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デリー大学生にみる口語体ヒンディー語について

溝 上 富 夫

On Colloquial Styles of Hindi observed among Students of Delhi University

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I. Introduction

1.1. As in many other languages, the style of spoken Hindi is much different from the standard written form of the language. The latter is known as *śuddh Hindī*, *i. e.* pure Hindi. "Pure Hindi" generally has two connotations—(1) grammatically correct and orthographical Hindi (2) Sanskrit-oriented literary Hindi (not much mixed with alien vocabularies from Urdu and English). The latter, which could be also called High Hindi, is closely related to the former. High Hindi sounds very formal and stiff, and it is rarely used in conversational style except in the case of a few pedantic Hindi scholars.¹

If you remark about a foreigner or a non-Hindi speaking Indian that *voh śuddh Hindī boltā hai* (He speaks pure Hindi.), you are, of course, praising him for his good command over Hindi, but it is a slightly ironical statement which also may mean that he speaks *bookish* Hindi. Indian people usually use more flexible or irregular Hindi in conversation and often *aśuddh Hindī* (impure or incorrect Hindi) is to be found. This is very true even in Delhi, which is the cradle of *Khari Boli*. Incorrect Hindi should be considered unacceptable, but impure Hindi is not necessarily reproachable, for the spoken style of Hindi is more natural and vivacious than pure Hindi. Hindi scholars themselves take refuge in colloquial Hindi in a more homely atmosphere.

Even students of Hindi at the post graduate level, *i. e.* of M. A. are not exceptions in this case. They are not totally free even from grammatical errors, though when it comes to a topic on literature, politics or other serious subjects, they make few mistakes.

1.2. The present paper is an attempt to make a survey of “irregular” forms of Hindi spoken by the students taking M. A. Hindi at Delhi University. This is based on some field work I have carried out during the last ten months at Delhi University where I have also been studying. While attending the classes or chatting with the students, I always listened to their talk attentively and made notes of any “irregular” forms of Hindi they uttered.

All my class fellows² could have been my informants; but some students are talkative and some are not, and some students came into closer contact with me than others. It is natural, then, to base my findings only on the available materials. To collect the materials, it was absolutely necessary to observe the students speaking in a natural way.³ Once they were conscious of their own talk, they would instantly switch over to *śuddh Hindī*, which hardly provides any relevant material.

The study is morphological. Phonological study is very difficult, because pronunciation varies greatly from person to person. However, some common features of pronunciation have been noted.

II. English vocabulary

2.1. The most notable feature of spoken Hindi among students is the frequent use of English vocabulary items. According to Bahadur Singh,⁴ the average percentage of English vocabularies used among Delhi citizens is about 10%. In my estimation the percentage of English vocabulary items adopted by students in spoken Hindi is at least 20%. No difference has been observed between the students who went through the Hindi medium and those who learned in English medium upto higher secondary school.⁵ Some examples:

<i>unko subjekt par kamāñḍ hai.</i>	‘He has command over the subject.’
<i>dūsre par ḍipeñḍ kartā hai.</i>	‘(He) depends on others.’
<i>naičrali thoṛā hevi ho jāegā.</i>	‘Naturally (it) will become a little heavy.’
<i>byūṭi ko apriṣieṭ karo.</i>	‘Appreciate beauty.’
<i>bhāṣā bhī čēj honī cāhiye.</i>	‘Language should also change.’
<i>mujhe koī abjekṣan nahī hai.</i>	‘I have no objection.’
<i>mere fādar ṭekṣṭāil mē kām karte hai.</i>	‘My father works in the textile trade.’

2.2.1. A large number of English words or phrases are used so widely that they seem to surpass the Hindi equivalents. For example:

ṭāim (Hindi *samay* or *waqt*) as in *ṭāim kyā hai?* ‘What time is it?; *sori* (*kṣamā karo* or *māf karo*); *čāns* (*avasara* or *mauqā*), *bai čāns* (*saṃyog se*); *frend* (*mitr* or *dost*); *mises* (*śrīmatī* or *patnī*); *imposibl* (*asambhav* or *nāmumkin*); *sekriṭariṭ* (*sacivālaya*); *myūzik* (*saṅgīt*); *post ofis* (*dāk khānā*); The days of the week are used more fre-

quently in English. *mai maṇḍe ko jāūgi* 'I will go on Monday.' etc.

2.2.2. This is particularly true of educational or administrative terms used in the university campus. In these vocabularies, Hindi equivalents are merely to be seen in the written languages. For example:

aḍmiṣan (Hindi *praveś* or *dāḅhilā*); em. e (*snātakottar*); bi. e (*snātak*); yūniversiṭi (*viśvavidyālaya*); kōlij (*mahāvidyālaya*); fis (*śulk*); forin styūdents aḍvaizar (*videśi chātr parāmarśdātā*); heḍ ov ḍa ḍipāṭmeṇṭ (*vibhāgādhyakṣ*); laibrari (*pustakālaya*); noṭis (*sūcnā*);⁶ prinsipal (*pradhānācārya*); ṭrejrar (*koṣādhyakṣ*); ṭāim ṭebl (*samay sārini*); risarč (*śodh*); klāsrūm (*kakṣā*); silabas (*pāṭhyakram*); arts fakaltī (*kalā saṅkāy*); etc.

2.2.3. There is no roll-call in the university. It is conducted only in colleges. The following is to show how the students answer the roll-call.

Daulat Ram College.....	50% 'yes': 50% 'upasthit'
Delhi College.....	100% 'yes'
Hansraj College	100% 'yes'
Hindu College.....	80% 'yes' or 'present': 20% 'upasthit'
Indraprastha College for Women.....	100% 'yes'
Janki Devi Mahavidyalaya	20% 'yes': 80% 'upasthit'
Kirorimal College.....	(No roll-call. Teachers know all students.)
Miranda House.....	100% 'yes'
Rajdhani College	80% 'yes' or 'present': 20% 'upasthit'
Ramjas College	90% 'yes': 10% 'upasthit'
S.G.T.B. Khalsa College	100% 'yes'

English dominates Hindi in this field, too.

2.3. An example of a change in grammatical category:

bor ho jātā hai. '(It) becomes boring.' In English 'bore' is a verb, but in Hindi it is used as an adjective.

2.4. Special usages in the university:

kweścan karnā means to prepare a note (by writing) for the purpose of examinations, hence *kweścan karānā* is to give a lecture and make students write on a notebook. *pepar* (<'paper') is a set of examination questions, but at the same time it means a course of the curriculum. *sar* (<'sir') is used to refer to a teacher even as a third person. Example: *sar āye*. 'Teacher has come.' *piriaḍ lag rahā hai*. is 'There is class going on.'

2.5. The gender of English nouns, when adopted by the Hindi students, has the tendency to be determined in accordance with that of the corresponding Hindi nouns. Examples:

laibrari kī buks (<*kitāb f.*, *pustak f.*); *iksepšan ho saktā hai*. (<*apvād m.*); *aṭendans*

hotī thī. (<*upasthiti f.*, *hāziri f.*); *mere sāmne barī problem thī.* (<*samasyā f.*); *kaṇḍīṣan kharāb thī.* (<*avasthā f.*, *daśā f.*, *hālat f.*); *čea* (<*kursī f.*) *ḍeṭ* (<*tithi f.*, *tārīkh f.*); etc.

III. Urdu

3.1. Most of the students of Hindi cannot read and write Urdu, and their knowledge of Urdu and Urdu literature is generally poor. Naturally, Urdu vocabulary items they use are confined to those words which have passed into the general vocabulary of Hindi. To express an abstract conception or to carry on an intellectual talk, pure Arabo-Persian lexical items are just too scarce, therefore, they are obliged to rely on many *tatsama* vocabularies. This forms a striking contrast to their fathers. 68% of the students answered that their fathers knew (could read and write) Urdu, while only 5.2% of their mothers can read and write it. Their fathers, in general, to the contrary of younger generations, are not familiar with *tatsama* abstract nouns with the exception of two eminent professors of Hindi at Delhi University whose daughters are studying at the same university.

The percentage of Arabo-Persian vocabularies used in Hindi by the students may thus be put at lower than 40% indicated by Bahadur Singh⁷ as an average of Delhi citizens. It is also true that the students are not always conscious of the etymology of the vocabularies they use.

3.2. Relating to the relations between the Arabo-Persian vocabularies and their Hindi equivalents (it is not much unreasonable to think that, excepting some particular words, each Arabo-Persian word used in Urdu has its synonym in Hindi), they may be classified into three categories from the viewpoint of the frequency in conversation.

- a) Urdu-dominating type:—(Romans express Urdu, and Italics Hindi. b) and c) are also the same.) *agar:yadi* 'if'; *istifā:tyāg-patr* '(letter of) resignation'; *umr:āyu* 'age'; *kitāb:pustak* 'book'; *aḵhbār:samācār-patr* 'newspaper'; *davā:auśadh* 'medicine'; *dastakhat:hastākṣar* 'signature'; *garīb:nirdhan* or *daridr* 'poor'; *zarūrat:āvaśyaktā* 'necessity'; *matlab:abhiprāy* 'significance'; *śāyad:sambhavataḥ* 'probably'; *jurmānā:arthdaṇḍ* 'penalty'; *mehmān:atithi* 'guest'; *śarm:lajjā* 'shame'; *lekin:kintu* 'but'; etc.
- b) Urdu-Hindi equalling type:—*dil:man* 'heart'; *lāyaq:yogya* 'capable'; *imtihān:parīkṣā* 'examination'; *dost:mitr* 'friend'; *ijāzat:anumati* 'permission'; *mubārak:badhāi* 'congratulations'; *tāqat:śakti* 'power'; *āsmān:ākāś* 'sky'; *duniyā:samsār* 'world'; *kam:thorā* 'little'; *taraqqī:unnati* 'advancement'; *aql:buddhi* 'wisdom'; *madad:sahāyatā* 'help'; *duśman:śatru* 'enemy'; *asar:prabhāv* 'influence'; *qismat:bhāgya* 'fate'; *fisadī:pratiśat* 'percentage'; *ummid:āsā* 'hope'; etc.

c) Hindi-dominant type:—*badan:sarīr* 'body'; *gam:duḥkh* 'sorrow'; *mulk:deś* 'country'; *aḥtiyār:adhikār* 'right'; *farz:kartavya* 'obligation'; *kāmyāb:saphal* 'successful'; *qāyḍā:niyam* 'rule'; *khāmoś:cup* 'silent'; *bahār:vasant* 'spring'; *mazhab:dharm* 'religion'; *zabān:bhāṣā* 'language'; *namāz:pūjā* 'worship'; *misāl:udāharaṇ* 'example'; *haqīqat:saccāi* 'truth'; *kāhil:ālsī* 'lazy'; *khālis:suddh* 'pure'; *khidmat:sevā* 'service'; *hamdardī:sahānubhūti* 'sympathy'; *fateh:jaya* 'victory'; *khāb:sapnā* 'dream'; *sabūt:pramāṇ* 'evidence'; etc.

IV. Pronoun

4.1. *mujhko* and *tujhko*, the oblique forms of first person singular and second person singular respectively, tend to disappear in conversation. Instead *mujhe* and *tujhe* are frequently used. Similarly *hamē* is preferred to *hamko* (first person plural), and *tumhē* to *tumko* (second person plural). But *use* and *usko* (third person singular), *unhē* and *unko* (third person plural), *ise* and *isko* (demonstrative singular), *inhē* and *inko* (demonstrative plural) are free variants.

4.2. A remarkable change in recent years is the habitual use of *mere ko* instead of *mujhe*. This is used both as accusative and as dative. However, dative use is more common. For example:

mere ko dekhkar..... 'Seeing me.....' (accusative)

mere ko jayaśankar kī kavita samajh mē nahī āti. 'I do not understand Jayashankar's poetry.' (dative)

mere ko jaldī ghṛṇā āti hai. 'I feel a dislike quickly.' (dative)

In the questionnaire a question was put to the students as to which expression they would use in conversation—(a) *mere ko jaldī ghar jānā hai.* (b) *mujhe jaldī ghar jānā hai.* 'I have to go home quickly.' Only 3 students selected (a), 2 students marked both, and all the others preferred (b). This proportion, however, is contrary to the fact, since I heard many students who marked (b) saying *mere ko*. It seems probable that after several decades *mere ko* will replace *mujhe*.

4.3. *se* also, combined with the genitive form, denotes indirect object. Examples:

voh mere se bahut boltī thī. 'She used to speak to me a lot.'

mai tere se bol rahī hū. 'I am talking to you.'

mai bhī to saccī batā rahī hū tumhāre se. 'I too am telling you the truth.'

4.4. As Delhi is situated in the western Hindi area, citizens of the capital usually discriminate between *mai* (first person singular) and *ham* (first person plural). Especially boy students use *mai* and *ham* grammatically. But many girl students use *ham* as

singular with no change of verbs, *i.e.* verbs remain always as masculine plural. Kām-tāprasād GURU's view⁸ already seems to be obsolete. A very impressive thing to be noted by the speakers⁹ is that they would avoid the use of *mai* and employ *ham* to their professors or superiors, because, they say, *mai* has a sense of excessive vanity.¹⁰ This is a sharply contradictory statement to the so-called *honorific plural*. Honorific plural, when transferred to first person, indicates speaker's greatness (see *we* in English), hence one of the grammars¹¹ refers to the avoidance of *ham* when speaking to superiors.

The above students also pointed out that they would prefer the use of *ham* at school and *mai* at home.

V. Discord

5.1. Just as the first person plural female form is going to disappear (Women would prefer to say *ham jā rahe hai* rather than *ham jā rahi hai* even if only women are going.), so the second person plural female form is becoming less usable. I never heard anyone, male or female, asking women (no male was there.) *tum jā rahi ho?* 'Are you going?' *tum jā rahe ho?* is a common expression, and this does not change by the addition of *log* after *tum* as an obvious plural sign.

Another confusion arises when this masculine plural is used for feminine singular. Therefore for the feminine singular, there coexist both *tum kahā jā rahi ho?* and *tum kahā jā rahe ho?* 'Where are you going?' Example:

Suśil, tum kis klās mē aṇḍ kar rahe the? 'Sushil, in which class were you attending?' Although the singularization of *tum* should have nothing to do with the category of honorific plural, the speaker (Miss Neeta Saigal) explained that she had said *kar rahe the* deliberately to respect Sushil. This idea seems to have come from her native Punjabi. In Punjabi, when *tusi* (second person plural) is used as respect in addressing a woman, the verb remains always masculine.¹²

5.2. Prescriptive grammar tells us that when the demonstrative pronoun *yeh* or *ise* indicates a feminine noun, the transitive verb (in the participle form) should have concordance with the feminine noun in gender.¹³

This is also applicable for the genitive case of the personal pronoun. Example: One student (Miss Raman Saigal) asked her friend (Miss Prem Lata), pointing to a book, *yeh teri hai?* 'Is this (book) yours?'

But another student (Miss Shashi Sharma) asked me, pointing to my new book, *āpne yeh kahā kharidā?* 'Where did you buy this (book)?' In this case *yeh* is neutralized. It seems to me that unless speakers are very conscious of the gender, this neutralized ex-

pression is widely used even among the educated classes.

5.3. According to Kāmtāprasād GURU,¹⁴ in the *ne*-construction *bolnā* 'to speak' and *nahānā* 'to bathe' are exceptionally treated as intransitive and transitive verb respectively. But my questionnaire shows that 35% of the students would prefer to say *kisne bolā?* 'Who spoke?' and 91.5% of them to say *kaun nahāyā?* 'Who bathed?'

5.4. Sometimes two verbs of one sentence have no concordance with each other. Example : *suno, āp log yahā baīhiye*. 'Listen, you (please) sit here.'

5.5. Instead of *—iye* (imperative form of the second person honorific pronoun), *—o* form (apparently same as the imperative form of the second person plural) is very often used with *āp*. Example: *āp log khāo*. 'You (pl.) eat.'

This kind of expression is very common not only in the university but also in the entire Delhi. This is obviously due to Punjabi influence. Punjabi has only two personal pronouns for the second person, *i. e. tū* (sg.) and *tusī* (pl.). *tusī* expresses respect when it is addressed to a single person (with the verb unchanged). Therefore *tusī* is not like *tum* in Hindi, but like *vous* in French or *šomā* in Persian. The imperative form for *tusī* is *—o* (apparently same as the imperative form of *tum* in Hindi).

Mutual contact between Hindi and Punjabi is so close in this area of India that it is probable that Punjabi speakers¹⁵ think Hindi *āp* more polite than Punjabi *tusī* and have adopted *āp* without the change of verb. The speaker of the above sentence (Miss Prem Lata) is a Punjabi.¹⁶ Another example of this type:

āp log ā rahe ho, na? 'You are coming, aren't you?'

The speaker (Mr. Nanak Chand) is not a Punjabi, but has spent all his life in Delhi.

VI. Misusages

6.1. Another noteworthy feature of Punjabi influence on Hindi is the use of *ne* as a dative sign. Example:

kis kis ne cāy pīnī hai? 'Whom-to tea to drink is?' (literally) = 'Who wants to drink tea?' In this sentence *ne* is a substitute for *ko*.¹⁷ Bahadur Singh has cited one example:¹⁸

mai ne gāziyābād jānā hai. 'I have to go to Gaziabad.'

In this sentence *mai ne* is a substitute for *mujhe*. But he has described it mistakenly as accusative.

In standard Punjabi *ne* is used only with the third person. Therefore, *kis kis ne cāy pīnī hai?* is easily understandable, but it is hard to believe that *mai ne gāziyābād jānā hai* (in Hindi) is the direct paraphrase of *mai gāziābād jānā (h)ai* (in Punjabi). It may be conjectured that dative use of *mai ne* and *tum ne* or *āp ne* (equally wrong in Hindi)

has been formed on the analogy of *us ne*, *is ne*, and *kis ne* which are common forms in Hindi and Punjabi.

6.2. *mai ne klās mẽ aṇṇḍ kari thī*. 'I attended the class.' In this sentence, first of all *kari* should be *kī*. Secondly the question remains whether this sentence is grammatical or not. I asked the speaker (Miss Uma) if *kiyā thā* would be better. She insisted that *aṇṇḍ kari thī* or *aṇṇḍ kī thī* was a correct Hindi and that *kiyā thā* was wrong. Probably she thought *aṇṇḍ* to be a noun and used it as marker of feminity analogically (see *upasthiti f.*, *hāziri f.*).

6.3. *mai saṃskṛt paṛhā hū*. 'I learned Sanskrit.' This should be *mai ne saṃskṛt paṛhī hai*. This was also formed on the analogy of *voh aṅgrezī paṛhā-likhā hai*. 'He learned English (and hence), he knows English.' In this sentence *paṛhā-likhā* is an adjective derived from the past participle.

6.4. Though the grammar does not allow the omission of *hai* (*hai*) in the negative present progressive forms,¹⁹ even then the following sentence was noted: *klās nahī lag rahī*. 'The class is not going on.'

6.5. Examples of misuse of gender:

usko pāc hazār rupae kā chātrvṛtti milā. 'He got a stipend worth Rs. 5000.'

mujhe bhūkh lagā. 'I felt hungry.'

mujhe itnī gussā āi. 'I got very angry.'

unko urdū ātā hai, aṅgrezī ātā hai, fārsī ātā hai. 'He knows Urdu, English and Persian.'

Of course this type of mistake is very rare in the case of the Hindi students.

6.6. *dar asal mẽ* 'in fact' is a mistake because of the ignorance of etymology.

6.7. Some of the irregular pronunciations owing to dialectal influence or personal habit: [a:z] 'today' instead of [a:]; [kitta:] 'how much' instead of [kitna:]; [paša:d] or [praša:d] 'boon' instead of [prasa:d]; [sar]²⁰ 'head' instead of [sir]; [ba:rā]²¹ 'twelve' for [ba:rah], [pandrā] 'fifteen' for [pandrah]; [šikkhæ] 'education' for [śikṣa:];

Some students feel the difficulty in pronouncing consonant letters with inherent [ʌ] sound. For example: [ke] for /क/; [ne] for /न/ etc. This is a dialectal feature in the village-areas in Delhi. Some of them cannot discriminate between /ढ़/ and /ढ/.

VII. Miscellaneous Examples

7.1.1. Because of mutual intimacy, students often use coarse language among themselves. Example: *kaun hai bhai, bulā le bhai, kyā bāt hai bhai?* 'Who is there? Call him in. What's up?' These three sentences were spoken in one breath in an irritating tone. Another examples:

auṭsaidar bahut āne lage hai yār. ek din piṭāi ho jāy yār, pūch pūch kar...auṭsaidar hai, bhagā do yār. 'Many outsiders are coming. Hey! Let us beat them up one day.

Ask them if they are outsiders, then drive them out.'

isko yeh bāt samjhā diyo auqāt mē rahe yahā. yahā bahut bure tarīke se maregā. 'Hey! tell him not to go too far here. He'll get into bad trouble.'

These two sentences express the speaker's (Mr. Nanak Chand) irritation and dissatisfaction. Therefore the way of speech is very challenging.

7.1.2. *abe kahā calā?* 'Hey! where are you going?' is also a slangy expression.

7.1.3. *hat tere kī!* is a kind of abuse which may correspond to English 'damn'. But other abuses like *o terī!* is simply an exclamation of surprise among close friends.

7.2.1. Sometimes humorous witty rejoinders are heard among girl-students. Examples:

merī taraf yā na dekh! 'Don't stare at me like this!'

aur kaise dekhū phir? 'Then how do I look at you?'

hāsnā nahī! 'Don't laugh!'

hās bhī lēge to tū kyā kar legī hamārā? 'Even if we laugh, what will you do to us?'

7.2.2. Boy-students' rejoinders sound more defiant and full of ironical feelings. Example: *koī bahut baṛī ciz to hai nahī jo sab ko mālūm ho gai ho.* 'It hardly matters if others have come to know.' This was uttered by a boy student to denigrate the importance of a notice which had been put up on the notice-board. In the following conversations the rejoinder is even more pungent.

klās aṭeṇḍ nahī kartā, yār? 'Don't you bother about the class?'

hamē kisī pāgal ne to kāṭā nahī jo klās choṛkar ham yahā baiṭhe hai. 'Do you think I am off my head...it is not for nothing that I keep out (the class)'

7.2.3. Sometimes ironical statements are very effective in *suddh Hindī*. While gossiping with her friends, one girl student (Miss Neeta Saigal) insisted on singing some verses from the famous *Kāmāyanī* of Jayashankar Prasad, at this another girl student (Miss Ratna Vyas) uttered:

Nitā! apnī madhur vāṇī se hamārī kāmāyanī kā apmān mat kar! 'Neeta! Don't insult our Kamayani with your sweet voice.'

And Miss Ratna was herself taunted by another girl-student (Miss Ranjna Arora) in a wonderful *sleṣ* (play on words), when she was reciting the *lajjā* canto of *kāmāyanī*:

tujhe lajjā āti hai? 'Do you feel shy when you are reading *lajjā*?'

7.3. Many idiomatic expressions are used in informal conversations. Examples:

ve ek hī thailī ke caṭṭe-baṭṭe hai. 'They are chips of the same block.'

appan kī ekdam boltī band. 'I was in a tigh^t corner.'

hamārā kyā hai? ham to malañg hai, phir jo uskā jalūs nikālā. 'We were happy-go-luck types, but we beat him.'

dillī to aisi jagah hai, kahtā hū, bartan ke ās-pās āg jaltī hai to andar ke bartan pakte hai. 'Delhi is such a place, I say, that if there's a fire in the periphery, it gets hot in Delhi.'

7.4. Some of the words and phrases are so colloquial that they are not found in the dictionary. Examples:

apnā jo hāth calā, iske bād jo pelam-pel jam kar huī, apne ko praiz milā. 'When I gained confidence in my maiden speech, then I overwhelmed the audience and got the prize.'

kisī se dūr ho gayā, paglo! 'Stupid! he got separated from someone.'
āī pī se pañgā huā thā. 'There was a competition (a speech contest) with I. P. College.'

jā jā! apnā khaṭārā le jā! 'Go, take away your junk.'

7.5. Omission is usual when obvious from the context. Examples:

voh hindū wālā ṭhik hai? 'Is that Hindu (=Hindu College) chap alright?'
hindī wāle angrezī kam paṛhte hai. 'Students of Hindi read little English.'

7.6. Some other notable examples which are purely colloquial:

appan jī skūl se nikle the. 'I was just out of the school.'
appan jī lallū panjū se the, chokre lagte hī the. 'I was just a little kid, I was a no-nentity.'
appan ko koī siariasli nahī liyā. 'Nobody took me serious.'

VIII. Conclusion

8.1. It goes without saying that the students' colloquial Hindi is markedly distinct from Bazar Hindi²² and dialectal Hindi used by the uneducated classes. It is certainly the spoken language of the educated, I would say, one of the best versed classes in Hindi. In most of the case their Hindi is grammatical. But the above noticed gap between the spoken Hindi and the standard literary language should suggest that language problems in India have another aspect which would be usually neglected.²³

8.2. A lamentable fact about Hindi is that to some of the educated classes it is merely the spoken language even in Hindi-speaking areas. It is common to note that a certain intellectual classes in northern India manage their work only in English and do

not read (or even touch !) a Hindi magazine nor a Hindi newspaper, not to mention Hindi literature. To these classes Hindi is simply a spoken medium to communicate with the servant classes. That is why mostly, they feel shocked at a foreigner's fluent talk in *suddh Hindī*. Naturally one cannot expect the spread or development of Hindi from the English-adoring classes.

Neither it can be Bazar Hindi nor irregular Hindi of the uneducated on whose shoulder rest the destinies of Hindi. It is certainly the students or young generations who should try to narrow down the gap between the spoken and the written language.

(September 8, 1975)

NOTES

- 1) S. H. Kellogg wrote one century ago, "...this High Hindi is nowhere the household speech of the Hindoos." (*Grammar of the Hindī Language*. London, First Edition 1875, reprinted 1955, § 113)
- 2) The number of the students of M. A. Hindi (Part I) is about 150 (About 80 % are girl students). They belong to 11 different colleges. Two separate classes (A and B) are operated in Part I, but there is only one class in Part II (though there are several divided classes for optional subjects). They were promoted to M. A. Part II in July this year.
- 3) Tape-recorder might have been the best means to collect the data. But the idea of indecency prevented me from doing so, for great care must have been paid lest they should notice the machine.
- 4) *Dilli nagar mē ājkal prayukt khari boli ke vibhinn rūp*. (Ph. D. Dissertation, Delhi University, 1962) p. 196
- 5) I prepared a questionnaire in which I asked each student's birth place, mother tongue, parents' birth place, medium of instruction upto higher secondary school etc. I obtained 75 replies (50% of the students). According to their answers, only 8 students (10%) learned through English medium. The others learned through Hindi medium.
- 6) Notices, in fact, are written in English even in the Hindi Department. Example: "It is hereby notified for the students of M. A. (Prev.) Hindi that they have been allotted two sections according to their colleges as given below..... Students are hereby directed to sit in their respective group as given below."
- 7) *op. cit.*, p. 196
- 8) "strī apne hī lie *ham* kā upayog bahudhā kam kartī hai." (*Hindī Vyākaraṇ*, Kāśī, samvat 2017, 6th edition, p. 77)
- 9) Miss Kanwaljit Kaur, Miss Prem Kumari, Miss Nirmal etc.
- 10) One author has apologized to the readers in the preface of his book for his using 'it seems

- to me that...' 'I think that...' 'In my opinion...' on many places. ("inmē yadi ahaṃ ki gandh ho, to inke liye māi kṣamā cāhūgā." Bholānāth Tivārī, *Hindi Bhāṣā*, Ilāhābād 1972, 2nd edition.)
- 11) Eizo SAWA, *Indobunten*. Tokyo, 1960, p. 74
 - 12) C. Shackle describes this phenomenon as "the considerable inequality of status between the sexes in the traditional Punjabi society." (*Teach Yourself Punjabi*. London 1972, p. 32) According to Bahadur Singh (*op. cit.*, p. 238), third person singular female is also masculinized for respect. Examples: *bahan jī bāzār gaye haī*. 'Sister has gone.' *mātā jī so gaye haī*. 'Mother went to bed.' But university students never say like this.
 - 13) "ise (=yeh pustak) unhōne likhi hai." (Bholānāth Tivārī, *op. cit.*, p. 669)
 - 14) *op. cit.*, p. 425
 - 15) After the partition of 1947, many immigrants from Punjab came and settled in Delhi. At present the percentage of the Punjabi-speaking population in Delhi is 11.91%. (*Hindustan Times*. February 10, 1975)
 - 16) According to the answers to my questionnaire, 30% of the students are Punjabis and speak Punjabi at home (100% with their parents but 12.5% in Hindi and 29% in both Punjabi and Hindi with their brothers and sisters). Note that almost all the Punjabi students were born in Delhi and were taught in Hindi. 44.3% of the students mentioned their mother tongue as Punjabi, and the others as Hindi. Those who said their mother tongue was Punjabi are almost illiterate in Punjabi. They carry on the intellectual talks in Hindi. Punjabi is only a spoken language for the Punjabi students of Hindi.
 - 17) This example can be seen even in a literary book. "voh (=Sundarī) usī din apne kāmotsav kā āyojan kartī hai, jiske agle din usne (=Yaśodharā) pravrajyā grahaṇ karnī hai." (Rājes Śarmā: *Laharō ke Rājās: samikṣā*. Dillī, 1974, 2nd edition, p. 107)
 - 18) *op. cit.*, p. 99
 - 19) Central Hindi Directorate, *A Basic Grammar of Modern Hindi*. New Delhi, 1972, p. 155
 - 20) This is the Urdu influence.
 - 21) According to Bahadur Singh (*op. cit.*, p. 223), uneducated muslims in Delhi also pronounce like that.
 - 22) See Katurō KOGA: "Bazar Hindustani: Simplified Basic Hindi" (『大阪外国語大学学報』29号, 1973, pp. 59—67)
 - 23) See John J. Gumperz, *Language in Social Groups*, California 1971, p. 12 (reprinted from "Language Problems in the Rural Development of North India" 1957)