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Many Western scholars consider Hindi and Urdu as a single linguistic entity. The author concedes that "in an important sense this is correct." Hindu and Muslim inhabitants of the same village behave like members of a single speech community. However, minor differences in the phonology, grammar, and lexicon are underscored by the differences in the writing systems, by which prose or poetry is identified. Hindi, which uses Devanagari script, is taught only at the college level in the United States. (Exceptions are the Peace Corps programs, not included within the scope of this paper, and the Neglected Languages Program conducted by Boyd-Bowman from SUNY at Buffalo.) Because Hindi has no history of traditional teaching practices, universities offering courses in Hindi utilize oral-aural approaches and emphasize competence in speaking. However, beyond elementary level, available materials are very scarce, and not well suited to students of social sciences. These situations apply also to Urdu, which uses Perso-Arabic script, and for which there is even less widely available regular instruction. Also discussed in this paper are needs of students in both of these language areas, overseas centers, summer and undergraduate programs, the writing systems, recommended teaching materials, research priorities, and the role of these two languages in South Asia. (AMM)

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THE TEACHING OF HINDI-URDU IN THE UNITED STATES : THE STATE OF THE ART

by GERALD B. KELLEY

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Foreword

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A. Hood Roberts, Director
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THE TEACHING OF HINDI-URDU IN THE UNITED STATES

The State of the Art

It is common for Western, and particularly American, scholars to refer to Hindi and Urdu as a single linguistic entity. In an important sense, this is correct. Given a village with both Hindu and Muslim inhabitants, there are no major barriers to daily communication; the inhabitants behave like members of a single speech community. However, even at this level, minor differences in the sound system, the grammar and the lexicon of the individual send the message to others that either Hindi or Urdu is being spoken. When the census-taker comes around the Hindus will report their language as Hindi (or some local variant name) and the Muslims will report that their language is Urdu. The minor differences referred to above are underscored by the differences in the writing systems and an individual will identify a body of prose or poetry by the writing system used. For these reasons of "self-image" and native speaker judgment, there is some reason for considering the two varieties separately. Furthermore, given literacy in both scripts, an educated individual is likely to appreciate more fully either the literature which draws on Hindu and Sanskrit traditions, figures, and vocabulary or on the tradition which follows Islam, Arabic, and especially Persian. I will therefore treat Hindi and Urdu separately in the body of this paper.

Unlike some other languages ordinarily thought of as not widely taught, Hindi is taught only at the college level and many students, perhaps a majority, begin Hindi only at the graduate level. Major exceptions to this statement are the Neglected Language Program conducted by Professor Peter Boyd-Bowman from the S.U.N.Y. at

Buffalo, serving colleges and universities in New York, and the training of Peace Corps volunteers. (This paper will henceforth ignore PC training as representing a special interest group beyond its scope.) In addition to the problems presented by this late-starting clientele, there are others attributable to the goals of the student in learning the language and the investment of time he is willing to make in learning it. The goals of students range from the anthropologist's, who wants to learn to communicate, often in a local variety, to the historian's, who wants to be able to read texts. Between these extremes lies a variety of social science disciplines, such as political science and economics, in which language competence may be looked upon as useful for rapport or irrelevant.

Apart from the University of Pennsylvania, which has a long tradition of scholarship in South Asian Studies, and the University of Wisconsin, which began a program in Indian Studies under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, most university programs in Hindi are directly linked to the impetus provided by the National Defence Education Act. The development of centers for South Asian Studies under the provisions of this act, which demanded that a center provide language instruction, and that a student, in order to hold a fellowship under Title VI, take instruction in a language, is responsible for much of the teaching of Hindi in the United States today. In a parallel fashion, much of the available teaching material has been produced under research grants made possible by NDEA. Relatively widespread instruction in the language and relatively adequate materials for teaching it are therefore for the most part very recent.

This recent development of Hindi language teaching has had one positive advantage. Unlike many languages more widely taught, and some, such as Chinese and Arabic among the less widely taught, Hindi has no traditional, grammar-and-translation, reading oriented teaching practices. All universities offering Hindi utilize oral-aural approaches with native speakers under the supervision of trained linguists. All students are taught a variety of spoken Hindi and it

is expected that all will gain some competence in speaking. This general advantage, however, has not succeeded in filling the needs of all students. Most currently available textbooks go much farther toward meeting the needs of anthropologists than they do those of historians. Elementary course materials are frequently written in some sort of phonemic notation, sometimes partially and sometimes totally. Beyond the elementary level, available materials are very scarce and, in general, not well suited to the need of students in the social sciences. Most universities teaching Hindi depend heavily, beyond the elementary level, on materials dittoed or stencilled locally. This dearth does have some advantage: selection of materials can be tailored to the needs of the students at a given university in a given course, at a given time. There is, nevertheless, a serious lack of materials based on newspaper and periodical articles, official documents, parliamentary debates, private correspondence. A newspaper reader has recently appeared and research is in progress on materials based on official documents, but the range and variety of teaching materials is still very limited.

The preceding remarks about Hindi apply equally to Urdu, except that it should be noted that regular instruction in Urdu is even less widely available. Most South Asia university centers, with exceptions such as McGill and Duke, concentrate their efforts on India (in a few cases with an interest in Ceylon) and Urdu, as such, is offered only "on demand," though it often appears in the course listings. Since most of the scholars in the disciplines at a given university have focused their attentions on India, the demand does not materialize with sufficient frequency. This situation is improving slightly as interest in Pakistan increases among younger scholars.

Who Needs It?

Ever since the establishment of the original NDEA centers, controversy has been rampant among South Asia area specialists about the merits of language competence, particularly in Hindi or Urdu, for their students. (The problem is discussed, for example, by Kelley and John J. Gumperz in separate papers contributed to Resources for South Asian Area Studies in the United States, edited by Richard A. Lambert,

University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962.) Part of the difficulty arose, I think, from the threat posed to older scholars who had no language competence (through no fault of their own, either because instruction was not generally available, or their interest in South Asia came after their graduate training). More importantly, the demands made on students in their disciplines made professors reluctant to insist on a relatively heavy investment of the student's time in language learning unless a clear gain in discipline research competence could be demonstrated. In fields where funds for graduate student support were not easy to acquire, the problem was solved willy-nilly by the requirements of NDEA Title VI, but often with disastrous effects on classroom morale. In other fields, notably economics and political science on the national level, the relevance of language study for research was, and is, widely denied. The problem is abating somewhat as younger scholars, trained in recent years, join university faculties. Recently, proposals have been voiced, calling for the development of curricula which would allow the conduct of seminar work in the social sciences in Hindi. The position now is that we have, by and large, failed to provide advanced training which would demonstrate to the student, before he goes to South Asia to do research, the extent and the type of information which competence makes available, again, especially for Hindi, as against other Indian languages.

These remarks, of course, do not apply to graduate students in linguistics, but a further fact may be noted here. Although NDEA Title VI specifies that first preference will be given to fellowship applicants who have a primary interest in the language, most fellowships are awarded to fields other than linguistics because of a lack of applicants, let alone qualified applicants, in that field. Most of the scholars now engaged in teaching Indian languages generally, and Hindi in particular, were trained or had their interest in South Asia stimulated in the Deccan College Project, funded by the Rockefeller Foundation in the mid-fifties. For Hindi, the list includes Fairbanks, Southworth, Kelley, Zide, Staneslow, and, peripherally, Chavarria-Aguilar and Gumperz. The training of

teachers and scholars which took place in this program has not been matched during the years of operation of the NDEA centers and there is a serious shortage of trained linguists capable of supervising instructors and conducting research in Hindi, Urdu and other major Indian languages. Linguistics today is moving away from a concern with the writing of grammars and the construction of teaching materials. Students are drawn to general theoretical considerations removed from an interest in a specific language. Furthermore, interest in "area studies" in the other social sciences and in linguistics has lessened. The supply of teachers for Hindi or Urdu to meet increasing demand, particularly among undergraduates, is not nearly adequate. Nor does there appear to be any easy answer. In many social sciences fields, including linguistics, the argument has not effectively been made that the heavy investment required to get language competence and an area specialty has sufficient rewards to justify it. This statement may be taken generally, but for Hindi and Urdu the relatively recent American interest in South Asia, as against Latin America or the Far East, is an even stronger factor. Students who are attracted to "non-Western" studies are likely to pick an area other than South Asia. Southeast Asia, though also recently become an area of American interest, has an attraction of urgency which South Asia does not so patently manifest to the American student.

Yet it is the fact that very few adequate translations of Hindi or Urdu literature are available and only a very small percentage of speakers of Hindi or Urdu has a working competence in English. To the humanist or the social scientist dealing with South Asia, but lacking language competence, important segments of the population, rich resources in the literature, and significant opinion in the vernacular press and state legislation debate are inaccessible.

What Is It?

Although many speakers of Hindi would agree that the variety of Hindi based on khari boli has some claim to the status "standard," there are many dissenters. Because literary patrons at various feudal courts supported literary endeavor in the local dialect, various

regions claim a "rich literature" which makes their local speech a candidate for some sort of "regional standard" dialect; prominent among these are Braj, Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Rajasthani. Coupled with this difficulty is the policy of linguistic chauvinism which has been pursued by the Hindi Directorate of the Ministry of Education. Charged with the task of an academy, of setting up norms for a variety of Hindi which could be promulgated as standard beyond the borders of the Hindi-speaking area, it has expended enormous energy on coining Sanskrit-based replacements for common English loan words and cataloging occurrences of Hindi loans in other languages. The former activity has had a stultifying effect on the style of periodicals and the comprehensibility of official documents and AIR broadcasts; the latter has failed to demonstrate the ease with which speakers of other languages can learn Hindi. The wide variety of dialects and the variations in linguistic loyalties among speakers pose problems both in the preparation of teaching materials and the choosing of language instructors. In preparing materials, these problems have been largely ignored, the best textbooks aiming at a variety of the language based on khari boli and preserving the common English loans. This strategy works well for those students who expect to use the language for daily communication with shopkeepers and farmers or for rapport with educated speakers, but does little for the anthropologist who needs a guide to the local morphology and lexicon or for the historian or political scientist who wants to read legislative debates or local periodicals. Most students who have learned Hindi in the United States make the adjustment when they reach India to do their research, but generally at considerable cost in time. The preparation of advanced readers in Sanskritized and local styles and of sketches of dialect grammars would be most helpful. Full or partial grammars of local dialects are, to some extent, being prepared as dissertations (for example, Shaligram Skukla on Bhojpuri, Cornell, 1968), but these are couched in dense technical terminology which makes them virtually unusable for the non-linguist.

Overseas Centers

The American Institute of Indian Studies has developed facilities for instruction in Hindi for its fellows at the Institute's base on the campus of the Deccan College in Poona. The status of this development can be best shown by excerpting from the report of the Chief Linguist, Dr. D.P. Pattanayak:

"The Language Program of the Institute during the year 1967-68 maintained the same tempo of activities as in previous years. The intensive Hindi course administered in the Fall of 1967 provided an opportunity for revising the Hindi drills. All the drills of the beginning Hindi course have now been brought out in two mimeographed volumes. Since there is a demand for these drills, it has been decided to sell them at cost price. We have supplied 12 sets to the University of Pennsylvania for their Summer course, and have sold about 20 sets internally. Orders for about 60 sets are pending with us, and we are seriously considering their publication.

Work on the Intermediate Hindi material is in progress. I was requested to join the Institute of Linguistics and Language Teaching sponsored by the NCERT and conducted in May-June of this year in Deccan College. I decided to stop my work on the Oriya material and join this Institute, where teachers from Teachers Training Colleges selected from the Hindi-speaking States, Maharashtra, and Gujarat, were to be given training in Linguistics and Applied Linguistics, with special reference to the teaching of Hindi. During their five-week course, I was able to get 10 seven-inch tapes full of recorded dialogue on the material we have prepared for our Intermediate text. I intend to analyze these taped dialogues and base the conversations of the Intermediate Reader on this analysis. I also expect to get some information from these dialogues to be used in our proposed Dialect Reader.

We took advantage of the opportunity to record a story told by each of 22 participants in his own dialect of Hindi. If there are sufficient funds, I intend to undertake a small project of analyzing the variations of the story, and I hope this will give some idea of the magnitude of the work if we undertake a Dialect Reader.

During the year, the Delhi AIIS, in collaboration with the Linguistic Department of the University of Delhi, organized a seminar on the Teaching of Hindi. I participated in the five-day seminar. I was invited to deliver extension lectures in the Central Hindi Institute and the K.M. Institute of Linguistics and Hindi, Agra. I participated in a two-day workshop of representatives of Bombay Colleges and talked to them on the place of the language laboratory in the language teaching in colleges. I am glad that our cooperation with Wilson College, Bombay, has paid rich dividends. They have now developed two Marathi courses, one basic and one Intermediate, and successfully run the courses in Bombay.

The assistant Linguist, Mr. Suchir Mathur, participated in the Hindi teaching and research programs and the recording of the Hindi material in the Institute. He attended a week-long seminar on the teaching of Hindi in Agra."

This vigorous and successful program is providing a strong overseas center for language learning and is carrying out some of the research outlined as necessary above, particularly in the proposed Dialect Reader.

The American Institute of Indian Studies, in addition, is currently proposing to set up facilities in Delhi to provide a year-long intermediate course in Hindi, during which the student would have an opportunity to scout the local area in which he plans to work and to acquire the variety of skills most relevant to his own field of interest. If this proposal is implemented, it will go a long way toward relieving some of the most pressing needs of

students beyond the elementary level. Since the Institute's language operation is under the direction of the very able Dr. Pattanayak and since the location in Delhi will allow the program to have the advantages of consultation with Professor Pandit of Delhi University, the quality of instruction is likely to be superior.

The AIIS has generally been recognized as serving a very vital role for scholars interested in India. Recently, an American Institute of Ceylon Studies has been formed in a parallel fashion. It is unfortunate that no similar body exists for Pakistan Studies. This lack may in part explain the limited number of American scholars studying Pakistan.

Summer Program

In my paper for the conference on Resources for South Asian Languages, I remarked that, among South Asia language teachers and linguists there were "few interchangeable parts." Unfortunately, the observation still holds. Few scholars are available for preparing materials or for supervising teaching programs. In recognition of this fact, Center of South Asian Studies early decided to pool resources for jointly sponsored summer schools, modeled frankly on the Linguistic Institute. Funded by NDEA, the Inter-University Rotary Summer Program began operation in 1962. The participating universities are Chicago, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Michigan State, and Wisconsin. California (Berkeley) was a member for a time. Subsequently, an Eastern consortium including Pennsylvania, Rochester, Syracuse, Columbia, Virginia and American, was formed in 1965. Cornell is in the process of joining this group. The Eastern consortium is currently planning a program which will concentrate on Pakistan in the summer of 1970, to be held at the University of Rochester. Apart from providing students with area courses other than those available at their home institutions, these summer programs always provide an intensive elementary language course and a variety of intermediate and advanced courses.

The intensive introductory summer courses have several advantages. They are more effective in providing a basic competence in the language than the semi-intensive courses given during the regular year. Further, they free the student for more concentration on his discipline during the regular school year. Finally, with the availability of NDEA support for undergraduates, opportunities to encourage undergraduate study in the summer are increasing, with benefits to the student equivalent to those for graduate students.

Undergraduate Program

In the United States, other than at major centers of scholarship on South Asia, Hindi or Urdu is generally not available to the undergraduate except in the summer programs described above. As noted above, a major exception is the Neglected Languages program conducted by Boyd-Bowman. At minimal cost to the student's home institution, highly motivated students work independently, following texts recommended by the program, with native speakers available on their home campuses. At the end of each term, examiners from Cornell evaluate the student's progress and credit is granted according to their reports. With some notable exceptions, the program has had very encouraging results. In September 1968, to reduce the trauma of not meeting the examiner until the end of the term and to give the native speaker some idea of what is expected of him, all participants and native speakers came to a pre-school weekend conference at Cornell. This practice is expected to continue. In the present year, S.U.N.Y. Buffalo, Colgate, Elmira, Fordham, C.W. Post College and Calasactius Prep. (Buffalo) are participating in the Hindi program. The program is worthy of emulation.

In 1961, the University of Wisconsin undertook a Junior Year in India Program, initially limited to its own students. Prerequisite to consideration for the program was one year of semi-intensive Hindi. In India, the students worked on an independent project under supervision of the faculty of the Delhi School of Social Work, for credit to be given at Wisconsin, took advanced work in Hindi provided

by the program and took one course in Delhi University. The program was expanded first to include students of members of the Associated Colleges of the Midwest. Students from schools other than Wisconsin were required to take the intensive Hindi course at the Summer School preceding their departure for India. Otherwise the academic program remained the same. Subsequently, eligibility was extended nationally and new centers were opened in Benares and Hyderabad. Students with interest in the humanities are sent to Benares, those in social sciences to Delhi. Hyderabad is the center for students of Dravidian languages. This program, too, has been highly successful. Originally conceived as a means of introducing a non-Western culture to undergraduates, whether or not they would have a continuing interest in South Asia, it has also produced a large number of students who go on to graduate work related to South Asia. Again, it is worth remarking that the lack of such a program in Pakistan is unfortunate.

Writing Systems

At first glance, a major difference between Hindi and Urdu is in their writing systems. Hindi is written in the Devanagari script, with characters and spelling conventions which differ only in minor ways from those employed for Sanskrit. Devanagari is a semi-syllabary. All vocalic elements have word-initial and secondary forms in other distributions. These frequently bear little resemblance to one another, but the number is not large and they pose no major problems to learning. Otherwise, the high frequency consonant-vowel combinations, apart from a few spelling conventions (e.g. consonant clusters are not written across morpheme boundaries), exhibit a close correlation with the sound system. Some low-frequency combinations are difficult for beginning students to remember, especially since the combined symbols sometimes bear little resemblance to the symbols from which they are combined. Some sporadically employed diacritics distinguish sounds introduced by borrowings, particularly from Persian.

Urdu is written in a modified arabic script, usually called Perso-Arabic. The two most commonly used writing styles are called

Nasx and Nastaliq. Nastaliq is regarded as more esthetic and is widely used in litho and offset printing. Since it is too cursive for adaption to type, Nasx is used for typewriters and type printing. (G.C. Narang, Readings in Literary Urdu Prose, Department of Indian Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1967, p. 5). Like Devanagari, there is in Perso-Arabic a close relationship between the symbols of the writing system and the sound system of the language.

This close "fit" makes learning to read in both scripts a relatively easy matter. American students usually find more difficulty in learning to write Perso-Arabic, but the difficulty is not insuperable.

It might be added that it is not common for American students to learn both scripts.

Teaching Materials¹

HINDI

Dictionaries

1. Pathek, R.C. (ed.) Bhargava's Standard Illustrated Dictionary of the Hindi Language. Chowk, Varanasi: Bhargava Book Depot, 1964 (reprint).

(This dictionary is far from adequate from any point of view, but it is the only one of any scope whatever generally available. Good dictionaries are the most desperate need for students of Hindi, and the need least likely to be filled in the foreseeable future, largely because of the dearth, or non-existence, of skilled and dedicated lexicographers in the field. This lack is in part made up by glossaries in particular texts, such as Usha Nilsson's, but obviously lack of a good dictionary is crippling.)

2. Nilsson, Usha. A Glossary to Intermediate Hindi, Madison. College Printing Company, 1967, 121 pp.

¹Extensive reviews of the present state of research in Hindi, Urdu and other South Asian languages will appear soon in Thomas A. Sebeok (ed.), Current Trends in Linguistics: V. South Asia. Mouton (forthcoming).

Basic Texts

1. Fairbanks, Gordon and B.G. Misra. Spoken and Written Hindi. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966. XXXV, 468 pp.
(This text consists of twenty-four lessons and grammatical commentary. The basic conversation and pattern drill method is employed. Vocabulary is well-controlled and grammar carefully graded. Devanagari script is introduced in Lesson V and gradually replaces the transcription completely. This method of introducing the script is preferable to elementary texts written entirely or largely in transcription. The conversations are culturally relevant.)
2. Bender, Ernest. Hindi Grammar and Reader. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967.
(Designed for use with native-speaker as drillmaster under the supervision of a linguist who explains the grammar. Emphasis primarily on the spoken language, with reading and writing postponed until basic competence is achieved.)
3. Chavarria-Aguilar, O.L. and Bruce R. Pray. A Basic Course in Hindi, with Instructor's Handbook to Pronunciation Drills. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan, 1961. vii, 417 pp.
(Not for publication)
(This is an excellent carefully prepared course. Its only fault may be the relatively late stage at which the writing system is introduced. It is a great pity that it is not more readily available.)
4. Gumperz, John J., et al. Conversational Hindi. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963. 3 vols.
(A widely used text based on the oral-aural approach, with extensive build-up and transformation drills and lucid grammatical explanations. [An edition of this text in Devanagari script was prepared by Ripley Moore and S.M. Jaiswal, published in Delhi by Radhakrishna, 1967. 2 vols.])

5. Fairbanks, Gordon H. and P.B. Pandit. Hindi: A Spoken Approach. Poona: Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, 1965. (A short introduction to oral-aural teaching techniques for teachers of Hindi in Indian English-medium schools.)
6. McCormack, William C. Elementary Intensive Hindi. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1961-62. 2 vols. (An extensive course with carefully selected culturally-relevant conversations. Available from the Department of Indian Studies.)
7. Harter, J. Martin, et al. Hindi Basic Course. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1960. 362 pp. (Somewhat specialized; though the lessons are very well designed, the situations of the conversations are less relevant culturally than some of the other basic texts. Entirely in transcription.)
8. Stone, James W. An Active Introduction to Hindi. Washington, D.C.: Foreign Service Institute, 1968.
9. _____ . An Introduction to Written Hindi: A Programmed course in the Devanagari Script. Second Version, Parts I - VI. Washington, D.C.: Foreign Service Institute, 1965.

Grammars

1. Bahl, Kali C. A Study in the Transformational Analysis of the Hindi Verb. University of Chicago, mimeo, 1964.
2. A Basic Grammar of Modern Hindi. Delhi: Government of India, Ministry of Education and Scientific Research, 1958. (A useful reference grammar, prepared under the direction of Professor Aryendra Sharma of Osmania University. An extensively revised second edition has long been promised.)
3. Gumperz, John J. and E.N. Mizra. A Brief Hindi Reference Grammar. Berkeley: University of California, 1963.
4. Kachru, Yamuna. An Introduction to Hindi Syntax. Urbana: Department of Linguistics, University of Illinois, 1966. 230 pp.

Readers

1. Gumperz, John J. Hindi Reader. Vol. I. Berkeley: University of California, 1960. VI, 207 pp.

- (Short graded readings of culturally relevant texts. Very useful as an intermediate text.)
2. Harter, J. Martin. Hindi Basic Reader. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1960. 83 pp.
(Used in conjunction with the author's Basic Course provides elementary reading competence.)
 3. Harris, Richard M. and Rama Nath Sharma. A Basic Hindi Reader. Rochester, New York: South Asia Language and Area Center, University of Rochester, 1968. 295 pp.
(This recently published collection of annotated readings is very useful as an intermediate text.)
 4. Nilsson, Usha S. Intermediate Hindi. Madison: University of Wisconsin Indian Language and Area Center, 1967. 2 vols.
(The most extensive available post-basic text. Very well suited to students in courses beyond the first year semi-intensive or summer intensive courses.)
 5. _____ . Readings in Hindi Literature. Madison: University of Wisconsin Indian Language and Area Center, 1967. 2 vols.
(Carefully edited texts judiciously chosen from contemporary literature. Very suitable for the humanities student in second level courses.)
 6. Pandey, S.M. Poems from Mirabai.
 7. Zide, N. Poems of Surdas.
(Both of the above are very useful, but rather specialized. Available from the South Asia Program of the University of Chicago.)
 8. Zide, N. and C.P. Masica, A Premchand Reader. Honolulu: East-West Center, University of Hawaii, 1966.
(Includes extensive cultural and grammatical notes, but requires greater competence than beginning second-level students ordinarily possess.)

URDU

It is, I think, fair to say that more adequate elementary texts and intermediate materials are available or in advanced preparation. Platt's dictionary, though outmoded and in need of a successor, is more useful than anything available in Devanagari script. The materials listed below are all recommended.

Dictionary

1. Platts, John T. A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi, and English. London: Oxford University Press, 1960. 1260 pp.
(This is a reprint. Platts died in 1904.)

Basic Texts

1. Bailey, T. Grahame, Ed. J.R. Frith and A.H. Harley.
Teach Yourself Urdu. London: English Universities Press, 1962.
XXXIX, 314 pp.
(This self-instructional book is designed to give speech and reading practice. The student is advised to work with an informant while studying the section which contains an outline of the phonology and repetition drills. In the 2) short lessons, grammar is illustrated in basic sentences without buildups and vocabulary is introduced in lists. For grammatical explanations, the student is referred to the reference grammar which constitutes the first part of the book. Urdu material is in transcription accompanied by the standard orthography which is introduced in the pronunciation section. U-E, E-U glossaries.)
2. Barker, Muhammad Abd-al-Rahman, et al. A Course in Urdu.
Montreal: McGill University Institute of Islamic Studies, 1967.
3 vols. Tapes.
(An intensive course designed to give speech, reading, and writing practice. For use with an instructor who knows some linguistics and who is a native speaker, or an informant may be used. Volume I contains fifteen lessons and Volume II ten lessons. Dialogues with buildups or narratives (lessons 21-25) serve as a base for structured conversation. Sentence

patterns and grammatical constructions are discussed in structural terms. There are drills of the following types: substitution, transformation, completion, multiple choice, variation, translation, and response. From Lesson 13 on, brief sketches of some facets of Indo-Pakistani life have been added. Vocabulary and supplementary vocabulary are introduced in lists and usage is explained in notes. Lessons 1-13 include pronunciation information and drills on repeating and identifying the phonemes. The course is based on a literate variety of Dihlave (Delhi) Urdu as employed in India and Pakistan. Much of the material is written in transcription. The Arabic script is gradually introduced beginning with Lesson 6 and completed in Lesson 10. The introduction includes directions to the student on the use of the material. Volume III contains appendices with supplementary vocabulary, and U-E, E-U glossaries. More extensive and structured than Bailey. The transcription is also less complicated by unfamiliar symbols than Bailey's.)

3. Bender, Ernest. Urdu Grammar and Reader. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1967. 487 pp. Tapes.
(This two-year course is a companion volume to Hindi Grammar and Reader by the author which parallels the arrangement of this book. The organization of the book approximates the techniques in use for programming teaching machines. For use with a linguist and an informant and designed to give speech and reading practice. For reading and writing practice, the student is referred to Introductory Urdu Readings to be used from Lesson 17 on. Forty lessons, eight of which are reviews with translation exercises and translations of texts which have appeared in previous lessons. Grammar is presented through the medium of "equivalent constructions," and explained in structural terms. Exercises are of these types: translation, substitution, response, and sentence construction. Vocabulary is introduced in sentences of the same types as the example

sentences. Structured conversations are based on annotated dialogues. From Lesson 17 on, these become more complex, graduating into reading texts. Lesson 1 contains a discussion of the phonology, the transcription used, and dialogues for pronunciation practice. The dialect of this course is that spoken by the educated speakers in Pakistan. The introduction contains directions to the student. Grammar index. U-E, E-U glossaries. For a useful review, see Joseph Rief, Journal of Asian Studies, August, 1968.)

4. Urdu Basic Course: Units 1-50. Washington, D.C.: Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, 1963.
5. Naim, Choudry M. Introductory Urdu Course. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1965. 2 vols.

Grammars

1. Platts, John J. A Grammar of the Hindustani or Urdu Language. London, 1920.

Readers

1. Barker, M.A.R. A Newspaper Word Count, Newspaper Reader, Poetry Reader, and Comprehensive Course in Urdu: Phase I. Montreal: McGill University, n.d.
2. Gumperz, John J. and C.M. Naim. Urdu Reader. Berkeley, California: University of California, 1960. 226 pp.
3. Khan, Masud Husain and Abdul Azim. A Second-Year Urdu Reader. Berkeley, California: University of California, 1963. 191 pp.
4. Naim, C.M. Readings in Urdu Prose and Poetry. Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1963.
5. Narang, G.C. Readings in Literary Urdu Prose. Madison, Wisconsin: Department of Indian Studies, University of Wisconsin, 1967.

Writing Systems

The following are useful introductions to Perso-Arabic script:

1. Bright, William and Saeed A. Khan. The Urdu Writing System. Washington, D.C.: ACLS, 1958. 48 pp.
2. Urdu Writing System. Washington, D.C.: Foreign Service Institute, Dept. of State, n.d.

Research Priorities

Compared to languages more widely studied in the United States, neither Hindi nor Urdu has extensive teaching materials at any level. For both, adequate dictionaries, both general and specific to areas of discipline interest, are needed. The latter need is, obviously, more susceptible of immediate satisfaction. Dictionaries to fulfil the needs of social science or humanities students are more feasible than projects of Webster-like scope. More specifically, projects for the development of dictionaries covering the fields of political science, of sociology and anthropology, of economics, or of literary criticism offer some hope of relatively short-term realization. Similarly, intermediate readers, like Barker's or Narang's for Urdu, are high priority needs. Students of Hindi or Urdu need more discipline-oriented materials to develop specialized vocabularies at the intermediate level. More basic research is also needed, especially of regional variants, particularly in Hindi. Socio-linguistic research, notably in the area of language attitudes, would also be relevant. Research on the writing systems need, I think, receive little priority.

SUPPLEMENT

During British reign in South Asia, the language of education and administration in most of the area (exclusive of such princely states as Hyderabad) was English. During the struggle for independence, much stress was laid on replacing English with an indigenous language, in particular a form of Hindi-Urdu, the language with the largest number of native speakers and the one with some claim to viability as a lingua franca beyond regional borders. After partition and independence, there was a strong movement to promote Hindi in India as the national language of the country. The Constitution specified that fourteen languages be regarded as "official" (all identifiable with a region of the country, except Sanskrit, Urdu, and Hindi-Urdu in its function as a lingua franca; the number was recently raised to 15 with the addition of Sindhi). The Constitution also stated that English was to be retained as a language for official purposes, to be supplanted by Hindi in 1965. During the ensuing years, strong efforts were made to establish Hindi in non-Hindi speaking areas and to "purify" the language of foreign loans, notably English. At the same time, English language teaching in the schools, particularly in the North, and especially in the Hindi-speaking areas was cut back drastically. But heavy opposition to Hindi as a "national language" rapidly made itself felt, notably in West Bengal and in the Dravidian-speaking areas of the South, especially Tamil-speaking Madras. On the surface, the argument was conducted on the grounds of "the richness" of the language and its literary traditions, especially vis-a-vis those of Bengali and Tamil, amid charges of "Hindi imperialism." The bread-and-butter issue, however, was the language in which government examinations would be conducted. The equal disadvantage which all shared while the examinations were in English would melt away and Hindi speakers would have an advantage. In this essentially middle-class question, parity is not in fact the case. English was (and is) more assiduously taught in Bengal and in the South than in the Hindi-speaking areas, Bengalis and Southerners actually have an advantage in these examinations. The identification of Hindi promulgation with

communal and regional politics, coupled with the pedantries of the Hindi Commission and the opposition from outside the Hindi-speaking area, has resulted in a postponement of the adoption of Hindi as the official language until such time as the non-Hindi speaking people desire to accept it.

This partly explains why area specialists have been lukewarm to the necessity of their students learning Hindi. Yet, English is the language of an elite, spoken by a very small minority of the people of India and Hindi has some claims to be considered a lingua franca, certainly more than any other regional language, usable outside the borders of its heartland.²

It is difficult to say how many native speakers of Hindi there are. According to the 1961 census, there were 123 million; with a net population growth of 11 million a year, there are obviously many more now. But these figures exclude regional variants, such as Rajasthani and Bihardi, listed separately in the Census. While it is true that a farmer from Rajasthan in the west who makes a pilgrimage to Benares in the east will have difficulty making himself understood, it is no greater, I think, than the difficulty a man from Savannah would encounter in Glasgow. Hindi in some form, therefore, is spoken by millions of speakers more than the Census figures would indicate. A major problem is the lack of a widely-recognized standard variety, acceptable to native speakers and others as well.

Urdu, in India, has, according to the Census of 1961, 23 million native speakers. Apart from Sanskrit, it is the only official language without a regional base. Its speakers are, in proportion, more urban-based than the other languages and they range throughout the socio-economic classes of the country. The standard variety is Dhlavi (Delhi) and the major variant is Deccani, the language of the literature composed at the court of the Nizams of Hyderabad, and still spoken in that area.

²Gerald Kelley, "The Status of Hindi as a lingua franca," in W. Bright, ed., Sociolinguistics, Mouton; The Hague, 1966, pp. 299-306.

In Pakistan, Urdu and Bengali are the official languages, the latter almost completely confined to East Pakistan. In West Pakistan, Punjabi is widely spoken, though it has no official status. The Pakistan government has pursued no policy to supplant English, which continues as an elite language. Urdu literature, however, flourishes, and the language functions in West Pakistan, as in India, as a lingua franca.

Hindustani

The term Hindustani has been used in a confusing variety of senses. At one time, it was used almost synonymously with Urdu for that variety of the language which contained a high proportion of Persian and Turkish loanwords. In the 1931 Census, the last to provide accurate data on caste, many Muslims reported their mother tongue as Hindustani. During the struggle for independence Gandhi and others used it as a communally neutral term for the proposed national language in hopes of unifying Hindu and Muslim. Scholars have used the term as a cover for what is now usually called in the West Hindu-Urdu. These usages are overlaid by contamination with "Bazaar Hindustani," the term applied to the pidgin which does function in many areas, particularly Indo-Aryan speaking, as a lingua franca, for commercial transactions and everyday discourse.