

Probing Into The Question Of Urdu And Hindi As Identity Markers of The Speakers

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
In partial fulfillment of the requirement
For the award of the Degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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July, 2010



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This wonderful and exiting experience of working on Language politics in India, especially the politics of Urdu and Hindi in Hindi belt would never have been possible without the help and guidance of many people.

First and foremost I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. Anvita Abbi for her support, guidance, kindness and patience. For patiently listening to all my queries and clarifying all my doubts, I don't think I can thank her enough for the precious time that she gave me out of her very busy schedule. I would also like to thank my co-supervisor Prof. Ayesha Kidwai for her able guidance and help. Without their support and encouragement this work would not have been possible.

Next I would like to thank all my informants in Delhi and Aligarh. I would like to give special thanks to Prof. Imtiaz Husnain and my friends at A.M.U. for their help. For their unflinching support and encouragement I want to thank my parent. For the constructive suggestions, inputs and criticism I want to thank my sister and brother with all my hearts. Last but not the least I want to thank my friends for all the discussions we had. I would also like to thank the staff members of Center for Linguistics office for being so helpful.

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Abbreviations

HH- Hindus on Hindi

MU- Muslims on Urdu

H- Hindus

M-Muslims

All other items are indicated with names

Introduction

1.0 In this dissertation the question that I would attempt to address is how Urdu and Hindi as languages mediate the identity of the speakers of the two languages. When does Urdu become 'Urdu' {highly persio-Arabized form of khari boli, now the national language of Pakistan} and Hindi become 'Hindi' {the highly Sanskritized form of khari boli} and how the speaker relates to it.

1.1 Paul.R.Brass commented, "The Hindi-Urdu controversy by its bitterness demonstrate how little the objective similarities between language groups matter when people attach subjective significance to their languages. Willingness to communicate through the same language is quite a different thing from the mere ability to communicate".

1.11 To assess the conflict of these languages we must begin with a reflexive return to the troubled history of the language, with all its complications and ugliness, just as much as its creative moments, we must see how a popular language {lingua franca of north India} came to be fractured, splitting the language community into warring groups with opposing identities, how linguistic and religious identity merged and cross cut and diverged complicating the politics of language, communalizing its history, when we constitute ourselves through language, we also constitute that language marking with the politics of time . No language comes to us preformed already constituted.

1.2 Urdu and Hindi are languages of Indo- Aryan language family Hindi draws more from Sanskrit and different dialect of northern India like Awadhi, Braj bhasha etc. while Urdu draws more from the Persio-Arabic roots but the basic skeletal grammar of both is same. Before the antagonism between the two languages reached its crescendo in late 19th and 20th century it was not uncommon for people to name lingua franca of North India Hindi, Urdu, Hindustani, Hindvi all meaning the same language.

1.3 The movement to distinct one language from the other and to identify Hindi with Hindus and Urdu with Muslims can be attributed to various factors in pre and post independence India. One of the factors was religious revivalism movement in both communities during late 19th century. The movements like Arya samaj and Brahma samaj along with cultural revivalist organizations like Hindu mahasabha not only spoke against the malpractices in Hindu community but also tried to revive and link ancient Hindu culture and tradition to 'Hindi' the so called pure form of Hindi. Then Nagri Pracharini Samiti was formed which worked to popularize the Devanagiri script in which modern Hindi is written. These organizations worked to establish 'Hindi' in nagri script as marker of Hindu community in northern India by linking it to the question of religious and cultural pride of the community. They disdained the use of persio-Arabic characters as done by Muslims, Kayasthas and others who wanted to secure government jobs, as Hindi/Urdu in Persian script was the court language of united province and Oudh till 1900. In the year 1900 lord McDonnell passed a resolution and gave Hindi in nagri script at par status with Persian script. Before this, it was Fort William College, which first differentiated Urdu from Hindi on the basis of script thus assigning Persian script to Urdu and nagri script to Hindi. In his monumental work, Linguistic survey of India G.A.Grierson has named the lingua franca of north India as Hindustani.

1.3.1 Among the Muslims the Aligarh movement led the revivalist movement. In which Sir Syed Ahmed Khan took the lead. He started his career as an educationist and tried to popularize the western education among Muslims. The residential nature and steep fee of M.A.O. College {Mohammedan Anglo oriental college} insured that only the elite would be able to have access to it, in a way we can say it worked to provide new leadership to the Muslim community of north India that would work with the British. Till the end of 19th century this movement advocated that good of Muslims lay in common good of both the communities. But as the competition for government jobs and power among the Hindu and Muslim elite grew, nature of Aligarh movement also changed, it was in M.A.O.College magazine that the demands for separate electorate, weightage for Muslims in any representative system was raised in 1896 on the basis of past historical and political importance of Muslims not in the terms of numbers. As a result of which in

1909 the British in provincial as well as national assemblies conceded Muslim separate electorate.

1.3.2 It can be said therefore that the antagonism between Hindu and Muslim communities was a result of clash of interests of the elites on both sides. The ideology of Muslim separatism thus flow out of the uses which were made of those differences through the manipulation of symbols of Muslim unity and Hindu-Muslim separateness by an elite concerned to preserve its political privileges. Bernard Cohn has argued that the development of regional and national loyalties in India may be viewed as a process of selection, standardization and transmission of symbols 'by the elite s who select out of a vast pool of symbols available in all parts of India those which may best serve to unite the people of a particular region, religion, or language '. These symbols tend to be religious, literary, political and historical in character. There are innumerable symbols in India, which could be chosen to craft regional, national, linguistic, and religious identities. Urdu and Hindi were two such symbols selected to carve different or rather antagonistic identities for Hindus and Muslims in India. As language they were marked

as carrier of the culture, religious practices as well as literary accomplishments of the community, the carrier of the legacy of ancient days of glory. It can be said that Hindi/Urdu conflict was a tool in the hands of the elites of both communities, warring maintain their hegemony.

1.3.3 The British introduced both representative and democratic institutions first at the local level and then at the provincial level, as well as the principle of competition based on merit in the areas of education and jobs. These developments contributed to the creation of new power structures and new elite, which led to the struggle for power between the two communities more than before.

1.3.4 The Hindu elite developed first and Muslim elite later, due to specific historical exigencies. The uneven development of Hindu and Muslim elites engendered a conflict of politics and economic interests between them, which in turn led subsequently to

strengthening of both the religious identities. The elites used language to reinforce the religious identity in reconfigured power structure.

The Hindu elite used Hindi and the Muslim elite Urdu to construct two antagonistic linguistic identities. This has been conceptualized in the framework of instrumentalist approach of ethnicity in which elite in their pursuit of power uses language, religion and other symbols of identity. We can try and attempt to unravel the structural conditionings and processes that generated antagonism between Hindi and Urdu as a means of reinforcing the identities of the Hindus and the Muslims.

1.4 Conceptual framework for analysis of antagonism

1.4.0 In order to seek plausible explanation for Hindi-Urdu construction leading towards antagonism, the conceptual framework of ethnicity with specific reference to the instrumental approach provides tremendous insights into the problem; Isajiw's definition of ethnicity may be considered as a minimal statement. According to him, ethnic identity is allegiance to a group large or small, socially dominant or subordinate, with which one has an ancestral link. There is no necessity for continuation over generations, of the same socialization or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics {language, religion, etc}, or by more subjective combination of both. Symbolic or subjective attachment must relate at however, distant or removed, to an observably real past.

1.4.1 The definition highlights only particular dimensions of ethnicity, the objective and the subjective, that is, ethnicity is based upon cultural characteristics such as religion or language of which the group is subjectively conscious.

Paul Brass {1991:19} incorporates all the dimensions in his following definition and at the same time focuses upon the evolution of ethnicity. "Any group of people dissimilar from other peoples in terms of objective cultural criteria and containing within its membership either in principle or practice, the elements for a complete division of labor and for reproduction forms an ethnic category. The objective cultural markers may be a language or a dialect, distinctive dress code, diet, customs, religion or race."

Thus, Brass defines an ethnic category, which evolves into an ethnic community and then into a nationality. He raises a number of question of which the following is the most relevant for the problem at hand, “what are the conditions under which ethnic demands, ethnic competition and ethnic conflict takes place?” Brass {1991:23}. He further observes that: “the process of creating communities from ethnic groups involves the selection of particular dialects or religious practices or styles of dress or historical symbols from a variety of available alternatives. It is always the case that particular social groups, leaders or elites stand to benefit and others to loose from the choices that are made. {Brass 1991:25}.

1.4.2 If we look at India in late 19th & early 20th century it becomes evident that India was going through the formations of various identities. By formation of Hindu mahasabha, nagari preshrink samiti, Muslim league, Anjuman –taraqui-ae-Urdu and other such religio-politico-cultural organizations, which were there to carve a new identity for new elite and emerging sense of identity and nationality, which was a result of influence of western thought on ethnicity, nation, nationality and national language. It is evident that Indian elite was trying to maintain its position or to gain from the situation unfolding in the political arena. Muslim elites of northern India especially U.P. wanted to maintain their position of advantage and Urdu was an instrument which they could use for this purpose.

1.4.3 When Nagari script was given equal status vis-à-vis Persian script in U.P. in 1900A.D, they protested not only because they thought that Urdu was their cultural and religious language and identified with it but also because with the end of hegemony of Persian script as the script of the court language in the province, the advantage that they had in government jobs, offices and courts as well as education also came to an end. As far as the Hindu elites in Northern India are concerned the demand that they made again and again for Sanskritised Hindi with nagri script, to be made national language was not only because they identified with it as the language of their culture and religion, but also because they wanted to gain advantage in government jobs and have a greater share in power. If we scrutinize the situation closely it becomes evident that Muslim elites in U.P. were trying to maintain advantage they had during the period of late 19th century but as

the 19th century arrived it became more of a power struggle to survive with minimum loss. While Hindu elites were struggling to gain more power and advantage. That's why both were in need of forming new concrete identities for the community so that they can consolidate the support of their respective communities.

1.4.31 It is difficult not to be overcome, at some point in this narrative, by a sense of fatedness, a sense that script and language were merely a pretext, a convenient site where a bitter zero-sum game over an inadequate social surplus was fought out, a symptom of a hard and ineluctable struggle over jobs and access to power.

1.4.32 In fact so many lines of causation converge on and diverge from the Hindi-Urdu contention of the early twentieth century that the whole process has an air of fatedness about it, as if the apparent historical agents weren't agents at all, but only the instruments of some deep historical process. Similarly much of what became modern 'Hindi' seems to derive from the fact and the detail of that bruising and inevitably prolonged confrontation. It was the considered view of one of the most profound scholars of 'purani Hindi' that but for the process of contention which distorted it, Hindi was well on its way to become the national language.

1.4.33 However, it is important to remember that there is also something that is missed in narrating these developments only as a fatal *pas de deux*: Hindi and Urdu, captured together in one historical moment and one grammatical framework, located in a bitter complementarity, each matching the extravagant excess of the other, so that no matter how far they move apart, each is forever bound with the other.

1.4.4 There is also, at some level, an autonomous dynamic that is at work in respect of both Urdu and Hindi-so that the story of one is not, howsoever sensitively decoded, also the story of other. Frances Pritchett has written an account of a highly significant moment in the formation of modern Urdu: the more or less contemporaneous publication of Mohammad Husain Azad's *Ab-i-Hayat* and Hali's *Musaddas*. Both these highly influential works offer a critique of early Urdu literature. Thus they stand at, pioneers of modernity-rather like Hindi's *Bhartendu*. However, there are crucial differences.

1.4.40 Although Azad and Hali are self-consciously pioneers of modernity, their work is subject to the operation of a profoundly paradoxical dialectic. For both men, the crucial formative experience was the upheaval, and the vicious repression of 1857. Since it was 'old India' that has risen up in revolt against them in 1857, the British were determined to extirpate every last sign of that 'old India'. It is unlikely that the British had a civilisational theory to guide them in their reprisals, but the fact is that their insensate brutality created a true civilisational theory abyss, an increasingly impassable darkness. This violence is comparable to the holocaust, which has made the old world of European Jews (and not only Jews) virtually inaccessible except through the nostalgia of few aging survivors. The physical location, the institution and the relationships, the fabric that sustained and sheltered that world was ripped to shreds. All this is familiar at least with respect to holocaust.

1.4.41 When we look at 1857, however, there is an important difference: it is as if Nazi Germany has won the war. After 1857 there was no Nuremberg, no "justice", no repentance, no Israel. The surviving victims were condemned to living with the victorious victimizers: the "guilt" of 1857 was visited solely on the victims, while the vengeful victors became party of virtue, of modernity and progress. Indeed, and this is crucial: the post 1857 *modus Vivendi* under vindictive colonial aegis required that this "virtue" be acknowledged, that the victims perform, for decades to come, versions of *mea culpa*, rituals of repentance for something that took close to half century before it could be transformed, in collective consciousness into a moment not of shame but of an ambiguous sort of pride. However it is the memory of the uprising, repression of the uprising and repression of the memory of the uprising as well as the repression that has greater explanatory relevance for us.

1.4.42 But what was the cultural and civilisational cost of this repression? Since the violators could not be named, the only way in which the violence could be 'reconciled' with the victims was by being internalized-by being, in some sense, justified. Thus, the world the old India that the British had destroyed had to be trashed and reviled as deserving no better. Because if that were not the case, how did that reflect on the poor inheritors of that civilization? Ironically, the only way in which the victims could come to

terms with that violence was by continuing it. In that way they could simultaneously exonerate the British who couldn't in any case even be named as villains and themselves, the impotent, historically incapacitated inheritors.

1.4.43 This complex process of cultural accommodation, enjoined by a realistic submission to force majeure, had far-reaching consequences. In Azad and Hali, but also in Urdu sensibility generally, it translated into a melancholic, elegiac quality, into a nostalgia that can be represented politically as an arrogant hankering after the power of the Mughal dynasty and Muslim aristocracy-generally, but derives in fact from a sense of defeat and irredeemable loss. To put it somewhat schematically, for Azad and Hali, a source of civilisational value must be located in the pre-1857 world, but it also cannot be acknowledged: this is the paradox on which they are crucified. The source of civilisational value, and the cause of civilisational degeneration and defeat, can hardly be kept distinct.

1.5 The corresponding Hindi-Hindu discourse- Hindi's "autonomous dynamic", so to speak- that develops after 1857 develops under the constraints of an intellectual economy that is analogous in many ways, but which is also crucially different. Thus, it is similar in that there is a shared experience of civilisational shattering, of trauma-as well as the suffocation of having to submit to the domination of the victors. There is a similar acceptance of the British-colonial view of the degeneracy of their own civilization, the same loss of cultural confidence that attaches a disproportionate value to the perceptions that emanate from the colonial masters.(it is this often unconscious "censorship" after 1857 which marks the crucial difference from early modernizers like, say, Ram Mohan Roy and Derozio.) Ironically, enough, one of the consequences of all this is that the early-Hindi critique of the world before 1857, mutatis mutandis the world of Urdu culture, is along lines that derive, almost verbatim, from the Urdu modernizers Azad and Hali themselves.

1.5.1 However the drama gets played out differently for the Hindi and Urdu ideologues. Whereas Azad and Hali are torn between the paradoxical compulsions of having to locate value and defect in one location-in the world that was destroyed in 1857-the Nagari/Hindi

ideologues finds a different solution. Thus, for these latter, the defect-degeneracy, collapse, defeat, etc.-which cannot be located in the immediate colonial context, can however, with colonial connivance, be located in the pre- colonial past, in “the centuries of Muslim tyranny”. It is likely, of course, that this hardy myth came to NWP along with the Bengali emigrants but soon developed, in a very different socio-cultural context, a new and vigorous life. Here, with a dominant and largely Muslim Zamindari elite, the tyranny was no longer mythical.

1.5.2 It gave colonial rulers a legitimizing ideology and the Hindi-Hindu ideologues an acceptable-indeed, an increasingly serviceable-explanation for a condition of present degeneracy, a way of accommodating the hastily repressed memory of the trauma of 1857. At some point, the orientalist discovery of Sanskrit and the glories of ancient India, and the nationalist enthusiastic reinforcement of the same, simply reinforced the tendency that was anyway present in post 1857 dynamics. Thus in the “cultural solution” that was developed by Hindi-Hindu ideologue. For the Hindi-Hindu ideologue, there is none of the tension, the self-laceration that characterizes the Urdu-Muslim ideologue. For Hindi-Hindu ideologue, the source of value, and the cause of its degeneracy and defeat are located in different places-different from each other, and different from where they are located for the Urdu-Muslim ideologue. For obvious reasons –fear, greed, submission to force majeure- both kinds of ideologues pay regards to the values of the oppressor. ‘But the source of redemptive value is and must be located at different places. Thus Hindi-Hindu ideologue is able to make an easier accommodation with the colonial master than the Urdu-Muslim one. He can dissociate himself from the immediate defeat- But at the cost of transforming the complex cultural process of the preceding centuries into nearly a whole millennium of defeat.

1.5.3 This strategy inevitably involves complex feats of accommodation, of adjusting and massaging the historical record: the sedulously asseverated myth of “Muslim tyranny”, with all its variations. Thus, Sri Narain Chaturvedi can declare, unambiguously, without fear of contradiction: “In the Muslim period, Hindu India was like a prison cell”.

He then, predictably, connects the rise of the Hindi movement of the late nineteenth century with a Hindu renaissance, and relates both to the demise of the Mughal order—except of course that there is an awkward time-lag of a few centuries that needs to be explained. This awkwardness is also, naturally, compounded by the fact that centuries of “Muslim tyranny” happen to coincide with the highest achievements of Hindi’s preferred tradition: Sur, Kabir, Tulsī etc. Thus, Lala Sita Ram was forced to acknowledge a “curious coincidence” in 1930.

“It is a curious coincidence which should properly be called a divine coincidence that Hindi poetry really raised in the same time when the Muslims began to establish their rule of terror in Hindustan later, as the Muslim emperors rose to the height of their greatness Hindi poetry too reached its highest summit”.

1.5.21 However, “curious coincidence” we note the recourse yet again to the powerful tripartite narrative framework: ancient, golden; medieval, dark; modern, wonderful ourselves. Clearly this narrative framework derives strength from the tripartite division of European history—though it is in the process of being rethought there also. But it has specific functions in Indian present. It demonizes “The Muslims” who, improbably saddled with the whole of medieval India is also, crucially, the present competitor for an inadequate social surplus. It also liberates the emergent Hindu intelligentsia from historical baggage, and frees it to engage in cultural retrieval/invention. The fact is that the historical foundations of this tripartite division in Indian history are dubious: notably, the “dark” medieval period, far from being a period of ignorance and despair, is a time of significant cultural and intellectual achievement. But its taproot into contemporary neuroses provides this tripartite-hypothesis with richer source of sustenance than mere historical reality ever could.

1.5.3 The most prominent influence in the complex of determinations out of which modern “Hindi” emerged is, of course, the contention with Urdu. Perhaps the most obvious and far reaching consequence that flowed, both from Urdu’s elite status, as well as the early accusation of Urdu protagonists that Hindi was no language at all but only the patois of lesser folk, was a concern with lineage and pedigree.

As it happens, Urdu itself had a similar anxiety as one of its constituent-some would say foundational –elements. The issue of the purist and exclusivist tendency in Urdu is one of considerable complexity: for example, the snobbish tendency which sought to distinguish Urdu from humble Bhasha, sought also to distinguish Urdu from Persian. In fact, the relations between Persian, Indian Persian, and Urdu are complex and historically variable. Muzaffar Alam recounts an anecdote which illustrates something of this complexity. Some officials with North Indian connections suggested that the Nizam’s administration in Hyderabad change over from Persian to Urdu. The Prime minister, Salar Jung, rejected the suggestion angrily: “Persian language is the symbol of the victory of the Muslims... Having destroyed this symbol in your own country, you people now want darkness here too.” Persian is, of course, a symbol of past glory-but Urdu is the implicit symbol of North Indian “degeneracy” and cultural compromise. Of course, in time, Urdu gets both persianised and Arabicised, and identified as a symbol of Muslim cultural arrogance, but this process has a complexity and an autonomy that gets lost in the tu quoque mode of rendering this history of linguistic division, in which Sanskritized Hindi is a response to Persianised Urdu is a response to...and so on, ad infinitum, ad nauseum, and worse. It diminishes both processes, Persianisation and Sanskritisation, to deny them certain autonomy-to make them merely mirror image of each other.

1.6 Historically speaking Hindi has been understood, defined and projected through a series of antitheses: with Urdu; with its “dialects”, notably Braj; with the “provincial” languages; with English. All these antitheses with their countless local eruptions, there is a curious assumption of innocence and inviolability on the part of Hindi and its protagonists. It is almost as if the antitheses do not have a retrospective and dialectal effect on Hindi itself: it is always-already in a state of achieved and stainless perfection. As far as the Hindiwallah is concerned, Hindi has no history-there is only the endlessly reiterated history of the “wrongs “that have been done to Hindi. But despite all the alleged violence, Hindi still remains miraculously inviolate.

1.6.1 The suspect vehemence with which the Hindiwallah perceive the threat –Urdu yesterday, English today-indicates a neurotic need to escape from its intrinsic difficulties. These difficulties derive from its own troubled and repressed history, from the deeply

divided legacy which makes it only partly popular, democratic, reformist, progressive. But there is an undeniable other part that is conservative, retrogressive, reactionary. Hindi for them is not a dynamic entity which is, in the course of its continuing history, defined by its preferred antitheses, its chosen other. But the process of definition, of struggle over the language is far from over.

1.7 As it started becoming evident in the 20th century that India will gain independence and more power was available for Indians in form of seats in councils and assemblies, local as well as provincial, the antagonism increased due to power struggle and the need for distinct identity was felt more than ever because the Muslim elites wanted separate electorate seats and reservation in government jobs for Muslims on the basis of being educationally and economically backward and being a distinct ethno-cultural minority community { here one thing is to be noted that Muslim league changed the situation of Muslims from politically & historically important group to backward according to the situation but its motive was same} who were not going to be safe in Hindu majority India. So they needed all the support from the government so that they can safeguard their culture, religion and language. On the other hand Hindu mahasabha and Hindi movement, which was based in Varanasi and Allahabad, had the demand that it was only 'Hindi' in its sanskritised form and nagari script that can be acceptable as national language of India. Pandit Pratap Narayan Mishra who was one of the leaders of Hindi language movement gave the slogan 'Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan' in late 19th century. This movement was one of the first attempts to link Hindi language with dev nagri script. Thus due to clash of interests and for the maintenance of hegemony the Hindu and Muslim elites created separate identities for their respective communities and Urdu and Hindi as languages were instrumental in creation of separate identities.

1.8 HINDI, URDU, HINDUSTANI:

1.8.1 There is a fundamental terminological difficulty that dogs any attempt to write about the making of modern Hindi, particularly about what is certainly the most crucial historical passage in this process: the Hindi-Urdu struggle of the later nineteenth century. It is at one level, a specific instance of the general problem, that the language that one uses is, perforce, a language that one shares with other users. Words mean what one wants them to mean, and what others want them to mean. Meaning is, in some sense, a conspiracy: one which both includes and excludes conspiracy with, and conspiracy against. So it is with names, particularly when those names are used to designate overlapping parts of the same linguistic continuum. Thus, one man's Hindi can be another man's Urdu and vice versa.

1.8.11 Still, Gandhi was not being devious or disingenuous when he wrote, in the Harijan sevak of 3rd April 1937, about "the Hindi language, which we have come to call Hindustani and Urdu also...." The ambiguity is intrinsic to this domain. In 1918, sometime before delivering the presidential address at the Indore conference of Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Gandhi wrote to Rabindranath Tagore: "Is not Hindi (as bhasha or Urdu) the only possible national language...?" neatly begging the questions that were to cause such ructions in the constituent assembly debates of 1949. Even Purushottam Das Tandon, who sponsored the Kanpur Congress resolution that the Indian National Congress must endeavor to conduct its business in Hindustani, clarified later that he meant it, at that time, to mean both Hindi and Urdu. The ambiguity is inescapable-if also occasionally serviceable, as in the Tandon example. But it makes writing about the process of linguistic contention and differentiation rather slippery.

1.8.12 some of this ambiguity derives from the process of linguistic evolution which these different names address. It is easy to get lost in the hypnotic mists of ancient India: here venerable dinosaurs do battle, or more often opine, perched on slender reeds of evidence. However, there is general agreement that some kind of ur- language emerged, combining diverse cultural influences, something in the first millennium. This history is

part of the romance of India, the mingling of civilizations, the evolution of a rich, loamy cultural pluralism.

1.8.13 Rahul Sankrityayana writes about this ur- language, which he calls Hindi, thus: “Hindi incorporates all the languages which emerged after eighth century A.D. in ‘suba Hindustan’- the region that is bounded by the Himalayas, and by all the regions associated with the Punjabi, Sindhi, Gujrati, Marathi, Telugu, Oriya and Bangla languages. Its older form is called Magahi, Maithili, Braj Bhasha, etc. Its modern form may be considered under two aspects: a widely disseminated form called Khari Boli (which when written in Persian characters and with excess of Arabic and Persian words is called Urdu), and the various local languages which are spoken in different places: Magahi, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Banarasi, Awadhi, Kannauji, Brajmandali, etc...”

1.8.2 Obviously, this ur-language must have gone through many mutations in the course of its evolution into modern India’s linguistic variety, but evidence of a kind of persistence, too, is plentiful. Gilchrist, writing in late-eighteenth century, cites H.T.Colebrooke on this “elegant language which is used in every part of Hindustan and the Dukhin, which is the common vehicle of intercourse among all well- educated natives and among the illiterates also, in many provinces of India; and which is almost everywhere intelligible to some among the inhabitants of every village...” G.A.Grierson in his monumental ‘Linguistic survey of India’ writes: ‘It is thus commonly said, and believed that throughout the gangetic valley, between Bengal and the Punjab, there is one and only one language-Hindi, with its numerous dialects.’ Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, travelling across India in 1869, found evidence of the same “Middle Tongue”. The point to note, of course, is that Sir Syed identifies this language, lineal descendent of Rahul’s Hindi, as Urdu.

1.8.3 This shared cultural inheritance causes endless anxiety and embarrassment when linguistic politics gets under way. Hindi ideologues invent a fanciful Sanskrit lineage, bypassing the evolution of mixed culture and Urdu ideologues concoct some Arabo-Persian lineage. It is against such Urdu ideologues that Abdul –Haq declared in 1914: “...there can be no doubt that Urdu is born of Hindi.” Equally unambiguously,

chandrardhar Sharma Guleri, author of monumental 'Purani Hindi' declared that modern Hindi is born of Urdu. But the absurd genealogies find their legitimation and fulfillment, nevertheless, in the "purist" registers invented by the ideologues-Pandit –Hindi and Maulvi-Urdu.

1.8.4 Another terminological compromise, proposed by none other than Gandhi, was Hindustani- the language of Hindustan. However this Hindustani could mean either that overlapping part of the linguistic continuum which was common to both "Hindi" and "Urdu"- in which case it designated the people's language, vigorous, flexible, and versatile. Or, crucially, it could mean that part of the continuum which was neither "Hindi" nor "Urdu", in which case it tended to disappear altogether, to the great delight of the fanatics on both sides. Because of course, in that embattled context, when the dissension was what was driving the politics in the first place, the terminological compromise of Hindustani left both sides dissatisfied and suspicious: each saw Hindustani as a Trojan horse on the other side. Consider the fate, in this kind of force – field, of Gandhi's compromise formulation: "Hindi or Hindustani". That 'or' could connote either alterity or identity. It could mean either that Hindi was same as Hindustani, in which case mullah was up in arms; or that Hindustani was an alternative to Hindi, in which case, Pandit quite as suspicious and pugnacious, concluded that Hindustani was a mere camouflage for Urdu. The terminological difficulty is acute, and it has led one exasperated scholar to propose that the contested middle language be called Hirdu. However, someone might call it a biased compromise, and propose the alternative of Urdu...

Considering that the boundary markers can be moved around at will by every passing controversialist, it is not surprising that this dispute has proved so resistant to resolution- perhaps even to adequate description. It is after all a rather special kind of boundary dispute –due at least in part to the fact that there is no boundary, but different groups of people at different times found it expedient to insist that there is or ought to be one.

1.9 Scope and objectives:

1.9.1 One of the important features of the socio-political location of Urdu in independent India is the culturally accepted relationship of it with Hindi, a unique pairing, which is not held to be shared by other related Indian languages. This relationship between Hindi and Urdu shows how interesting things can happen when a shared linguistic domain is made a site for identity politics. Historically the Hindu-Muslim antagonism has only generated tension between Hindi and Urdu, between the conceded response of the non-committed and communally untainted speakers on the one hand and the calculated response of the demographers and the fanaticists committed to divisiveness, on the other hand, it has also contributed to the association of two language with specific social roles and group identities- Hindi as Hindu and Urdu as Muslim.

1.9.2 Post independence in the debate about the legitimacy of Hindi as national language, both Urdu and Hindi have been accorded a special status vis-à-vis other Indian languages, with respect to the right to claim a national status. The conflation of religious and linguistic identities, particularly in the case of Urdu speakers, has had a significant impact, as the debate is now framed within the communalism and bigotry. Opposing sides the Hindi- wallahs Vs the Urdu wallahs- have appropriated public discourse to restrict the discussion to a religio nationalist perspective alone with the result that the debate is confined to the historical origin of Urdu, its role in defining Muslim culture, the national movement and even the creation of Pakistan. Implicit in many of the arguments for Hindi alone as the national language is the religio political slogan of '*Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan.*' Many Urdu wallahs in fact share this assumption, either in the justification of the Indianness of Urdu by dwelling on the contribution of the language to the nation and its culture or, in the defensiveness with which they respond to the assertion of a Hindi identity as an attack on Muslim religious identity and autonomy, and therefore social harmony.

1.9.3 The term Hindustani proposed by Gandhi, signifies a commitment towards openness in naming the vehicle of expressions, and thus reflects a terminological compromise –it is a language of Hindustan with an overlapping linguistic continuum

common to both 'Hindi' and 'Urdu' {Rai, 2000}. However, this compromise was rendered irrelevant in independent India, in which the communalization of public discourse has rendered it unusable, as this discourse immediately cast it to be a Trojan horse of the other side {Rai, 2000}. The issue was no longer between Hindi and Urdu, but between Hindi and Hindustani connoting either alterity or identity. "It could mean either that Hindi was the same as Hindustani, in which case the mullah was up in arms; or that Hindustani was an alternative to Hindi, in which case the pandit, quite as suspicious and pugnacious, concluded that Hindustani was mere camouflage for Urdu!" {Rai, 2000:16}.

1.9.4 In last six decades of independence the linguistic landscape of India has been quite eventful, we can't expect any less from a country where states have been constituted on the basis of language. As I have mentioned above a lot have been said about the Hindi and Urdu conflict in pre and post independence India. What I want to do in my research is to find out how in contemporary North India Urdu and Hindi mediate the identity of the speakers of the two communities. How the two communities identify with Hindi and Urdu today.

1.10 in a paper named 'identity construction' Karen.A.Cerulo has said, "Social and nationalist movements have shifted scholarly attention to the issues of group agency and political action. As a result, identity studies have been shifted to the site of collective, with gender/sexuality, race/ethnicity and class forming the holy trinity of the discursive field. Writings attend in particular, to that which constitutes a collective and the political implications that result from collective definitions. Intellectual concerns with agency and self-direction have re-energized the study of identification processes. At the level of the collective, scholars are examining the mechanics by which distinctions are created, maintained and changed.

1.11 As language is one of the important markers and creator of identity, I would attempt to find what dynamics the antagonistic identity of the speakers of Hindi and Urdu is playing in the way the speaker relates to the language. Is it just for the sake of identity that the speakers of the two communities profess to be the native speaker of either of the

two languages? How the two communities relate to Urdu and Hindi when they come across it in media via films, newspapers, everyday talks? Are they able to relate to that language as Hindi or Urdu and differentiate between the two? When does Hindi becomes Hindi and Urdu becomes Urdu for the speakers? Do the speakers relate to Urdu and Hindi as their mother tongue, out of the language role that they have assigned to it? I.e. an Urdu teacher who teaches Urdu in the classroom how does he relates to 'dard-e-disco' or how a speaker of Hindi relates to 'tera emosnal atyachar.' Do they relate to it as Hindi and Urdu? Do they identify with it?

1.12 Relevance of the present study:

1.12.0 One of the problems that have plagued India after independence is the question of a common language of communication and official discourse, a language through which India could define its identity. This was one of the most difficult questions debated by the constituent assembly. If there was to be one national language in post-colonial India, it could not be English- too visibly a language of privilege and too complicit in the project of colonialism. Hindi was the one language that could aspire to this exclusive national status. This appeared to be the consensus of the national movement. But as the politics of language unfolded, doubts and anxieties surfaced. Hindi came to be associated with the imperialism of north, the chauvinism of Hindi wallahs. Anxious about their own linguistic identity and the threat of a continued linguistic subjugation-now not to English but to a new master tongue-regional group resisted Hindi's claim to power. Fifty years after independence, some of the key issues of this linguistic politics have not yet been played out. There is a fundamental terminological difficulty that dogs any attempt to write about the making of modern Hindi, particularly about what is certainly the most crucial historical passage in this process: the Hindi Urdu struggle of the later 19th century. It is at one level a specific instance of the general problem that the language that one uses is, perforce, a language that one shares with other users. Word means what one wants them to mean, and what others want them to mean. Meaning is, in some sense, a conspiracy: one, which both includes and excludes conspiracy with, and conspiracy against. So it is with names, particularly when those names are used to designate overlapping parts of a single linguistic continuum. Thus, Pakistanis frequently

complement north Indians on their command over Urdu, Pakistan's national language. Because of course, they think that they are using Hindi the national language of India. Of course it is just as possible for the same person, on the basis of same linguistic performance, to be accused by Hindi extremist or the Urdu extremist of using some language other than the one of which the extremist is the jealous custodian. Thus, one man's Urdu can be other man's Hindi and vice versa.

1.12.1 Considering that the boundary markers can be moved around at will by every passing controversialist it is not surprising that this dispute has proved so resistant to resolution- perhaps even to adequate description. It is after all a rather special kind of boundary dispute –due at least in part to the fact that there is no boundary. But different group of people at times found it expedient to insist that there is or ought to be one. From a strictly linguistic point of view, of course, it is not very important what this common language is called. But I am aware that this matter of naming Hindi or Urdu is something which people has been, and perhaps still is, willing to kill, to die for. (Rai, 2000)

1.12.2 The study that I want to conduct finds its relevance in following points. 1) Does the antagonistic identity of Hindi/Urdu a political creation or is it present linguistically? 2) Is this sense of separate identities so strong that Hindi and Urdu are not only two separate languages but also have juxtaposed identities.3) apart from the script, how does the speaker differentiate between Hindi and Urdu in day to day speech. 4) Does the 'Hindi' (Sanskrit zed form of Hindi) and 'Urdu' (the national language of Pakistan) exist outside the course books, government notices, files, formal gatherings and state news channels? Do they have popular base among people? Do people in day-to-day speech use them?

1.13. Literature review

Now I will present a review of the main books and articles I referred to while writing this dissertation.

- 1) King, C.R (1994) one language two scripts: the Hindi movement in 19th century north India. Bombay: oxford university press.

Several recent studies have questioned the hitherto prevalent opinion regarding different aspects of nationalism in South Asia. They have also sought to reevaluate the historiography of the national movement in India. Christopher King's book would appear to be very much a part of this new wave of scholarship, as it suggests an alternative to the received opinion on nationalism and communalism in colonial India. King differs from the "mainstream" view in that he does not believe the partition of British India to be the work of the "villainous" partisans of the Urdu language. Instead, he proposes the Hindi movement itself as the motivating force behind Hindu communal consciousness in preindependence India. He emphasizes that the movement "not only expressed but reinforced" a communal awareness which culminated in the creation of Pakistan in 1947. King thus challenges the positions that authors Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Amrit Rai have taken in regard to Urdu. He does not find it necessary to look for elements of divisiveness in eighteenth century Indian society, religion or languages. On the contrary he asserts that the Hindi movement in the nineteenth century consciously distinguished people in terms of religion and language and determined a language on the basis of script and vocabulary rather than such linguistic characteristics as grammar and syntax. King seems to be puzzled by the modern Indian nation where extraordinary diversity exists within a single political system. However, he observes that the events like the creation of Pakistan in 1947, the inauguration of linguistic states in 1955, the anti-Hindi agitation in south India in 1965, the emergence of Punjabi province in 1966 and birth of Bangladesh in 1971 all confirm the view that language and religion have had, and still have enormous effect on developments in South Asia.

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2) Rai, A. (2000). Hindi nationalism. Delhi. Orient Longman.

In this book Alok Rai has presented a passionate defense of Hindi. Rai's Hindi is the language of everyday life that had evolved in the north India by the nineteenth century, a language variously and synonymously called Hindi, Urdu, and Hindustani. It was a heteroglot, hybrid language that had absorbed the semantic resources of many traditions. In this sense, Hindi is different from the Sanskritized and dePersianised Hindi, an impoverished new language that Rai classifies as 'Hindi'. This 'Hindi' evolved in the twentieth century along with its opposite, 'Urdu', a distinct version of Hindustani burdened by an excess of Persianised words. Rai's plea for Hindi is at the same time a powerful polemic against 'Hindi', against the violence that the latter has inflicted on the former. In tracing this complicated politics of language, Rai begins with the founding moment, 1900, when Sir Anthony MacDonnell, lieutenant Governor of the North West provinces and Oudh, initiated a move to allow Devanagari to be used in the courts, inaugurating a long conflict over language and script. He mentions other presaged colonial interventions that sought to distinguish between a Hindi Hindustani and Urdu Hindustani, like Fort William College early in 19th century. According to Rai communalization of Hindi and Urdu can't be traced to the divisive policies of colonial masters. There were very complex social and political situations in pre and post independent India that led to the communalization of the two languages in India.

3) Gerson, M. Judith; In between states: national identity practices among German Jewish immigrants. Political psychology, vol.22, no.1, 2001.

In this article Gerson had raised the issue of language as a tool of construction of identity. He takes the case of German Jewish immigrants in U.S.A. In that community Yiddish is their first language or the MT for most of the first generation immigrants, but to identify themselves with the American Jewish community they relate to Hebrew as their MT, which is the national language of modern Israel.

4) Matin, A., P.K Mathur and S. Imtiaz Hasnain (2001). Hindi –Urdu construct: analysis of antagonism. Edited by Abbi, A. R.S.Gupta and Ayesha Kidwai. Papers



from the proceedings of SALA 18th roundtable Delhi. Mohanlal Banarsidas Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

The paper seeks a plausible explanation for Hindi-Urdu construction leading towards antagonism. The paper takes Isajiw's definition of ethnicity as a minimal statement. According to him, ethnic identity is allegiance to a group large or small, socially dominant or subordinate, with which one has an ancestral link. There is no necessity for continuation over generations, of the same socialization or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion etc.), or by more subjective combination of both. Symbolic or subjective attachment must relate at however, distant or removed, to an observable past. The paper then looks at the India of late 19th and early 20th century, the period during which India was going through the formation of various identities. By formation of Hindu Mahasabha, Nagari Pracharini Samiti, Muslim League, Anjuman-taraqui-ae-Urdu and such other religio-political-cultural organizations, this carved the new identity for the new elite with the emerging sense of identity and nationalism. It is evident that Indian elite both Hindus and Muslims were trying to maintain their position or to gain from the new equations being formed in the political arena and development of antagonistic identity was used for mass mobilization of general public.

5) Abbi, A, Ayesha Kidwai and S. Imtiaz Husnain (2004): Whose language is Urdu.

South Asia institute, Department of political science, university of Heidelberg.

This article deals with the present scenario of Urdu in India, how the present generation of Hindi-Urdu speakers relate to Urdu and what are the genre of usage(poetic, song writing, novels etc) and qualities(like: sweetness, melody, lyricity,high culture, sophistication etc) they associate with Urdu. The article takes into account the beginning of Hindi-Urdu controversy, the communalization of language politics in India and the rise of separate and antagonistic identities of Hindi and Urdu language communities. Then the article moves on to assess the present situation of Urdu and its language community in India i.e. who claim Urdu as their Mother Tongue? How are the social developmental features like education, economic

condition, culture, etc related to Urdu? The findings of the paper had some astonishing results like people who are uneducated do not claim Urdu to be their Mother tongue and that Urdu is a language of Muslims is a construct of non-Muslims as most of the Muslims believe it to be everyone's language and how Urdu is still associated with poetry, music, high- culture, sophistication and refinement.

6) Cerulo, A. Karen, Identity construction new issues, new direction, *Annu. Rev. Socio.*1997.23: 385-409.

The paper is about how social and nationalist movements have shifted scholarly attention to the issues of group agency and political action. As a result, identity studies have been shifted to the site of collective, with gender/sexuality, race/ethnicity, and class forming the trinity of the discursive field. Writings attend in particular, to that which constitutes a collective and the political implications that result from collective definitions. Intellectual concerns with agency and self-direction have re-energized the study of identification processes. At the level of the collective, scholars are examining the mechanics by which distinctions are created, maintained and changed. The paper then explains how these studies can give new insights in the study of identity formations especially in the case of immigrants and minorities.

7) Brass, R. Paul. (1974) *Language, religion and politics in Northern India.* Cambridge university press.

The book deals with the issue of language and religion as major symbols of group identity in South Asia during the past century. They have competed with each other for the loyalties of the millions of peoples of the Indian subcontinent and Sri Lanka, with the narrower loyalties of caste, kinship, and locality, and with the broader loyalties to the developing states of the South Asian region. Language and religion have been used both to broaden men's identities in the south Asian countries and to undermine the sovereignties of existing political units. The evocation of Islamic unity in pre-independence period in India was led to the creation of Pakistan, causing the formation of two successor states to the British Empire instead of one and then the creation of Bangladesh on the basis of linguistic-cultural identity. The book enquires

how is it that language and religion have both provided the motive power for nationalism in South Asian states and also constituted the chief threat to the national integration. The writer examines the case of India where there have been various language movements, few more successful than others like Urdu and Hindi movements and Punjabi movement or anti Hindi movement in South India, it becomes clear that where religion or ethnicity are involved with the language in construction of identity the linguistic movement is more successful.

8) Rai, Alok. The persistence of Hindustani. Annual of Urdu studies, vol.20, 2005.

This article is about the relevance of Hindustani in present linguistic scenario of Hindi-Urdu speech community. Although when asked, nobody claim Hindustani as MT but actually it is the language which is understood and spoken in various degrees of variations across this speech community. Hindustani which is also called Mili-Juli contains the lexical items and styles of Hindi and Urdu both as well as the flavors of regional varieties of Hindi spoken across the Hindi belt. It may not be identified as an independent language or anybody's MT but it is the language which every body 'generally' speaks- in the market, with friends, family, neighbors and at schools, colleges etc.

9) Ram, Mohan. (1968) Hindi against India-The meaning of D.M.K. Rachna Prakashan. New Delhi-14

In this book the writer has tried to explain the reasons for Hindi-Non Hindi conflict that became the anti-Hindi movement in South India. According to the writer Hindi is being used to create and keep the hegemony of relatively backward Hindi speaking people of the mainland on the rest of the country, to make India a monolith where the majority would define the limits of society by imposing its ethos and values on a minority. The writer thinks that in multicultural and multilingual country like India the Idea of one national language is a threat to national integration.

10) Fishman, A. Joshua :(1973) Sociolinguistics-A brief Introduction. Newbury House Publishers, Rowley Massachusetts.

In this book on the topic of language and identity formation, Fishman has said that the mutual alienation of populations that originally considered them to be united can create far going linguistic differences between them where none, or few, existed previously. In general, the more far going the linguistic differences between any two co territorial (i.e., the more the differences are basically grammatical-syntactic and morphological-rather than primarily phonological or lexical), the more their linguistic repertoires are compartmentalized from each other so as to reveal little if any interference, and the more they reveal functionally different verbal repertoires in terms of the sociolinguistic units. (Section-4).

Language, Identity and Perception

2.1 In this chapter I have tried to find out how the linguistic identities of Hindus and Muslims get entwined with their religion and how they perceive their language and relate to it through the paradigm of religion. Why the mother tongue for the Hindus and Muslims in Hindi belt should be Hindi or Urdu? Why can't it be Hindustani (which is in general spoken by everyone)? Is it that being loyal to a language equates to being loyal to ones religion and cultural beliefs? This dynamics of religion, language and identity gives rise to a very explosive mix in the linguistic scenario of the North India, Which has lead to public frenzy many times.

2.1 An argument regarding the use of Hindi and Urdu movement in the creation of separate identities of Hindu and Muslim nations is premised on Benedict Anderson's idea of imagined communities, which has acquired wide currency in studies on the making of the political imagination. According to Anderson, the convergence of print technology and capitalism, "print capitalism", in the colonial period provided a basis for communities and was important in the creation of nationalism. In as much as language is the primary basis of community and a nation is essentially a community of people who communicate through the same "print language", Urdu as language of Muslim was used to create a religious nation Pakistan. Hence, the widespread perception that Urdu, along with religion, has been the determinant of nationality and was thus instrumental in the creation of Pakistan. It can be said that language was one of the factors which helped in formation of separate identities of Hindus and Muslim elites in north India and along with them of the masses who borrowed this idea from elites.

2.2 It was only in late 19th and early 20th centuries, men in India – Hindus, Muslims, and British- made some choices which ultimately led to the partition of India. No responsible Muslim political leader of any consequence conceived such an idea before the late 1930s, no political organization adopted it as its goal until the Muslim league did so in 1940, and the idea had no chance of success until the Muslim league demonstrated its persuasive power in the elections of 1946. The process by which the pre-existing differences separating Hindus from Muslims were emphasized, communicated and

translated into a political movement, initialized during this period and the Hindi- Urdu controversy was one of the differences which were emphasized upon for the creation of separate identities.

2.21 It is a matter of perception, whether one chooses to emphasize the processes of differentiation or the process of assimilation in Hindu and Muslim religious practices. From the point of view of social science theories of nationalism, what matters is that it cannot be maintained that either Hindus or Muslims constituted sufficiently solidary groups in the 19th century, bound together by conscious communal identifications uniting all classes, regions, and sects, with a common view of their past and that recognition of a common destiny which characterized the modern nation. The two religious communities did not constitute two nations in the 19th century, if only because the idea of nationalism had not yet entered the minds of the educated elites.

2.22 Up through the 19th century in India, both communities were characterized more by their internal differentiation than their internal religious unity. At the mass level, religious communication between and common worship among the Hindu and Muslim believers were common; but, at the elite level, religious differences were emphasized. It was, however during the late 19th century that the religious differences among the Hindus and Muslims were reinforced by the movements of religious revivalism which became the precursor of political organization among both Hindus and Muslims alike. Although there were objective bases either for Hindu-Muslim differentiation or for the development of a composite Hindu-Muslim culture and nationality in nineteenth-century India, the impact of Hindu-Muslim revivalist movements turned both communities away from shared cultural symbols to exclusive ancient symbols and from religious interaction to increasing religious opposition through competitive proselytization.

2.3 It was in the Muslim and Hindu revivalist movements of the nineteenth century, therefore, that the first important choices were made by the religious elites to emphasize differences rather than similarities between Hindus and Muslims. This was a process of explicit choice rather than an ineluctable historical movement ought to be stressed, for all revivalisms are distinguished by their lack of historiographical method, by an approach

to history which sweeps 'the past into the present, selecting ideals from any stage, real or imaginary, of the past'. The two revivalisms initially were not necessarily in competition with each other. Each sought to find solace and inspiration from the past as a 'recompense for the present degradation' felt by the religious leaders of both communities, in consequence of the British conquest of India and the introduction of western ideas. In practice, however this meant a bifurcation between Hindu and Muslim revivalisms, which ultimately brought them into competition with each other.

2.31 The sharp differences between the core values of Islam and Hinduism were, in pre-modern times, qualified by significant interactions between the two great religions in practice, and by considerable internal differentiation within both religious systems. Interaction and differentiation were even more characteristic of the two religious communities in language. Although Urdu was the lingua franca of the Muslim elites in those areas of India which were under their direct rule both before and after the British established their rule in India, for the mass of Muslims, Language divided them from their religious brethren in other parts of the subcontinent and united them with Hindus in the localities and the regions of India. Most Muslims everywhere spoke the language of the region, as did the Hindus.

2.32 Yet in North India, the controversy between Urdu and Hindi has been one of the most divisive issues between educated Muslims and Hindus for more than a century. Linguists and literary specialists have differed on some aspects of origins of the Urdu language and on the character of its early developments, but there is a general agreement on the main features of its modern development, as a vernacular language of the north. Urdu is a Turkish word meaning camp; it came to be the name of the language because it was spoken in the camps or courts of the Muslim invaders, who entered India from the 8th century onwards. In its original form it was nothing more grammatically than the spoken Khari boli dialect of North India which was spoken in and around Delhi, with an infusion of Persian, Arabic, and Turkish vocabulary. With the spread of Muslim rule in India Urdu also spreaded and it took the position of lingua franca of elites in North India. Although Persian was the court language but Urdu was the language in which people interacted and carried out the business. Urdu was the language of local elites of the region and with its

interaction with the local dialects; it introduced Persian words in them and adopted indigenous vocabulary from them. Gradually it developed into a more or less standard spoken, urban form distinct from the local dialects.

2.33 The development of Hindi as a standard spoken language of the north cannot be separated from the development of Urdu. Both were essentially derived from the Khari boli of the Delhi area, infused in varying degrees in different regions of the North with Persian, Arabic, and Turkish words, on the one hand, and the words of local origin, on the other hand. In effect, until the development of modern Urdu and Hindi literature and until the rise of the movements for the spread of Hindi in the Nineteenth century, the terms Urdu, Hindi, Hindustani equally described the standard, spoken, urban language of the North. Even today, as a spoken language, Hindi, and Urdu cannot be distinguished for the purpose of ordinary discourse.

2.4 Hindi, Urdu and the Cultural Identities of Hindus and Muslims:

2.4.0 Three factors have contributed to the increasing divergence between Hindi and Urdu both linguistically and emotionally. The first was the fact that the Muslim rulers of North India chose to write Urdu in Persian script with which they were familiar, rather than the indigenous Devanagari script. In time, the Persian script came into wide use not only in administrative purposes, but for literary purposes as well. In the 18th and 19th centuries especially, a large and vital body of literature was written in Urdu in Persian script, frequently drawing heavily from Persian for vocabulary and literary symbols. It is important to recognize that both Hindus and Muslims contributed to this literature. Although a division gradually developed between Hindus who preferred to write Hindi-Urdu in Devanagari, on the one hand, and Hindus and Muslims who wrote Hindi-Urdu in Persian script, this division was not entirely a communal one. Only Hindus wrote in Devanagari script but Hindus and Muslims both used the Persian script.

2.4.1 The second factor contributing to divergence between Hindi and Urdu was the development of the Hindi movement in North India in the late 19th century, which promoted both the use of Devanagari script in administration and education and the

sanskritization of Hindi by drawing vocabulary from Sanskrit rather than Persian. In 1837, Persian had been replaced by English and the vernacular languages of the various provinces of British ruled India as official and court languages. In North India, however, the vernacular language chosen was not Hindi in Devanagari script, but Urdu in Persian script. Between 1868 and 1900, Hindus of the North-western provinces and Oudh agitated through pamphlets and deputations to the government for the replacement of Urdu in Persian script with Hindi in the Devanagari script as the official court language.

2.4.2 The Hindi movement had its origins among educated Hindus in Banaras in the 1860s and achieved its first significant public notice with the publication in 1868 of a 'Memorandum on court characters' by Babu Shiva Prasad, in which he argued that the official encouragement given to the study of Urdu and Persian in North western Provinces and Oudh was impending both the study of Hindi and the development of Primary education. In this pamphlet Hindi was used synonymously with the Devanagari script. Thus, Babu Shiva Prasad concluded his memorandum with an appeal that 'the Persian letters be driven out of the courts as the language has been, and that Hindi may be substituted for them'. It was perhaps the first time that in Public discourse Hindi and Urdu were equated with different scripts and completely in interest and for the advantage of different communities. The Hindi movement in the North-Western Provinces received significant encouragement in 1881 when Hindi in Devanagari script replaced Urdu in Persian script as the official language of the neighboring province of Bihar in 1882; in 1900 finally after a long and bitter contest and political struggle Hindi in Devanagari script became at par with Urdu in Persian script, in North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

2.43 The third force leading to divergence between Hindi and Urdu was the parallel and associated development of Hindu and Muslim revivalisms and communal antagonism, which had the consequence for the Hindi-Urdu conflict of reinforcing the tendency to identify Urdu as language of Muslims and Hindi as language of Hindus. Although objectively this is not true even today, it is undeniable that the historical tendency has been in this direction. To this day, it remains a fact that colloquial Hindi and Urdu are nearly identical languages, which diverge in fact only in script and in the vocabulary of the educated elite. Many Hindus also continue to write in Urdu, both in

literature and in mass media. However, Hindu writers in Urdu are a dying generation and Hindi and Urdu have increasingly become subjectively separate languages identified with different religious communities. For Muslims in the North, the Urdu language has become second only to Islam itself as a symbol of Muslim cultural identity.

2.5 In his discussion of the radically changed position of Muslims in post independence India, Wilfred Cantwell Smith observed in 1956 that the Muslim 'community is in danger of being deprived of its language, than which only religious faith is a deeper possession. Nine years of adjustment in other fields have brought no improvement in this and little prospect of improvement'. Smith's observation echoes the fears of Muslim leaders in North India, who have charged that Urdu, once the dominant language of the North, is being displaced and eliminated in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar as a language of education and administration.

2.51 In the case of no other language in India is there such a mixture of fact and fancy as surrounds the simple description of the nature and characteristics of the Urdu language and the Urdu speech community. All the languages of the North have had to struggle against the attempts of Hindi supporters to absorb them and declare them as a mere form of Hindi. The efforts of the leaders of both the Punjabi and Maithili language movements have been oriented toward demonstrating that their languages are, at the spoken level, and in grammatical structure, essentially identical. They diverge at the literary level and in speech among the educated elite in vocabulary and in the script. Consequently, there is some ambivalence among the leaders of the Urdu movement about the proper approach to be adopted to preserve the separate identity of Urdu, it is necessary to stress its unique characteristics. In order more effectively to advance its claims and to keep the Hindi-Urdu dispute separate from Hindu-Muslim communalism, it is desirable to claim the maximum number of Urdu speakers and to suggest that Urdu is the spoken language of both Hindus and Muslims throughout North India. In its most extreme form, the latter assertion directly challenges the claim of Hindi to be the predominant language of North India, for, it is argued, the real language of the people of the North is Urdu. The objective similarities between Hindi and Urdu have been overshadowed during the past century by the subjective attachment of Muslims with

Urdu and Hindus with Hindi as the languages of their respective communities. If this separation could be accepted and conceded by both sides, the controversy might be confronted directly and an accommodation might be reached. There are two major obstacles to such an accommodation. One is the informal rule of Indian politics, which prohibits the association of religious with linguistic demands. The other is that Hindi in Devanagari script and Urdu in Persian script are in direct competition with each other to capture the unmobilized illiterate Muslim masses in Hindi belt, which the state wants to get education in Hindi and the Muslim leaders want to bring into Urdu fold, and thereby to bring more firmly into an identification with the separate cultural identity of Muslims.

2.52 The consequence of the objectively close identity between spoken Hindi and Urdu, on one hand, and the vital importance of cultural differences between Hindi and Urdu in the consciousness of Hindu and Muslim elites is that this conflict, which plays upon the deepest religious emotions of the people of the Hindi belt, has both a superficial and a deeply serious aspect. Superficially, the conflict between Hindi and Urdu frequently appears as nothing more than a technical dispute over which script to use for the same language. Thus, Acharya Kripalani, the chairman of the Uttar Pradesh language committee, whose charge it was to report on the status of Urdu in Uttar Pradesh, expressed the thought that ‘ if the contending [Hindi and Urdu] parties could reconcile themselves to the use of one script, it would be very great advantage’. How far this hope is from the reality of Muslim attachment to the Persian script and the reasons for this attachment are revealed in the following quotation:

‘in the same way in which an army ,before starting on its march, fires some bombs and, behind the dust raised thereby, collects material for the destruction of the enemy, in the same way Urdu.... Was deceived by being told that even though Urdu was accepted as a language, the Urdu people were asked to write Urdu in the Devanagari script. This was the iron claw with the help of which it was planed to send Urdu to eternal sleep by piercing it in the back. But, even this sleeping pill [sic] was not swallowed by the Urdu people. They maintained that behind a language and its script, there was always a chain of traditions and culture of its own and , when any language or script is attacked, it could not help affecting adversely the civilization and culture behind it’. {2}

- 2 Two words from the well wishers of Urdu, Translated from Urdu. Of course, the attachment to the Nagari script is equally profound and has the same basis for Hindus. S.K.Chatterji has pointed out that the first society established for the propagation of Hindi in North India was called NagariPrachariniSabha(society for the propagation of Nagari Script) because ‘ the Hindi thought-leaders in Northern India realized the importance of Nagari script for the maintenance or preservation of Hindu culture’; Indo-Aryan and Hindi, 2nd. Ed. (Calcutta: firma K.S.Mukhopadyay, 1960).

2.6 In the eyes of the more Militant Hindu supporters of Hindi as the sole official language of India and the North Indian states, this attachment of Muslims to Urdu and its script is an attachment to a foreign script and an alien culture by a communal minority whose loyalties to India are suspect. Urdu supporters deny this charge and argue that Urdu is as indigenous to India as Hindi is; it was born in India and is understood throughout the subcontinent. Moreover, it is argued that it reflects a heritage ‘of brotherhood between the two big communities of the country’. From this point of view, to oppose Urdu is to oppose ‘Hindu-Muslim unity’ and to go against the people of past generations, who made efforts to develop a composite Hindu-Muslim culture’. Thus at the same time Urdu was seen as the language of brotherhood and unity and also the language of Muslim separatism and Muslim identity.

2.7 Methodology

For the purpose of this study I conducted survey in form of personal interviews, with the native speakers of Hindi and Urdu, who claimed either Hindi or Urdu as mother tongue. I took interviews of 47 people 25 speakers of Urdu and 22 speakers of Hindi. The range of informants’ socio-economic and educational background varies from road side vendors to the University professor, Information technology professionals, Bankers, cap sellers etc. Some of the interviews were conducted in Aligarh and rest in New Delhi. In New Delhi survey was conducted in J.N.U., Vasant Kunj, and Old Delhi. The questionnaire comprised of yes-no type questions, Jumbled words, and audio. It was difficult to make people talk on the sensitive issue of Hindi –Urdu conflict and about the two languages in general. Especially the uneducated people, as most of them thought that it was some thing they don’t know and are not qualified enough to comment upon.

Language, Identity and Perception- Responses and Discussions

3.1 In this chapter what I will deal with is the present scenario of Hindi and Urdu conflict, antagonism and creation of identity. How the Hindus and Muslims in today's times identify with Hindi and Urdu. Do they relate to it as mother tongues? Does the script matters today as much as it did in late 19th and early 20th century? Will the change in script bother people now? Do the present generation who claim Urdu and Hindi as mother tongue, relates to the innovative use of their language as Urdu or Hindi? Do they approve of it? What language do they want there children to learn and get education in? Do they want them to retain Hindi and Urdu as their mother tongue? Is the concept of having a Mother tongue related to formation of identity and MT is important because of it, even if it is tokenism? These are question which I would attempt to answer in the following pages of this chapter.

3.2 As I have said earlier the questionnaire consists of binary type (yes-no) questions, jumbled word responses and audio responses. In this chapter I have used questions related to the perception of informer about his/her MT. and identity formation vis-à-vis MT. The questions 7 till 14 have been dealt with in this chapter, which are given below:

Q 7) Do you think that the domain of language usage is shrinking for Hindi/ Urdu?

Responses:

Hindus on Hindi: yes-77%

Muslims on Urdu: Yes-96%

No- 22.7%

No- 4%

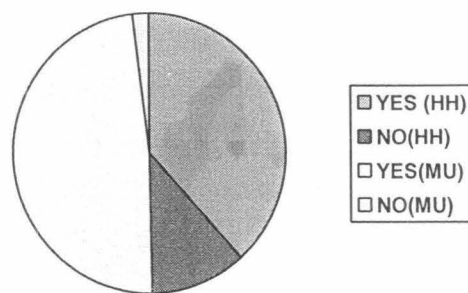


Fig: 1

It shows that Muslims feel that the domain of language usage for Urdu is shrinking. More than the Hindus think that domain of language usage for Hindi is shrinking. Perhaps because Muslims feel that Urdu is more threatened and Hindus do not feel as threatened for Hindi.

Q 8) if the script of Hindi/Urdu is changed will it remain the same language?

Responses:

HH: Yes-90.9%

MU: Yes-4%

No- 9.0%

No- 96%

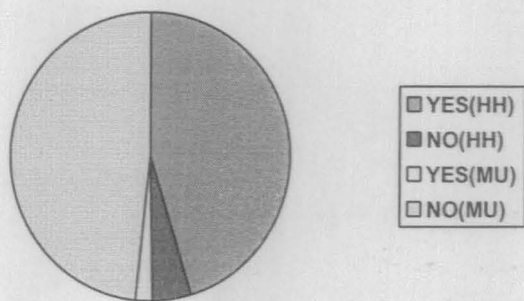


Fig.2

Implications: It implies that for Muslims keeping the Persian script for writing Urdu matters more than writing Hindi in Devanagari script matters for Hindus. Perhaps because Muslims feel that Urdu is in a venerable position and any change affect the originality of the language.

Q 9) Do you think that innovative use of Hindi/Urdu corrupts the language or enriches it?

Responses:

HH Enriches: 27.3%

MU Enriches: 36%

HH Corrupts: 72.7%

MU Corrupts: 64%

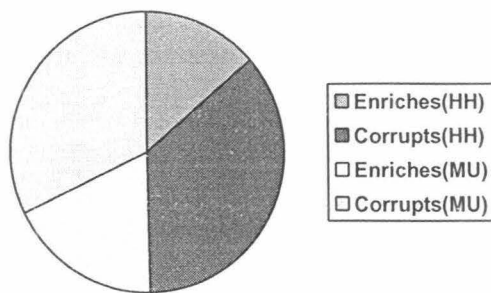


Fig.3

Implications: It implies that for a majority of Muslim respondents who claim to be the MT speakers of Urdu innovative use of Urdu corrupts it. But for even larger majority of Hindu respondents who claim to be MT speakers of Hindi, innovative use corrupts the language.

Q 9a) a) 'Yeh hai youngistaan meri jaan', b) 'Yeh dil mange more', c) 'Sprite bujhae only pyass baki all bakwas', d) 'Dard-e-disco'.

Responses:

HH: Yes- 100%

HH: No- 0%

MU: Yes- 100%

MU: No- 0%

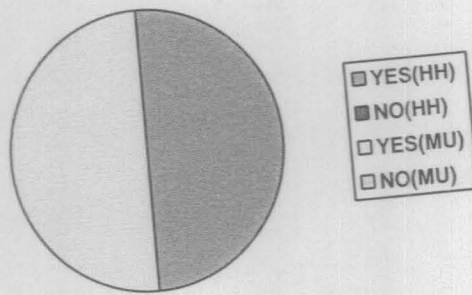


Fig. 3a

Implications: All the respondents whether they believe that innovation enriches or corrupts the language relate to these innovations as Hindi or Urdu.

Q 10) Do you believe that Urdu is the language of Muslims only?

Responses:

Hindus: Yes-63.6%

Muslims: Yes-40%

No-36.3%

No- 60%

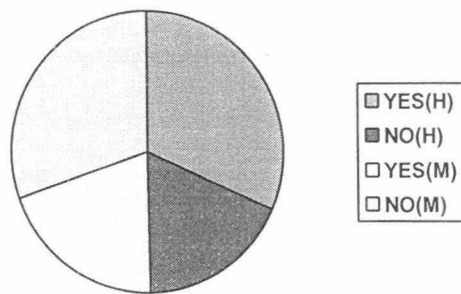


Fig.4

Implications: The results show that Urdu is the language of Muslims is a construct of non-Muslims, more than Muslims themselves.

Q 11) Do you think that Hindi is the language of Hindus only?

Responses:

Hindus: Yes-13.6%

Muslim: Yes-32%

No- 86.36%

No- 68%

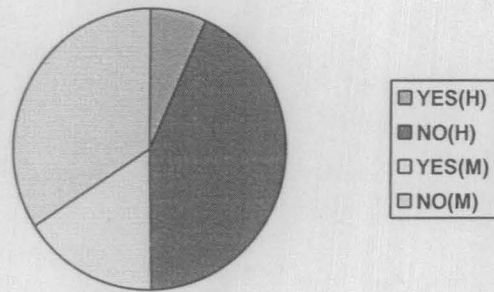


Fig.5

Implications: It shows that the majority of respondents think that Hindi does not belong to Hindus only.

Q 12) what languages do you want your children to learn and to be educated in?

Responses:

Hindus: English-55%

Hindi only- 0

English & Hindi-45%

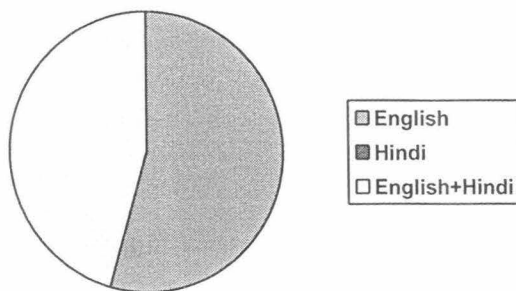


Fig.6

Implications: This result reflects on the English learning trend in Indian society. Most of the respondents want their children to learn and get education with English as the medium of instruction.

Responses:

Muslims: English-72%

Urdu only-4%

English & Urdu-20%

English & Hindi-4%

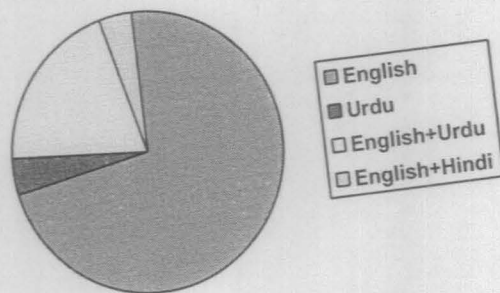


Fig.7

Implications: Most of the respondents who claim Urdu as MT also want their children to learn English. After that a large percentage wants their children to learn both Urdu and English.

Q 13) what language does you want your children to have as their Mother tongue?

Responses:

Hindus: Hindi-100%

Others- None

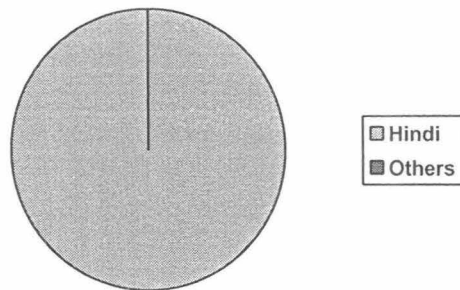


Fig.8

Implications: Irrespective of their preference for English as medium of education and higher learning all the respondents who claimed Hindi as MT want their children to retain Hindi as MT.

Responses:

Muslims: Urdu-92%

English- 4%

Hindi-4%

Others-0%

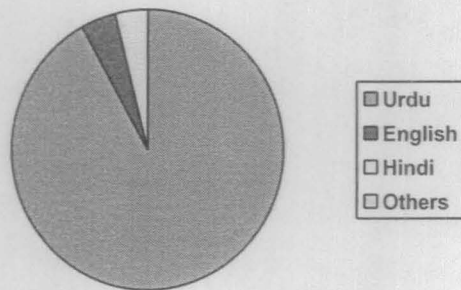


Fig.9

Implications: Most of the respondents who claim Urdu as MT want their children to retain Urdu as MT. But some of them also want Hindi and English as MT for their children (according to them it will provide better job and career opportunities).

Q 14) if you think that the language that you generally speak is Hindustani, then what do you think your Hindustani is closer to Hindi or Urdu?

Responses:

Hindus: Hindi-100%

Urdu-0%

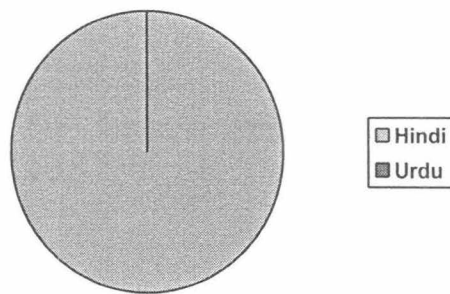


Fig.10

Implications: None of the speakers who claim to be MT of Hindi think that their Hindustani is closer to Urdu. Although all of them agree that they use Urdu words.

Responses:

Muslims: Urdu-92%

Hindi-4%

Don't know-4%

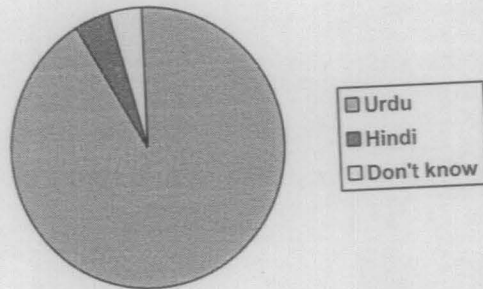


Fig.11

Implications: Speakers who do not know Urdu and are illiterate claim that they do not know if their Hindustani is closer to Urdu or Hindi. But speakers who do not know Urdu but are educated claim that their Hindustani is close to Urdu.

Language, identity and reality

- 4.1 If we look at the history of the Hindi movement and rise of Muslim separatism we will see that it coincides with the idea of nationalism which entered the minds of educated elites in late 19th and early 20th century. With the idea of nationalism came the idea of one nation, one community, one language, one religion and one culture, as was predominantly seen in the European nations.
- 4.12 These ideas of nationalism lead to the construction of identities national and communal; real and imagined. In order to make, preserve and distinguish their identities from other communities, language was used as one of the tools. To create a community it was essential to find entities which can be the common factors within the community and which can distinguish the community from outside. Thus the Hindu and Muslim elite in order to form a separate communal status, made a choice and the choice was two variants of Khari boli one with the overdose of Sanskrit words which is modern day 'Hindi'. And other with the words with Persio-Arabic roots which is modern day 'Urdu'.
- 4.2 It was not only Urdu from which Khari boli Hindi was differentiated it was also differentiated from other forms of regional 'Hindis' of North India such as Braj Bhasha and Awadhi etc. Braj Bhasha with its old literary tradition was discarded in favor of Khari boli Hindi as the new marker of identity of the emerging Hindu identity and nationalism. Another angle in the politics of Hindi demand was its implication with Hindu commercial classes that had accumulated wealth in the decades before and after 1857. Old feudal structure of Indian society was degenerating and a new system was evolving with it new elites were evolving. These were the people who had money, who manned and financed the sabhas and sammelans. It is a significant fact that Calcutta (Kolkata) home of the earliest Hindi periodicals-and the Calcutta Marwaris are so prominent in the making of modern 'Hindi'. It would be reasonable to expect that gradually the nature of this

support began to exert pressure on “the limits as well as the normative themes” of the “Hindi” movement itself. Thus, for Gauri Datt, author of *Hindi-Urdu ki ladai* (1886), there is no contradiction between pleadings for Nagari/Hindi in the name of common man, but retaining the conviction that Hindu prince lings will intervene to further this democratic agenda:

‘Full faith have I that ten-twenty kings,

Will band together and save Hindi, Cow and the country....’

The fundamental conservatism of mahajani classes, as well as their need to evolve a new language of status—in addition to the sensibilities and proclivities of the newly-educated savarna intelligentsia—is an important determinant of the complex cultural formation that is indexed by the name “Hindi”. After all, as Bayly Coolly points out, “despite his misgivings about ‘capitalists’, Malaviya.... Began with the Allahabad Tandon and ended with the Birlas.”

- 4.3 Khari boli Hindi also got associated with a kind of high-minded moralism. Of course, like all real phenomena, this one too must be over-determined, deriving not only from the sanctimoniousness of the mahajani patrons but also from the contrastive relationship with the Urdu-Muslim world of aristocratic indulgence—and even, at a purely literary level, with the erotic *riti-kavya* that is Braj Bhasha’s dominant mode. This is how Shyam Sundar Das describes the high mission of the Khari Boli poetry:

“Its very purpose is to guide onto the right path all those are lost, to fill the lethargic with energy, to tell those who are ground under tales of past glory, and so bring the dead back to life”.

Sumitranandan Pant’s preface to his 1926 collection of verse, *pallava*, is a key document of this formation. There we find, not surprisingly, a marked tension between acknowledging the attractions and achievements of Braj Bhasha, while at the same time asserting, in uncompromising terms, that it is time for a change.

Braj Bhasha, often rendered as an old woman, is here transformed into a delicate mother, from whose womb the vigorous—ojasvini—daughter Khari Boli Hindi has been born (linguistically not a correct genealogy). Scorn is poured on the Braj Bhasha tradition's insatiable erotic obsession, the relentless fascination with the female body: when asked to render other rasas, like vira-rasa, i.e. valour, or rudra i.e. rage, the poet complains, Braj Bhasha can only stammer fearfully. It can only bleat on about Krishna's flute, but the need of the hour is to pick up the panchajanya, the conch of war, because the nation is awake and evidently eager for the battle. Thus, Pant's "Hindi" develops also as Braj's other. It is moralistic as against Braj's characteristic erotic mode, engaged and nationalist as against Braj's Traditional quietest and apolitical stance.

- 4.4 The case of Urdu was slightly different from the case of Hindi. Before the Hindi movement Urdu in Persian script was the court language in N.W.F.P and Oudh as well as in Bihar. Urdu was in a dominant position; it was the language in which the government interacted with the people. It was very important to learn Urdu if one wanted to get a government service. So in a way it was the Hindi movement which challenged the dominance of Urdu. On the other side the Oudh elite could not let there dominance vanish just like that, Urdu for them was the tool of hegemony and control as well as it was the carrier of cultural and religious identity. That's why language became a big factor in construction of identity and nationalism in India and it remains so today. India is the only country in the world which has its states divided on the basis of language.
- 4.5 About Urdu and Muslim identity Shamsur Rahman Faruqi has said that, "Although it is not usually necessary for a language to "explain" or "Defend" its national character, political and cultural circumstances have conspired, since the middle of the nineteenth century, to construct a "non-Indian" character for Urdu, so that Urdu may not be allowed to take its rightful place in the comity of languages. As early as 1864, we find Rajinder Lal Mitter bringing the script of Urdu in question, and asserting that the Nagari script was inherently superior to the Urdu script. And if the script was inferior, it followed that the language too was inferior. Later in that

century, the Urdu script was reviled as "foreign" and "conducive to fraud." The debate raged stronger during the last years of the nineteenth century, by which time modern Hindi was widely represented as the proper medium for the expression of India (=Hindu) consciousness. The slogan Hindi-Hindu-Hindustani became a rallying cry for the Hindi enthusiasts. This undermined the position of Urdu by the clear implication: what was not Hindi was not Hindustani (=Indian) either. Some Muslim authors also muddied the waters around that time by writing as if Urdu was an exclusively Muslim domain and no Hindu, or for that matter, any non-Muslim writer in Urdu, deserved a place in the Urdu canon. Although this wasn't at all the case, it became a general assumption around the middle of the 20th century that the case for Pakistan was also the case for Urdu: Pakistan was constructed as a "homeland" for the Muslims, and since Urdu was the language of Muslims alone, its proper place was in Pakistan, not in India. A major reason for the creation of the false identification of Urdu=Muslims was faulty perception of the literary and cultural history of Urdu, and failure to inquire into its early history and nomenclature. For instance, it was widely assumed, and not by the anti-Urdu lobby alone but also by historians and scholars of Urdu, that the word "Urdu" means "army," and the language therefore developed through the interaction of "Muslim invading armies" with the local trades people. Thus two birds were killed with one stone: Urdu was the outcome of "Foreign aggression and its character were basically "inferior." It was therefore necessarily "gentrified" by imposing upon it a heavy overlay of Arabic and Persian vocabulary".

- 4.6 This chapter deals with the issue that is the issue of Hindi and Urdu actually an issue of identity. Are religion and language supposed to be in tandem with each-other? Is it part of being a Hindu or Muslim to know Hindi and Urdu and claim them as mother tongue respectively?

- 4.7 Is there any other factor apart from religion that forms the basis of division in the both languages? How does a native speaker of Hindi or Urdu differentiate between the two, apart from the difference in script? If they hear spoken Hindi or Urdu can they differentiate the two? And on what basis? Is the entity called Hindustani which contains the words from Sanskrit as well as persio-Arabic existent today? Do people use it and do they relate to it as Hindustani? Another thing that I want to determine in this study is that, are the speakers of Hindi and Urdu who claim to have Hindi or Urdu as mother tongue, able to differentiate between the Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani words from the language spoken generally or from among the common words which are used by native speakers of Hindi/Urdu. Few points which I have discussed in this chapter which are: a) is the equation Hindu=Hindi and Muslim=Urdu prevalent today? B) Are Hindi and Urdu just the tags of communal or religious identity?
- 4.8 The questions which I have dealt with in this chapter are about, people who claim to be the mother tongue speakers of Hindi and Urdu. They are actually able to recognize and differentiate their mother tongues from other languages which are similar. I wanted to know the domains in which they claim to use their mother tongues.

Language, identity and reality-Responses and Discussions

5.0 The questions given below were asked to ascertain the view of the speakers who claim Hindi-Urdu their MT, and their competence in the claimed MT.

1) Do you know Hindi?

Responses:

HH: 100%

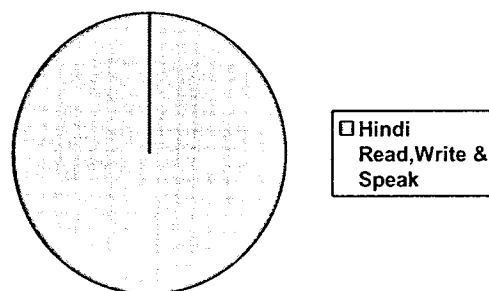


Fig: 12

Implications: All the respondents who claimed Hindi as MT said that they know Hindi irrespective of their social and educational status.

Q 1.1) Do you know Urdu?

Responses:

MU: Yes-96%

No-4%

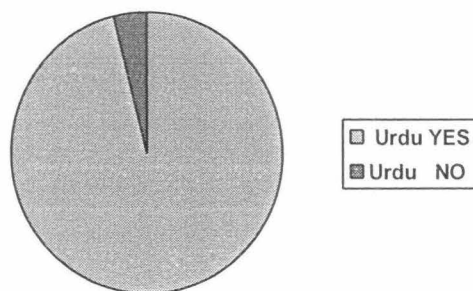


FIG: 12.1

Implications: Only educated people claimed to have Urdu as MT. People who were illiterate* did not claimed be the speakers of Urdu. Those people who were educated but did not know Urdu claimed to be MT speakers of Urdu.

*The findings were similar in Abbi, A, Ayesha Kidwai and S. Imtiaz Husnain (2004): Whose language is Urdu. South Asia institute, Department of political science, university of Heidelberg.

Responses:

Q 1.2) MU: Yes-84%

No- 16%

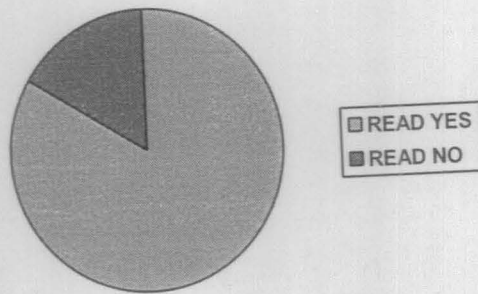


Fig: 12.2

Q 1.2) MU: Yes-56%

No-44%

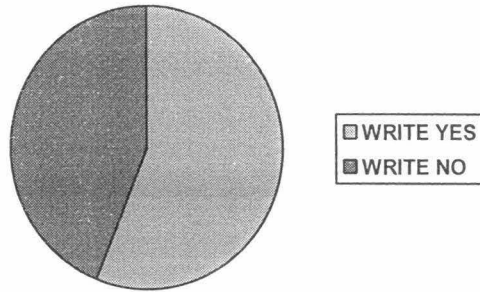


Fig: 12.3

Q 1.3) MU: Yes-96%

No-4%

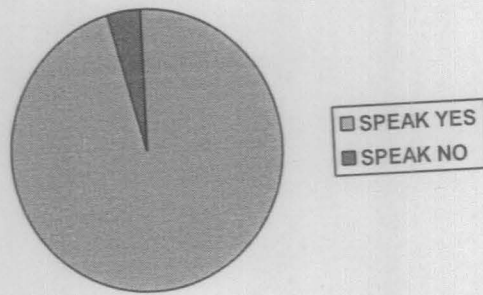


Fig: 12.4

Questions no. 2 and 3 were asked to ascertain the age and place of language learning and domains of language use. The domain of language use shows the attitude and behavior of the community toward its language.

Q 2) Where did you learnt it and at what age?

Responses:

HH: At home- 57%

School- 43%

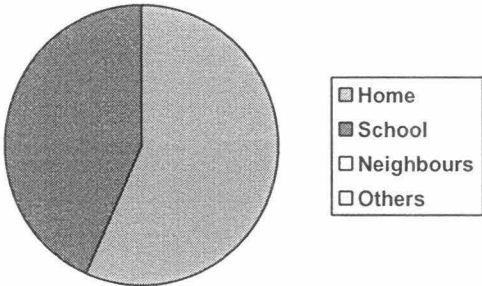


Fig: 13

Q 2.1) MU: At home- 78%

School- 16%

Other- 6%

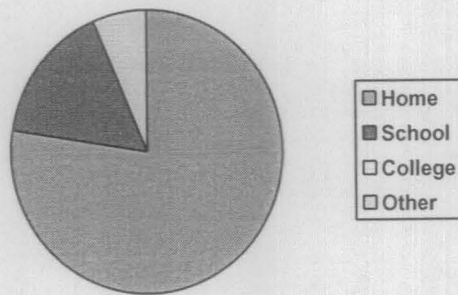


Fig: 13.1

Implications: This shows the domain of language learning and the age of language learning. It shows that Hindi and Urdu both are learned by the speakers at an early age and learning starts from home in most of the cases.

Q 3) where do you use it (Hindi/Urdu)?

Responses:

HH: School-86.36%

College-86.36%

Office-63.63%

Personal letters- 90.90%

Talking to family & friends-100%

Talking to children-100%

Talking to grand children-100%

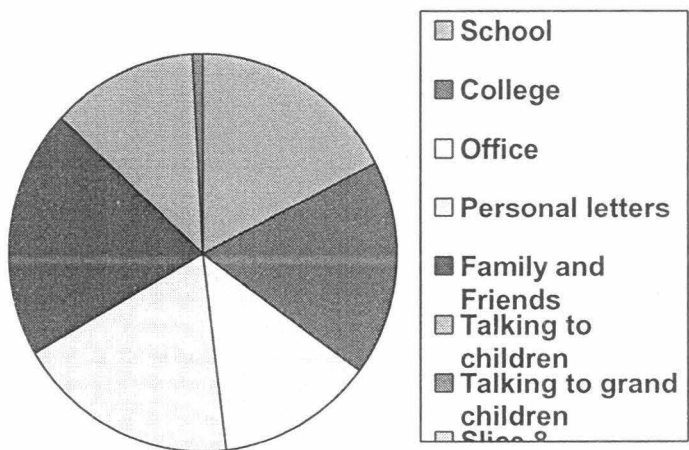


Fig: 14

Responses:

MU: School-44%

College-52%

Office-24%

Personal letters- 40%

Talking to family & friends-100%

Talking to children-100%

Talking to grand children-100%

Everywhere-8%

Nowhere-32%

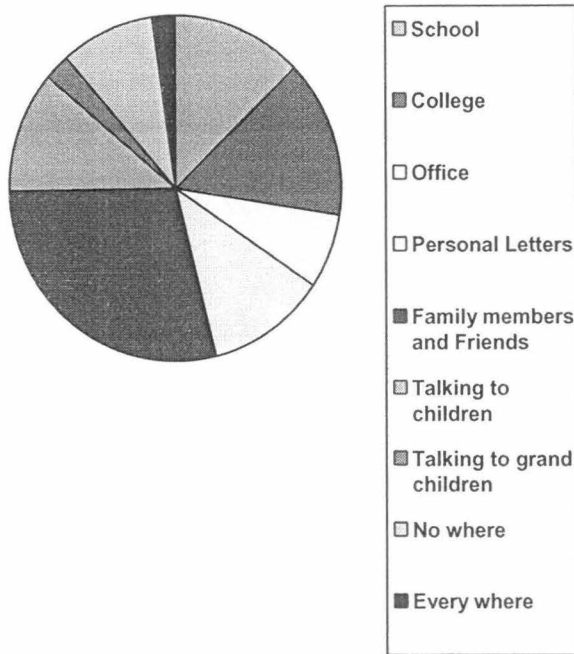


Fig: 14.1

Implications: These results Fig. 14 and 14.1 shows the domain in which Hindi and Urdu are used by the speakers who claim to have them as MT respectively. It shows that both the languages are used mostly in the home domain and with family and friends.

This question was asked to ascertain whether the respondent's family has known the language for a while or respondent is the first generation speaker who has come into contact with the language he/she is claiming as MT.

Q 4) Do your parents know Hindi/Urdu?

Responses:

HH: Yes-95.45%

No-4.55%

MU: Yes-88%

No-12%

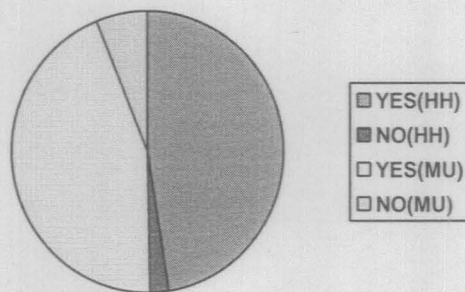


Fig: 15

Implications: It shows that the majority of the people who claim Hindi and Urdu as MT are not the first generation speakers of these languages in their families. Their parents also know Hindi and Urdu. However, there are people who are first generation users of Hindi and Urdu but claim it as MT.

This question was asked to ascertain the belief of the respondent regarding his/her MT.

Q 5) what is your mother tongue?

Responses:

HH: Hindi-100%

MU: Urdu-92%

Other- 8%

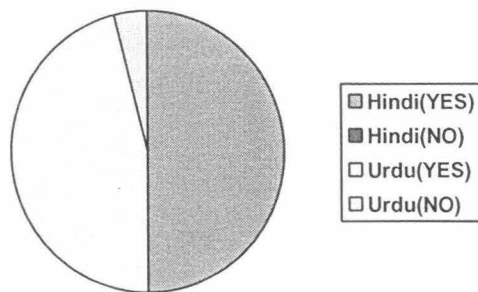


Fig: 16

Implications: It shows that all the Hindu respondents believe that their MT is Hindi and a majority of Muslim respondents believe that their MT is Urdu. We can conclude from the questions above that irrespective of their knowledge, and use of Hindi and Urdu the majority of Hindus and Muslims claim to have them as MT respectively.

This question was asked to know whether the particular language that the speaker is claiming as MT is ever used by speaker in day to day life. Secondly the question relates to the issue whether the speaker thinks that the language he/she is using is their MT at all.

Q 6) what do you generally speak, Hindi, Urdu or Hindustani (mili-juli)?

Hindus: Hindustani (mj)-100%

Muslims: Hindustani (mj) -100%

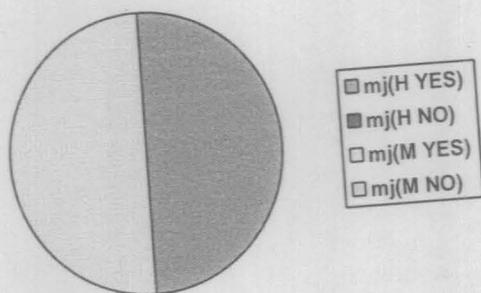


Fig: 17

Implications: This shows that though mili-juli is the language spoken generally by all speakers but it is nobody's MT. People don't relate to it as a distinct language but as a midway compromise between Hindi and Urdu, which is intelligible to all. Here it seems that Hindi and Urdu are two tags used to name the MT if I am a Muslim whatever I speak my MT is Urdu if I am a Hindu it is Hindi.

Question no.15 was asked to ascertain whether the respondents who claim Hindi and Urdu as MT differentiate between the words from their MT and other language. This question through the most amazing results like the Urdu words like shaadi, khushi savera, roshini etc. are no more considered as Urdu words by most of the non-Muslim speakers but as Hindustani. It was difficult for the speakers to differentiate between the words used in common vocabulary irrespective of their roots.

Q 15) there is a list of few words in Urdu, Hindi, and Hindustani given below. Determine which is which.

Pushp	Phul	Gul
Antar	Prabhat	Shiksha
Bhor	Talim	Pakshi
Parinda	Chiriya	Saval
jawab	Uttar	Khoobsurat
Pakshi	Chiz	Prakash
Roshni	Sundar	Subah
Prashan	ujala	Vastu
Saman	Chithi	Shaadi
Patra	Vivah	Khat
Prasanta	Ratri	Josh
Shab	Byah	Khushi
Utsah	Raat	Mulk
Vatan	Dipak	Desh
Chirag	Farq	Diya
Per	Hawa	Vayu
Viriksh	Darakht	Aasman

Hindi:	Prakash (Light)
Pushp (Flower)	Vastu (Thing)
Antar (Difference)	Desh (Country)
Aakash (Sky)	Vayu (Air)
Prashan (Question)	
Patra (Letter)	
Prasanta (Happiness)	
Utsah (Enthusiasm)	
Viriksh (Tree)	
Prabhat (Morning)	
Uttar (Answer)	
Sundar (Beautiful)	
Vivah (Wedding)	
Ratri (Night)	
Dipak (lamp)	
Shiksha (Education)	
Pakshi (Bird)	

Urdu:	Josh (Spirit/enthusiasm)
Parinda (Bird)	Khushi (Happiness)
Jawab (Answer)	Mulk (Country)
Roshini (Light)	
Saman (Good/thing)	
Shab (Night)	
Vatan (Motherland/country)	
Chirag (Lamp)	
Talim (Education)	
Chiz (Thing)	
Farq (Difference)	
Hawa (Air)	
Darakth (Tree)	
Gul (Flower)	
Saval (Question)	
Khoobsurat (Beautiful)	
Subah (Morning)	
Shaadi (Wedding)	
Khat (Letter)	

Hindustani:

Bhor (Morning)

Per (Tree)

Phul (Flower)

Chiriyā (Bird)

Ujala (Light)

Chithi (Letter)

Byah (Wedding)

Raat (Night)

Diya (Lamp)

Aasman (Sky)

Hindus: Hindi words (Words from Sanskrit)-100%

Urdu words-63%

Hindustani words- 72%

Muslims: Hindi words-100%

Urdu words- 87%

Hindustani-76%

These sound clippings were put in the question no.16 to find out how the speakers responded to the Hindi and Urdu words in discourse. I wanted to know whether they are able to differentiate between Hindi and Urdu.

Q 16) now I will play certain sound clips in Urdu, Hindi and Hindustani. You will have to determine which language is used in the clippings.

1) Aajtak.mp3

Responses:

Hindu: Hindi-100%

Muslim: Hindi-100%

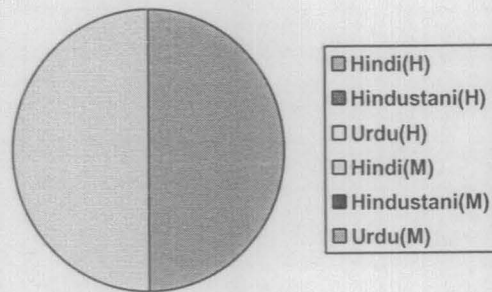


Fig: 18.1

Implications: this implies that when a discourse has words like *antarik* (internal), *suraksha* (security), *aatank* (terror) from sanskritised Hindi which are not part of daily repertoire of people, they conceive it as Hindi.

2) ndtv 1.mp3

Responses:

Hindus: Hindi-16.2%

Hindustani (mj)-83.8%

Muslim: Hindi-24%

Hindustani (mj)-76%

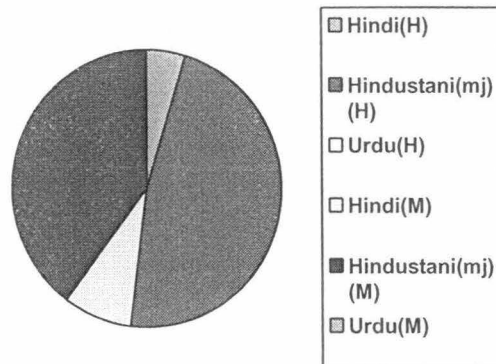


Fig: 18.2

Implications: It implies that when words like *mulaqat* (meeting), *wajah* (reason) etc. are used in discourses which although are Urdu words but have been in the common repertoire for very long, the discourse for the majority of the respondents becomes Hindustani or mili-juli.

3) Ahsan.mp3

Responses:

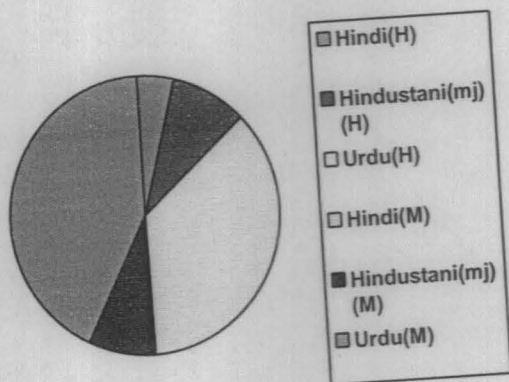


Fig: 18.3

Implications: The results above show that words like *ahsan*(favour), and *mohhabat*(love) are used in a discourse a majority of respondents relate to it as Hindustani or Mili-Juli, because although they are Urdu words but have been in borrowed long back and been in the common repertoire for long .

4) Anamika.mp3

Responses:

Hindus-Hindi-100%

Muslims- Hindi-100%

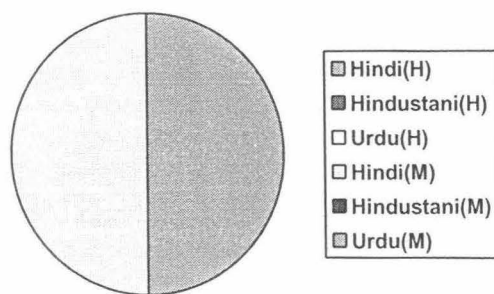


Fig: 18.4

Implication: The results above implies that when words with Sanskrit roots such as *mann*(heart), and *anamika*(the girl with no name) are used in a discourse the respondents relate it as Hindi discourse.

5) chehra hai.mp3

Responses:

Hindus: Hindi-13.63%

Hindustani (mj)-86.36%

Muslims: Hindi-12%

Hindustani (mj)-88%

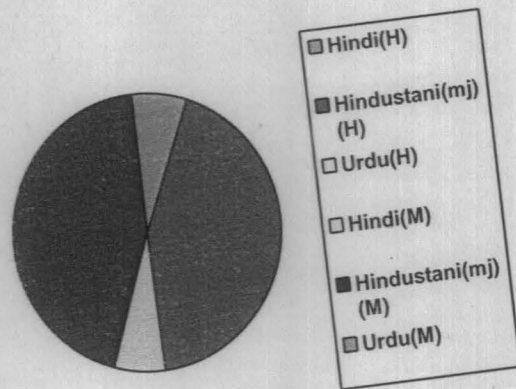


Fig: 18.5

Implications: The result above implies that words like *chehra*(face), *chand*(moon), *zulf*(hair), *ghaneri*(thick), *sham*(evening) etc.when used in a discourse are accepted as words from Hindustani or Mili-Juli by the majority of respondents who claim to have Hindi or Urdu as MT.

6) Dard.mp3

Responses:

Hindus: Urdu-100%

Muslims: Urdu-100%

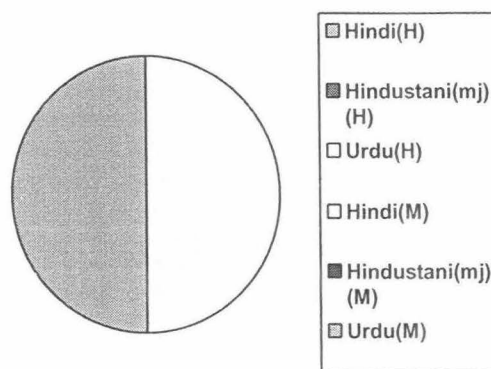


Fig: 18.6

Implications: The results above implies that when such Persio-Arabic genitive forms like *dard-e-dil*(heart's pain or ailment(poetic)), *dard-e-jigar* etc. are used in a discourse which are not frequently used in common speech or in Hindi lyrics, the respondents relate to that discourse as Urdu.

7) dil lena.mp3

Hindus: Hindi-40.9%

Hindustani (mj) -59.09%

Muslims: Hindi-20%

Hindustani (mj)-80%

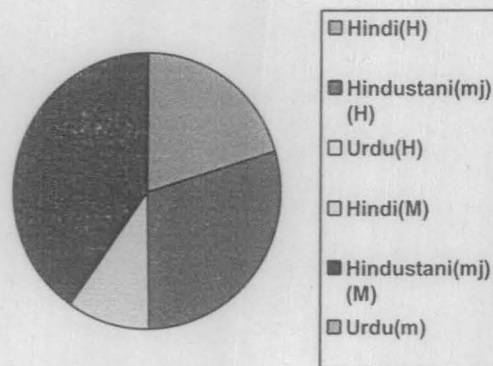


Fig: 18.7

Implications: The result above implies that Urdu words like *dil* (heart) and *dildar* (beloved) which have been borrowed long back and have been in common repertoire of the Hindi-Urdu speaking population ever since, have become a part of Hindustani or Mili-Juli for the majority of respondents.

8) dil-e-nadan.mp3

Responses:

Hindus: Urdu-100%

Muslims: Urdu-100%

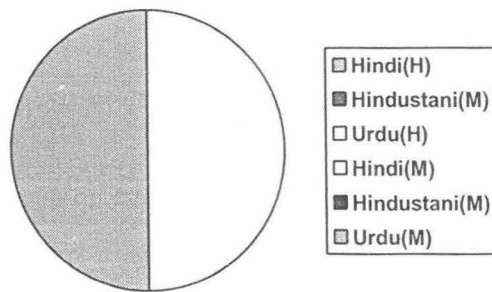


Fig: 18.8

Implications: The result above implies that when infrequently used Urdu words like *dil-e-nadan* (innocent heart) or *justuju* (yearning) are used in a discourse, the speakers relate to it as Urdu.

9) emosnal atyachar.mp3

Responses:

Hindus: Hindi-100%

Muslims: Hindi-100%

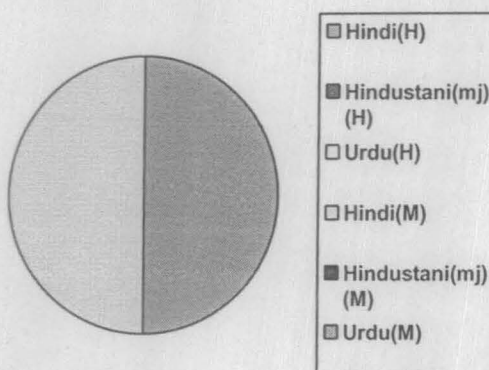


Fig: 18.9

Implications: The results above shows that when word like *Atyachaar* (torture) which is not a part of everyday repertoire, is used innovatively with English word like 'emotional' with a Bihari Hindi twist to make 'emosnal atyachaar', the speakers relate to this discourse as Hindi.

10) Janeman.mp3

Responses:

Hindus: Hindustani (mj)-45.45%

Urdu-54.54%

Muslims: Hindustani (mj)-56%

Urdu-44%

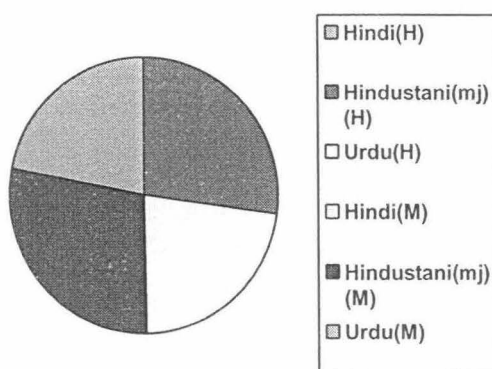


Fig: 18.10

Implications: The results show that words like *khushi* (happiness) and Persio-Arabic genitive structures like *jaan-e-man*(my life) which have been borrowed long ago have become neutralized Hindustani (MJ) words for the majority of Hindi and Urdu speakers. For most of the speakers *jaan-e-man* cease to be genitive structure and it has become one word *janeman* which means beloved and is used frequently in Hindi cinema lyrics.

11) sakun-e-dil.mp3

Responses:

Hindus: Urdu-100%

Muslims: Urdu-100%

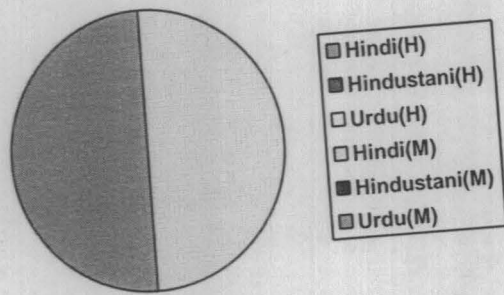


Fig: 18.11

Implications: The results show that when the Persio-Arabic genitive structure which is not used frequently in general discourse like *sakun-e-dil* (peace of heart) is used the discourse is judged as Urdu by all the respondents.

12) *Visal*.mp3

Responses:

Hindus: Urdu-100%

Muslim: Urdu-100%

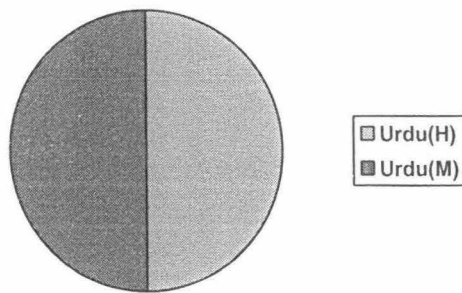


Fig: 18.12

Implications: The results show that when complex Persio-Arabic structure and infrequently used Urdu word such as *visal* (meeting with beloved) is used instead of *milan* or *mulaqat* which are more neutral, the discourse is Urdu for all the respondents.

13) dard -e-disco.mp3

Responses:

Hindus: Urdu-100%

Muslim: Urdu-100%

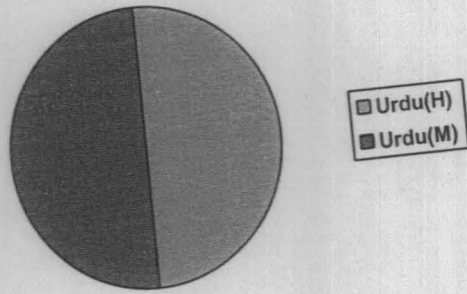


Fig: 18.13

Implications: The results show that if Persio-Arabic genitive structure like *dard-e-dil* (heart's pain, poetic expression) is used innovatively like "*dil mein mere hai dard-e-disco*" (my heart is so full of pain, a poetic expression) is used speakers of Hindi and Urdu relate to it as Urdu.

6.0 Conclusion

First thing that came into my notice while working on this dissertation was that the identity and image of Urdu and Urdu speakers has gone through tremendous change since the partition of India in 1947.

6.1 Urdu which was the lingua franca of North India; NWFP, Oudh and Punjab and was the court language for a long time has become a communal identity marker of Muslims. A Muslim in Hindi belt is supposed to know Urdu and has it as MT. Urdu which was the dominant language in education and administration for a long time in north India (till 1900 it was the only court language apart from English in NWFP and Oudh) has developed communal connotations to it as the language of Muslims. This equation of Urdu= Muslim is mostly a construct of Non-Muslims. Muslims do think of Urdu as their language, but only a minority of them thinks of it as only their language. However large number of non-Muslim population thinks of Urdu as the language of Muslims only.

6.2 Another striking difference between Urdu and Hindi speakers is that Hindi speakers irrespective of their educational and social status claim to know Hindi and claim it as their MT. But Muslims who are illiterate do not claim to know Urdu or have it as MT. However Muslims who are educated in other languages (English or Hindi) but do not know how to read and write Urdu claim Urdu as MT. This shows how Urdu is related still to the notion of being the language of elite and educated. This is not the case with Hindi.

6.3 For those who claim Urdu as MT, script plays a very important role. It's a very vital part of language and its heritage. This is not the case with Hindi MT claimants. They

are more open to the idea of change in script or language being written in any other script apart from Devanagari. Hindi for most of them will remain Hindi even if it is written in some other script. This is a far cry from the days of Nagari Pracharini Sabha when the language was equated with the script and the committee for the propagation of Hindi was named after script not the language. The whole Hindi movement started in U.P to get equal status for the Nagari script vis-à-vis Persian script. The reason for this change in the attitude of the Hindi and Urdu speakers can be ascribed to this fact that Urdu speakers feel threatened for their language where as Hindi speakers no longer feel so.

6.31 Another issue that is worth mentioning is that apart from the script genitive structures with the Persio-Arabic roots in Urdu demarcate the difference between Hindi and Urdu. Exclusive Persian and Arabic words also become a marker for Urdu. But those words which have Persio-Arabic roots but have been borrowed long back are not identified by the speakers easily. Muslim speakers identify them better than Hindu speakers. There are certain words like khushi (happiness), josh (enthusiasm), shaadi (wedding), roshini (light) etc. which have been in common repertoire for so long that they have lost their identity as Urdu words.

Another issue which is remarkable is that some genitive construction of Urdu e.g. Jaan-e-maan (which means 'my life' in Persian) are now mostly considered as one word and for most of the Hindi speakers it is neutral Hindustani word or even Hindi word. Words like ahsan (favour), dil (heart), dard (pain) etc: are normally considered neutral Hindustani words, perhaps because they are being used in Hindi film lyrics for very long.

As concluding remark I can say that a reconstruction of Identity has taken place vis-à-vis Hindi-Hindu and Urdu-Muslim equations in post independent India (especially in the Hindi belt). Hindi and Urdu have become a tag of identity for Hindus and Muslims respectively rather than being just languages. I have reached this conclusion because when asked what language they generally speak majority of Hindi and Urdu speakers say

that they speak Hindustani. But when asked what their MT is the answer invariably is Hindi (from Hindus) and Urdu (From Muslims) for the majority of the speakers. It also shows that Hindustani or Mili Juli doesn't exist as linguistic identity in the minds of the speakers. Although most of them claim that they generally use Mili Juli but it is no one's MT. and belong to no particular linguistic group or community.

Appendix: 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1) Do you know Urdu/Hindi?
Read/write/Speak.
- 2) Where did you learnt it and at what age?
- 3) Where do you use it?
 - a) School/College/Office
 - b) Personal letters
 - c) Talking to family members and friends
 - d) Talking to children
 - e) Talking to grand children.
- 4) Do your parents know Urdu/Hindi?
- 5) What is your mother tongue?
- 6) What do you think you generally speak Urdu/ Hindi/ Hindustani (MJ)?
- 7) Do you think that the domain of language usage is shrinking for Urdu/ Hindi?
- 8) Do you think the domain of language usage for Urdu/ Hindi is shrinking?
- 9) Do you think innovative use of Urdu/ Hindi corrupts the language or enrich it?
- 10) Do you believe that Urdu is the language of Muslims?
- 11) Do you think Hindi is the language of Hindus?
- 12) What language do you want your children to learn?
- 13) What language do you want your children to have as their mother tongue?
- 14) If you think that the language that you generally use is Hindustani (MJ), then what do you think your Hindustani is closer to Urdu or Hindi.

15) There is a list of few words in Urdu, Hindi, and Hindustani (MJ) given below. Determine which belongs to which.

Pushp	Phul	Gul
Antar	Prabhat	Shiksha
Bhor	Talim	Pakshi
Parinda	Chiriya	Saval
jawab	Uttar	Khoobsurat
Pakshi	Chiz	Prakash
Roshni	Sundar	Subah
Prashan	ujala	Vastu
Saman	Chithi	Shaadi
Patra	Vivah	Khat
Prasanta	Ratri	Josh
Shab	Byah	Khushi
Utsah	Raat	Mulk
Vatan	Dipak	Desh
Chirag	Farq	Diya
Per	Hawa	Vayu
Viriksh	Darakht	Aasman

16) Now I will play certain sound clippings in Urdu, Hindi and Hindustani. You will have to determine which clipping belongs to which language.

Appendix-2

Informant Information

Hindi:

1) Name: Jyotsna Tiwari

Age: 23 years

Educational Qualification: M.Sc. Home Science. Aligarh Muslim University.

Occupation: Student

Native Place: Etah U.P.

Address: I.G.Hostel A.M.U. Aligarh.

Date: 8/02/2010

2) Name: Shweta Chandra

Age: 25 years

Educational Qualification: M.Phil. Linguistics. Delhi University.

Occupation: Student

Native Place: Patna, Bihar.

Address: New Delhi.

Date: 22/02/2010

3) Name: Rahul Anshuman

Age: 24 years

Educational Qualification: M.Phil. S.I.S. Jawaharlal Nehru University. New Delhi.

Occupation: Student

Native Place: Dhanbad, Jharkhand.

Address: New Delhi.

Date: 24/02/2010

4) Name: Ramesh Rai

Age: 25 years

Educational Qualification: 8th standard

Occupation: Driver

Native Place: Madhubani, Bihar.

Address: Mahipalpur, New Delhi.

Date: 27/02/2010

5) Name: Nripendra Kumar

Age: 23 years

Educational Qualification: M.Phil. Sanskrit. Jawaharlal Nehru University. New Delhi.

Occupation: Student

Native Place: Banka, Bihar.

Address: New Delhi.

Date: 05/03/2010

6) Name: A.N.Maurya

Age: 37 years

Educational Qualification: High School

Occupation: Guard Chandrabhaga Hostel. J.N.U.New Delhi.

Native Place: Pratapgarh. U.P.

Address: New Delhi.

Date: 05/03/2010

7) Name: Awadh Kumari Yadav

Age: 27 years

Educational Qualification: High School

Occupation: Worker, Chandrabhaga Hostel. J.N.U. New Delhi

Native Place: Balrampur. U.P.

Address: New Delhi.

Date: 05/03/2010

8) Name: Krishan Kumar

Age: 41 years

Educational Qualification: B.A.

Occupation: Caretaker, Chandrabhaga Hostel. J.N.U. New Delhi.

Native Place: Bharthal, near Dawarka. New Delhi.

Address: New Delhi.

Date: 05/03/2010

9) Name: Amit Singh.

Age: 37 years

Educational Qualification: M.Tech. Computer science.

Occupation: Consultant

Native Place: Ara, Bihar.

Address: Vasant Kunj, New Delhi.

Date: 05/03/2010

10) Name: Mrs. Rinku Singh

Age: 34 years

Educational Qualification: M.Sc.

Occupation: Working with Delhi Police

Native Place: Uttar Pradesh.

Address: New Delhi.

Date: 05/03/2010

11) Name: Sudhanshu Shekhar

Age: 23 years

Educational Qualification: PhD. Research Scholar, Jawaharlal Nehru University.

Occupation: Student

Native Place: Patna, Bihar.

Address: New Delhi.

Date: 05/03/2010

12) Name: Priyanka Tripathi.

Age: 26 years

Educational Qualification: M.Phil. S.I.S. Jawaharlal Nehru University. New Delhi.

Occupation: Student

Native Place: Lukhnow, U.P.

Address: J.N.U New Delhi.

Date: 05/03/2010

13) Name: Shilpi Chaturvedi.

Age: 25 years

Educational Qualification: M.Phil. S.I.S. Jawaharlal Nehru University. New Delhi.

Occupation: Student

Native Place: Gorakhpur, U.P.

Address: J.N.U. New Delhi.

Date: 05/03/2010

14) Name: Gaurav Singh Rana

Age: 43years

Educational Qualification: M.B.A

Occupation: Insurance professional.

Native Place: Gwalior M.P.

Address: Vasant Kunj, New Delhi.

Date: 06/03/2010

15) Name: Mrs. Renu Rana.

Age: 37 years

Educational Qualification: M.A

Occupation: Homemaker.

Native Place: Gwalior M.P.

Address: Vasant Kunj, New Delhi.

Date: 06/03/2010

16) Name: Jayanti Singh.

Age: 22 years

Educational Qualification: M.A. Delhi University.

Occupation: Student

Native Place: Patna, Bihar.

Address: Vasant Kunj, New Delhi.

Date: 06/03/2010

17) Name: Nitya Singh.

Age: 20 years

Educational Qualification: B.A. Delhi University.

Occupation: Student

Native Place: Patna, Bihar.

Address: Vasant Kunj, New Delhi.

Date: 06/03/2010

18) Name: Vijay Singh.

Age: 50 years

Educational Qualification: M.Sc.

Occupation: D.G.M. Akashwani.

Native Place: Patna, Bihar.

Address: Vasant Kunj, New Delhi.

Date: 06/03/2010

19) Name: Sangita Singh.

Age: 42 years

Educational Qualification: M.A.B.Ed.

Occupation: Homemaker

Native Place: Patna, Bihar.

Address: Vasant Kunj, New Delhi.

Date: 06/03/2010

20) Name: Gayatri Gupta.

Age: 73 years

Educational Qualification: Matric.

Occupation: Homemaker.

Native Place: Karolbagh, New Delhi.

Address: Vasant Kunj, New Delhi.

Date: 06/03/2010

21) Name: Renu Agarwal.

Age: 52 years

Educational Qualification: M.A Economics.

Occupation: Homemaker.

Native Place: Lukhnow, U.P.

Address: Vasant Kunj, New Delhi.

Date: 06/03/2010

22) Name: R.K.Agarwal.

Age: 58 years

Educational Qualification: M.Sc.

Occupation: General Manager, UCO Bank. New Delhi

Native Place: Lukhnow, U.P.

Address: Vasant Kunj, New Delhi.

Date: 06/03/2010

Urdu:

1) Name: Sadaf Zareen.

Age: 23 years

Educational Qualification: M.A. E.L.T. Aligarh Muslim University.

Occupation: Student

Native Place: Aurangabad, Bihar.

Address: Aligarh U.P.

Date: 08/02/2010

2) Name: Shabnam Khatoon.

Age: 35 years

Educational Qualification: Madrasa for a few years in Childhood.

Occupation: Runs a Dhaba in I.G.Hostel.Aligarh.

Native Place: Aligarh, U.P.

Address: Aligarh.

Date: 08/02/2010

3) Name: Aliya Nasim.

Age: 24 years

Educational Qualification: M.A.E.L.T. Aligarh Muslim University.

Occupation: Student

Native Place: Ranchi, Jharkhand.

Address: Aligarh, U.P.

Date: 08/02/2010

4) Name: Jamila Khatoon.

Age: 65 years

Educational Qualification: Illiterate.

Occupation: Works at Dhaba in Aligarh.

Native Place: Aligarh, U.P.

Address: Aligarh, U.P.

Date: 08/02/2010

5) Name: Ragheba Ahmad.

Age: 19 years

Educational Qualification: B.C.A, Aligarh Muslim University

Occupation: Student

Native Place: Aligarh, U.P.

Address: Aligarh, U.P.

Date: 08/02/2010

6) Name: Rufee Zaman.

Age: 23 years

Educational Qualification: B.A.Political science (hons). Delhi University.

Occupation: Homemaker.

Native Place: Jamshedpur, Jharkhand.

Address: Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh.

Date: 24/02/2010

7) Name: Asif Shamim

Age: 30 years

Educational Qualification: M.B.A.

Occupation: Marketing professional.

Native Place: Jamshedpur, Jharkhand.

Address: Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh.

Date: 24/02/2010

8) Name: Aziza Rizvi.

Age: 44 years

Educational Qualification: M.A, B.Ed, M.Ed.

Occupation: P.T Teacher.

Native Place: Lukhnow, U.P.

Address: Aligarh, U.P.

Date: 08/02/2010

9) Name: Jawed Qasim Mohnavi.

Age: 34 years

Educational Qualification: M.B.A.

Occupation: Banker.

Native Place: Patna, Bihar.

Address: Vasant Kunj, New Delhi.

Date: 05/03/2010

10) Name: Farzana Kauser.

Age: 27 years

Educational Qualification: M.B.A.

Occupation: Homemaker.

Native Place: Patna, Bihar.

Address: Vasant Kunj, New Delhi.

Date: 05/03/2010

11) Name: Arman Kauser.

Age: 29 years

Educational Qualification: M.Tech.

Occupation: SAP Consultant.

Native Place: Patna, Bihar.

Address: Vasant Kunj, New Delhi.

Date: 05/03/2010

12) Name: Fatima-tuz-Zohra Zubairee.

Age: 28 years

Educational Qualification: M.B.A.

Occupation: Advertising and sales professional.

Native Place: Patna, Bihar.

Address: Malviya Nagar New Delhi.

Date: 06/03/2010

13) Name: Jahangir Ahmad Khan.

Age: 23 years

Educational Qualification: M.Com.

Occupation: Business

Native Place: Lukhnow, U.P.

Address: Chandni Chowk Old Delhi.

Date: 07/03/2010

14) Name: Md. Shahzad

Age: 21 years

Educational Qualification: Graduation.

Occupation: Student

Native Place: Saharanpur, U.P.

Address: New Delhi.

Date: 07/03/2010

15) Name: Muneer Alam.

Age: 28 years

Educational Qualification: Graduation.

Occupation: Working in a company.

Native Place: Moradabad U.P.

Address: New Delhi.

Date: 07/03/2010

16) Name: Arshad.

Age: 29 years

Educational Qualification: 12th.

Occupation: Shop-owner.

Native Place: Delhi.

Address: New Delhi.

Date: 07/03/2010

17) Name: Farid Ahmad.

Age: 29 years

Educational Qualification: Graduation.

Occupation: Office Assistant.

Native Place: New Delhi.

Address: New Delhi.

Date: 07/03/2010

18) Name: Jawed Akhtar.

Age: 23 years

Educational Qualification: M.A Urdu.

Occupation: Student

Native Place: Maunath Bhanjan U.P.

Address: New Delhi.

Date: 07/03/2010

19) Name: Arman Khan.

Age: 20 years

Educational Qualification: 12th.

Occupation: Business

Native Place: Gorakhpur U.P.

Address: Gorakhpur U.P.

Date: 07/03/2010

20) Name: Rafat Adil Khan.

Age: 28 years

Educational Qualification: Graduation.

Occupation: Business.

Native Place: New Delhi.

Address: New Delhi.

Date: 07/03/2010

21) Name: Jalal Ahmad Khan.

Age: 26 years

Educational Qualification: Graduation.

Occupation: Business.

Native Place: Lukhnow, U.P.

Address: New Delhi.

Date: 07/03/2010

22) Name: Bilal Ahmad Khan

Age: 26 years

Educational Qualification: Graduation.

Occupation: Business.

Native Place: Lukhnow, U.P.

Address: New Delhi.

Date: 07/03/2010

23) Name: Nizam Ahmad Khan.

Age: 51 years

Educational Qualification: Graduation.

Occupation: Business.

Native Place: Lukhnow, U.P.

Address: New Delhi.

Date: 07/03/2010

24) Name: Md.Ali Khan.

Age: 35 years

Educational Qualification: Illiterate.

Occupation: Works in roadside eatery.

Native Place: New Delhi.

Address: New Delhi.

Date: 07/03/2010

25) Name: Md.Shadab.

Age: 33 years

Educational Qualification: Illiterate.

Occupation: sells cap on the road side.

Native Place: Old Delhi.

Address: New Delhi.

Date: 07/03/2010

Appendix-3

1. आंतरिक सुरक्षा के मसले पर केन्द्र के साथ बैठक में गुजकोका को मजदूरी ना मिलने पर केन्द्र से नाराजगी जताई है। गुजरात सरकार ने आतंकी गतिविधियों पर रोकथाम लगाने की मंशा से मकोका की तर्ज पर गुजकोका बिल तैयार कर के केन्द्र को पारित करने के लिए भेजा था। लेकिन नरेन्द्र मोदी का कहना है कि दो तिहाई बहुमत से पारित होने के बावजूद गुजकोका को केन्द्र से मंजूरी नहीं मिल रही है, ऐसे में गुजरात में आतंकी गतिविधियों पर नकेल रख पाना कठिन होगा।
2. केन्द्रीय कृषि मंत्री शरद पवार आज रात सेना प्रमुख बाल ठाकरे से मुलाकात करेंगे। यह मुलाकात बाल ठाकरे के निवास मातोश्री में होगी। अब यह मुलाकात हो क्यों रही है और इस में किन-किन बातों पर चर्चा होगी इस का अंदाजा है हमारे संवाददाता प्रसाद दांते को , प्रसाद क्या वजह है कि शरद पवार बात करने जा रहे है बाल ठाकरे से ?
3. अहसान तेरा होगा मुझ पर दिल चाहता है वो कहने दो, मुझे तुम से मुहब्बत हो गई है मुझे पलकों की छांव में रहने दो।
4. मेरी भीगी-भीगी पलकों में रह गये जैसे मेरे सपने बिखर के, जले मन तेरा भी किसी के मिलन को अनामिका तू भी तरसे।
5. चेहरा है या चाँद खिला है जुल्फ घनेरी शाम है क्या, सागर जैसी आँखों वाली यह तो बता तेरा नाम है क्या।
6. दर्द-ए-दिल, दर्द-ए-जिगर दिल में जगाया.आपने, पहले तो मैं शायर था आशिक बनाया आपने।
7. दिल लेना खेल है दिलदार का, भूले से नाम ना लो प्यार का, प्यार भी झूठा, यार भी झूठा देखो मुझको दिलवालो आया है तोहफा मेरे यार का।
8. ए-दिल-ए-नादान आरजू क्या है, जुस्तजू क्या है।
9. दिल को आवाज बना लू सीने में जलती है अरमानों की अर्थी अरे वाट टू टेल यू डार्लिंग क्या हुआ, सपने देखे जन्नत के पर मिट्टी में मिल जाए, हम तेरे दरबार की

दुनियां को बोले गुडबाय चढ़ जाए हाय अल्लाह जिस को भी यह बुखार, तौबा तेरा जलवा, तौबा तेरा प्यार तेरा इमोशनल अत्याचार।

10. सजन घर आना था, सजन घर आए है, पिया मन आना था पिया मन आए हैं, हर ,खुशी है अब तुम्हारी मुझे दे दो गम जाने मन जान-ए-मन।
11. सुकून-ए-दिल के लिए कुछ तो अहतमाम करू जरा नजर तो मिले फिर उन्हें सलाम करूँ।
12. यह ना थी हमारी किस्मत की बिसाल-ए-यार होता।
13. वो हसीना वो नीलम परी, कर गई ऐसी जादूगरी, नींद इन आँखों से छीन ली है दिल में बेचैनियाँ है भरी, मै बेचारा, हूँ आवार बोलो समझाऊ मै यह अब किस-किस को दिल में मेरे है दर्द-ए-डिस्को।

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