



Hindustani Textbooks from the Raj

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Abstract

This paper examines the development of textbooks written between 1760 and 1947 aimed at teaching the British the language which was called at one time or another Moors, Hindostans, Jargon, Hindoostanee, Hindustani, Hindi, and Urdu. It explores the ways in which the earliest 18th Century grammars were written by military officers on the basis of the language spoken by the men under their command and reflect enthusiastic involvement with Indian culture. It then proposes that this essentially sympathetic attitude was rejected in the early 19th Century in an attempt to develop Hindustani into a refined literary language with distinctive Muslim and Hindu literatures, rather than as a common means of communication. The tension between teaching language skills and studying literature is further explored in relation to the later 19th Century textbook developments. There followed new attempts to reform the teaching of Hindustani so as to move away from teaching it as a classical literary language, back towards teaching it as a colloquial language. The study makes clear that the teaching materials do not show any consistent Orientalist project, but rather reflect the many individual voices of their authors. In particular, it shows the enormous initial 18th Century enthusiasm for local India and its cultures, which was gradually displaced by a teaching of Hindustani as a literary language. However, in the 20th Century both British and Indian authors returned to teaching Hindustani as the common spoken language of the Indian military.

1 Introduction

In acquiring the hindoostanee tongue, what is your advice, speak candidly, that I may learn the language accordingly, and remain eternally obliged to you on that account. *hindee zuban kee tuhseel ke liye toomhareee kya sulah hue, saf kuho to ki muen oos ke bu moojib zuban sikhoon uor toomharee is bat ka humeshu ihsanmund ruhonga.* (Gilchrist, 1826, p. 138)

This quote from Gilchrist's 1826 edition of his *Hindoostanee Dialogues* illustrates one of the problems that faced the British in India from the 18th Century onwards. The British had to learn the language of the country they were colonising and they had to figure out how to do this. There was a clear need to write textbooks and develop techniques for teaching and learning the local language. This paper examines the development of these textbooks and how the British taught and learned the language which was called at one time or another by various names including Moors, Hindostans, Jargon, Hindoostanee, Hindustani, Hindi, and Urdu. This study covers the period from around 1765 to 1947 and shows that there were three main phases of development, 18th Century explorations of spoken Hindustani, 19th Century attempts to develop literary Hindustani, and a 20th Century return to the study of everyday spoken Hindustani. This is of interest today for two main reasons. First, for those interested in the discussion of Orientalism it acts as a counter argument to the idea of there having been a consistent colonialist project in language study during the colonial period. Second, for those involved in the teaching of Hindu/Urdu it shows the historical roots of the teaching of Hindi/Urdu as a common language with two separate literatures.

The only published monograph on the textbooks the British produced is by Tej K. Bhatia (1987), which focuses on the development of the understanding of Hindi grammar found in these texts. One of other well-known work among the few on the subject was an influential article by Bernard Cohn (1985), who wrote arguing that early 19th Century Hindustani language teaching texts could be seen as an aspect of the colonial discourse. There has also been long standing argument over the extent to which East India Company policies and Hindi/Urdu/Hindustani teaching texts themselves played a role in the development of distinct Hindi and Urdu languages; in a recent work Harish Trivedi has summarized the various positions in this debate (Trivedi, 2004). This issue is not further pursued in this article as my interest is to explore the teaching of Hindustani teaching materials themselves, rather than the debate over what constitutes Hindi or Urdu.

The modern conceptions of Hindi and Urdu developed during the period of British colonial control of India from 1765 to 1947. Nowadays the word Hindi is used to refer to the Indian national language which is often identified with Hinduism, and the word Urdu is used to refer to a language which is identified with the Muslim community in India and Pakistan. However, in terms of grammar and everyday vocabulary they are effectively the same language. However, there are two main differences. First, Hindi is written in Devanagari script and Urdu in a form of Persian Arabic script. Second, in higher register vocabulary Hindi uses words from Sanskrit and Urdu uses words derived from Persian or Arabic.

Another name which was sometimes used to refer to this language was Hindustani, but this term is no longer used as a name to designate a living language, but is associated with the British colonial period and various failed attempts to foster a compromise between Hindi and Urdu. However, the meaning of all these terms has changed over time. In this article I will treat the terms Hindustani, Hindi and Urdu as largely synonymous and mostly use the term Hindustani when speaking about the language they designate.

2 Late 18th Century military grammars

Too high (dialect) you speak.

I cannot understand.

Speak (to) that again.

Bote fuffeah toom khyuta.

Hum booj-secta ny.

P,heer oos-ko bole.

(Hadley, 1801, p. 5)

The earliest English language Hindustani teaching materials were produced by two officers, Captain George Hadley and Captain James Fergusson, both of whom were serving in the Bengal army of the East India Company in the 1760s. They differ from later works in two important respects. First, they don't teach anything resembling modern standard Hindi and, second, they relate to the sort of language an officer commanding an army for the East India Company might need to know. The language in these texts was based on a study by these officers of how the men in their command spoke, rather than by learning from a teacher or written texts. The motivation for the production of the texts was also limited in that it seems to have been imagined largely being an aid to future officers learning the language of the men under their command.

In 1772, Captain George Hadley of the Bengal Army published the second work aimed at teaching Hindustani to English speakers. In the manner of its era its title was very long, but in short it was called *Grammatical Remarks on the Practical and Vulgar Dialect of the Indostan Language commonly called the Moors* (Hadley, 1772). In the introduction to the work Hadley speaks of how he had been appointed by Clive to command a battalion of Seapoys in 1764. During these eight years of service in the East India Company he had prepared a grammar of the language of the men in his command. Hadley says that in 1770 he saw a pamphlet published in Europe called *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Moors Language* which he says was a 'mutilated embryo of my own grammatical scheme' (Hadley, 1772, p. vii). The identity of this 1770 pamphlet is not clear and this is the only reference to it in the materials studied. Whatever the earlier pamphlet may have been, it was the impetus for Hadley to publish his own work in 1772. Hadley's initial

edition consisted of a brief grammar followed by a vocabulary of two thousand words. He later published at least five more editions, and by the fifth edition of the work published in 1801, it also contained an extensive selection of dialogues.

About the same time as Hadley was publishing his grammar, a second author, Captain James Fergusson, was involved in a similar endeavour which he published in 1773 as '*A dictionary of the Hindostan language in two parts I. English and Hindostan, II. Hindostan and English. The latter containing a great variety of phrases, to point out the idiom, and facilitate the acquisition of the language*' (Fergusson, 1773). The layout of Fergusson's book is similar to Hadley's, comprising a brief grammar followed by a dictionary, but the addition of phrases to the dictionary provides considerable extra material similar to Hadley's dialogues.

If little is known about Hadley, even less is known about Captain John Fergusson, not even the dates of his birth and death. However, in the preface to his work he tells of how he learnt the language.

A natural turn for languages, improved in the course of his education, rendered the acquisition of the Hindostan less difficult to the author; but the progress he made in it he owes to the advice of Mr. John Graham, the resident of Midnapore. The gentleman early recommended the study of the language to the author, but afterwards laid him under a necessity of acquiring it, by employing him on service in the interior parts of the province, where, for fifteen months, he was totally precluded from any conversation except with that of the natives. (Fergusson, 1773, p. ii)

It is not a simple matter to say what language 'Moors' or 'Hindostans' actually represents. For instance, it appears that Fergusson compiled his phrases by asking many different men under his command how to say things. Due to this there are a variety of different linguistic forms presented in the book. It is also difficult to work out the language of the examples as Fergusson does not seem to have been able to distinguish correctly the retroflex and dental 't' and 'd' sounds found in Hindi, and totally missed the difference between aspirated and unaspirated consonant sounds. Finally, to make the problem greater still, he did not perceive word junctions correctly in many cases. However, with some effort it is still possible to reconstruct what his representation of the sounds he heard might relate to. It seems that a few of the informants spoke a language similar to modern Hindi/Urdu, but most of them spoke something which is much more akin to the Magahi dialect of Hindi spoken nowadays in central Bihar. For instance certain words, such as *gaccha* for tree are known in Magahi, but not modern standard Hindi. In addition, the past perfective construction Fergusson provides does not use *ne*, but instead has forms for the verb *karna*, to do, like *kara*, *kari kare*, which are also found in Eastern Hindi dialects today but are not in modern standard Hindi.

It seems that Hadley was also largely listening to Eastern dialect forms of Hindi, or misunderstanding what he heard. He had problems understanding some aspects of Hindi grammar and mentions in the 1801 edition of his work that the particle *ne* is "an expletive, but not inelegant, as it is used by the gentry, as *humne, tumne, oone, &c.*" (Hadley, 1801, p. 78). This was a completely wrong, but ingenious, explanation of the use of *ne*, which is a particle which marks the agent in the past perfective tenses of transitive verbs in standard Hindi/Urdu.

For Hadley and Fergusson, India was clearly a place of danger and opportunity and its peoples and cultures were seen as attractive and apparently to be considered on an equal footing with British culture. Fergusson's book reflects the range of activities a British army officer would have been engaged in during the 1760s in India. These include commanding a military force, administering justice, travelling, eating, health, leisure activities, confronting dangers, and conducting an officer's relationship with his 'Bengalee Beebee' (wife).

I desire a beautiful woman.
Madam, I am your slave.
The Bengal women are amorous.
The inner chamber shall be the nursery.
The nurse has gone into the nursery.

*My khoob sooret beebie ko mangta.
Beebie sahib my toomerra yoolam hey.
Bengaalkee beebie must hey.
Beeterka kooteree baba khonna huga.
Aia baba khonna mé gehee.*

The child sleeps in the nurse's arms.
The child grows daily.

Baba sooeta daeyka goodeemé.
Baba hirrose burta.

By the early turn of the century, however, British attitudes to relationships with Bengali women were changing fast and the second generation of Hindustani teaching texts contain no references to relationships with them.

Hadley's manual continued to be in demand up till around 1800, and by the 1801 5th edition it had been substantially rewritten. The new material in this edition of the work included a variety of dialogues clearly based on Hadley's experiences from the 1760s, on themes such as: "to rise in the morning and ride out, to speak to the groom, at breakfast, of account, to go out, to ask for dinner" etc. There are also sections on sights such as: "of a suckhee, of Mahomedan Superstitions and Ghosts, of monkeys and tygers, of serpents and elephants". He also includes substantial sections on how to command an army. They include many dialogues on topics which must have been of doubtful usefulness to later learners, such as how to command an army on a raiding party into the interior to suppress rebels. It also includes the dialogue "Of a Suckhee" which contains an entreaty to the woman going to immolate herself which starts like this:

O madam! Great grief affects (to) me on account of your sacrifice. - *Auee beebie tumaurau suckhee kawasta hum ko bhote hgunm lugta.*

It then continues:

Don't you burn.
Certainly I must (shall be to) burn; my husband is dead, in this world what is there!
Another husband.
No, Sir, I want not another; this is shameful discourse (discourse of shame).
If you repent I will give you ten seapoys to take you to the Governor at Calcutta.

Toom mut julaou.
Olbuttah hum julaouna hoga hkussum murgauca is duneea ma kea hy.
Doosrau hkussum.
Ny sauheb hum aour ny maungta e,ah sherrum kau baut.
Auggur toom toobeh kurta hum toomko dus sipauhee loge dainga kulkutteh ko burra sauheb ko paus la jaounna ko.

(Hadley, 1801, pp. 29-34)

While these early texts give fascinating insights into the world in which the English were learning Hindustani, it is not clear from them how, in the end, one could actually make use of the grammars, sentences and examples provided to acquire the language. One can only speculate that Hadley and Fergusson had originally imagined their texts being carried by officers while at work in India, thus learning Hindustani by a kind of immersion technique. In any case, by 1800 expectations had changed. The publisher S. Rousseau says in his introduction to the 1801 edition of Hadley that,

It is (without the least pretension to erudition) an immediate temporary, local assistant to such persons as have not either inclination, abilities, or time, to enter into a more intense, accurate, and laborious disquisition on the Eastern languages, that they may on their arrival communicate their wants in the common occurrences of life. (Hadley, 1801, p. viii)

He furthermore advertises on its title page that it was "improved, and much enlarged by Mirza Mohammed Fitrut, A native of Lucknow, who instructs Gentlemen going to the East Indies in the Persian, Arabic, and Hindostanee Languages" (Hadley, 1801, title page). So it appears that by this time those intending to go to India could buy this book in the Strand in London and begin with private lessons there from Mirza Mohammed before their departure to India. It seems Mirza Mohammed may have been the first Indian teacher of Indian languages in London.

The relationship between Hadley's work and more scholarly studies of Indian languages is also nicely made clear in the preface to the 1801 edition of the work. Here the author relates that he had

given a copy of his grammar to Sir William Jones on Jones' return from India, who read it and said 'this book is small change of immediate use: mine is bank notes, with which in his pocket a man may starve' (Hadley, 1801, p. vii). I imagine that Hadley gave this quote as a testimonial to his work as it testified to the way in which one of the greatest linguists of the day judged it to be of immediate practical use, even if it was of no great value. Even for anybody who has tried to use a high denomination note today in rural India, it also rings true, as often it is much more useful to have small change than big notes.

In new regulations introduced in 1800, those intending to serve in India had to pass examinations in one or more Indian languages and this greatly affected the content of what most students of Hindustani were seeking to learn. The 1801 edition of Hadley mentions this change at its end:

[...] a Resolution has been passed by the Board, That, after the Commencement of the Year 1801, no Servants whatever should be advanced to a Situation of Trust or Responsibility who is not conversant in the Language and Jurisprudence of the Settlement. Times, Feb. 3. 1800. (Hadley, 1801, p. 106)

It was to mark the end of the utility of Hadley and Fergusson's texts as the examinations were not designed to simply test the ability of a British officer to speak to men under his command, but rather to translate set texts, of which more will be said later. With the decline in the popularity of the works by Hadley and Fergusson following the introduction of the examination their printing ceased.

3 Gilchrist and other early 19th Century authors

An important milestone in the study of and teaching of Hindustani had been reached in 1796 when John Borthwick Gilchrist published a work called *A Grammar of the Hindoostanee Language*. It had three features that set it apart from Hadley's and Fergusson's works. To begin with, Gilchrist was the first English language author to give a fairly accurate account of the grammar of modern standard Hindi and Urdu. Secondly, he quoted from authors of literary works, rather than everyday speakers as Hadley and Fergusson had done. Thirdly, when giving examples he used both a system of transliteration which he had invented and, in some of his publications, the Urdu and Devanagari scripts.

John Borthwick Gilchrist (1759-1841) was born in Edinburgh and having qualified as a doctor became a surgeon in the employ of the East-India Company. He went to Calcutta in 1783 and lived in India until ill health forced him to return in 1804. After staying in Edinburgh for some years, in 1816 he moved to London and began to teach oriental languages until 1826, when he handed over to Sandford Arnot and Duncan Forbes.

He published numerous works from 1796 onwards, and up to 1826 was still producing new works, which were evidently very influential. He said in the introduction to his work entitled *The Anti-Jargonist or a short introduction to the Hindoostanee language*.

The reader will have at the end of these pages an opportunity of comparing the "court language," or "mongrel Persian," which I am accused of introducing, with the "Jargon" that Messrs. Hadley and Fergusson taught; and which, Mr. Forster asserts, is used by "ninety-nine in a hundred" of the illiterate Moosalmans in India. (Gilchrist, 1800, pp. ii-iii)

This distinction between Jargon and court language is basically seen by Gilchrist as between the language of the masses and that of educated men and he saw it as essential for the British to speak in the manner of educated men. Indeed he says in his 1825 *The General East India Guide and Vade Mecum* that for 50 years he has laboured so "a supposed jargon has been raised to the rank of a refined popular tongue" (Gilchrist, 1825, p. 599).

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, the teaching of Hindustani was being carried out in a number of locations in India and in Britain. In India, it was being taught at the College of Fort William in Calcutta, which was in operation from 1800 to 1830. The East India Company Board

also established a college for military students at Addiscombe, near Croydon, in England which ran from 1809-1858 where Hindustani was taught along with other subjects. In addition the East India Company founded the East India Company College, commonly called Haileybury, near Hertford, which ran from 1805-1858.

The fortunes of each institute varied greatly. For instance, at the beginning of the 1826 edition of Gilchrist's *Hindoostanee Dialogues*, the author notes that the "odious monopoly of Haileybury College has for three years been suspended due to the Haileybury College Suspension Act" (Gilchrist, 1826, p. viii). Gilchrist argued in favour of the establishment of a new university in London, which when it was established as University College was where his students Arnot and Forbes became the first Professors of Hindustani at London University.

The respect for Gilchrist's works from his contemporaries is reflected in the advice by Captain Williamson, who wrote in his 1810 *East India Vade Mecum* that those intending to go to India should purchase the whole of Gilchrist's works to study (Williamson, 1810, p. ix). After this, Williamson continued, they should spend a year studying the language when they arrived in India. Study should be done each morning for an hour and in the evening for a couple of hours.

[This] under the guidance of an intelligent linguist, may enable the student to make a wonderful progress; especially when combined with the resolution to enter as much as possible into familiar colloquy in that language. (Williamson, 1810, p. 177)

Gilchrist himself in his revised edition of the *Vade Mecum* of 1825 recommends studying whilst on the ship going to India for some hours a day, after having previously bought copies of his books to take on the voyage (Gilchrist, 1825, pp. 688-689). He adds:

[...] for several years past, every adventurer to India has been able easily to procure free access to Gilchrist's gratuitous lectures in London on those two languages, Hindoostanee and Persian. Thus by punctual attendance from the short space of a few weeks to six or twelve months, nearly one thousand students have acquired, not only enough to enable them to prosecute their philological labour successfully while at sea. (Gilchrist, 1825, p. 37)

Perhaps the best advice on how a student was to study with an Indian teacher is to be found in the section of Gilchrist's *Hindoostanee Dialogues*, "studying with a Moonshee", where he recommends starting study with a 'secretary, native teacher, or moonshee' by asking:

Pray, sir, in your opinion, whether is the hindoostanee or persian language the most difficult?
kuho sahib, toomharee danist men hindee zuban ki farsee kuonsee ziyadu mooshkil hue?

A couple of things are of note here. First, the teacher is not being addressed politely. As Gilchrist, himself, had pointed out in his 1825 text, it is most polite to use the plural *āp* form of address, less so to use the *tum* form of address – as suggested here - and insulting to address a person of status with the personal *tū* (Gilchrist, 1825, p. 568). Second, although in English he calls the language *hindoostanee* (he never uses capital letters), in the transliterated text he calls it *hindee*, i.e. Hindi.

After a consideration of the difficulty of the two languages, phrases are presented to help the student, such as those below, which reveal the learning difficulties anticipated in the endeavour:

what does this word signify?
put it in a common sentence or two, and i shall,
from the tenor of the discourse, find out the
meaning of it.
show me how you pronounce this letter.

is lufz kee kya mu,unee?
ek ya do moostu umul joomle men ise kuho to
muen batcheet ke qureene se iske mu,unee
duryaft karoonga.
moojhe buta,o toom is hurf ko kyoonkur tuluf-
fooz kurte ho.

The universal frustrations of language learners confronted with native speaker expertise are also evident in the requests for explanation and expressions of complete exasperation.

if you speak slow then I may comprehend you;
you forget that I am but a beginner, and cannot
understand those who speak so fast.

what are you thinking of?
for god's sake attend to this difficult passage.

ask me the hindoostanee names of every thing
you can see or think of; that will be most use-
ful to me at first.

I am very much tired; you may go away now
but return at four in the afternoon.

jo toom ahuste bolo to muen toomharee bat
sumjhoon, toom bhoolte ho muen sirf moob-
tuduee hoon uor we jo itna juld bolte hue noon
kee bat muen sumujh nuheen sukta.

toom kis khiyal men ho?
khooda ke waste toom is mooshkil muoqu,u pur
ghuor kuro.

jo cheezen toom dekho ya thuhra,o, oon ke nam
toom moojh se pooch,ha karo ; puhle wooh ke
mere huqq men buhoot moofeed hoga.

muen buhoot mandu houu,a hoon, toom ub ja,o,
lekin teesre puhur char ghante ke wuqt phir a.o.

By the early nineteenth century the structure of the learning process which students were expected to follow was clear. First they had to learn the grammar and the vocabulary, and then practice translation from and into Hindi. This was to be done, ideally, while first attending lectures in London by Gilchrist or one of his students, then on the voyage out, and then finally in India, while studying with a native teacher. Despite the contact with native speakers, and expectations of real-life use, the learning process was similar to the study of a classical language.

The study content and process was also influenced by the content of the examinations introduced at the turn of the century. The examinations that cadets arriving in India had to pass before they could take up service were administered by the Officers of the College of Fort William. Gilchrist furnishes his students with the following information about what was required for success.

1. A well-grounded knowledge of the general principles of grammar.
2. The ability to read and write with facility the modified Persian character of the Oordoo, and the Devi Nagree of the K,hurree Bolee.
3. A colloquial knowledge of the Oordoo and Hin-doo,ee, sufficient to enable him to explain with facility, and at the moment, any orders in those dialects, or to transpose reports, letters, &c. from them into English. The tests by which these qualifications are to be tried—are, 1. By well-selected questions, not of the niceties, but of the general leading principles of grammar.
2. By viva voce conversation with the examiners.
3. By written translations into Hindoostanee, in both characters, of selected orders, or rules and regulations.
4. By reading and translating the Bagho-Buhar in Hindoostanee; the Prem Sagur in K.hurree Bolee; and the Goolistan or Unwar-i Sohuelee in Persian. It will be the duty of Committees of Examination to ascertain the attainments of candidates by the foregoing rules; and their reports are to specify the proficiency of the party examined, under each of those heads. (Gilchrist, 1825, p. 643)

The issue that became a sticking point for many years was the ability to read the set texts listed above. Created under Gilchrist's direction at Fort William College, the *Bagh O Bahar* (Bagho-Buhar in the earlier transliteration system used above) was in a highly Persianised form of Hindustani, and the *Prem Sagar* in a Sanskritised form of Hindi, both of which were quite unrelated to any form of Hindustani spoken by most Indians at the time. However, use of these set texts continued and it was not until the 1860s that they were removed from the examination syllabus. The *Bagh O Bahar*, or "The Tale of the Four Dervishes", is a collection of tales translated from Persian into Urdu by Mir Amman (Pritchett, 2005). That it was popular can be seen from the fact it was published in at least 30 editions up to 1900 (King, 1994, p. 28). However, most probably its popularity was to a great degree due simply to the fact that it was a set text for the examinations, although it is also a collection of very entertaining stories. The *Prem Sagar* by Lallu Lal was a Khari Boli Hindi prose translation of a work in Braj Bhasa verse, which was itself a version of a life of Krishna based on the Sanskrit text the *Bhagavata Purana* (King, 1994, p. 27). The popularity of this work was also probably due to a mixture of it being a set text in the examinations and the widespread appeal of the subject matter of the stories themselves.

Gilchrist was an extraordinary figure in the development of Hindustani learning. To a great degree, he can be regarded as both the author of the most popular instructional works in the language, such as his *Hindoostanee Dialogues* and of the most scholarly account of its grammar, for example, in his *A Grammar of the Hindoostanee Language*. However, he was not the only author of Hindi teaching texts during this period. In 1808 Capt. Joseph Taylor and Dr. William Hunter published *A dictionary of Hindoostanee and English* in Calcutta. According to a review published in the *Asiatic Journal* this rapidly became hard to obtain and was then largely absorbed into John Shakespear's *A Dictionary, Hindustani and English* published in London in 1817 (*Asiatic Journal*, April, 1817, p. 346). John Shakespear (1774–1858) also published a *Hindustani Grammar* from 1813 onwards, and it is clear that he saw his work as a successor to that of Gilchrist.

Since the very copious and original Grammar of the Hindustani Language, published by Dr. Gilchrist at Calcutta in 1796, has become out of print, the students of that useful dialect, though much increased in numbers by the provident arrangements of the Honourable East-India Company, have been able to obtain an elementary work for their aid in acquiring a knowledge of the characters, as the same time with the grammatical rules of the language. (Shakespear, 1813, p. v)

Shakespear served as Professor of Hindustani at the East-India Company training college at Addiscombe from its establishment in 1809 to his retirement in 1829. By 1826 his text was already into its third edition; and a revised version appeared in 1843 which included a section on Dakhani Urdu. A sixth edition published in 1855. The popularity of his books is clear from an early Indian guidebook, Stocqueler's *Hand Book for India and Egypt* of 1841, in which the author says:

Opinions were long divided as to the best books to be provided with, whether those of Dr. Gilchrist or Mr. Shakespear, both celebrated authors; those of Mr. Shakespear are, however, most in vogue, and it cannot be denied that they will be found most useful. A few lessons before a party sails would be found of benefit, and he will then be able to study without much difficulty during the voyage. (Stocqueler, 1841, p. 404)

Another highly influential work of this time was a collection of phrases published in Calcutta in 1837 by an unknown author ("The English and Hindustani Students Assistant", 1837). This appears to have been intended equally for use by Hindustani speakers learning English and by English speakers learning Hindustani. It has no introduction and the material is simply grouped into five sections on, respectively, substantives, adjectives, verbs, irregular verbs, and "Of trade, &c." In the first four sections the phrases are arranged alphabetically by the key words in their English versions. The sometimes odd results of this organisation of the text can be seen from in this example from page 130.

Meet me at Maulavi Sayid's house tomorrow.

I walked four miles, and met no one.

Having met, we conversed about it.

Kal Maulavi Sayid ke ghar men mujh se to mulaqat karo.

Main do kos chala gaya ek bhi na dekha.

Ham ne mulaqat karke us muqaddame ki batchit ki.

It is hard to believe this organisation would have been helpful to students, and the translation of the English 'met no one' for the Hindi 'saw no one', must certainly have perplexed if not exasperated the diligent learner. The final section comprises a set of dialogues about trade in Calcutta. It is not likely to have been of great use, either, as it refers to many very dated specific financial arrangements only current before around 1830. For instance.

What is the discount on the Company's paper in the Bazar?

If you purchase the Company's paper of 6 per cent. interest, the discount is two rupees six annas. – If you sell, it is two rupees eight annas.

Bazar men Kampani ke kaghaz par kya batta hai?

Chha rupaiye saikra Kampani ke kaghaz mol lene men do rupaiya chha ane ; aur bechne men do rupaiya ath ane batta hai.

However, despite its limitations, this work was surprisingly very successful indeed. It formed the basis for further works prepared under C. P. Brown's directions in Madras in 1855, and constitutes about half of the very popular Forbes' *Hindustani Manual* first published in 1845. In the preface to his *English & Hindustani Phraseology* C. P. Brown says:

Amongst the various School Books published at Madras an explanation of English Phraseology was wanting. I therefore took a volume printed at Calcutta in English and Bengali, and caused it to be translated into Telegu and Dakhani Hindustani. (Brown, 1855)

The latter part of the work presents a set of independent dialogues which illustrate a courteous and contemporary interaction between the British in Madras and the locals. Consider, for instance this part of a dialogue between 'A Gentleman and a Moonshee' (the Hindustani is a rough transliteration of the Urdu script in the original text):

Good morning, Sir.	salām sāhib
Good morning, - What is your name ? – What do you come for ?	salām āpkā isme sharif kyā hai āp kis liye tashrif laye hain
My name is Abdur Rahim I heard, Sir, you were in want of a pandit ; therefore am come to offer my services.	ism tasharif (kā nām) abdur rahim hai bandagi sāhib sunā hai ki āpko ek munshī kī zarurat hai is liye hazir hua.

(Brown, 1855, p. 226)

The tone in this kind of dialogue is very different from Gilchrist's manner of conversing with his local teachers and much more akin to that in the earlier works by Hadley and Fergusson. This I would suggest was the result of the close and sympathetic collaboration between C. P. Brown and the Southern Indian Pandits he was working with in a joint effort to create a revival in the Telegu Language (Schmitthenner, 2001).

A final influential figure in the field during the first half of the 19th Century was James Ballantyne, who wrote a work entitled *A Grammar of the Hindustani Language* in 1838. In the introduction to his book, Ballantyne mentions that "the idiomatical peculiarities of the language have been successfully systematized by the labours of Dr Gilchrist, Mr Shakespear, and others" and this is an improvement over a previous time when people spent years "blundering in the attempt to 'pick up' the language colloquially among the natives". He continues:

I speak from experience, having had amongst my pupils gentlemen who had passed from eight to ten years in India, and who were yet unable to either to construct a sentence accurately, or to explain the principles of construction in those common place phrases they had learned by rote. (Ballantyne, 1838, p. vii)

Ballantyne's book was selected to be a textbook for the Hindustani class in the Scottish Naval and Military academy in Edinburgh (Ballantyne, 1838, p. ix), yet another context in which Hindustani had begun to be studied.

4 Duncan Forbes and the mid 19th Century

The next generation of Hindustani textbooks can be related to the work of Duncan Forbes (1798-1868). Forbes was from Perthshire in Scotland and after gaining an M.A. in 1823 from St Andrews University, he attended the Calcutta academy from 1824 to 1826. However, due to ill health he then returned to London, where he became assistant to Gilchrist and then to Mr. Arnot, another student of Gilchrist's. He first published his influential *Hindustani Manual* in 1845. This has been one of the most influential Hindustani teaching texts ever published, continuing in print up to at least 1923. In another text, *Hindustani Grammar*, published in 1846, he reveals the place he intends for his work:

In the compilation of this volume, my greatest obligations are due to the works of the late Dr. Gilchrist, whose fame, as the restorer and prime cultivator of the Hindustani language, will last, as his friend Mir Amman has it, “while the Ganga and the Jamuna flow downwards.” I have also availed myself of the Grammars of the Rev. Mr. Yeates, of Calcutta, and of Muhammad Ibrahim, of Bombay. Last, but not least, the valuable little Grammar by my friend Dr. Ballantyne, of Benares, served me as a regular index of all that was useful in the language. The Grammar of the late Mr. Arnot, although intended for the groundwork of the present, I found to be too concise in general to answer my purpose. From all these I cheerfully acknowledge to have procured materials, but the design and structure, and much that is new and original in the work, I claim as my own. (Forbes, 1846, p. viii)

Forbes’ *Hindustani Grammar* and his *Hindustani Manual* become the main Hindustani textbooks used by the British for the greater part of the 19th Century. Indeed, they were still being used as textbooks as late as 1905, as the Crosby Lockwood & Son catalogue for September 1905 notes that “Dr. Forbes’ Works are used as Class Books in the Colleges and Schools in India” (Chapman, 1907).

The 1837 “Student’s assistant” mentioned above, which had no credited author, also formed the basis for part two of Duncan Forbes’ *Hindustani Manual*, and he notes in his preface to the new edition of 1850 that the second part of the manual is based on “a work printed at Calcutta, several years ago, apparently with a view to teach the natives English” (Forbes, 1904, p. vi). Moreover, other parts of the *Hindustani Manual* are clearly selections from Gilchrist’s dialogues. Forbes’ claim to have ‘compiled’ the book he, nonetheless, strongly asserts is his own, is no understatement.

The relationship between Forbes’ works and more scholarly studies presented during the nineteenth century changed over time. From 1845 to around 1860, his *Hindustani Grammar* represented a fairly good example of academic understandings of Hindustani grammar, but by the 1860s Forbes’ Grammar had been left behind as separate scholarly studies of Hindi and Urdu came to be written, and in the later part of the century two more scholarly studies appeared, one by John Dowson and the other by John Platts.

J. Dowson was the Professor of Hindustani at University College London and then at the Staff College of the Sandhurst Military Academy from 1855 to 1877. In 1872 he wrote a work called *A Grammar of the Urdu or Hindustani Language*, the next link in the chain of descriptive and analytical scholarship to which he claimed to be a part.

Urdu or Hindustani Grammar has been developed and reduced to a system by Englishmen, or under their supervision. From Gilchrist to Shakespear, and from Shakespear to Yates, Arnot, and Forbes, each new Grammar has thrown new light upon the language, and has lightened the labour of learning it. (Downson, 1872, p. ix)

He claimed his own work as being a successor to the earlier works and claimed that his work gave a more accurate understanding of the grammar of the language than previous works. However, Dowson’s work is little remembered now as it was immediately displaced by the work of John T. Platts.

John. T. Platts is remembered today both for his *A Dictionary Of Urdu, Classical Hindi And English* (1884) which is still in print and in regular use today by scholars of Hindi and Urdu, and his *A Grammar of the Hindustani or Urdu Language*, which was first published in 1873. This latter work became the standard Urdu reference grammar for many years and is still being reprinted in India. Platts’ contribution is also important in that it is the next logical link in the succession of British Grammars of Hindustani. What is distinctive, however, is this move away from the tradition of claiming authority for his work on the basis of it being an advance on previous Western scholarship, claiming instead authority for his work because it was based on grammars written by Indian scholars.

[...] published in recent years by native scholars: e.g. the Urdu Grammar of M. Imam Bakhsh of the Delhi College; the Kawa'idul'mubtadi of M. Karimu'd-din; the Kawai'ide Urdu (a work published under the authority of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India). (Platts, 1878, p. ix)

He also indicates that the examples he uses are drawn from modern works and contemporary newspapers, rather than the earlier grammars themselves and the old set texts. He says he does this because the old set texts no longer, if they ever did, reflect current usage.

[...] the Bag O Bahar and a few other works compiled about the same comparatively remote period – works which, however excellent they may be, can hardly be supposed to furnish examples of all the constructions and idioms current even in their day, much less of those now in use. (Platts, 1878, pp. viii-ix)

Platts revised Forbes' *Hindustani Manual* and the edition edited by him first appeared in 1874. However, the revisions were mostly changes to the transliteration which reflect new conventions in how to represent Hindustani in Roman script. Indeed, even by the time of the 22nd edition published in 1918, Forbes' text (which includes text he borrowed from Gilchrist) remains largely unchanged. By 1918 the *Hindustani Manual* had again been revised, this time by M. Y. Ja'fari, the Head of the Board of Examiners Calcutta. In his preface, Ja'fari wrote that his main aim "has been to make it an up-to-date elementary book" and that he has removed all the obsolete words found in the 1874 edition by John Platts. (Forbes, 1918, p. iii). While no doubt improved by these various updates, even the 1918 Forbes' *Hindustani Manual* remained basically the same odd mix of materials that had appeared in the original, including the even earlier Gilchrist dialogues and materials from other early Grammars. For instance, consider these three versions of dialogues related to breakfasting.

	Gilchrist (Gilchrist, 1826, p. 61)	Platts (Forbes, 1904, p. 68)	Ja'fari (Forbes, 1918, p. 65)
get the breakfast equipage ready, [again]	hazree ka saman [phir] tueyar kuro.	hazri ka saman taiyar karo.	hazri ka saman tai- yar karo.
does the water boil toast some bread, and butter it prop- erly.	pane khuolta hue? kooch rote senko uor oos pur uch-chhee turuh mukkhun lugao.	pani khaulta hai? kucch roti senko, aur us par acchchhi tarah makkhan lagao.	pani khaulta hai? kucch roti senko, aur us par acchchhi tarah makkhan la- gao.

The remarkable thing in such sentences is how little has changed. The main change is simply that Gilchrist's transliteration system has been replaced by a new convention established by the time of Platts. There is no real evidence to show that the sounds being represented had actually changed. So *pane khuolta hue?* and *pani khaulta hai?* are both the same phrase, only the transliteration has changed. Even the dialogue about buying and selling company paper from the 1837 *Student's Assistant* is still in Platts' version of the Forbes' *Hindustani Manual* and the 1918 Ja'fari revision of the book (Forbes, 1918, p. 89), despite the practice of transferring money back to England in this way having ended by the 1830s.

There are, however, also interesting changes to the materials in the book which go deeper than mere revision in the standards of transliteration. The changes are interesting because they reflect greater politeness in dealing with the native teachers. Thus the Munshi is now addressed with the polite *āp* pronoun and imperative forms rather than the *tum* pronoun and imperative forms. For instance in these sentences concerning studying with a Munshi.

	Gilchrist (Gilchrist, 1826, p. 139)	Platts (Forbes, 1904, p. 79)
your business is to teach me	toomhara yuhee kam hue ki	āp kā yihi kām hai ki sahīh

the real pronunciation and practice of the language

tell me short history, the news of the day, [do any thing but sit silent.]

unless we speak much together, how can I learn to speak?

suheeh tuluffooz uor zuban ka istiumal moojhe sikhao

ek mookhtusur qissu, ya aj kul kee khubur kuho, [ya uor kooch pur choop mut buetho.]

ugur hum bahum khoob gooftogoo nu kuren, to muen bok chal kyoonkur seek-hoonga?

talaffuz aur zabān ki rabt mujhe sikhāwen

ek mukhtasar kissa, ya aj kal ki khabar mujh se kahiye; kyun ki

agar ham baham khub guftagu na Karen to main bolna kyunkar sikhunga?

The set texts for the examinations were revised in the 1860s. The rationale for this was made clear by C. S. Trevelyan, who wrote a report to the government on the revision of the set texts in which he said

There is one common language which is spoken in our camps and bazaars, and is understood, more or less, by everybody, high and low, in town and country. This popular dialect is as far removed from the high-flown Persian diction of the Bagh-o-Bahar, as it is from the pedantic Sanscritized idiom of the Prem Sagar, from which even the Persian and Arabic words in most ordinary daily use have been carefully eliminated. These books were written in languages manufactured by the Moonshes and Pundits of Fort William, according to certain ideal standards of former days. They are unintelligible to the body of the People; and, after passing the examination, a student is still unable to communicate freely with them.

(Trevelyan, 1864)

The new examinations were also based largely on set texts, but texts which were created to more accurately reflect the Hindi and Urdu used at the time. They included newly composed texts designed specifically to be studied for the purposes of the examinations. Notable amongst them were works such as a Hindi version by Raja Lachhman Singh of the classical Indian Sanskrit play *Shakuntala* by Kalidasa, and a collection of pieces on everyday life called the *Urdu Roz-Marra*, or 'Every-day Urdu', which was written specifically to be the set text for the lower level examinations in Hindustani.

Another major development in the study the languages of Northern India by the British for professional use was the development of a separate stream of Hindi grammars such as those of Rev. S. H. Kellog of 1875 onwards and that of Frederick Pincott from 1882. The Hindi Grammar of the Rev. Kellog which was first published in 1875 is still in use today. The great utility of Kellog's work is that it includes not only standard Hindi forms but also versions from around a dozen Hindi dialects. Both at the time of its publication and today, this has made it unsurpassed as a compact reference grammar. Indeed, no later work of its size presents this kind of survey.

From the preface to the second edition of Kellog's grammar, written in 1892, we also know that it had become a prescribed text for candidates for the India Civil Service during the period 1875 to 1892. Significantly, in the second edition, examples for syntax drawn from the *Prem Sagar* of Lallu Lal have been replaced with examples drawn from the Hindi translation of the *Shakuntala* of Kalidas mentioned above (Kellog, 1965, p. vi). Fredrick Pincott's 1882 Hindi grammar appeared in at least six editions up to around 1908. Like Kellog, part of Pincott's success was due to the fact that 'Every Hindi sentence and example in the book is taken from some work (mostly of a recent date) by a native Hindu of a Hindi speaking district' (Pincott, 1908, p. vi)

What is not addressed in works like Kellog's and Pincott's, however, is how they could be used as textbooks to learn usable Hindi/Urdu/Hindustani. It can only be assumed that the uniform approach was one heavily influenced by the traditional methods of studying a classical language, in which a student was meant first to master the grammar of the language with the aid of these grammars, and then to practice translation into and out of the language until proficient. Yet it was not that methods of language learning were not being hotly debated. Indeed, by the end of the 19th Century there are strong indications of dissatisfaction with standard learning techniques. For in-

stance, writing on the topic of how to learn Hindustani in his 1895 *Indian Missionary Manual. Hints to young missionaries in India*, John Murdoch says that the first year is the most critical in the acquisition of a language. He advises that “The Wrong Method of Study is to study in the same manner in which the readers studied Latin or Greek” whilst “The Right Method” is to learn whole sentences, not words, by memorisation, and the starting point should be “a set of strictly practical sentences, embodying two hundred of the most useful words” and, having found a good *munshi*, to begin with the spoken language rather than the written word (Murdoch, 1895, pp. 63-65).

The tradition of writing military grammars also continued during the late 19th and early 20th Centuries and as well as the use of Forbes’ *Hindustani Manual* other works began to be written to supplement it. For instance Phillott in the introduction to his own *Hindustani Manual* says that his new work is designed to replace Forbes’ *Hindustani Manual* (Phillott, 1910, p. iii). Phillott also speaks at length in his introduction of the difference between the old practices of language learning and the new approach taught by a certain Professor Rosenthal. Professor Richard S. Rosenthal was the author of a number of language teaching texts, including text books for Spanish (Rosenthal, 1883), French (Rosenthal, 1901) and German (Rosenthal, 1905). The need for a change and the introduction of new techniques, Phillott argued, was because.

Under the old-fashioned system, the student was first taught the grammar. He learnt to decline and conjugate, and was laboriously taught rules and exceptions. He was taught the theory of the language, not the language itself. He was then made to study the literature with the aid of a dictionary, colloquial being generally ignored. After three or four years of such drudgery, not a single student, unless he had been abroad or practiced talking with foreigners, was able to carry on the simplest conversation. (Phillott, 1910, p. vii).

It is a very modern problem, one which reflects clearly the shift in objective from language study as a means of broadening the mind to that of practical proficiency for the conduct of everyday life.

Phillott points out how waiters in continental hotels and immigrants to the USA rapidly learn to speak without learning any grammar, and then asserts, “something therefore must be wrong in a system that in several years fails to teach as much as can be picked up without study in six months.” The new system he advocates is focused away from the visual and, instead is based on an audio-visual method. To begin with, simple but rather long sentences played on a gramophone are listened to and repeated whilst reading the text. These exercises are to be repeated four or five times a day for 15 to 20 minutes at a time, and only then is the systematic study of grammar to be taken up. This is a truly revolutionary approach and one he claimed was considerably more economical from the learner’s point of view.

The old method of preparing, say, 30 lines of Virgil, was to give a boy a dictionary and an hour to prepare the task. The boy spent an hour laboriously looking up every word in a large dictionary and as often as not in selecting the wrong meaning. (Dictionaries are for people who know something of a language; not for beginners who cannot even talk). Next, the boy spent an hour in a class with a master, a first-class teacher, in unlearning most of what he has acquired his hour of solitary and painful study. (Phillott 1910, p. xi)

By contrast the modern system ...

[...] and a wise system it is, is to use a translation. In an hour, instead of 30 lines, 100 lines are read, and the meaning of the author being intelligibly expressed, is at once understood: nothing has to be unlearned, and a good deal of the day’s lesson sticks in the memory. (Phillott, 1910, p. xi)

The nature of the examinations also continued to change and the reliance on translating set literary texts continued to decline. Major F. R. H. Chapman, instructor in Hindustani at the Royal Military College Camberly wrote a book in 1907 called *How to Learn Hindustani. A Guide to the Lower and Higher Standard Examinations* (Chapman, 1907). In this he included numerous pas-

sages drawn from earlier examinations of the period. For instance a passage for translation at the lower standard from Calcutta begins:

We walked to our hotel from the railway station, as we heard it was only about ten or twelve minutes's walk, and it was a cool morning. (Chapman, 1907, p. 123)

This is a million miles away from having to translate passages from the *Bagh O Bahar* under the old system. The tasks demanded of learners of Hindustani, and candidates in the examinations had turned full circle, back to those which originally motivated Hadley and Fergusson and intended to enable officers to speak to men under their command.

5 Military grammars 1917-1947

The teaching of Hindustani took a radical turn with the development of grammars of Hindustani designed to provide a functional ability to communicate in Hindustani during the First World War. All the earlier grammars had followed essentially a similar structure: they dealt in a set order with the alphabet, then the parts of speech, and then introduced translation exercises. In none of them was there any attempt at a graduated, lesson-by-lesson introduction of grammatical forms mixed with exercises to practice. Two works broke out of this older model completely and seem to have been extremely successful. One was "*The Munshi*". *A standard Hindustani Grammar*, by Mohamed Akbar Khan Haidari (hereafter: Haidari), first published in 1917, and *Saihgals Hindustani Grammar*, by Mool Chand Saihgal, also first published in 1917. Haidari was the Urdu Instructor at the Young Officers' school in Ambala, and Saihgal was the regimental Munshi at the Officers School of Instruction at Sabathu, in the Simla Hills of Punjab. Both authors' works went through numerous editions and sold in large numbers during the following years. Indeed, "*The Munshi*" was in continuous publication from 1917 until at least its 18th edition, which was published from Karachi in 1961 as "*The Munshi*". *A Standard Urdu Grammar*. The most recent edition I have seen is the 16th edition of 1944, which states on its cover that it had sold 80,000 copies so far. *Saihgals Hindustani Grammar* was also in continuous publication from 1917 to at least 1964 when it was appearing as *Saihgals Modern Hindi Grammar (with Full Exercises and Vocabulary)* published in the Punjab.

Both works are basically aimed at those who needed to pass the Lower, Higher, and Colloquial Examinations in Hindustani. In other words, the learners were partly motivated by the desire to learn Hindustani so that they could speak with their men, and partly by the need to pass the required examinations. Nor should we imagine that the period of time students spent studying was very long in many cases. There are a number of testimonials from students at the beginning of the 1918 3rd edition of Haidari's book which suggest that to pass a lower standard examination; a student might need to do about four hours independent study a day for a period of around four to eight weeks combined with tutorial meetings with a Munshi.

In terms of pedagogical developments, in these books Saihgal stated in the introduction to his 1918 second edition that there are four points which have made it so successful. First, "It is absolutely free from pedantic expressions"; second, it contains "simple and clear explanations of all the elementary Grammatical rules"; third, it has "the progressive arrangement of all exercises for translation, which will gradually prepare the student for general and fluent conversation"; and it contains 1200 military sentences grouped in exercises and a 2000-word vocabulary (Saihgal, 1918, p. i).

Perhaps one of the most striking things about the approach that Saihgal takes is that, after dealing with the alphabet and pronunciation, he moves immediately to imperative sentences, thus allowing students to begin straight away practicing active use of the language. The book contains 45 lessons containing grammar topics and exercises which then lead on to various collections of passages to translate, such as these from exercise LVI in the section called "Military Exercises".

1. They captured the Russian lines and advanced about 9 miles. 2. We repulsed the enemy and repeated counter attacks all day long. 3. We carried the whole Austrian defences. 4. Six guns were captured on our portion of the front. 5. Our troops made a successful raid last night south-east of Lille capturing 14 men and inflicting heavy losses. 6. We dropped 62 bombs on the Railway during the night. 7. We brought down three enemy machines. (Saihgai, 1918, p. 124)

The approach taken by Haidari is somewhat different, but he also explains in the preface to his book that it is based on his experience teaching for thirty years, and his observation that previous books were not

systematically arranged, nor did they give in a simple form and in proper sequence the rules of grammar [...] some of these books contained no exercises at all, while others included exercises arranged without reference to the foregoing rules of grammar, and were not graduated from simplicity in the form of easy sentences to difficulty [...] In the “Munshi” therefore I have endeavoured to correct the more obvious drawbacks in previous works. (Haidari, 1918, p. viii)

However, he still has a more conventional introduction to the language than Saihgai does, starting with a first lesson consisting of prepositions, post positions and personal pronouns. It is only by the fourth lesson that he introduces verbs and then illustrates them by examples of imperative forms and an exercise to translate commands into Urdu. His ultimate aim is to teach students to translate passages like this one, Exercise XXVII in the appendix:

1. The aeroplane is the best means of reconnaissance in the present war. 2. An aeroplane was seen last night hovering over our camp, but owing to the absence of lights and noise it could not find our position. 3. It dropped a few bombs near the camp, but fortunately none of them caused any damage to us. 4. Our guns fired at it and although it tried to escape, it could not get out of their reach and fell to the ground in flames. 5. The pilot and the observer were both killed by the accident. 6. Lewis guns are the best weapons for use in aeroplanes. (Haidari 1918, appendix 14)

The main changes in the books between their First and Second World War versions are in regard to the examples given for warfare and its conduct. The early volumes refer to trench warfare and fighting in the Middle East, which were the main areas of the First World War where Indian troops were deployed. The Second World War volumes include more up-to-date examples of the warfare the Indian troops were then involved in. The examples also reflect cultural changes. For instance, in the 1918 edition of Haidari’s book, he has four passages for translation about Queen Victoria and her love for India and Hindustani, with sentences to translate like: “Although Victoria could not herself come to India, she knew all about the country and the people who lived in it. She sent to India for a Munshi to teach her the language, and she learnt how to write and speak Urdu.” (Haidari, 1918, p. 94) By 1944, such passages have been removed. In their place are examples like these: “Japan is increasing its strength but China is doing nothing. The Chinese are preparing to fight but their military strength is very little. They are not prepared for this war.” (Haidari, 1942, p. 87)

In the same period as Saihgai and Haidari’s books there were other texts written by Indian and British authors, but almost all stuck closer to the earlier format of teaching Hindustani as if it were basically a classical language. For instance, Major J. Willat, while stationed in Belgaum and Pachmarhi during 1941-2, wrote *A Textbook of Urdu* which was published in four editions from 1941 to 1942 and enjoyed some popularity (Willat, 1942).

Quite separately from the military grammars, Hindi grammars also continued to develop but they retained the same structure and teaching technique as their 19th Century predecessors, remaining essentially no different from grammars of classical languages. The audience for these Hindi texts were mainly missionaries learning at such institutions as the Landour Language School. Not surprisingly then, two fine examples of these texts were written by clergymen. One was the Rev. Edwin Greaves’ *Hindi Grammar* (Greaves, 1983), which appeared in various edi-

tions between 1896 and 1933. The other was the Rev. H. C. Scholberg's *Concise Grammar of the Hindi Language*, which appeared in 1940 (Scholberg, 1940).

6 Conclusion

The most remarkable thing about the development of the teaching of Hindustani during the Raj period was the way in which it revolved around a tension between language and literature. It began as a simple attempt to teach officers how to speak to the men they commanded. It then developed into an endeavour to develop Hindustani as a refined literary language. Finally, it turned again to being a pragmatic means of teaching the British a way of communicating with the people they were working with.

I would argue that Gilchrist's attempts to raise the status of a 'Jargon' to that of a 'refined popular tongue' played an important part in the development of Hindustani teaching. Whatever else may have been the results of Gilchrist's actions, and whether or not they played a significant role in the development of the modern Hindi and Urdu languages, they clearly had a strong influence on the teaching and learning of Hindustani. In particular his emphasis on Hindustani as a literary language left a lasting legacy. Even today there is a tension in the teaching of Hindi and Urdu between the notion that they share a common language with that of them having completely distinct literary heritages. This situation has its origins in the debate between Gilchrist and his contemporaries on whether the purpose of studying Hindustani was to study everyday spoken language or literary texts.

The materials indicate that there was no consistent Colonialist project in the way Hindustani was taught. The first 18th Century Grammars represent colloquial dialect forms of Hindi which were of pragmatic use to commanding officers in their daily military and personal lives. But then by the start of the 19th Century the linguistic documentation of the language became more sophisticated and the study of literatures began to be incorporated into the teaching of Hindustani, which actually made it less useful to those who needed it for everyday use. Finally, once the study of Hindi and Urdu as separate literary languages had diverged into two separate streams of academic discourse, the teaching of Hindustani, under the pressure of the two World Wars, returned to being a practical discipline of teaching the British how to communicate with their men in the Indian Army. However, the prolonged period of study of Hindustani/Hindi/Urdu as both languages and literatures meant that this final generation of British colonial Hindustani grammars were much more able to articulate a coherent approach to the teaching and learning of Hindustani than the previous generations of work. The outcome also in terms of attitudes expressed was very different in that the materials came to contain elements of mutual respect and a sense of working with one other another on an equal footing which do not fit into the Orientalist discourse.

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