu, Italian-English-Hindi/Urdu; 2. *Hindustani Grammar* in three volumes: 2.1. *Hindī Vyākaraṇ* (Hindi Grammar); 2.2. *Urdū Qavā'id* (Urdu Grammar); 2.3. *Hindi/Urdu Grammar*.

HINDI

General Hindi

Classical Hindi		New Hindi		
sub-languages	dialects	derived dialects	modern forms	
			terminological styles	
Rājasthānī	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> { <i>Mevāī</i> <i>Mālavī</i> <i>Jayapurī</i> <i>Marāvāī</i> 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hindustani-U. (Modern) URDU 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> { high advanced common pure
Western Hindi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> { <i>Bāngarū</i> <i>Braj-bhāṣhā</i> <i>Khari bolī</i> → <i>Kanōjī</i> <i>Bundelī</i> 	<i>zabān-e urdū</i> → <i>HINDUSTĀNĪ</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (Modern) HINDI Hindustani-H. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> { pure common advanced high
Eastern Hindi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> { <i>Avadhī</i> <i>Baghelī</i> <i>Chattisgarhī</i> 			
Bihārī	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> { <i>Mēthilī</i> <i>Magahī</i> <i>BhojPurī</i> 			
Pahārī	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> { <i>Pashcimī</i> <i>Mādhyamik</i> <i>Pūrvī</i> 			

Consequently, in modern times, the term 'Hindi' came to mean the particular form of General Hindi derived from the advanced form of *Khaṛī bolī* known by various names – as *zabān-e urdū*, *zabān-e Hindustān*, *Hindustānī* etc.¹ –, written in Nagari script and variously imbued with *tatsam* (Sanskrit loanwords). This is the official language of India recognized by the India Constitution² while the main traditional forms of Classical Hindi, for example *avadhī* and *braj bhāṣhā*, have now become its dialects.

Modern Hindi acquired its literary and political importance in the 19th century due to a new national consciousness and was advanced by the Hindu community of North India, through a process of Sanskritization of Hindustani. On the basis of this consideration, the useless, quarrelsome confusion made about the relationship between Hindi and Urdu, where some say that Urdu is a form of Hindi and others maintain that Hindi is a derivation of Urdu, can be cleared up by the statement that while Urdu is a linguistic form of General Hindi, Modern Hindi, or simply Hindi, is a derivation of *zabān-e urdū* or *Hindustānī*.

Thus (Modern) Hindi and Urdu are basically two variants of the same idiom, known as *Khaṛī bolī* or *Hindustānī*. Apart from their different writing or script and a few morphological and syntactical differences, they can swing from an absolute maximum to a relative minimum of similarity, according to the words employed. The less Sanskrit words are used in Hindi and the less Perso–Arabic words are used in Urdu the more Hindi and Urdu are similar or rather identical. As Hindi is, in general, a linguistic expression of Hindu culture and Urdu is that of Muslim culture, it is normal for Hindi books to contain a great deal of Sanskrit words and for Urdu books to comprise a large number of Perso–Arabic terms.

However, one who has a common knowledge of both Hindi and Urdu knows that, from a lexical point of view, it is not always obvious that what is written in Nagari characters is just Hindi and what is written in Perso–Arabic script is simply Urdu. We often find any kind of writing in Nagari characters full of Perso–Arabic terms as well as Urdu writings containing some Sanskrit words. So, besides their intrinsic similarities and dissimilarities, the analogies and differences are, to a large extent, matters of lexical style.

This kind of study could be carried out in compliance with the canons of quantitative linguistics through the utilization of electronic processors and the employment of *ad hoc* programs, such as, for instance, the one prepared by the computerized linguistic centre of Pisa³. But at this stage of our work, we prefer, as an introduction, to base this study on a simple comparison of texts of various origin and different value (see also the note to the title).

¹ About the various names of *Khaṛī bolī* see, for a general knowledge, Bh. Tivārī, *Bhāṣhā vijñān kosh*. Vārāṇasī (Benares) 1963, u.v. *Khaṛī bolī*, *Hindustānī*, *Dakkhinī*.

² The Constitution of India – Article 343, Part XXII, P. 167, September 1951, Delhi – states: "The Official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devnagari script".

³ I do not think that there are studies dealing with this topic on a quantitative basis.

The main terminological styles that we come across in both Hindi and Urdu are four: pure, common, advanced and high.

1. *Pure terminological style*. This is the lexical style of Hindi and Urdu consisting of *tadbhav* (originating from Sanskrit through Prakrit) and *deshī* or *deshaj* (native) words only. It is the lowest or most simple level of both colloquial and literary Hindustani that conforms with the pure lexical form of *Khaṛī bolī*. Its use is sporadically found in Hindi and Urdu prose literatures before and around 1800. The Hindustani idiom of this style is called *ṭheṭh Hindī* (pure Hindi).

At literary level, the reference work in this style is the famous story *Rānī Ketākī kī kahānī*⁴. It is generally considered the first original literary composition in prose of modern Hindi and Urdu written for the purpose, it seems, of giving an image of what was pure Hindustani or *ṭheṭh Hindī* and a basic pattern for what should have been the future developed form of that idiom. The author explicitly expresses his intention, at the beginning of the story, through the following couplet:

*Yah vah kahānī hē jis meṅ Hindī chuṭ
kisī ṛ bolī kā na mel hē na puṭ*

This is that story in which except Hindi
no mixture is of other dialects no mixing.

This story is published in both Nagari and Person–Arabic scripts without any variation as one can see in the edition⁵ from which we take the following initial passage of the story as an example:

*Kisī des meṅ kisī rājā ke ghar ek beṭā thā. Use us ke mā–bāp ṛ sab ghar ke log Kuṅvar Udayābhan karāke pukārāte the. Sacāmuc us ke joban kī jot meṅ sūraj kī ek sot ā milī thī. Us kā acchāpan ṛ bhalā lagānā kuch ēsā na thā jo kisī ke likhāne ṛ kahāne meṅ ā sake. Pandrah baras bhar ke unne solhāveṅ meṅ pāñv rakhā thā. Kuch yoṅ hīñ sī us kī māseṅ bhīgṛtī calīñ thīñ. Akar–takar us meṅ bahut sī samā rahī thī, kisī ko kuch na samajhātā thā. Par kisī bāt kī loc kā ghar–ghāṭ pāyā na thā ṛ cāh kī naḍī kā pāṭ unne dekhā na thā*⁶

From the lexical point of view, the pure form of *Khaṛī bolī* or *Hindustānī* was destined to remain that of an undeveloped dialect had it stayed closed to

⁴ By Inshā Allāh Xān “Inshā” (1756–1818).

⁵ °Abd–us–Sattār Dalavī (*sic*) (ed.): Inshā Allāh Xān “Inshā”, *Rānī Ketākī kī kahānī*, Bambaṛī (Bombay) 1972. The edition contains both versions, Urdu and Hindi.

⁶ Translation: “In a certain country a king had a son. His parent and family called him by the name of Kanvar Uday Bhan. Actually, when he grew up, there was nothing special about his charm which is worth mentioning. From fifteen, he stepped into the sixteenth year and so he was now a young man. He was quite proud of himself and looked down upon anybody else. But he did know nothing about anything, and had not experienced love as yet”.

external influences, as no new language can develop without drawing words and expressions from other linguistic sources. In the case of *Khaṛī bolī* or *Hindustānī*, the natural sources were Sanskrit for Hindustani-speaking Hindus and Perso-Arabic for Hindustani-speaking Muslims. This was the obvious reason if pure *Khaṛī bolī* had no prospects for an independent development along a line equally distant from Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic. By drawing lexical elements from these languages for its development, pure *Khaṛī bolī* or *Hindustānī* run the risk of a forced ramification, as it actually happens later on.

2. *Common terminological style.* It is the lexical style of Hindustani or both Hindi and Urdu consisting of a mixture of native and derivative terms with more or less common loanwords from Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic and other languages like English. This style had started in its Urdu variant before 1800 and spread during the 19th century. In its Hindi variant it started developing after 1800. It is a traditional mixture of words, employed within the limits of the advanced grammatical structure of *Khaṛī bolī*, with the result that the same idiom, historically known under the name of Hindustani⁷ is called Hindi when written in Nagari script and Urdu when written in Perso-Arabic script. Some times the Indian lexicon can prevail, to a certain extent, on that of Perso-Arabic origin, sometimes it is *vice versa*. In any case, the basic and historical style of the idiom remains essentially unchanged.

The common lexical style of the standard literary Hindustani in both variants is generally used in spoken language, in school texts (especially for foreigners or non-Hindi speaking Indians), in simple poetry and in fiction by progressive writers.

Let us take, as an example, the first lines of a text book for foreigners, *Basic Hindi Reader*⁸.

Rām kā ghar kahān hē?
Us kā ghar yahān se dūr nahīn hē
Vah is bāzār ke pās hē.

⁷ On the question and definition of Hindustani name see: °Abd-ul-Haq, *Hindustānī kyā hē?* (What is Hindustani?), in °Ibādat Barelovī (ed.), *Xuṣbāt-e °Abd-ul-Haq* (°Abd-ul-Haq's discourses), Karācī (Karachi) 1964 (1st ed. 1952), pp. 473–480; *ibid.*, *Hindī-Urdū kā jhagṛā* (Hindī-Urdū quarrel), in °Ibādat Barelovī (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 493–501; S.K. Chattrji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindī*, Calcutta 1960, p. 210 ff.; G. De Tassy, *Histoire de la littérature Hindouī et Hindoustanie*, Paris 1839, vol. 1°, p. IV; M.K. Gandhi, *Our Language Problem*, Bombay 1965; G.A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Delhi–Varanasi–Patna reprint 1968, vol. IX, part I (Indo-Aryan Family, Central Group, Western Hindī and Panjabi), p. 42 ff.; S.R. Kidwai, *Gilchrist and the "Language of Hindustan"*, New Delhi 1972, p. 89 ff.; Bh. Tivari, *op. cit.*, u.v. "Hindustānī"; *Ibid. Hindī bhāṣhā ṛ nāgṛī lipi*, Illāhābād 1977, p. 33.

⁸ R.M. Harris & R.N. Sharma, *A Basic Hindi Reader*, Ithaca and London 1974.

⁹ Transl.: "Where is Rama's house? His house is not far from here. It is near the market. Is Rama at home at the moment? No, at this very moment, he is in the office. How much money has this man?"

*Kyā Rām is samay ghar par hē
Nahīn, is samay vah apnī dūkān par hē.
Is ādāmī ke pās kitāne pēse hēn?*⁹

In this passage, except *samay* which is a Sanskrit word normally employed in Hindi and rarely in Urdu, all the other words are either *tadbhav* (as *ghar*, *kahānī*, *nahīn* etc.) or *Perso-Arabic* (as *bāzār*, *dūkān*, *ādāmī* etc.); both are commonly used in both variants. Similarly, all the lessons of the *Basic Hindi Reader* make use of such a common lexical stylistic structure that if they were written in Perseo-Arabic script they would be exactly lessons of a *Basic Urdu Reader*. Only exceptionally we would find words that are not so much used in Urdu.

From poetry, we can take as an example the following patriotic poem-song in Nagari script¹⁰:

Mere vatan se acchā

*Mere vatan se acchā koī vatan nahīn hē,
sāre jahān men ēsā koī caman nahīn hē.
Is desh jēsī Gangā Yamunā kahīn na hogī,
vedoñ kī xubāsūrat racānā kahīn na hogī.
Duniyān men ēsī dharatī ēsā gagan nahīn hē,
mere vatan se acchā koī vatan nahīn hē.
Ye Rām Kṛiṣhn Gotam Nānak Guru kī bastī,
pēdā yahīn huī thī Gāndhī kī nek hasī.
Kisī ōr dev kā to ēsā vatan nahīn hē,
mere vatan se acchā koī vatan nahīn hē.
Is zamīn par āe gūṇvān kēse-kēse,
kabhī Kālīdās jēse kabhī Tānāsen jēse.
Mujhe nāz hē vatan par jhuṭhī lagan nahīn hē,
mere vatan se acchā koī vatan nahīn hē*¹¹.

¹⁰ Madhur Prakāshan (ed.), *Rāṣṭrīy gīt*, Dillī (Delhi) n.d., p. 5.

¹¹ Transl.: *Better than my homeland*

There is no homeland better than mine,
All over the world there is not such a garden.
Nowhere will be a Ganges Yamuna as in this country,
Nowhere will be a composition Vedas like.
In the world there isn't such a land, such a sky,
There is no homeland better than mine.
This is land of gurus like Rama, Krishna, Gotama and Nanak,
Here was born the pious life of Gandhi.
No homeland has another man divine,
There is no homeland better than mine.
What a meritorious people came on this earth,
Sometimes like Kalidasa sometimes like Tansen.
Proud am I of my country, false is not my love,
There is no homeland better than mine.

In this poem-song one can clearly note, besides *tadbhav* terms, a good deal of words from Sanskrit (as *desh*, *racanā*, *dharatī*, *gagan*, *guru*, *gūṇavān*) and words from Perso-Arabic (as *vatan*, *caman*, *xubāsūrat*, *duniyā*, *pêdā*, *zamīn*, *nāz*). The same composition may be given in Perso-Arabic script without losing much of its original intelligibility for an Urdu reader as most words are found in both Hindi and Urdu.

Thus, in the following poem, we find a curious cohabitation, which is quite current among Hindi common speakers and progressive intellectuals, of pure *Khaṛī bolī* terms and expressions (as *is lie*, *sakūn*, *likhātā*, *bacā*, *samājhūn* etc.), two Sanskrit words (*ātmacitr*, *bhayānak*) and words from Perso-Arabic (as *sharāb*, *gālātī*, *shôq*, *zindā* etc.) as well as from English (as *sigret*, *ṭrak-ḍraivar*, *penṭing*):

Ātmacitr¹²

Mên sigret is lie pītā hūn
ki sarak bahut lambī hē.
Sharāb ki bhayānak romantikātā is lie hē
ki kisī ho gālātī par
bārēbār muskarā sakūn.
Likhātā is lie hūn
ki ṭrak-ḍraivar nahīn ban sakā.
Penṭing is lie karātā hūn
ki kasarat karāne kā shôq nahīn hē.
Hansātā is lie hūn
ki rone ke lie kuch nahīn bacā.
Tum mujhe is lie yād ho
ki mên samājhūn
ki mên zindah hūn.
Zindā is lie hūn
ki abhī marātā nahīn hūn¹³.

¹² Prakāsh Rāval, in "Adhunā" march 1969.

¹³ Transl.: *Self-portrait*

I smoke
because the way is very long.
A dreadful romanticity is contained in wine
so I may repeatedly smile
on some mistake done.
I write
because I could not become a truck-driver.
I paint
because I have no passion for sport.
I laugh
because nothing is left to weep.
I remember you
so I may understand
I am alive.
I am alive
because I'm not now dying.

In this poem there is a prevalence of Perso–Arabic and English words in comparison with Sanskrit terms. Of the two examples of the latter, the first is unintelligible to Urdu speakers but the second is also found in Urdu dictionaries. Therefore the whole poem can be easily expressed in Urdu by substituting the only Sanskrit word with one Perso–Arabic equivalent. Nevertheless, compositions with lexical styles as such are entitled to be included within common Hindi–Urdu or Urdu–Hindi linguistic form because this corresponds to the definition of the common terminological style.

The same thing can be said, more or less, of the following initial passage of the Hindi short story *Derh inc upar*¹⁴:

...*Agar āp cāheñ to is mez par ā sakāte hēñ. Jagah kāfī hē. Āxir ek ādāmī ko kitānī jagah cāhie? Nahīñ...nahīñ...mujhe koī takālīf nahīñ hogī. Beshak, agar āp cāheñ, to cup rah sakāte hēñ. Mēñ xud cup rahānā pasand karātā hūñ...Ādāmī bāt kar sakātā hē ōr cup rah sakātā hē, ek hī vaqt meñ. Ise bahut kam log samajhāte hēñ. Mēñ barāson se yah karātā ā rahā hūñ. Beshak, āp nahīñ...āp abhī javān hēñ. Āp kī umr meñ cup rahāne kā matālab cup rahānā ōr bāt karāne kā matālab bāt karānā hē. Donoñ bāteñ ek sāth nahīñ ho sakātī. Āp chote mag se pī rahe hēñ? Āp ko shāyad abhī lat nahīñ paṛī. Mēñ āp ko dekhāte hī pahācān gayā thā ki āp is jagah ke nahīñ hēñ...*¹⁵.

Strictly speaking, from the lexical point of view the passage above is more Urdu than Hindi, as all the words, except the *tadbhav* terms, are of Perso–Arabic origin (*Jagah, āxir, ādāmī, takālīf, beshak, agar, xūd, pasand, vaqt, umr, matālab*). All these words could have been easily substituted by the author with Sanskrit tatsams for they are not meant to reflect a Muslim background, which is absent in the fiction context. That means that the author’s choice was dictated by his own lexical taste only. So, such passage is deemed Hindi simply because it is written in Nagari script, but had it been written in Perso–Arabic script it could be considered perfect Urdu.

The same common lexical style (with or without common Sanskrit words) can be largely found in Urdu too. The following passages are given as significant examples:

¹⁴ Nirmal Varmā, *Pichālī garmiyon meñ*, Dillī–Paṭnā (Delhi–Patna) 1968, pp. 33–45.

¹⁵ Transl: "... If you like, you can come to sit down at this table. There is enough place. After all, how much space does need a man? No ... no... It will not trouble me at all. Of course, if you want, you can keep silent. I myself like to be silent. Man can talk and can keep silent, at the same time. Very few people understand this. I have been doing this for centuries. Certainly you haven't ... You are young now. At your age, the meaning of keeping silent is keeping silent, and the meaning of talking is talking. Both things at the same time are not possible. Are you drinking from a small mug? Perhaps you haven't yet fallen into this bad habit. As I saw you, I immediately realized that you dont belong to this place..."

1. from *Gullī-dañḍā*¹⁶:

*Ek gā'on meñ do laṛake gullī-ḍañḍā khelā karāte the. In laṛakoñ meñ se ek baṛā ho kar afāsar ban gayā ḍr dūsarā paṛh-likh nah sakā. Vah afāsar bahut din ke ba°d gā'on meñ vāpas ātā hē or phir apāne usī purāne ham-jolī se gullī-ḍañḍā khelakar purāne dinon kī yād tāzah karānā cāhātā hē magar yah purānā ham-jolī ab janābujhakar gullī-ḍañḍe meñ hār jātā hē. Vah apāne afāsar ham-jolī ko apānā sāthī nahīn samajhātā balākih us kā lihāz karātā hē. Ab in donoñ ke bīc meñ ḍivār ban ga'ī hē*¹⁷.

2. from *Abbūxān kī bakārī*¹⁸

Himālay pahār kā nām to tum ne sunā hī hogā. Is se baṛā pahār duniyā meñ ko'ī nahīn hē. Hazārōñ mīl phelātā cālā gayā hē ḍr ūncā itānā hē ki is ūncī coṭiyōñ par ko'ī āḍāmī āsānī se nahīn pahunc sakātā hē. Is pahār ke andar bahut si bastiyāñ bhī basī hēñ. Ēsī hī ek basī Alāmoṛā hē.

*Alāmoṛā meñ ek baṛe Miyāñ rahāte the. Un kā nām thā Abbūxān. Unheñ bakāriyāñ pālne kā bahut shōq thā. Akele āḍāmī the; bas, ek-do bakāriyāñ rakhāte, ḍin-bhar unheñ carāte. Un-ke °ajīb-°ajīb nām rakhāte, kisī kā Kallū, kisī kā Gujārī, kisī kā Hukāmā. Un se na jāne kyā-kyā bāteñ karāte rahāte ḍr shām ke vaqt bakāriyōñ ko lākar ghar meñ bāndh dete. Alāmoṛā pahārī jagah hē, is lie Abbūxān kī bakāriyāñ bhī pahārī nasl kī hoṭī thīñ*¹⁹.

In both Urdu passages there are only *Khaṛī bolī* and Perso-Arabic words which also belong to Hindi and can be found in the respective passages of the Nagari version of the same stories. When Hindi and Urdu languages have such a terminological style characterized by words mostly common to both of them they are known as common Hindi and common Urdu respectively.

Pure and common styles are the historical styles of Hindi and Urdu that

¹⁶ Premācand, in "Ejukeshanal Buk Hāu's" (ed.), *Intixāb-e nō* (New selection), ḥiṣṣah-e avval (First part), °Aligarḥ (Aligarh) n.d., p. 63.

¹⁷ Transl.: "In a village two boys used to play the game of tip-cat. One of these boys after coming of age became officer, the other could not acquire any education. After some time, the officer returns to the village and wants to refresh the memory of those old days by playing the game of tip-cat with his old companion of the same age. But the old companion now intentionally contrives to become the loser in the game. He doesn't regard his old companion officer as his mate; on the contrary, he has respect for him. Now a wall is raised between them..."

¹⁸ Zākir Ḥusain, *Abbūxān kī bakārī ḍr cōdah (14) ḍr kahāniyāñ* (Abbuxan's goat and other fourteen short stories), Na'ī Dihālī (New Delhi) 1963.

¹⁹ Transl.: "You have certainly heard the name of the mountain Himalaya. There isn't in the world a mountain bigger than this. It extends for thousands of miles and is so high that no man can easily reach its summit. On this mountain, there are also many villages. Among these villages, there is one called Almora.

A very nice man lived in Almora. His name was Abbuxan. He had a great passion for keeping goats. He was a lonely man. He kept just one or two goats and put them out to graze the whole day. He gave them strange names, calling one Kallu, another Gujari, another Hukma. Who knows what conversations he carried on with them!? In the evening he took them back and tied them in the house. Almora is a hilly place, therefore Abbuxan's goats too were of the hilly strain".

took shape through the centuries by themselves, naturally, without any form of imposition by political or linguistico-literary authorities. The following two styles may be called the cultural styles of the two variants for being the products of cultural policies.

3. *Advanced terminological style.* By advanced style, in the lexical sense, we may here mean that form of literary Hindustani which is characterized by a juxtaposed mixture of basic *Khaṛī bolī* lexicon, common and uncommon terms from Sanskrit or Perso-Arabic, as well as occasional English loanwords. According to the prevalence of either words from Sanskrit or from Perso-Arabic, the advanced terminological style of Hindustani can assume two different aspects that can be called: advanced Hindi (-Urdu) and advanced Urdu (-Hindi). In comparison with the pure and common styles, these forms are only partially interchangeable, that is, each cannot be expressed in both Nagari and Perso-Arabic without substituting the uncommon Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic words characterizing it.

3.1. *Advanced Hindi (-Urdu) terminological style.* This name can be applied to that form of Hindi in which there is, along with the basic *Khaṛī bolī* lexicon, a predominance of common and uncommon terms from Sanskrit in comparison with words from Perso-Arabic. The prevalence of *tatsam* is such that a whole passage or composition or text in original Nagari Hindi would be, if transferred into Perso-Arabic script, only partially if not hardly understood by common Urdu readers and speakers. This style is actually the intermediate form of Nagari Hindi, that is neither too Hinustanized nor too Sanskritized. It is commonly used among the Nagari Hindi-writing and Hindi-speaking people who belong to Hindu culture but are quite open to the Indian Muslim cultural tradition, an inalienable part of India history, and to the progressive ideas in the socio-political field in favour of a mutual understanding between communities having different faiths. The advanced Hindi (-Urdu) terminological style can be generally found in fiction, occasionally in poetry, school texts and other writings on simple and common subjects.

Shīt yuddh²⁰
 Sab ke pās ḍank hē!
 Sab ko
 yah jñāt hē
 ḍansāne ke bād
 madhumakkhī
 mar jāī hē²¹.

²⁰ Kelāsh Vājāpeyī, *Dehānt se haṭakar* (Away from death), Dillī (Dehli) 1967, p. 15.

²¹ Transl.: *Cold war*

All have the sting!
 All
 know that
 After stinging
 the honey-bee dies.

It is composed of nineteen words only, out of which fourteen are elements of the basic *Khaṛī bolī* lexicon, four (*shīt, yuddh, jñāt, madhumakkhī*) are Sanskrit terms and only one (*bād*) is Perso–Arabic. In this aspect, how this poem can be defined from the lexical point of view? On one side, we might say, the presence of four uncommon Sanskrit terms and of only one common Perso–Arabic word entitles us to classify the poem as Hindi only. In fact, if we changed the poem into Perso–Arabic script for Urdu readers it would become as follows:

Sard jang

Sab ke pās ḍank hē!

Sab ko

yah ma°lūm hē

ḍansāne ke ba°d

shahad kī makkhī

mar jātī hē.

On the other hand, as the *tatsam* are just four while the larger quantity of the other words are common to both variants we may call the lexical style of this poem advanced Hindi (–Urdu), that is basically Hindi but not foreign to Urdu.

Another example of this style is a passage taken from the short story *kavi kī strī*²².

*Chātrāvasthā meñ mēñ ōr Mañirām sāth hī sāth paṛhe the. Us samay ek–dūsāre par prāñ dete the. Bacāpan ke din bīt cuke the. Jab tak ek–dūsāre ko dekh na lete, shānti na milāit. Us samay hameñ buddhi na thī. Bād meñ prem kā sthān vēr ne liyā. Donoñ ek–dūsāre ke lahū pyāse ho gae. Tab ham shikṣhit ho cuke the. F. A. kī parīkṣhā pās karāne ke pashcāt’ hamāre raste alag–alag ho gaye. Mañirām Meḍikal Kālej meñ bhartī ho gayā. Mēñ–ne sāhity sansār meñ pāñv rakkhā*²³.

It contains a prevalent bulk of *Khaṛī bolī* lexicon, a good deal of Sanskrit *tatsam* (*kavi, strī, parīkṣhā, chātrāvasthā, prāñ, shānti* etc.) and two English words (*Meḍikal, Kālej*). Here too we would say that the language is Hindi. But, as most words belong to *Khaṛī bolī* lexicon, and most Sanskrit *tatsam*, though uncommon, are not fully unknown to educated Urdu readers, the lexical style of this passage can be considered advanced Hindi (–Urdu).

This kind of terminological style is normally found in Nagari Hindi writings and sometimes in Urdu books by Hindu writers who by tradition write in Urdu.

²² Sudarshan, “*Kavi kī strī*” (*Poet’s wife*), in Shrikrīshn Lāl (ed.), *Hindī Kahāniyān*, Ilāhābād (Allahabad) 1967, p. 84.

²³ Transl.: “Maniram and I studied together during our school age. At that time we loved each other more dearly than life. The days of childhood had already passed. Until we had seen each other, we would remain restless. At that time we were not wise. Later, enmity took the place of attachment. Both of us became thirsty of each other’s blood. Then we were already educated. After passing the F.A. exam our ways separated. Maniram was enrolled in the Medical College, I entered the world of literature.

3.2. *Advanced Urdu (-Hindi) terminological style.* This is that form of Urdu lexical style which is characterized by the combination of pure *Khaṛī bolī* words with common and uncommon Perso-Arabic terms and English words here and there. It is traditionally considered by Urdu supporters and foreign scholars to be the natural heir of basic Hindustani²⁴.

In comparison with the advanced Hindi (-Urdu), that does not discard the use of common Perso-Arabic words, the advanced Urdu (-Hindi) is generally less open to the use of common Sanskrit terms. This style is particularly met in film scripts, songs, poetry and fiction.

An idea of the advanced Urdu (-Hindi) style is given by the famous song *Jab ham javān hongē*²⁵:

Jab ham javān hongē jāne kahān hongē
Lekin jahān hongē vahān fariyād karengē.
tujhe yād karengē.

Jab ham javān hongē jāne kahān hongē
Lekin jahān hongē vahān fariyād karengē
tujhe yād karengē.

Yah bacāpan kā pyār agar kho jāegā

Dil kitānā xālī ho jāegā

Tere xayālon se ise ābād karengē.

Jab ham javān hongē jāne kahān hongē
Lekin jahān hongē vahān fariyād karengē
tujhe yād karengē.

Ēse hansātī thī vah ēse calātī thī

Cānd ke jēse chipātī ōr nikalātī thī

Ēse hansātī thī vah ēse calātī thī

Cānd ke jēse chipātī ōr nikalātī thī

Sab se terī bāteñ tere ba°d karengē

tujhe yād karengē.

Jab ham javān hongē jāne kahān hongē
Lekin jahān hongē vahān fariyād karengē
tujhe yād karengē.

²⁴ Here we may mention the famous Urdu grammar by John Platts whose title is *A Grammar of the Hindustani or Urdu Language* London 1878, while the contemporary, equally famous Hindi Grammar by Kellogg is just entitled *A Grammar of the Hindi Language*, (Allahabad 1875). In a note of Kellogg's Grammar (p. xi) we read, on the question relating to the number of Hindi speakers: "This estimate is probably too low. Mr. Cust says that the Hindi-speaking population of India 'cannot fall short of eighty millions' (*Modern Languages of the East Indies*, p. 46), and if the Persianized Hindi called Urdū or Hindustāni be reckoned, as by most, a dialect of Hindi, then Hindi must be counted the vernacular of over one hundred millions, and is spoken by more of our race than any language except the Chinese".

²⁵ The text of this song, sung by A. Retaab and B. Arpan, is here transcribed from the cassette.

Tere shabānāmī xwāboñ kī taṣvīroñ se
Terī reshāmī zulfoñ kī zanjīroñ se
Tere shabānāmī xwāboñ kī taṣvīroñ se
Terī reshāmī zulfoñ kī zanjīroñ se
Kêse ham apñe āp ko āzād karengē?
Jab ham javān hongē jāne kahāñ hongē
Lekin jahāñ hongē vahāñ fariyād karengē
tujhe yād karengē.
Zahr-e judā'ī kā pīnā par jā'e to
Bichaṛ ke bhī ham ko jīnā par jā'e to
Zahr-e judā'ī kā pīnā par jā'e to
Bichaṛ ke bhī ham ko jīnā par jā'e to
Sārī javānī bas yunhī barbād karengē.
Jab ham javān hongē jāne kahāñ hongē
Lekin jahāñ hongē vahāñ fariyād karengē
tujhe yād karengē
*Jab ham javān hongē jāne kahāñ hongē*²⁶.

²⁶ Transl.:

When I'll be old	who knows where I'll be!?
But where I'll be	there I'll complain
	I'll remember you
When I'll be old	who knows where I'll be!?
But where I'll be	there I'll complain
	I'll remember you.
In this childhood love will get lost	
How empty will my heart become.	
I'll people it with your thoughts	
When I'll be old	who knows where I'll be!?
But where I'll be	there I'll complain
	I'll remember you.
So she laughed so she walked	
Like the moon she hid herself and came out.	
So she laughed so she walked	
Like the moon she hid herself and came out.	
Once from you away I'll talk with all about you	
	I'll remember you.
When I'll be old	who knows where I'll be!?
But where I'll be	there I'll complain
	I'll remember you.
How will I rid myself	
Of the images of your dewy dreams	
Of the chains of your silken locks	
Of the images of your dewy dreams	
Of the chains of your silken locks?	
When I'll be old	who knows where I'll be!?
But where I'll be	there I'll complain
	I'll remember you.

Its lexical structure, made only of *Khaṛī bolī* and Perso–Arabic words, is such as to be defined basically Urdu, but not foreign to Hindi, since all the Perso–Arabic words (*javān, lekin, fariyād, yād, agar, dil, xālī, xayāl, ābād, xwāb, taṣṣovīr, āzād* etc.) are also included in Hindi dictionaries and often used by Hindi speakers and writers.

Not much different is the lexical structure of the Urdu anthem *Tarānah-e Hind*²⁷:

Sāre jahān se acchā Hindostān hamārā
Ham bulābuleñ hēñ is kī yah gulistān hamārā.
Gurbat meñ hoñ agar ham rahātā hē dil vaṭān meñ
Samājho vahīñ hameñ bhī dil hē jahāñ hamārā.
Parbat vah sab se ūñcā hamāsāyah āsmān kā
Vah santarī hamārā vah pāsābān hamārā.
Godī meñ khelātī hēñ is kī hazāroñ nadiyāñ
Gulāshan hē jin ke dām se rashk–e janañ hamārā.
Mažāhab nahīñ sikhātā āpas meñ bēr rakhnāñ
Hindī hēñ ham vaṭān hē Hindostān hamārā.
Yūnān o Miṣr o Romā sab miṭ ga'e jahāñ se
Ab tak magar hē bāqī nām–o–nishān hamārā.
Kuch bāt hē kih hastī miṭṭī nahīñ hamārī
Ṣadiyoñ se rahā hē dushāman daur–e zamān hamārā.
Iqābāl ko 'ī maḥāram arāñā nahīñ jahāñ meñ
*Ma' lūm kyā ko dard–e nihān hamārā*²⁸.

If I must drink the poison of separation
 If I must live even after being separated
 If I must drink the poison of separation
 If I must live even after being separated
 I'll just destroy all my youth.

When I'll be old	who knows where I'll be!?
But where I'll be	there I'll complain
	I'll remember you.
When I'll be old	who knows where I'll be!?

²⁷ Muḥammad Iqābāl, in “Ejukāshanāl Buk Hā'us” (ed.), *cit.* pp. 20–21.

²⁸ Transl.:

Our Hindustan is better than the whole world
 We are its nightingales it is our garden.
 If we are in a foreign land our heart stays in our homeland
 So where our heart is believe us to be there too.
 The highest mountain, neighbour of the sky
 It is our sentinel, it is our guardian.
 Thousands of rivers play in its lap
 Because of them our garden is the envy of paradise.
 Religion doesn't teach us to be mutually hostile
 We are Indians and Hindoustan is our country.

Most of the Perso–Arabic words of the anthem (*jahān, bulābuleh, gulistān, vaṭan, hamāsāyah, āsāmān, maẓāhab* etc.) are quite common in the Hindi world too, especially in spoken Hindi. On this basis we can call its language Urdu (–Hindi).

The same can be said of the initial passage of the short story *Milāvāt*²⁹:

Amrītsar meñ °Alī Muḥammad kī manhārī kī dūkān thī. Choṭī–sī magari us meñ har cīz mōjūd thī. Us ne kuch is qarīne se sāmān rakhā thā kih thansā thansā dikhā'ī nahīn detā.

Amrītsar meñ dūsāre dūkānādār blēk karāte the, magari °Alī Muḥammad vājibī nīrx pār apānā māl farox̄t karātā thā. Yah vajah hē ki log dūr–dūr se us ke pās āte the ḡr apānī zarūrat kī cīzeñ xarīd karāte the.

*Vah maẓāhabī qism kā ādāmī thā. Ziyādah manāfa° lenā us ke nazādik gunah thā. Akelī jān thī. Us ke li'e jā'iz manāfa° hī kāfī thā*³⁰.

Most Perso–Arabic words in this passage (*cīz, mōjūd, farox̄t, maẓāhabī, qism* etc.) are quite known to Hindi speakers even if they are not commonly used in place of their Sanskrit equivalents.

One thing to notice is that while the advanced Hindi (–Urdu) style is rather rare in Urdu, the advanced Urdu (–Hindi) style is almost common in Hindi. As an example we quote a passage from a speech by Jawaharlal Nehru, *Hamārī tāqat ḡr zimmēdāriyāñ*³¹, delivered in the “Lal Qila” of Delhi in August 1951 on the occasion of the Independence Day:

Ham ne āzādī hāsil kī; kis tarah se? Kōn–sī tāqat thī, jo ham–ne pēdā kī? Vah tāqat thī ek ruhānī tāqat ḡr ek dil kī tāqat jo ki kabhī dushāman ke sām–ne jhukāī nahīn thī, jo ki kōī bhī musībat āe, phir bhī us se ghabārāī nahīn. Yah tāqat Mahātmā–jī ne hamāre dilon meñ ḡlī. Ham to māmūlī ādāmī the, kamāzor

Greece Egypt Rome all were from the world effaced
But still remains our name and trace.

Something is there that our existence doesn't pass away
For centuries our enemy has been the revolution of time.

No confident you have in the world Iqbal
My hidden pain is unknown to anyone.

²⁹ Sa°ādat Ḥasan Mañṭo, in S.H. Māñṭo, *kī bīs gēr–matābū°ah kahāniyāñ*, Dihlī (Delhi), n.d., p. 37.

³⁰ Transl.: “In Amrītsar, Ali Muhammad had a shop of various articles. It was small but full of every thing. The goods were arranged in such order that they didn't seem crammed.

The other shopkeepers of Amrītsar practised black market, but Ali Muhammad sold his goods at a reasonable price. For this very reason people came from far away to his shop to buy the things they needed.

He was a religious man. To make much profit was for him a sin. He lived all alone. For him the legal profit was enough”.

³¹ Pandit Javāharlāl Nehāru, in Dakshin Bhārat Hindī Pracār Sabhā (ed.), *Gady–kusum–2*, Madrās (Madras) 1966, p. 106.

*dil ke, āpas meñ laṛānevāle; lekin unhoñ-ne yah sabaq hameñ sikhāyā apānī misal se ōr apāne lafzōñ se, apānī bāt se ki hameñ ūñce rāste par calānā hē, hameñ āpas meñ milākar rahānā hē, kyonki millat meñ hī tāqat hoī hē*³².

The whole passage does not need, from the lexical point of view, any comment. It is perfect Urdu in Nagari script.

4. *High terminological style.* By this name we define the lexical style of Hindi and Urdu that contains predominantly uncommon words, respectively from Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic, that are not interchangeable in the two variants.

Considering the sources of the prevailing words, this style is distinguished into High or Sanskritized Hindi and High or Perso-Arabized Urdu. At their highest level, the two High styles become forms of almost two different languages even though they are written in the same script.

The process of Sanskritization and Perso-Arabization of Hindustani is a historical fact of such weight that, in the long run, it has become one of the greatest problems of British as well as independent India, known as the language problem³³. It started in the thirties of the last century for political and religious reasons. Since then the Hindi-speaking Hindus of Northern India shifted from the classical obsolete Hindi idioms, like *Avadhī* and *Braj-bhāṣhā*, to the neglected *Khaṛī bolī* or *Hindustānī* from which Urdu had already developed through Perso-arabic script and vocabulary. So, Modern Hindi, or simply Hindi, started its slow but progressing development by adopting one and the same dialect through Nagari script and Sanskrit vocabulary.

With the beginning of the contemporary scientific era, the process of Sanskritization of (Modern) Hindi and that of Perso-Arabization of Urdu has become deeper and ineluctable with the consequence of embittering the relations between the Hindu and Muslim communities. The progress of science has created in every field of both idioms, as in the other languages of the world, pressing demands for a new and suitable terminology. Owing to the lack of an appropriate language policy aiming at providing Hindustani-Hindi and Hindustani-Urdu with a single common scientific terminology for bringing them closer and closer till their spontaneous amalgamation would develop into a single common language, it

³² Transl.: "We have acquired independence; in which way? Which was the power that we created? That power was a spiritual power, a power of the heart that never bent to the enemy and that never got disheartened in facing any difficulty. It was Gandhi-ji that poured this power in our hearts. We were just common men, weak-hearted, always fighting with each other; but he taught us lesson with his example, his word and his talking that we must walk on the lofty way, we must stay together in cooperation because power lies indeed in unity".

³³ There is a vast bibliography on this question. Here I confine myself to mentioning only the following books: M.K. Gandhi, *Our Language Problem*, cit.; G. Sundara Reddi (ed.), *The Language Problem of India*, Delhi 1973; Rām Vilās Sharmā, *Bhārat kī bhāṣhā-samasyā* (The language problem of India), Nayī Dillī Paṭṭānā (New Delhi-Patna) 1978.

was natural that the supporters of Hindi and those of Urdu went on improving the respective idioms independently, the former mining terms from Sanskrit and the latter barrowing them from Persian and Arabic. As a result of such activity on both sides, two new markedly distinct styles were born and developed which made Hindustani–Hindi and Hindustani–Urdu almost two distinct languages: High Hindi and High Urdu.

4.1. *High Hindi terminological style.* This is the Hindustānī variant style, written in Nagari script, in which the Sanskrit vocabulary is largely predominant, if not always almost exclusive. Not only Perso–Arabic common and uncommon terms are avoided in favour of Sanskrit loanwords but also *tadbhav* are substituted with *tatsam*. This style is so heavy (considering both the artful aspect of many Sanskrit words and the extraordinary number of their equivalents) that one can hardly find a clear relationship between High Hindi and common or even advanced Hindi. It looks more related to Sanskrit than to *Khaṛī bolī*. Only rarely do we come across some Perso–Arabic and English words. Therefore, this style is more commonly called Sanskritized Hindi.

The lexical style of High or Sanskritized Hindi, that has acquired common usage in fiction and poetry, is typical. at its highest level, in technical and scientific literature.

The first example of Sanskritized Hindi that we give here is a passage taken from the short story *Ākāsh–dīp*³⁴.

... *Nahīn nahīn, tum ne dasyuṣṛitti chor dī parantu hṛiday vēsā hī akarūṅ, satṛiṣhn ōr jvalanēshīl hē. Tum bhagavān ke nām par hansī uṛāte ho. Mere ākāsh–dīp par vyangy kar rahe ho. Nāvīk! Us pracand āndhī meṅ prakāsh kī ek kiraṅ ke lie ham log kitāne vyākul the*³⁵.

In this passage we notice about twentyfive *Khaṛī boli* terms (*nahīn, tum ne, chor dī, vēsā hī, hē, nām, par* etc.) and fifteen *tatsam* (*dasyuṣṛitti, parantu, hṛiday, satṛiṣhn, jvalanēshīl, ākāsh–dīp* etc.) but not a single Arabo–Persian or English word. Numerically the *tadbhavs* are more numerous, but stylistically the *tatsams* are predominant and give the whole passage a Sanskritized shape.

The same can be said, more or less, of the poem *Ānsū*³⁶:

*Yahīn hē vah viṣṛit sangīt
Kho gaī hē jis kī jhankār,
Yahīn sote hēn ve ucchavās
Jahān rotā bitā sansār;*

³⁴ Jay Shankar Prasād, *Ākāsh dīp*. Ilāhābād (Allahabad) 1963, p. 15.

³⁵ Transl.: "...No, no you have left dacoity but your heart is always the same: pitiless, ambitious, inflammable. You make fun of the name of God. You sneer at my beacon–light. Sailor, how perturbed we were in that terrible storm at every beam of light".

³⁶ Mahādevī Varmā, *Nihār*. Ilāhābād (Allahabad) 1971, p. 59.

Yahīn hē prāṇoṅ hā itihās
Yahīn bikhāre vasant kā sheṣh,
Nahīn jo ab āyegā lōṭ
Yahī us kā akṣhay sandesh.

Samāhit hē anant āhvān
Yahī mere jīvan kā sār,
Atithi! kyā le jāoge sāth
*Mugdh mere ānsū do cār!?*³⁷

In this poem, too, there are tadbhavs (*yahīn, hē, vah, khoī, jis kī, jahān, rotā, bītā* etc.) and tatsams (*vismṛit, sangīt, ucchvās, sansār, prāṇ, itihās* etc.), but no Perso–Arabic and English words.

Another significant specimen of Sanskritized Hindi can be the following passage, taken from the introduction of *Hindī Sāhityā kā Itihās*³⁸:

Viṣhay–pravesh. 1. Itihās: arth ōr svarūp.

*Sāhityetihās ke svarūp ko samajhāne ke lie itihās ke arth ōr svarūp ko samajhānā āvashyak hē. Itihās shabd iti + h + as se nirmīṭ hē, jis kā arth hē “ēsā huā thā”. Is prakār aṭīṭ kī ghaṭānāoṅ ke, kāl–krām meṅ sanyojit, itivṛīṭ ko itihās mānā jātā hē. Kintu itihās nirjīv tathyoṅ kā sankalan mātr nahīn hē*³⁹.

In the structure of this passage, too, though made of tadbhavs (*kā, se, ko, samajhānā, lie, mānā jātā hē* etc.) and tatsams (*sāhityetihās, viṣhay–pravesh, itihās, svarūp, āvashyak, shabd* etc.), only the presence of Sanskrit terms is remarkable.

³⁷ Transl.: *Tears*

It's here that forgotten music
 Whose jingling got lost,
 Here those sighs are sleeping
 Where the passed world is crying.

It's here my life story
 Here my spring's rest is scattered
 That shall not now return.
 This is its immortal message.

The endless call is concentrated
 This is my life's essence.
 Guest! Will you take along
 Two or four of my infatuated tears!?

³⁸ Harishchandr Varmā & Rām Nivās Gupt, *Hindī sāhityā kā itihās*. Rohatak 1982, p. 9.

³⁹ Transl.: “Introduction. 1. History: meaning and nature. To understand the nature of a literary history it is necessary to understand the meaning and the nature of history. The word *itihās* [history] is formed by *iti + h + as* that means *ēsā huā thā* [so was it, that is, so it happened]. In this way, the chronicle of the events of the past, arranged in chronological order, is regarded as history. But history is not only a mere collection of inanimate facts”.

In technical and scientific literature, the process of Sanskritization is even deeper with the further characteristic that the Sanskrit terms used are often unavoidable and unreplaceable by Perso–Arabic equivalents, as we can see in the following passage taken from *Pariṣhṛit Hindī Vyākaraṇ*⁴⁰:

Punsatv tathā strītv kī kalpānā ke ādhār par sanjñāpadoṅ ko pulling ṛ strīling do vargoṅ meṅ vibhakt kiyā gayā hē.

Jis prakār meṅ punsatv ke spaṣṭh prākṛitik lakṣhaṅ hoṅ us ke sūcak sanjñāpad ko pulling ṛ jis prāñī meṅ strītv ke spaṣṭh prākṛitik lakṣhaṅ hon us ke sūcak sanjñāpad ko strīling mānā jātā hē. [...]

*Jin padoṅ par sāmānyāyā puruṣh varg hī āsīn hotā rahā hē un ke sūcak sanjñāpadoṅ ko pulling hī mānā jātā hē phir bhale hī un par striyāṅ hī āsīn kyoṅ na hoṅ*⁴¹.

Here, except a few invariable words (*us, un*) and verbs (*kiyā gayā hē, hoṅ, mānā jātā hē, hotā rahā hē*) the bulk of the characterizing words are tatsams (*ling, pulling, strīling, punsatv, strītv, prākṛitik* etc.), some of which are technical terms hardly replaceable by Perso–Arabic words since these are generally unknown or not used in Hindi.

In order to have a further idea of the peculiar terminological style of Sanskritized Hindi, let us take as last example the following passage from *Hindī Bhāṣhā kī Sanracānā*⁴²:

Hindī–svanim.

Bhāṣhā ke do star hote hēn: kathy (content) tathā abhivyakti (expression). Kathy pakṣh hī bhāṣhā kā lakṣhy hotā hē, tathā abhivyakti pakṣh kathy ko kahāne kā sādhan mātr. Abhivyakti meṅ do mūlābhūt ikāiyāṅ hoṅ hēn: svanim (phoneme) tathā rūpīm (morpheme). In donoṅ meṅ bhī svanim apekṣhakṛit ahīk mūlābhūt ikāī hē.

Svanim, kisī bhāṣhā kī dhvanyātmak dṛṣhti se samān, ēsī bhāṣhaṅ–dhvaniyoṅ (speech sounds) ke varg ko kahāte hēn, jo āpas meṅ vitarāṅ (distribution) kī dṛṣhti se avyātikē (non contrastive) hoṅ. Ye samān dhvaniyāṅ upāsvan (allophone) kahālāī hēn.

⁴⁰ Badarināth Kapūr, *Pariṣhṛit Hindī Vyākaraṇ*, Meraṭh–Navī Dillī (Meerut–New Delhi) n.d., p. 56.

⁴¹ Transl.: “The nouns have been divided into two classes, masculine and feminine, on the basis of the assumption of manhood and womanhood.

The noun denoting a living being having clear natural traits of manhood is regarded as masculine and the noun denoting a living being having clear natural traits of womanhood is regarded as feminine [...].

The nouns denoting ranks belonging usually to the male class are regarded as masculine even if they are also acquired by women”.

⁴² Bholānāth Tivārī, *Hindī bhāṣhā kī sanracānā*. Dillī (Delhi) 1979, p. 29.

*Svanim ôr upāsvan meñ nimmānkit antar hēñ: (1) svanim prabhedak (distinctive) hotā hē. Arthāt' bhāshā-visheṣh ke svanimōñ meñ, us bhāshā meñ arthābhed karāne kī kshamātā hotī hē*⁴³.

The tadbhavs (*do, hote hēñ, meñ, bhī, kisī, āpas* etc.) in this passage are so few in comparison with the tatsams that they appear as lost elements in a large group. Anyhow, the analytical structure of the language is safe.

Yet, if we analyse this other passage we realize how much more synthetical than analytical it looks, and closer to Sanskrit than to Hindustani. The passage is taken from *Hindī Sāhity Sārīñi*⁴⁴.

PRASTAVĀNĀ. Vishvāshvarāndan Vēdik Shodh Sansthān kā shrīgānesh 1903 meñ huā thā. Tabhī se lekar, yah sansthān apāne vyāpak uddeshyōñ ke anusār bhāratīy vidyā evañ sanskrīti ke dhārmik, dārshānik va ētihāsik tathā vēdik lōkik Sanskrīt, Hindī ôr Panjābī bhāshāñ evañ in ke sāhityōñ ke anusandhān tathā uccātar shikṣhañ se sambandhit vividh vibhāgoñ ke nirantar anushīlan, sanvardhan evañ prasārañ meñ nirat rahā hē. Is bīc meñ, sansthān ko pānc so se adhik granthōñ ke prakāshan evañ cār patrikāñ ke niyamābaddh sancālan kā shrey prāpt cukā hē, jis ke phalāsvarūp hī ise paryāpt samay se antarrāshtrīy khyāti evañ mānyatā prāpt ho sakī hē.

*Sansthān apāne prārambh-kāl se hī vishuddh sānskrītik evañ vāstavik rāshtrīy bhāv-nāñ se prerit hokar Hindī bhāshā tathā Devānāgarī lipi kī adhikādhik sevā karāne ke lie kaṭibaddh rahā hē*⁴⁵.

⁴³ Transl.: "Hindi phonemes.

Language has two levels: content and expression. The content aspect is nothing but the target of the language, and the expression aspect is just the medium of the utterance of the content. In the expression, there are two fundamental units: phoneme and morpheme. Of these two, the phoneme is comparatively a more basic unit.

Phoneme is that class of speech sounds, equal from the point of view of a language, which are not contrastive from the point of view of reciprocal distribution. These equal sounds are called allophones.

Between phoneme and allophone, there is the following difference: (1) Phoneme is distinctive, that is, in the phonemes of a certain language, there is a capacity of producing a difference of meaning in that language [...]"

⁴⁴ Pītāmbār Nārāyan & Bhāshkaran Nayar (ed.), *Hindī Sāhity Sārīñi*. Hoshiyārpur (Hoshiyarpur) 1971, p. V.

⁴⁵ Transl.: "Preface. Vishv-shvarandan Vedic Research Institute started in 1903. Since then, this Institute is engaged, according to its extensive aims, in a continuous investigation, magnification and spreading of various departments connected with religious, philosophical and history research and high teaching of Indian learning and culture as well as the vedic and classical Sanskrit, Hindi and Panjabi languages and their literatures. In the meantime the Institute enjoys the credit of the publication of more than five hundred books and the direction of four regulated magazines, as result of which it could acquire from enough time international fame and recognition.

Inspired by pure cultural and actual national feelings the Institute has resolved from its beginning to serve more and more the Hindi language and Devanagari script".

This is a level of High or Sanskritized terminological style of Hindi that no Urdu-speaker without a considerable theoretical or practical knowledge of Sanskrit terminology can easily understand. Out of about 130 lexical features only 51 are from *Khari bolī*, most of which are repeated forms of the same word; all the other terms are *tatsam*.

4.2. *High Urdu terminological style*. What has been said so far on Sanskritized Hindi can be maintained, in the opposite sense, for Perso-Arabized Urdu, with the only difference that whatever the Perso-Arabized aspect of Urdu may be comparatively it can never be so abstruse to educated Hindi readers as the Sanskritized aspect of Hindi can be to educated Urdu speakers. This is because while the lexical sources of Urdu, that is Persian and Arabic, are, owing to historical reasons, largely familiar to many Hindus, the source of Hindi, that is Sanskrit, is unknown to Muslims except specialists and scholars. However, though Perso-Arabized Urdu is intelligible to Hindus, it is looked upon by them with respect but not as part of their historical and cultural heritage.

Like Sanskritized Hindi, also Perso-Arabized Urdu is found in all literary genres, especially in technical and scientific literature as shown by the following examples: – The following is a passage from the short story *Gulistan*⁴⁶:

*Āj se das hazār baras qabl kā majrā hē. Bahr-e Hind meñ ek jazīrah thā jo ab nāpēd hē. Cāndānī rāt thī, saḥ-e āb par sukūn-e muḥlaq ṭārī thā ōr is sukūn par cānd apnī shu°ā°eñ ḍāl rahā thā. Faḏā meñ xamoshī, bepāyāñ samundar, daraunī tanəhā°ī; vaḥəshat angez sukūt; ko°ī ṣadā nahīn, ko°ī aṣar-e ḥayāt nahīn*⁴⁷.

a poem from *Ṣubaḥ-e Bahār*⁴⁸:

<i>Kuch uṛā lo mazah javānī kā</i>	<i>kyā bharosah hē zidagānī kā</i>
<i>dhūm hē apəne °ishq kī ghar ghar</i>	<i>ḥaq adā ho gayā javānī kā</i>
<i>Jis kā parədah hē us kī bāteñ hēñ</i>	<i>Kyā khule bhed °umr-e fānī kā</i>
<i>Din ko āheñ rāt ko ānsū</i>	<i>°Ishq hē khel āg-pānī kā.</i>

Vah jafā ho ki ho vafā Axtar
*Shukr hē un ki maharbānī kā*⁴⁹.

⁴⁶ S. Sajjād Hēdar Yaldaram, *Xayālistān*, Na°ī Dihālī (New Delhi) 1962, p. 17.

⁴⁷ Transl.: "It is a happening of ten thousand years ago. There was in the Indian Ocean an island that now is inexistent. It was a moonlight night. An absolute calm was spread on the surface of the water and the moon was pouring its rays on this calm. Silence in the air, an unfathomed sea, a dreadful solitude, a frightful quietness, not a voice, not a sign of life".

⁴⁸ Axtar Shirānī, *Kulliyāt* (Complete works). Dihālī (Delhi) 1957, p. 295.

⁴⁹ Transl.:

Enjoy somewhat youth's fun
What trust do we have in life?
In every house is displayed my love
To youth justice has been done

This is a passage from the introduction of the first volume of *Tārīx-e adab-e Urdu*⁵⁰:

*Taməhīd. Jis ʔarah kā'ināt meñ hayāt kā irtiḳā xūd insān ke irtiḳā kī tārīx ban jātā hē, isī ʔarah zābān kā irtiḳā kisī tahəzīb kī tārīx kā zarrīn bāb ban jātā hē. Insān ḳr hēvān meñ yahī farḳ hē ki insān ke pās boləṭī hu'ī zābān hē ḳr hēvān kī zābān gung hē. Yahī boləṭī zābān insānī shu'ūr kī °alāmat hē*⁵¹.

The following passage is taken from the Urdu grammar *Na'ī Urdū Qavā'id*⁵².

*Urdū meñ jins ke mu°āmale meñ jānədār maxəlūḳ ḳr bejān ashīyā meñ ko°ī imtiyāz nahīn barətā jātā. Us meñ jins kī ʔirf do ḳismeñ hēn: 1. muḳakkār; ḳr mo'annas [...]. Urdū meñ jānədār ḳr bejān donoñ yā to muḳakkār hote hēn yā mo'annas. Jānədārōñ ke jins ke ta°ayyūn meñ zyādah mushkil is li'e nahīn hoṭī ki yah jins bi-l-°umūm xarījī duniyā kī muḳābiḳat meñ hoṭī hē, lekin bejān ashīyā tazəkīr-o-tānīs ko uḣuloñ meñ jakarəñā xāḣā mushkil hē. Is mu°āmale meñ calan hī ko mi°yār qarār denā munāsib hogā*⁵³.

Finally, we quote a passage from the book on linguistics *Urdū lisāniyāt*⁵⁴

Urdū ʔōṭiye. "ʔōṭiyah" angrezī lafḳ "Phoneme" kā tarjumah hē. Yah jadīd iḣṭilāh hē. Lekin itəñī jadīd bhī haḳīn jītəñī °ām ʔḳr par saməjhī jāṭī hē. Dəḳəṭar Farth ke xayāl meñ yah iḣṭilāh ḣadā (phone) ke muḳābile meñ is se muxtalīf ḳr qaṭ-°ī mumətāz mafəhūm ke li'e 1879 meñ vaz° hu'ī. [...]

Who observes pardah is talked about
 How can be divulged the secret of life!
 May bring me the speech tongue someone
 I have to give out the speechlessness cry
 Day time are signs at night tears
 Love is a game of water and fire
 Whether she is tyrant or kind Axtar
 Grateful am I for her regard.

⁵⁰ Jamīl Jālabī, *Tārīx-e adab-e Urdū*, Dihālī (Delhi) 1977, p. 1.

⁵¹ Transl.: "Introduction. As the evolution of life in the world becomes the history of the evolution of man himself, so the evolution of the language becomes a golden chapter of the history of a civilization. The difference between man and animal is that man has a speaking tongue while the animal's tongue is dumb. This speaking tongue is the symbol of human consciousness".

⁵² °Iḣmat Javed, *Nā'ī Urdū Qavā'id*. Na'ī Dihālī (Delhi) 1981, pp. 72-73.

⁵³ Transl.: "In Urdu, no distinction is made between animate beings and inanimate things in the matter of gender. In it there are only two kinds of genders: 1) masculine; and 2) feminine [...]. In Urdu animates and inanimates both are either masculine or feminine. There is not much difficulty in determining the gender of the animates for the reason that this gender is generally in conformity with the external world, but to tie the masculine and feminine genders of inanimate objects up in a framework of rules is quite difficult. It will be suitable to fix a standard conduct in this matter".

⁵⁴ Sabzəvarī Shōḳat, *Urdū lisāniyāt*, °Aligarḳ (Aligarh) 1982, p. 52.

Is meñ shubh nahīn kih ṣōtiyah kā ta°lluq insānī āvāz se hē. Ṣōtiyah ke ma°nā hēn sōt kī taraf mansūb ōr us se mut°alliq. Ṣōtiyah be shubh ṣōti ikā°ī (Phonological unit) hē jise mazīd ikā°iyon meñ taqāsīm nahīn kiyā yā sakātā. Lekin ṣōtiyah ke taṣavvur kī binā ṣōtī ikā°ī kī māhiyyat yā aṣḥliyat par nahīn us ke isti°mal yā manāsab (Function) par hē. Alāfāz āvāzōn se tarakīb pāte hēn. Āvāzen muxtaliḥ hēn. Alāfāz meñ ixtilāf yā ta°addud muxtaliḥ āvāzōn kī vajah se hē⁵⁵.

The aforesaid Urdu examples have an approximative value for our purpose. It is very difficult to find a passage containing only Perso–Arabic words and expressions fully unintelligible, for the reasons previously pointed out, to a number of Hindi speakers. Most of the Perso–Arabic words forming the lexical structure of the given specimens (like *qabl, jazīrah, āb, sukūn, muṭṭlaq; mazah, bharosā, zindagānī, javānī, fānī; ḥayāt, tāriḥ, insān, hēvān, farq; mu°āmalah, jānādār, bejān, ṣirf, qism; tarjumah, xayāl, muxtalif, insānī*) are foreign but not extraneous to a Hindi context, while only a few of them (like *baḥr, fazā, ṭārī, shu°ā°; tamāhid, shikvah, kā°ināt, tah–zīb, zarrīn, bāb; jins, maxālūq, ashīyā; ṣōtiyah, jadīd, iṣṭilāh, ṣadā*) are foreign and extraneous to Hindi writing.

This can be noticed also in writings like the following passage, taken from *Urdū Insā°iklopiḍiyā*⁵⁶, in which the language looks somehow more Perso–Arabic than Hindustani.

Pesh–lafz. Urdū insā°iklopiḍiyā kī tarakīb–o–tadavīn ōr us–kī ishā°at kā kām ju°e shīr lāne se kam nahīn. Apnī ahāmiyyat ōr no°iyyat kī binā par yah kām dar ḥaqīqat hukūmatōn ōr yūnīvarsīṭiyōn ke karāne ke hote hēn lekin qiyām–e Pākistān ke ba°d hamārī qōmī zindagī zihānī intishār ōr fikarī parāgandagī kā is burī ṭarah shikār rahī kih ta°līmī ōr ṣiqāfatī masā°il °adam–e tavajjuhī kī bhenṭ caḥ ga°e. Ab mōjūdah hukūmat ke muṣabāt iqdāmat ke bā°is ek na°e °ahd āfrīn dōr kā āgāz hu°ā hē. Siyāsī ōr iqtisādī iṣlāḥāt ke sāth ta°līm–o–ṣiqāfat kī bhī na°ī rāheñ muta°ayyun hone lagī hēn jo hamāre nazariyyātī ḥaqā°id ōr qōmī rujḥānāt se ham–āhang hēn lekin kisī jāmi° ōr hamah–gīr pēmāne par Urdū zabān–o–adab se muta°alliq ṥos taḥqīqī kām ke manṣūbe hanūz ma°riḥ–e ta°vīq meñ hēn.

⁵⁵ Transl.: “Urdu phonemes.

‘Ṣōtiyah’ is the translation of the English word ‘Phoneme’. This is a modern term. But not just as modern as it is generally believed. According to Dr. Farth, this term was coined in 1879 in opposition to ‘ṣada’ (phone) to denote a more different and absolutely distinct meaning. There is no doubt that phoneme is connected with the human voice. Undoubtedly, a phoneme is a phonological unit that cannot be divided into more units. Nevertheless the foundation of the idea of a phoneme does not depend on the nature and originality of the phonological unit but on its use and function. The words are composed with sounds. The sounds are different. The difference or frequency in words is due to different sounds”.

⁵⁶ °Abd–ul–Vaḥīdabī (chief ed.), *Urdū Insā°iklopiḍiyā*, Lāḥor–Rāwalpīndī–Peshāvar–Ḥēdarābad–Karācī (Lahore–Rawalpindi–Peshawar–Haiderabad–Karachi) 1962, p. 3.

Yah ek musallamah ḥaqīqat hê kih koṛī zābān us vaqt tak ṣahīḥ ṭor par °ilāmī zābān kā darjah ḥāṣil nahīn kar sakāṭī jab tak kih us—ke sarmāyah—e adab meñ jumalah anvā°—o— aqāsām ke °ulūm par mustanad ôr jāmi° kutub—e ḥavālah jat mōjūd na hoñ⁵⁷.

This is the level of the High Urdu or Perso–Arabized terminological style that Hindi speakers of Sanskrit tradition may understand but never use in their writing.

In order to have a further idea of the terminological difference between Hindi and Urdu in the scientific field, let us look at some nouns of sciences:

Hindi	Urdu	English
<i>bhāṣhāvijñān</i>	<i>lisāniyāt</i>	linguistics
<i>rājānativijñān</i>	<i>siyāsiyāt</i>	political science
<i>manovijñān</i>	<i>nafsiyāt</i>	psychology
<i>arthashāstr</i>	<i>ma°āshiyāt</i>	economics
<i>dharmashāstr</i>	<i>dīniyāt</i>	theology
<i>nītiśhāstr</i>	<i>axlāqiyāt</i>	ethics
<i>darshan</i>	<i>falsafah</i>	philosophy
<i>patrākaritā</i>	<i>exbarānavīsī</i>	journalism
<i>puratatvavijñān</i>	<i>aṣariyāt</i>	archaeology
<i>vastushāstr</i>	<i>fan—e ta°mīr</i>	architecture
<i>bhūvijñān</i>	<i>arziyāt</i>	geology
<i>jīvavijñān</i>	<i>ḥayātiyāt</i>	biology
<i>mānāvavijñān</i>	<i>bashariyāt</i>	anthropology
<i>jyotiṣh</i>	<i>nūjum</i>	astrology
<i>khagolavijñān</i>	<i>hê'at</i>	astronomy
<i>bhūgol</i>	<i>jugrāfiyah</i>	geography
<i>itihās</i>	<i>tārīx</i>	history

⁵⁷ Transl.: “Foreward. The arrangement and editing of Urdu Encycloaepedia and the work of its publication is a Herculean task. In consideration of their importance and particular nature, these works should be done by Governments and Universities, but after the establishment of Pakistan, national life remained so badly a prey of mental confusion and intellectual dispersion that the educational and cultural problems were sacrificed at the altar of inattention. Now, owing to the positive initiatives of the present Government, a new creative age has started. With the political and economic reforms new ways started to be fixed also for education and culture that conform with the theoretical truths and national aspirations; however, solid research projects connected with Urdu language and literature on a comprehensive and all—embracing scale are still delayed.

It is an axiomatic truth that a language cannot properly attain to the level of scientific language until authoritative and comprehensive reference books on all kinds of learning are available in literary treasure”.

One may notice the same difference in the technical terms used in each field as, for instance, in Linguistics:

Hindi	Urdu	English
<i>vyākaraṇ</i>	<i>qavā'id</i>	grammar
<i>dhvanivijñān</i>	<i>sōtiyāt</i>	phonology
<i>rūpavijñān</i>	<i>(°ilm-e) ṣarf</i>	morphology
<i>vāky-vijñān</i>	<i>naḥv</i>	syntax
<i>svanim</i>	<i>ṣōtiyah</i>	phoneme
<i>dhvani</i>	<i>ṣōt</i>	sound
<i>svar</i>	<i>muṣavvatah</i>	vowel
<i>vyanjan</i>	<i>muṣammitah</i>	consonant
<i>vāky</i>	<i>tarākīb</i>	phrase
<i>shabd</i>	<i>lafz</i>	word
<i>akṣhar</i>	<i>rukṇ</i>	syllable

5. *Final Remarks.* As a result of the process of Sanskritization of Hindi and Perso-Arabization of Urdu the gap between the two variants of Hindustani has been growing wider and wider, setting the Hindi-speaking Hindus and Urdu-speaking Muslims on the path of incomprehension, separation and even collision. Aware of the disastrous effects of linguistic disunity on the patriotic struggle for independence and on the political unity of India as well, Mahatma Gandhi himself, though not an expert in linguistics, tried to face the problem with the whole weight of his personality by supporting a practical theory that he expounded on many occasions. He proposed a blending of rationally Sanskritized Hindi with rationally Perso-Arabized Urdu into a single Hindustani language and dictionary. He used to reproach the educated Hindus who "Sanskritize their Hindi with the result Muslims cannot follow it" and the Muslims of Lucknow who "Persianise their Urdu and make it unintelligible to Hindus"⁵⁸. He warned Hindi writers against "deliberately using difficult Sanskrit words" and Urdu writers against "similarly using difficult Arabic and Persian words"⁵⁹ because "those writers and speakers who deliberately use Sanskrit or Arabic and Persian words, do great harm to the country"⁶⁰. Of course, Gandhi agreed that "a certain use of Sanskrit words, as the nation expands, is inevitable in the hands of Hindus who know only Sanskrit, as the use of Arabic is inevitable in the hands of Mussalmans who know only Arabic, though both write the same languages and have no

⁵⁸ M.K. Gandhi, *Our Language Problem*, cit., p. 9.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

special likes or dislikes”⁶¹. On the basis of this consideration, he said that “It is unnecessary for Hindus to reject Persian words, and for Muslims to reject Sanskrit words from their speech. A harmonious blend of the two will be as beautiful as the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamuna and last for ever”⁶². He added, on another occasion: “In Sanskritized Hindi, there is an over-abundance of Sanskrit words; and in Persianized Urdu, there is an over-abundance of Persian and Arabic words. They certainly increase the richness of Hindustani. Hindi and Urdu are like the rivers, while Hindustani is the sea. We should not have any prejudice against either. We have to appropriate both. Indeed, Hindustani is so comprehensive that it can assimilate both. In the result, it will become a rich Indian language which will be learnt not only by our people, but by the people of the world”⁶³.

Gandhi was right in saying this, but he did not succeed in his purpose. He defeated the British Empire but was defeated by his own compatriots in the war of the words. In spite of his exhortations for mutual understanding and collaboration, Hindi lovers and Urdu lovers went on, in the name of their respective religions, in opposite directions. Gandhi worked for Hindu-Muslim unity based on a common language with a single dictionary open to both Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic loanwords on the principle of co-existence of terms of different origins. But eventually religion took over and drove two peoples of the same nation, towards political separation and linguistic division. So, the war of the words between Sanskritized Hindi supporters and Perso-Arabized Urdu partisans ended ultimately in the defeat for either side, since it made hatred prevail over love and disintegration over cohesion.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 98.