SHIFTING DUNES: CHANGING MEANINGS OF URDU IN INDIA

by

Rizwan Ahmad

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Doctoral Committee:

Associate Professor Robin M. Queen, Chair

Professor Judith T. Irvine

Professor Deborah Keller-Cohen

Professor Barbara D. Metcalf

Professor Sarah G. Thomason

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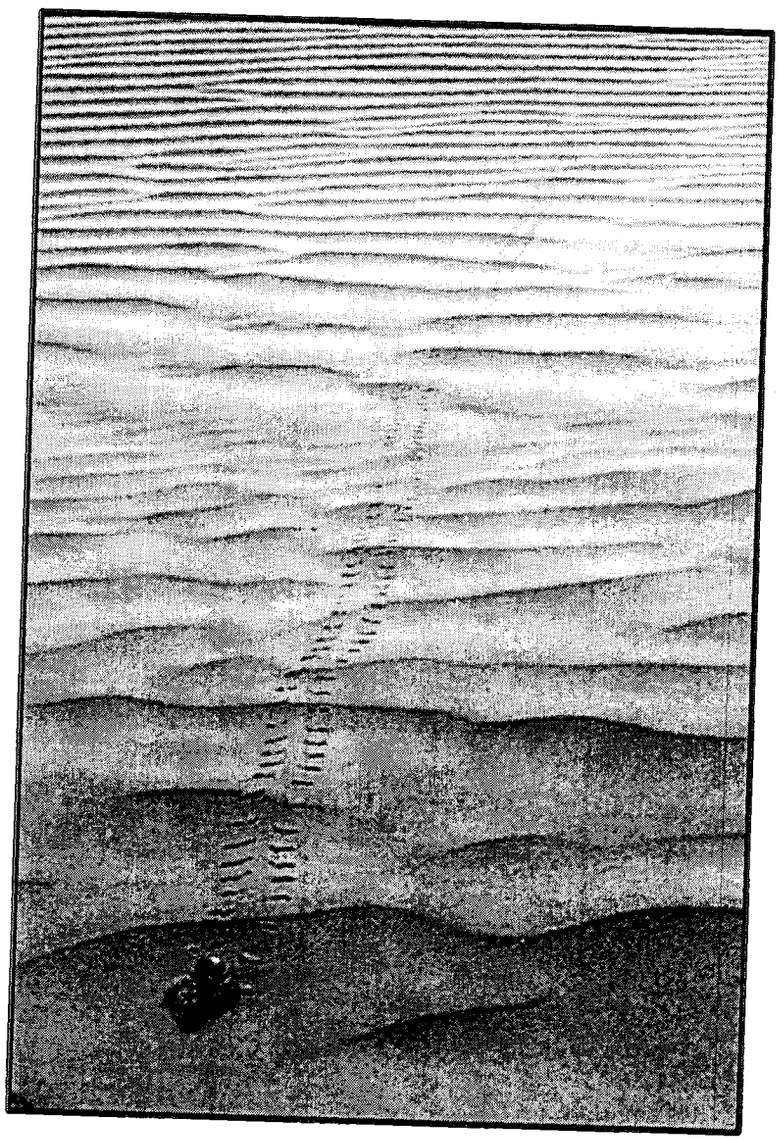
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Sand dunes of Rajasthan, India (photo by Marc Altman)

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to:

Ammī, my mother:

Who supported me, with firm confidence, in my pursuit of a doctoral degree, without really understanding what a Ph.D. is.

Abbī, my father:

Who gave me absolute freedom to do what I wanted and never asked where my academic pursuits would take me.

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Whose love and care provided much-needed strength and perseverance to complete this dissertation research.

And the Muslim youth of Old Delhi:

Who are losing their tongue in order to be heard.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Symbols	IPA	English	Urdu/Hindi	Gloss
a	/ʌ /	b**u**n	k**a**l	'tomorrow'
ā	/a/	f**a**ther	g**ā**l	'cheek'
ai	/æ/	f**a**n	m**ai**lā	'dirty'
au	/au/	.....	**fau**ran	'right away'
b	/b/	**b**un	**b**āt	'talk'
bh	/b^h/	.....	**bh**āp	'vapor'
ch	/tʃ/	**ch**urch	**ch**āi	'tea'
chh	/ $tʃ^h$/	.....	ma**chhl**ī	'fish'
d	/$\underline{ɖ}$/	.....	**d**āl	'lentil'
dh	/ $\underline{ɖ}^h$/	.....	**dh**ōbī	'washer man'
D	/ɖ/	.....	**D**āk	'post'
Dh	/$ɖ^h$/	.....	**Dh**āl	'slope'
e	/ɛ/	.....	belā	'without'
ē	/e/	n**ai**l	dēr	'late'
f	/f/	**f**ilm	**f**ikr	'concern'
g	/g/	**g**et	ni**g**āh	'sight'

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gh	/g^{h}/	.....	**gh**ar	'home'
g̲h	/ʁ/	.....	**g̲h**alat	'wrong'
h	/h/	**h**at	**h**āzir	'present'
i	/ɪ/	b**i**n	d**i**l	'heart'
ī	/i/	m**ea**t	zam**ī**n	'land'
j	/dʒ/	**j**udge	**j**igar	'liver'
jh	/j^{h}/	.....	**jh**ūT	'lie'
k	/k/	s**k**unk	**k**āhil	'lazy'
kh	/k^{h}/	**c**at	**kh**apat	'use'
k̲h	/χ/	.....	**k̲h**ālī	'empty'
l	/l/	**l**ove	**l**āj	'shame'
m	/m/	**m**oon	**m**ard	'man'
n	/n/	**n**est	**n**arm	'soft'
N	/ŋ/	.....	kāra**N**	'reason'
o	/o/	.....	Bo**k̲**hār	'fever'
ō	/o/	b**oa**t	g**ō**l	'round'
p	/p/	s**p**in	**p**al	'moment'
ph	/p^{h}/	**p**in	**ph**al	'fruit'
q	/q/	.....	**q**alam	'pen'
r	/r/	**r**ing	**r**ōz	'daily'
R	/ɾ/	su**r**e	mō**R**	'turn'

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Rh	/ɾ^{h}/	…….	bā**Rh**	‘flood’
s	/s/	**s**un	**s**ar	‘head’
sh	/ʃ/	**sh**eep	**sh**ōr	‘noise’
t	/t̪/	…….	**t**um	‘you’
th	/t^{h}/	……..	**th**ālī	‘plate’
T	/ʈ/	……..	**T**ōpī	‘cap’
Th	/ʈ^{h}/	……..	**Th**ap	‘standstill’
u	/ ʊ/	f**oo**t	s**u**rāhī	‘goblet’
ū	/u/	f**oo**d	bh**ū**t	‘ghost’
ṽ	/ṽ/	nasalized vowels		
w	/w/	**w**ay	**w**aqt	‘time’
y	/j/	**y**es	**y**ād	‘memory’
z	/z/	**z**oo	**z**ōr	‘force’
zh	/ʒ/	rou**ge**	mi**zh**gã̄	‘eyelashes’

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GLOSSARY

ahādīs (pl. of hadīth/hadīs)	narrations attributed to the Prophet Mohammad
ain	a letter of the Urdu alphabet that comes between *zoe* and *ghain*
ānchal	the end piece of a sāRī, a piece of clothing, worn by women in South Asia
anjuman tāmīr-e-urdū	society for the (re)construction of Urdu
anjuman taraqqī-e-urdū	society for the development of Urdu
atālīq	teachers
berādrī	caste; community
bindī	dot; used as a diacritic to represent some Urdu phonemes
buDDhā (pl. buDDhē)	old man
chhollywood	a derogatory term referring to the worldview of students from Old Delhi
dabistān-e-dehlī	Delhi School of thought (on Urdu literature)
dabistān-e-lakhnaū	Lucknow School of thought (on Urdu literature)
dillīwālā	resident of Delhi; born and raised in the city
fasīh	eloquent; standard language
ghazal	a poetic genre consisting of couplets that contain independent themes
hal	a diacritic used in Devanagari to indicate the absence of the inherent schwa vowel
hayā	modesty; shame
hejāb	a piece of clothing used by Muslim women to cover their head
imām	the person who leads Islamic prayers; also a religious priest

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imlā kamītī	committee on spelling
izāfat	genitivization
kārk̲hānā	factory, workshop
k̲hālis	pure; native
k̲hutbā	religious sermon especially the one given before the Friday prayer
madrasā	a tradition school for receiving Islamic education
māhaul	environment
mardum shumārī kamītī	committee on census
maulānā	a religious leader
muhājir	refugee; immigrant
mushāerā	public poetry recitation gathering
namāz	Islamic prayer
pāindābād	everlasting
pēshēwar	occupational group
rubāī	a quatrain
sāf	clear; standard language
shahrī	from the city; refers to native Hindus of Old Delhi
shīn qāf	metonymy for the Urdu language
shorafā	nobles; Muslims belonging to uppers castes
sūbēdār	governor
tadbhava	Sanskrit-derived words that have undergone change in their phonology and meaning
tak̲hat	wooden plank jutting out of a shop
tālīm	learning/teaching
tanz-ō-mazāh	a literary genre that combines humor with sarcasm
taraqqī	progress, development
tatsama	Sanskrit-derived words that have retained their phonology and meaning
vīrām	a diacritic used in Devanagari to indicate the absence of the inherent schwa vowel
walīmā	a wedding feast

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zabān	language
zindābād	everlasting
zohar	noon prayer

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ABSTRACT

Shifting dunes: changing meanings of Urdu in India

by

Rizwan Ahmad

Chair: Robin M. Queen

In this dissertation, I investigate the indexicality of the Urdu language in India. I examine the assumed indexical link between Urdu and Muslim identity by analyzing the ideological structures of Muslims and Hindus of Old Delhi. The analysis of the ideologies is supplemented by frequency distribution of the phonological features that distinguish Urdu from Hindi namely the phonemes /f/, /z/, /kh/, /gh/, and /q/.

The analysis shows that the indexicality of Urdu in India is more complex than is generally assumed in the literature. To the first generation Muslims and Hindus born *before* the Partition of India in 1947, Urdu indexes education and cultural refinement. To the second generation born *after* 1947, Urdu indexes an exclusive Muslim identity. The indexicality of Urdu, however, undergoes a reconfiguration again among the third generation Muslims who were born after the early 1980's; to them, Urdu indexes a poor, uneducated, and conservative Muslim identity. An analysis of their ideologies shows that they do not identify themselves as Urdu speakers; they instead claim to speak a

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mixed language containing elements from English, Punjabi, and Hindi. A frequency distribution of the Urdu phonemes among the third generation Muslims shows that they are losing some of the Urdu phonemes. I argue that the loss is driven by the stigmatized indexicality that Urdu acquired after 1947.

Furthermore, I demonstrate that the indexicality of the Perso-Arabic and Devanagari scripts is undergoing transformation too. Since the third generation does not control the Perso-Arabic script, second generation Muslims are transliterating Urdu texts into Devanagari. An analysis of the transliteration shows that Muslims are trying to preserve linguistic features of Urdu in Devanagari. The preservation of Urdu features at a time when they are being lost among the third generation underscores the tension between the ideologies of the older and younger Muslims and adds to the complexity of the indexicality of Urdu. Since all three generations coexist, it is empirically inaccurate to characterize the indexicality of Urdu in a simple categorical fashion. Urdu represents a palimpsest with several layers of indexicalities etched on it in such a way that each layer tells a different story.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

According to the 1991 census, Urdu is the mother tongue of less than half (43%) of Indian Muslims.[1] More than half of the Muslims (57%) speak languages as diverse and different from Urdu as Bengali, Assamese, Malayalam, Gujarati, and Kashmiri. Unlike Urdu speakers, they do not write their languages in the Perso-Arabic script, the script generally associated with the Quran, the holy book of Muslims. Similarly, less than half of Hindus in India (49%) claim Hindi as their mother tongue.[2] The rest of the Hindus speak other languages belonging to the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and other language families. Unlike Hindi speakers, they do not employ Devanagari, the script generally associated with Sanskrit, the sacred language of Hinduism. Moreover, major Hindu religious texts such as the Mahabharata, Ramayana, and Gita exist in the Perso-Arabic

[1] The figure will drop, if the number of Muslims, who actually speak dialects of Hindi but in the census report Urdu as their mother tongue, is taken away. See Ahmad (1993) for the ideologies behind reporting mother tongue in the Indian census. According to the 1991 census, the numbers of Muslims and Hindus in India are 101,596,057 (12.12%) and 687,646,721(82%) respectively (India, 1991).

[2] The number of Hindi speakers will drop drastically if the number of speakers of the dialects that are labeled as Hindi is deducted from the total. According to Mallikarjun (2001), in the Indian census, Hindi is used as a cover term for more than 48 language varieties.

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script. Shambhūnāth Guptā[3], a 74-year-old Hindu resident of Old Delhi, reads not only secular material such as newspapers and magazines but also the religious scripture Gita in the Perso-Arabic script. On the other hand, translations of the Quran are available in all Indian languages including Hindi in Devanagari. Sukainā Shāhnawāz, a 20-year old *hejāb*-clad Muslim woman from Old Delhi, during her *tālīm*, 'learning', session at Zakir Husain College, reads Fazāel-e-Āmāl, an Islamic book containing selected texts from the Quran and Hadīth, in the Devanagari script.[4] Sukainā's literacy practices also include reading Mahaktā Ānchal, a popular Urdu magazine published in Devanagari. Unlike older generations, but quite typical of her own, Sukainā does not have functional literacy in the Perso-Arabic script.

At the same time, in post-Independence public discourse in India, Urdu is considered to be the language of Muslims. The issue of Urdu is invariably tied to Muslim politics. An example of this is that Sonia Gandhi, the President of the All India Congress Committee, in April 2007, signed her name in Urdu in a letter written in Urdu to some prominent Muslims in the state of Uttar Pradesh, seeking their help in strengthening the Congress party. This linguistic exercise is important since Sonia Gandhi, the Italian-born wife of the former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, is a naturalized citizen of India and learned Hindi after his marriage with Rajiv Gandhi. Furthermore, in 2006, the Sachar commission, which was charged with the examination of the social and economic

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[3] All names referring to people and places are pseudonyms; they have been anonymized to maintain the privacy and social dignity of the research participants.

[4] Fazāel-e-Āmāl is considered to be a vade mecum of the Islamic movement of spiritual renewal called Tablīghī Jamā'at. See Metcalf (1993) and Sikand (1998) for sociocultural aspects of the movement.

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conditions of Muslims, recommended opening Urdu medium schools in areas where Muslims constitute a significant portion of the population. Similarly, Urdu-medium schools in Old Delhi and elsewhere are attended only by Muslims. A Hindu family living in the Hauz Qāzī neighborhood of Old Delhi does not send their children to Urdu-medium schools located in the neighborhood, for example Anglo-Arabic, Fatehpuri Muslim High School, or Zeenat Mahal Girls School.[5] They send their children to Hindi or English medium schools, which may be located far away.

The sociolinguistic descriptions presented above suggest that the Urdu language represents a palimpsest with several layers of indexical meanings etched on it in such a way that all of them can be gleaned simultaneously—but only partially. In the following, I make an attempt to tell a whole story of the indexicality of Urdu, with a hope that the partial stories will sound harmonious and make sense in relation to one another and the whole.

1.1.1 Research goals

This dissertation studies the complex indexicality of Urdu in India. I examine the assumed indexical link between Urdu and Muslim identity and study how, if at all, Muslims of Old Delhi construct and express their religio-ethnic identity through the use of Urdu in day-to-day social interactions. More specifically, I examine whether some of

[5] See a detailed map of Old Delhi indicating major neighborhoods that I mention in this dissertation in Appendix 2-C.

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the phonological features that distinguish Urdu from Hindi, for example the phonemes, /f/, /z/, /kh/, /gh/, and /q/ have an indexical relationship to Muslim identity.[6]

Many scholars have argued for the indexicality of Urdu with Muslims on the grounds that Urdu's script, its loanwords, and its distinctive phonemes are all borrowed from Arabic and Persian—languages associated with Islam and Muslims. The Perso-Arabic script, which is derived from the Arabic script, was brought to the Indian subcontinent by invading Muslim rulers—Turks, Mughals, and Afghans. Similarly, scholars argue that Hindi's script Devanagari and its vocabulary derived from Sanskrit are associated with Hindu identity and culture.[7] Robert King (1997), while discussing the sociolinguistic meanings of Hindi, Urdu, and Hindustani in the twentieth century notes:

> Hindi is written in the Devanagari script, derived from one of the scripts used to write Sanskrit. Urdu is written in a modified version of the Persian script, itself originally derived from the Arabic script. *The essential iconic proportion that must always be borne in mind is this: Hindi: Hindu: Hinduism=Urdu: Muslim: Islam* (p 75; emphasis mine).

It is clear that Robert King assumes that the indexicality of Urdu and Hindi is a predetermined fact. There is some kind of a natural and permanent connection between Hindi, Sanskrit, Devanagari, and Hinduism. He assumes a similar association between Urdu, the Perso-Arabic script, and Islam. Robert King further notes:

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[6] Note that I use a different transcription convention from IPA. The system used here resembles closely that used by scholars working on South Asian languages. See the list of abbreviations page for symbols and their IPA values. Note also that I do not include the phoneme/zh/ in Urdu words such as /mizhgã/ 'eyelashes' because it occurs only in a handful of literary words.

[7] See the Urdu and Hindi alphabets in Appendix 1-B.

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> The power of language as icon must never be underestimated. Like it or not, the Urdu script *means* Muslim, the Devanagari script *means* Hindu. The Urdu script as seen by an angry, inflamed Hindu mob summons up talismanic images from the present and the past: cow slaughter, temple-bashing, iconoclasm, crescent and star, Aurangzeb, green... The Hindi script conveys to an enraged Muslim mob Vishnu and Shiva and a score of many headed, many-headed gods and goddesses, cowdung, music before the mosque, dead pigs flung into mosques, Shivaji (ibid.: 84; emphasis original).

In the above quote, King extends the assumed link between the Perso-Arabic script and Muslim identity further and argues that the script generates powerful anti-Hindu images. Similarly, he argues that the Hindi script invokes anti-Muslim images. This a priori association of Perso-Arabic elements with Muslim and Sanskrit elements with Hindu identity was mentioned in an earlier study by a noted Indian linguist Ashok R. Kelkar. In the introduction to his book on the phonology of Hindi and Urdu, which he interestingly calls 'Hirdu', Kelkar (1968) remarks:

> Hindi is associated with the Devanāgarī script (called Nāgarī for short) and the drawing upon Sanskrit for "higher vocabulary" and metrics, with secular nationalism and *Hindu revivalism*... Urdu is associated with a modified form of the Perso-Arabic script and the drawing upon Classical Persian ... for "higher vocabulary" and metrics and with *Muslim renaissance and the courts of the Muslim princes* (8; emphasis mine).

The association of Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic elements with Hindu and Muslim identities respectively is stressed despite the fact that within India itself, ethnically Sindhi Hindus, even after the declaration of Hindi written in the Devanagari scrip as the official language of India, continue to use the Perso-Arabic script (see Daswani and Parchani, 1978). Like Urdu, Sindhi is not only written in the Perso-Arabic script but also has a large number of loanwords from Perso-Arabic sources. Sindhi Hindus, however, do not think that the Perso-Arabic script and loanwords make their language look Muslim or Islamic. Similarly, Malayalam, a Dravidian language spoken in Kerala, a state in southern India,

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is estimated to contain more than fifty percent words from Sanskrit (Staal, 1963). However, about eight million Malayali Muslims do *not* think that the Sanskrit elements in their language symbolize Hindu identity and revivalism.

Although it is true that Perso-Arabic and Sanskrit elements have the potential to become indexical of Muslim and Hindu identities, it does not mean that there is something intrinsic and permanent in them that imbue Urdu and Hindi with Muslim and Hindu identities respectively. It is also true that attempts were made in the nineteenth century to establish the indexicality of Hindi and Urdu as emblems of Hindu and Muslim identities, however, Urdu and Hindi continued to defy categorical indexicalities until the mid twentieth century. (See Chapter 3 for a fuller discussion).

Linguistic elements such as script and loanwords do not come with prepackaged indexical meanings. They assume specific meanings in sociolinguistic contexts informed by a particular system of ideas. Irvine (1989) argues, '...indexical correlations between realms of linguistic differentiation and social differentiation are not wholly arbitrary. *They bear some relationship to a cultural system of ideas about social relationships including ideas about the history of persons and groups*' (253; emphasis mine). Other scholars have also stressed the socially situated nature of indexicality (Irvine and Gal, 2000; Silverstein, 1998; Woolard, 1998). Research shows that indexicality gets reconfigured, when speakers develop a different set of cultural and linguistic ideas in order to rationalize changed social and political realities (Wassink and Dyer, 2004)

Since existing studies on the sociolinguistic aspects of Urdu and Hindi have been carried out from the theoretical perspectives of nationalism, they do not examine locally-

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held belief systems and sociolinguistic practices that rationalize and give meaning to the indexicality of Urdu and Hindi. They make broad, sweeping statements based on written official data from macro institutions. Findings of such studies often conflict with ground realities. For example, If Urdu conveys cow-slaughter and temple-bashing images, how do we explain Hindus like Shambhūnāth Guptā's use of it for religious purposes? Similarly, how are we to explain Sukainā's, a Muslim woman from Old Delhi, use of Devanagari for reading Islamic books?

Marking a departure from previous research which assumes an a priori, single-layered indexicality of Urdu and Hindi, this dissertation examines the complexity that marks the indexicality of Urdu. This dissertation also makes a departure from the existing research in that it situates the indexicality of Urdu and Hindi in the social and cultural context of Old Delhi in India. I argue that only by studying the system of ideas expressed through language ideologies of speakers can we explain the gamut of indexicalities of Urdu and Hindi. An examination of the ideological structure of Sukainā's generation will explain how she, and others like her, rationalize their use of the Devanagari script—the script that, according to Robert King, indexes "many-headed Hindu gods and goddesses". In chapter 5, I examine the recent process of writing Urdu in Devanagari and the process of transliteration of Islamic books written originally in the Perso-Arabic script into Devanagari, which strongly suggests that the indexicality of Devanagari is undergoing shift.

The rest of this chapter is organized as follows. In section 1.2, I present a brief review of the existing literature on Urdu and Hindi, followed by the theoretical

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framework of this research. In section 1.3, I provide a short discussion on the concept and theory of ethnicity and link it to my larger theoretical framework. In section 1.4, I discuss the transcription convention used in this dissertation. I conclude the chapter by giving an outline of the organizational structure of the dissertation.

1.2 Existing literature and theoretical framework

Urdu and Hindi are quite similar languages. Although they are written in different scripts, on the spoken level, the relationship between them is comparable to that between two varieties of English. Urdu and Hindi are marked by what Woolard (1998a) calls bivalency—the use of linguistic elements that could simultaneously belong to more than one language. Bivalency between Urdu and Hindi permeates all levels of the linguistic systems—lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic. Consequently, in conversational registers, Urdu and Hindi speakers understand each other pretty well.

In the constitution of India, Urdu and Hindi are recognized as two distinct languages. Government institutions such as Sahitya Akedmi, an organization for the promotion of Indian literature, the All India Radio, and Doordarshan, the national television station, also consider Urdu and Hindi as distinct languages. Sahitya Akedmi gives separate annual literary awards to Urdu and Hindi writers. All India Radio and Doordarshan broadcast news bulletins and other programs in Urdu, in addition to Hindi and other languages. The states of the National Capital Territory of Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Jammu and Kashmir accord Urdu the status of an official language.

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Socially and historically, script has been the most salient and also contentious factor between Urdu and Hindi speakers. Since the late nineteenth century, Urdu and Hindi speakers have been fighting for the official recognition of their respective languages, which crucially include scripts, in public institutions and domains. The battle started with the Hindi movement, which was launched by Hindu nationalists in the late nineteenth century with the aim of getting Hindi recognized, in place of Urdu, as an official language in lower courts (e.g. King, 1989; King, 1992; King, 1994). The struggle for Hindi has been extensively studied by historians and political scientists as part of a larger movement of Hindu nationalism (see e.g. Dalmia, 1997; Orsini, 2002; Rai, 2000; Van der Veer, 1994; Zavos, 2000).[8]

Despite the insights provided by these studies on the role of language in issues of nationalism, they suffer from two major limitations. First, because of their theoretical engagements with larger social processes of nationalism and colonialism, these studies treat language merely as a symbol of political allegiance; they have little to say about how Urdu and Hindi speakers employ linguistic resources to construct their religio-ethnic identities at a more local level— for example in their daily sociolinguistic practices. These studies do not demonstrate how, if at all, ideological allegiance to Urdu and Hindi impacts day-to-day linguistic behaviors of their speakers. In other words, beyond the written form and production of literature, where the differences between Urdu and Hindi

[8] Other studies on the macro aspects of Urdu and Hindi concern their relationship to script (DeFrancis, 1984; King, 2001). Urdu and Hindi are considered to be a case of digraphia—a sociolinguistic situation where one language is written in two different scripts (Zima, 1974).

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are sharp, how do ordinary speakers' social identities and political allegiances unfold linguistically on the spoken level—where the differences between them are minimal?

Second, since the existing studies locate social identities in macro structures, they do not address the sociolinguistic transformations that Urdu speakers, such as those of Old Delhi, have undergone since the beginning of the twentieth century and after the Independence of India in 1947. I mention two major changes. First, socioeconomic changes of the late 1970's and early 80's allowed Muslim Urdu speakers to come in contact with Hindu Hindi speakers. Second, Muslims who were born after this period show better control over the Devanagari script than the Perso-Arabic script. In the following, I discuss the two developments briefly.

The Independence of India, which was followed by a massive migration of Urdu speakers from Old Delhi to Pakistan, brought about enormous changes in the demographic and socioeconomic conditions of the Urdu-speaking Muslim community. Due to the mass migration of the educated middle class, Old Delhi Muslim society was reduced to a poor, uneducated, and ghetto community. Although there have not been systematic sociological studies, some scholars have noted the change. Abbi et al. (2004) remark, 'The past five decades of independence have seen, in popular perception, the descent of Urdu as a language of the dominant elite, to one associated with illiteracy, poverty, and backwardness' (p 3).

The result of this social isolation was that there was little interaction between Muslims and Hindus. Muslims were largely confined to themselves. They worked in their own small businesses with other fellow Muslims. Their children born after 1947 either

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did not study or received some education with other Muslims in Urdu-medium schools of Old Delhi. They hardly had opportunities to regularly interact with Hindus. This became clear to me during the fieldwork, when I asked several older generation Muslims for contact information about Old Delhi Hindus. Most of them would simply say that they did not have much contact with Hindus.

The socioeconomic conditions of Old Delhi Muslims, however, began to change in the late 1970's. Several factors contributed to the change. Muslims, who had been harboring hopes of finally being able to migrate to Pakistan, abandoned their hopes to do so after the creation of Bangladesh from Pakistan in 1972. Imtiaz Ahmad, a noted sociologist who specializes in the social structure of Muslim communities in India, describes the change of perception as "sink-or-sail" (personal communication). The "sink-or-sail" perception entailed a realization among Muslims that their social and economic future is tied to India; they will sink or sail in India. They no longer considered Pakistan as their future country. The result was that Muslims started to work hard to establish their economic interests in Old Delhi.

Imtiaz Ahmad argues that the process of change started earlier than the creation of Bangladesh in 1972. He contends that 1964 marks a turning point in the life of Muslims of Old Delhi. In that year, the government of Pakistan passed a law that discouraged, if not totally stopped, the continuing immigration of Muslims from India, which had started in 1947 and was still going on. This was in response to growing concerns among the youth of Pakistan about immigrant Muslims from India coming and grabbing jobs that they thought belonged to them. This legal constraint on immigration from India was

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exacerbated by a growing hostility in Pakistan towards Urdu-speaking Muhājirs, 'immigrants', mainly from North Indian states including Delhi. The passage of a law in 1972 by the provincial government of Sindh in Pakistan making the teaching of Sindhi a requirement for non-Sindhi-speaking population was seen by Urdu-speaking Muhājirs from India as an act of hostility and discrimination against them (Haq, 1995).

The sociopolitical developments following the creation of Bangladesh in 1972 further convinced Muslims of Old Delhi that their future in Pakistan would be quite uncertain. The foundation of Bangladesh created more refugees, this time moving from Bangladesh to Pakistan. According to Haq, there were about one million Urdu-speaking Muslim Muhājirs from North India in East Pakistan, who did not want to live in the new state of Bangladesh and indicated that they would like to migrate to Pakistan. Although some of them were repatriated, a large number of them were still living in tents in Bangladesh waiting to go to Pakistan—their homeland of dream. Successive Pakistani governments showed little interest in repatriating them. These developments made it clear to Muslims of Old Delhi that they were no longer welcome in Pakistan; they realized that Pakistan, the nation that was created on the basis of Islam, is not only uninterested in Muslim brothers from India but is actually hostile to them.

The result of the sink-or-swim attitude was that Muslims began to work for the improvement of their social and economic conditions in Old Delhi. They took business opportunities more seriously since they were no longer dreaming of migrating to Pakistan. Many Muslims found jobs in various countries of the Middle East. They invested their savings from abroad in businesses in Old Delhi. The result was that by the

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late 1970's and early 1980's, the socio-economic conditions of Muslims improved significantly. Children born after this time were the first to receive a modern education. I discuss their interesting linguistic ideologies and behavior below and more fully in Chapter 4.

As Old Delhi Muslims began to gain economic prosperity, they slowly started to invest in their children's education. Although there are several Urdu-medium schools within Old Delhi, they are in a shambles. So, parents who could afford to pay for their children's education would send their kids to private Hindi and English medium schools. A majority of students in these schools are Hindi or Punjabi speakers. Old Delhi Muslim children come in contact with children who do not speak their language. They encounter a linguistic norm among their friends that conflicts with the Urdu language that they speak at home, especially with regard to the use of the distinctive Urdu phonemes. Hindi speakers nativize/replace the Urdu phonemes with existing Hindi phonemes. For Urdu-speaking Muslim children, the resolution of the conflict in linguistic norms is mediated by their language ideology in which Urdu indexes a poor and backward Muslim identity. Because of the stigmatized indexicality of Urdu, Muslim children avoid pronouncing Urdu phonemes or pronounce them in the way their Hindi speaking friends do. So, the younger generation of Muslims has started to lose some of the distinctive Urdu phonemes. I discussed this more fully in Chapter 4.

Another transformation with regard to language is observable in the changing perception about the Devanagari script among the younger generation of Muslims. Until recently, in the public imagination, the identity of the Urdu language was inalienable

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from the Perso-Arabic script (Moghnī, 1998; Moghnī, 2002; Sahar, 2001). Many Urdu scholars argued that the adoption of the Devanagari script would absorb Urdu and destroy its distinct identity (Dalvī, 1971). The Devanagari script was always seen as the 'other' of Urdu and indexical of Hindu identity (Shackle and Snell, 1990). Despite such fears expressed by many Urdu speakers, Devanagari is being adopted for writing Urdu. I discuss the sociolinguistic aspects of the process of transliteration from Perso-Arabic to Devanagari in Chapter 5.

The loss of the Urdu phonemes among the third generation Muslims and their adoption of the Devanagari script suggest that linguistic identities of Muslims and the indexical values of the Urdu language and the Devanagari script are undergoing a major shift. The shift can only be understood by situating the struggle for linguistic identities in the ethnographic contexts of Old Delhi. Furthermore, an understanding of the change can only be gained by assuming that speakers are not always controlled by macro-level social forces such as those operating at the level of nationalisms. Speakers' sociolinguistic practices are often informed by local developments and ideologies. Speakers are agents that participate actively in the construction and representation of their social identities at day-to-day levels of their life (e.g. Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Dijk, 1997; Fairclough, 1992; Gumperz, 1982; Irvine and Gal, 2000). Placing ordinary speakers of Urdu and Hindi at the center of my analysis, I analyze their language ideologies and their language use. I investigate the ideological structure of three generations of Muslims and Hindus and show that Urdu has a different indexical meaning for each generation (see section 1.2.3). I supplement the discussion on speakers' ideologies with frequency distributions of the Urdu phonemes /f/, /z/, /kh/, /gh/, and /q/, among different generations. I do this

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because the frequency distributions show the language change (loss of Urdu phonemes) that the third generation Muslims are experiencing.

1.2.1 Language ideology, social identity, and language change

This research is theoretically anchored in a language ideology framework. Language ideology refers to common-sense ideas that speakers have about the structure and use of their language. Silverstein (1979) defines it as 'sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use' (p 193). Language ideology is seen as a mediating link between linguistic forms and social structure. Woolard & Schieffelin (1994) emphasize this relationship by noting that, 'ideologies of language are significant for social as well as linguistic analyses because they are not only about language. Rather, such ideologies envision and enact links of language to group and personal identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology' (pp 55-56).

A key concept in a language ideology framework is the notion of indexicality. In sociolinguistics, the term indexicality is most commonly used to refer to links that speakers establish between linguistic units—a whole language or elements thereof such as phonemes and morphemes—and social meanings. Sociolinguists are interested in indexicality because connections between linguistic forms and social identities are not natural, but rather socially constructed. Speakers conceptualize such links through ideologies about particular speakers who produce particular kinds of language (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Silverstein, 1998). For example, the use of multiple-negation in English indexes an uneducated identity. Similarly the absence of the verb "to be" in sentences

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such as "he smart" may index African American identity in North American contexts, regardless of the propositional meaning of the speakers' utterance.

The concept of indexicality is traced back to Charles Pierce's work on sign systems. Pierce identified three types of signs—icon, symbol, and index. He defined an icon as a sign that bears some resemblance to what it stands for. According to Silverstein (1976), icons "have isomorphism to (up to identity with) those of the entity signaled" (p 27). A picture of your face, for example, is an icon of you. It is important to note, however, that even most naturally-looking icons are mediated through social conventions (Mannheim, 2001).

According to Pierce, a symbol is a sign that is based on social conventions; it is a sign "in consequence of a habit" (Ponzio, 2006). The sign and the entity it denotes are related through some social code or convention. For example, the English word "cat" does not have any physical relationship with the animal cat; it is just a convention in English that the animal is called "cat". In other languages, the animal is called by other names.

Pierce's notion of indexicality is considered to be his most novel contribution to semiotics and philosophy (Sebeok, 1990). According to Pierce, the index is a sign that relates to the entity referred by a relation of contiguity. Silverstein defines indexicality as "the property of sign vehicle signaling contextual "existence" of an entity" (p 29). Hanks (2001) makes the distinction between icons and symbols on the one hand and index on the other clear. He notes, 'to say that any linguistic form is "indexical" is to say that it stands for its object neither by resemblance to it [like icon], nor by sheer convention [like

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symbol], but by contiguity with it' (p 119). Some indexes are referential, for example deixis such as 'here' and 'there', 'this' and 'that', 'now' and 'then'. Referential indexicals also include tense and the pronouns 'I' and 'you'. All these elements depend, for their interpretation, on the context of speech.

In this dissertation, however, the term indexicality has been used for what is known as non-referential indexicals. Non-referential indexicals refer to language forms that evoke social meanings, which include issues of social identities such as class, ethnicity, race, and gender, registers—linguistic repertoire that are related to particular sociolinguistic practices—and participant roles. Deference indexes, linguistic forms that indicate a hierarchical relationship between the addresser and the addressee, provide a good example of non-referential indexes, for example the tu/vous distinction in the French pronominal system. Many languages such as Javanese have a very complex system of marking status in speech (see e.g. Errington, 1985).[9]

Since indexicality is socially constituted, it is not fixed and static; it keeps evolving in conjunction with transformation in sociolinguistic realities. In Chapters 3-5, I demonstrate that the indexicality of Urdu has been undergoing major shifts during the past hundred years. I show that the indexicalities of the phonological and graphemic units have been reconstituted in such fundamental ways that in contemporary India, the Urdu language and script index completely different social identities to people belonging to different generations. For some, it indexes level of education; for others it indexes Muslim identity. For yet others Urdu indexes poor, uneducated, and conservative Muslim

[9] See Irvine (1985) for a survey of studies on the linguistic components of social status.

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identity. This dissertation shows that indexicality is neither predetermined on an apriori basis nor is it enduring; it is always in the state of flux. I also show that the indexicality of a particular linguistic form may not be uniform across different segments of society. It is therefore important to be cautious in making generalizations such as form 'x' indexes ethnic identity 'y' because the form 'x' may not have the same indexical meaning, for example, for all generations within one ethnicity.

A language ideology framework is also a useful in understanding the construction of social identities through the process of linguistic differentiation (e.g. Irvine and Gal, 2000; Kroskrity, 2000). The framework also sheds light on the process of language change and results of language contact such as language maintenance and shift (e.g. Kulick, 1992; Silverstein, 1985). Irvine and Gal stress that ideology is often a motivating factor behind language change. They argue, '...the direction and motivation of linguistic change can be illuminated if we attend to the ideologizing of a sociolinguistic field and the consequent reconfiguration of its varieties...' (ibid: 77).

Since the language change that I indicated above is tied to a shift in the ideologies of the younger generation of Muslims about the social meaning of Urdu, it is relevant to discuss the notion of generation. The notion of generation is also important for understanding the complexity of the indexicality of Urdu (see section 1.2.4).

1.2.2 The notion of generation

The linguistic identity of Old Delhi Muslims is complex because different generations attach different values to the Urdu language. For this dissertation, the notion of

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generation is tied to major sociopolitical events that impacted the life patterns including language behaviors of Muslims and Hindus of Old Delhi. There are two important events that will serve as milestones for defining the first and third generation; the second generation is the middle generation.

I refer to people born *before* the Independence of India in 1947 as the first generation. I argue that the Independence played a crucial role in establishing the indexical meanings of Urdu and Hindi (see Chapter 4 for more details). The third generation refers to children born in the early 1980's, which marks the beginning of economic prosperity for Old Delhi Muslims and heralds a new type of language contact situation with Hindi speakers. Contrary to the previous generations, children born in the early 80's were the first generation to receive modern education. The search for a modern education brought the third generation Muslims in close contact with Hindi speakers. The second generation refers to people born after 1947.

The complexity of the religio-ethnic identity of Muslims lies in that the Urdu language does not categorically index a Muslim identity among the first generation. However, among the second generation of Muslims, Urdu is ideologized as the marker of their identity. By contrast, the third generation tries hard to dissociate themselves from Urdu. The negative orientation is evidenced in the loss of some Urdu phonemes in the language of the third generation. Since a study of the linguistic construction of Muslim identity cannot afford to ignore the changing ideologies and practices of the third generation Muslims, this dissertation addresses the issue of language identity and linguistic change simultaneously. The following section elaborates on this.

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1.2.3 Urdu and Muslim identity

Given the symbolic value of Urdu and Hindi as markers of Muslim and Hindu identities in the national discourse in India, I expected that Muslims both in their ideology and practice would make use of linguistic resources of Urdu to index their social identities. However, I found that the language ideologies and practices of Old Delhi Muslims are far more complex than I had initially assumed.

As pointed out earlier, among the first generation of Old Delhi Muslims and Hindus, born before the partition of India in 1947, the indexical meaning of Urdu in general and the Urdu phonemes in particular is not categorical. First, among Muslims, these phonemes were categorically present, regardless of caste, class, gender, and levels of education. Among Hindus, however, they were restricted to those who were educated or socialized among Urdu speakers—both Hindus and Muslims. Since, before 1947, there were many Hindus in Old Delhi and outside of it who learned Urdu at school and used it in their ordinary life, Urdu was not yet perceived as categorically indexical of Muslim identity.

Among the second generation of Muslims and Hindus, who were born after 1947, Urdu in general and these phonemes in particular acquired a distinctive indexical meaning. This was mainly due to two reasons. First, the establishment of the Muslim state of Pakistan and the declaration of Urdu as the national language contributed to the formation of this ideology among Hindus. Second, after the Independence of India, Hindi written in the Devanagari script was adopted as the national language of India. In the

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post-1947 language discourse, Hindi stood for Hindus in India, in opposition to Urdu for Muslims of Pakistan. This is discussed more fully in Chapter 3.

The mass migration that followed 1947 brought about changes at the local level of Old Delhi. The city which had been famous for its literary, linguistic, and cultural refinements became synonymous with poverty, illiteracy, backwardness, and conservatism; the Muslim society of Old Delhi was reduced to a ghetto community. The Urdu language began to index poor, uneducated, and conservative Muslim identity. This indexicality of Urdu at the local level impacted the language ideology and behavior of the third generation Muslims. Because of the stigma and shame attached to their Muslim identity and the Urdu language, the third generation Muslims avoid pronouncing Urdu phonemes or pronounce them in the way their Hindi speaking friends do. Hindi speakers replace the Urdu phonemes with phonetically closest native Hindi phonemes. This results in the loss of some of the distinctive Urdu phonemes.

In order to account for identity and change simultaneously in a meaningful way, I argue that identity and change have to be studied together. Rather than studying language change from the point of view of variation, it might be more useful to see language change as a result of change in ideologies about language and its social value. I argue that language change in the third generation of Muslims is related to, and in fact triggered by, a change in their identity and their social perception of Urdu. Although there have been some studies that explain historical language change in terms of change in people's ideologies (e.g. Silverstein 1985, Irvin & Gal 2000), there have not been studies that focus on ongoing language change from this theoretical perspective. A language

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ideological framework will be able to explain both the construction of identity of the second generation of Muslims through the Urdu language and the disaffiliation of the third generation from it.

1.2.4 Integrating literacy practices

The strong ideological component of the linguistic identity of Muslims is also evidenced in the process of transliteration from Urdu in the Perso-Arabic script into Devanagari. Unlike the first and second generation Muslims, the third generation does not have functional literacy in the traditional Perso-Arabic script. Muslims of Old Delhi showed concern at the inability of the third generation to read Islamic and other cultural literature, available largely in the Perso-Arabic script. Their main concern was that their children will lose their Muslim identity if they do not have access to Islamic literature.

In response to the changing literacy practices of the young generation, many middle-generation Muslims, who have bi-scriptal competence, started a project of making the religious literature written originally in the Perso-Arabic script available in Devanagari.[10] An examination of the process of transliteration from the Perso-Arabic into Devanagari suggests that Urdu speakers are making efforts to preserve the identity of Urdu in the new script. In addition to representing the Urdu phonemes by the use of a diacritic called *bindī*, they also make efforts to preserve other purely graphemic features of the Perso-Arabic script in Devanagari. The efforts to preserve the Urduness of Urdu in

[10] See title pages of a transliterated book in Appendix 3-A.

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Devanagari at a time when the young generation is losing Urdu phonemes make the study of ideology and language change extremely interesting.

Although I set out to examine spoken language, it is impossible to ignore the process of transliteration, for it is the result of the changes in the linguistic practices of the third generation. Since linguistic practices that go into the construction of a particular social identity must include literacy practices as well, especially if script has been an important component of speakers' language ideologies, this dissertation treats speech and writing as complementary potential sites for the construction, expression, and contestation of social identities. Therefore, in order to understand the role of language in the construction of Muslim identity more fully, this dissertation examines both spoken language material and the ideologies behind the process of transcription.

Since I argue that ideology is an important element of the construction of Muslim identity in Old Delhi, the language change taking place among the third generation, and the efforts to preserve Urdu features in Devanagari, a language ideology framework allows a unified analysis of the construction of identity, the language change among the third generation, and the sociolinguistic aspects of transliteration.

1.3 (Religio) ethnic identity

Although there is no one universally-agreed-upon definition of the term ethnicity, there is a general consensus that ethnicity has to do with "symbolism, meaning, and identity, and about cohesion, solidarity and belonging" (Eller, 1999). The definition given by DeVos (1975) captures the essence of ethnicity:

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> An ethnic group is a self-perceived group of people who hold in common a set of traditions not shared by others with whom they interact. Such traditions typically include "folk" religious beliefs and practices, language, a sense of historical continuity, and common ancestry or place of origin (p 9).

It is important to note that different elements of a tradition, for example religious beliefs or language, which may go into the formation of an ethnic group, do not have to be objective, concrete, and substantial (Fenton, 2003). They are socially constructed and elaborated by the people. Eller argues, 'Ethnicity is, thus, subjective, even while it is based on, refers to, or invokes "objective" or shared cultural or historical markers' (p 9).

There have been intense debates among scholars of ethnicity about whether ethnic allegiance and solidarity are 'given' or are socially constructed. There are two major lines of thinking on this issue. Primordialists argue that ethnic attachments and loyalties are natural. A member of a particular group naturally feels and shows attachments to that group. Recent theories of ethnicity, however, stress the sociological nature of allegiance and attachments. Researchers show that ethnicity and other group identities are dynamic—socially constructed, negotiated, and contested (e.g. Eller and Coughlan, 1993; Nagel, 1994). This however does not mean that ethnicity can be constructed at will. What is important is that the social elements that go into the construction of ethnicity are not fixed and that they can be manipulated by people. I take a view that ethnicity is both constructed and grounded (Fenton, 1999). Fenton notes:

> Ethnic meanings and collective identities change in form and content as circumstances change but nonetheless ethnic meanings and allegiances are not mere constructions or inventions. Ethnicity is both socially constructed as a changing set of labels and claims and is in important respects socially grounded (p 25).

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This theory of ethnicity fits well with the language ideology framework since both of them consider social phenomena as not pre-existing, but rather emerging out of social practice. Many recent studies in sociolinguistics applying these theories have shown the malleability of ethnicity (e.g. Bailey, 2000; Bucholtz, 1995; Cutler, 1999; Rampton, 1995). These studies demonstrate how speakers resist, recreate, and adopt others' ethnicity through the use of language. Bailey for example shows how second generation Dominican teenagers of Rhode Island, who are phenotypically black, resist the black identity label imposed on them by the white community by invoking their linguistic practices; they argue that they are Hispanic or Spanish because they speak Spanish. For Dominican teenagers, language is a means of recreating a new ethnic identity.

In this dissertation, I refer to the social identities of Muslims and Hindus as religio-ethnic. Although ethnic identities may include a religious component, I use the term 'religio-ethnic' since the blend stresses the religious component of the identity. However, the religious part does not necessarily refer to observed religious practices of Muslims and Hindus; it has to do with people's perception of their identity. People call themselves Muslim or Hindu regardless of whether or not they engage in their religious practices. Moreover, the degree of religiosity is also variable. Since my focus is on cross-religio-ethnic differences, I do not examine the internal linguistic variation in usage among Muslims along religious lines. However, I do discuss briefly the ideologies about Urdu among Muslims who attend *madrasās* for religious education in Chapter 6.

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1.4 Transcription conventions

The transcription system used to represent Urdu and Hindi materials in this dissertation differs slightly from the IPA. I use a system that is similar to the one used by scholars who work on South Asian languages and cultures.[11] The list of abbreviations provides symbols and their IPA equivalents. The reason for choosing a different convention from IPA is that I would like this dissertation to be accessible to people who work on South Asian languages.

Another point about transcription needs to be clarified. I transcribe Urdu and Hindi words as they are spoken not as they are written. So, for example, the word *zanānā* 'related to women' in the Urdu script ends in the letter '*chhōTī hē*', but I do not transcribe the letter since it is not pronounced. Similarly the Arabic graphemes that do not have phonemic status in Urdu have not been transcribed. For example, although the words *zamānā* and *zulm* are written in Urdu with the letters 'zē' and 'zōē', they have been transcribed with the symbol /z/ since both are pronounced in the same way. Also, all common Urdu and Hindi nouns occurring within English text have been italicized. However Urdu proper nouns have not been italicized.

The Roman spelling of Urdu and Hindi proper nouns referring to places that have become common in English has been retained, for example the long vowel of the word 'Delhi' has not been marked, since this would make the work look different from the commonly accepted spelling. However, the long vowel in the Urdu/Hindi words Dillī and

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[11] See for example (McGregor, 1972).

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Dehlī has been transcribed as long. With regard to proper names referring to people, I consider them as ordinary Urdu and Hindi words and have therefore transcribed them as such. However if an author has written in English using a particular spelling, I have retained that spelling. For example, if an author spells his Urdu last name Fānī in English as Fani, I have retained his or her spelling.

Finally, unless otherwise mentioned, all translations into English are mine.

1.4.1 Organization of the dissertation

In this chapter, I discussed the research questions, existing literature, and the theoretical framework of this dissertation. Chapter 2 presents a sociolinguistic account of the city of Old Delhi and a discussion on the methodology of the research and the process of data collection.

Chapter 3 examines the changing indexical value of Urdu over the past century. I show that despite organized political movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that tried to establish the indexical links between Urdu and Muslims, Urdu was not unequivocally indexical of Muslim identity until the partition of India in 1947. Analyzing data from pre-Partition Hindu and Muslims, I show that Urdu became indexical of Muslim identity only following the sociolinguistic changes brought about by the Partition of India. In other words, Urdu is indexical of Muslim identity only for the second generation Muslims born after 1947.

Chapter 4 focuses on the language ideology and practice of the third generation of Muslims. I show that Urdu is not indexical of their identity. They try to disaffiliate from

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the Old Delhi Muslim identity, culture, and language. In addition to holding different ideologies, the third generation is also losing some of the distinctive Urdu phonemes. Their ideologies about Urdu as well as their language-use are quite different from the second generation of Muslims and quite similar to their Hindi-speaking Hindu friends.

Chapter 5 examines the emerging process of transliteration of Urdu texts written in the Perso-Arabic script into Devanagari. I show that the adoption of Devanagari for Urdu, despite a strong opposition from Urdu speakers, is related to and reflective of the third generation, which does not have functional literacy in the traditional script. Analyzing data from Urdu-in-Devanagari texts, I show that Muslims are making efforts to preserve the Urduness of Urdu in Devanagari. I provide a unified analysis of the process of preservation of Urdu features in Devanagari and the loss of Urdu phonemes in the language of the third generation. I argue that the efforts to preserve Urdu features in Devanagari reflect the ideology of the second generation rather than the third generation.

Chapter 6 presents a summary and conclusion of the dissertation. I also present some future directions of research on the sociolinguistics of Urdu. Based on the analysis of some emerging trends, I speculate on future sociolinguistic developments of Urdu in India.

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CHAPTER 2 ETHNOGRAPHY AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

During my first few weeks in Delhi, when I had just started working on developing relationships with Urdu speakers, I met with a few scholars of Urdu and discussed my research project with them. I explained to them that my research is on spoken aspects of the Urdu language, and I told them that I would need their help finding Urdu speakers in Old Delhi who would be willing to participate in my research. Many of them seemed interested in and encouraging of my research, but they would ask if I had met with other Delhi-based scholars of Urdu. One of them actually dictated names of famous Urdu writers, critics, and poets and suggested that I needed to interview them. He told me that they all spoke "good" Urdu, and I would definitely find useful research material there.

Similarly, one evening, I was sitting in the office of an Urdu newspaper, talking about my research to the editor, whom I had known for a couple of months. A friend of his, whom I did not know well, but apparently he knew me, asked me who I had met so far. In an excited way, I told him about the fascinating interview I had conducted that afternoon with Mr. Ahmad, a Muslim resident of Ballīmārān, who belongs to the low caste Manihār community. Looking away from me, expressing his surprise and

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disapproval of my choice of Mr. Ahmad, the gentleman in a scornful manner said, 'I did not know that Ahmad spoke good Urdu!' Although I felt embarrassed in front of a group of educated people, for not showing "good judgment" about Urdu speakers, I began to wonder what my research findings would have been like if I had collected all my data from speakers of "good" Urdu. I also wondered what the results would have been if I had confined myself to the first and second generation Muslims.

This chapter deals with the "how" of the findings of this dissertation. I discuss the ethnographic contexts, the fieldwork research, the process of data collection, and the methodology used to analyze the data. In section 2.1.1, I provide an ethnographic account of my research sites—the city of Old Delhi and Zakir Husain College. Section 2.2 presents the sociolinguistic aspects of Old Delhi. In section 2.3, I provide information about research participants and the methods used to recruit them. In section 2.4, I discuss the methodology used to analyze the data.

2.1.1 Siting the research

The fieldwork research for this dissertation was conducted from January to June 2006 in the city of Old Delhi and a nearby college called Zakir Husain College. The data from first and second generation Muslims and Hindus were collected in the city. The data from the third generation came largely from my work at the College, although I did meet with many research participants outside of the college premises. Some of the interviews also took place outside of campus.

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Before conducting the full-fledged fieldwork, I did a pilot study in 2005. I spent six weeks learning about the social and linguistic aspects of the city. Mr. Azhar Dehlvī, with whom I had been in regular telephonic contact before leaving, was my key resource person in Old Delhi. He continued to be helpful during my second visit in 2006. During my first visit, he introduced me to several *ḵhālis dillīwālās*, 'native residents of Old Delhi', including the people who religiously gathered every night after 11 PM in front of Kallan Sweets, near the Jāmā Masjid.[12] This get-together of old and middle-aged Muslims of Old Delhi took place at the *taḵhat*, 'wooden planks', jutting out of a shop. The meeting would usually continue until past midnight. The group was small and cohesive, consisting of about half a dozen people. I regularly joined the get-together on the *taḵhat* and learned a lot about the sociolinguistic aspects of Old Delhi, especially the differences between Standard Urdu and the non-standard dialect called Karḵhandārī. Insights about the sociolinguistic relationship between Standard Urdu and Karḵhandārī gained from the first-hand experience at the *taḵhat* were helpful in understanding sound change among the third generation, discussed in Chapter 4. I discuss some features of Karḵhandārī in section 2.2 below.

2.1.2 Old Delhi, *Purānī* Dillī, Dillī chhē, Dillī, Dehlī, or Shāhjahānābād

The city of Old Delhi lies to the North of New Delhi, the capital of India, which includes areas planned by the British architect Sir Edward Lutyen. This part of New Delhi hosts

[12]The Urdu word Ḵhālis literally means 'pure'. The compound word *Ḵhālis dillīwālā* refers to native residents of Old Delhi who were born and have lived in the city for many generations. This category excludes people who have migrated to Old Delhi from other states such as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Bengal primarily as businessmen and laborers.

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the Indian Parliament, the President House, and other ministerial departments.[13] The very name Old Delhi, however, is contentious to many of its residents. They call their city Dehlī or Dillī, depending on cultural sensibilities and ideologies. Educated Muslims of Old Delhi call it Dehlī or Dillī, whereas other Muslims and Hindus call it Dillī or *purānī* Dillī. Literature produced in Urdu mostly refers to the city as Dehlī, although there are instances of the use of Dillī too. While conducting an interview with an educated Muslim research participant, I referred to the city as *purānī* Dillī. The interviewee corrected me that the city is Dillī without any prefixes. He argued that all other parts of Delhi carry a prefix such as New Delhi, West Delhi, or East Delhi; according to him, Dillī, however, is Dillī.

The opposition to the prefix *purānī*, 'old', is rooted in the social and political history of the city. Dillī (or Dehlī) began to be prefixed with *purānī*, meaning 'old', only after the establishment of the British 'new' Delhi. Goel (2003), who is a *dillīwālā*, in the introduction of his book on Old Delhi argues, 'To us Dilliwalas it has always been Dilli; the capital city of the mighty Moghul Dynasty. New Delhi is a town the British built to showcase their hold over India. Dilli and New Delhi are two different worlds, two different cultures' (p 11). Two different worlds indeed they are. There is a huge disparity in the socioeconomic and educational conditions of people in the two Delhis. William Dalrymple (2004) in his novel on Delhi notes the stark differences:

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[13] See maps of India and Delhi in Appendices 2-A and 2-B.

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> Just as Partition resulted in prosperity and growth for the new Delhi, it led to impoverishment and stagnation for the old. The fabulous city which hypnotized the world travellers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the home of the great poets Mir, Zauq and Ghalib; the city of nautch girls and courtesans; the seat of the Emperor, the Shadow of God, the Refuge of the World, became a ghetto, a poor relation embarrassingly tacked on to the metropolis to its south (p 50).

The resistance to the term *purānī* can be seen as a way of protest by *dillīwālās* against the decline of the 'old' with a simultaneous meteoric rise of the 'new'.

Old Delhi is also known as Dillī chhē, Delhi six, referring to the postal zone that covers a large area of Old Delhi. To most *dillīwālās*, this term is derogatory and offensive. In the very beginning of my fieldwork, when I was experiencing a lean season, I wrote a short journalistic article on the linguistic diversity of Old Delhi entitled "*Dillī chhē*: a linguistic tapestry" and showed it to Mr. Abdulkarīm, a scholar of Urdu and a *khālis dillīwālā*. He liked the article but suggested that I change the designation Dillī chhē, since it evokes a derogatory image of Old Delhi Muslims. He suggested that I use Shāhjahānābād, an old name of the city. Later on, I found out the stigma and shame attached to Old Delhi. I discovered that many third generation Muslims are ashamed of being from Old Delhi; they often deny that they live in Old Delhi. I discuss the social and political reasons and the linguistic consequences of this stigma in Chapter 4.

To add to the variation in names discussed above, the city was also known as Shāhjahānābād during the Mughal rule. The name literally means the city of Shāhjahān, referring to the Mughal ruler who founded it. Inshā Allāh Khān Inshā (1756-1817), a linguist, in his book Daryā-e-Latāfat, written in 1808, which explores the sociolinguistic aspects of Delhi, refers to the city as Shāhjahānābād and its language as *zabān-e-urdū-e-muallā-e-shāhjahānābād*, 'the language of the exalted city/camp of Shāhjahānābād'

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(Faruqi, 2001). Although this name has fallen out of popular use, many scholarly historical writings continue to refer to the city as Shāhjahānābād.[14] In this dissertation, I refer to the city as Old Delhi, in order to avoid confusion, because in Urdu and Hindi, New Delhi is also referred to as Dillī.

The city was founded by a Muslim Mughal ruler Shāhjahān (1592-1666) between 1638 and 1648 AD, after he transferred the capital of his empire to Delhi from Agra, about 200 Kilometers south of Delhi. As the city became the administrative and cultural capital of the Mughal Empire in subsequent years, it gradually attracted a large number of Muslims of various castes and professions to serve the Royal court. According to a census conducted by the British in 1833, there were 119,860 people in the city, which excluded the population of the palace (Gupta, 1981). According to Chenoy (1998), the proportion of Muslims and Hindus was almost equal.[15]

The population of the city suffered severely after the first war of independence/ mutiny in 1857. In order to contain the revolution, the British massacred thousands of people, especially Muslims of Delhi, since they were at the forefront of the revolution; many more were forced to flee the city. The second demographic changes in the population of the city took place at the time of the Partition of India in 1947. According to Pandey (2001), 350,000 Muslims of Delhi migrated to the newly-created Muslim state of Pakistan. The city also received a large number of Hindu and Sikh refugees from Pakistan, which almost balanced the population. However as a result of the mass exodus,

[14] See for example Blake (1990) and Ehlers and Krafft (2003).

[15] Other religious communities in Old Delhi are Sikhs, Jains, and Christians.

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the percentage of Muslims in the total population dropped from 32.53% in 1931 to 5.71% in 1951 (Bakhshi and Sharma, 1995: 121).[16] I discuss the sociolinguistic consequences of the migration of Urdu speakers in Chapter 4.

According to the 2001 census, the number of Hindus and Muslims in all the nine districts of Delhi is 11,358,049 (82%) and 1,623,520 (11.72%) respectively (India, 2001a). Although the census does not give figures of the Muslim and Hindu populations of Old Delhi, it does provide statistics for the Central District, which includes Old Delhi. The number of Muslims in the Central District is 193,137, which is 29.88% of the total population of the district, the largest percentage of Muslims in any district in Delhi (India, 2001b). Since Muslims constitute a significant portion of the population of the Central District, two of the four Muslim Members of the current 70-member Legislative Assembly of the National Capital Territory of Delhi are from Old Delhi. The other two Muslim members were elected from Okhla and Seelampur—other constituencies with significant Muslim populations.[17]

2.1.3 Zakir Husain College

Zakir Husain College (henceforth ZHC) lies at a walking distance from most parts of Old Delhi. Recently, the College held tricentennial celebrations of its foundation.[18]The

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[16] The post-Partition migration of non-Muslims from Pakistan to Delhi resulted in a substantial increase in the proportion of Sikhs to the total population from 1.01% in 1931 to 7.86% in 1951.

[17] Shahabuddin (2004) shows that 28 out of 35 Muslim Members of the Parliament in the 2004 Lok Sabha, the lower house, were elected from Muslim concentration constituencies. He argues that political parties do not field Muslim candidates from non-Muslim concentration electoral constituencies, because they believe that Muslims can win only from Muslim votes.

[18] See a picture of the College in Appendix 5.

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intellectual origin of the College goes back to a small *madrasā*, 'a religious school', established in 1792 in honor of Mīr Shahābuddin Ghāziuddīn Khan, the *sūbēdār*, 'governor', of Gujarat.[19] The *madrasā* grew into a college called Delhi College in 1825. The main motivation for the establishment of the college was to provide modern education to Indians through the vernacular—the Urdu language. In order to promote education through Urdu, a society called the Vernacular Translation Society was established. Under the aegis of the Society, a number of Greek classics, Persian books, and scientific treatise were translated into vernacular languages, especially Urdu.

Following the first war of revolution of 1857, the college was shut down by the British several times. In an effort to revive the intellectual life of Delhi, residents of Delhi established the Mohammadan Anglo Arabic School in 1882, which developed into the Anglo Arabic College in 1924. In the aftermath of the Partition in 1947, the College suffered a major setback and was shut down again, because Muslims working in the College were being targeted for attacks by Hindus.[20] When the College was reopened in 1948 the old name Delhi College was revived. In 1975, the College was renamed as Zakir Husain College in honor of the noted educationist and the ex-President of India Dr. Zakir Husain.

In post-Independence India, ZHC no longer serves the function it did during the colonial rule. Imparting education through vernacular languages is not its goal anymore.

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[19] See Rām (1975) and Gupta (1981) for the role that the College played in the intellectual life of India.

[20] Pandey (2001) quoting from the memoirs of Ebādat Barēlvī, a teacher in the College, mentions that the Government officials had information of a planned attack by Hindus on the College on the night of September 8, 1947.

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Like other colleges of the University of Delhi, the medium of instruction at ZHC is Hindi, English, and a code-mixed variety of Hindi and English.[21] In terms of its ranking, the College is not on most students' list of favorite colleges. The criteria for admission at ZHC, which is generally students' high school marks, are much less stringent than other colleges.[22] Despite the fact that the requirements for admission at ZHC are quite average, not many Muslim students from Old Delhi make it to coveted programs at the College. Most of them manage to get into language programs, for example Urdu, Persian, and Arabic, in which competition is almost non-existent, since Non-Muslim students do not apply for admission into these programs. Even Muslims who perform well in high school would like to get into other programs that hold better job prospects. According to the principal, a majority of the 25-30% of the total Muslim students of Zakir Husain College comes are in the Humanities and language programs.

The geographical proximity of the College to the city of Old Delhi is a boon for Muslim women students. Even conservative Muslim parents allow their daughters to attend, because the College lies within the watchful eyes of their parents and relatives. Many women research participants told me that they would not have been able to go to college at any other place. Many women believed that the College had a *musalmānī māhaul*, 'Muslim environment', which makes them feel at home.

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[21] Of course, programs in languages use appropriate languages as mediums of instruction.

[22] For example, according to the records (Delhi, 2006), in the year 2006-2007, the minimum marks required for admission into a Bachelor's degree program with specialization in history at ZHC was 65%, whereas in other colleges they were higher. Out of 44 colleges affiliated to the University of Delhi, for which the data was available, 21 colleges required higher marks than ZHC and 18 of them required less marks; five colleges accepted students with same marks as ZHC.

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Because of the factor discussed above, Zakir Husain College has a large number of Muslim students from Old Delhi. It therefore provides an ideal site for the examination of the sociolinguistic interactions between the third generation Old Delhi Muslims and Hindus. In Chapter 4, which is based on my research at Zakir Husain College, I discuss the stigmatization of Old Delhi Muslim identity and the struggle for a new identity among third generation Muslims. I show how the ideologization of Urdu as indexical of poor and conservative Muslims among the third generation youth contributes to language change involving the loss of some of the Urdu phonemes.

2.2 Social and linguistic structures of Old Delhi

Socially, Hindus of Old Delhi are organized in several caste-based communities, for example Kashmiri Pandits, Khatrīs, Kāyastha, Baniyās, Dhōbīs, and Bhangīs. Of these, Kashmiri Pandits, Khatrīs, and Kāyasthas are known for their adoption of the Urdu language and literature. During the Mughal rule, they learned Persian and occupied important administrative positions (Alam, 1998). Many of them received recognition as poets and scholars of Persian. A research participant, Anzār Dehlvī, a Kashmiri Pandit, told me that his ancestors were *atālīq*, 'teachers', in the Mughal court. After the British replaced Persian with Urdu as the language of administration at lower levels in 1837, these Hindu castes switched to Urdu and along with Muslims dominated the lower levels of the British administration. With reference to the state of Uttar Pradesh, Robinson (1974) describes this combined group of Hindus and Muslims as Urdu-speaking elite. In Chapter 3, I discuss some research participants belonging to these Hindu communities.

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Although Islam is theoretically a casteless religion, Muslim societies in India in general and Old Delhi in particular are socially organized in terms of caste.[23] Goodfriend (1983) gives various rankings of castes among Muslims in Old Delhi, but from the point of view of variability in Urdu, only two divisions seem relevant—the *shorafā*, 'the nobles', belonging to upper castes, and the *pēshēwar*, 'the occupational groups', belonging to lower castes. The *shorafā* consists of the castes known as Saiyyad, Shaikh, Mughal, and PaThān.[24] The *pēshēwar* castes include *tēlī berādrī*, 'oil pressers', *mōchī berādrī*, 'shoemakers', *nāī berādrī*, 'barbers', *saqqā berādrī*, 'water carriers', etc. Many Old Delhi neighborhoods and streets carry names referring to castes and related occupations, for example ChūRīwālān, the neighborhood of people who make bangles, PhāTak Tēliyān, the neighborhood of oil-pressers, Galī ChamRēwālī, the street of shoemakers, etc. Although there are exceptions, marriage outside of one's caste is not very common among Muslims of Old Delhi.[25]

The *shorafā* castes constitute a small fraction of the Old Delhi Muslim population. A research participant, who belongs to the upper caste *berādrī* of PaThān, proudly told me that one could actually count them on one's fingertips. The partition in 1947 and the ensuing mass migration to Pakistan contributed to the depletion of the upper caste educated Muslims of Old Delhi. Only a few of them, especially those who were ideologically against the idea of partition, did not migrate to Pakistan.

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[23] See Ahmad (1973) for a discussion of caste among Muslims in India.

[24] See Goodfriend (1983) for the adoption of traditionally upper caste last names such as Khān by lower caste Muslims as a means of enhancing their social position.

[25] See Qāsmī (1999) for detailed information on major castes/*berādrīs* among Muslims in Old Delhi.

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Muslims belonging to the *shorafā* caste are generally educated, whereas those belonging to the *pēshēwar* castes are not. Variation in language use is also stratified based on caste and the level of education. According to the *shorafā*, they speak *sāf* Urdu, literally "clean" Urdu, which refers to Standard Urdu. Others speak a low-prestige dialect of Urdu known as Karkhandārī. I was often directed, as indicated in the opening vignette, to contact speakers of *sāf* Urdu for my research.

The term Karkhandārī derives from the Urdu word *kārkhānā*, 'factory/workshop' and the suffix /-dār/, 'worker/owner', which together mean 'the owner/worker of a factory/ workshop'. The language label Karkhandārī however refers to the non-standard language spoken by occupational groups in general. According to Narang (1961), 'Thus the name "Karkhandāri" stands for the tongue spoken by the workshop-workers. But the Karkhandāri speech embraces much more than what its name literally signifies' (p 21). This variety is stigmatized; many young people belonging to lower castes, who have received education, deny that they speak Karkhandārī. I discuss how Muslim students from Old Delhi are ridiculed by outsiders for using features of Karkhandārī in Chapter 4.

There are some linguistic differences between Standard Urdu and Karkhandārī. The phonological difference involves raising of the low front vowel /ai/ as in the English word 'cat' to /e/ as in the English word 'late' and the monophthongization of /au/ to /ō/. Another marked feature of Karkhandārī is the lack of aspiration/breathiness in consonant phonemes.[26]

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[26] See Narang (1961), Singh (1966), and Ahmad (1979) for a description of the Karkhandārī dialect. Ahmad (1979) also provides a sketchy sociolinguistic account of the dialect.

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	Standard Urdu	Karkhandārī	Gloss
(a)	/paisā/	/pēsā/	'money'
	/pair/	/pēr/	'foot'
(b)	/fauran/	/fōran/	'right away'
	/khaulnā/	/khōlnā/	'to boil'
(c)	/ bhābhī/	/bābī/	'sister in law'
	/paRhāī/	/paRāī/	'education'

Because of the raising and monophthongization, many phonological distinctions that exist in Standard Urdu have merged in Karkhandārī, for example, the words /bair/ 'grudge' and /bēr/ 'plum' are pronounced in the same way in Karkhandārī.[27] Another characteristic of Karkhandārī is that final consonant clusters are simplified by the insertion of schwa, for example the Standard Urdu /fikr/ 'concern' is pronounced as [fikar] in Karkhandārī. In addition to the phonological differences, Karkhandārī also has some lexical items for example /lamDā/ 'boy' that are not used in Standard Urdu. Some of the lexical items used in Karkhandārī are archaic forms that have fallen out of use in modern Standard Urdu, for example, /kanē/, 'to', /kabhū/, 'sometimes'.

It is important to note however that the Urdu phonemes /f/, /z/, /kh/, /gh/, and /q/, which are the focus of this dissertation, are common between Karkhandārī and Standard

[27] See Rauf (1997) for other kinds of phonological mergers in Karkhandārī

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Urdu. Furthermore, the internal differences discussed above between Urdu and Karkhandārī are downplayed by Muslims. When I asked Mr. Fasīhuddīn, a Muslim belonging to the *shorafā* caste, about the relationship between Urdu and Karkhandārī, he said:

> "...so, the language that educated people speak, an illiterate *karkhandār* [a low-caste Muslim] is also speaking *the same*. A [*karkhandār*] says the same thing, but he says in his own way. It is the *same thing*. ...it is the *same* words. They say it in their own way, in their own style. The difference is only that of speaking. But the words are *the same*" (emphasis mine)

The downplaying of the differences between Standard Urdu and Karkhandārī can be seen as what Bucholtz and Hall call the process of adequation, which refers to a strategy by which Muslims construct similarities in order to be "positioned alike" in relation to Hindi speakers (2005).

The process of adequation may be due to the common religio-ethnic affiliation of Muslims regardless of the internal caste-related differences and due to their common "Other"—the Hindus. Furthermore, since the *shorafā* constitutes a small fraction of the total Muslim population of Old Delhi, for most Muslims the Karkhandārī dialect was the only Urdu they knew and used. For the same reason, the internal differences between Karkhandārī and Standard Urdu were invisible to ordinary Hindi speakers. Therefore, in the local language ideologies, the social meaning of Karkhandārī got conflated with Standard Urdu. Although for linguists and the upper caste Muslims, they were distinct entities, in the public imagination they were one and the same—the language of poor and conservative Old Delhi Muslims. The evidence for the conflation of the two is evident in the

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language change among the third generation. Although I study only the Urdu phonemes, many of the Karkhandārī features discussed above are also being lost in the speech of the third generation Muslims.

2.2.1 Urdu and Hindi: a sociolinguistic background

Urdu and Hindi belong to the Indo-Aryan sub-branch of the Indo-European language family. The history of Indo-Aryan is divided into three stages: Old Indo-Aryan (OIA), Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA), and New Indo-Aryan (NIA). The OIA group consists primarily of Vedic Sanskrit; MIA comprises languages such as Pali and the Prakrits; the NIA group consists of modern languages such as Urdu, Hindi, Bengali, Punjabi, and Marathi. The NIA languages are believed to have emerged from the MIA phase by 1000 AD.[28] Kharī Bōlī, a dialect spoken in and around Delhi, constitutes the dialectal base of both Urdu and Hindi and informs their common grammatical structure.

Hindi is mainly spoken in India and is the official language of the country.[29] According to the 1991 census of India, the number of speakers of Hindi in India is 337,272,114, which is about 40% of the total population excluding the state of Jammu and Kashmir, since the census could not be held in that state.[30]Urdu is mainly spoken in

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[28] See Masica (1991) for a history of new Indo-Aryan languages.

[29] Hindi is also spoken in neighboring Nepal and Indian diaspora in South Africa, Uganda, Singapore, North America, and Europe.

[30] See Mallikarjun(2001) for the use of Hindi as a cover term, by the Census of India, that subsumes as many as 48 language varieties. Since language data for the 2001 census were not available on the internet, I use the 1991 data.

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India and Pakistan.[31] According to the 1991 census, the number of speakers of Urdu in India is 43,406,932, which is about 5% of the total population (Mallikarjun, 2001). In India, Urdu is constitutionally recognized as one of the 22 national languages listed in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. Urdu is also the official language of the state of Jammu and Kashmir and second official language of the states of National Capital Territory of Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, and Bihar.

The syntax of Urdu and Hindi is very similar; their phonology, morphology, and vocabulary are, however, different. Urdu has borrowed some phonemes from Persian and Arabic namely /f/, /z/, /x̲h/, /g̲h/, and /q/.[32] Iqtedar Khan (1989) argues that many derivational affixes of Urdu and Hindi are distinct since they originate in different sources—Perso-Arabic or Sanskrit. For example, Hindi affixes such as /pratī-/ 'counter' as in *pratiuttar,* 'counter-response', /swa-/, 'auto', as in *swachālit*, 'automatic' and /-ik/ 'related to' as in *dhārmik,* 'religious', are not used in Urdu. Similarly derivational affixes borrowed into Urdu from Persian and Arabic are not used in Hindi, for example, /-āt/, 'plural marker', as in *kāg̲hzāt,* 'documents', /ham-/, 'likewise', as in *hambistarī,* 'cohabitation'. Iqtedar Khan lists other distinctions between Urdu and Hindi, for example, the use of the *izāfat* construction. The *izāfat* is a process of genitivization involving two or more nouns/adjectives, e.g. in the compound word zabān-*e-urdū-e-muallā-e-Shāhjahānābād,* 'the language of the exalted city/camp of Shāhjahānābād', the nouns *zabān* and *urdū* and the adjective *muallā* have been conjoined by the use of the

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[31] Urdu is also spoken in Bangladesh, and diaspora communities in South Africa, North America, Europe, and several gulf countries such as Oman, UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain.

[32] See a table of consonant phonemes of Urdu and Hindi in Appendix 1-A.

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izāfat marker 'e'. Khan also gives distinctions in semantic ranges of several related words in Urdu and Hindi.

Most of Urdu's vocabulary is derived from Indo-Aryan sources, especially later stages of Sanskrit, e.g. Prākrit and Apabhransha. Urdu has very few *tatsama* words—words that have retained the Sanskrit phonological structure and meaning. Most of Urdu words are *tadbhava* words—words that have undergone significant changes from their original Sanskrit phonology and meaning. According to Narang (1974), about 75% of Urdu's vocabulary is shared with Hindi (in Rai, 1991: 6).[33] The rest of Urdu's vocabulary consists of loanwords from several languages, of which Persian and Arabic have the largest influence.

Different domains and registers of language-use show different levels of lexical influence from Persian and Arabic and Sanskrit; the religious discourses of Islam and Hinduism show enormous variability with regard to lexicon to the extent that Urdu and Hindi become mutually incomprehensible. Urdu as used in written Islamic literature and oral sermons delivered in mosques relies heavily on borrowings from Persian and Arabic. Most of the terms associated with the basic Islamic belief system is borrowed, for example, *mōmin*, 'believer', *kāfir*, 'disbeliever', *monāfiq*, 'hypocritical', *rasūl*, 'prophet', *qabristān*, 'graveyard', kafan, 'grave-cloth' *jannat*, 'heaven', *jahannam*, 'hell', *farishtā*, 'angel', *shiatān*, 'devil', *wazū*, 'ablution' etc. Similarly most of the terms related to the Hindu belief system are borrowed from Sanskrit.

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[33] The figure is based on the number of loanwords in the Urdu dictionary. The number of words actually used can vary from register to register.

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Urdu and Hindi literatures similarly show significant variation not only in the lexicon but also in literary genres and poetic meters. Urdu has borrowed most of the Persian poetic genres and meters, for example, *nazm*, *ghazal*, *rubāī*, *nāt*, *madh*, *marsiyā*, *qatā musaddas*, etc. The meta-language of Urdu poetry and criticism is similarly consists of borrowings from Persian and Urdu, for example, *shēr*, 'couplet' *shāirī*, 'poetry' *matlā*, 'the first *shēr* of a *ghazal*', *maqtā*, the last *shēr* of a *ghazal*, *bahr*, 'poetic meter', *tanqīd*, 'criticism' *qāfiyā*, 'refrain' etc. Similarly, Hindi poetry draws on Sanskrit for its meta-language.

Another area that shows immense variation in the use of lexicon is grammatical and metalinguistic registers. The following table gives Urdu and Hindi equivalents of common grammatical terms. It is clear from the table that a discussion in Urdu and Hindi on the structure of the two languages can be completely incomprehensible.

Table 1Lexical differences between Urdu and Hindi

Gloss	**Hindi**	**Urdu**
sentence	vākya	jumlā
subject	kartā	fāel
object	karm	mafūl
verb	kriyā	fēl
noun	sangyā	ism
pronoun	sarvanām	zamīr
adjective	vishēshaN	sifat
tense	kāl	zamānā
past	bhūt	māzī
present	vartamān	hāl
future	bhavishya	mustaqbil

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Loanwords from Persian and Arabic are, however, also used in conversational registers. Many such words are also used in Hindi, since there do not exist Sanskrit or Sanskrit-derived words. When they are used in Hindi the phonemes are nativized. Examples of such lexical items include: *qalam*, 'pen', *jēb*, 'pocket', *kāghaz*, 'paper' *chashmā*, 'glasses', *kharāb*, 'bad', *sāf*, 'clean', *safāī*, 'cleanliness', *gharīb*, 'poor', *faqīr*, 'beggar', *chīz*, 'thing', *khushī*, 'happiness', *ghalat*, 'wrong', *sahī*, 'correct', *bāqī*, 'remaining', *hāl*, 'condition', *elāqā*, 'area, neighborhood' *qatl*, 'murder', *qātil*, 'killer' etc.[34]

Although I do not examine the changing pattern of lexical items across generations in this dissertation, it is worth pointing out that many third generation Muslims do not use common Urdu words such as *qalam, elaqā, jēb, kāghaz, qatl* in their conversational registers. They instead use English words 'pen', 'area', 'pocket', 'paper, 'murder'. If they use Urdu words containing the Urdu phonemes, they nativize them (see Chapter 4). The loss of the Urdu phonemes is crucially tied to the loss of Urdu lexicon among the third generation. A very good example of the loss of lexicon is manifested in changing address terms. All third generation Muslims of Old Delhi used *mammī* and *DaiDī*, loanwords from English, to refer to their parents. Unlike the older generations, they did not use the Urdu word *wālid* 'father' and *wālidā* 'mother'.

Although loanwords constitute a small proportion of Urdu's vocabulary, they are quite important in determining the distinct identity of Urdu from Hindi. In Urdu speakers' ideology, loanwords and script are two major factors that give Urdu a distinct identity

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[34] The Urdu words *sāf* and *safāī* do not have religious connotations. There is a separate word *tahārat* also borrowed from Arabic, which indicate religious cleanliness.

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Narang (1991) notes, 'Urdu as a modern Indo-Aryan language has its base in the western Apabhransas, while at the same time it borrowed freely from Arabic and Persian especially at the morphological level. The Arabo-Persian naturalized element is the distinguishing mark of Urdu' (p 226). While pointing out the difference between Urdu and Hindi, many Urdu speakers talked about "Urdu words" and "Hindi words" in their own and other's language. Many Muslims pointed out that Hindi speakers can't do without Urdu words. Ghufrān Khān, a Muslim research participant, wondered why Hindi speakers use the Urdu word *chīj* (a variant of *chīz)*, 'thing', and not the Hindi word *vastū*. The consciousness about the provenance of words is high among Urdu speakers. This may be due to the fact that they work with Hindi texts in school and therefore are in a position to compare words of Urdu and Hindi.

Lexical items, prefixes, and suffixes are however difficult to study on the spoken level since their occurrence is quite unpredictable. This created a methodological issue: how do I decide whether a particular stretch of speech is Urdu or Hindi? This methodological problem was solved by studying the phonemes /f/, /z/, /kh/, /gh/, and /q/. Since these phonemes occur mostly in Perso-Arabic loanwords, they serve to distinguish Urdu from Hindi on the spoken level.[35] Linguists argue that these phonemes serve to distinguish Urdu from Hindi at the spoken level (Jāvēd, 1981; Khān, 1997; Narang, 1991). Jāvēd notes:

> Urdu integrated these phonemes in the very early stages of its development, and today Urdu is distinguished for its *shīn* and *qāf*. Urdu not only preserved these

[35] It is worth noting, however, that there are many Perso-Arabic loanwords in Urdu and Hindi that do not have these phonemes.

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> foreign phonemes in words borrowed from Arabic and Persian but began to use them in native words too for example *k̲harrānT, nark̲harā,allam g̲h*allam, *farfar farrāTā, zannātā, qalābāzī* etc. (pp 29-30)

The distinctive characteristic of the Urdu phonemes was mentioned quite early by a nineteenth century linguist. In the second chapter of his book Daryā-ē-Latāfat, Inshā Allāh K̲hān Inshā (1988[1808]) discusses linguistic variation in the speech of Old Delhi, in relation to people's ethnic identities and geographical neighborhoods. He gives examples of how a particular phonological, lexical, and syntactic variable is realized among different social groups.[36] While discussing the phonological variations in Urdu, he gives samples of speech of different social groups of Old Delhi, for example, Baniyās, Kashmīrīs, Hindus, Mug̲hals, Afg̲hāns, etc. As he does not discuss the methodology of collecting his data, it is hard to say how natural the speech sample is. But even if the samples were created by him based on his observations, they still shed valuable light on variation in Urdu in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Inshā analyzes the data with respect to how the language sample adheres to or deviates from *fasīh*, 'eloquent' language. While analyzing one of the language samples attributed to one Chuniyā Mal Dallāl, an uneducated Hindu of Old Delhi, Inshā notes that Chuniyā Mal does not produce the Urdu phonemes /f/, /z/, /k̲h/, /g̲h/, and /q/ "correctly" and thus concludes that Chuniyā Mal's language is not "eloquent". He shows Chuniyā Mal pronouncing /faizābād/ as [phaijābād], /k̲hushhālī/ as [khusālī], and /bāg̲h/ as [bāg]. Although he talks about other lexical and grammatical features of Chuniya Mal's

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[36] In this respect, Inshā predates European and American dialectologists and sociolinguists in recognizing and analyzing linguistic variation in terms of social identities.

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language, it is clear that Inshā considers the phonemes /f/, /z/, /kh/, /gh/, and /q/ as distinctive of Urdu.

Old Delhi Urdu speakers hold similar ideologies about the Urdu phonemes. Many research participants, in response to my question about similarities and differences between Urdu and Hindi, pointed out that Hindi speakers do not pronounce the Urdu phonemes correctly. This is how Sumair Shāhnawāz, a 22-year old Muslim resident of Turkamān Gate explained the difference between Urdu and Hindi:

Transcript 1[zarā/jarā]

SS: unkī language kā unkī zabān kā fact kah saktē haĩ ke non-Muslim jō hōtē haĩ jinkō jaisē āp hindū kahẽ unsē jō hai zē nahĩ nikaltā zē	SS: you can consider it a fact of their language that those who are non-Muslims, for example Hindus, cannot pronounce 'ze'[the phoneme /z/].
RA: acchā	RA: ok
SS: agar āp yē kahẽ zarā baiThiyēgā tō wō zarā nahĩ bōl pāyēngē, wō jarā kahẽgē	SS: if you say *zarā* [please] have a seat, they won't be able to pronounce *zarā*, they will pronounce it *jarā*

Sumair also gave me examples of how Hindi speakers pronounce a place in Delhi called *Zakhīrā* as *Jakhīrā*. Ideologies surrounding the pronunciation of the Urdu phonemes are quite strong. Many Urdu speakers told me that their names were almost always mispronounced and misspelled by their Hindi-speaking friends.[37] One Muslim participant said that Hindi-speakers cannot write Urdu/ Muslim names even in English correctly. He

[37] On a personal note, most of my Hindu friends at school called me Rijwān. I was extremely conscious of the mispronunciation of the Urdu phonemes. While considering names for my own children, I deliberately avoided names that contained these sounds. My wife and I finally agreed on Bilāl and Maisūn—Urdu names that do not have the Urdu phonemes.

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argued that they misspell names such as Zamīr as 'Jamīr' and Farhān as 'Pharhān', because Hindi does not have the sounds 'z' and 'f'. Another participant said that when he was thinking about a name for his bangle store, he did not consider Urdu words with these sounds, because he knew that most Hindi speakers would mispronounce them. He called his store Kagnī Bangles'. The word *kagnī* does not have any of the five Urdu phonemes.

Hindi speakers also hold similar views. Saritā Guptā, a 39-year old Hindu resident of Old Delhi told me that the difference between the language of Muslims and Hindus was that:

Transcript 2 [jahāj]

SG: ab jaisē hindī mẽ hamārē yahã̄ bolā jātā hai jahāj ham hindī mẽ jahāj boltē hain ab wō jahā::z bōltē haĩ nīchē wō lagātē haĩ bindī tō wō in chījȭ kā jeyādā jazb karkē boltē haĩ	SG: Like in our Hindi people pronounce *jahāj* [airplane]. We pronounce *jahāj* in Hindi, they pronounce it as *jahā::z*, they put a *bindī*, dot, underneath. They speak by absorbing these things a lot.

Although Hindi has also borrowed some words containing these phonemes from Perso-Arabic sources, they have been assimilated into the phonology of Hindi. The Urdu phonemes /f/, /z/, /kh/, /gh/, and /q/ are realized as /ph/, /j/, /kh/, /g/, and /k/ in Hindi (McGregor, 1972). In Chapter 5, I discuss the contrasting representation of these phonemes by Hindi and Urdu speakers, using the Devanagari script. In this dissertation, the preservation of these phonemes indicates that the language in question is Urdu, whereas their nativization indicates that the language in question is Hindi.

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2.3 Data collection and methodology

The data for this study were obtained using a variety of established sociolinguistic methods. I conducted interviews ranging from thirty minutes to over ninety minutes with both Muslims and Hindus covering all three generations.[38] The goal of the interviews was two-fold. First, they provided data on speakers' ideologies about Urdu and Hindi and their social roles and values. This was helpful in examining the changing ideologies about Urdu among the second generation Hindus and the third generation Muslims. Second, the recorded data were used for linguistic analysis. I examine the frequency distribution of the Urdu phonemes across the religio-ethnic groups of Muslims and Hindus in order to explore the social meaning of Urdu in general and Urdu phonemes in particular. The frequency distribution of the Urdu phonemes among Muslims and Hindus of the first generation shows that Urdu was not indexical of Muslim identity before 1947. The frequency distribution of the second generation Muslims and Hindus shows that they became indexical of Muslim identity after 1947. The distribution of the phonemes among the third generation Muslims shows that the phonemes are being lost. I discuss the social factors that are contributing to the change in Chapter 4.

The recorded data were supplemented by ethnographic observations of the linguistic practices of Old Delhi Muslims and Hindus. Old Delhi is extremely densely-populated and therefore there are not many flats available for rent. But with the help of my contacts, I was lucky to find an appropriate place in the heart of Old Delhi in Lāl Kūān. The central location of my flat made it possible for me to establish contacts with

[38] See the questionnaire used for the interviews in Appendix 4-A.

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research participants living in Muslim neighborhoods such as Farāshkhānā, Raudgarān, Punjābī PhāTak, Ballīmārān, ChuRīwālān, Turkamān Gate and Hindu neighborhoods such as ChāwRī Bāzār, NāīwaRā, and Bāzār Sītārām.

Because of the heavy density of population, very few homes in Old Delhi have enough space for receiving visitors. Only people who are extremely affluent have large homes with a living space. This made it impossible for me to meet with participants in their homes. Speakers would invite me to meet with them at work places, generally at a time when business would be slow. Once I was able to establish a good relationship, I would invite them to my home for interviews. This arrangement worked reasonably well. On invitations from friends, I attended many social events and ceremonies including a few delicious *walīmās*, 'wedding feasts'. I would make use of these opportunities to ask people questions about Urdu and Hindi. Although these conversations were not recorded, they were very useful in understanding the sociolinguistic situation of Old Delhi.

Contacts with participants were established through what is known in the literature as friend-of-a-friend method. The greatest benefit of the method was that I was not seen as a stranger by residents. Since I carried some kind of an informal introduction card, people trusted me more than if I had contacted them on my own. Milroy and Gordon (2003) explain the reason for the success of this method, 'As a consequence of the reciprocal rights and obligations that members of close-knit groups contract with each other, the mention of the insider's name had the effect of guaranteeing the fieldworker's good faith' (p 75). This explains why some of the contacts that I made on my own in the

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early phase of my research did not work out very well. See section 2.3.1 for more on the issue of speakers' trust and confidence in me as a fieldworker.

During the first three months of my research, I divided my work between Zakir Husain College and the city. I allocated a large portion of the daytime at College and the rest of the day and the evening in the city. This was possible since people of Old Delhi have a slightly unconventional schedule. They go to bed quite late, generally after midnight. Except those whose businesses start early in the morning, most *dillīwālās* get up quite late in the morning. In order to meet with people, evenings were usually more productive than mornings.

Devoting more time in the beginning to the third generation speakers at the College had an unintended positive consequence on recruiting research participants from first and second generations in the city. Many of my third generation participants from the College introduced me to their own and their friends' relatives in the city. In a way, I was finding my ways into the city through Old Delhi men at ZHC. Women were not helpful in this respect because it is a taboo to have male friends. So, they could not have introduced me to their parents and relatives.

The method of recruiting participants at the College was quite similar to that used in the city. I was introduced to several groups of students by a friend of mine who was a student at the College. I spent a lot of time at the College with the students and established friendship with them so that when the time for interviews came, they were not very reluctant. Some professors at the College also helped me in this regard. They introduced me to their classes and explained to the students that the research was really

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important and that they should help me. One professor told his students that by participating in the research, they would become famous in the USA! Their introduction worked so well that many of the students who had made promises for interviews and broken them several times suddenly appeared incredibly cooperative. Some of them told me that since their sir, teacher, asked them to help me, they thought not doing so would be tantamount to disobeying their teachers.

At the College, I would sit in front of the cafeteria and talk to students. It was not long before I was able to make friends with many Old Delhi students. I would also run into many of them or meet with them in the city. Some of them would come to me for help with their studies, especially before the final examinations. I would usually help them with their English and Arabic. On their invitation, I would also go to places, usually Dhābās, 'restaurants', where they hung out with their friends. If someone's relative or friend was getting married, I would get invitations to attend the wedding ceremonies.

Although I observed and spoke to a larger number of people, I was able to interview 50 people in total from both Muslims and Hindus covering all three generations. The following table gives information about the sample population.

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Table 2 Showing sample population

	Ethnicity			
	Muslim		Hindu	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Generation 1	6	2	7	0
Generation 2	5	5	2	3
Generation 3	6	6	4	4
	17	13	13	7
	30 (Muslims)		20 (Hindus)	
Total	50(Muslims and Hindus)			

2.3.1 The role of the fieldworker in sociolinguistics research

Sociolinguistics studies have demonstrated the role of the researcher not only in the quality of the sociolinguistic data but also obtaining access to speakers and the community at large (e.g. Hazen, 2000; Schilling-Estes, 1998; Schilling-Estes, 2000). Although as an outsider fieldworker, it is always difficult to get access to data without establishing a sufficient level of confidence, it becomes more difficult if the fieldworker is perceived as belonging to a community that has a hostile relation with the community being researched. In such cases, access to institutions and speakers for relevant data often depends on the social identity of the fieldworker. Sociolinguistic studies in Northern Ireland, for example, show that, due to heightened ethnic differentiations, it was often difficult for a Protestant fieldworker to conduct research in Catholic areas (McCafferty, 2000).[39]

[39] See also (Milroy, 1987b) for difficulties in getting access to speakers.

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Although the ethnic boundaries and social divisions between Muslims and Hindus, at the time when I conducted my fieldwork, were not as sharp as the Northern Ireland situation described by McCafferty, my identity as a member the Muslim community needs to be discussed.[40] Since Muslim and Hindu names in India are different, my research participants did not have trouble finding out my social identity just by learning my name. The issue of the social identity of the researcher in social science research is related to the insider-outsider issue in ethnographic studies. Was I an insider for Muslim and outsider for Hindu research participants?

I would like to argue that that notion of insider and outsider is quite complex. Sometimes, Muslims of Old Delhi saw me as an insider, whereas at others, they treated me as an outsider. Furthermore, group boundaries are constituted and perceived differently at different levels in different contexts. So, although being a Muslim, I may have been seen as an insider, as a person who was born in Bihar and spoke Urdu with a Bihari accent, I was always considered to be an outsider. For Muslims of Old Delhi, I was not a *dillīwālā*, a native of Old Delhi. Often, Old Delhi Muslims commented on my lack of control of Urdu or my Bihari accent. While interviewing a Muslim research participant, Mr. Nazīr Quraishī, I asked him to tell me about a market in Old Delhi. In order to be more specific about the market, I added '*wō bāzār jahā̃ aurtẽ̃ hī aurtẽ̃ dikhtī haĩ*', 'the market where only women are seen'. I used *dikhtī haĩ* a passive form of the verb root '*dēkh*', 'see', which, I realized later, does not exist in Delhi Urdu. Mr. Quraishī

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[40] The social and physical boundaries between Muslims and Hindus could become impregnable at times of what is known as "communal riots", ethnic violence, so that access of outsiders to the communities becomes quite restricted.

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commented on my "incorrect" use of the verb right away, '*āp kī bhī urdū sahī nahī̃ hai*' 'your Urdu is not good either', indicating probably that my Urdu is as bad as other younger generation speakers. He then provided the correct passive form of the verb '*dikhāī dētī haĩ*'.

There were other social and political reasons that went into the interpretation of my identity by *dillīwālās*. During my first week in Old Delhi when I was still trying to establish connections with Urdu speakers, I went to a chemist to buy a medication. I wanted to make use of the opportunity to learn about the language situation of Old Delhi. I introduced myself to Shamīm, the owner of the shop, as a researcher from the University of Michigan and I asked him about Urdu and Hindi in Old Delhi. Before answering my question, Shamīm asked me for my identification to verify my identity. I showed him my University of Michigan ID, but Shamīm still did not look convinced. He did not believe that I was interested only in the issue of language. He told me that secret service agents from the Central Bureau of Investigations often come under cover, looking for other social information. Although his friend Mr. Shafīq, who was less suspicious of my identity than he, told him that some researchers do study languages. On this occasion, I was definitely not an insider.

Another similar incident took place at the Jāmā Masjid, where I went to offer my Friday prayer. I was not particularly dressed for the occasion. I was wearing a T-shirt and a pair of jeans. Most Old Delhi Muslims wear a white *kurtā-shalwār*, 'a loose two-piece outfit', and a *Tōpī*, 'cap', on Fridays. I was offering a non-mandatory prayer before the beginning of the sermon and the mandatory prayer. As soon I was done, somebody from

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the row behind me pulled me by the shoulder and, in what I considered quite a rude way, pointed at my uncovered head and elbows and unreasonably long trousers that went beyond my ankles. In a very harsh and a tone filled with anger, he told me how careless I was not to get a cap worth 10 rupees. It is prohibited in Islam for men to cover ankles and leave the elbows uncovered. It is also recommended that you cover your head. The gentleman thought that I was an outsider. The notion of insider-outsider is complex and my being Muslim was not always interpreted as an in-group marker.

However at other times, my Muslim research participants treated me as an insider. While I was working at Zakir Husain College with the third generation Urdu speakers, I contacted a young man for an interview. After I introduced my research to him, he showed his willingness to participate in my research and commented that it is good to know that I was working on Urdu. If I did not do research on Urdu, he argued, do you think 'others' would do it. For this Muslim gentleman, Urdu was the language of Muslims and it was "natural" that I, being Muslim, was doing research on it.

The social and contextual nature of my social identity notwithstanding, I hired a Hindu research assistant to conduct some of the interviews for me, with Hindu research participants. I did this in order to make sure that I was not influencing the quality of the data I was getting from Hindu participants. My research assistant, a female undergraduate student, was born in the city of Old Delhi. She conducted interviews with some Hindu participants including P. K. Chōprā, whom I also interviewed. I studied the two interviews with reference to the use of the Urdu phonemes and found that there were no differences in terms of frequency distributions between the two interviews.

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My social identity however played some role in getting access to Hindus of the first and second generations. I was not able to get access into the community until Mr. Narāin, a Hindu from Bāzār Sitārām, introduced me to some Hindi speakers. This may have to do with the issue of trust and confidence in general. As discussed earlier, the contacts I tried to make even with Muslims on my own did not work well. It was through some *dillīwālā* that I was able to establish contacts with Muslim speakers too.

My religio-ethnic identity, however, did play a positive role in obtaining access to Islamic institutions such as mosques. My entry into mosques was not restricted. I used mosques for two purposes. First, as discussed above, due to lack of living space in most homes, I was not able to meet with many Muslim participants at their homes. Those who had businesses would invite me to their work place. Those who didn't often invited me to meet with them on the premises of mosques. I had several meetings with research participants in a mosque called Kalā̃ Masjid located in the Turkamān Gate neighborhood.[41] Second, I also observed the use of Urdu in mosques and recorded some *khutbās*, 'sermons'. Although I did not analyze this data substantially, some tentative stipulations based on them are presented in Chapter 6.

2.3.2 Data analysis

As discussed in Chapter 1, the goal of this dissertation is to examine the semiotic complexity of Urdu in India. I examine the assumed indexical links between Urdu and Muslim identity and study how, if at all, Muslims of Old Delhi construct and express

[41] This mosque is also referred to as Kālī Masjid, 'black mosque', which is a folk version of the compound word Kalā̃ Masjid, 'big mosque'.

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their religio-ethnic identity through the use of Urdu in day-to-day social interactions. In conjunction with the theoretical goals, the methodology adopted was to investigate the ideological structures of Muslims and Hindus regarding Urdu and Hindi. As discussed in Chapter 1, the indexicality of language and its elements is rooted in speakers' language ideologies. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) note that indexicality '...relies heavily on ideological structures, for associations between language and identity are rooted in cultural beliefs and values—that is ideologies—about the sorts of speakers who (can and should) produce particular sorts of language' (p 594). I would add that indexicality does not simply rely on ideological structures but in fact derives its meaning from them and is sustained through them. I show in Chapters 3 through 5 how the indexicality of Urdu and the Devanagari script have shifted like sand dunes over the past hundred years. I explain the shift in terms of changes in the ideological structures of Urdu speakers, which inform (and are informed by) social and political changes in India.

In addition to the investigation of the ideological structures of speakers, I also study the distribution of the Urdu phonemes /f/, /z/, /x̲h/, /g̲h/, and /q/ among Muslims and Hindus as a means of studying the indexicality of Urdu. As discussed above, the preservation of these phonemes indexes Urdu, whereas their nativization indexes Hindi. I demonstrate that the ideologies about Urdu, whether positive or negative, can be seen in the preservation/nativization of these phonemes. For example, first generation Muslims and Hindus, who claim that they speak Urdu and position themselves positively towards Urdu have almost 100% preservation of these phonemes. By contrast, second generation Hindus and third generation Muslims have a negative stance towards Urdu, which can be

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seen in their nativization of these phonemes. More details on the methodological issues are discussed in Chapter 3.

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CHAPTER 3 URDU AND MUSLIM IDENTIY IN THE 20TH CENTURY

3.1 Introduction

I enter Guptā Hardware to meet with the owner of the store Shumbhū Nāth Guptā, my first Hindu research participant. His store is located in ChāwRī Bāzār, an extremely crowded part of Old Delhi, which lies to the west of the Jāmā Masjid, the imposing seventeenth century mosque.[42] I had already been introduced to Mr. Guptā by his Muslim friend and colleague Mr. Mustafā Fārūqī.[43] Mr. Guptā retired from Hamdard Dawākhānā, a well-known center of traditional Unānī medicine, where he worked with Mr. Fārūqī for more than two decades. Mr. Guptā, who is 74-years old, is an ex-resident of Old Delhi; he lived in ChūRīwālān, a neighborhood adjacent to ChāwRī Bāzār, till the late 1980's when he, like many others, moved out for a better life. Although now he lives away, his commercial interests and personal memories are still deeply-rooted in Old Delhi.

Mr. Guptā welcomes me and offers me a seat in his small shop. As we start to talk, I get distracted by a copy of the Gita, a Hindu religious text, written in the Perso-Arabic script, lying on his desk, I couldn't suppress my curiosity and asked him why he

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[42] See a picture of the Jāmā Masjid in Appendix 5-B.

[43] I use titles Mr. and Mrs. with first and second generation participants and no title with third generation research participants.

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does not read the Gita in Devanagari, the script used to write Sanskrit, the sacred language of Hindus. He told me that although he learned Devanagari several years after 1947, he does not like it, because he has more facility with the Perso-Arabic script. When I asked him where I could find copies of the Gita and Ramayana in the Urdu script, he told me about the bookstore in Old Delhi that sells such books. I visited Dēhāti Pustak BhanDār, located a few hundred meters behind the Jāmā Masjid and bought a copy of each. Out of curiosity, when I asked the bookseller who the buyers of these books were, he told me that some *buDDhē*s, 'old people', from Old Delhi and elsewhere ask for the Urdu version.

Although as a sociolinguist, I knew that the use of the Urdu language was not confined to Muslims in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, I had not seen a Hindu religious scripture written in the Perso-Arabic script before. The knowledge and use of the Urdu language and its Perso-Arabic script have become so iconic of Muslim identity in post-Independence India that it is a rarity to find a Hindu who knows Urdu, let alone reads his/her religious book in the Perso-Arabic script.

3.1.1 Aims and objectives

As indicated in Chapter 1, the indexicality of Urdu in India is quite complex. In this chapter, I discuss social and political factors that contribute to a multi-layered indexicality of Urdu. The major aim of this chapter is to examine to what extent Urdu is indexical of Muslim identity in Old Delhi. I do this by examining the language ideologies of pre-Independence Hindus and Muslims regarding Urdu. I show that many Hindus born and raised before 1947 use Urdu and claim that it is their language. Furthermore, pre-

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Independence Muslims also do not believe that Urdu is their (Muslims') exclusive language either. They often argue that many Hindus speak Urdu better than them.

A factor that complicates the indexicality of Urdu is that many pre-Independence Hindus, especially those who chose to adopt the Hindi-stream of education do not claim that they speak Urdu. An examination of the distribution of Urdu phonemes in their speech corroborates their claim. However, the presence of a large number of Hindus who actively used Urdu prevented people from establishing a unidimensional indexicality of Urdu with Muslims until 1947. In order to substantiate this, I analyze metalinguistic commentaries of some Hindus born after 1947 and show how their ideologies regarding the indexicality of Urdu are different from those belonging to the pre-Independence generation. Hindus born after 1947 do not claim Urdu as their language and argue that they speak Hindi, although they do acknowledge that their relatives and others of the older generation spoke Urdu.

I supplement the discussion on language ideology with the distribution of the Urdu phonemes /f/, /z/, /x̲h/, /g̲h/, and /q/ among pre and post-Independence Hindus. While Urdu speakers preserve these phonemes, Hindi speakers nativized them into /ph/, /j/, /kh/, /g/, and /k/. As discussed in Chapter 2, the reason for choosing these phonemes is that they are exclusive to Urdu and thus serve to distinguish Urdu from Hindi. Secondly, they are more likely to occur in natural speech and thus more amenable to analysis than lexical items, which are often constrained by the topic of conversation. Thirdly, many research participants believe that the main difference between Urdu and Hindi speakers lies in the pronunciation of these phonemes.

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A quantitative study of these phonemes, however, poses a methodological problem due to the unpredictability and low frequency of their occurrence. First, they are consonants and therefore they do not occur as frequently as vowels. Secondly, they occur mostly in Perso-Arabic loanwords. It was therefore not always possible to find enough tokens of each variable for all speakers. For example, regardless of the generation and religio-ethnic identity, the frequency of /g̲h/ is low for all speakers. In a 30-minute conversation, the number of tokens for /g̲h/ was more than 30 for only one speaker. Moreover, it was difficult to find 30 tokens for any of these variables among the third generation Muslims, who are losing these phonemes. So, in order to avoid the problem of finding a minimum of 30 tokens, I keep the length of conversations constant across speakers and generations. To examine the distributions of these phonemes, I analyze 30 minutes of conversation for each speaker.

Through an analysis of the distribution of these phonemes, I demonstrate that pre-Independence educated Hindus and Muslims show similar distribution of these phonemes, which suggests that they do not index an exclusive Muslim identity. However, the distribution of these phonemes among the second generation Hindus and Muslims, who were born after 1947, is different. Second generation Hindus have lost most of these phonemes, whereas second generation Muslims preserve them. The loss of these phonemes among Hindus reflects and at the same time reinforces the Muslim indexicality of these phonemes after 1947. Their loss among Hindus helped second generation Muslims ideologize that the phonemes are indexical of their exclusive Muslim identity.

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The rest of this chapter is organized as follows. In section 3.2, I discuss the existing literature—which covers a number of disciplines including history, linguistics, literature, and political science—that explores the indexicality of Urdu before the twentieth century. In section 3.2.2, I discuss the impact the Independence of India had on the indexicality of Urdu and Hindi.[44] In section 3.3, I analyze the ideological structure of pre-Independence Hindus and Muslims and give frequency distributions of the Urdu phonemes among pre-Independence Hindus and compare it to that of Muslims. Section 3.4 presents data from post-Independence Hindus to show the contrast in the ideology about Urdu and the use of the Urdu phonemes. In section 3.5, I present a conclusion and note that the indexicality of Urdu is again undergoing a change among Muslim youth, which I discuss in Chapter 4.

3.2 Changing times, changing meanings: Urdu before and after 1947

Recent insights from sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology show that language and elements of language acquire their social meaning through a process of social semiosis mediated by people's conceptions of the structure and use of their language (e.g. Irvine, 1989; Irvine and Gal, 2000; Silverstein, 1985; Silverstein, 1998; Wassink and Dyer). As this approach to the indexical meaning of language is rooted in the sociolinguistic practices of speakers, changes in language ideologies and linguistic behaviors go hand in hand with changes in social and cultural realities; in fact changes in linguistic practices inform (and are informed by) changes in sociocultural factors. Drawing upon this

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[44] See Pandey (2001) on the use of the terms Independence and Partition. He discusses the alternative claims these terms make about nationalism and the nation-state.

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approach to the social meaning of linguistic units, supplemented by insights from disciplines such as history and political science, I trace the trajectory of the shifting indexicality of Urdu over the past hundred years and show how Urdu became ethnicized in post-Independence India. In other words, I discuss the processes by which Urdu became available to Muslims as an index of their identity in post-Independence sociolinguistic situation.

3.2.1 Urdu, identity, and contestations

The indexicality of Urdu in India derives from its complex and strongly contested relationship with two other linguistic entities—Hindi and Hindustani. What linguistic codes the terms Hindi and Hindustani exactly refer to has been ambiguous and open to differing interpretations. In fact, both the linguistic relationship between them and the social meanings they represent have been conceptualized in different ways, which derives from an understanding of: how did Urdu and Hindi come into being in the first place, and whose language is Urdu anyway? The answers to these questions involve issues of identity, power, and political interests. There are three major players whose ideologies, identities, and interests are articulated through these conceptualizations —the British, votaries of Hindi, and the votaries of Urdu.[45]

I begin with how the British understood the relationship between these linguistic entities and how that might have provided a blueprint for later players, both Urdu and

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[45] In pre-Independence India, supporters of Urdu consisted of Hindus and Muslims both; supporters of Hindi however comprised mostly of Hindus. However, see King (1994) for a discussion on some Muslim promoters of Hindi.

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Hindi supporters, to draw upon. As the British were the first to classify and codify the sociolinguistic diversity of North India, their understanding of the situation is quite important. In dictionaries and grammar books produced by British civil servants in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Hindustani, by which they meant Urdu, is identified as the language of Muslims, although they also note that it was the lingua franca of India. John Gilchrist (1759-1841), a doctor by profession, who was one of the first to write a grammar of Urdu, considers Hinduwee to be the "exclusive property" of Hindus and Hindoostani to be the language of Muslims (in Faruqi, 2001: 29). Gilchrist was not the only scholar who held this view; Faruqi notes that others such as Nathaniel Halhed (1751-1830), the first grammarian of the Bengali language had expressed similar ideas earlier.[46]

This view has been challenged by scholars including Faruqi who argues that behind the categorical mapping of languages onto social groups, such as Hindus and Muslims, lay the colonial ideology that language and nation were coterminous. Faruqi discusses the role that colonial civil servants played in sorting out the linguistic complexities of India, especially their ideology that Muslims and Hindus must have different languages since they are culturally different (2001).[47] According to Faruqi, Hinduwee, or Hindavi was not a separate language; it was simply an older name for Urdu. The British in their determination to find one language for Hindus and another for

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[46] See Faruqi (2001), Cohn (1985) and Lelyveld (1993) for the colonial understanding of the sociolinguistic situation of North India.

[47] See Irvine & Gal (2000) for the role the colonial ideology of language and nation played in the linguistic mapping of West Africa.

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Muslims created the neat division of Hindi/Hindavi and Hindustani/Urdu and associated the former with Hindus and the latter with Muslims. Faruqi argues that Urdu/Hindustani in the nineteenth century was not indexical of Muslim identity; it was a language of both the Hindu and Muslim communities.

In a controversial book, Rai (1984) argues that Muslims made deliberate attempts to change the "natural" course of the development of Hindavi, the composite language of Muslims and Hindus in North India, by borrowing heavily from Persian and Arabic. He argues that in the early eighteenth century, the lexical stock of Hindavi was heavily Persianized by the ruling Muslim elite, in order to encode in Hindavi a mark of their separate identity (1984: 242). Rai argues that Hindavi was renamed Urdu only after it (Hindavi) was "reformed" by replacing native Sanskrit-derived words with Perso-Arabic loanwords. Although Rai's work is not within a language ideological framework, his study suggests that Hindavi was indexical of a joint Hindu-Muslim culture, whereas Urdu became indexical of an exclusive Muslim identity.

Rai's thesis that Urdu became the language of Muslims in the eighteenth century has come under criticism. Faruqi (2001) criticizes him by arguing that Urdu was called by different names such as Hindi, Hindavī, Rēk̲htā, Gujrī, Dehlvī in different places and at different points in time. He provides copious references from literary materials produced from the thirteenth through nineteenth centuries to show that Hindavī was actually an earlier, and in fact more popular name of the language known as Urdu in the twentieth century. Faruqi shows that Hindavi was used by both Muslim and Hindu writers and argues that Rai's argument about the indexicality of Urdu as the language of

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Muslims, based on his distinction between Hindavi and Urdu is *not* sustainable, because Hindavi was an earlier name of the same language which later came to be known as Urdu.

Sahar (1999) criticizes Rai's claim by providing evidence from literary pieces from periods prior to the eighteenth century containing Persian and Arabic loanwords. According to Sahar, the use of loanwords had become common even before the eighteenth century, the period that according to Rai (1984) saw a deliberate Persianization of Hindavi. Zahīr (1995) similarly, argues that, even in later periods, the use of Persian and Arabic loanwords was not related to the religious identity of the author; in fact, some of the most Persianized Urdu writings were the creations of Hindu authors and poets. For instance, *Masnavī Gulzār-e-Nasīm* written by Pandit Dayā Shankar Nasīm (1811-1843), a Hindu writer, has more loanwords from Persian and Arabic than *Sehrul Bayān,* composed by Mīr Hasan (1736-1786), a Muslim writer (p 326).

There is yet another conceptualization, put forth recently by Amrit Rai's son Alok Rai, who argues that both "Urdu" and "Hindi" are indexical of Muslim and Hindu identity respectively, but Hindi, without the scare quotes, referring to the common linguistic ground between the two, symbolizes a composite Hindu-Muslim identity (2000). It is not very clear what linguistic entity Hindi, without scare quotes, refers to; it probably is similar to Mahatma Gandhi's concept of Hindustani, which he defined as:

> ...that language which is spoken in the north [India] by both Hindus and Muslims and which is written either in Nagari or the Persian script. [it] is neither too Sankskritized nor too Persianized... . The distinction made

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> between Hindus and Muslims is unreal. The same unreality is found between Hindi and Urdu (in Robert King, 2001: 56).

Hindustani in this sense refers to a linguistic middle ground, often imagined, between Urdu, containing a lot of Persian and Arabic words, and Hindi, containing a lot of Sanskrit words. Hindustani has been found to be problematic both linguistically and socially. Russell (1996) contends that it is not always possible to find three sets of words—one for Urdu, another for Hindi and a third for Hindustani. Lelyveld (1993) discusses how Hindustani was unwelcome among both the Hindi and Urdu speakers, because each party saw in Hindustani the possibility of the enemy (Urdu or Hindi) returning in disguise.

Despite Rai's claim about the "Islamization" of Urdu in the eighteenth century, most scholars argue that in the nineteenth century Urdu was not exclusively associated with Muslim identity and culture (e.g. Ahmad, 2005; Dalmia, 1997; King, 1994). They argue that the transformation of the indexicality of Urdu and Hindi began in the late nineteenth century, when Hindus launched a strong movement for the introduction of Hindi, in place of Urdu, in courts of law. King (1994), who has researched the Hindi Movement extensively argues that the nineteenth century Hindi movement 'strove to transform the existing equations of Urdu=Muslim+Hindu and Hindi= Hindus +Muslim into Urdu=Muslim and Hindi=Hindu' (p 15). What the movement tried to do was to present Urdu and Hindi as indexical of Muslim and Hindu identity respectively. Tārā Chand, a social scientist, makes a similar comment, 'Throughout these centuries, Hindi (Persianized Hindustani) and not modern Hindi (Sanskritized Hindustani) was the lingua

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franca of India and the speech of polite society, whether Hindu or Muslim' (in Faruqi, 2001: 46).[48]

This position represents a realistic sociolinguistic situation, since it is borne out by empirical observations that a large number of Hindu poets, writers, critics, and journalists used Urdu in the nineteenth century and continued to do so in the early twentieth century. In Old Delhi, there are a number of Hindus belonging to the pre-Independence generation, who are proficient users of Urdu, both at the written and spoken levels, and many in fact did not learn how to write Hindi until after 1947, when Hindi was declared as the national official language of India. This suggests that Urdu was not yet emblematic of an exclusive Muslim identity. A twentieth century Hindu writer of Urdu, Ratnēshwar Prasād Sālik's view on the Urdu language and its indexical meaning is instructive, "*we have both together created a new language—the Urdu language*—which was neither our language nor theirs. Urdu is the strongest foundation and the biggest symbol of the national unity. May this language live, so we both live!"(in Pālvi, 1982 :6 emphasis mine).

While discussing the indexicality of Urdu in the early twentieth century, the government's educational policy regarding Urdu and Hindi in the school system also needs to be considered. The twentieth century saw the continuation of what King (1994) calls a "linguistically bifurcated" vernacular educational system of the nineteenth century whereby the government supported education through both Urdu and Hindi. In the twentieth century, in government schools, students could either choose the Urdu stream

[48] Note that Tārā Chand uses Hindi to refer to Urdu. He uses modern Hindi to refer to Sanskritized Hindi.

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or the Hindi stream. While a number of Hindus chose to study Hindi, many Hindus and almost all Muslims chose the Urdu stream. I discuss some such Hindus later in the chapter.

In sum, although the nineteenth century Hindi movement strove to redefine the indexical meaning of Urdu and Hindi, the transformation did not become completely successful until 1947. In Old Delhi, Hindus born in the first half of the twentieth century use Urdu, in both the spoken and written modes, without feeling that they are compromising their religious identity. Like Muslims, they claim that Urdu is their mother tongue. This ideology however began to change as the Independence/Partition of India drew closer. The process of establishing what King calls the Urdu=Muslim equation becomes complete after 1947. However, since different generations of Hindus and Muslims coexist, the indexicality of Urdu continues to remain complex even after 1947.

3.2.2 The Partition and the ideological divide: Urdu after 1947

In post-independence India, Urdu is associated with Muslim identity. Lelyveld notes, 'It [Urdu] is not only almost universally identified as a language for a regionally unspecified Muslim population, it is also the would-be, official, non-regional language of a foreign country Pakistan' (1993: 682). In a survey conducted in several states in North India by Abbi, Hasnain, and Kidwai (2004), no Hindu claimed Urdu as his/her mother tongue. In the national sociopolitical discourse, the issue of the Urdu language is concatenated with the issue of the Muslim culture and education. The demand for the promotion of the Urdu language and literature originates primarily from Muslims. In 2006, in the report submitted to the government of India by the Sachar Commission, which was charged

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with examining the social and economic conditions of Muslims, the commission recommends the use of Urdu in schools where Muslims are in substantial numbers as a means of ensuring their education. On the local level too, in Old Delhi, Urdu Medium schools are attended exclusively by Muslim students.[49] The use of Urdu in speech and/or writing is largely confined to Muslims, although there are a handful of Hindus of the older generation like Mr. Guptā, who continue to use Urdu.

As indicated above, the roots of the ideology linking Urdu and Muslim identity in the post-Independence India go back to the nineteenth century. King (1994) argues that '... the divide came with the beginning of the Hindi movement in the 1860's when some Hindus began to assert that one could no longer be a good Hindu and an advocate of Urdu at the same time'(p 177). One of the major language policy changes that the movement was able to achieve was the recognition of Hindi in 1900, in addition to Urdu, as an official language in courts of law. Despite the change in the language policy, Hindus, like Mr. Guptā continued to use Urdu and claim it to be their language in the first half of the twentieth century.

The first half of the twentieth century saw further mobilization along religio-ethnic lines, which contributed to the identification of Urdu with Muslims. In the 1930's as the movement for the independence from the British was growing in strength, so was the Muslim League's struggle for the establishment of Pakistan under the leadership of Mohammad Ali Jinnah. In addition to political issues such as lack of representation of Muslims in the civil services, Muslim League activists started to campaign among

[49] Many Muslim students, however, do attend Hindi and English medium schools.

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Muslims about the rise of the Hindi language at the cost of Urdu. They argued that only a new Muslim state would be able to salvage Urdu. When the separatist movement became successful and the new Muslim state of Pakistan was created in 1947, Urdu was declared the national language, despite the fact that only a small percentage of Pakistanis (about 7%) claimed Urdu to be their mother tongue.

The ideology of the Muslim League held that Urdu is the language of Muslims. Jinnah, the leader of the Pakistan movement, speaking at Dhaka University in 1948 argued that Urdu '... more than any other provincial language [of Pakistan], embodies the best that is in Islamic culture and Muslim tradition and is nearest to the languages used in other Islamic countries' (in Uddin, 2006: 2). In Jinnah's ideology, Bengali, whose speakers outnumbered Urdu speakers, was not good enough to be the national language of Pakistan. The association of Urdu with the creation of Pakistan impacted the perception of Hindus about Urdu and Muslims in India. Purushottam Das Tandon, a prominent Congress leader, the President of the State Congress party and an ardent supporter of Hindi, in 1948 said:

> The Muslims must stop talking about a culture and civilization foreign to our culture and genius. They should accept Indian culture. One culture and one language will pave the way for real unity. *Urdu symbolizes a foreign culture.* Hindi alone can be the unifying factor for all the diverse forces in the country (in (Khalidi, 1995: 138: emphasis mine)

The result of the political events surrounding 1947 was that Urdu in India became iconized with lack of patriotism, foreignness, and antithetical to Indian "culture and genius". Metcalf (2006) notes the consequences of Partition for Urdu in India, 'In any case, the fact that Urdu then became the national language of Pakistan, a country

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established on the grounds of the religion of the population, made the position of Urdu in its own homeland even more difficult' (p 66).

Even within the nationalist Congress, there were two factions on the issue of the official language of India. Nationalist leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Maulānā Abulkalām Āzād made attempts to find a solution to the language issue. They supported the idea of a common language called Hindustani, instead of Urdu or Hindi, which they argued would draw upon both Urdu and Hindi. However the Hindu nationalists within the Congress saw Hindustani as Urdu in disguise, which to them was a language associated with the Pakistan movement (Bredi, 2006). Similar concerns were raised by Urdu speakers too, who thought that Hindustani was Hindi in disguise (Lelyveld, 1993).

A consequence of the Partition of India could be seen in the dramatic changes in the number of speakers of Urdu, Hindi, and Hindustani as shown by the census. Ahmad (1993) compares the statistics of speakers of Urdu, Hindi, and Hindustani from the census reports of 1951 and 1961. Unfortunately the 1941 census figures cannot be compared with those of 1951, since mother tongue categories used in the two censuses were not the same. The comparison between 1951 and 1961 is still very interesting. Ahmad shows that the number of people who returned Urdu and Hindi as their mother tongue in 1961 represents a dramatic increase from 1951—which is out of proportion with the population growth of their speakers. Ahmad links the reason for the dramatic rise in the number of speakers of Urdu and Hindi to the decline of the number of speakers of Hindustani. He notes, '...the only way one can explain the stupendous increase in the

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number of rural Urdu-speakers is by surmising that two to three million among those who had previously returned Hindustani as their mother tongue now shifted to Urdu, while roughly an equal number shifted to Hindi' (Ahmad, 1993: 18).

So, with India's independence and the establishment of the Muslim State of Pakistan in 1947, the multidimensionality that characterized the indexicality of Urdu before 1947 diminished; the indexicality of Urdu in India became more categorical. Both Muslims and Hindus began to ideologize Urdu as an exclusive language of Muslims. Khurshid (2006) notes, 'In the backdrop of the Partition, the common Urdu speakers came to be seen as a hostile outsider, and Urdu and Muslim became synonymous with one another' (p xi).

3.3 Ethnography and data analysis

This section provides data to support the conclusions based on secondary sources that the Urdu language in Old Delhi was not categorically indexical of Muslim identity until 1947. First, I present examination of the ideological structure of pre-Partition Hindus and Muslims regarding Urdu. Then, I present the social distribution of the Urdu phonemes /f/, /z/, /x̲h/, /g̲h/, and /q/ among both Hindus and Muslims. The last section provides a comparative look at the distribution of these phonemes among post-Partition Hindus and Muslims.

3.3.1 Probing the ideologies of pre-1947 Muslims and Hindus

Mr. P. K. Chōprā, a Hindu, was born in 1931 in the NāiwāRā neighborhood of Old Delhi, which is behind the Jāmā Masjid and is inhabited largely by Hindus. He still lives in his

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ancestral home in NāiwāRā. Mr. Chōprā worked for the central government of India for more than three decades before taking voluntary retirement in 1987. Until he became physically handicapped, as a trustee he was actively involved in the administration of a Hindu temple established by his forefathers in NāiwāRā.

The personal linguistic trajectory of Mr. Chōprā shows the changing indexicality of Urdu from the language of educated Muslims and Hindus to that of Muslims alone. He represents the pre-1947 generation of educated Hindus who did not see any incongruity between their religio-ethnic identity and the use of Urdu. At the same time, he also betrays a tension that is caused by his actual linguistic practices in Urdu and the expected linguistic behavior in Hindi, which came about as a result of the post-Independence indexicalities of Urdu and Hindi.

Mr. Chōprā loves the Urdu language, especially Urdu *ġhazal*—love poetry consisting of independent units of two lines. During my interview with him, he recites couplets from classical ghazals of noted Delhi Urdu poets such as Mīr Taqī Mīr, Asadullāh Ḵhan Ġhālib, and Bahādur Shāh Zafar. In his second interview, which was conducted by my Hindu research assistant, he sings Urdu ghazals and explains its meaning to her, assuming, correctly, that she does not know Urdu. Mr. Chōprā went to elementary school in M.B. Middle school, near Jāmā Masjid, where he studied Urdu with his Muslim friends till the eighth grade. He still cherishes his friendship with his Muslim friends, although some of them migrated to Pakistan in 1947. After completing the eighth grade in 1946, he decided to switch from the Urdu to Hindi-stream of school education. By 1946, it had almost become clear to people that Hindi was going to be the official

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language of India. Mr. Chōprā completed the rest of his school and university education through the Hindi medium. Despite the fact that more than half a century has passed since he switched his language of schooling from Urdu to Hindi, he can still read Urdu. His language of day-to-day conversation still remains Urdu. This is in contrast to his later generation family members. I was not able to interview his sons, but I did interview his grandson, Kamal Chōprā. Below, I discuss Kamal's language ideology and his use of the Urdu phonemes.

It is not simply Mr. Chōprā's knowledge and use of Urdu in his day-to-day life that is significant, his orientation to Urdu and Hindi is quite interesting from the point of view of the construction of identity in discourse. Research on language and identity shows that taking a particular stance in discourse is an act of aligning to or disaligning from someone or something, which is a social action that constitutes a particular social identity (Haddington, 2004). In an interview with me, Mr. Chōprā, despite being Hindu, not only aligns himself with Urdu by asserting that Urdu is his mother tongue, but by showing a strong negative stance towards Hindi, he disaligns himself from Hindi. The process of alignment with Urdu and disalignment from Hindi happens simultaneously.

Transcript 3 [Chōprā-mothertongue] (emphasis mine)

PC: ...zabān sē hī, talaffuz sē hī patā lag jātā hai ke yē urdū *speaking* hai	PC: You know it from the language, the pronunciation that he is Urdu-speaking.
RA:achhā tō talaffuz se patā lagtā hai? kaisē? tō kis chīz kā talaffuz ?	RA: so, you can tell from the pronunciation. How? Pronunciation of what?
PC: bhaī pronunciation kā, tallafuz means pronunciation wō jō hindī lōg	PC: By pronunciation. *Tallafuz* means pronunciation. The Hindi that they used

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bōlā kartē thē tō wō kuchh aur hī tarīkē sē ke **hamẽ̃ tō wō samajh hī nahī̃ ātī thī. āj kī tārīx tak hamẽ̃ hindī bilkul samajh nahī̃ ātī.** pure salīs hindī bōlē tō **hamē bilkul nahī̃ samajh mẽ̃ āyēgi**. ab jaisē kapil hai, ab wō sanskrit mẽ̃ kar riyā hai apnā jō hai course magar **hamẽ̃ tō nahī̃ samajh mẽ̃ ātī. ham tō kahtē haī ke mādri bhāshā tō hamāri urdū hī hai dar asal, kyõnke ham nē *birth* sē hī urdū dēkhī,** father hamārē urdū mẽ̃ hi kām kartē thē. kārōbār urdū mẽ̃ hī thā. court kachahrī bhī urdū mẽ̃ hī thī.	to speak was of a different kind. **We would not understand that. Even until today, we don't understand Hindi at all.** If someone spoke pure Hindi, **we won't be able to understand it.** For example, Kamal [his grandson] is doing his course in Sanskrit, but **we don't understand it** [his Hindi]. **Let me tell you that in reality Urdu is our mother tongue, because we have seen Urdu since our childhood.** Our father used to use it. All our business was conducted in Urdu. The language of courts and offices was Urdu.

Mr. Chōprā's comments above are in response to my question about how he could tell whether someone is speaking Urdu or Hindi. It is important to see how he disaligns himself from Hindi by arguing that he did not understand Hindi then, nor does he understand it now. Of course, he exaggerates the difference between Urdu and Hindi by stressing the incomprehensibility of Hindi. His exaggeration however is crucial from the point of view of stance; I argue that by exaggerating, he makes his negative stance towards Hindi stronger. Note that he says that he does not or won't understand Hindi four times before making his point that Urdu is his mother tongue.

His negative stance towards Hindi shows up elsewhere in the interview too. In response to my questions about the languages spoken in Old Delhi, he starts with a general statement by saying that 'this language', by which he refers to Hindustani that he used in a previous turn, is spoken around there, but then he switches from a passive to an

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active sentence structure and takes a strong negative stance toward Hindi. He says that he used to curse Hindi. The subject in the previous passive clause is 'this language', whereas in the latter clause it is the first person plural Urdu pronoun *ham*, 'we'.[50]The switch from a general statement about languages spoken around Old Delhi to his personal orientation to Hindi is also marked by the Urdu word *balke*, which is a conjoiner that conjoins two clauses, the latter of which expresses a slightly different proposition from the previous one. The last sentence also suggests that he feels helpless in accepting Hindi since it has been made, in his own words, a national language.

Transcript 4 [Chōprā-Hindi] (emphasis mine)

RA: achhā yē batāiyē ke purānī dillī mẽ kaun kaun sī zabānẽ bōlī jātī haĩ, yā jab āp kē us zamāne mẽ bōlī jātī thĩ?	RA: Tell me what languages are spoken in Old Delhi, or what languages were spoken in Old Delhi in your time?
PC: nahĩ, mērē xayāl sē yahī bōlī jātī hai. *pure* hindī tō kōī nahĩ bōltā jī. **ham tō balkē** *curse* **kartē thē ke kyā hindī zabān hai**, magar ab it has been declared national language tō ham kuchh *oppose* bhī nahĩ kar saktē.	PC: no, in my opinion this language [Hindustani] alone is spoken. Nobody speaks pure Hindi. **We actually used to curse what kind of a language is Hindi,** but now it has been declared a national language. We can't even oppose it.

In conjunction with his negative stance towards Hindi, he also displays a positive evaluation of Urdu. In an interview with my research assistant (noted as SG in the transcript), he constructs a positive stance towards Urdu, in response to a question that did not explicitly intend to seek an evaluative response from him.

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[50] In Urdu, it is often considered polite to use the plural form of the first person singular pronoun. Mr. Chōprā himself uses the plural form before I leave. He says, 'We enjoyed talking to you'.

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Transcript 5 [Chōprā-Urdu] (emphasis mine)

SG: tō sirf āp kō kaisā lagtā hai kī matlab kī urdū ēk	SG: What do you think, I mean Urdu
PC: **baRī achhī zabān thī**	PC: **was a beautiful language.**
SG: kī ānī chahiyē yā	SG: people should learn it or
PC: **ke urdū baRī achhī zabān thī.**	PC: **that [Urdu]was a beautiful language.**
SG: hm	SG: hm

Mr. Chōprā's positive evaluation of Urdu and a negative stance towards Hindi contrast with the process of denigration of Urdu and valorization of Hindi by Hindu nationalists in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The denigration involved constructing the Urdu language and script as sloppy, foreign, fraudulent, and prejudiced. The Hindi language and script by contrast was projected as perfect, indigenous, honest, and impartial. Scholars argue that the process of the representation of Urdu as defective and Hindi as perfect are discursive acts towards the construction of Hindu identity.(see e.g. Ahmad, 2005; King, 1992).

The above discussion demonstrates how Mr. Chōprā's religious identity does not conflict with his language ideology about Urdu. Urdu is as much a part of his identity as it is of Muslims of Old Delhi. However, it is hard to assume that Mr. Chōprā is unaffected by the post-1947 language discourse, in which Urdu and Hindi are associated with Muslim and Hindu identity respectively.[51] Although he grew up before 1947, he has spent most of his life in post-Independence India. In fact, in his own family, his sons and grandsons, who were all born after 1947, do not use Urdu; nor do they identify

[51] The indexicality of Hindi has become complex in post-Independence India, because of its status as the official language of India.

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themselves with it. I interviewed his grandson separately; he claims that his mother tongue is Hindi. When I asked Kamal if he spoke Urdu at home, he emphatically denies it:

Transcript 6 [Kamal-Urdu] (emphasis mine)

RA: achhā yē batāō ke ghar mẽ̃ tum lōg apnē ghar mẽ̃ urdū bōltē hō?	RA: okay, tell me if you people speak Urdu at home?
KC: nahĩ̃ nahĩ̃ hindī yā punjābī	KC: no, no, Hindi or Punjabi.

Kamal strongly denies my assertion that he and his immediate family members speak Urdu at home. He says 'no' twice before saying that they speak Hindi or Punjabi at home. So, for Mr. Chōprā, the tension of knowing and using Urdu and claiming it to be his language, which has become associated with Muslims, does show up in his discourse. When I asked him explicitly what language he spoke at home, although he does not claim that it was Hindi, he does not say that it was Urdu either.

Transcript 7 [Chōprā-Hindustani]

RA: yē batāiyē kē jaisē jab āp apnē ghar mē mã̃ bāp sē bāt kartē thē tō kis zabān mẽ̃ bāt kartē thē? ghar kī zabān kyā hotī thī?	RA: ok, tell me, when at home, what language did you use with your parents? What was the language of home?
PC: nahĩ̃, hindustanī	PC: no, Hindustani
RA: jī	RA: yeah
PC: hindustanī. RA: achhā	PC: Hindustani RA: ok
PC: abhī kal ēk *picture* ā rahī thī TV pē rājā hindustānī	PC: yesterday, they were showing a film on TV Raja Hindustani
RA: achhā	RA: ok
PC: us mẽ̃ wō yahī kahtā hai ke bhaī maĩ̃ tō	PC: This is what he says in the film, I am

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parīshān hō gayā wō hindū hai, wō musalmān hai wō sikh hai wō īsāī hai, maĩ tō rājā hindustānī hữ. rājā mērā nām hai hindustānī maĩ apnē āp kō kahtā hữ bas	really worried: he is Muslim, he is Hindu, he is Sikh, he is Christian. I am Raja Hindustani. My name is Raja and I consider myself Indian.
RA: achhā achhā	RA: ok, ok
PC: No other introductions!	PC: No other introductions!

Notice that Mr. Chōprā's response to my question about the language of home starts with a 'no', although my question was not framed as a yes/no type question. My question was in a wh-format whose expected answer on the part of the interlocutor is to provide the information requested. Therefore, Mr. Chōprā's hedging with a 'no' needs explaining. I argue that his hedging and the unconventional second-pair part are due to the tension of being a Hindu Urdu speaker in post-Independence India.

It is important to note that contrary to his strong statement in another part of the interview where he boldly claims that Urdu is his mother tongue (see transcript 3 above), here, he says that their language of home was Hindustani instead. Mr. Chōprā's use of the term Hindustani, instead of Urdu, helps him escape the uncomfortable situation that the post-Independence discourse of Urdu and Muslim identity creates for Hindus. We have seen earlier that in the early twentieth century many people had started to associate Hindi with Hindus and Urdu with Muslims. In the nationalist discourse, Hindustani by contrast was indexical of a composite Hindu-Muslim identity (see the discussion in section 3.2.1 above). With the creation of Pakistan with Urdu as the national language and the Independence of India with Hindi as a national official language, the term Hindustani as a language lost its sociolinguistic meaning and disappeared from the public discourse.

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Further support for this argument comes from Mr. Chōprā's mention of the Hindi film Rājā Hindustānī. He, like the protagonist of the film, does not want to be identified as a Hindu, or Muslim. Just as Raja Hindustani dissociates himself from all religious identities and claims to be just Indian, he also wants to be a speaker of Hindustani and not Hindi or Urdu. Of course, here his identity as a Hindu is not under scrutiny or in dispute and therefore by claiming Hindustani as his language, he is preempting any conclusion of his identity based on the post-partition indexicality of his use of Urdu.

This interpretation is further strengthened by looking at the previous turn where he talks about his school days when he learned Urdu. My question about his home language comes right after he talked about learning Urdu in school. So, by showing his disagreement, expressed with the negation 'no' to my wh-question, he tries to avoid any judgments that I might make about his social identity based on his knowledge and use of Urdu. So, the hedging with a 'no' is a way Mr. Chōprā responds to both the post-Independence discourse on Urdu and the local context of the talk about Urdu.

Transcript 8 [Chōprā-school]

RA: tō us waqt urdū mīdīam sē paRhāī hōtī thī?	RA: The medium of instruction at that time was Urdu?
PC: hã̃	PC: yes
RA: jī	RA: yeah
PC: hã̃:	PC: yes
PC: hh. I was a Urdu student.	PC: yes, I was an Urdu student.
RA: tō yē āpnē, urdū kab tak paRhī kis kalās tak?	RA: Until which grade did you study Urdu?
PC: mērē xayāl sē āThwī̃ se hī, āThwī̃	PC: I think until the eighth grade. (???)

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tak.(???) kē wahā̃ pe hindī compulsory hō gaī thī.	Hindi had become compulsory there.

It is clear from the above discussion that for Mr. Chōprā and others like him, Urdu is not indexical of Muslim identity. Sometimes, he, however, does find himself trapped in the post-Independence language discourse, which he tries to resolve by using a more neutral term—Hindustani. More importantly, he never identifies himself with Hindi; he does not think that his Hindu identity is predicated upon his speaking the Hindi language or even showing loyalty to it.

It was not only Hindus like Mr. Chōprā who claimed that Urdu was their mother tongue, but many Muslims themselves thought that Hindus spoke Urdu, often better than them. In response to my question about who speaks Urdu in Old Delhi, many Muslim residents would mention *shahrī* Hindus, old Hindus. For example, Nazīr Quraishī a 70-year-old Muslim resident of Havēlī Āzam Khān makes the following claim about the indexicality of Urdu. He does not believe that Urdu is tied to Muslim identity.

Transcript 9 [Nazīr-Urdu] (emphasis mine)

RA: lafzõ̃ kē alāwā bhī farq hai kyā?	RA: are there differences other than those of words?
NQ: nahī̃ aur kōī nahī̃. Actually, **urdū zabān jō hai kisī kī mīrās tō hai nahī̃**	NQ: no, actually, **Urdu is not the property of anyone.**
NQ: ke sāhab wō musalmānõ̃ kī zabān hai yā hinduõ̃ kī zabān hai yā sikhõ̃ kī zabān hai yā īsāiyõ̃ kī zabān hai, samjhē. yē us zamānē kī lashkarī zabān kahlātī thī	NQ: so that, sir, this is Muslims' language, or Hindus' language, or Sikhs' language, or Christians' language, okay? This is a language of the army camp of the olden days.

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Later on, in the interview Mr. Quraishī tells me that actually many Hindus of the older generation speak Urdu better than many Muslims. He gives me examples of Urdu speakers among Hindus from Old Delhi and elsewhere to support his claim. One such Hindu, who is an Urdu speaker, is Anzār Dehlvī.

Kamal Nārāin, alias Anzār Dehlvī, was born in1926 in a Hindu family in the Bāzār Sitārām neighborhood of Old Delhi. Like Mr. Chōprā and Mr. Guptā, Mr. Dehlvī represents pre-Partition Hindus who used Urdu without feeling that they were compromising their religious identity. Currently Mr. Dehlvī lives in Noida in New Delhi, but he still keeps in touch with his old friends—both Hindus and Muslims. Some of his relatives still live in their ancestral home. Mr. Dehlvī received his primary and higher education through the Urdu medium. Although Mr. Dehlvī can read Hindi, like Mr. Guptā, with whose linguistic vignette I opened this chapter, he reads his religious books in Urdu too.

Mr. Dehlvī is a popular Urdu poet. His father, Sartāj Dehlvī, also a poet, traces his literary lineage to the famous Urdu poet Dāgh Dehlvī (1831-1905), who was also from Old Delhi. I was introduced to Mr. Dehlvī at a *mushāerā*, a literary event where Urdu poets deliver their poetry to a large audience. The *mushāerā* was held in the Old Delhi Red Fort on the occasion of the Indian Republic day. I saw a lot of people jostling with each other to get closer to Mr. Dehlvī. From the distance, it appeared to me that he was signing autographs to his admirers, but when I got closer, I saw that he was doing much more than that. Before signing his name, he would write a slogan in Urdu *Urdu zindābād, Urdu pāindābād*, 'long live Urdu!' 'Long live Urdu!' When he got up to give

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his presidential address at the *mushāerā*, he recited a *rubāī*, a four-line poem, about Urdu that received a great applaud from the audience. In his *rubāī*, Urdu is not only the language of the poem, but also its subject matter.

Transcript 10[Dehlvī-Urdu] (emphasis mine)

sāhir kī zabā̃ zār kī bōlī mērī	My language is the language of Zār and
sāhil nē sikhāyā hai adab kā uslūb	Sāhir
kaifī sē talammuz kā sharaf rakhtā hū̃	I have learned the literary style from Sā'el
urdū kē sewā kuchh nahī̃ mujhkō matlūb	I am honored to be a pupil of Kaifī
	I do not seek anything other than Urdu

For Mr. Dehlvī, Urdu is the language that defines his social identity. In addition to being an Urdu speaker, poet, and writer, he has played a very active role in the political fight for the promotion of Urdu in post-Independence India. He, along with others, formed a *mardum shumārī kamītī*, 'census committee', in 1961 to spread awareness among Urdu speakers about making sure that census officers recorded their response about their mother tongue correctly. Many Urdu speakers discovered that census officers would automatically record Hindi as the mother tongue, if the religious identity of the household was reported as Hindu. Mr. Dehlvī has also been on the forefront of the movement for the preservation and promotion of Urdu. He founded a literary organization called *Anjuman Tāmīr-e-Urdū*, Society for the (re)construction of Urdu in 1947, after Hindus burned the office of the Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdū, 'Society for the promotion of Urdu', located in Daryāganj. He proudly says that he kept the flame of Urdu alive at a time when it was blasphemous to even mention the name of Urdu in India. He refers to the rampant anti-Urdu feelings among Hindus following the Partition of India.

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In response to my question about the language of his home Mr. Dehlvī asserts strongly that the language of his forefathers, his parents, and his home was Urdu. In fact, although he has read Sanskrit, he prefers to read Hindu religious scriptures in Urdu.

Transcript 11 [Dehlvī-Vedas] (emphasis mine)

AD: tō us waqt hālãke maĩ nē sanskrit paRhī,	AD: although I did study Sanskrit
RA: jī	RA: yeah
AD: jetnā vēdānt paRhā, vēdõ kā nichōR. aur vishnū purāN, vāyū purāN, agnī purāN, shiv purāN yē jitnē paRhē maĩ nē urdū, fārsī, aur angrēzī kē zariyē paRhē.	AD: whatever Vedanta I read, the gist of Vedas, and Vishnu Puran, Vayu puran, Shiva puran, **I read them in Urdu, Persian, and English.**
RA: achhā achhā	RA: okay, okay
AD: mērē ghar mẽ mērē pās āj bhī maujūd haĩ yē tamām hindū vēdānt aur mazhab kī tamām dhārmik ketābẽ	AD: In my house, I have all these books even today on Hindu Vedanta and all the books on the religion
RA: ji	RA: yeah
AD: urdū nazm aur nasr mẽ	AD: **in Urdu poetry and prose.**

In sum, the above discussion shows that at an ideological level, Hindus like Mr. Guptā, Mr. Chōprā, and Mr. Dehlvī identify themselves with the Urdu language and script; they do not see any conflict between their Hindu identity and their use and support of Urdu. This clearly suggests that Urdu was not categorically indexical of Muslim identity; however it does not show whether they actually used Urdu in their day-to-day sociolinguistic practices. An examination of the distribution of the Urdu phonemes /f/, /z/, /x̲h/, /g̲h/, and /q/ in naturalistic language data will supplement the ethnographic evidence presented above.

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3.3.2 Urdu phonemes among pre-1947 Muslims and Hindus

As discussed in Chapter 2, in addition to some lexical items, the phonemes /f/, /z/, / kh/, /gh/, and /q/ function to distinguish Urdu from Hindi, especially at the spoken level. As I show below these phonemes are realized differently by pre and post-Partition Hindus. They are also realized differently among the third generation Muslims, which I discuss Chapter 4. Although the phonemes are borrowed from Arabic and Persian, they also occur in many Urdu words derived from Sanskrit. Some of these words can be easily identified, because they contain an unexpected combination of native Indic retroflex sounds and the borrowed phonemes /kh/, /gh/, and /q/, for example /paTākhā/ 'firecracker', /caTkhāra/ 'spicy', /akhrōT/ 'walnut'/ghaT- ghaT/ 'gulp down', /ghunDā/ 'criminal'. This interesting combination of Arabic and Indic sounds must have become part of Urdu through a process of hypercorrection, a common sociolinguistic phenomenon, in which speakers of non standard dialects, in order to sound more educated and formal, produce prestige forms in places where they are not expected. Since Urdu enjoyed a high prestige in the past, people may have overgeneralized the use of these sounds. Ohala (1983) argues that hypercorrection explains the change of native Sanskrit /j/ into/z/ in the Urdu/Hindi word /zīrā/ 'cumin seeds', which derives from the Sanskrit word /jir/.

3.3.3 The phonemes /f/, /z/, /kh/, /gh/, and /q/

Words containing the Urdu phonemes constitute an important part of the Urdu vocabulary. Some of them occur in common day-to-day expressions, whereas others are part of the educated people's vocabulary. The number of lexical items containing these

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phonemes is given below. The figures are based on a search I ran in John Platt's 1884 dictionary of Urdu, classical Hindi, and English. The dictionary has been recently digitized by the University of Chicago and is available online. The following figures show that the number of words borrowed from Persian and Arabic containing /z/ is far more than that containing /g̲h/. This helps in understanding why, in a 30-minute conversation, the number of tokens for /g̲h/ is lower than that of /z/ for all speakers regardless of generation and ethnicity.

Table 3 Number of words containing uniquely Urdu phonemes

Phonemes	Number of Urdu words
/f/	1560
/z/	1897
/k̲h/	1165
/g̲h/	565
/q/	1434

(Platts, 1884)

Before examining the social distribution of /f/, /z/, /k̲h/, /g̲h/, /q/ among Pre-Independence Muslims and Hindus, it is important to examine their internal phonological distribution. All the phonemes occur word initially, medially, and finally. The following table 4 gives examples:

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Table 4 Linguistic environment of the phonemes

Phonemes	Word-initially	Word-medially	Word-finally
/f/	/fikr/ 'idea'	/lafz/ 'word'	/sāf/ 'clean'
/z/	/zarūrat/ 'need'	/rozānā/ 'daily'	/rāz/ 'secret'
/x/	/ xarāb/ 'bad'	/boxhār/ 'fever'	/surxh/ 'red'
/ġ/	/ġhalat/ 'wrong'	/baġhal/ 'armpit'	/demāġh/ 'mind'
/q/	/qalam/ 'pen'	/bāqī/ 'remaining'	/ahmaq/ 'stupid/.

There are no perceptible allophonic variations of these phonemes except /q/. The phoneme /q/ has an allophonic variant /x/ in the Karxhandārī dialect of Urdu. For example, the word /waqt/ 'time', is realized as /waxhat/. As this allophonic variation is confined only to this particular lexical unit, I decided to discard it from the analysis. Let me note however that in many dialects of Urdu, /q/ is realized differently. For example, in Dakhnī Urdu, a variety of Urdu spoken in Hyderabad, it is realized invariably as [x]; similarly, in Punjabi Urdu, it is realized as [k] in all places. In Old Delhi, however, /q/ is realized as [q] except as noted above.

As discussed in chapters 1 and 2, one of the important differences between Urdu and Hindi with regard to Persian and Arabic loanwords is that the phonemes /f/, /z/, /x/, /ġ/, and /q/ are nativized and rendered as /ph/, /j/, /kh/, /g/, and /k/ in Hindi. So, for example the loanword /boxhār/ 'fever' containing the phoneme /x/ is pronounced as [boxhār] in Urdu and as [bukhār] in Hindi. Disregarding the change in the vowel quality, the change involves the nativization of /x/ into the Hindi phoneme /kh/. In Urdu, however, these phonemes are preserved. For the purposes of the construction of Muslim/Hindu identity through the use of these phonemes, what is important is whether

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they are preserved or nativized. The preservation is indexical of Urdu, whereas the nativization is indexical of Hindi.

The data I present here come from sociolinguistic interviews with Muslims and Hindus. The data were first transcribed by a Muslim bilingual Urdu-Bengali speaker. The transcriber was studying for a Bachelor's degree in Arabic at Zakir Husain College. I trained him to transcribe spoken language data, given the dominance of written language ideology. As I was interested in the indexical meaning of the Urdu phonemes, I emphasized that he needs to transcribe the data in general and these phonemes in particular the way they are uttered, rather than the way they should be pronounced. After the transcriptions were ready, I listened to the interviews and checked the transcriptions with respect to these variables. I discovered that the transcriber, guided by the prescriptive notions of the correctness of Urdu, often transcribed words the way they should be pronounced rather than the way they were actually pronounced. So, I fixed those areas and then manually counted the tokens on the transcript since the Urdu software I used will not search for words. Then I impressionistically determined whether the variables were preserved or nativized. This was not a difficult task since the variables are consonants and they are easily discriminable. The table below gives the variation among pre-Independence Hindus and Muslims.

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Table 5 Distribution of the Urdu phonemes among pre-Independence Muslims and Hindus

	Muslims				Hindus			
	AS(M)		NQ(M)		PC(M)		AD(M)	
Phoneme	N	% nativization	N	% nativization	N	% (nativization)	N	% (nativization)
/f/	68	(0%)	24	(0%)	26	4%	62	0%
/z/	93	(0%)	50	(0%)	63	2%	134	0%
/x̲h/	47	(0%)	24	(0%)	46	0%	63	0%
/g̲h/	13	(0%)	2	(0%)	10	0%	34	0%
/q/	48	(0%)	25	(0%)	30	20%	98	0%

The data in Table 5 clearly show that the distribution of the variables /f/, /z/, /x̲h/, /g̲h/, and /q/ is not much different for Muslims and Hindus. For /x̲h/ and /g̲h/, the distribution is categorical for both Muslims and Hindus. For /f/, /z/, and /q/, although P. K. Chōprā, who is a Hindu, does show some nativization, it is still a very small percentage—not more than 20%.

The distribution, however, changes if I include in the analysis Hindus, who did not study Urdu at school, because they chose the Hindi stream, or those who did not receive much education at all. Remember that the linguistically bifurcated educational system that I mentioned above allowed students to choose the Urdu or Hindi-stream of education at school. Muslims always chose the Urdu stream. Several factors contributed to the decision whether Hindus chose the Urdu or Hindi medium schools. In addition to family members and social networks, teachers and educators often played an important role. Mr. Pramēshwar Nāth, an old resident of Old Delhi, told me that when he started

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school, the decision was made for him by the principal of the school, who thought that the future of his pupils lay in learning Hindi rather than Urdu.

Ghanshyām Singhal and Jaswant Singh represent those pre-Partition Hindus who did not study Urdu at school. Singhal was born in 1938 in a Hindu family in Bāzār Sitārām. He chose not to study Urdu at school, although in his family, others like his uncle did. His father and grandfather also studied Urdu. Ghanshyām graduated from the prestigious Hindu College of the University of Delhi: he did not learn how to read or write Urdu. Jaswant Singh was also born in the same neighborhood in 1936. He lives in his ancestral home, where his forefathers lived for several generations. Unlike P. K. Chōprā, Ghanshyām, and Anzār Dehlvī, Jaswant Singh is not highly educated. He has very basic literacy in Hindi; he does not know Urdu and English. I present below the distribution of Ghanshyām and Jaswant's phonemes:

Table 6 Distribution of the Urdu phonemes among Hindi-stream Hindus

	Hindus			
	GS(M)		JS(M)	
Phoneme	N	% nativization	N	% nativization
/f/	7	29%	14	79%
/z/	39	54%	31	100%
/kh/	11	82%	8	75%
/gh/	1	100%	8	100%
/q/	9	78%	27	93%

The data given in Table 6 suggest two things: first, for both Jaswant Singh and Ghanshyām Singhal, the number of tokens containing the Urdu phonemes, in a 30-minute

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conversation, drops significantly, In other words, they do not use many loanwords from Arabic and Persian. Secondly, the percentage of nativization of the Urdu phonemes rose significantly. This suggests that Hindus who did not study Urdu use fewer loanwords and nativize the Urdu phonemes according to the phonology of Hindi. This contrasts with the distribution of these phonemes among Muslims and educated Hindus, for whom the preservation is categorical, regardless of the level of education. The language of schooling adds to the complexity of the indexicality of Urdu.

However, since on the local and national level, there were a large of number of educated Hindus, who learned and used Urdu, most people did not ideologize Urdu as the language of Muslims. Old Delhi had a big share of the number of Hindus who contributed to the Urdu language and literature in India. A recent book on Urdu poets of Delhi, in addition to Anzār Dehlvī (b.1926) and his father Sartāj Dehlvī (1873-1956), also mentions a large number of Hindu poets. Some of them are: Amarnāth Sāhir Dehlvī (1863-1942), Mahāraj Bahādur Barq Dehlvī (1884-1936), Chandrabhān Kaifi Dehlvī (1878?-1941), Shamlāl Rawish Dehlvī (d. 1956), Kāli Charan Dehlvī (d. 1978), Rang Bihari Lāl Tabassum Nigam Dehlvi (d. 1977), Raghunāth Singh Hājir Dehlvī (d 1922), and Gopi Nāth Amn (1898-1983). As this collection focuses on poets, it does not mention writers, critics, and journalists such as Pandit Brijmohan Dattatria Kaifī (1866-1954), the author of the book Kaifiyah—a book on the history and structure of the Urdu language.

So, despite the fact that there were some Hindus who did not speak Urdu, it still was the language of educated Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs in Delhi and elsewhere. In a recent book on the social, political, and educational aspects of Urdu in post-Independence

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India, J. S. Gandhi, a Sikh who was born in the Punjab before 1947, in a personal reminiscence, shows his discomfort and anger at the alignment of Urdu with Muslims. He, like P. K. Chōprā and others in Old Delhi, considers Urdu to be his language. He recalls an incident in which he was praised by a Muslim for his love of Urdu and for speaking it well. He says, '... I remember clearly what went on in my mind at the time. I was thinking '...even if I try, can I divest myself of Urdu, which has already become part of my mental and emotional architecture? This was my first medium of instruction... why should I be praised for being what I am?' (Gandhi, 2006: 238).

I argue that the reason for Gandhi's receiving an "undue" compliment is that in the post-1947 language ideologies it is seen as incongruous for non-Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, to speak Urdu, and therefore if someone does, Muslims think that they have done a great job. While doing my fieldwork, I attended a conference on the Urdu language, in which Latā, a Hindu woman from Old Delhi, recited some Urdu couplets. After she left the podium, the chair of the session, a Muslim scholar of Urdu praised her for rendering the couplets "correctly" and commented that she recited better than *urdūwālā*s, Urdu speakers. The chair's comments are based on the assumption that Hindus don't use Urdu anymore and therefore their knowledge of Urdu needs to be acknowledged. I argue that Chōprā's ambivalence in claiming Urdu as his mother tongue, Gandhi's discomfort in receiving compliments that he thinks is unwarranted, and Lata's praise are all rooted in the post-1947 language discourse in which Urdu and Hindus are incongruous.

The number of Urdu speakers and writers from among the Hindu community began to decline rapidly in Old Delhi and elsewhere as 1947 drew closer. Farouqui

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(2006) notes, '...it [Urdu] shared a common space with other communities, particularly Hindus and Sikhs. But Hindu and Sikh Indians have consciously abandoned it in free India and their children do not learn it anymore' (p 1). This was true of Old Delhi too. I was not able to find a single Hindu Urdu speaker who was born after 1947. Social and political developments that took place around Partition (section 3.2.2) not only changed who was more likely to learn and use Urdu, but also what people thought about the Urdu language and its speakers. The following section discusses the language ideology of Hindus born after 1947.

3.4 The language ideology of post-1947 Hindus

Three major linguistic characteristics are worth mentioning about post-Partition Old Delhi Hindus. First, there is a sharp break in the transfer of Urdu from the pre-Independence to post-Independence generation, even in families where Urdu was commonly used before 1947. Secondly, the distribution of the Urdu phonemes among post-Partition Hindus is radically different. Third, the ideology about the indexicality of Urdu among Hindus born after 1947 has changed significantly. They do not speak Urdu, nor do they claim to do so. They believe that Urdu is the language of Muslims. It is important to note that I did not find a single Hindu, born after 1947, who spoke Urdu, though I was able to find a number of Hindus who told me that their older relatives, such as father and grandfather, knew Urdu. One such *dillīwālā* is Mr. Ashōk Nigam.

Mr. Nigam was born in 1956, in PahāRī Dhīraj, in a Kāyastha family. He speaks Hindi and some English. He did not learn Urdu at school, but he told me that two of his brothers-in-law were Urdu speakers; in fact one of them was the well-known Urdu poet

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Rang Bihāri Lāl Tabssum Dehlvī that I noted above. He, like many other Hindus, has older relatives who used Urdu, but he himself or his immediate family members do not. In response to my question about the teaching of Urdu during his school days, Mr. Nigam said:

Transcript 12 [Nigam-Urdu]

RA: tō āp jab āp nē jab iskūl shurū kiyā hōga	RA:so, when you started school
AN: hm	AN: hm
RA: tō us waqt iskūl mẽ urdū thī kyā?	RA: was Urdu taught in school?
AN: nahĩ urdū tō xatm hō chukī thī maĩ nē tō 61 mẽ iskūl join karā thā. 47 sē pahlē urdū thī aur jō purānē lōg haĩ wō sab urdū hī paRhtē thē urdū mẽ hī likhtē thē	AN: no, Urdu was no longer available in school. I joined school in 1961. Before 1947, Urdu was taught and old people used to read only Urdu and write only in Urdu
RA: hm tō āp kē gharõ mẽ jaisē āp kē pitājī yā tāu yā	RA: hm so, in your family for example your father, or your uncle
AN: hamārē jījājī haĩ hamārē sab sē baRē jījājī thē wō urdū mẽ hī likhtē thē.	AN: my brother in law. My elder brother in law used to write only in Urdu
RA: achhā	RA: I see
AN: āxir tak unhõ nē urdū hī likhī hai aur urdū hī bhāshā mẽ bāt kartē thē urdū jabān mẽ hī bāt kartē thē	AN: until his death, he wrote only in Urdu and used to talk only in the Urdu language, used to talk only in the Urdu language
RA: achhā	RA: I see
AN: unkē bhāī thē wō shāer thē	AN: he had a brother who was a poet
RA: achhā	RA: I see
AN: tabassum dehlvī kē nām sē	AN: his penname was Tabassum Dehlvi
RA: tabassum dehlvī?	RA: Tabassum Dehlvi?

When I asked Mr. Nigam about the language that he uses at home, he categorically said that it was Hindi. This is in contrast with the pre-Independence Hindus I discussed

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earlier. Mr. Nigam represents the post-Independence generation of Hindus, who align with Hindi and distance themselves from Urdu. It is important to note here that his brothers-in-law, who were born before 1947 did speak Urdu and actually composed poetry in it. The indexicality of Urdu and Hindi as languages of Muslims and Hindus became so naturalized that Nikhil Guptā thinks that it is completely normal not to expect Hindus to know Urdu. In response to my question about who speaks Urdu in Old Delhi, Nikhil, a college student, who was born in 1986 in a Hindu Baniyā family, a merchant caste, in Bāzār Sitārām, tells me that Muslims speak Urdu and then adds:

Transcript 13 [Nikhil-Urdu]

NG: jō actually mērā area hai wō hindū area hai wahā̃ par kōī muslims haĩ nahī̃ jō purānē lōg haĩ wō akhbār paRhtē haĩ newspaper paRhtē haĩ urdū mē̃	NG: actually my area is a Hindu area there are no Muslims there. The people who are old read newspapers in Urdu
RA: achhā hinduō̃ mē̃?	RA: ok, among Hindus?
NG: hā mērē jō dādājī thē unkō bhī urdū ātī thī bolnī nahī̃ ātī thī paRhnī ātī thī	NG: yes, my grandfather also knew Urdu. He did not know how to speak, but he knew how to read.

Nikhil's response is important for two reasons. First, he does not identify himself with Urdu, and secondly, he sees a direct link between Urdu and Muslims. He argues that since he lives in a Hindu area there are no Urdu speakers there, except old Hindus. He tells me that Urdu is spoken in Muslim neighborhoods such as Turkamān Gate and Jāmā Masjid. Both Mr. Nigam and Nikhil's, who were born after 1947, views on the indexicality of Urdu are similar to those of Kamal Chōprā's, whom I quoted above. They all have histories and memories of Urdu—a language that their older relatives used, but

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they themselves don't. Urdu is no longer their living language; it has long faded into history. Contrary to their parents, grandparents, and relatives, for them, Urdu is a language of the other—the Muslims. It is clear that the 1947 marks a watershed in the (re)constitution of the indexicality of Urdu. The knowledge and use of Urdu as a living language disappear from post-1947 Hindus. What survive are stories about the Urdu as the language their not-so-distant ancestors and living older relatives used.

3.4.1 Urdu phonemes among post-1947 Muslims and Hindus

In the following section, I present data to show the actual distribution of the Urdu phonemes among post-Independence Hindus. The loss of the Urdu phonemes among Hindus parallels the change of ideology about Urdu being the language of Muslims. The distributions given below are for Mr. Nigam and Mrs. Shabnam Srivāstava. Mrs. Srivāstava was born in a Kāyastha family in 1955 in the Hindu BāRā locality of Old Delhi. She is a post-graduate trained school teacher. She teaches in a school in Old Delhi where most of her students are Muslim girls. She has taught in two schools of Old Delhi. Although she does not speak Urdu, her father did. She told my research assistant an interesting story about her name. Although she is Hindu, her name 'Shabnam' is an Urdu word meaning 'dew'. She explains that her father loved Urdu so much that he decided to give her an Urdu name.[52]

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[52] The naming tradition among Hindus and Muslims, regardless of the language of home has been different. Hindus largely drew upon Sanskrit or other local traditions. Some Urdu names such as Iqbāl, Hākim were common between Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims. Hindu Poets, however, used to adopt Urdu pen-names.

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Table 7 Distribution of the Urdu phonemes among post-1947 Hindus and Muslims

	Hindus				Muslims	
	ShS(F)		AN(M)		GK(M)	
Phoneme	N	% nativization	N	% nativization	N	% nativization
/f/	20	0%	9	0%	56	0%
/z/	41	54%	40	100%	83	0%
/kh/	12	100%	18	56%	54	0%
/gh/	11	91%	10	90%	16	0%
/q/	10	100%	19	69%	74	0%

The data show that Mrs. Srivāstava and Mr. Nigam, both born after 1947, nativize the Urdu phonemes /kh/, /gh/, and /q/ in a substantial way. The preservation of /f/ in both Mrs. Srivāstava and Mr. Nigam's speech is interesting and may be due to the presence of /f/ in English. In Chapter 4, I discuss in detail why speakers treat /f/ and /z/ differently from the other Urdu phonemes. Educated Urdu and Hindi speakers use a lot of English loanwords in their day-to-day speech; Hindi-English and Urdu-English code-switching are a very common phenomenon. All the other Urdu phonemes namely /kh/, /gh/, and /q/ are nativized significantly. The contrast between their Urdu phonemes and those of the pre-partition Hindus I discussed above is glaring (compare Tables 5 and 7).

Since post-Independence Hindus moved away from Urdu in their ideology and in their actual linguistic use, the difference between them and Muslims became quite pronounced. Compare the Urdu phonemes of Mrs. Srivāstava and Mr. Nigam, both second generation Hindus, to those of Mr. Ghufrān Khān (GK), a second generation Muslim from Old Delhi (see Table 7 above). Mr. Khān was born in 1961 in Punjābi

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PhāTak in a Muslim family. He runs a small general store in the same neighborhood. He did not receive much education. He can read and write Urdu and Hindi. He also has a smattering of English. The retention of the Urdu phonemes in his speech is categorical. The contrast between his language use and that of Mrs. Srivāstava and Mr. Nigam's reveals the change that has taken place since 1947 among Hindus of Old Delhi. So, I conclude that Mrs. Srivāstava and Mr. Nigam both in their ideology and language use display an orientation to Hindi, which is in contrast to the previous generation of Hindus.

3.5 Conclusion

India's Independence and the attendant sociolinguistic factors that I discussed above have changed what it means to speak Urdu. Before 1947, Urdu in India was not categorically indexical of Muslim identity, because Hindus who learned Urdu at school—and there were many who did—claim Urdu as their mother tongue and language of education. In their discourse on language, Hindus often construct a positive stance towards Urdu and a negative one towards Hindi. Many of them actually did not learn Hindi until after 1947, due to pragmatic reasons. In their actual language use too, the distribution of the Urdu phonemes of Hindus is not different from that of Muslims.

However, the generation that was born after the Independence of India stopped learning Urdu; they began to identify themselves with Hindi exclusively. The indexicality that the Hindi movement strove to establish in the late nineteenth century solidified with the Partition and Independence of India. Urdu could no longer be a linguistic component of Hindu identity. The very fact that it is difficult to find Hindu speakers of Urdu who were born after the Independence suggests that Urdu was becoming indexical of Muslim

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identity. By 1947, Hindi had been invested so much with social meaning exclusive to Hindu identity that it became inappropriate for Hindus to learn Urdu in post-Independence India. Hindus who spoke Urdu began to be seen both by Muslims and Hindus as vestiges of the past. Hindus thought of them as anachronistic, whereas Muslims thought they needed to be complimented for continuing to speak it at a time when other Hindus had long abandoned it. As a result of the polarization of the sociolinguistic field, Hindus and Muslims born after 1947 identify themselves with Hindi and Urdu respectively. This impacted the pronunciation of the Urdu phonemes among Hindus and Muslims of Old Delhi. Most of them disappeared from the post-Partition generation of Hindus.

Urdu in general and these phonemes in particular were maintained only among the second generation Muslims. This however begins to change among the third generation of Muslims as Urdu takes on yet another, totally new, indexical meaning. Among Old Delhi youth, Urdu indexes backwardness and lack of education—a language that does not going along with the modern identity of the youth. As they move towards English—with varying levels of proficiency—they move away from Urdu. The young generation holds that Urdu is the language of their parents—not theirs. They have started to lose these sounds that had been part of the phonological structure of Urdu for as long as Urdu has existed. I discuss the interplay of social identity and language change in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER 4 THE FALL OF *SHĪN QĀF*: VANISHING URDU PHONEMES AMONG THIRD-GENERATION MUSLIMS

4.1 Introduction

Addressing an election rally in the state of Uttar Pradesh on April 15, 2007, Manmohan Singh, the Prime Minister of India, promised that his government would make all efforts to ensure that Muslim children receive education through the Urdu medium. He said that this was part of his government's commitment to implementing the recommendations of the Sachar Commission, as a means of ameliorating the socioeconomic conditions of Muslims. A week later, Khadījā Ārif of the BBC Urdu interviewed some Muslim college students in Delhi and filed a report entitled 'Muslims need progress, not Urdu'(Ārif, 2007). According to the report, most Muslim students do not want to receive education in Urdu because they believe that Urdu is an obstacle to success in their educational and professional careers. Many students argued that if they received education in Urdu, they would not be able to compete with Hindi and English-medium-educated students for jobs and would ultimately get left behind.

Although these young Muslim students were responding to the issue of education through the Urdu medium, their comments are indicative of the changing indexicality of Urdu in India too. Unlike their parents, the third generation Muslims do not claim that

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they speak Urdu, nor do they identify themselves with it. The change in the ideology about the place of Urdu in the life of the younger generation of Muslims is a larger phenomenon, which is also reflected in the ideology of many of the younger Old Delhi Muslim research participants. They do not think that the Urdu language is crucial to their Muslim identity, nor do they think that it is useful for their economic success.

Sukainā Shāhnawāz, about 20-years old, is a first-year student at Zakir Husain College.[53] She lives in a Turkamān Gate neighborhood, right across from the College. She is studying for a Bachelor's degree, without any specialization. She comes to college wearing a *hejāb*, a headscarf that covers her head in such a way that her hair does not show through. She generally performs her *zohar*, 'noon', prayer in the GCR (Girls' Common Room) of the College. She also takes part in the *tālīm*, 'learning', session that is held for 10-15 minutes every day in the GCR. Students get together and read sections from Fazāel-e-Āmāl, an Islamic book, originally written in the Perso-Arabic script, containing selected texts from the Quran and Hadīth, with commentaries.

In addition to the traditional Urdu version, the GCR also has a transliterated Devanagari version of Fazāel-e-Āmāl. Sukainā told me that she is not good at reading the book in Urdu, and therefore she prefers to read the Devanagari version. Sukainā does not only have limited literacy in the Urdu script, she is also losing some of the distinctive Urdu phonemes. Furthermore, despite being born and raised in a Muslim family in Old

[53] In North India, it is considered inappropriate/impolite to ask women's age. The age given here is based on my assessment.

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Delhi, Sukainā does not believe that she speaks Urdu, nor does she identify with it as a symbol of identity.

4.1.1 Aims and objectives

In this chapter, I examine the indexicality of Urdu among the third generation Muslims, people who born in the early eighties and later (henceforth Generation-3). I analyze the language ideology of the Generation-3 and show that their orientation towards Urdu as the language of Muslim identity and culture is undergoing a shift. Contrary to their parents' generation, the Generation-3 Muslims do not claim that they speak Urdu; many of them do not have functional literacy in the traditional Perso-Arabic script either. They refer to their own language as mixed—containing elements from Urdu, English, Punjabi, and Hindi.

The changed negative orientation of the Generation-3 toward Urdu is reflected in their language use too. They are losing three of the five distinctive Urdu phonemes /x̲h/, /g̲h/, and /q/; they replace them with the existing Hindi phonemes, namely, /kh/, /g/, and /k. They pronounce Urdu words such as /x̲harāb/ 'bad', /g̲harīb/, 'poor', and /qalam/, 'pen' as [kharāb], [garīb], and [kalam]. So, for the third generation Muslims, the difference between /khodāī/ 'digging' and /x̲hodāī/ 'divine' and /qāsh/, 'segment' and /kāsh/, 'wish' do not exist. I argue that the loss of the phonemes is related to, in fact triggered by, the changing conception of identity among the Generation-3 Muslims. Being a Muslim from Old Delhi is a source of stigma for the third generation; people from outside perceive Muslims of Old Delhi as poor, backward, rude, and uneducated.

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This specific construction of Muslim identity emerged as a consequence of the massive migration of Muslims from Old Delhi, especially the educated middle class. The city, once known as a center of learning for both religious and secular education and a place of culture and elegance, became synonymous with lack of education, backwardness, conservatism, and poverty. In addition to the poverty and lack of education, Karkhandārī, a low-prestige dialect of Urdu widely spoken by the *pēshēwar,* 'occupational', castes of Muslims, also had a role in the stigmatization of Old Delhi Muslim identity. The mass migration of the upper caste Muslims, who were speakers of Standard Urdu, left Old Delhi Muslim society with very few speakers of Standard Urdu. For most Muslims, Karkhandārī was the only Urdu they knew and spoke. See Chapter 2 for more discussion on the sociolinguistic relationship between the two varieties.

In order to construct a positive, modern identity—distinct from the perceived stigmatized identity—the Generation-3 Muslims, who were born and raised after the beginning of the economic prosperity of the 1980's, try to disaffiliate from the characteristic features of Old Delhi. Urdu, which is an important linguistic component of the Old Delhi Muslim identity, constitutes a great hurdle in the construction of a positive identity. I argue that the loss of the Urdu phonemes among the Generation-3 Muslims is part of the process of disaligning from the stigmatized Muslim identity. At the same time, for Generation-3, the disaffiliation from Urdu is also a means of aligning themselves with their Hindi-speaking Hindu friends.

As the loss of these phonemes is taking place among Muslims who interact with Hindi speakers in schools, colleges, and workplaces, I argue that the loss is the result of a

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contact-induced change (Thomason, 2001; 1988). Muslims whose life opportunities do not require them to interact with people from outside of the Old Delhi Muslim community continue to preserve the Urdu phonemes. I discuss some such Urdu speakers below. This is not surprising since many earlier studies have shown that language change originates among speakers who regularly interact with people who do not belong to their immediate and close networks (see e.g. Milroy and Milroy, 1985).

The rest of this chapter is organized as follows. In section 4.2, I discuss the theoretical framework for the study of language identity and change. In section 4.3, I situate the struggle of Genereation-3 to break from the inherited identity and create a new one. In section 4.4, I analyze their ideological structure especially with reference to Urdu. I also present the distribution of the Urdu phonemes among Generation-3. In section 4.5, I present a summary of the relationship between language ideology and change. Section 4.6 offers a summary of the chapter.

4.2 Ideology, identity, and language change

Language change has probably been the longest-studied phenomenon in linguistics. It has been studied primarily in two subfields—historical linguistics and quantitative sociolinguistics, pioneered by William Labov in the 1960's. The bulk of research in the field of language change has been carried out by historical linguists, using the well-established methodology of comparative method and internal reconstruction. A major assumption in historical linguistics has been that language change is driven by language-internal processes, and external factors such as speakers, listeners, and society are secondary, if not totally irrelevant (see e.g. Lass, 1990; Lass, 1997; Thomason, 1999). In

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this model of language change, it is languages that undergo change; speakers do not have agency to change languages (e.g. Milroy, 2003) . In other words, in historical linguistics, the locus of change lies endogenously within language systems, and not in the speaker and the social structure.

This position has been criticized from within the field of historical linguistics and without, primarily due to its exclusion of social factors from discussions of language change (e.g. Thomason, 1999). Quantitative studies by Labov in the 1960's not only presented a critique of the neglect of social factors but also laid foundations of new methodologies of incorporating social factors into studies of language change (see e.g. Labov, 1963; Labov, 1972). However, despite advances made within the Labovian tradition, the central concern of the paradigm has been language system and not speakers (Milroy, 2003; Milroy and Milroy, 1985)[54] While emphasizing the role of the speaker in language change, Milroy makes the following remarks on quantitative sociolinguistics:

> The methodology is in many ways an outgrowth of mid-twentieth-century structuralism and is focused on phenomena usually seen as internal to languages—phonological mergers, splits, and chain shifts. ....The graphs and diagrams that are used display distributions of variants within language systems: in this speakers are the access points to the systems and not in themselves the main object of enquiry. Thus the aims of quantitative sociolinguistics are just as intralinguistic as any other approach (2003: 149).

So, from the point of view of the analytical focus, quantitative sociolinguistics is not much different from historical linguistics. In this dissertation, I place speakers, their ideology, and practices at the center of my analysis and argue that language change is the

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[54] Others such as Woolard(1985), Cameron (1990) have criticized Labovian sociolinguistics for treating language as a mirror, its reliance on probabilistic accounts, and its lack of explanatory power. See Also Irvine (1989) and Irvine and Gal (2000)

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result of changes in the ideological structure of the third generation Muslims. Contrary to many studies on language variation and change, I do not start with variation in the distribution of variables and then provide a social account of it. Instead, I start with social factors that contribute to the changing perception of identity among the Generation-3 Muslims and argue that the language change falls out of it. In other words, I argue that language change among the Generation-3 Muslims is triggered by a change in their ideologies about language and identity.

Theoretical insights from language ideological frameworks are useful in understanding language change among the Generation-3 Muslims, because the frameworks integrate language ideology, social identities, and language change (e.g. Irvine and Gal, 2000; Kroskrity, 1998; Kroskrity, 2000; Kulick, 1992; Silverstein, 1985). These studies view language change as driven by changes in speakers' ideologies, which, among other things consist of their sense of social identities. Silverstein (1985), for example, shows how religious and linguistic ideologies of Quakers in England contributed to a change in the English pronominal system, whereby the two-fold distinction between *ye/you-thou/thee*[55], signaling distance and intimacy was lost in Modern English.

Similarly, Kroskrity shows that although Arizona Tewas have practiced multilingualism for a long time, they have maintained their ethnic boundaries by resisting lexical borrowing from Hopi (2000). He accounts for the remarkable maintenance of the Tewa language in terms of their language ideology. Irvine and Gal, similarly, argue that

[55] *Ye* and *thou* are nominative forms; their corresponding accusative forms are *you* and *thee*.

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language ideology played a crucial role in the acquisition of clicks in Zulu and Xhosa, the Nguni languages of southern Africa, from the Khoi languages (2000). They argue that focusing on language ideology and linguistic differentiation can help us understand the process of language change:

> Our materials suggest that the direction and motivation of linguistic change can be illuminated if we attend to the ideologizing of a sociolinguistic field and the consequent reconfiguration of its varieties through processes of iconization, recursive projection, and erasure (2000: 77).

While my study privileges speakers' perception of their identity and language, I also include the actual distribution of the use of the Urdu phonemes /f/, /z/, /kh/, /gh/, and /q/ in the speech of the third generation and compare it with that of the second generation Muslims. I give the relative frequency to show that change is underway.

4.2.1 Haunted by the past: struggle for a new identity

The Independence of India in 1947, which was accompanied by the Partition and followed by an unprecedented migration of people across the boundaries, is sociolinguistically important, because it not only changed the demographics of local linguistic communities but also changed their perceptions of their own identity. It also changed their perception among other communities. The Partition brought about two important changes. First, on the national level, in post-Partition language discourse, Hindus began to see Urdu as the language of Muslims and often as the language of separatism associated with the Pakistan movement. The local impact of the Partition on Old Delhi was that, because of the mass migration of educated middle class Muslims, the city was reduced to a poor, uneducated, and ghetto community.

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On the national level, it is estimated that about 8 million Muslims from India migrated to Pakistan following the Partition (Mondal, 2000). Delhi was one of the worst Partition-affected cities. By the end of October 1947, about 350,000 Muslims, which was 70% of the 500,000 Muslim population, had left Delhi (Pandey, 2001: 124).[56] As a result of this, the proportion of Muslims to the total population of Delhi dropped from 32.53% in 1931 to 5.71% in 1951 (Bakhshi and Sharma, 1995: 121). Delhi also received about 500,000 non-Muslim refugees from Pakistan, largely Hindus and Sikhs, which almost balanced the population of the city.

There is little work on the social demographics of the migrating population; it is believed that a majority of Muslims who migrated to Pakistan belonged to the educated middle class. Singh (2006) notes, 'Partition depleted the Muslim community of a major segment of the middle classes, elite, professionals, and enterprising population, and left the community impoverished in economic and social terms' (p 39).[57] This observation is supported by a recent empirical study by Bhardwaj et al. (2007), which examines the composition of migrants and their impact on the receiving population in terms of gender, education, and occupation. They note, 'for the most part not only were the migrants in Pakistan and Bangladesh substantially more educated [literate!] than residents, they also had a higher level of education' (p 11). The higher levels of education among migrants in Pakistan and Bangladesh suggest that a majority of Muslim migrants from India, including many from Delhi, belonged to the educated class. The middle class origin of

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[56] According to Bhardwaj et al. (2007) by 1951, 450,000 people had migrated from Delhi. This means that another 100,000 Muslims migrated between October 1947 and 1951, when the census was held.

[57] See also Khalidi (1995) for a similar argument about the migration of the middle class from North India.

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the migrating Muslim population is also supported by Bhardwaj et al. who found that migrants in Pakistan (from India) were more likely to engage in non-agricultural professions.

The impact of the migration on the sociolinguistic conditions of Muslims of Old Delhi was multifaceted. First, Muslims who did not migrate consisted largely of the economically poor class, most of whom belonged to lower *berādrīs*/castes. Second, as education was crucially tied to the social hierarchy and economic conditions, the level of education among Muslims of Old Delhi was miserable. Third, most Muslims spoke the stigmatized non-standard variety of Urdu called Karkhandārī, since a large number of speakers of the prestigious standard Urdu migrated to Pakistan after 1947.

The educational conditions of Old Delhi Muslims following the Partition can also be gauged from their current levels of education. Newspaper reports year after year show low achievements of students in the Urdu-medium schools of Old Delhi. According to the Times of India, a leading English language national newspaper published from New Delhi, in 2005, the percentage of students who were able to pass the Class X and Class XII examinations was less than 50% in most schools (Sinha, 2005). In fact, in some schools the success rate was as low as 7%. According to an unpublished survey report prepared in 2005 by a non-governmental organization, Friends for Education, 42 % of the parents of school-age children were illiterate, with only 22% of them having been to elementary/middle school (Ahmed, 2005: 5). Only 7.8% of the parents had a college degree. According to the same survey, 94 % of the students from Old Delhi go to state-run Urdu medium schools (ibid: 8). In its report, Friends for Education give a combined

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figure of the achievement of all Urdu medium schools in 2005(ibid: 2). According to them, the pass percentage of Urdu-medium schools for high school (class XII) for boys and girls was 28% and 18% respectively. The pass percentage of boys and girls for class X was slightly better—30% and 31% respectively.

The current status of education among Muslims offers a good idea of what the situation must have been in 1947 and soon after. Poverty, lack of education, and unemployment combined together to turn Old Delhi Muslims into a ghetto community. Many Muslim research participants shared with me the embarrassment that they often felt telling outsiders that they were from Dillī chhē, Delhi six, referring to the postal zone which covers a large area of Muslim neighborhoods. They would often lie about their residence to outsiders.

Dr. Abdulkarīm, who is in his late 40's, is a professor of Urdu in a college in Delhi. He was born in Machhlīwālān and still lives in his ancestral home. He told me that once while returning from a social event in winter, a friend of his offered him a ride in his car. On the way, his friend asked him where he should drop him off. Out of a sense of embarrassment, he did not want to tell him that he lived in Old Delhi. So, he told him that he would like to get off at Golcha Cinema, which is about a mile away from his home. Golcha Cinema is in the Daryāganj area, which lies in-between Old and New Delhi. In terms of the postal zone, however, it is part of New Delhi. What is important socially is that Daryāganj is not a Muslim neighborhood and therefore does not have the stigma attached to Old Delhi. After Dr. Abdulkarīm got off, he started to walk fast, since he still

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had a mile to walk, wearing a thin jacket. Clearly, the shame of being from Dillī chhē was more painful than the piercing cold of a winter night!

The negative imagery, among outsiders, of Muslims of Old Delhi has not changed much, nor has its residents' sense of inferiority. In fact, the sense of stigma has become more acute especially among Generation-3, who have more opportunities to interact with people from outside. This has become possible because the economic conditions of Muslims have improved a great deal since the early 1980's. Several factors contributed to the economic prosperity of Muslims, which I discuss in detail in Chapter 2. The result of the improvement in the economic conditions was that Muslims began to invest more in their children's education. As the Urdu-medium schools in Old Delhi are in bad shape, parents who can afford to pay for private education, send their children to Hindi or English medium schools outside of Old Delhi. Even those who are enrolled in Urdu-medium schools often have to rely on private tutoring to make up for the poor school performance. In fact, strangely enough, even in Urdu-medium schools, there are teachers who neither speak nor write Urdu. They teach using a code-switched variety of Hindi and English, and the students have to struggle to translate technical terms from Hindi into Urdu.

The result of the changed socioeconomic conditions of Old Delhi Muslims was that young Urdu speakers began to come in contact with Hindi speakers in schools, private tuition centers, and work places. At these places, students are faced with conflicting linguistic norms, especially with regard to the pronunciation of the Urdu phonemes /f/, /z/ /kh/, /gh/, and /q/. The norm among Hindi speakers is to nativize them,

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whereas in Urdu, they are preserved. For socially and psychologically insecure Muslim Urdu speakers, linguistic norms of their Hindi-speaking friends appear to be prestigious and attractive.

Nishāt Naīm is a second year student majoring in Urdu at Zakir Husain College. He was born and raised in Raudgarān, Lāl Kūã. He discontinued his school education after he failed in the Class X examination. He worked for several years in a medical store before resuming his studies through distance education. At the medical store located in Daryāganj in New Delhi and at the College, he interacts quite a lot with non-Urdu, especially Hindi and Punjabi speakers.

Transcript 14 [Nishāt]

NN: ...ab hamẽ ham ham bhī bōltē haĩ urdū kōī aisī bāt nahĩ hai lēkin kyõkē hamārī party alag alag hai Hindū ham hindū sē bōltē haĩ, hindū laRkiyã bhī haĩ un sē ham shudh urdū nahĩ bōl saktē	NN: now, we, we also speak Urdu, please don't think that we don't, but since we deal with different parties, we speak to Hindus, there are Hindu girls. We can't talk to them in pure Urdu
RA: hm achhā	RA: hm ok
NN: bāhar kē hindū dōst bhī haĩ hamārē ham urdū thōRī bōlẽgē unsē	NN: We have Hindu friends from outside. We won't speak Urdu with them.

Like Nishāt, many Muslim Urdu speakers interact with Hindi speakers on a daily basis. They interpret the conflict between their own linguistic norms and that of their friends and colleagues through a piece of ideology in which Old Delhi identity and the Urdu language are indexical of people of the old generation—an identity that often evokes a socially derogatory and demeaning imagery. For Generation-3, their Old Delhi Muslim

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identity, of which Urdu is an important component, is embarrassing; they make all efforts to dissociate themselves from it.

Zakir Husain College provides a great opportunity for the study of how the Generation-3 Muslims perceive themselves and how they are perceived by others. The demographic composition of the College is unique in that this is the only college in the University of Delhi, where Muslim students constitute about 25-30 % of the total student population.[58] Moreover, a majority of them are from Old Delhi. At ZHC, Muslim students who have studied in All-Muslim Urdu-medium schools of Old Delhi have an opportunity to interact with those who have studied in Hindi medium schools with Hindu and Sikh students. Furthermore, Muslims of all educational backgrounds meet with Hindi speakers from outside of Old Delhi.

It was my first day at ZHC. I was sitting in front of the College cafeteria—nervous and anxious about my research. I chose the cafeteria because it looked like a great meeting point for students. They would come in groups and sit on the concrete benches in front of the cafeteria and talk. And talk was what had brought me to the College. I was sipping tea and worrying about how to establish contacts with students at the College. Suddenly, I was struck by a mock version of the low front vowel /ai/, as in the English word 'cat', in the speech of a girl, who asked her friends to keep an eye on her /bēg/ 'bag' until she returned. She emphasized the raised vowel of the Urdu word

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[58] The figures are based on an interview with the Principal of the College. As part of the policy, the College does not prepare any official documents based on religious affiliations of students. There are more than eighty colleges, many of them with independent campuses, affiliated to the University of Delhi.

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/baig/, actually an English loan, and rushed away laughing. Her friends also performed the vowel in the same way, and then everybody laughed.

I knew that the raised low front vowel was a characteristic feature of the Karkhandārī dialect of Urdu spoken in Old Delhi.[59] I therefore concluded that the students who were making fun of the dialect must *not* be from Old Delhi. I was excited and looking for an opportunity to broach a conversation with the students. It took me a while before I summoned my courage to intrude into the group. Luckily, the group sat there for a long time. I approached Surēsh, a very out-spoken member of the group, and asked him what was funny about the episode. He told me that they were making fun of how some Muslim students from Old Delhi pronounce words such as /baig/ 'bag', and /pair/ 'foot' as [bēg] and [pēr]. Gradually, I became friends with this group, a cohort of first year students majoring in political science. Later on, I interviewed some of them including Ghenā Khān, the girl who initiated the mocking of the vowel. To my surprise, I discovered later, that Ghenā was actually from Old Delhi—a fact she tries to either conceal from outsiders or argue that the neighborhood of Kuchā Chelān, where she was born and raised, is not part of Old Delhi.

This cohort consists of many Muslim students from Old Delhi. Non-Old-Delhi students are all Hindi speakers. They not only make fun of Old Delhi Muslim students' vowels, they also talk about "Dillī chhē mentality" in a derogatory way. The notion of Dillī chhē mentality is a reflection of the image of Old Delhi that I discussed above. The

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[59] See Narang (1961), Singh (1966), and Ahmed (1979) for details on the Karkhandārī dialect.

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mentality is believed to be a combination of several attitudinal and behavioral features. According to non-Old-Delhi students, some of the major characteristic features of Dillī chhē mentality are that girls wear a lot of make-up. They do not have a refined sense of dressing. They generally wear bright, flashy, and gaudy colors. They do not shake hands with boys. This was a major sticking point between the students from Old Delhi and outsiders. Surēsh told me that it had been several months before the Muslim girls of his cohort started to shake their male friends' hands. He told me that there were still a couple of them who refused to shake hands with boys. Refusing to shake hands is seen as a sign of conservative thinking. The Muslim girls who have started to shake hands of their male friends have found ways of rationalizing it. For example, Farhat, another female member of the cohort, tells me that *hayā*, the concept of modesty/shame that informs the principle of not shaking hands of male friends, actually lies in one's eyes rather than external behaviors. The Dillī chhē mentality is applicable to boys too. They love to dress up, without any social occasions. They do not show politeness, because their language is rude. They often leer at girls.

Among the political science cohorts, this mentality is often referred to as "Chhollywood" mentality. Chhollywood is a blend derived from the second word of the compound Dillī chhē and Bollywood, which itself is a blend from Bombay, renamed Mumbai recently, and Hollywood. Having a Chhollywood mentality is a source of stigma, which most Muslim students try to avoid. Ghenā Khān, the girl who mocked the Karkhandārī vowel, represents one of the Muslim students who consciously try to denounce her Old Delhi identity.

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During the interview, I asked Ghenā where she lived. She told me that she lived in Tagore Park, a residential area that lies in the Trans-Yamuna region, which lies in East Delhi. When I asked her where she was born, she told me that she was born in Kuchā Chelān, which is an old neighborhood in Old Delhi. It lies south east of the Jāmā Masjid, off the street of ChūRiwālān. She grew up and went to school in Old Delhi, before her parents moved out to Tagore Park in East Delhi, two years before. I had talked to her and other members of the cohort several times before interviewing her. I would generally ask her questions about Old Delhi knowing that she was born and raised there and would be able to provide information about its language and culture. Interestingly, she would first answer my questions but later try to disown her Old Delhi identity.

During the interview, I asked her how her (non-Old-Delhi) friends think about students from Old Delhi. In response to my question, she described how Muslims from the Old Delhi pronounce many words "incorrectly", how girls wear a lot of make-up, and how they always wear bright, gaudy colors. She told me that she and her family are an exception. Once a female friend of hers came to visit them and was surprised that nobody at her home was wearing a lot of make-up, and her mother, contrary to her friend's expectation sounded polite. I then asked her if she ever felt that her non-Old-Delhi friends at college associate her with the stereotypes about Old Delhi.

Transcript 15 [Ghenā-Dillī Chhē] (emphasis mine)

RA: tumhẽ kabhī aisā mahsūs hūā hai ke kalās mẽ islīyē ke tum purāni dillī sē hō tumhẽ lōg kahtē haĩ ke, yē sab bātẽ jō tum nē kahĩ ke	RA: Did you ever feel, that, since you are from Old Delhi, people say that you, the things that you just said about Old Delhi people

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GK: mujhē tō kabhī kōī kuchh nahĩ kahtā, mujhē to kōī himmat bhī nahĩ kar saktā maĩ tō unhī lōgõ kō k̲hud sahī kartī hũ talaffuz **maĩ purānī dillī kī nahĩ hũ maĩ nē āp kō pahlē bhē batāyā thā**	GK: nobody ever tells me anything. Nobody can dare say anything to me. I always correct them, their pronunciation. **I am not from Old Delhi. I told you before too.**
RA: hã̃ achhā acchhā	RA: yes. ok, ok
GK: purānī dillī jō hai yahã̃ sē turkamān gēT sē kahlātī hai aur dillī dō, dillī chhē hai yē, dillī dō daryāganj sē shurū hōjātā hai **wō purāni dillī nahĩ kahlāyēgī** yē hai	GK: Old Delhi starts from here, Turkamān Gate. This is Delhi-6. Delhi-2 starts from Daryāganj. **That area will not be called Old Delhi**. This is the case.
RA: achhā achhā bhūl gayā thā	RA: ok ok I had forgotten.

My question is based on my knowledge/assumption that she is from Old Delhi, and therefore it is irrelevant to someone who is not from Old Delhi. If G̲henā was not from Old Delhi, one would expect that she would start with a correction of my 'false' assumption about her place of birth. G̲henā however answers my question without raising any objections to my assumption but later argues that she is actually not from Old Delhi. Such attempts to veil her Old Delhi identity shows up at several places in the interview. In response to a question about who has the raised variant of the low front vowel, she tells me about uneducated Muslim speakers of Urdu. Then I ask her a clarificatory question to which she replies:

Transcript 16 [G̲henā-Kark̲handārī]

RA: yē batāō ke aisā tō nahĩ hai ke purānī dillī kē sārē lōg	RA: tell me is it the case that everybody in Old Delhi
GK: nahĩ nahĩ nahĩ maĩ nahĩ kahtī sab nahĩ bōltē aisā, ham kōī bhī nahĩ bōltā hamārē ghar mẽ̃ tō	GK: no, no, no. I don't say that everybody speaks like that. We, nobody in our home speaks like that.

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My question is whether everybody in Old Delhi speaks the stigmatized variety. She does not even let me complete my question and starts to answer by saying that not everybody does but finishes her answer by saying that nobody in *her* family speaks that variety. She does not try to offer any corrections in the conversation, which suggests that she agrees with the assumption inherent in the question. Her answer is appropriate only if she agrees with the assumption of my question that she was from Old Delhi.

Ghenā not only disaffiliates from the Old Delhi Muslim language and identity but also from the traditional Muslim cuisine. Muslim cuisine in India is largely meat-based; Old Delhi, having been the capital of Muslim Mughal rulers, is famous for its Mughlai dishes such as *nahārī, qōrmā, kōftā, biryānī, pāyā, halīm*—all of which contain significant amount of meat. Ghenā tells me that people in her family consider her Pundit, a Hindu priest belonging to the high caste, who is required to be vegetarian. She expands her vegetarianism to include her whole family and tells me that nobody in her family eats meat, and when her mother cooks meat it is never consumed. When I asked her why at all her mother cooks if nobody in the family eats meat, she got a little embarrassed of having said something that was not true of her family. Later she told me that actually her dad loves meat.

Other Old Delhi Muslim students are faced with a similar sense of inferiority about their language and identity. Some of them however believe that the stigmatized image of Dillī chhē is confined only to people of the Turkamān Gate area—a specific neighborhood of Old Delhi. Zāhir Ahmad is a first year student at Zakir Husain College.

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He lives in the Nabī Karīm area of Old Delhi. When I asked him about College-students' perception of Old Delhi, he replied:

Transcript 17 [Zāhir-Dillī Chhē]

RA: achhā yē batāō ke bāharwālē lōg jō haĩ wō jō purānī dillī kē nahĩ haĩ wō purānī dillī kē bārē mẽ kyā sōchtē haĩ yahā̃ pe jō kaulej mẽ tumhārē dōst haĩ?	RA: ok, tell me what outsiders, those who are not from Old Delhi think about Old Delhi, especially your friends in college here?
ZA: wō sōchtē haĩ kī gandī jagah hai sōchtē haĩ wō lōg	ZA: they think that it is a dirty place, they do.
RA: achhā	RA: ok
ZA: ke yahā̃ kē rahnē wālē haĩ māhaul achhā nahĩ hōtā	ZA: That those live here, the [social] environment is not good
RA: achhā	RA: ok
ZA: gālī galauj bahot kartē haĩ	ZA: they call names
RA: achhā	RA: ok
ZA: gālī galauj kaun nahĩ kartā sabhī kartē haĩ?	ZA: who does not call names? Everybody does.
RA: ha ha	RA: ha ha
ZA: bas lēkin ēk think sōch banī hōtī hai lōgõ̃ kī ke bhaī ye lōg sāmnē wālē haĩ ajīb tarīkē sē bōltē haĩ gāliyā̃ dētē haĩ	ZA: However, there is a thinking that these people live from across here, they speak in a weird way; they call names.

Zāhir gives me a description of how Old Delhi Muslims are perceived by outsiders at Zakir Husain College, but he also shows his resentment with the specific construction of Old Delhi image. He however thinks that this degrading image is confined only to people who live in the Turkamān Gate area. He tells me how students from the Turkamān Gate neighborhood try to conceal this fact from the outsiders.

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Transcript 18 [Zāhir-denial] (emphasis mine)

ZA: unsē bōlō sāmnē rahtē hō turkamān gēT pē, arē nahĩ yār taubā karō astaghfār paRhō	ZA: Ask them if they live across from here at Turkamān Gate, oh no, my friend, say *taubā* and *astaghfār*
RA: achhā	RA: ok
ZA: ham tō nahĩ rahtē, dillī chē kē thōRī haĩ ham, pachpan kē haĩ yahã̃ kē haĩ wahã̃ kē haĩ	ZA: we don't, we are not from Dillī chhē. We are from Delhi-55, we are from here, we are from there
RA: achhā	RA: ok
ZA: dillī chhē ke nahĩ haĩ ham, **khud hī manā kartē haĩ.**	ZA: We are not from Dillī chhē. **They themselves deny it.**

During an un-taped conversation with Zāhir, he himself told me that when outsiders ask him where he lives, he often tells them that he lives at Ajmērī Gate and not Nabī Karīm where he actually lives. Ajmērī Gate is another non-Muslim neighborhood close to Old Delhi Muslim neighborhoods. So, clearly, the stigma of Old Delhi Muslim identity is not localized to residents of Turkamān Gate. We have seen above that Dr. Abdulkarīm, and Ghenā Khān, neither of them are from the Turkamān Gate area, also adopt strategies to avoid being identified as residents of Dillī chhē.

Although there is not much research on the changing socioeconomic aspects of Old Delhi since Partition, perceptive observers are aware of the transformation that the city underwent following 1947 and continues to be so.[60] In an interview, the Principal of Zakir Husain College, who is himself a Muslim born and raised in the city explained to me the process of the formation of a stigmatized identity of Old Delhi Muslims. He told

[60] See, however, Rizvi (1976) for the impact of changing economic conditions on the structure of family among Old Delhi Karkhānedārs, especially the Multani Lohars.

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me how Old Delhi used to be a center of learning and civilization until the Partition of India, which gave a "dent" to its identity and culture. The city was drained of the educated middle class Muslims following the Partition. What remained of Old Delhi were poor, uneducated Muslims and an influx of Punjabi refugees from Pakistan.

Transcript 19 [Principal-shanāk̲ht]

AP: us [purānī dillī] kī shanāk̲ht ban gaī ek aisī jagah sē jahā̃ jāhil aur kām karnē walē musalmānõ kī aksarīyat rahtī hai	AP: The identity of Old Delhi was of a place where a majority of Muslims are uneducated and are working class
RA: jī	RA: yeah
AP: jinkō ām lafzõ mẽ shābū[61] kahā jātā hai	AP: who are called Shabu in the common language
RA: jī	RA: yeah
AP: tō āj kē zamānē mẽ purānī dillī kī shanāk̲ht kā matlab yē hai ke āp ēk aisē musalmān k̲hāndān sē āē haī jō jāhilõ kā hai paRhā likhkhā nahī hai aur shābū hai	AP: so, in modern times, the identity of Old Delhi means that you belong to a Muslim family where there is no education and is Shabu
RA: jī	RA: yeah
AP: tō is kā jab naī generation kō ehsās hūa tō unhõ nē yē sōchā ke purānī dillī sē apnī shanāk̲ht kō ab k̲hatam kīyā jaē	AP: so, when the new generation realized this, they thought that they should no longer identify themselves with Old Delhi.

The negative image of Old Delhi Muslims is not confined to outsiders alone. Many *dillīwālās* themselves, especially those who are economically and socially upwardly mobile have the same ideology about the language and identity of Old Delhi. Madīhā is a first year student at ZHC majoring in English. She went to an expensive private English-

[61] The term *shābū* refers to uneducated Muslims from Old Delhi.

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medium school, before joining ZHC. Since she was born and raised in Old Delhi, I asked her how proud she feels to be living in a city that is famous for its historical richness. She said that she actually hates Old Delhi; she is not proud of any aspects of Old Delhi. She is living in Old Delhi only because her father does not want to move out since his business interests are tied to Old Delhi.

Samad Qureishī is probably the best example of a *dillīwālā*, whose ideology about Muslims of Old Delhi and their language is similar to that of outsiders. Like Madīhā's, Samad's perception of Old Delhi is quite negative. He would not even like to be friends with Old Delhi Muslim boys. He went to a private school called Bharat Public school, where there were only four Muslim students, of which only two, including him, were from Old Delhi. Samad often criticizes the Dillī chhē mentality. During an interview, he said it several times that Muslims need to get over their mentality. When I asked him what the difference was between his school and schools that most of Old Delhi Muslim students attend, he said that the main difference was in the mentality of the children. The mentality of children going to schools outside of the city cannot match the mentality of children attending schools in Muslim neighborhoods of Old Delhi. Then he relates it to an episode in his personal life.

A few years ago, Samad grew his hair long and started to wear a pony tail. He said he really liked it, because, it went well with his tall and slim body, but people in his neighborhood would give him disdainful looks, and even those he did not know well would ridicule and shame him. So, finally he decided to get rid of his pony tail, but he still wears his hair long—long enough to be noticed in Old Delhi. He told me one of the

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reasons why Muslims of Old Delhi do not do well in life is because they would like to meddle in others' affairs, rather than minding their own business. He told me how frustrated he felt not being able to groom his hair the way he liked. Why would Muslims even discuss his hairstyle, something he considers personal, let alone disparage it, he wondered?

In sum, the third generation of Old Delhi Muslims are encumbered by the perceived identity and imagery associated with the older generation of Muslims. The identity becomes especially degrading at places such as schools, colleges, and work places, where the younger generation is not valued for who they are; they are stigmatized for where they live. Therefore, they struggle to define a new identity and break free from the Dillī chhē image of themselves. They want to be perceived as everybody else. The break from the past has started to happen at social, educational, and linguistic levels. The following section examines ideological and linguistic changes among Generation-3.

4.3 Probing the ideological structure of the Generation-3 Muslims

Some of the features of Karkhandārī Urdu that I discussed in Chapter 2 have been part of the dialect for a long time. It has a recorded history of almost two hundred years. In Daryā-ē-latāfat, Inshā'allāh Khān Inshā examines the linguistic structure of Urdu and explores its sociolinguistic aspects as it was spoken in Shāhjahānābād, Old Delhi, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He mentions that many people living in the city, who did not speak Standard Urdu pronounced the first person Urdu pronoun /ṃaĩ/ 'I', containing the low front vowel as if it were the vowel in the Urdu postposition /mẽ/

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'in' (Inshā, 1988[1808]: 55). He is referring to the process of vowel-raising, which seems to have been common in Old Delhi Urdu even then.

Although the raised variant has been non-standard since the early nineteenth century, it does not seem to have been as stigmatized as it became after 1947. This may be because the larger social identity of Old Delhi Muslims was not stigmatized before 1947. In fact, since Old Delhi had been the capital of the Muslim Mughal Empire and a center of Muslim aristocracy, it has always boasted of elegance and sophistication in language, style, and culture. In the literary field, Delhi developed its own standards and canon for literary and linguistic usage known as *dabistān-e-dehlī*, Delhi School. Its only adversary was *dabistān-e-lakhnaū*, Lucknow School, another center of Urdu literary and linguistic culture. Even after the British take-over, the city continued to be a socially, economically, and culturally vibrant Muslim city.[62] The events of 1947 changed what it meant to be a Muslim from Old Delhi and what it meant to speak Urdu. Many research participants believe that one of the reasons for the stigmatization of Old Delhi Muslims is their language. I discussed above how non-Old-Delhi students make fun of the raised variant of /ai /. It is not just this variable, but the whole language that is iconic of Old Delhi Muslim identity. Sukainā, whom I have quoted before, explains the reasons for the stigma. Notice that she mentions the language of Old Delhi as a component of the stigmatization.

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[62] See Hasan (2005) for a discussion on the debates among Muslim intellectuals of Delhi, with special reference to Maulvī Zakāullāh, Nazīr Ahmad, and Mirzā Ġhālib.

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Transcript 20 [Sukainā-Dillī-Chhē] (emphasis mine)

RA: ... aksar suntā hũ ke lōg jō purānī dillī kē nahĩ haĩ wō purānī dillī kē bārē mẽ kahtē haĩ ke purānī dillī	RA: I often hear that outsiders, who are not from Old Delhi say about Old Delhi that
SS: achhā nahĩ hai	SS: it is not good
RA: hã̃, kyā kyõ̃ kahtē haĩ aur kyā hai yē?	RA: yes, why do they say this? How do you explain this?
SS: ā patā nahĩ kyõ̃ kahtē haĩ wō **kuchh lōg kahtē haĩ ke yahã kī language achhī nahĩ hai**	SS: I don't know why they say this. **Some people think that the language of Old Delhi is not good**
RA: achhā	RA: ok
SS: ke sab lōg abē tabē se bōlte haĩ tū karkē boltē haĩ	SS: that people speak in an impolite way
RA: achhā	RA: ok
SS: **kuchh lōg kahtē haĩ ke wahã kā māhaul achhā nahĩ hai** aur turkamān kō tō itnā wō samjhā jātā hai bahot gandā sā acchā nahĩ samjhā jatā turkamān kō	**Some people think that the environment of Old Delhi is not good** and Turkamān is considered to be really dirty; they don't consider Turkamān good

I discussed in Chapter 2 that distinctions between Karkhandārī and Standard Urdu did not exist for most Muslims of Old Delhi, because of the migration of Standard Urdu speakers to Pakistan. For Muslims, Karkhandārī was the only Urdu they knew and used; in the local language ideologies, the social meaning of Karkhandārī got conflated with that of Standard Urdu. Since the language of Old Delhi is one of the important elements that go into the construction of a derogatory image of the Muslims, efforts to overcome the linguistic stigma are clearly visible in the ways that the Generation-3 Muslims try to disaffiliate themselves from Urdu. Both on the level of their ideology and their linguistic practices, they are moving away from Urdu.

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Rānā Hāshmī was born and raised in ChuRīwālān, a neighborhood that lies south of the Jāmā Masjid. She is a first year student at ZHC, majoring in psychology. She went to an English-medium school. Most of her friends at college are Hindus. Like many other young educated Muslims, she thinks that the language that most Muslims in Old Delhi speak is bad; she thinks that they do not know how to pronounce words 'correctly'. She gives me examples of the raised /ai/ in the speech of Muslims. Moreover, she also thinks that their language and behavior is rude. She believes that most Old Delhi girls speak with high amplitude, as if they were always shouting. During an interview, when I asked her what language she speaks at home, she told me that she speaks a mixed language. After telling me about the old generation's language, she describes the language that her generation speaks.

Transcript 21 [Rānā-Urdu] (emphasis mine)

RH: aur ham mẽ tō English hindī mixed hai urdū tō ham lōg bōltē hī nahĩ haĩ āj kal kī generation	RH: and in our language, it is a mixture of English and Hindi. **We do not speak Urdu at all,** the young generation

Rānā Hāshmī forcefully states that she does not speak Urdu at all, nor do people of her generation. When I asked who in Old Delhi speaks Urdu then? She tells me that only people belonging to older generations do. The association of Urdu with older generations is a dominant part of the ideology of the Generation-3 Muslims.

Transcript 22 [Rānā-buzurg] (emphasis mine)

RA: achhā yē batāō ke maĩ purānī dillī mẽ nayā hũ, purānī dillī mẽ urdū kaun lōg bōlte haĩ	RA: so, tell me, since I am new to Old Delhi, who speaks Urdu in Old Delhi?
RH: **urdū bōlte haĩ jō means dādā dādī**	RH: **those who are grandfathers and**

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hōtē haĩ aur bahot buzurg hōtē haĩ ghar kē wō lōg tō bilkul urdū hī bōltē haĩ	**grandmothers in our homes speak Urdu, those who are really old, they speak only in Urdu**
RA: achhā	RA: ok
RH: unhẽ tō urdū hī ātī hai wō urdū hī language use kartē haĩ	RH: they only know Urdu, they use only the Urdu language

Two things are important about Rānā's generation of Muslims. First, their language is marked by heavy code-switching into English. Second, unlike their parents' generation, they do not believe that they speak Urdu.

Fātmā Syed was born and raised in Lāl Kũā, Old Delhi. She is a first year student at ZHC, majoring in political science. She is in the same cohort as Ghenā Khān and Surēsh. When I asked her what language she spoke at home, her answer like that of others of her generation was that she speaks a 'mixed' language. She beautifully captures the mixed nature of the language of the current generation.

Transcript 23 [Fatmā-mixed]

FS: matlab kuchh aisē hindī kē shabd use ab jaisē ājkal hindī chal rahī hai tō hindī kē shabd use karũgī Thīk hai aur jaisē ab mērī bhāshā āp dēkh rahē hō āp sun rahē hō tō maĩ zeyādātar urdu kē hõge ismẽ English kā hōgā kuchh words kuchh usmẽ urdū kē hõgē matlab mix language use kartī hũ.	FS: it means that I use some words of Hindi, now that Hindi is prevalent, I will use Hindi words, ok, like, you see my language, I usually, there will be words of Urdu, some words of English, I mean I use a mixed language

A careful look at Fātmā's transcript reveals that the mixed language that she claims to speak at home is actually evidenced in her metadiscourse too. She uses Hindi words for example *shabd*, 'word', *bhāshā* 'language' and later on *kēwal*, 'only' and English words

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e.g. 'words', 'mix', 'use'. When I asked her what language their parents speak, she replied that they speak Urdu.

Fātmā's answer about her parents' language is interesting because she argues that her parents speak Urdu—often containing words that she has difficulty understanding—*because* they did not receive good education. Both her parents did not study beyond middle school. This is further evidence to support my claim above that it is this ideology of interlinking Urdu and the older generation of uneducated backward Muslims that is playing a role in the language change among the younger generation.

Transcript 24 [Fatmā-family] (emphasis mine)

FS: wō urdū hī use kartē haĩ zeyādātar mammī kā bhī urdū kā hī hai aur pāpā kā bhī urdū kā hai **kyōke pāpā mammī nē jō hai nā zeyādā education nahĩ lī pāpā kēwal fifth class tak paRhē huē haĩ aur mammī eighth class tak paRhī huī hai** ...	FS: They use only Urdu. **My mom uses Urdu and my dad also uses Urdu because they did not receive education.** My dad studied only up to the fifth grade and my mom studied up to the eighth grade...

The students whose language ideology I have examined so far study courses such as psychology and political science, which provide an opportunity for them to interact with Hindi and English speaking students from outside of Old Delhi. So, one might argue that students who major in traditional courses such as Urdu and Arabic will have a different ideology, since most, in fact, all the students who enroll in these courses are Muslim students, and most of them are from Old Delhi.[63] Many of them have known each other

[63] According to the Principal of the College, the percentage of Muslim students is the highest in the humanities and lowest in natural sciences.

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before starting college. Some participants in fact did point out that, in addition to the older generation, Urdu is spoken by those who study it. This however does not seem to be true. Nishāt Naīm, whom I quoted above, is a second year student majoring in Urdu at ZHC. In response to my question about who speaks Urdu, he proudly says that good Urdu is spoken only in Old Delhi, but he adds a caveat that it is only in *purānē gharõ mẽ*, among older generations like his grandmother, who is illiterate. He says that if one goes outside of Old Delhi what one finds is a mixed language, like his own—a mixture of Urdu, English, Punjabi, and Hindi.

Transcript 25 [Nishāt-Urdu] (emphasis mine)

NN: āp bāhar chalē jāīyē tō āp kō nahĩ mil pāyēgī itnī itnī jōsh jisē kahtē haĩ nā pure urdū pure language aur kahĩ nahĩ mil pāyēgī, **purānē gharõ mẽ**	NN: if you go outside, you won't find such passion, what is called pure Urdu language. You won't find it anywhere, **only in old families[generation]**
RA: tō bāhar kaun kaun sī	RA: then what language is spoken outside?
NN: bāhar tō mix **jaisē maĩ bōl rahā hũ mix** English, urdū, punjābī bōl dī tō **kyā yē urdū language thōRī hai sir yē tō khichRī hai**	NN: They speak mixed outside, **like I do**. I speak a mixed English, Urdu, Punjabi. **This is not Urdu, sir. This is hotchpotch.**

I also interviewed some of Nishāt's other classmates from Old Delhi, who were majoring in Urdu. Their ideologies were no different from those of other non-Urdu students.

The change in the ideology and practice of generation-3 Muslims is being noticed by their parents. Mr. Tābish Dard is the father of three daughters, one of whom is majoring in Urdu and is in the cohort of Nishāt. Mr. Dard lives in ChūRīwālān. During an interview, I asked him if he has trouble understanding Hindi, since he received his

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education through the Urdu medium. He answered me in the negative and explained that although his daughters studied through the Urdu medium, they hardly speak Urdu at home. Hindi is present in the home contexts too, which helps him understand Hindi better.

Transcript 26 [Tābish-Urdu]

TD: hã̃ samajhnē mẽ̃ bhī kōī dushwārī nahī̃ hai kyõke TV mẽ̃ khabrẽ̃ waghairah jis tarah kī haĩ ab bacchē bhī haĩ ājkal kahnē kē liyē tō yē urdū medium sē paRhtē haĩ lēkin urdū to barāē nām hī hai hindī tō barābar rahtī hai tō hindī tō samajh bhī lētē haĩ.	TD: yes, I don't have any trouble understanding because the kind of news on the TV, now although children, these days, study through the Urdu medium, Urdu is only in name. Hindi is always part of them, so we understand Hindi too.

Parents have started to notice the change, and so have Hindi speaking friends of the Generation-3 Muslims. They do not think that their Muslim friends speak Urdu. They do however note that their friends' parents and other old people do. Nikhil Guptā was born and raised in the Sitārām Bāzār neighborhood. His circle of friends consists of a number of Muslims including some whom I discuss in this chapter. When I asked him about who speaks Urdu in Old Delhi, his answer was that only a few people do; his Muslim friends are not among them. Note that Nikhil says that although he has seen his Muslim friends offer *namāz*, 'prayer', he has not heard them speak Urdu. He has, however, seen Muslim religious priests speak Urdu.

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Transcript 27 [Nikhil-maulānā]

NG: nahĩ kam hī lōg bōltē haĩ urdū tō	NG: no, very few people speak Urdu
RA; achhā	RA: ok
NG: yē lōg[his Muslim friends] bhī matlab urdū itnī fluently nahĩ bōl pātē. maĩ nē kabhī urdū sunī nahī unkē mũh sē.	NG: they [his Muslim friends] cannot speak Urdu fluently. I have never heard Urdu from their mouth
RA; hm	RA: ok
NG: namāz wagairah paRhnā tō wō ek wō hai garanth hō giyā	NG: Offering prayer etc. is part of the religion
RA: hm	RA: hm
NG: bākī aur kuchh nahĩ, maĩ nē sunī nahĩ bōltē hūē. urdū tō jaisē āp kē maulāna hō gayē	NG: But, nothing else, I have never heard them speak [Urdu]. your religious priests
RA: hm	RA: hm
NG: un kō bōltē huē dēkhē hai. aur matlab jō kuchh high level kē jō bandē hōtē haĩ wō bōltē haĩ	NG: I have seen them speak and I mean people who are special they speak Urdu.

It is clear from the above discussion that in the ideology of the third generation of Muslims, Urdu does not have the same place as it does in the older generations. The third generation Muslims do not claim to speak Urdu, nor do they identify themselves with the language of their parents. They argue that they speak a mixed languages—a language that has elements of English, Urdu, and Hindi, but crucially it is a language that is liberated from the demeaning and stigmatizing image that their parents' language carries. It is not Urdu; it is a language that is purged of elements that can't but reveal the young generation's Old Delhi provenance—the Urdu phonemes. Section 4.3.1 presents frequency distribution of the Urdu phonemes among the third generation.

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The only exception to the ideology of disaffiliation from Urdu is those Muslims who have little contact with the outside world. Jubair and Sumair represent such third generation Muslims. Jubair and Sumair are second year students in a Bachelor's program in the Arabic language at Zakir Husain College. They were born in the Turkamān Gate neighborhood of Old Delhi. They went to an Urdu-medium school of Old Delhi, where most of their friends were Muslims from the city. At the College too, they hang out only with Muslim students—mostly from Old Delhi studying the Arabic language; there are a few students in their cohort who are from outside of Old Delhi. Unlike Samad, Rānā, Nishāt, and Fatmā, Jubair and Sumair do not interact with many Hindi-speaking Hindu friends on a regular basis. Their personal and professional lives are limited to Urdu-speaking Muslim friends, whose social contacts are confined to people from Old Delhi.

As pointed out earlier, the third generation Muslims who have received education in private Hindi or English-medium schools, for example Samad and Rānā, do not like to socialize with Muslims like Jubair and Suhail. Samad told me that he has very few friends from the city because the mentality of Old Delhi boys does not match with his. Samad thinks that they are too conservative. Many of them did not like his way of life, especially his pony tail. Similarly Rānā told me that she does not have many "real" friends from Old Delhi, because girls from the city are rude; they always speak with high amplitude.

After College, Jubair works on his father's shop that deals in used tires of buses, trucks, and cars. The shop is located in a densely populated Muslim neighborhood of Qasāb Pūrā, Old Delhi. Most of the people that he deals with on his job are Muslims from

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Old Delhi. He believes that the language of Muslims of Old Delhi is very different from that of Hindus. When I asked him about the language of Old Delhi, he told me that the main difference between the language of Muslims and Hindus is that non-Muslims Hindus do not have a sense of *shīn*, *ġhian*, and *qāf*.

Transcript 28 [Jubair-Urdu] (emphasis mine)

JQ: maĩ nē nōT karā hai nā maĩ nē dekhā hai apnē ird-gird jō lōg haĩ	JQ: I have noticed, I have seen among people who are around us
RA: hã̄	RA: yeah
JQ: un kā ta'alluq un sē maĩ nē dēkhā hai ke unkē andar xās taur pē ġhair-muslim kē andar	JQ: those who have relationships with those, I have seen that in their language, **especially non-Muslims,**
RA: hã̄	RA: yeah
JQ: shīn kā, ġhain kā, qāf kā faraq hī nahĩ hai kyõke urdū zabān sē waqfīyat hī nahīn hai nā	JQ: **there is no sense of *shīn, ġhain*, and *qāf*** because they do not know the Urdu language.

Jubair told me that Muslims who live among Hindus pronounce Urdu in a "distorted" way. When I asked him who among the third generation Old Delhi Muslims does that, he replied that people who are rich and attend Hindi and English-medium schools do that. He gave me example of Muslims who do not pronounce *shīn*, *ġhain*, and *qāf*. I have discussed some of them in this chapter. Jubair's ideology about the Urdu language is matched by his use of the Urdu phonemes; his displays 100% preservation of the Urdu phonemes, which is similar to second generation Muslims, but is in contrast with many third generation Muslims.

So the change of ideology regarding Urdu and the loss of Urdu phonemes that I have discussed above are *not* taking place in the language of Urdu speakers such as

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Jubair and Sumair. How do I explain this? I think that the reason for this is that although the third generation Muslims, like Jubair, are also ashamed of the stigmatized Old Delhi identity, their perception of it is not as intense as others like Samad since they do not interact regularly with Hindi-speakers. They are not ridiculed for their language and identity like others who interact with Hindi-speaking Hindus. I discussed the Chhollywood mentality that Hindi-speaking Hindus attribute to their Muslim classmates. So, the pressure is more on those Muslims who socialize with Hindi-speaking Hindu students. Muslims of Old Delhi who socialize among themselves are successful in reinforcing their own linguistic norms.

4.3.1 Distribution of /f/, /z/, /kh/, /gh/, and /q/among Generation-3

The Sunday edition of the Urdu Rāshtriya Sahārā, published from New Delhi carries an interesting article entitled '*zabā̃ bigRī tō bigRī thī*', which seems to be part of an Urdu couplet meaning 'How does is matter if the language is decaying?' The article is written in the Urdu genre of *tanz-ō-mazāh*, which combines humor with sarcasm; the author discusses the 'deplorable' status of the Urdu language, especially among the new generation. The writer, a Wakilur Rahmān, points out that most Muslims belonging to the middle class want their children to learn English rather than Urdu. In addition to the 'incorrect' use of many lexical items, the author also points out how the pronunciation of Urdu sounds is getting corrupted among the young generation. He notes, '*shīn qāf kā bhī kōī khyāl nahī̃ rakhā jā rahā hai. aksar lōgõ̃ kō yē bōltē huē sunā gayā hai ke 'falā̃ kām mẽ̃ baRī dikkat (diqqat) hō rahī hai' yā 'ajī kyā batāū̃, āmdanī kam hai aur kharchā (kharchā) zeyādah'* (Rahmān, 2006: 2) 'Nobody cares about the *shīn qāf.* We often hear

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people say 'I have *dikkat (diqqat)* 'difficulty' in this job' or 'what shall I tell you, my income is low, but my *kharchā (k̲harchā),* 'expenditure', is more'.

The author uses *shīn qāf* as a metonymical device to refer to the whole—the Urdu language. Although he discusses many aspects of the Urdu language, he also mentions the substitution of the Urdu phonemes such as /q/, /k̲h/, /g̲h/ with /k/, /kh/, and /g/. The beginning of the loss of these phonemes among the third generation has been noticed for some time. In an article written by K̲hān (1997), there is a discussion of the changing pronunciation of the Urdu phonemes among the new generation of Urdu speakers. An analysis of my third generation participants' language shows that they indeed are losing some of the phonemes. The table below gives the distribution of the Urdu phonemes among the third generation Muslims.

Table 8 Showing distribution of Urdu phonemes among Generation-3

Phonemes	SS (F)		SQ (M)		DB (F)		FS(M)	
	N	% nativization	N	% nativization	N	% nativization	N	% nativization
/f/	11	0%	24	0%	34	0%	16	0%
/z/	44	0%	58	0%	49	0%	46	0%
/k̲h/	5	100%	14	72%	13	77%	37	51%
/g̲h/	24	100%	13	100%	14	100%	21	90%
/q/	10	100%	19	95%	15	87%	17	76%

Table 8 clearly shows that language change is underway in the third generation. They are losing three of these phonemes, namely /k̲h/, /g̲h/, and /q/. Their frequency distributions

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are similar to those of Mr. Nigam and Mrs. Srivastava, second generation Hindus. The first two columns show that Sukainā and Samad do not preserve the three Urdu phonemes /kh/, /gh/, and /q/, in a categorical fashion. Their rate of nativization is 100%. The other two Muslims have variation in the realization of these phonemes, but the percentage of nativization is above 50%. The distribution is particularly striking since Muslims belonging to the first and second generation had a 100% distribution of these phonemes, regardless of social factors such as gender and the level of education. Compare table 8 with 9.

Table 9 Distribution of Urdu phonemes among the first and second generation Muslims

Phonemes	AS (M)		AP (M)		NQ (M)		GK (M)	
	N	% nativization	N	% nativization	N	% nativization	N	% nativization
/f/	68	0%	21	0%	24	0%	56	0%
/z/	93	0%	77	0%	50	0%	83	0%
/kh/	47	0%	29	0%	24	0%	54	0%
/gh/	13	0%	16	0%	2	0%	16	0%
/q/	48	0%	30	0%	25	0%	74	0%

4.4 Gaining from the loss: understanding language change

The newspaper article about the decay of the Urdu language that I referred to above also carries an illustration containing a scene from an elementary school classroom with some children and a teacher. The teacher is observing the students, while holding the Hindi language newspaper Dainik JāgraN in his left hand. The children are sitting on chairs and

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learning to write Hindi and English alphabets. There is a pile of Urdu alphabet books lying at the feet of the children.

The illustration probably tries to make the point that children these days learn Hindi and English in elementary school, rather than Urdu, and that is the reason why they are losing the Urdu phonemes. However, contrary to the illustration, I argue that the loss of the Urdu phonemes in the speech of the Generation-3 is not taking place because students are not learning Urdu. They already know Urdu before they start going to school. Many of my research participants in fact know how to read and write Urdu.

The sound change is evidenced even in those students at ZHC, who are majoring in Urdu. Khāledā, who is in the same cohort as Nishāt, tells me that their Old Delhi classmates are often corrected by their teacher for mispronunciation.

Transcript 29 [Khāledā-Urdu]

KB: sir hamārī class mẽ bhī abhī tak sir ghālib kō bahot Tōkā jātā hai gālib hi kahtē haĩ zeyādātar bachhē hamārī class mẽ bhī	KB: Sir, in our class, even today students are corrected for mispronouncing Ghālib. Most students in our class usually pronounce it as Gālib
RA: achhā boltē haĩ?	RA: ok, they speak like that?
KB: hã̃ gālib hī bōltē haĩ sir aksar Tōktē rahtē haĩ ke yē gālib kyā hōta hai	KB: yes, they pronounce it as Gālib. Our teacher always corrects, 'what is Gālib?

The reason for the loss therefore is to be found in the changed social meaning of Urdu among Generation-3. As I have argued above, the change can be seen as a reflex of an urge among Old Delhi youth to divest themselves of the linguistic and cultural baggage that an Old Delhi Muslim identity carries. On the sociolinguistic level, the baggage

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includes a demeaning social identity of the Post-Partition Muslims and their stigmatized language. The stigmatization of Urdu in general and these phonemes in particular is responsible for their loss in the third generation.

Since the Generation-3 Muslims, who grew up speaking Urdu, interact with speakers of Hindi among whom the norm with regard to the Urdu phonemes is to nativize them, the Generation-3 Muslims rationalize the language contact situation between Urdu and Hindi with an ideology whereby Urdu is indexical of the degrading older generation Muslim identity. They therefore tend to adopt their friends' pronunciation of the Urdu phonemes. This is a linguistic strategy to conceal their Dillī chhē identity. The nativization of the phonemes therefore becomes a way for them to move away from their perceived identity and a step closer to the language of their friends and peers. In this situation of conflicting norms, children leave what is stigmatized and adopt what is prestigious among their friends, colleagues, and teachers. Khān(1997) noted this in passing in an article some time ago.

> *urdū bōlnē wālȭ kī naī naslȭ kē talaffuz mẽ̃ bhī ēk tarah kī ãkh macholī miltī hai. ghar mẽ̃ kuchh aur suntē haĩ aur iskūl mẽ̃ kuchh aur. zahīn bachhē barābar paTrī badaltē rahtē haĩ, lēkin bilāk̲hir raftā raftā iskūlȭ aur kālijȭ kā tallaffuz gharȭ mẽ̃ bhī dar āta hai, jahã̄ naī nasl kī purāni nasl kē tallafuz sē mukammal kashmakash rahtī hai* (1997 :247)
>
> There is a tension in the pronunciation of the new generation of Urdu speakers. They hear one thing [pronunciation] at home and something else at school. Formative children keep changing tracks, but finally, gradually, the pronunciation of schools and colleges make inroads into homes, where there is a complete disjoint/divergence between the pronunciation of the old and new generations.

However, it is important to note that the other two Urdu phonemes /f/ and /z/ are categorically present in the speech of the Generation-3 Muslims. Even Sukainā and

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Samad, who have 0% retention of the other three Urdu phonemes /kh/, /gh/, and /q/, have 100% retention of /f/ and /z/. The question is: why do some Urdu phonemes show different distribution from others? The differential linguistic behavior of these sounds can be explained by examining their indexicality.

I argue above that the loss of /kh/, /gh/, and /q/ was driven by the changes in the sociolinguistic field after the Partition of India in 1947, whereby Urdu became indexical of the second generation uneducated, conservative, and poor Muslims. The Generation-3 could not live with this identity and started to dissociate themselves from it. It is the same principle of indexicality that explains the preservation of /f/ and /z/. It is true that /f/ and /z/ are as much iconic of Urdu as are /kh/, /gh/, and /q/. But the former are part of the English phonological system, whereas the latter are not. The structure of indexicality of /f/ and /z/ therefore is complex, since English has a positive indexical meaning among youth in Delhi, regardless of the religio-cultural affiliations.

In addition to the constitutional status that English enjoys in India as an associate national official language of India, it has been growing as the most important language of administration, judiciary, and education. On the social level, middle class Indians consider English as an icon of education, cultural refinement, and prestige. Gupta and Kapoor (1991) note:

> ...educationally it [English] is recognized as an essential component of formal education and as the preferred medium of learning...; socially it is recognized and upheld as a mark of education, culture, and prestige. The polity and society confers great value on the learning of English, gives it enormous paying potential, thus creating a great demand for English-knowing Indian bi/multilinguals (p 19).

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English has been growing in status and prestige in India enormously.[64]Recent changes in the international economy combined with developments in telecommunication have made India the most attractive destination for outsourcing services from English-speaking countries. This has added an enormous economic value to the English language; the mere possession of knowledge of English is a skill that has an economic value in the market.

It is therefore not surprising that a large number of loanwords containing /f/ and /z/ have become part of Urdu and Hindi lexical resources, for example /fāil/ 'file', /film/ 'film', /fōTō/ 'photo', /zēbrā/ 'zebra', /rizalT/ 'result' /rēzar/ 'razor/. English words and expressions also appear in Indian English and in code-switched varieties of English. Gupta (2001), while discussing the status of English in India argues, 'In terms of language hierarchy, what takes shape is an order or scale in which English appears at the top in terms of functionality, prestige, and usefulness' (p 152). He further argues that in this pyramid-like structure, Hindi occupies the second position. However this is a form of Hindi that contains a large number of English words. Gupta notes, 'The most acceptable form of this pan-Indian Hindi is one *that is heavily laced with English words*' (p 152; emphasis mine). He is referring to the code-switched variety.

As a result of the high prestige, the Generation-3 Muslims, like their Hindu friends, use English words extensively in their speech. I asked Samad, whom I quoted above, how he felt when he joined his new school. He said:

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[64] See Ramanathan (1999) for the hegemonic and exclusionary role of English in India especially with regard to the marginalized Dalits and OBC's (other backward castes).

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Transcript 30 [Samad-switching] (emphasis mine)

SQ: aur fir ēkdam achānak **new friends** mil jānā	SQ: and finding new friends suddenly
RA: hm	RA: hm
SQ: **new friends** achānak alag hī bāt hōtī hai ke purānē **friends**, naē **friends** sē **friendship** karnī	SQ: suddenlt finding new friends is a different thing altogether. To make friends with new friends
RA: hm	RA: hm
SQ: lekin lagā nahī̃ ke **really** maī nē **school change** karā hai	SQ: but I didn't realize that I have changed schools.

Notice Samad's code-switching into English. The words in bold in the transcript are English words. Although Samad's pronunciation of many English words is different from native varieties of English, for example his alveolar stops /t/, /d/ /n/, which are more retracted, close to being retroflex, his /f/ and /z/ are not different from Standard British/American English.[65] Nor are they different from the Urdu phonemes.

The continued preservation of the Urdu phonemes /f/ and /z/ can be attributed to the fact that they index an educated, modern, and culturally refined identity—an identity that these phonemes derive from the prestigious status of English in India. In other words, the derogatory indexicality of the Urdu /f/ and /z/ has been overridden by the positive indexicality of the English /f/ and /z/. The evidence for this comes from the speech of the young generation of Hindi speakers in Delhi who show cases of hypercorrection

[65] See Agnihotri (1991) and Gargesh (2006), among others, for the phonological structure of Indian English.

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involving these two phonemes. Hindi words containing the original /ph/ and /j/ are being replaced with /f/ and /z/, the former being more common that the latter.

It is quite common to hear Hindi words such as /phal/ 'fruit', /phãsī/ 'execution', and /phir/ 'again' being pronounced by the third generation as /fal/, /fãsī/, and /fir/. In fact, the change has become so common that a brand name for fruit juice called *Saphal*, a Hindi word meaning 'successful' is transliterated in English as /safal/, rather than /saphal/. My own data suggest that many Old Delhi Hindi-speakers show hypercorrection in their use of native /ph/ and /j/. While trying to establish connection with Hindu residents of the city, I went to meet with the owner of an old store run by a Hindu in front of the Jāmā Masjid. After I introduced myself, one of the members of the staff introduced himself, pronouncing his own name /vijai/ as /vizai/.

Since the change is taking place only in the generation that uses English, it is fairly safe to claim that it is a contact-induced change mediated by the language ideology of the young-generation whereby the English language and its elements index modern identity. In the speech of the older generation /ph/ or /j/ are never realized as /f/ and /z/. In fact the norm among the uneducated Hindus has been to nativize /f/ and /z/ as /ph/ and /j/.

4.5 Summary and conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed the changing ideologies about Urdu among the third generation Muslims. By analyzing their ideological structure, I have shown that contrary to their parents' generation, they do not claim that they speak Urdu; they argue that they speak a mixed language containing elements from English, Hindi, and Punjabi. I have

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argued that the shift in the ideology is an attempt by the third generation Muslims to disaffiliate from the perceived stigmatized identity of Old Delhi Muslims. The process of disaffiliation from Urdu is a strategy whereby the third generation tries to overcome the demeaning image of themselves held by outsiders—Hindi-speaking Hindus.

I have shown that the stigmatized image of Old Delhi Muslims came into being following Partition of India and the mass migration of educated middle class upper caste Muslims from Old Delhi. I have shown that as a consequence of Partition, Old Delhi Muslims were perceived as poor, backward, and uneducated. The stigma was exacerbated by the association of the low-prestige dialect of Urdu, Karkhandārī, with Old Delhi Muslim identity. I have shown that this specific perception of Old Delhi Muslim identity among outsiders manifests in the derogatory term "Chhollywood mentality" used by College students for Old Delhi Muslims. I have argued that the stigma attached to the Muslim identity is an important factor behind the process of disaffiliation from Urdu.

I have also shown that the ideological shift is manifested in the beginning of the loss of three of the Urdu phonemes. In fact, the ideological shift and the beginning of the loss of the Urdu phonemes are part of the same sociolinguistic process; they mutually reinforce each other. I have shown that three of the five Urdu phonemes are being lost in the speech of the third generation Muslims. I also provide an explanation of why the Generation-3 continues to preserve the other two Urdu phonemes /f/ and /z/. I argue that since they are part of Indian English, they derive their indexicality *not* from Urdu but from English, which has a high prestige among the third generation speakers of Urdu and Hindi both. In other words, the survival of /f/ and /z/ is due to the fact that the stigma

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attached to the Urdu language in general, and these phonemes in particular, is overridden by the prestige attached to them due to their bivalency with English.

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CHAPTER 5 SPEAKING THROUGH *BINDĪS:* URDU IN DEVANAGARI

5.1 Introduction

The fourth International Urdu Conference was held in London in June 2006, where poets, writers, critics, and linguists from South Asia, Europe, and North America gathered to discuss the challenges faced by Urdu (speakers) in the twenty-first century. In addition to issues such as the maintenance of Urdu among diaspora communities, the conference also discussed the issue of orthography. The panel, chaired by the noted Indian Urdu linguist, Gopī Chand Nārang, rejected the idea that the traditional Perso-Arabic script of the Urdu language is a barrier to the *taraqqī*, 'progress', of Urdu.[66] The Panelists unanimously agreed that the adoption of a new script would be quite detrimental to Urdu (Senrai, 2006).

Although suggestions have been made in the past to abandon the traditional script of Urdu and adopt either Roman or Devanagari, the issue has become more relevant in

[66] The word *taraqqī*, literally 'progress', is often used, while discussing the current conditions of Urdu in India; it is however rarely defined. The term probably entails the maintenance of Urdu in the younger generation and its spread among speakers of other languages. It probably also entails the production of literature in Urdu.

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recent times, since many third generation Muslims attend Hindi or English-medium schools, where they do not learn the Perso-Arabic script. Many Muslims of Old Delhi were concerned about their children's inability to read Urdu in the traditional script. Their main fear was that the young generation would lose their Muslim identity, since they do not have access to the Islamic and other cultural literature, largely available in the Perso-Arabic script.

The dwindling literacy in the Perso-Arabic script among the new generation in India can be observed by taking a look at bookstores in Urdu Bazar of Old Delhi. During my fieldwork, I stopped at a bookstore to buy an Urdu magazine called Pākīzā Ānchal, literally 'chaste Ānchal'. The word *ānchal* refers to the endpiece of a sāRī, worn by women in South Asia. The store-keeper asked me if I wanted Pākīzā Ānchal, the Urdu version or Mahaktā Ānchal, literally 'scented Ānchal' the Devanagari version.[67] Since the Devanagari version is quite new, many people still call it Pākīzā Ānchal, but prefix it with the word 'Hindi'; they call it Hindi Pākīzā Ānchal. As I was not aware of the existence of the Hindi version, I asked him for both. On my request, he showed me a number of other books available in both the Urdu and Devanagari scripts.

When I started to work with the third generation Muslim students at Zakir Husain College, it became clearer to me that indeed there is a section of Muslim youth who do not have functional literacy in the Perso-Arabic script. Sukainā, the woman whom I discussed in Chapters 1 and 4, is representative of this generation. Sukainā, like many

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[67] In the popular perception, there is not always a distinction between the Hindi language and the Devanagari script. Transliterated copies of Urdu books are often referred to as Hindi books.

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others of her generation not only uses Devanagari for writing and reading secular texts such as newspapers but also Islamic texts; she reads the transliterated version of Fazāel-e-Āmal, an Urdu book originally written in the Perso-Arabic script.

5.1.1 Aims and objectives

The phenomenon of writing Urdu in Devanagari complicates the sociolinguistic relationship between Urdu and Hindi. As pointed out in Chapter 3, scholars have traditionally considered the relationship between Urdu and Hindi as an example of digraphia—the phenomenon of writing the same language in two different scripts (e.g. DeFrancis, 1984; King, 2001). I will not discuss the theoretical problems inherent in the notion of digraphia in detail here. However, I would like to point out that the notion is based on a simplistic assumption that Urdu and Hindi are two dialects of the same language. The data I discuss in this chapter further exposes the limitations of the framework. Does the emergence of Urdu in Devanagari represent digraphia within digraphia? If that is so, then the analytical value of the concept is lost. The digraphia framework masks the fact that the sociolinguistic relationship between Urdu and Hindi is different from that between Urdu in the Perso-Arabic and Devanagari scripts.

However, the point I would like to stress is that the phenomenon of writing Urdu in Devanagari challenges and reconfigures the historical indexicality of the Perso-Arabic and Devanagari scripts and consequently Urdu and Hindi. Muslims no longer believe that the Devanagari script is indexical of Hindu identity and revivalism, nor do they think that

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the Perso-Arabic script is crucial to the Urdu language. The use of Devanagari for writing Islamic texts suggests that the indexicality of Devanagari is being reconstituted.[68]

Analyzing urdu-in-Devanagari texts, in this chapter, I show how Urdu speakers innovate strategies to keep the identity of Urdu in Devanagari distinct from Hindi. I argue that the social desire and need for differentiation among Urdu speakers is strong, especially among the older generations, because on the written level, the Perso-Arabic script has been semiotically the most visible distinguishing feature of Urdu. The adoption of Devanagari has the potential to blur, if not eliminate, the boundaries between Urdu and Hindi. Additionally, the presence of both religious and secular literature in the traditional script spanning over several centuries exerts pressure on Urdu speakers to keep Urdu distinct from Hindi.

The strategies adopted by Urdu speakers to mark Urdu in Devanagari as distinct from Hindi in Devanagari involve the use of diacritics for representing the Urdu phonemes /f/, /z/, /x̲h/, /g̲h/, and /q/. Since Devanagari does not have symbols for these phonemes, they are marked by placing a diacritic, called *bindī*, a dot, underneath Hindi graphemes. In addition to representing these phonemes, the strategy also involves preserving other features of Urdu in Devanagari that are purely orthographic.

I further argue that, since language and identity are both constructed in and through speakers' ideologies, the adoption and modification of Devanagari demonstrates that Urdu speakers' perception of what defines the identity of Urdu (in opposition to Hindi) is changing. People no longer treat the Perso-Arabic script as *the* constitutive element of the

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[68] See Appendix 1-B and 1-C for the Urdu and Hindi alphabets and sample Urdu and Hindi texts.

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Urdu language; in addition to lexical items, other elements such as the use of *bindīs* and other similar innovative orthographic features are gaining in indexical value. By analyzing metalinguistic commentaries, I show that consumers and producers of the Urdu-in-Devanagari magazine believe that the text is Urdu, despite the fact that it is written in the Devanagari script.

The rest of the chapter is organized as follows. In section 5.2, I discuss the theoretical framework for the study. In section 5.4, I discuss the role that the Perso-Arabic script plays in defining the distinctive identity of Urdu. Section 5.5 introduces the data and presents an analysis. In section 5.6, I discuss why Urdu speakers are trying to preserve the identity of Urdu at a time when Generation-3 is losing some of the Urdu phonemes. I end the section with a summary and conclusion of the chapter.

5.2 Theoretical framework

Marking a point of departure from traditional approaches to the study of literacy as a socially neutral, technological skill, recent studies attempt to locate literacy practices in a sociocultural context informed by relations of power and ideology (e.g. Street, 1995). Drawing upon this approach, recent sociolinguistic research treats orthographic choices as sociocultural practices and a means of social positioning. (e.g. Balhorn, 1998; Brown, 1993; Jaffe and Walton, 2000; Schieffelin and Charlier Doucet, 1994; Sebba, 1998a). In this body of literature, orthography is treated as a form of practice which informs and is informed by people's language ideologies. And since ideologies about language are often ideologies about speakers and their social identities (e.g. Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994),

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orthographic practices are also ways of constituting and representing (and often contesting) different identities and social positions.

Balhorn (1998), for example, argues that non standard spellings used to represent African American English in literature derive their indexical meaning from their opposition to the standard orthography. The spoken sounds that the spellings are supposed to represent are absolutely immaterial. He notes, '...the worth of a dialect rendering lies squarely with the graphic representation on paper. How closely it corresponds to what speakers of the dialect in question actually say is of secondary importance' (p. 59). Similarly, Sebba (1998a) shows that Creole writers choose spelling conventions that show difference and distance from the British English, even in words that are not pronounced much differently in Creole e.g. *yuh*, for 'you', *duh*, for 'do', and *tuff* for 'tough'. According to Sebba, the sociolinguistic meaning of the Creole 'tuff' derives from its opposition to the British English spelling 'tough'.

Sociolinguists working in other subfields have also emphasized that the meaning of a style or dialect emanates from the system of distinction in which it relates to other possible styles (e.g. Irvine, 2001). Similarly, the social meaning of code-switching between two languages also lies primarily in the oppositional nature of the codes deployed (see e.g. Auer, 1998; Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Shin and Milroy, 2000). This insight is useful in understanding the meaning of the orthographic representation of Urdu in the Devanagari script in relation to Hindi in Devanagari and Urdu in Perso-Arabic script.

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5.3 The Perso-Arabic script and the identity of Urdu

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, Urdu is not only written in the borrowed Perso-Arabic script, it also has a large number of loanwords from Persian and Arabic. The lexical borrowing has led to the addition of the phonemes /f/, /z/, /x/, /ɣ/, and /q/ to the Urdu phonological structure.[69]Moreover, the use of the Perso-Arabic script helped in preserving Arabic graphemes that stand for phonemes in Arabic but do not have a phonemic status in Urdu. There is no evidence to show that these Arabic phonemes were distinguished in Urdu at any stage of the history of Urdu. They were nativized in Persian much before they were borrowed into Urdu.

A linguistic consequence of the use of the Arabic script is that Urdu has more than one grapheme for one and the same phoneme, for instance, the phoneme /s/ is represented by three different graphemes in words such as /sāf/ 'clean', /samar/, 'fruit' /salāmtī/, 'safety'. These graphemes are: <ص>, <sˤ>; <ث>, < θ>; and <س>, <s> respectively. Many Early Urdu Deccan manuscripts from the sixteenth century show variation between some of these graphemes, for example, <ص> and <س>. Poets such as Shah Ali Mohammad Jivgamdhāni (d. 1565) and Miyān Khūb Mohammad Chishtī (1539-1614) often replaced <ص> with <س>, in words such as < sˤahīh> (Shīrānī, 1966). Such variability appears even in later manuscripts from North India, e.g. Fazlī's *Karbal Kathā*, written in 1732 (Anjum and Nārang, 1970).

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[69] I do not include /ʒ/ because this phoneme does not occur in the language of ordinary people; it exists in only a few literary Urdu words.

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Many linguists in the past have argued that these superfluous graphemes should be discarded from the Urdu alphabet, since they pose pedagogical challenges to learners of Urdu. Khān (1971) calls them "dead corpses" of the Urdu language. These suggestions, however, have never been implemented, despite claims by their advocates that this would make the Urdu script more "scientific". This is reflected in the report submitted by the *Imlā KamīTī*, Urdu Script Reform Committee, which was constituted in 1973, to look into the issue of the Urdu script and its spelling system. The report prepared by Gopī Chand Nārang rejected the recommendations made by some of its members that the Arabic graphemes be removed from the Urdu alphabet. The committee formulated a set of guidelines for standardizing Urdu spelling. The fourth item in the guidelines stresses the significance of the Arabic letters:

> The graphemes borrowed from Arabic and Persian, which represent the same sound, have become part of our *linguistic inheritance*. It is by virtue of these [graphemes] that we have received thousands of valuable words, which are an integral component of our language. It is *our duty to preserve this treasure* (p 28-29; translation and emphasis mine).

So, these graphemes may be phonetically worthless for some structural linguists, but they are quite meaningful for Urdu speakers. Members of the *Imlā KamīTī*, clearly view these graphemes as part of the linguistic inheritance and as treasure that needs to be preserved.

5.3.1 The dialecticality of the Perso-Arabic and Devanagari scripts

Although Urdu has mostly been written using the Arabic script for several centuries, some scattered attempts have been made in the past to write it in other scripts—mainly Roman and Devanagari. The use of the Roman script was mostly championed by British Christian missionaries and colonial officers. In the first half of the nineteenth century,

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many missionaries translated the Bible into what was called Roman Urdu. According to Brown (1854), editions of the Bible, or portions of it, were printed in Roman Urdu as early as 1839. Later, British civil servants became supportive of the Roman script for writing Urdu. In fact, many Urdu pedagogical books were written, both by colonial officers and native Indians using the Roman script.[70]

After the British left India in 1947, the Roman script ceased to be a potential alternative script for Urdu.[71] However, after the declaration of Hindi, written in the Devanagari script, as the national official language in the new Constitution of India, Devanagari has often been presented as an alternative to the existing Perso-Arabic script of Urdu. Suggestions have come from both within the Urdu-speaking community and from without. Some writers, belonging to the Socialist Progressive Writers' Association suggested that Urdu speakers adopt Devanagari. Others, for example, Rāhī Māsūm Razā, a noted novelist, in an interview in 1990 argued that unless the Urdu classics were converted into Devanagari, they would become inaccessible to the future generation. He also suggested that Urdu speakers should discard the Perso-Arabic script and adopt Devanagari (in Russell, 1999).[72] Urdu speakers who support the adoption of Devanagari are motivated by a desire, like Razā's, to make the Urdu literature accessible to the new generation. More recently, Khushwant Singh, a well-known scholar belonging to the pre-Partition generation of non-Muslims who use Urdu, made a similar suggestion.

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[70] Some important textbooks are Yates (1836), Ranking(1895), Rahman (1923), and Sharma (1937).

[71] The use of the Roman script for writing Urdu, however, is quite common on the Internet.

[72] See Shahabuddin's (1999) opposition to the adoption of Devanagari in his response to Russell's article.

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However, until recently, Urdu speakers themselves have not used any script other than the Perso-Arabic in any serious way.[73] They have resisted Devanagari not simply because of the pragmatic difficulties involved in switching, but also because they believe that the adoption would mean merging Urdu with Hindi. Urdu scholars insist that the distinct identity of the Urdu language lies in its Perso-Arabic script (see Dalvī, 1971; Khān, 1997; Moghnī, 1998; Sahar, 2001). Dalvi, arguing against the adoption of Devanagari, underscores the contribution of the Perso-Arabic script to the distinct identity of the Urdu language. He notes:

> These days, proposals are being made to change the script of Urdu, because it is being described as a non-scientific script. ... Although Turkish, Indonesian and Malay have abandoned their scripts and adopted the Roman script, the same will be detrimental to Urdu. The languages that have changed scripts are isolated languages of the region, and therefore they do not risk being merged into other languages. The ecology of Urdu is completely different from those languages. *If the script of Urdu were to change, Urdu would not only lose its distinct identity by merging into Hindi, but the whole literature spanning several centuries will go to waste.*(1971: 364, translation and emphasis mine)

It is clear that Urdu speakers consider the Perso-Arabic script as an integral part of the Urdu language. They fear that the adoption of Devanagari would be tantamount to losing the identity of Urdu. Faruqi (2006) in a recent article makes the most emphatic statement on the significance of the Perso-Arabic script for Urdu and its dialectical relationship with Hindi:

> The situation today is that, in practical terms, *it is only the script that separates Urdu from Hindi... If Urdu were to adopt the Nagari script, it would immediately lose its identity. Hindi would soon absorb Urdu into itself...* The magnificent literary treasure of Urdu will have been reduced, through the conversion of these

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[73] In Pakistan, the Urdu Daily Jang was published for some time in the Roman script, but it was discontinued because of a popular resistance to the new script (Senrai, 2006).

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> glorious classical treasures, into Hindi literature within no time, and its complete correction is practically impossible. Soon, this treasure will be beyond the reach of those Urdu people who are not familiar with the Nagari script. (Pp.137-138, emphasis mine)

It is important to note that the main argument against the adoption of Devanagari, in all the quotations above, is *not* based on linguistic factors such as the issue of the representation of, say, the Urdu phonemes. The argument is based on the sociolinguistic relationship between Urdu and Hindi, whereby one is defined in opposition to the other. For Urdu speakers, it is not important whether or not Devanagari can represent Urdu linguistically; what is important is that Urdu would no longer remain Urdu sociolinguistically—it won't be seen as different from Hindi—if Devanagari were to be adopted.

Despite such a strong opposition from scholars, writers, and poets, many Urdu speakers have already started to use Devanagari. The greatest motivation for this comes from the changed sociolinguistic reality in post-Independence India in which young Muslim Urdu speakers are not able to develop functional literacy in the Perso-Arabic script. Students going to Hindi and English medium schools do not have opportunities to learn the Urdu script, because Urdu is not taught in many schools of Delhi. Although many Muslim students do learn to read the Quran in the Arabic script, they do not develop a good control of the Urdu script, because there are significant differences between the original Arabic script and the modified Urdu script.[74]

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[74] See Delacy (2001) for a description of the Urdu script, including the difference between writing styles such as Naskh and Nastālīq.

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Many Generation-3 Muslims of Old Delhi consider Urdu to be a symbol of the past—the language of their parents and grandparents. In their ideology, Urdu is a language spoken by the stigmatized poor, uneducated, and conservative second generation Muslims. They therefore do not like to associate themselves with the Urdu language and culture. Furthermore, they do not see much value of Urdu in the modern socio-economic landscape, where literacy practices in English and Hindi are more beneficial and desirable than Perso-Arabic.

Given the declining literacy in the Urdu script among Generation-3, many second generation Muslims think that the only way to make sure that their children do not lose their language and identity is to make the religious and secular literature written in the Perso-Arabic script available to them in Devanagari. The second generation is the only generation that has proficiency in both scripts. So, they are the ones who are both interested and qualified to do the work of transliteration from Perso-Arabic into Devanagari. Mohammad Suhail, who has transliterated a number of semi-historical novels, tells me the sociolinguistic significance of transliteration. In response to my question about the representation of the Urdu phonemes in Devanagari, he says that by placing *bindīs* under Hindi letters he is making sure that the language of the young generation stays "correct".

Transcript 31 [Suhail-bindī] (emphasis mine)

RA: kin kin horūf kē nīchē bindī lagāēngē āp?	RA: under which letters would you place *bindīs*?
MS: jitnē bhī lafz haĩ hamārē zā aur qāf aur shā	MS: all the words we have *zā* and *qāf* and *shā*

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RA: hm	RA: hm
MS: **iskō ham mainly dēkhtē haĩ ke urdū kharāb na hō hamārī**	MS: **We mainly make sure that our Urdu does not decay** (literally "become bad")
RA: jī	RA: yeah
MS: bōlnēwālē bachhē āgē jō haĩ unkā pronunciation jō hai ghalat na hō	**MS: the pronunciation of the coming generation of children does not get corrupted** (literally "become incorrect")

For Suhail, the transliteration is not simply a means of making a living; it is a sociolinguistic project of ensuring the Urdu language is transferred to the next generation in the "correct" form. He strongly believed that by placing *bindīs*, the young generation of Muslims will automatically pronounce the Urdu phonemes correctly.

5.4 Data

This chapter is based on an analysis of Urdu texts written in the Devanagari script; they include an Urdu monthly magazine Mahaktā Ānchal (henceforth Ānchal), published from Delhi. Ānchal is a general-interest, popular, family magazine, which was started in 1993 by Ghazālāh Siddīqī under the patronage of Khalid Mustafā Siddīqī. In its format, it is modeled on the Urdu magazine Pakīzā Ānchal, which has been in print for a much longer time. The two magazines do not publish the same set of articles in the Perso-Arabic and the Devanagari scripts. However, almost the same group of authors writes for both, which suggest that they recycle some of their material in different issues of the magazines. It is also possible that they receive manuscripts in the Perso-Arabic script and transliterate them into Devanagari for Mahaktā Ānchal.

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Most issues of Ānchal contain fiction, especially short stories and novels in installments, which constitute the bulk of the magazine. It also contains Urdu poetry, especially *ghazal*, articles on health and beauty, matrimony, quotations from the Quran and Hadīth, and well-known quotes of famous people. All writers of the articles are Muslim, except occasional poems by Hindu readers. One of the issues contains a poem by the former Prime Minister of India Atal Bihari Vajpayee, probably re-printed from some other source. The letters to the editor column often publishes responses from Hindu readers. Quite frequently, the magazine also contains a column called *zabān (urdū) sudhārẽ*, 'improve your language (Urdu)'. I discuss this later in the chapter.

I also analyze data from Muntakhab Ahādīs, 'selected prophetic traditions' (henceforth Ahādīs), a religious book containing narrations of the Prophet Mohammad, published originally in the Perso-Arabic script, which has recently been transliterated into Devanagari.[75] As the sociolinguistic meaning of orthography derives from the dialectical relation in which it stands in relation to other scripts and spelling systems, I also analyze some data from Hindi newspapers published from India to show the contrast in the representation of Urdu phonemes.

5.4.1 Analysis

Before I discuss the results of my analysis, a clarification on what I have referred to above as Urdu-in-Devanagari is in order. Urdu-in-Devanagari texts are significantly different from regular Hindi-in-Devanagari texts, or materials translated from Urdu into

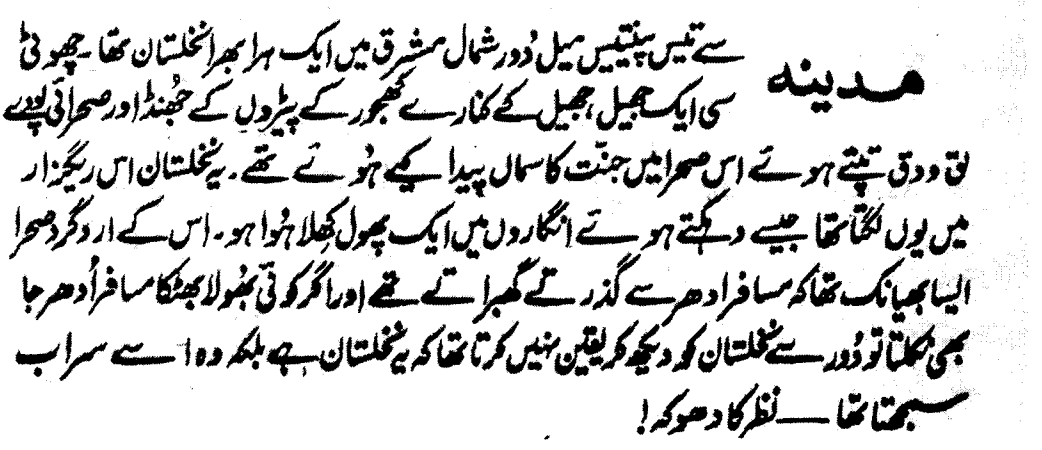
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[75] See the title page of the original Perso-Arabic and the transliterated versions in Appendix 3-A. See a poster of Urdu in Devanagari in Appendix 3-B.

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Hindi. Since a large number of Urdu texts have been recently transliterated into Devanagari, both the original and the transliterated texts are available. After comparing some of them, it becomes clear that the original Urdu and the transliterated versions are identical, sometimes exactly the same. Below, I give samples of the perso-Arabic and Devanagari version from the first page of the novel 'The storm of Hejāz', originally written in Urdu by Enāyatullāh Altamash of Pakistan, which has been recently transliterated into Devanagari by Mohammad Suhail.

Figure 1 Urdu in the traditional Perso-Arabic script



مدینہ سے تیس پینتیس میل دُور شمال مشرق میں ایک ہرا بھرا نخلستان تھا۔ چھوٹی سی ایک جھیل، جھیل کے کنارے کھجور کے پیڑوں کے جھنڈ اور صحرائی پودے لق و دق تپتے ہوئے اس صحرا میں جنت کا سماں پیدا کیے ہوئے تھے۔ یہ نخلستان اس ریگزار میں یوں لگتا تھا جیسے دہکتے ہوئے انگاروں میں ایک پھول کھلا ہوا ہو۔ اس کے اردگرد صحرا ایسا بھیانک تھا کہ مسافر ادھر سے گذرتے گھبراتے تھے اور اگر کوئی بھولا بھٹکا مسافر اُدھر جا بھی نکلتا تو دُور سے نخلستان کو دیکھ کر یقین نہیں کرتا تھا کہ یہ نخلستان ہے بلکہ وہ اسے سراب سمجھتا تھا ــــ نظر کا دھوکہ!

(Altamash, : 3)

Figure 2 Urdu in the transliterated Devanagari script

मदीना से तीस-पैंतीस मील दूर शिमाल मश्रिक़ में एक हरा-भरा नख़्लिस्तान था। छोटी सी एक झील, झील के किनारे खजूर के पेड़ों के झुंड और सेहराई पौदे लक़ो-दक़ तपते हुए इस सहरा में जन्नत का समां पैदा किए हुए थे। यह नख़्लिस्तान इस रेगज़ार में यूं लगता था जैसे दहकते हुए अंगारों में एक फूल खिला हुआ हो। उसके इर्द-गिर्द सेहरा ऐसा भयानक था कि मुसाफ़िर इधर से गुज़रते घबराते थे और अगर कोई भूला भटका मुसाफ़िर इधर जा भी निकलता तो नख़्लिस्तान को देख कर यक़ीन नहीं करता था कि यह नख़्लिस्तान है बल्कि वह इसे सराब समझता था। नज़र का धोका!

(Altamash, 2005b: 3)

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'There was a (populated) oasis about 30-35 miles north east of Madina. A small pond, a row of palm trees and desert plants had created a heaven-like environment in this empty and scorching desert. This oasis in the desert looked like a flower in a raging flame. The desert surrounding it was so dreadful that people used to be scared of passing by it, and if traveler ever happened to pass by it, he would not believe that it was desert; he would think that it was a mirage. A hallucination!'

Below, I give the Romanized versions of the two texts to show that the only difference between the Perso-Arabic and Devanagari versions is the script; not a single word has been translated from Urdu into Hindi. In a typical translated Hindi book, the Urdu words, indicate in in bold below (Transcript 32), will be replaced with their Hindi equivalents. In other transliterated texts, however, minor changes have been made, which largely involve replacing obscure Urdu words with ordinary Urdu words.

Transcript 32[hejāz] (bold indicates exclusive Urdu words)

madīna sē tīs paĩtis mīl dūr **shimāl mashriq** mẽ harā bharā **nak̲hlistān** thā. chhōTī sī ēk jhīl, jhīl kē kenārē khajūr kē peRõ kā jhunD aur **sahrāī paudē laq-ō-daq** taptē huē is **sahrā** mẽ **jannat** kā **samã̄ paidā** kiyē huē thē. yē **nak̲hlistān** is **rēgzār** mẽ yũ̄ lagtā thā jaisē dahaktē huē **angārõ** mẽ ēk phūl khilā huā hō. us kē ird-gird **sahrā** aisā bhayānak thā ke **mosāfir** idhar sē guzartē ghabrātē thē aur agar kōī bhūlā bhaTkā **mosāfir** udhar jā bhī nikaltā tō dūr sē **nak̲hlistān** kō dēkh kar **yaqīn** nahī kartā thā ke yē **nak̲hlistān** hai balkē wō usē **sarāb** samajhtā thā—**nazar** kā dhōka!

In order to further understand the ideological aspects of the process of transliteration, I interviewed people who are involved in the project of transliteration. Muhammad Suhail was born and raised in Old Delhi and went to College at Zakir Husain College. He is self-employed as a publisher of Urdu books. When his publishing work is dull, he also does what he calls "translation" from Urdu into Hindi. Since the process involves only the

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change of script, I will call it transliteration. He has transliterated semi-historical novels based on Islamic history such as Hejāz kī Āndhī, 'The storm of Hejāz'.[76] I asked him what changes he made in the Urdu text. He said:

Transcript 33 [Suhail-conversion] (emphasis mine)

MS: tō uskō sirf convert kiyā hai hindī mẽ.	MS: so, we have just converted it into Hindi
RA: achhā	RA: ok
MS: is mẽ **kōī changing nahī̃ kī hai** ham lōgō̃ nẽ.	MS: we have **not made any changes** to it
RA: achha kōī changing nahī̃ kī hai?	RA: you have not made any changes?
MS: kōī changing nahī̃ kī hai is mẽ	MS: we have not made any changes to it.

Another person who is involved directly in the process of transliteration is Mr. Abdussattār. After retiring from his teaching-job at a school, he works with his brothers in their publishing business. They mainly publish Islamic books in Urdu. His grandfather, a well-known Islamic scholar, wrote a book in Urdu called Tafhīmul Islām, 'Understanding Islam', explaining basic Islamic rituals in a very simple style. The book is written in a question-answer format. The author provides answers to basic questions, for example, 'How do I make *wazū*, 'ablution'? Tafhīmul Islām is extremely popular among Muslims; it is like a ready-reference manual. Mr. Abdussattār told me that he has published numerous editions of the book. The book has been transliterated into

[76] Hejāz is the name of the region that comprises the cities of Mecca and Madina, in Saudi Arabia.

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Devanagari. Mr. Abdussattār told me an interesting story about the process of conversion from the Perso-Arabic script into Devanagari.

Transcript 34 [Sattār-conversion] (emphasis mine)

AS: asal mẽ hindī mẽ jab pahlī martabā shāē kiyā	AS: actually, when we published it in Hindi for the first time
RA: hm jī	RA: yeah
AS: tō ham nē yē kiyā ke urdū kā tarjamā hindī mẽ kar diyā	RA: what we did was translate from Urdu into Hindi
RA: jī	RA: yeah
AS: lēkin wō maqbūl nahĩ huā aur demand yē hūī madarsē kē ustādõ kī taraf sē aur ām paRhnēwālõ kī taraf se	AS: but, it did not become popular, and the demand came from teachers in *madrasas* and ordinary readers
RA: jī	RA: yeah
AS: **ke zabān kō mat tabdīl kījiyē sirf script kō change kījiyē**	AS: **that do not change the language, change only the script.**

Since nothing except the script has been changed, Urdu speakers recognize the texts as Urdu. When I asked Sukainā, whom I discussed in the last chapter, about the language of the transliterated version of Fazāel-e-Āmāl, which she reads in the Girls' Common Room, she said, '*bōlnē mẽ tō wō urdū hī hai, lekin paRhnē me hindī hai*', 'it is Urdu when you speak it, but it is Hindi when you read it [on paper]'.

The practice of writing Urdu in Devanagari is quite recent in India and therefore there is an enormous amount of variability in representing Urdu features in the new script. First of all, the variability is not unexpected, because the system is still evolving and has yet to stabilize. Secondly, there is no official body that regulates the linguistic

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aspects of the process of transliteration. The organizations such as the Urdu Academies of various states and the National Council for the Promotion of the Urdu Language, which have been established to promote the Urdu language and literature, strongly reject the very notion of writing Urdu in Devanagari. As discussed above, for most scholars of Urdu, who are holding important official positions, the Perso-Arabic script of Urdu is an inalienable part of the distinct identity of Urdu. A retired professor of Urdu from Old Delhi told me how furious he was during the annual Hajj in Mecca to see a fellow Muslim pilgrim holding a book of supplication written in Devanagari. He told me that he felt like praying to God that he may be cursed! For him, it was almost blasphemous to read Islamic texts in Devanagari.

There is another factor that seems to contribute to the variation—the genre of the text. A religious text such as Ahādīs tries to preserve features of Urdu far more than a secular text such as Ānchal. For example, in Ahādīs, a *bindī* is used to represent even borrowed graphemes e.g. <ह़>, [ɦ], which in Urdu does not have any phonetic value. Similarly, a *bindī* is placed underneath the schwa-grapheme <अ> to represent the Urdu grapheme *ain*.

This however does not mean that the phenomenon of transliteration is marked by chaos. In fact, a look at Urdu texts published in Devanagari suggests that Urdu speakers are united in their ideology to preserve the identity of Urdu in the new script. What they differ in is the modalities of achieving their goal. Although Urdu speakers have developed several novel strategies to maintain the distinction between Urdu and Hindi, in this chapter, I discuss only two: (1) the representation of Urdu phonemes, and (2) the

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Urdu letter *ain*, which represents a pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/ in Arabic but is mostly phonetically zero in Urdu.

5.4.2 Representation of the Urdu phonemes

In addition to script, Urdu distinguishes itself from Hindi in terms of its Perso-Arabic lexical borrowing and a unique phonological system. As discussed above, Urdu is distinguished from Hindi by the borrowed phonemes /f/, /z/, /x/, /ɣ/, and /q/. These phonemes are seen as the defining features of Urdu at the spoken level. Khan (1997) underscores the significance of these phonemes by noting, '... at the spoken level, Urdu can be identified by the following borrowed sounds from Arabic and Persian: *qāf, fē, zē, zhē, xhē*, and *ghain'* (p 245, translation mine). Khan refers to the borrowed sounds by the names of their letters in the Urdu alphabet.

These sounds are socially quite salient. Knowledge of Urdu is often measured in terms of their correct pronunciation. If someone does not have the standard Urdu pronunciation, other Urdu speakers often comment that he/she has not got his/her *shīn* and *qāf* correct—referring to two of the letters of the Urdu alphabet. In fact, the correct pronunciation of these sounds is so iconic of the "authentic" Urdu speaker that even Mohammad Iqbāl (1877-1938), who is considered to be one of the tallest figures of Urdu poetry, was ridiculed by Urdu speakers for not being able to pronounce them correctly.[77] Iqbal was from the province of the Punjab and like most Punjabi-Urdu speakers pronounced *qāf*, the phoneme /q/ as *kāf*, /k/.

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[77] See Bucholtz (2003) for a discussion on the issue of authenticity in sociolinguistics research.

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I discussed in the last chapter that Generation-3 Muslims of Old Delhi are losing some of the Urdu phonemes. During my fieldwork, I came across a few articles in Urdu newspapers that lament the loss of the phonemes among young Urdu speakers and equate it with the loss of the Urdu language. In an article published in the Rāshtriya Sahārā, the writer gives specific examples of how the Urdu phonemes /q/ in words such as /diqqat/, 'trouble' and /x̲h/ as in /x̲harchā/ are being pronounced incorrectly as [dikkat] and [kharchā] by the young generation (Rahmān, 2006). So, although the phonemes themselves have started to disappear, the ideology surrounding them continues to be strong, and therefore efforts to represent them in Devanagari make the study of the ideology doubly interesting.

The Devanagari script does not have graphemes to represent them, because the script was developed to write Indo-Aryan languages, which do not have these sounds.[78] However, these sounds can be represented in Devanagari by the use of a diacritic dot—*bindī*. For example, a *bindī* can be placed under the Hindi grapheme <फ> <ph>, which stands for the phoneme /ph/ to represent the Urdu phoneme /f/. The following table shows the original and modified Devanagari graphemes:

[78] See Singh (1991) for a discussion on the origin and development of the Devanagari script.

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Table 10 Showing modified Devanagari graphemes

Urdu phoneme	Closest Hindi	Devanagari-	*Bindī*-grapheme
/f/	/ph/	फ	फ़
/z/	/j/	ज	ज़
/x̲h/	/kh/	ख	ख़
/g̲h/	/g/	ग	ग़
/q/	/k/	क	क़

Although *bindī* as a diacritic has been available since the nineteenth century, it has been historically quite contested. In 1930, Madan Mohan Malaviya, a very prominent Hindu leader and a staunch supporter of Hindi, wrote an editorial in his weekly newspaper *Abhyudaya* entitled '*hindī mẽ bindī kyõ?*' 'Why use *bindī* in Hindi?' arguing against the use of dots in Hindi for Urdu sounds (in Mehrotra, 2005).[79] In practice also, dots are not used to represent Urdu sounds in Hindi publications.

It is interesting to note however that Hindi does use *bindīs* over some graphemes to represent nasal consonants and nasalized vowels, e.g. चंद्र [chandr] 'moon' and माँ [mã] 'mother'. *Bindī*s are also used underneath some graphemes to represent retroflex sounds when they occur in intervocalic positions e.g. <ड़> and <ढ़>. So, the issue is more social than technological. Shāhid Amīn, a historian, who writes in English and Hindi both, describes his frustration with publishers regarding the use of *bindīs*, 'I have written a little bit in Hindi and every time it [the manuscript] comes back from the printer all the

[79] See Ahmad (2005)for an analysis of a memorandum that he authored and submitted to the British administration in favor of the introduction of Hindi, in place of Urdu, in courts of law.

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bindīs have systematically been taken off' (in Mehrotra, 2005: 189). Many of my Urdu-speaking research participants from Old Delhi were unhappy that their Hindi-speaking friends did not pronounce their names correctly because they do not place *bindīs*, under Hindi graphemes!

The practice of not using *bindīs* for Urdu phonemes can be seen in Hindi books, magazines, and newspapers published from India. None of the most widely-read Hindi newspapers use dots for Urdu phonemes. I studied five online newspapers published from North India, including the Dainik Jagran and Dainik Bhaskar, which according to the 2006 report of the National Readership Studies Council, recorded the highest readership among all newspapers published in India. The Dainik Jagran and Dainik Bhaskar, published simultaneously from several cities in North India have a readership of 21.2 and 21 million respectively (2006). Other newspapers that I studied are the Hindustan Dainik (10.5 million), the Navbharat Times (3.04 million).

The following extract from the Hindi newspaper Dainik Jagran shows that although the newspaper uses a lot of words containing Urdu phonemes, *bindīs* are *not* used to represent them. The words containing (unrepresented) Urdu phonemes are bolded:

खालिदा जिया के बेटे ने आरोप स्वीकारा

ढाका। हिरासत में रखे गए बांग्लादेश की पूर्व प्रधानमंत्री **खा**लिदा **जि**या के बड़े बेटे तारिक़ रहमान ने भ्रष्टाचार में शामिल होने की बात स्वीकार करते हुए इसके लिए माफी मांगी है। समाचार पत्र 'मनवजामिन' ने रहमान के बयान को छापा है। बयान पर रहमान के हस्ताक्षर हैं। रहमान **खा**लिदा की बांग्लादेश नेशनलिस्ट पार्टी (बीएनपी) के संयुक्त महासचिव हैं। उन्हें ढाका छावनी इला**के** में स्थित उनकी मां के घर से गिर**फ्ता**र किया गया था। बाद में उन्हें **खुफि**या एजेंसियों के हवाले कर दिया गया। (2007: May 20).

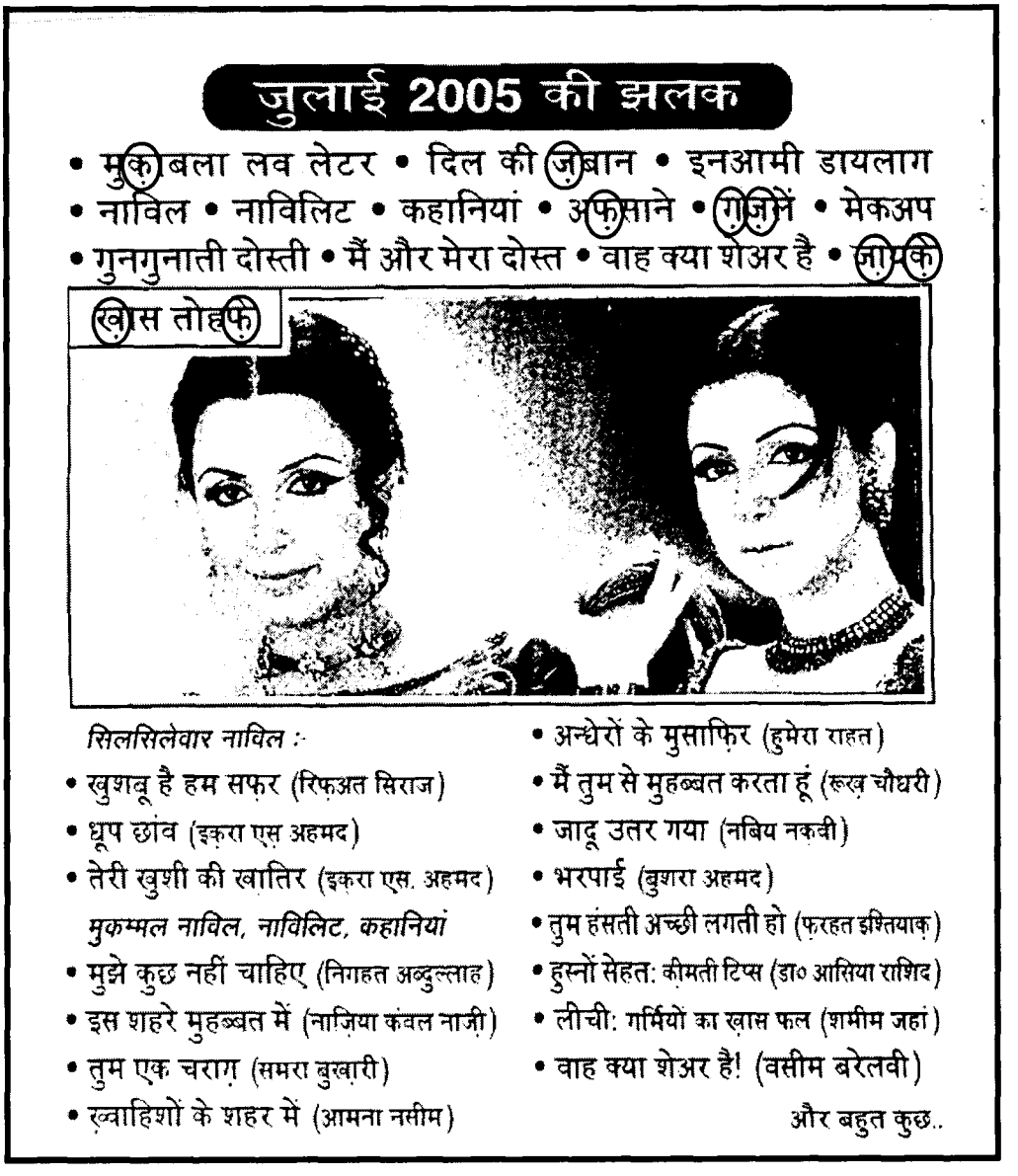
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Other Hindi newspapers and magazines published from India follow the same convention of not representing the Urdu phonemes. It is interesting, however, to note that Hindi news websites published from outside of India show conflicting norms regarding the use of *bindī*s. For example, the website of the Hindi service of the BBC, published from London makes use of *bindī*s consistently to represent Urdu sounds, whereas the Voice of America website, published from Washington D.C. does not. As I focus on the use of Devanagari in India, I do not discuss the overseas phenomena.

In contrast to the convention prevalent in Hindi language publications, Urdu speakers represent the Urdu phonemes in Devanagari quite religiously. Both the Ānchal and Ahādīs are consistent in the representation of the Urdu phonemes using the *bindī* diacritic. As Urdu speakers use a large number of loanwords from Arabic and Persian, it is common to find several words containing the Urdu phonemes in one single line of a text. Given below is the contents page of Mahaktā Ānchal. Each line in the extract below contains Urdu phonemes marked by the *bindī* diacritic, shown here in circles. For example, the very first line below the heading contains two Urdu phonemes /q/ and /z/ in the words <muqāblā> 'competition' and <zabān>, 'tongue', and both have been marked with a *bindī*. Some other Urdu sounds represented by the *bindī* on this page are /f/ in the words <afsāne>, 'stories' and <safar>, 'journey', /z/ in <zāeqā>, 'cuisine', /x/ in the words <xās> and <xwāhish>, < ġh> in the words < ġhazlẽ> 'poetry', and <charāġh >, 'lamp', and /q/ in <qīmat>, 'value'.

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Figure 3 Contents-page of Mahaktā Ānchal



As is amply evident from the contents page, in contrast to Hindi speakers, who do not use *bindīs* to represent the Urdu phonemes in Devanagari, Urdu speakers use them quite consistently, and therefore Urdu in Devanagari texts are visually distinguishable from Hindi texts. Written pages of Urdu in Devanagari are dotted with *bindīs*. I argue that in the absence of the Perso-Arabic script, *bindīs* under Devanagari graphemes serve as

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symbols for readers that the text in question is Urdu and not Hindi; the *bindīs* have now been invested with the social meaning that could only be gleaned from the Perso-Arabic script before.

In fact some Urdu speakers have gone a step further. They not only represent the Urdu phonemes but also some borrowed graphemes such as <ह़ >, /ɦ/, which have no phonetic value in Urdu becasue it has merged with /h/. So, although the words such as <saɦīh > and < ɦadīs> are written in Urdu with the grapheme for / ɦ/, they are pronounced as [sahī] and [hadīs]. Even these words are represented in *Muntaḵhab Ahādīs* with a dot underneath the Hindi grapheme <h> <ह़>.

5.4.3 The representation of the Urdu letter *ain*

As discussed above, in addition to the five phonemes, Urdu has also borrowed words containing graphemes that do not retain their phonemic contrast in Urdu, but they are written using the original Perso-Arabic spelling. An orthographic uniqueness of Urdu is the letter *ain,* which in Arabic is a grapheme that stood for the pharyngeal fricative consonant /ʕ/ in Arabic. In Urdu, however, this letter is either not pronounced at all or in certain contexts has a vowel-like pronunciation. Urdu speakers have chosen the existing schwa-grapheme <अ> to represent the Urdu *ain* in Devanagari. Before I discuss the use of the schwa-graphemes for the letter *ain*, let me discuss some possible reasons why <अ>, a vowel grapheme, has been chosen for the *ain,* which is a consonant-grapheme.

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The *ain* in Urdu is complex; although, it is written as a consonant, like in Arabic, it is not pronounced so. In fact, in some places it has no pronunciation at all; in others it changes into a glottal stop. The following data show the zero pronunciation of *ain*[80]:

Writing	Pronunciation	Gloss	phonetic value
[ʕarz]	[arz]	'offer'	ʕ> ϕ
[ʕilm]	[ilm]	'knowledge'	ʕ> ϕ
[ʕumr]	[umr]	'age'	ʕ> ϕ
[ʕadālat]	[adālat]	'court'	ʕ> ϕ

Similarly, the *ain* in word-final coda positions, where it occurs after a long vowel does not have any pronunciation at all.

Writing	Pronunciation	Gloss	phonetic value
[wasīʕ]	[wasī]	'wide'	ʕ> ϕ
[mauzūʕ]	[mauzū]	'topic'	ʕ> ϕ
[shujāʕ]	[shujā]	'brave'	ʕ> ϕ

So, phonetically the letter *ain* in the above contexts is null. Many old Urdu manuscripts, written in the Perso-Arabic script from as late as the seventeenth century show spellings in which word-final *ain* is dropped. In his classic book *Sabras,* Mullā Wajhī, a seventeenth century Urdu poet from Deccan spells words such as <wazaʕ>, <nafaʕ>, and <manaʕ> without the final *ain* (Shīrānī, 1966: 260-261). In later developments of Urdu,

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[80] Some Urdu speakers, especially those trained in Quranic Arabic, may pronounce the *ain* as a glottal stop.

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the letter *ain* in such words was restored in order to conform to the original Perso-Arabic spellings. In modern Urdu, it is considered incorrect to omit the *ain*.

In other phonetic environments, although the *ain* is not pronounced, it impacts the pronunciation of the preceding vowel by changing a short vowel into a long vowel:

Writing	Pronunciation	Gloss	phonetic value
[naʕt]	[nāt]	'eulogy'	aʕ>ā
[boʕd]	[bōd]	'distance'	oʕ>ō
[neʕmat]	[nēmat]	'bounty'	eʕ>ē

So, in the above context where the *ain* in Urdu is not quite pronounced, it does partake pronunciation of the neighboring vowels. This may give a false impression that the *ain* is vowel-like. This is probably the reason why Urdu speakers have chosen a vowel-grapheme to represent the *ain*. The justification for choosing the schwa-grapheme for the *ain* notwithstanding, it does not fit neatly into the Devanagari writing system, because the distribution of the schwa-grapheme and *ain* are conflicting. The schwa grapheme in Devanagari occurs only word-initially, whereas the *ain* occurs everywhere. In order to understand the conflict, it is necessary to discuss briefly some salient properties of the Devanagari script.

5.4.4 Devanagari alphabet

Devanagari is a widely used script in North India; in addition to Hindi, it is also used to write Sanskrit, the sacred language of Hindus, and other modern languages such as Nepali, Marathi, and Bhojpuri. Although the phonological structures of modern Indo-

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Aryan languages differ from Sanskrit significantly, the overall structure of the script has not changed much, since the religious value of Sanskrit has worked as a conservative force on the evolution of Devanagari (Rogers, 2005). Its structure has been especially faithfully preserved in Hindi because it borrows heavily from Sanskrit, and ideologically it is often seen as Sanskrit's successor. The presence of a large body of Sanskrit words in Hindi facilitates the continuation of the writing conventions as they were applied to Sanskrit.

The Devanagari writing system is an example of an abugida—a type of writing system which consists of symbols for both consonants and vowels.[81] But, unlike an alphabet system, an abugida does not represent one particular vowel. Moreover, each vowel has two positional variants. In Devanagari, the schwa-vowel /a/ <अ>, which in Sanskrit is the most common vowel, is not written; it is assumed to be part of the consonant. In other words, all consonant-graphemes have an inherent schwa in them, and therefore there is no need to write a schwa separately from the consonant. Secondly, all other vowels have two allographs—one is free and the other is bound. The free allograph is used only in word-initial positions; the bound one is used word-medially and word-finally. Moreover, the schwa <अ> is *not* written in word-medial and final positions. This property of Devanagari will be important when I discuss the representation of *ain* in Devanagari below. The schwa-vowel /a/ therefore has only one form <अ>, which is written only word-initially, for example in words such as <अचेत> [achēt] 'unconscious,

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[81] See Rogers (2005) for a detailed discussion on the structural properties of various types of writing systems.

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<अकाल>, [akāl] 'famine'. Below I give examples of some Hindi vowels with the consonant <k> <क>.

Free	IPA	Bound	Bound with <k> <क>	IPA
<अ>	/a/	ϕ	क	/ka/
<आ>	/ā/	◌ा	का	/kā/
<इ>	/i/	◌ि	कि	/ki/
<ई>	/ī/	◌ी	की	/kī/

Notice that there is no bound form for the schwa grapheme <अ>, which illustrates that it occurs only word-initially. The absence of a vowel diacritic in Devanagari indicates the presence of a schwa. This feature of Devanagari allows you to write many words of Hindi without writing vowels overtly. Of course, this is possible only if the words consist of only consonants and schwas, for example, the word /kamal/ 'flower' can be written just by writing the consonant graphemes <k>, <m> , and <l> one after another e.g. <कमल>.

Another feature of the Devanagari writing system is that the word-final schwa in words such as <kamala>, <कमल> is never pronounced, because unlike Sanskrit very few Hindi words end in a schwa. So, the word is written as <kamala>, but it is pronounced as [kamal]. This is known as word-final schwa deletion rule in Hindi. Although there exists the diacritic *hal*, a diagonal line placed under the consonant, which in English is rightly called a vowel killer, to indicate the absence of a schwa on a consonant-grapheme, e.g.

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<क्> [k], word-finally, it is not used in Hindi much, because most Hindi words do not end in a schwa.[82] The *hal* however is used word-medially.

Let us now see how the use of the schwa grapheme <अ> to represent the Urdu letter *ain* conflicts with its original use as a symbol for /a/. We know that the distribution of the schwa-grapheme <a> <अ> in Devanagari is limited to the word-initial position. The *ain* in Urdu however is not restricted; it occurs in all positions e.g. <ʕilm>, <taʕlīm>, and <mauzūʕ>. The Urdu word-initial *ain* fits well with the occurrence restriction of the schwa <अ> in Devanagari and therefore is written like other Hindi words beginning with a schwa, for example अमल [amal] 'behavior', अरब [arab] 'Arab'. Word-medial and final occurrences of the Urdu *ain* however do not agree with Devanagari rules. Look at the following Urdu words and their representation in Devanagari:

Urdu in Nagari	**'Gloss'**	**Urdu in Nagari**	**'Gloss'**
नअ्त	'poetry'	वसीअ्	'wide'
तअ्ल्लुक	'relation'	तौसीअ्	'expansion'
मअ्नी	'meaning'	मौज़ूअ्	'topic'

(Mahaktā Ānchal and Muntakhab Ahādīs)

[82] In Hindi, the *hal* or *halant* is also known as *virām.*

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The word-medial occurrence of the schwa-grapheme <अ> in the first column violates Devanagari rules in that the preceding consonant-graphemes <n> <न>, <t> <त>, and <m> <म> all already contain a schwa, and therefore it is incorrect in Hindi to write them separately from the consonants. This restriction also explains why Arabic and Persian loanwords in Hindi containing the structure /Ca (ʕ) a.../ are spoken as well as written in Hindi with a long vowel. For example, the loanword <taʕalluq> is pronounced and written as [tālluk], 'relation' in Hindi.

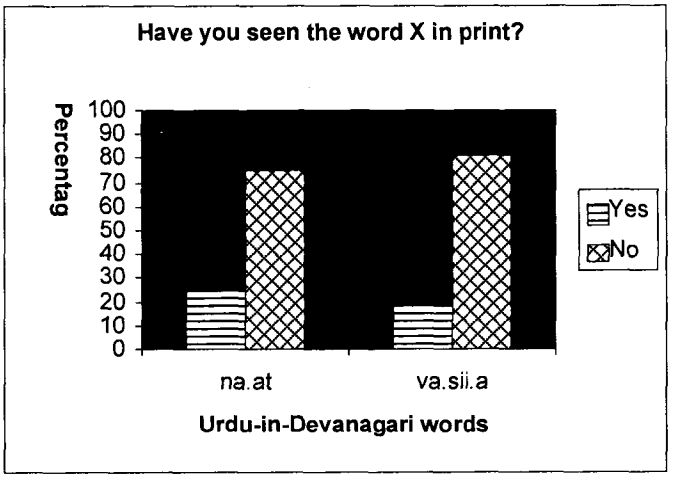
Similarly, the word-final occurrence of <अ> in the second column is illegitimate because Hindi words do not end in a schwa, and therefore a schwa grapheme is never written except word-initially. In the zabān (urdū) sudhārẽ, 'Improve your Urdu' column of the magazine Ānchal, there is a list of commonly mispronounced or misspelled word of Urdu with their correction. One of the words in the incorrect column is the above word <तौसी>,<tausī> and the correction is <तौसीअ>.The correction offered by the editor is what is actually incorrect in Devanagari. This is however based on the ideology that each Urdu letter needs to be represented regardless of the rules of Devanagari.

Although writing systems for standard languages do not allow much variability, the case of Devanagari is complicated. Although the phonological structure of Hindi is different from that of Sanskrit, the script is almost the same as it was used for Sanskrit. For example, unlike Sanskrit which does not allow vowel hiatus word-internally, Hindi does have words that contain vowel hiatus. So, most Hindi speakers insert a glide, /j/ or /w/ <य> <व> to break the hiatus, whereas some write vowels sequentially. So, in order to

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ascertain that the analysis presented here agrees with Hindi speakers' understanding of Devanagari, I prepared a questionnaire (see Appendix 4-B). The goal was to understand how the innovations introduced into Devanagari by Urdu speakers are perceived by Hindi speakers. I administered the survey to nineteen students reading for their Master's degree in Hindi at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. The reason for selecting university graduate students was that writing is a learned skill and therefore students studying Hindi are more likely to be aware of writing conventions than ordinary speakers of Hindi. One of the questions in the survey was whether they had seen the words <नअत> and <वसीअ> in print before. These are words in which the schwa-grapheme <अ> is written word-medially and finally in violation of the Devanagari rules. The result of the survey shows that 75% or more of the respondents had not seen these words before.

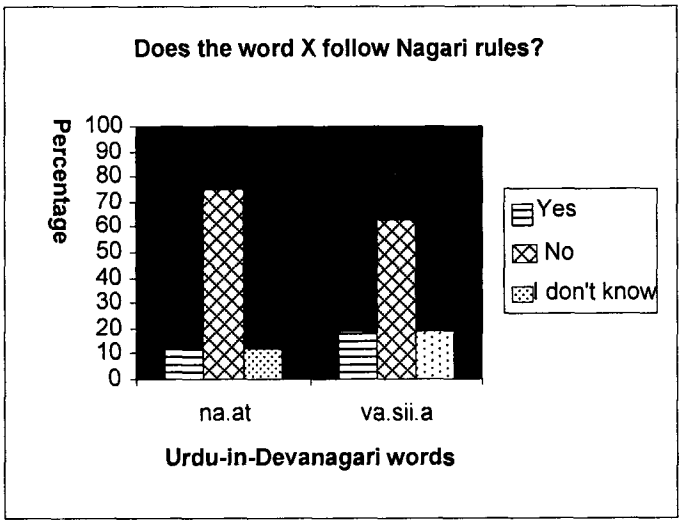
Figure 4 Showing Hindi-speakers' unfamiliarity with a word-medial use of <अ>



Similarly, in response to the questions regarding the correctness of the spelling of the words, like the previous question, a majority of the respondents thought that the words were NOT written in accordance with Devanagari conventions.

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Figure 5 Showing Hindi speakers' judgments about Urdu-in-Devanagari words



The reason why participants thought the word [vasīʕ] was not as bad as the word [naʕt] (63% compared to 75 % for the word [naʕt]) is that they mis-analyzed the etymology of the word. In response to the question on the meaning of the word [vasīʕ], most of them wrote that it meant 'will', which suggests that they believed that the word was related to another word /vasīyat/ 'will'. In response to the question why they thought the word was incorrectly written, most respondents wrote that a sequence of a consonant and a schwa is not a legitimate graphemic cluster. Vikas, one of the respondents wrote: 'In the Devanagari script, a vowel is not written in an independent form in the middle of consonants. The vowel /a/ is already inherent in consonants, and therefore there is no need to write it separately'.

It is important to note here that the Devanagari representation of words containing the *ain* makes the pronunciation of such words abstruse because of the awkward graphemic clusters. In such cases, it becomes impossible to predict the pronunciation based on the written representation. So, the reanalysis of the schwa-grapheme as a symbol for *ain* militates against the basic feature of Devanagari as a transparent script. I

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asked the participants how they would pronounce the words containing the schwa-grapheme at non-word-initial positions. For the one-syllable word <naʕt>, which is pronounced in Urdu as [nāt], a majority of them pronounced it as [na.at], as if it had two syllables; some of them also said that they did not know how to pronounce it at all. Similarly, for the word <vasīʕ>, a two-syllable word, which is pronounced in Urdu as [va.sī], a majority of them pronounced it as [va.sī.a] as if it were a three-syllable word. The presence of a schwa, in places where it is not expected, indicates to Hindi speakers that there is an extra syllable there.

Let me sum up the discussion on the representation of *ain* in Urdu written in Devanagari. First, the distribution of the grapheme <ॵ> to represent the Urdu *ain* results in graphemic combinations that are prohibited by the Devanagari writing system. Secondly, the pronunciation of Urdu words written in Devanagari containing the *ain*, becomes abstruse because of the awkward graphemic combinations resulting from the novel use of <ॵ>. In fact, people who do not already know these words cannot pronounce them correctly.

But as the data discussed above suggest, linguistic constraints are violated consistently in order to preserve the orthographic features of Urdu. So, although *ain* is not pronounced in Urdu in many positions, Urdu speakers still wish to represent it because they would like to transfer orthographic features of Urdu into Devanagari regardless of their phonetic significance or lack of it. Motivated by the desire to preserve the orthographic integrity of the Urdu language, Urdu speakers have reanalysed the Devanagari schwa grapheme in such a way that it stands for both the schwa-vowel and

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the Urdu consonant *ain*. The schwa grapheme has become a homograph—two graphemes that happen to have the same orthographic shape. If this hypothesis is plausible, then what appears to be a violation of Devanagari conventions in Urdu-in-Devanagari texts no longer remains so.

The evidence in support of the claim comes from the practice of using *hal/virām*, vowel killer. As I discussed above, a *hal* is used to eliminate the schwa-vowel inherent in each Devanagari consonant grapheme. So, if Urdu speakers have reanalyzed the schwa-grapheme as a consonant, then we should find instances where a *hal* is used overtly on the schwa grapheme, or is assumed to be part of it. This indeed is the case. Let us look at some example taken from Ahādīs.

Table 11 Showing use of *hal* on the grapheme <अ>

Word-medial schwa	Gloss	Word-final schwa	Gloss
वसीअ्तर	wider	मौज़ूअ्	topic
मअ्दूम	extinct	मनाफ़ेअ्	benefits
तअ्दील	modification	तवाज़ुअ्	humility

Muntakhab Ahādīs (Kāndhalvī, 2004: 8-10)

As shown in the Table 11, the grapheme <अ> does occur word-medially and finally in Urdu-in-Devanagari. However, this <अ> is not the schwa grapheme; it is a consonant grapheme. So, if one replaced the instances of <अ> in the above example with a consonant, the resulting words would be correct graphotactically. If the grapheme <अ>

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was not a consonant in the above words, it wouldn't make sense to use a *hal* on <ख्>. It would be nonsensical to write a schwa-vowel and then get rid of it by placing a *hal*, vowel-killer on it!

The reanalysis of <ख्> has been triggered by a desire to preserve features of Urdu intact in Devanagari. This desire to maintain the orthographic integrity of Urdu is also visible in the spelling choices that Urdu speakers make about other words. In Urdu words containing the silent letter *waw*, generally after the phoneme /x̲h/, the *wāw* is written, it is not pronounced for example <x̲hwāb> 'dream', <x̲hwāhish> 'desire' are pronounced as [x̲hāb] and [x̲hāhish] respectively. These words are however written in Devanagari preserving the letter *wāw*.

The data presented above suggest that the social desire to keep a distance from Hindi and thus construct Urdu in Devanagari as distinct from Hindi in Devanagari exceeds the constraints imposed by Devanagari on graphemic combinations. In addition to lexical items, these innovations, or "misspellings" for Hindi speakers, help Urdu speakers' rationalize that their language is still Urdu, despite the fact that it is written in Devanagari.

Data from Mahaktā Ānchal suggest that the readers and publishers both believe that the language of the magazine is indeed Urdu. The co-editor of the magazine Tālib Rāmpūrī writes a column entitled *zabān (Urdu) sudhārẽ* 'Improve your language (Urdu)' quite frequently. This column publishes a list of mispronounced or misspelled Urdu words with their correct pronunciation or spelling and meanings provided by the editor. Obviously the Urdu words and their meanings are all written in Devanagari, but the

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assumption of the editor is that by learning from that column, readers could improve their knowledge of Urdu. In fact, many readers in their letters to the editor do acknowledge that they are either learning Urdu by reading the magazine or that their knowledge of Urdu is improving. Vasant Kumar, a reader from Munger who is most likely to be a Hindi speaker writes:

> 'Sister! I love poetry, and that is why in order to learn Urdu and improve my language, I have been regularly reading the Mahaktā Ānchal and Ḵhūbsūrat Andāz for many years. My problem is that none of my *ghazals* have ever been selected for publication...' (2005: 76).

Similarly another reader Mālti Dēvī in the April 2006 issue writes to the editor saying that she is learning Urdu by reading the magazine (p 308). In fact, the editors of the magazine suggest that those who are interested in learning Urdu correctly should benefit from the magazine. In response to an angry letter from a reader who was furious at the use of the common Urdu and Hindi plural marker –õ with the English loanword 'letter', the editor explains the reason for the nativization of the English loanword by arguing that the beauty of Urdu lies in the diversity of its words and phrases, and then she suggests that those who are interested in learning Urdu should read Mahaktā Ānchal regularly.

5.5 Reconciling the conflict between speech and writing

In the last chapter, I demonstrated that Genretaion-3 Muslims are losing three of the five Urdu phonemes. I argued that the reason for the loss of the phonemes is that following the tumultuous events of 1947Urdu, acquired a stigmatized indexical meaning. It became iconic of poor, uneducated, and conservative Muslims. The impact of the reconstituted indexicality of Urdu on generation-3 was enormous. After the economic prosperity of the

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1980's, when Generation-3 had resources and opportunities to participate with Hindi speakers in the public sphere, they started to dissociate themselves from the perceived identity. The linguistic fallout of the quest for a new, positive identity was the gradual dissociation from the Urdu languages, which is evidenced in the loss of the Urdu phonemes.

In addition to the process of dissociation from the inherited identity, the last chapter also showed the process of adequation towards Hindi norms (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). In this chapter, I have shown that Urdu speakers are making efforts to preserve the features of Urdu in the Devanagari script and differentiate it from Hindi. The findings of this chapter appear to contradict those of the last. So, the question is: how do we reconcile the loss of the phonemes in the speech of Generation-3, and the preservation of Urdu features in Urdu-in-Devanagari?

There are two aspects of the process of transliteration. One is the very adoption of the Devanagari script for writing Urdu. The social willingness to adopt Devanagari, despite strong and deep-rooted ideologies against it, is directly linked to the changing linguistic practices of Generation-3. The whole project of transliteration is targeted at third generation Muslims. The loss of literacy in the Perso-Arabic script and the loss of Urdu phonemes among Generation-3 are manifestations of the same phenomenon of disaffiliation from Urdu—in speech and in writing.

The efforts to preserve Urdu features in Devanagari are however an articulation of the interests and ideologies of second generation Muslims, rather than those of the third generation. I discussed above Suhaib's ideology about the process of transliteration. He believes that by placing *bindīs*, under Hindi graphemes he is ensuring that the language

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of the young generation does not degenerate and that they maintain the distinction between *sa* and *sha* and *ja* and *za.* Third generation Muslims, however, do not have the same language ideology or practice. In fact, as I have shown in the last chapter, their orientation towards Urdu is markedly different from that of the other generations. I have shown that Sukainā, a Generation-3 woman, who reads Islamic books in Devanagari, has 100% nativization of the /k̲h/, /g̲h/, and /q/. Therefore, the contradiction is the result of a tension in second generation Muslims between the need to adopt Devanagari, due to the vanishing Perso-Arabic script and the need to also strive to maintain Urdu among the third generation. Obviously the goals of the transliterators are different from those of the readers.

5.5.1 Summary and conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown that, despite a strong and deep-seated ideology about the integral role that the Perso-Arabic script has played in defining a distinctive identity of Urdu, in opposition to Hindi, Muslims have started to adopt the Devanagari script—a script that they had always feared would devour the identity of their language and culture. The change in the ideology has been engendered by the declining literacy in the Perso-Arabic script among Generation-3 and the resultant fear among the community, especially the older generation, that the youth will lose its Muslim identity, if they are not able to access the Islamic and cultural literature available in the Perso-Arabic script.

There have been some studies on how the process of developing a writing system for a hitherto unwritten language is an ideologically loaded project. Researchers have shown that in addition to linguistic factors, ideological considerations such as the desire

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of a community to distinguish itself from others through its orthography, play an important role (Sebba, 1998a). The process of writing Urdu in Devanagari, however, is doubly interesting, since there already exists a writing system for Urdu. The representation of Urdu in Devanagari therefore is mediated by the structural features of the existing script.

Two kinds of ideological influences operate on the process of transliteration—one originates in Urdu speakers' understanding of their speech and the other in their perception of the existing Perso-Arabic script. In this chapter, I have demonstrated that Urdu-in-Devanagari texts exemplify both strands of ideology. The representation of the Urdu phonemes by the use of *bindīs* is influenced by Urdu speakers' ideology about speech; whereas the representation of the letter *ain* is informed by their ideology about Urdu as it is written in the Perso-Arabic script. The efforts to represent the letter *ain* would be meaningless, if Urdu had not existed in the Perso-Arabic script in the first place.

I have also shown that there is no contradiction between the vanishing Urdu phonemes among Generation-3 and the efforts to preserve features of Urdu in Devanagari. I have explained that the adoption of Devanagari and the loss of Urdu phonemes are two manifestations of the same phenomenon of disaffiliation from Urdu—in speech and in writing. The efforts to preserve features of Urdu are the articulation of the second generation, who believe that placing *bindīs* under Hindi graphemes is the best way to hand down Urdu in its "correct" form to the next generation. However, for Generation-3, *bindīs* cannot override the stigma attached to the phonemes that they are supposed to represent on paper. More research needs to be done to see how *bindīs* are

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interpreted by Generation-3. However, Sukainā's linguistic practices suggest that these *bindīs* are made invisible by the overall negative orientation of Generation-3 Muslims towards Urdu.

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CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

6.1 Introduction

A couple of years ago, I remember reading an angry letter to the editor of the Times of India, an English language newspaper published from Delhi, in which a Hindu reader was fuming at a Muslim columnist for associating the Urdu language with Muslim identity in his article published a few days before. The reader cited examples of several Hindu users of the Urdu language in both its spoken and written forms and argued that it was inaccurate on the writer's part to assume that Urdu is the language of Muslims alone. Clearly, the assumption of the writer about the indexicality of Urdu as the language of Muslims is being disputed by the reader. This example is similar to J.S. Gandhi's reminiscence about Urdu that I discussed in Chapter 3. Gandhi finds it strange and even discomforting that Muslims compliment him on speaking Urdu, a language that he considers his own.

This dissertation set out to examine the semiotic complexity of Urdu and its socially contested indexicality in India as indicated by the above incident. A major goal of the dissertation was to investigate the assumed indexicality of Urdu and Muslim identity (and the contestation over it). This chapter summarizes the findings of the

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research discussed in the previous chapters. The results of the research provide a sociolinguistic explanation of the apparently contradictory claims made by different social groups on the indexicality of Urdu. In the last section, I discuss some broader implications of the research and provide some future directions on the sociolinguistic studies of Urdu in India.

6.2 Major findings and conclusion

In this dissertation I have shown that although the late nineteenth century marks the beginning of the formation of an ideology in which the Urdu and Hindi languages and the Perso-Arabic and Devanagari scripts began to be ideologized by Hindus and Muslims as indexical of Muslim and Hindu identity respectively, the fluid and non-categorical indexicality of Urdu persists until the Partition of India in 1947. By analyzing data from Muslims and Hindus of the first generation, born and raised *before* 1947, I demonstrate that in the Old Delhi sociolinguistic discourse, the Urdu language was not ideologized as categorically indexical of Muslim identity. Among pre-1947 Muslims and Hindus, Urdu indexes the level of education and literary refinement—with little association with religio-ethnic identity.

Providing ethnographic accounts and analyzing the ideological structure of the Hindus and Muslims, I have shown that pre-Partition Hindus and Muslims both claim that they speak Urdu. Their ideological claims are also matched by their sociolinguistic practices. Hindus not only use the Urdu language and the Perso-Arabic script for mundane and secular but also for religious purposes. By analyzing frequencies of the distinctive Urdu phonemes /f/, /z/, /x̲h/, /g̲h/, and /q/, I have shown that the distribution of

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the phonemes among Pre-Partition Hindus and Muslims is very similar, which supports my claim about the semiotic complexity of Urdu. The quantitative data thus corroborates the findings of the qualitative analysis.

I have argued that the political developments surrounding the Partition contributed significantly towards the reconstitution of the indexicality of Urdu in post-1947 India. I mention two important related sociolinguistic developments. First, the use of the Urdu language as a symbol of the Muslim separatist movement for the creation of Pakistan helped Hindus imagine that Urdu was the language of Muslims. The establishment of the Muslim state of Pakistan and the declaration of Urdu as the national language further contributed to the strengthening of this ideology among Hindus. Second, after the independence, Hindi written in the Devanagari script was adopted as the national official language of India. As a consequence of these developments, in the post-1947 language discourse, Hindi stands for Hindus in India, in opposition to Urdu for Muslims of Pakistan.

Providing ethnographic evidence and analyzing linguistic data from Hindus and Muslims born *after* 1947, I have shown that the ideologies about the indexicality of Urdu changed significantly in post-1947 language discourse. Although Hindus born after 1947 tell stories of how their parents and grandparents used Urdu, they themselves do not claim that they speak Urdu. They invariably associate the Urdu language with Muslims. In response to a question about who speaks Urdu in Old Delhi, Hindus would often index, in the sense of 'pointing to', towards Muslim neighborhoods. Along with the change in their ideological structure came a shift in the sociolinguistic practices of

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Hindus. The use of the Urdu language and the Perso-Arabic script among Hindus of the second generation declined rapidly. I was not able to find a single second generation Hindu who uses Urdu in any form. The abandonment of Urdu by the second generation Hindus fed into (and was fed by) the newly acquired indexicality of Urdu. Hindus stopped using the Urdu language and the Perso-Arabic script because they gradually began to see Urdu as the language of Muslim fundamentalism. This gradually reinforced the ideology of Muslim indexicality of Urdu among Muslims and Hindus both. In other words, following the social and political developments of 1947, Urdu became available as a linguistic resource for second generation Muslims to index their identity as Muslims.

However, this reconstituted indexicality of Urdu and Muslim identity began to disintegrate among the third generation Muslims of Old Delhi. I argue that the Partition, which contributed to the reconstitution of Urdu as indexical of Muslim identity on the macro national level, brought about a different kind of change on a micro level in Old Delhi. I demonstrate that the massive migration of the educated middle class from Old Delhi, belonging to the upper castes of Muslims, brought about social and demographic changes. A major consequence of the migration was that Old Delhi, the city which had been famous for its literary, linguistic, and cultural refinements, became synonymous with poverty, illiteracy, backwardness, and conservatism; the Muslim society of Old Delhi was reduced to a ghetto community. The Urdu language began to index poor, uneducated, and conservative Muslim identity.

The economic conditions of Muslims began to change towards the late 1970's. The economic affluence made it possible for the third generation Muslims to interact with

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Hindi speaking Hindus in schools, colleges, and other social venues. In these places, Muslim Urdu speakers encounter a conflicting linguistic norm among their friends, colleagues, and teachers, especially with regard to the distinctive Urdu phonemes. Hindi speakers nativize/replace the Urdu phonemes with existing Hindi phonemes. For Urdu-speaking Muslim children, the resolution of the conflict in linguistic norms is mediated by their language ideology—in which the Urdu language is indexical of poor, backward, and conservative Old Delhi Muslim identity, often associated with their parents and grandparents. Many third generation Muslims argue that they do not speak Urdu, but their parents do *because* they are uneducated. Because of the stigma attached to the perceived Old Delhi Muslim identity, the Generation-3 Muslims avoid pronouncing the Urdu phonemes, sometimes in order not to divulge their Old Delhi identity; they pronounce them in the way their Hindi-speaking friends do, which means nativizing /kh/, /gh/, and /q/ as /kh/, /g/, and /k/. I argue that the change constitutes loss since these phonemes merge with the existing ones.

I argue that the ideologies about the stigmatized Old Delhi Muslim identity are important factors that contribute to the language change among the third generation. The loss of the three of the five distinctive Urdu phonemes can be explained as Urdu speakers' efforts to disaffiliate from the linguistic component of their stigmatized Old Delhi identity. Those who do not come in contact with outsiders and thus are not perceived as possessing "*chhollywood* mentality", a derogatory term used by outsiders to refer to the narrow, conservative, and out-of-date world-view of Old Delhi Muslims, continue to preserve the Urdu phonemes. See chapter 5 for a detailed discussion on outsiders' perception of Old Delhi Muslim students.

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Related to the loss of the phonemes is a shift in the literacy practices of the third generation Muslims. They do not have functional literacy in the traditional Perso-Arabic script of Urdu. Since most of the Islamic literature in North India exists in Urdu written in the Perso-Arabic script, the third generation Muslims do not have access to it. Muslims of Old Delhi are worried that their children will not be able to maintain their Muslim identity if they cannot read the Islamic literature. Since developing literacy in the Perso-Arabic script among the third generation does not look to be easy, Muslims have started to convert Islamic literature originally written in the Perso-Arabic script into the Devanagari script. Popular Urdu Islamic text books for example Fazāel-e-Āmal, Muntaḵhab Ahādīs, and Bahishtī Zēwar are now freely available in Devanagari.

The adoption of the Devanagari script by Urdu speakers is sociolinguistically important for two reasons. First, Urdu speakers have historically argued that the Perso-Arabic script works as a boundary between Urdu and Hindi. It provides the Urdu language and its speakers a distinctive identity. They have feared that the adoption of Devanagari would lead to Urdu's absorption into Hindi. Examining data from Urdu-in-Devanagari, I demonstrate in chapter 5 that Muslims are innovating ways of preserving the phonological and some orthographic features of Urdu in Devanagari, even when some of the innovations violate the established orthographic conventions of Devanagari. I show that the innovation involve using *bindīs* to represent the distinctive Urdu phonemes; they also involve a novel use of the schwa-grapheme for the Urdu letter *ain*. Urdu-speakers have re-analyzed the vowel-grapheme as a symbol for the consonant *ain*. I argue that the innovations help Urdu speakers and readers ideologize that although they have adopted

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Devanagari, they have not merged their linguistic identity in Devanagari; their language still speaks to them from behind the foreign script.

On a superficial level, the efforts to preserve features of Urdu in Devanagari militate against the loss of phonemes among the third generation. The question is: why are Urdu speakers trying to preserve the language that is already being lost from the younger generation? I argue that apparent contradiction goes to prove my point about the complex indexicality of Urdu for speakers of different generations. While the very adoption of Devanagari is in response to the changing literacy practices of the third generation, the process of transliteration is controlled by the ideologies of the second generation Urdu speakers. Remember that I argue that Urdu acquired an exclusive Muslim indexicality among the second generation Muslims. So, although the target audience of the process of transliteration is the third generation, the ideologies that inform it are that of the second generation. The second generation Urdu speakers, straddling between the first and the third, is not only distinct in terms of possessing distinct ideologies about the indexicality of Urdu, they are also unique in that they are linguistically bi-dialectal in Urdu and Hindi and bi-scriptal in Perso-Arabic and Devanagari and thus capable of doing transliteration.

The adoption of the Devanagari script for writing Urdu in general and Islamic material in particular is extremely significant, given the historical indexicality of Devanagari and Hindi. Because of its association with Sanskrit, the language of Hinduism, Devanagari has been argued to be indexical of Hindu identity. Probably, this indexicality was based on the nineteenth century Hindi movement, in which claims were

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made about Hindi and Urdu as languages associated with Hindu and Muslim identities. However this research shows that the Devanagari script has been divested of the Hindu indexicality and has been invested with a new social meaning by Muslims. I have shown that Muslims are making efforts to preserve the identity and integrity of the Urdu language in Devanagari by innovating strategies such as the use of *bindī*. I have shown that these reflect and at the same shapes an ideology in which Devanagari is no longer indexical of Hindu identity.

I have also shown that the indexicality of Urdu as the language of post-1947 Muslims in India is witnessing the process of erosion. In the ideology of the younger generation of Muslims, Urdu is the language of their parents—a reminder of their stigmatized past. They think that it is a language that hinders them from being perceived as who they are. It encumbers them with the baggage of the past that they are not willing to carry. They have started to shed the baggage; they have started to lose Urdu.

On a broader level, this research shows that the indexicality of language and elements of language is not determined on an a priori basis. The indexical meanings of linguistic units grow out of and take shape in specific social and cultural contexts. Since social and political processes are not static, the indexicalities of linguistic elements also keep evolving. Historical associations between language and social identities, such as Devanagari and Perso-Arabic and Hinduism and Islam, formed over hundreds of years have been undone by powerful social and political transformations of the twentieth century.

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6.2.1 The dynamic nature of indexicality

This dissertation raises important questions about the notion of indexicality in general and that of ethnic indexicality in particular. Although scholars working in the field of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology recognize that indexicality is socially situated and constituted, they rarely view it as dynamic and evolving. I have shown that change is an integral part of the very structure of indexicality. This is because the social structure that provides meaning to indexicality and sustains it is constantly evolving. It is therefore not surprising that indexicality is in the state of flux too.

A related point is that, since indexicality is dynamic, it is rarely uniformly shared by and agreed upon between different sections of society. This often creates a tension between different groups within a particular society holding contrasting, and even conflicting, ideologies about the indexicality of a particular language or linguistic form. The conflicting ideologies may play an important role in language change, as in the case of the third generation Muslims of Delhi. They may also become a source of struggle between those who want to maintain and preserve the old indexicality and those who want to subvert or reconstitute it. I have demonstrated the ideological conflicts between the first and second generation Muslims on the one hand and the third generation on the other regarding the indexicality of the phonological and orthographic shibboleths of Urdu and Hindi.

The resolution of the conflict between different generations of Muslims also underscores the tension between them. Since the third generation Muslims do not control the Perso-Arabic script, the first and second generation Muslims have compromised on

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the issue of script. Despite strong historical opposition to it, the older generations show willingness to adopt Devanagari. However, they are not willing to compromise on other linguistic aspects of Urdu. They insist on representing the phonological and orthographic features of Urdu in Devanagari faithfully. By doing this, they argue that they can preserve the uniqueness of Urdu in the new script, for the younger generation. Although the tension may be resolved differently by different societies, the finding of this dissertation alert us, as researchers, about the semiotic complexity of language in a given a society.

This leads to the issue of the ethnic indexicality of linguistic units, which can be framed in the form of the question: in any society, does the linguistic form 'X' index ethnic identity 'Y'? The answer to this is that it may, only if the ideologies about the social meanings of 'X' are shared by members of the ethnic group 'Y' across, for example, the social divisions of generations, not to mention gender and other relevant factors. It is rare, if not impossible, to find an ethnic group, or for that matter any social aggregate, in which ideologies about a linguistic form are homogenous. There is no society that exhibits a complete consensus about language and its social meaning.

Linguistic studies have shown that language change is ubiquitous. Studies have also established that adolescents, like the third generation Muslims of Old Delhi, are main engineers and carriers of language change (e.g. Eckert, 1988). It is quite likely, and in fact expected, that the younger generation may not share the ideologies that produce the indexicality of the form 'X' among older generations. Therefore any claims on the ethnic indexicality of a language or linguistic unit have to be supported by data from all generations, especially the younger—the most volatile and changing.

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This dissertation also raises questions about the impact that large-scale social upheavals such as mass migration can have on speakers' social identities and their languages. I have demonstrated that the partition of India and the following mass migration of Muslims from Old Delhi led to significant changes in demographic and social composition of the Muslim society, which later on became a driving force of ongoing language change among the third generation. It is important to emphasize that the language change I discuss in this dissertation is *not* taking place in the migrating population. The change is taking place in the society that did not undergo migration. This suggests that large-scale migration can have serious impacts even on the source-society.

6.3 Urdu in Islamic *madrasās* in India

Although this dissertation focuses on the complex indexicality of the Urdu language in India, I have excluded from the discussion the use and meaning of Urdu in *madrasās*, 'traditional centers of Islamic learning'. I made this decision keeping in mind the scope of the dissertation in. In the following section, I briefly discuss some linguistic practices and ideologies held by Urdu speakers, who receive Islamic education in *madrasās*. These ideologies are worth discussing because they are significantly different from what ordinary Urdu-speakers perceive of Urdu. These ideologies and perceptions will be crucial to the indexicality of Urdu in India in future.

6.3.1 *Maulānā kī zabān*: the language of the priest

One evening, Qaisar Manzarī, a Muslim friend of mine, and I go to Mr. Ikrām, a professional Urdu typist, to get some Urdu documents typed, because neither of us are

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good at using an Urdu software. I started to talk to Qaisar about something linguistic that I noticed in the Friday *khutbā*, 'religious sermon' that I had attended earlier in that week in a mosque in Old Delhi. I was telling him how strange it sounded to me when the *imām*, 'preacher' in his *khutbā*, delivered in Urdu, was pronouncing the Urdu letters *ain* <ع> and *baRī hē* <ح> in Arabic loanwords the way they are pronounced in Arabic. In Urdu, these letters do not represent phonemes, although they are written exactly like in Arabic. The grapheme *ain* is not pronounced in Urdu (see chapter 5 for more discussion on *ain*). The grapheme *baRī hē* has the same pronunciation as the grapheme *chhoTī hē,* which phonetically is /h/, voiceless glottal fricative. The redundancy is due to the fact that the Perso-Arabic script contains a lot of graphemes that are not phonemes in Urdu, although they are phonemes in Arabic. I discuss the redundancy in the Perso-Arabic script of Urdu in chapter 2 and 5. As a result of this, many Arabic loanwords are written in Urdu and Arabic in the same way, but they are pronounced differently. For example, the word /halāl/ 'allowed' is written <حلال> in both Urdu and Arabic; however it is pronounced [halāl] in Urdu but [ħalāl] in Arabic.

Mr. Ikrām, who studied Arabic for several years in an Islamic *madrasā,* an old institution that imparts traditional Islamic education, and received a degree in theology joined our conversation by saying that of course that is the "correct" pronunciation of the Urdu letters. I tried to argue that in the history of the Urdu language these letters were never pronounced. I further argued that neither ordinary Urdu speakers nor famous Urdu poets and scholars from contemporary times pronounce them. Ikrām forcefully said that they all pronounce them "wrong". Qaisar, who is professor of Urdu, also tried to argue that unlike Arabic in Urdu these letters are not pronounced. Mr. Ikrām however was

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steadfast. He argued that since these letters are written differently in Urdu, they must be pronounced differently like Arabic. The correct pronunciation of the words containing these letters, he further argued, depends on the source language Arabic, from which they have been borrowed in Urdu.

Since, I had not noticed this phenomenon before, I became interested in it. Each Friday, I would go to a different mosque and listen to the *ḵhutbā* and take notes on the pronunciation of these two graphemes. Almost all *imāms* exhibited this tendency of introducing the Arabic pronunciation to the Urdu words borrowed from Aarbic. I recorded two *ḵhutbās* in two different mosques in Old Delhi and interviewed Maulānā Obaid, an *imām* in a mosque in Old Delhi. Maulānā Obaid is in his late twenties. He graduated from Darul Uloom, Deoband a famous *madrasā* in the neighboring state of Uttar Pradesh. I asked him why he and other *imāms* pronounced these two letters differently from ordinary Urdu speakers of Old Delhi. He argued that since students from *madrasās* devote several years to the study of the Quran and Hadīth, they are able to "perfect" the pronunciation of these letters, which ordinary speakers cannot. He complained that many Urdu-speaking children who come to him to learn to memorize the Quran, recite it as if they are reading Urdu, and not Arabic. Maulānā Obaid's explanation does not seem plausible, since senior graduates from the same *madrasā* do not exhibit this phenomenon. In order to investigate this further, I met with Maulānā Ansār, a *ḵhālis dillīwālā*, who is about 80 years old, and who graduated from Darul Uloom and served as an *imām* in many mosques in Old Delhi for more than four decades. He has written several books on Islamic issues and social aspects of Old Delhi in the Urdu language. He is more widely known for his work on the *tafsīr,* 'interpretation', of the Quran. I asked

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him about the pronunciation of the letters *ain* and *baRī hē* in the language of *imāms* of mosques in Old Delhi, many of whom are graduates from his alma mater. He first laughed and then told me that they are all *jāhil,* 'ignorant'; he argued that they don't speak or read Urdu; *'wō urdū mẽ̃ qerat kartē haiñ'*, 'they recite in Urdu'—referring to the religious recitation of the Quran. When I asked him whether or not Islamic scholars of Arabic in Darul Uloom, during his time, pronounced these letters while speaking in Urdu? He categorically denied it. It is interesting to compare Maulānā Obaid's view on the mutual influence of Urdu and Arabic with Maulānā Ansār's. Maulānā Obaid believes that Urdu-speaking children recite Arabic as if they are reading Urdu, whereas Maulānā Ansār thinks that the recent generation of *imāms* speak Urdu as if they are reciting the Quran.

The process of introducing Arabic pronunciation to Urdu words of Arabic origin, which I call Arabicization, adds to the complexity of the indexicality of Urdu in India. Although I will not provide any definitive answers to the factors that have given rise to Arabicization, I provide some tentative speculations. I believe that the Arabicization of Urdu is related to the developments that I discussed in chapter 4 and 5. As the Urdu language is disappearing from the life of ordinary Muslims and their myriad secular and mundane domains, it is being co-opted by Urdu-users in religious institutions such as *madrasās*. Although *madrasās* have existed for centuries and Islamic scholars have used the Urdu language for religious purposes, in the past, the use of Urdu was never confined to the institution of *madrasā* and to Islamic themes and issues. As I have shown in chapter 3, before the Partition, Urdu was used by both Muslims and Hindus. Secular literary genres such as poetry, novel, short stories, and ghazal, have dominated Urdu

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literature. A variety of not only secular but atheistic and agnostic themes are abundant in the Urdu literature. Many Islamic scholars have considered parts of Urdu literature as *kufr*, 'idolatry' (B. P. Singh, 2006).[83] Even after the Partition, when Urdu was almost confined to Muslims, it was still used widely by Muslims, who were not necessarily religious in their orientation.

The developments of the last three decades, which include the declining use of Urdu among the third generation Muslims, are creating a sociolinguistic situation in which the use of Urdu is shrinking among ordinary Muslims and becoming concentrated among religious scholars in *madrasās*. If this trend continues, a major consequence of this will be a further change in the indexicality of Urdu. It will become associated not with Muslims in general, but with the language of Islamic scholars. It will turn into a sacred language that only Muslim *maulānās,* 'priests', know and use only in restricted religious contexts. As discussed above, signs of this change of the indexicality of Urdu have already begun to appear. Muslims of Old Delhi have started to see the connection between Urdu and Muslim *maulānās*. In an interview with a third generation Muslim, I asked him who speaks Urdu in Old Delhi. His response was that Urdu is spoken in *purānī* families, meaning old people. He further added that Urdu is spoken by *maulānās*.

Once Urdu becomes increasingly confined to Islamic institutions, in addition to a change in literary themes and genres, the ideologies surrounding the "correctness" of the

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[83] See (Mukhia, 1999) for an excellent discussion of Urdu ghazal as a means of defiance of and resistance to authority—both religious and secular. As an example, Mukhia argues that the lampooning of the religious moralists sucs as *wāez*, 'preacher', *nāseh* 'advice-giver', and *shaikh*, 'religious priest'—a dominant theme of Urdu ghazal—is a form of celebration of resistance.

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Urdu language will change. The role of Arabic in determining the structure of Urdu including the lexicon and phonology will increase. The introduction of Quranic pronunciation to the the Urdu letters *ain* and *baRī hē* as discussed above are manifestations of that ideology.

In sum, if I were to find a descriptor that sums up my dissertation research, I would say it is "complexity" coupled with "change". Contrary to many existing sociolinguistic studies that focus on one segment of the ethnic community and present a very neat picture of the relationship between language and ethnicity (e.g. Fought, 1997; Rickford, 1985; Wolfram and Sellers, 1999), this study shows that the relationship is quite complex. The complexity is attributed to the differing ideologies about language and ethnicity among different generations of speakers belonging to the same ethnic group. This dissertation shows that change in ideologies among different generations are ways speakers respond to the changing sociolinguistic field.

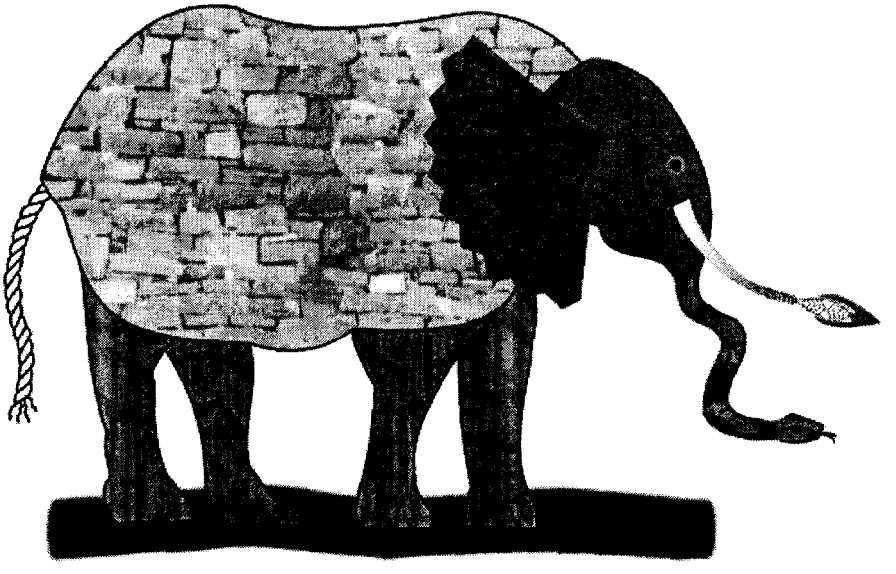
The complexity also explains why people lay different claims on the indexicality of Urdu. A first generation Hindu (and Muslim) is right in claiming that Urdu is not an exclusive language of Muslims. Similarly, a second and third generation Hindu is equally right in pointing to Muslim neighborhoods of Old Delhi for Urdu speakers. A third generation Muslim is also partially correct in claiming that Urdu is spoken by Muslims who are old—parents and grandparents. At the same time, a third generation Muslim is also partially right in suggesting that Urdu is the language of *maulānās*. The indexicality of Urdu can be compared to the famous Indian fable of the blind men and an elephant. Six blind men felt different parts of the elephant and came up with completely different

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conclusions about the object they had just examined. The first felt the side of the elephant and thought that it was a wall. The second felt the tusk and thought it was a spear. The third took the trunk in his hands and thought that it was a snake. The other three similarly reported having touched different things. John Godfrey Saxe (1816-1887), an American poet who put the fable in the verse form, concludes his poem with this stanza.

And so these men of Indostan
Disputed loud and long,
Each in his own opinion
Exceeding stiff and strong,
Though each was partly in the right,
And all were in the wrong!

Figure 6 Blind men's partial perceptions of the elephant



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APPENDICES

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Appendix 1-A

Table 12 Consonant phonemes of Urdu and Hindi

		bilabial	labio-dental	dental	alveolar	post-alv.	retroflex	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
Stop	Unaspirated	p b		t d			ʈ ɖ	c ɟ	k g		
	Aspirated	p^h b^h		t^h d^h			$ʈ^h$ $ɖ^h$	c^h $ɟ^h$	k^h g^h	**(q)**	
Nasal		m			n		((ɳ))		ŋ		
Trill					r						
Flap	Unaspirated						ɽ				
	Aspirated						$ɽ^h$				
Fricative			**(f)**		s **(z)**	ʃ **(ʒ)**	((ʂ))			**(χ) (ʁ)**	h
Approximant			ʋ		ɹ			j			
Lateral					l						

Note: (1) The phonemes in bold and between single brackets are exclusive to Urdu. (2) The phonemes between double brackets are exclusive to Hindi. (3) The rest of them are bivalent between Urdu and Hindi.

Appendix 1-B

Perso-Arabic and Devanagari Alphabets

Figure 7 The Urdu alphabet



Aspirated letters

(Omniglot, 2007a)

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Figure 8 The Hindi alphabet (consonants)

Occlusives

	Voiceless plosives				Voiced plosives				Nasals	
	unaspirated		aspirated		unaspirated		aspirated			
Velar	क	ka	ख	kha	ग	ga	घ	gha	ङ	ṅa
Palatal	च	ca	छ	cha	ज	ja	झ	jha	ञ	ña
Retroflex	ट	ṭa	ठ	ṭha	ड	ḍa	ढ	ḍha	ण	ṇa
Dental	त	ta	थ	tha	द	da	ध	dha	न	na
Labial	प	pa	फ	pha	ब	ba	भ	bha	म	ma

Sonorants and fricatives

	Palatal		Retroflex		Dental		Labial	
Sonorants	य	ya	र	ra	ल	la	व	va
Sibilants	श	śa	ष	ṣa	स	sa		

Other letters

ह ha ळ ḷa

Figure 9 The Hindi alphabet (vowels)

Primary vowels

	Short				Long				Diphthongs			
	Initial		Diacritic		Initial		Diacritic		Initial		Diacritic	
Unrounded low central	अ	a	प	pa	आ	ā	पा	pā				
Unrounded high front	इ	i	पि	pi	ई	ī	पी	pī				
Rounded high back	उ	u	पु	pu	ऊ	ū	पू	pū				
Syllabic variants	ऋ	ṛ	पृ	pṛ	ॠ	ṝ	पॄ	pṝ				
	ऌ	ḷ	पॢ	pḷ	ॡ	ḹ	पॣ	pḹ				
Secondary vowels												
Unrounded front					ए	e	पे	pe	ऐ	ai	पै	pai
Rounded back					ओ	o	पो	po	औ	au	पौ	pau

(Omniglot, 2007b)

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Appendix 1-C

Urdu and Hindi Sample Texts

Table 13 Urdu and Hindi sample texts

मुंबई में भारी बारिश, जनजीवन अस्तव्यस्त	ممبئی میں شدید بارش، زندگی مفلوج
मुंबई में शुक्रवार की रात से लगातार हो रही बारिश से जनजीवन अस्तव्यस्त हो गया है. कई निचले इलाक़ों में पानी भर गया है और यातायात प्रभावित हुआ है. मौसम विभाग का कहना है कि रात से अब तक 108 मिलीमीटर के क़रीब बारिश हो चुकी है. ख़बरें हैं कि बांद्रा, मटूंगा और लोवर परेल के इलाक़े में पानी भरा गया है. घरों में पानी भर आया है. सेंट्रल लाइन की ट्रेनें अनिश्चितकाल विलंब से चल रही हैं और हार्बर लाइन की कई ट्रेनें रद्द कर दी गई हैं क्योंकि पटरियाँ पानी में डूब गई हैं. BBC Hindi website	ہندوستان کی ریاست مہاراشٹر کے ممبئی شہر میں سنیچر کی صبح سے شدید بارش کے سبب عام زندگی بری طرح متا ثر ہو ئی ہے۔ بارش کے سبب شہر کے نچلے علاقوں میں پانی بھر گیا ہے اور ٹریفک کا نظام بری طرح متاثر ہوا ہے۔ محمکہ موسمیات کا کہنا ہے کہ اب تک 108 ملی میٹر بارش درج کی گئی ہے۔ اطلاعات کے مطابق شہر کے باندرہ ، مٹونگہ اور لوور پریل علاقوں میں پانی بھرا ہوا ہے اور یہ پانی گھروں تک بھی پہنچ گیا ہے۔ ممبئی کی لائف لائن کہی جانے والی لوکل ٹرینز بھی غیر معینہ مدت کی تاخیر سے چل رہی ہیں۔ بعض علاقوں میں ٹرین کی پٹریاں پانی میں ڈوب گئی ہیں جس کے سبب ٹرین سرورز روک دی گئی ہیں۔ BBC Urdu website

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Appendix 2-A

Figure 10 Political map of India



(India, 2007b)

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Appendix 2-B

Map of Delhi

Figure 11 Map of Delhi showing the Central District, which includes Old Delhi.



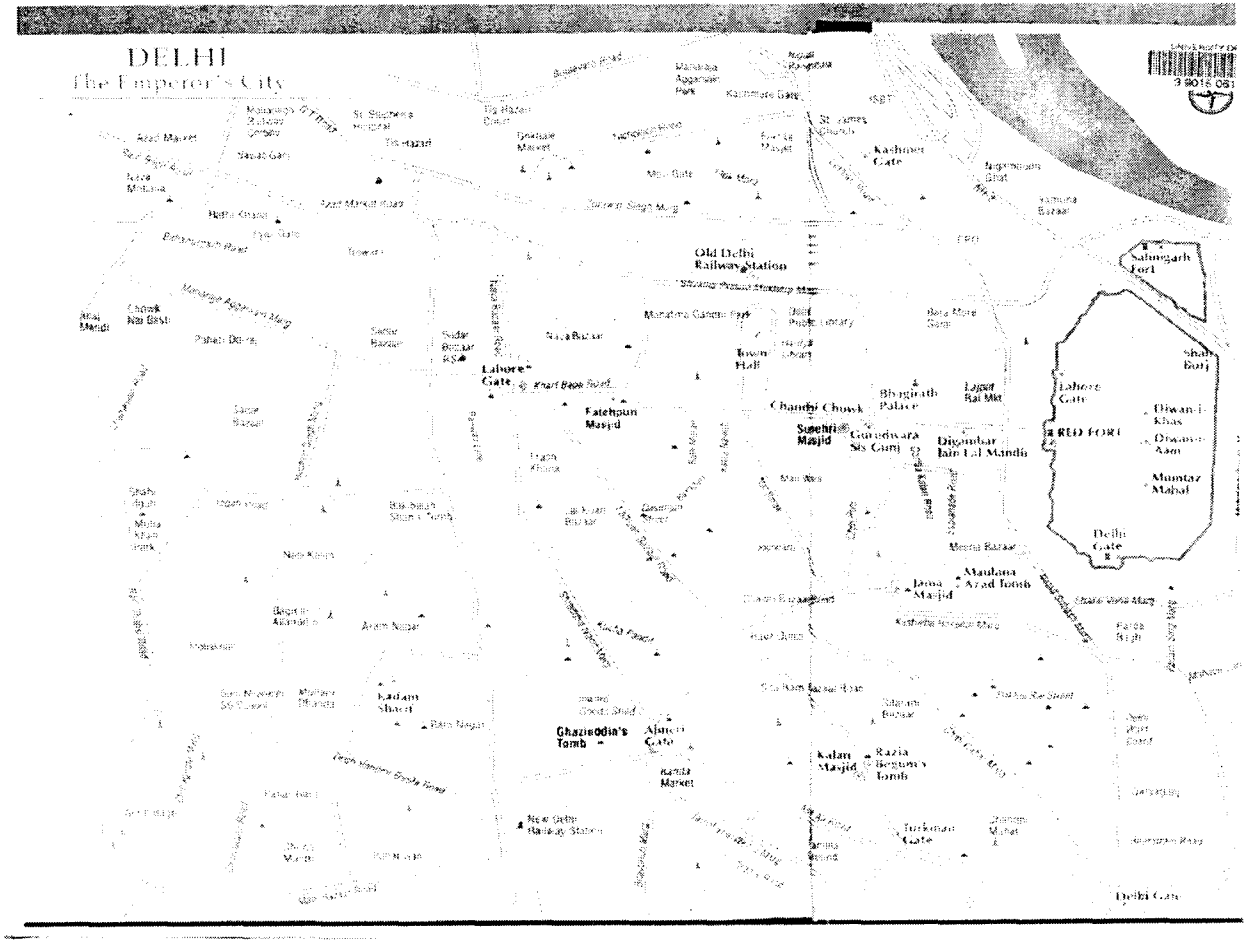
(India, 2007a)

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Appendix 2-C

Figure 12 Map of Old Delhi neighborhoods



Map taken from (Goel, 2003)

Appendix 3-A

Title pages of data sources

Figure 13 Pākīza Ānchal (Perso-Arabic)



Figure 14 Mahaktā Ānchal (Devanagari)



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Figure 15 Muntakhab Ahādīs (Perso-Arabic)

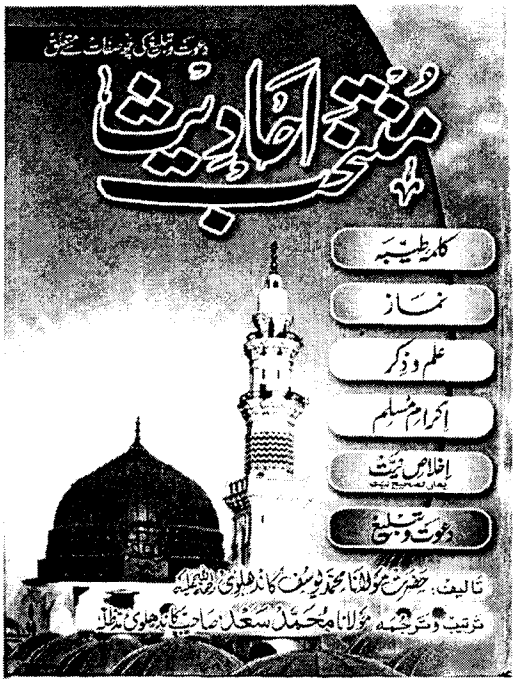
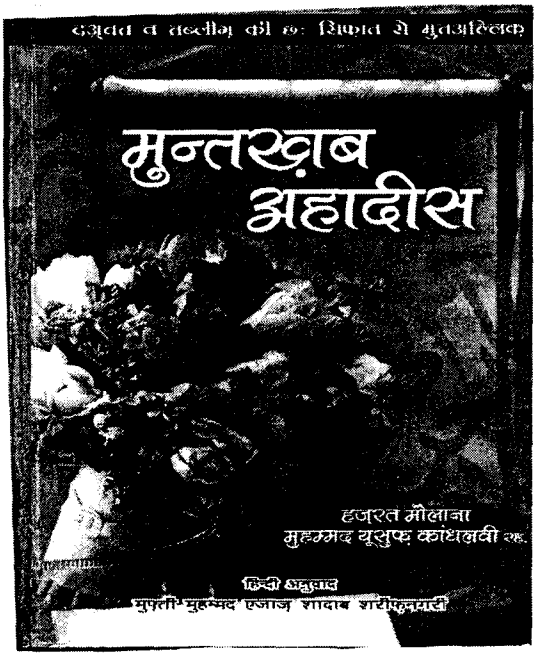


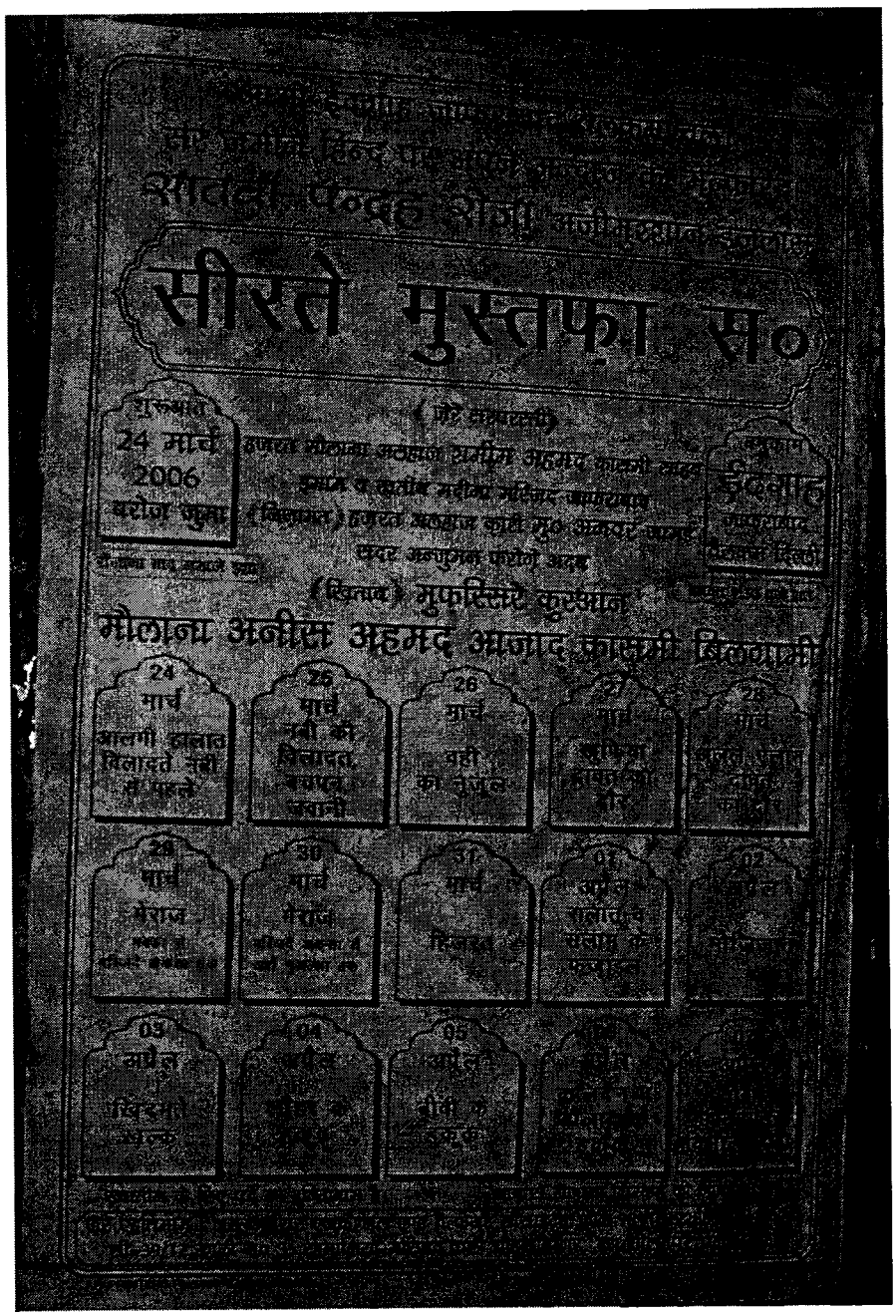
Figure 16 Muntakhab Ahādīs (Devanagari)



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Appendix 3-B

Figure 17 Urdu-in-Devanagari poster



The poster announces a 15-day conference to be held in Delhi on the life of Prophet Mohammad

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Appendix 4-A

Interview Questionnaire

(i) Personal Information

1. Could you tell me a little bit about yourself? When and where were you born? How many members are there in your family? Which school did you go to?

(ii) Language Information:

1. What language do you speak at home?
2. Can you read or write Urdu?
3. Can you read or write Hindi?
4. In which language do you talk with elderly members of your family?
5. In which language do you talk with your children/grand children?
6. What language do you use with your friends?
7. What language you don't speak well do you understand?
8. Do you read newspapers? Which language newspaper do you read?

(iii) Language ideology and language and ethnicity

1. Some people think that Urdu and Hindi are the same language with different writing systems. What do you think?
2. What in your opinion are the differences between them?What in your opinion are the similarities between them?
3. Who do you think speak Urdu in old Delhi?
4. Who do you think speak Hindi in old Delhi?
5. Do you watch TV? What do you think is the language of TV news bulletins?
6. What do you think is the language of TV serials?
7. Some people think that TV news bulletin has lately started to use Urdu words? What do you think?
8. What language is used in mosques/temples?
9. Who do you think speaks best Urdu/Hindi?
10. Do you think your children speak Urdu/ Hindi?

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(iv) General Questions

1. Old Delhi is a historic city; people are proud of the history and culture of Old Delhi. I am not from Old Delhi, could you tell me a little about it.
2. A lot of people say that the old culture of Old Delhi is changing? What do you think?
3. The Metro now connects Old Delhi with other parts. How does this affect your life?
4. It has been noticed that a lot of people from Old Delhi are moving out to residential neighborhood outside of the walled city. What do you think about it? Given a chance will you move out? If yes, why? If not, why not?

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Appendix 4-B

Questionnaire on Devanagari writing system

JNU, NEW DELHI

Personal Information

Your Name: Your place of birth:

Languages you know: your mother tongue(s):

Scripts[84] you know:

1 Given below are six words written in Devanagari script. You are asked about only THREE of these words. Please answer the questions that follow them.

(1) नअत (2) शेअर (3) वसीअ

(4) क़ितआ (5) तौसीअ (6) शोअबों

Word No. (1) नअत

1 Have you seen the word **नअत** in print or writing before? Circle your answer.

(a) Yes (b) NoIf yes, do you know the meaning of it? Write the nearest meaning of the word.

.....

.....

2 How will you pronounce[85] the word **नअत**? Circle your answer.

---

[84] लिपि

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(a) On the pattern of **बात** (b) on the pattern of **नखत** (c) It is difficult to pronounce

3 Does this word look like a Hindi word? Circle your answer.
(a) Yes (b) No (c) I don't know

4 Do you think that the spelling[86] of the word follows the Nagari rules? Circle your answer.
(a) Yes (b) No (c) I don't know

5 If no, why do you think that the spelling of the word is against Nagari rules?
.....

.....

Word No. (2) शेअर

6 Have you seen the word **शेअर** in writing or print? Circle your answer.

(a) Yes (b) No

7 If yes, do you know the meaning of it? Write the nearest meaning of the word.
.....
.....

8 How will you pronounce the word **शेअर**? Circle your answer.

(a) on the pattern of **शेयर** (b) on the pattern of **शैर** (c) on the pattern of **शेर** (d) I can't pronounce it

9 Does this word look like a Hindi word? Circle your answer.
(a) Yes (b) No (c) I don't know

---

[85] उच्चारण

[86] वर्तनी

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10 Do you think that the spelling of the word follows Nagari rules? Circle your answer.

(a) Yes (b) No (c) I don't know

11 Why do you think that the spelling of the word is against Nagari rules?

.....

.....

Word No. (3) वसीअ

12 Have you seen the word वसीअ in print or writing before? Circle your answer.

(a) Yes (b) No

13 If yes, do you know the meaning of it? Write the nearest meaning of the word.

.....

.....

14 How will you pronounce the word वसीअ? Circle your answer.

(a) On the pattern of **बसी** (b) on the pattern of **वसीय** (c) It is difficult to pronounce

15 Does this word look like a Hindi word? Circle your answer.

(a) Yes (b) No (c) I don't know

16 Do you think that the spelling of the word follows Nagari rules? Circle your answer.

(a) Yes (b) No (c) I don't know

17 If no, why do you think that the spelling of the word is against Nagari rules?

.....

.....

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2 Given below are two words written in Devanagari. Which of the two do you think is correctly written? Circle the CORRECT one. If you think both of them are correct, then tick mark Column D.

Column A	Column B	Column C	Column D
नाजायज़	नाजाइज़	unlawful	Both are correct
इनआम	इनाम	prize	Both are correct
मेयर	मेअर	Mayor	Both are correct
हेअर	हेयर	hair	Both are correct
शायरी	शाइरी	poetry	Both are correct
गोआ	गोवा	Goa	Both are correct
राय	राए	opinion	Both are correct
ज़रिया	ज़रिआ	means	Both are correct
घाएल	घायल	injured	Both are correct
गाय	गाए	cow	Both are correct

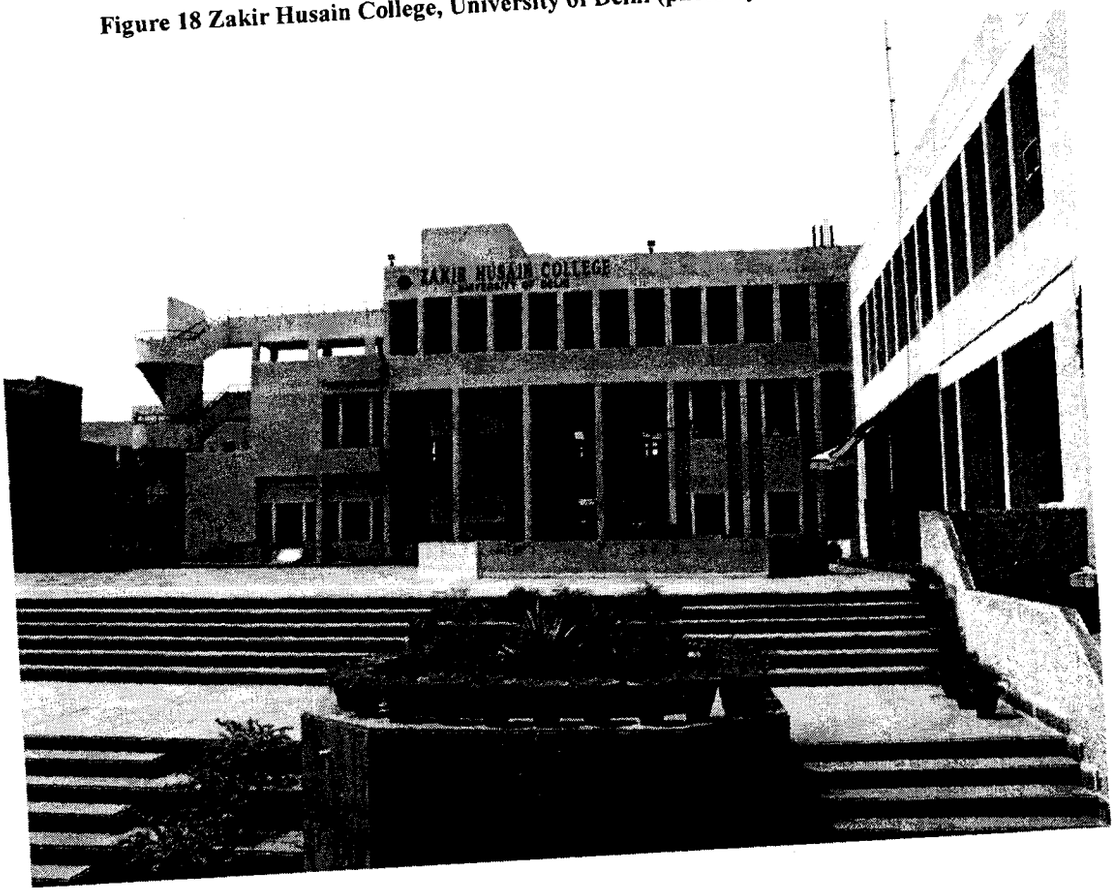
Thank you!

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Appendix 5-A

Zakir Husain College

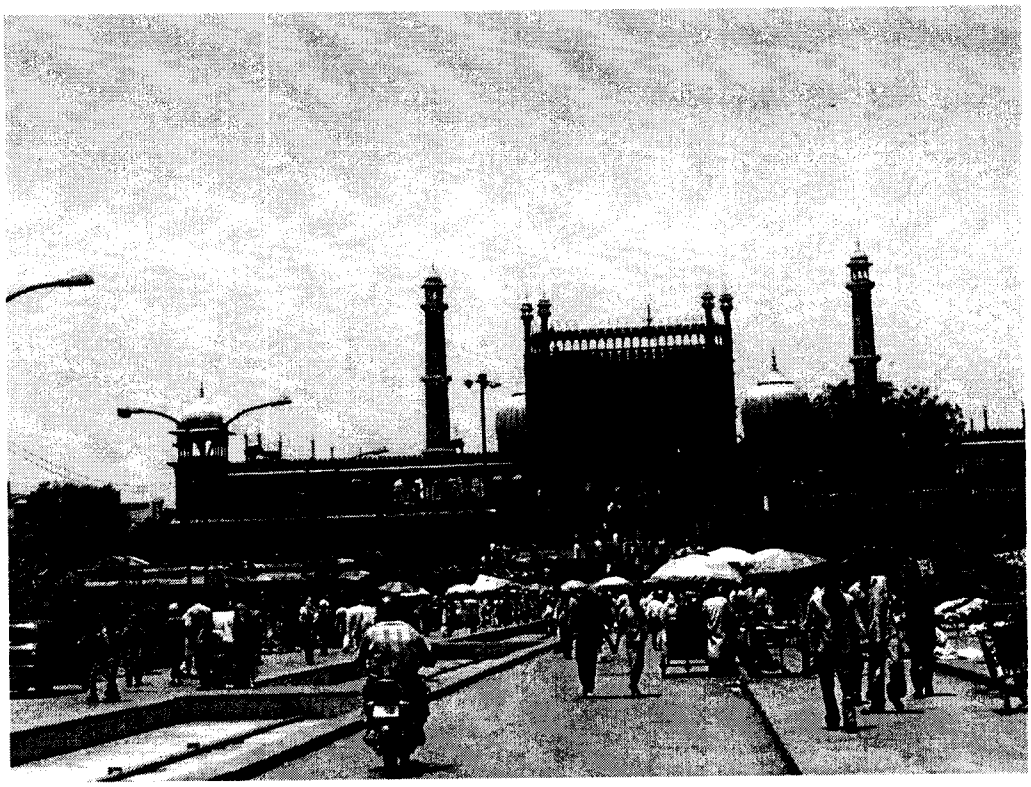
Figure 18 Zakir Husain College, University of Delhi (photo by Rizwan Ahmad)



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Appendix 5-B

Figure 19 Jāmā Masjid, Delhi (Photo by Rizwan Ahmad)



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