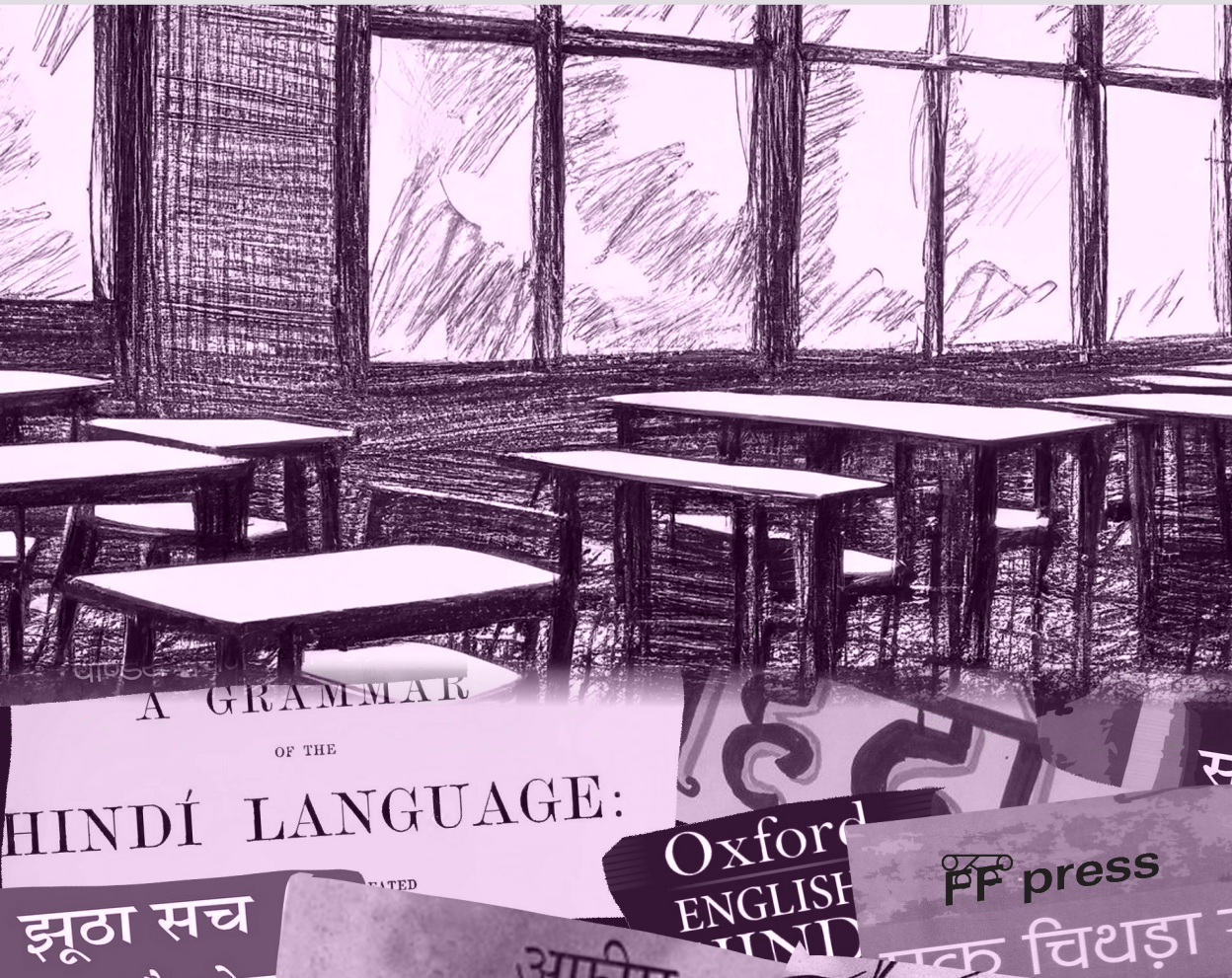
BETWEEN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Hindi in Classroom and Beyond

Proceedings of the conference
Between Language and Literature: Hindi in Classroom and Beyond,
Zagreb, March 2020

Edited by
Ivan Andrijanić
Monika Browarczyk



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Contents

Hindi in Classroom and Beyond. Learning Language, Learning Culture

This book emerged from the practical experience of and research conducted in teaching Hindi language and literature, as well as in translating Hindi literature, which was shared by participants of three conferences held at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Zagreb University in 2018, 2019 and 2020. The series of three conferences focused mainly on didactics of teaching Hindi as a second language, on development of successful methodology, and on educational need to immerse Hindi learners in the Indian cultural context that is essential in the process of Hindi language acquisition. Since the conferences served as a platform for sharing practical experiences in teaching Hindi language and literature, presentations and following discussions touched upon methodology, teaching and learning techniques and development of various, individualised teaching materials, as well as manners of incorporating cultural context and literary references into teaching. For that reason, this volume collects papers on subjects such as methodology of teaching and learning Hindi, but also includes articles on current research in Hindi literature, challenges in translation of Hindi literature, and research on Hindi language and on contemporary trends in Hindi literature with all of those subjects being of special relevance in the process of Hindi language acquisition.

Hindi is recognized as the third most spoken language in the world in terms of total number of speakers and the fourth most spoken language by the number of speakers whose mother tongue is Hindi. Taking into account growing interest in India and in Hindi—that comes along with India's economic and political development—, one cannot overlook the fact that there is a lacuna of methodological and teaching materials designed specifically for teaching Indian languages, including Hindi. As a result, educators teaching Hindi are in significant need of methodological support, and our book aims to fill that lacuna and address this need. The methodological insights and practical

guidance for creating teaching materials derive from experienced academic teachers of Hindi, who specialize in teaching Hindi as a second language.

Hindi is taught widely not only at academic institutions, but also privately and thus recognised as the main modern language of South Asia. However, as mentioned above, Hindi instructors encounter a number of major difficulties while teaching Hindi. Besides the lack of common framework of reference levels such as CEFRL (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages), another group of problems includes lack of modern teaching aids as most of Hindi textbooks are inadequate or outdated. There is a scarcity of teaching materials appropriate for use in contemporary higher education. Textbooks and other didactic aids are available, but their number and quality is quite unsatisfactory in comparison with materials provided for teaching major European and other Asian languages, in particular Japanese and Chinese. This volume attempts to address some of these issues, identify problems and offer some possible practical solutions for Hindi teachers to develop their own methodology in tune with contemporary achievements in the field of language teaching studies.

The contributions collected in these volume originated as conference presentations, subsequently, the authors reworked them, and presented them for double-blind peer-reviews by experts in the discispline. We set out to organise these papers to form a volume that will serve as a methodological companion for academics, teachers and students of Hindi language and literature. The volume is divided into three sections, the first one titled "Hindi in the Classroom" is dedicated to teaching methodology; the second section or "Hindi Beyond the Classroom: Translating Texts, Translating Culture" deals with translation as a coherent part of teaching and learning experience and the third section titled "Broadening the Picture: Linguistics and Literary Studies" discusses linguistic and literary case studies connected to teaching both, Hindi language and literature.

The text "Textual, Audio, and Video Materials in Teaching Hindi as a Foreign Language" by Monika Browarczyk opens the volume. In the initial passages it details the author's personal experience of teaching Hindi language at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. Browarczyk describes her glottodidactical methodology as a sort of manoeuvring between the traditional grammar-translation teaching model and other methods: the task-based, the content-based, and foremost, the communicative. Following that, she identifies problems crucial in didactics of Hindi as a second language,

namely, lack of teaching methodologies and materials, as well as absence of standardized teaching and testing guidelines. Therefore, over the years of teaching, Browarczyk has gathered and developed her own teaching materials: textual, audio, and video resources, which are further extensively described in the article. While discussing textual resources, she doesn't limit herself to traditional textbooks but describes other materials that can be effectively used in the classroom such as materials from social media, as well as news articles. She explores online resources featuring Hindi literature, as well as less obvious texts, such as advertisments, graffiti, signs, political and public slogans, etc., considering them valuable teaching aids. She also places special emphasis on audio materials including her own impromptu recordings of various native speakers. She also names video clips available online that provide valuable insights into contermporary Indian society and culture and hence constitute valuable teaching aids. Browarczyk discusses also Hindi teaching platforms hosted on various university websites. To conclude, she insists on importance of adopting new techniques and mixed teaching models that would meet various needs of individual students and on necessity of teachers' proactive involvement in teaching.

The following paper, i.e. Piotr Borek's "Introducing B.A. Students to Hindi Literary Tradition through Problem Based Learning (PBL)," begins with a similar claim as the previous paper. Borek argues that teaching of Indian languages and literatures often adheres to traditional methods i.e. lectures and reading classes focusing on knowledge content and language skills. However, like Browarczyk, Borek aims to introduce different methods, however, this new methodology is not intended to entirely replace more traditional approach. Dividing teaching into B.A. and M.A. studies raised concerns about graduates' professional skills, especially for languages like Hindi-Urdu and Tamil. The evolving educational landscape emphasizes skills and learning adaptability over knowledge content, requiring language and literature teachers to employ diverse methods to enhance students' academic and non-academic abilities. To address these issues, Borek proposes to adapt the Problem-Based Learning (PBL) method to teaching Hindi literature and possibly some other subjects related to South Asian studies. In the itrodcutory section, Borek describes differences between PBL and traditional teaching methods, along with a detailed depiction of the PBL classroom setting, where a teacher, who preselects materials and problems to be discussed in a class, takes a backseat as a tutor, while students take responsibility of

moderating discussions among themselves. Borek proceeds to outline his own application of PBL in Hindi classroom. The Problem-Based Learning is, according to Borek, centred on students, which promotes active learning, better comprehension, retention, and development of lifelong learning skills. Notably, PBL is engaging and enjoyable, involving all students in the learning process. However, PBL demands extensive course preparation and challenges teachers to change habits, which potentially complicates classroom dynamics. Students left to self-directed study might struggle with assesment of material relevance and utility of a given information. Nevertheless, PBL is a flexible toolbox adaptable to teaching Hindi literature. Borek argues that amid evolving expectations of learners, combining traditional teaching with PBL emerges as a solution to meet the course requirements and learners' needs.

Mandar Purandare's paper "Teaching Vocabulary in Hindi as a Second Language Course" is also concerned with Hindi teaching and proposes certain solutions in the frame of L2 vocabulary acquisition. Although the paper primarily tackles everyday Hindi vocabulary, its scope extends beyond that. While addressing numerous aspects of spoken language vocabulary, it aims to formulate a lesson plan that connects learning Sanskrit and Hindi, which in turn improves various competences of students in both languages. Purandare believes that a lesson plan based on a relationship between Sanskrit and Hindi helps in the development of different competences of Hindi- Sanskrit students. In that sense, the same method can be applied to the Persian-Hindi and Arabic-Hindi relationships as well. Purandare begins by describing the relationship between Sanskrit and Hindi, not from a historical or comparative perspective, but from a glotodidactic one, particularly with regard to vocabulary acquisition. He notes that a significant number of loanwords from Sanskrit are adapted in Hindi in various contexts. Purandare discusses in details Sanskrit prefixes and personal names, and presents some refelctions on cultural context, which – like in majority of texts of this volume – is strongly emphasised. The article concludes with detailed lesson plans for teaching Hindi and Sanskrit at three levels.

The next section, "Hindi beyond classroom: translating texts, translating culture," foregrounds various aspects of translation from Hindi. It opens with an article by Igor Grbić, titled "Translating Language and Translating Culture: Some Problems in Translating the 'Exotic' with Special Regard to Modern Indian Literature." The author's attention has been drawn to some concepts of literary translation and its theoretical challenges, in particular those related

to bridging cultural gap between source and target texts. Though the paper centres on translations of modern Indian literatures, its insights can be applied to other cultures as well. At the outset, the author highlights Eugene A. Nida's opposition between formal and dynamic equivalence in source text and its translation, contextualising the issue within translating cultural phenomena. Grbić, refering to a series of examples, argues in favour of formal equivalence over dynamic one when it comes to translating specific cultural elements. An extensively discussed illustation pertains to translation of measurements and the significance of context in translator's process of decision-making. One of the examined illustrations is a translation of the sacred *pīpal* tree, which, according to Grbić, must be rendered in the target text as a "peepul/peepal" and never "a fig." He further explores challenges of adding footnotes and glossaries, while strongly advocating their limited use he provides suggestions as to when they can or should be introduced in a target text. Overall, the paper examines specific problems of literary translation, acknowledging that these represent only a small fraction of the challenges faced by transaltors, in particular in an attempt of bridging distant cultures. The paper focuses on specific examples and pairs methodological praxis with sound theoretical foundations, therefore its arguments and observations can be extended to other cultural contexts. In concluding passages, Grbić argues that in some cases, sacrificing surface content in the process of translation for preservation of underlying depth of meaning or essence proves advantageous. He declares that translation, ideally, extends beyond entertainment, as it enriches one's perspective and leads to a lifelong self-transformation.

The paper "The Role of Extra-textual Elements in Understanding Literary Text" by Krešimir Krnic to some extent relates to Grbić's text, by focusing on the role of extra-textual elements in transferring cultural specificities from a source language to the target language. The paper centers on on two partition stories by Bhisham Sahni, *Pālī* and *Amritsar ā gayā hai*. Extra-textual element defined here by Krnic refers to subtext that forms a part of cultural context. Understanding a Hindi text requires knowledge of Indian history, religion, and social relationships that an average European reader does not have. The examples chosen by Krnic vividly illustrate all the challenges that a translator faces, they also reveal richness of expression of the discussed literary works that often play with nuances of meaning and unveil unspoken subtle subtexts. However, Krnic does not provide solutions how a translator must approach this issues, and in this aspect it differs from papers by Grbić and Višnja Grabovac

(to be discussed soon). Krnic's text is oriented towards the didactic potential of translation of literature and addresses not the broad readership, but rather specialists and students i.e future translators. Krnic points out how a cultural background and various other forms of knowledge of a reader—including a translator, who is the first reader of a pair of source and target texts—are crucial for an in depth understanding of meaning, and thus for an extensive exploration of aesthetic qualities of literature.

The article "Translating Hindi Words – Some Difficulties and Possible Translation Techniques" by Višnja Grabovac touches upon issues discussed in the contributions of Igor Grbić and Krešimir Krnic. Grabovac's paper, nonetheless, highlights non-equivalency challenges that arise at a word level during translation from Hindi to Croatian. Hence, she emphasizes complex process of translation which requires more than language knowledge, includes illustrative lists of translation techniques and acknowledges the need for varied approaches based on context, text type, audience and translation goals. The article begins with a brief overview of equivalence theories, with prominence of Eugene A. Nida's distinction between formal and dynamic equivalence, like in Grbić's contribution. Grabovac identifies culturally specific words words that have not formal equivalents in the target language—such as terms related to flora and fauna, religious concepts, and specific cultural ideas—as translation challenges. Another difficulty discussed by her arises when a target culture recognizes the concept but lacks an equivalent lexical term, which for instance is exemplified by distinct Hindi words for "son's son" and "daughter's son." The third challenge analysed by Grabovac occurs when a word from source language is semantically more complex than its equivalent in target language. The fourth problem brings to mind Jacek Bąkowski's contribution to the present volume, as it is concerned with synonyms of source language that have distinct connotations, which enables writers to express different nuances of meaning, which are often connected with culturally 'untranslatable' concepts. Grabovac discusses other potential difficulties, including the problem of false friends. In contrast to Krnic's article, which emphasizes the didactic aspect of translation, without offering solutions and advices, Grabovac in a separate section provides nine potential types of solutions for non-equivalence. Notable among them is cultural substitution, though its excessive and careless usage might not align with Grbić's views. The paper also explores a method of using general words, paraphrasing

or providing explanations, as well as words from source language with or without additional explanations.

The article by Jacek Bąkowski, "Kh̄ūn for rakt and duniyā for saṃsār. A Cognitive Approach Based on Word Embeddings to Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic Loanwords in Hindi," opens the section "Broadening the picture: linguistics and literary studies." Bąkowski's paper explores certain cognitive and semantic aspects of Hindi words as they appear in a discourse. This context is inherently cultural, and a longstanding hypothesis suggests that a speaker's language reflects the worldview and values of the community he or she belongs to. It is noteworthy that Bąkowski employs modern computational and quantitative methods to validate pre-existing linguistic theories in analysis of examples of word usage in Hindi literature. To examine the lexical environment and context of Hindi words, he applies the method of word embeddings. A word embedding is a representation of a word in a form of a dense vector in multidimensional vector space that captures its meaning(s) and context(s). Unlike the "bag-of-words" representation, word embedding method considers influence of neighbouring words on meaning of analysed word. This results in an abstract representation of a word in a multidimensional space that encompasses entire vocabulary, where each dimension represents its various meanings. This approach enhances understanding of word because it considers contextual nuances. Bąkowski analyses Hindi synonyms *saṃsār* and *duniyā*, borrowed from Sanskrit and Persian respectively, both meaning 'world.' The analysis reveals that the Sanskrit loanword *saṃsār* is often found alongside other Sanskrit borrowings, primarily in religious contexts. On the other hand, the Persian loanword *duniyā* is mostly used in secular, worldly contexts. A similar pattern emerges with the words *rakt* and *kh̄ūn* 'blood.' The Sanskrit term *rakt* is commonly used in medical and metaphorical contexts, while the Persian borrowing *kh̄ūn* is often found in somewhat negative contexts. This interesting study highlights distinctions in usage based on the origin of words and their contextual implications.

Katarina Katavić's paper "The Hindi Gender System" explores the complexities of gender oppositions in Hindi words, which create difficulties in language acquisition process. Hindi has two grammatical genders, masculine and feminine, allocated sometimes on semantic and phonological grounds, and sometimes on arbitrary ones. Although some research has been conducted on the Hindi gender system, only a few assignment rules have been identified, leaving most Hindi learners to memorize genders of nouns. Katavić's paper

endeavours to present a comprehensive range of gender assignment rules that takes into consideration both phonology and etymology of these words. The aim is to offer educators and learners a valuable resource for comprehending principles governing gender assignement system of Hindi nouns. The paper puts to use an ongoing project of developing a Hindi-Croatian dictionary on the TLex platform, which provides a relevant selection of filtering options. This function allows for an extraction of an appropriate quantity of nouns for the analysis. Using a corpus of 7,000 nouns as a sample, Katavić presents certain statistical data, such as the fact that 83% loanwords from Sanskrit ending in *-i* are of the feminine gender, as do 88% of words ending in *-ī*; 75% of words ending in a consonant (or silent *-a*) are masculine, even though only 41% of them are loanwords from Sanskrit in masculine. From this preliminary overview of Hindi gender system assignement, we cannot examine thoroughly all the details as the picture seems to be much more intricate, since one of the key factors is etymology and suffixes generally are the most significant category for gender assignment. To conclude, Katavić introduces a highly useful table of gender assignment distribution, which is created on the basis of categories of suffixes and etymology (i.e. largely source language of loanwords).

The article "Hindi Cardinal Numerals in a Historical and Comparative Perspective" by Ivan Andrijanić explores the linguistic history of Hindi cardinal numerals. The development of Hindi cardinal numerals results from intricate linguistic processes which are intertwined in a complex network. This network comprises three main phenomena. The first one pertains to regular sound changes that primarily govern evolution of Old Indo-Aryan numerals into Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) forms, followed by a distinct set of rules governing the transition from late Middle Indo-Aryan forms to New Indo-Aryan ones, which culminated in Modern Standard Hindi forms. Upon a close examination, Andrijanić notices that only approximately half of the cardinal numerals spanning from 1 to 100 evolved regularly through sound rules. The second phenomenon encompasses irregular developments, such as consonant doubling and the loss of nasalization, which occur exclusively in numerals. The third phenomenon, termed analogical contamination, significantly impacted the system of cardinal numerals, and rendered its final forms unpredictable. Andrijanić notes that analogical contaminations intensified towards the end of the Apabhraṃśa period and at the outset of the New Indo-Aryan phase. The concept of "false analogy," often associated with decay

and lateness according to the 19th-century neogrammarians, may suggest that some numeral forms were so altered that they lost their distinctiveness. Analogical contamination, therefore, seemingly contributes to distinguishing forms due to their significance in everyday communication. However, there is no clear evidence to support the notion that the sole purpose of analogy is to aid in distinguishing numeral forms, while emergence of analogy still requires an apt explanation.

Milena Bratoeva's article "'The Text Within the Text': Mapping the Intertextuality in Kunwar Narain's Narrative Hiuen-Tsiang in Kucha" is an intertextual study of a short story *Kuchā mẽ huen-tsāṅg* by the emiment Hindi poet and writer Kunwar Narain. Bratoeva emphasizes that literary and aesthetic value of Narain's story is particularly evident in the intricate network of codes, allusions, and symbols drawn from a vast reservoir of Indian history, culture, religion, philosophy, and literature. Therefore, she systematically unravels this intricate web of images and allusions that requires a deep understanding of Indian culture and history. Bratoeva opens her paper with basic biographical information on Narain, outlines the theoretical framework of her work, and ultimately analyzes the text itself. Firstly, she identifies the primary macro intertextual (horizontal) level, which begins with an allusion to the labyrinth of memory in which the narrator situated in the 21st century operates and to Borges, who provides an external framework of the story. Bratoeva then describes Hiuen-Tsiang, his life, and ultimately Buddhism. Analysis of the dispute between Hiuen-Tsiang and Mokṣagupta, introduces micro intertextual level (vertical), which reveals a dense network of intertexts within the semantic structure, primarily from Buddhist and Hindu canonical writings. Similarly to the constributions of Krnic and Grbić, which also highlight challenges of unravelling such an intercontextual web of multi-layered meanings, Bratoeva's paper analyses Narain's short story as a good example of the cultural challenges that both readers and translators face, and dwells on how intertextual decoding leads to a discovery of aesthetic values. The papers is a theoretical analysis of a literary text of importance in Hindi literature, and serves as a coda at the end of the volume. It exemplifies a study that teachers of Hindi literature can refer to while in their teaching to sensitise students to complexity of Indian cultural subtext encoded in Hindi literature.

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We would like to express our gratitude to all the contributors for their reflections and observations on Hindi language and literature in the classroom and beyond collected here. We envisioned this volume as a companion for teachers and students of Hindi who would hopefully find here some motivation in insights that come from didactic, translatorial and research expertise of the contributors. We hope that the issues discussed here will inspire Hindi teachers and learners to reassess their teaching and learning formulas and perhaps consider more inclusive approach to a combination of different methods and didactic aids that could improve their experience of teaching or learning Hindi. It is our strong belief that incorporation of outcomes of literary, linguistic and transaltorial studies in the process of Hindi language acquisition for both teachers and students is beneficial as it continiuosly acquaints them with complexity of Indian cultural and historical contexts.

Ivan Andrijanić
and
Monika Browarczyk

HINDI IN CLASSROOM

Monika Browarczyk

Textual, Audio and Video Materials in Teaching Hindi as a Foreign Language

Abstract

The following paper addresses a range of issues comprising of methodology and teaching materials, as well as challenges of digitalization and new technologies. Teachers of foreign languages, finding themselves under a constant pressure of well-developed methodology of teaching English, get attracted to new methods and techniques. This is a development fueled basically by their will to accommodate specific needs of their students and thus help them achieve their learning goals. In the recent times, the pandemic restrictions, forcing a sudden switch-over to almost exclusive online teaching with a focus on developing materials for self-learning, made us aware of the fact that rapid changes that we have been observing in the recent decades—right from the appearance of the internet, introduction of computer-enhanced learning, etc.—can also take a very drastic turn and necessitate instant accommodation to the new teaching and learning online environment. Browarczyk strongly believes that teaching should be attractive and engaging for students as it then yields better results, and that application of various methods and techniques should be done with this in mind. It is also her view that teacher's commitment is of equal importance, as—no matter how cliché it may sound—teaching is not only a job, but also a vocation.

Hindi and Me

As far as Hindi is concerned, at least twice in my life I found myself in a situation where I had to learn it from scratch. For the first time, it was when I enrolled for the M.A. course in Indology, at the University of Warsaw, with Hindi as the language of specialization, a course which at that time—i.e. prior to Poland signing the Bologna Accord in 1999—was a combined five-year

course. And for the second time, on being appointed, soon after completing my M.A., as a lecturer at Adam Mickiewicz University and launching, without any prior methodological training, an open Hindi course for beginners.

Unavailability of a regular training for those who begin teaching in institutions of higher learning in Poland was—and as far as I know still is—one of the biggest systematic shortcomings.[1] This is perhaps partly due to the fact that only some of the university and college courses, essentially those covering the subjects taught in primary and secondary schools, offer a 'teaching specialization' and students who opt for this specialization not only take classes which include theoretical introduction to teaching methodology but also participate in obligatory practical training or internship in schools. The practical training is conducted in two stages: the participation, with students as observers, in classes taught by professional teachers, in actual school surroundings; and the conducting of classes under the supervision of the schoolteachers who, then, evaluate methods, techniques and overall performance of the trainees. The main point of such a model of instruction is to expose teachers-in-the-making to various stages of standard education in Poland, both primary and secondary, as well as disparate classroom environments and diverse needs of individual pupils at different levels of formal education. However, to the best of my knowledge, neither the training nor the internship include instructions in teaching mature students/adults or, perhaps understandably, teaching at the university or college level.[2] More

1 At present, at Adam Mickiewicz University there are regular workshops offered to those who want to introduce new methodologies and techniques in their teaching but there is no systematical training to begin with. These workshops are run by academic teachers who introduce their colleagues to methodology applied by them successfully in their own teaching.

2 There is perhaps one exception to this rule, namely, specialized courses in teaching Polish as a second language. In Poland, Polish as second language is taught almost exclusively to foreigners, predominantly adults, herein practical training of students opting for such a specialization would inevitably involve an experience in adult education. Specialization in teaching Polish as second language is offered as an option in B.A., M.A. courses and dedicated post-graduate programs at the faculty of Polish studies at many universities, to name just a few Adam Mickiewicz University (https://polonistyka.amu.edu.pl/dla-kandydata/studia-podyplomowe/nauczanie-jzyka-polskiego-jako-obcego), Lodz University (http://polonistyka.uni.lodz.pl/strony/specjalizacje) and Jagiellonian University (cf. http://www.jpjo.polonistyka.uj.edu.pl/studia-ii-stopnia). Centers for teaching Polish to foreigners are often affiliated to these universities, for instance, the School of Polish for Foreign Students at Lodz University

often than not, the option of 'teaching specialization' is offered in the curricula of courses that supply teachers for subjects that are taught on a regular basis in the formal education system in Poland, for instance Polish Language and Literature, History, Mathematics, Biology and English etc. Unsurprisingly, Hindi does not fall in this category therefore as a student of Hindi I was not given any theoretical or practical exposure to teaching.

At the beginning of my career as a language instructor at the university, some twenty years back, in order to come up with the 'thought behind action' model, design a course in Hindi and choose satisfactory methods and teaching materials, I was forced to draw on my own experience as a one-time school-pupil and university student; the observations of my (language) teachers at various stages of my own education; and the self-education in language teaching and learning methodology. Being the only Hindi teacher at my institution, I had to first devise and then, for several years, single-handedly teach a three-year-long Hindi course for students of other academic disciplines at the intensity of four forty-five period classes per week per course. In 2008, with the opening of a B.A. degree course in Indology, the situation changed. Some more teachers, including a native speaker of Hindi, were appointed and I started teaching classes dedicated exclusively to 'Hindi grammar' (two periods per week) and co-teach classes in 'practical Hindi' alongside two or three other colleagues. Now my share of teaching oscillated between eight to ten periods per week, the reduced workload reflecting my now post-PhD status. In this period, I also simultaneously taught, for two years, at the Jagiellonian University, Cracow, and for a year at the University of Wrocław. In both places I conducted the Hindi language, literature and reading classes for the B.A. and M.A. Indology students. Before 2008, however, after obtaining a diploma in teaching Polish as a foreign language, I was appointed, for three years (2005–2008), as a visiting faculty at the University of Delhi, India, and taught all classes of the open certificate, diploma and advanced diploma courses in Polish, as well as classes of Polish as the second Slavonic language

(http://sjpdc.uni.lodz.pl/?language=en), *Polonicum* - Centre for Polish Language and Culture for Foreigners at Warsaw University (http://polonicum.uw.edu.pl) or the School of Polish Language and Culture for Foreign Students at Adam Mickiewicz University (http://schoolpl.amu.edu.pl/go.php/en.html). Thus, the practical training of students opting for these specializations at numerous universities takes place in the Polish language schools run by the same institutions, where students under training are exposed to teaching adults.

to Indian students of M.A. studies in Russian. The three years of residence in Delhi, involving teaching Polish to the mostly Hindi-speaking students, enhanced not only my language skills which came handy when I returned to teach Hindi at B.A./M.A. level in Poland but also provided me with valuable insights on foreign language teaching and acquisition. My Indian students were from different backgrounds, without systematic knowledge of grammar, which allowed me to develop methods—used later successfully in teaching Hindi to Polish students—of teaching a language without all the time falling back on grammatical rules—but more on that later.

Sharing my teaching experience as a language instructor at Polish academic institutions is, in my understanding, an apt and necessary introduction to an article, like this here, that aims at discussing various teaching aids used in teaching Hindi as foreign language to non-Hindi speakers of the B.A. and M.A. courses in Indology. My intention is to give an overview of a variety of audio, video and textual aids employed and developed during my teaching of Hindi at the university level, with the hope that these can be of use to other academic teachers who might work with diverse glottodidactical methods. Following Prabhu (1990: 172), "… the term [method is used here] inclusively, to refer both to a set of activities to be carried out in the classroom and to the theory, belief, or plausible concept that informs those activities." The present article is an attempt at offering a glimpse of my own little canvas of "the 'tapestry of diversity' that exists in human teaching and learning" (Larsen-Freeman and Anderson 2011: 14). But before going into that, I would like to start by addressing the second meaning of the term 'method', i.e. 'the thought behind action,' to specify my approach to teaching Hindi, with reference to some present time challenges that shape the process of teaching and learning at academic institutions in general and teaching Hindi in particular.

It is my strong belief that an interest in any taught subject comes from the teacher's engagement and her/his pro-active approach, which in turn sparks inquisitiveness and involvement of the students. To quote Prabhu:

> "…if the teacher engages in classroom activity with a sense of intellectual excitement, there is at least a fair probability that learners will begin to participate in the excitement and to perceive classroom lessons mainly as learning events—as experiences of growth for themselves." (1992: 239)

Self-evidently, methods, techniques and materials have to be used in accordance with the needs of the particular group and, ideally, in compliance with the

needs of individual students and the learning goals they expect to achieve. However, in reality, they are also shaped by out-of-classroom restrictions as well as requirements placed on teachers and students by the university management, political powers, etc., for teaching and learning are complicated processes that involve a multiplicity of actors. Drawing on previous research, Larsen-Freeman and Anderson present their observations on the complexity of teaching and the specificity of language teaching in particular (Larsen-Freeman and Anderson 2011: 9), in these words:

> "The work of teaching is simultaneously mental and social. It is also physical, emotional, practical, behavioral, political, experiential, historical, cultural, spiritual, and personal. In short, teaching is very complex, influenced not only by these 12 dimensions and perhaps others, but also requiring their contingent orchestration in support of students' learning. When language teaching in particular is in focus, the complexity is even greater, shaped by teachers' views of the nature of language, of language teaching and learning in general, and by their knowledge of the particular sociocultural setting in which the teaching and learning take place (…). Indeed, research has shown that there is a degree of shared pedagogical knowledge among language teachers that is different from that of teachers of other subjects (…). Nonetheless, each teacher's own language learning history is also unique. (…) There is also the level of complexity at the immediate local level, due to the specific and unique needs of the students themselves in a particular class at a particular time, and the fact that these needs change from moment to moment. Finally, the reality of educational contexts being what they are, teachers must not only attempt to meet their students' learning needs, but they must also juggle other competing demands on their time and attention."

Upon my employment at the Faculty of Modern Languages at the UAM in Poznań, in 1999, it by no means came as a surprise that language courses taught there were designed as 'philological' considering the fact the grammar-translation method seems to have been, and largely still is, the dominant approach to language pedagogy in academic institutions. It was the very methodology I was earlier exposed to during my own university education. The grammar-translation method requires the learner to have a prior knowledge of grammar-related terminology and grammatical structures in her/his own native tongue while it focuses on teaching the grammar of the target language. In turn,

acquired knowledge of the foreign idiom and its memorized vocabulary are applied by the learner in the translation of texts, preferably literary ones.

This method, rooted in the long tradition of classic studies, looks at language as a repository of literature and fine arts, prioritizes reading and writing skills over speaking and listening, depends heavily on one's native language skills and is teacher-centered (cf. Larsen-Freeman and Anderson 2011: 37–38, Richards and Rodgers 2007: 3–7). Irrespective of its long history or maybe because of it, it had been under constant attack of the 'reformers'—exploring the scenario of methods that rapidly change from 'fashionable' to 'out-of-date'—and of post-methodologists—denying possibility of developing 'THE' method. Of late, however, one hears also some 'anti-reformist' voices that advocate positive aspects of the grammar-translation method, for instance the pedagogical efficiency of learning via translation from the perspectives of both teachers and students (Cook 2010), and the benefits of the mother-tongue mediation in the classroom (Parandowski 2007).

As one could imagine, I too embarked on teaching Hindi using the grammar-translation method but gradually introduced elements of other techniques and methods, like the direct method, the task-based method, the content-based method, and foremost, the communicative method. Consequently, this led to gradual development of my own manner of teaching that would combine elements of different practices and approaches. This seems a fairly common progress, for Bell (2007: 141) writes:

> "Few teachers define methods in the narrow pejorative sense used by post-methodologists. Most teachers think of methods in terms of techniques which realize a set of principles or goals and they are open to any method that offers practical solutions to problems in their particular teaching context."

It is noteworthy that the development was from the techniques to the method(s) and not otherwise, as according to words of Larsen-Freeman and Anderson (2011: 11):

> "This in itself provides a further avenue for professional growth, since some teachers find their way to new pedagogical positions by first trying out new techniques rather than by entertaining new principles. Moreover, effective teachers who are more experienced and expert have a large, diverse repertoire of best practices (…), which presumably helps them

> deal more effectively with the unique qualities and idiosyncrasies of their students."

Bell (2007: 141–142) observes a correlation between application of methodology and optimization of the teaching process: "A knowledge of methods is equated with a set of options, which empowers teachers to respond meaningfully to particular classroom contexts. In this way, knowledge of methods is seen as crucial to teacher growth." However, Prabhu (1990), in his provocatively tiled article, "There Is No Best method—Why?", acknowledges the relation between the teaching context[3] and the method, while promoting the concept of 'teacher's sense of plausibility' in designing his/her own method or rather a blend of methods to avoid over-routinization. Prabhu (1990: 172–173) explains:

> "The resulting concept (or theory, or, in a more dormant state, pedagogic intuition) of how learning takes place and how teaching causes or supports it is what may be called a teacher's sense of plausibility about teaching. This personal sense of plausibility may not only vary in its content from one teacher to another but may be more or less firmly or fully formed, more or less consciously considered or articulated, between different teachers. It is when a teacher's sense of plausibility is engaged in the teaching operation that the teacher can be said to be involved, and the teaching not to be mechanical. Further, when the sense of plausibility is engaged, the activity of teaching is productive: There is then a basis for the teacher to be satisfied or dissatisfied about the activity, and each instance of such satisfaction or dissatisfaction is itself a further influence on the sense of plausibility, confirming or disconfirming or revising it in some small measure, and generally contributing to its growth or change. I also think that the greater the teacher's involvement in teaching in this sense, the more likely it is that the sense of involvement will convey itself to learners,

3 Cf. Prabhu 1990: 162: *That there is no best method therefore means that no single method is best for everyone, as there are important variations in the teaching context that influence what is best. The variations are of several kinds, relating to social situation (language policy, language environment, linguistic and cultural attitudes, economic and ideological factors, etc.), educational organization (instructional objectives, constraints of time and resources, administrative efficiency, class-size, classroom ethos, etc.), teacher-related factors (status, training, belief, autonomy, skill, etc.), and learner-related factors (age, aspirations, previous learning experience, attitudes to learning, etc.).*

> getting them involved as well and helping to create that elusive but highly regarded condition in the classroom: teacher-learner rapport."

At present, several factors influence education and pedagogy, factors that are largely identical with those affecting other areas of our daily lives, namely, the advancement of technology and the proliferation of internet resources with their offerings of new possibilities for both teaching and learning; or the increased mobility of people, which facilitates intracultural communication in the workplace and beyond. These are also the causes behind a relative and potential ease of exposure to various 'texts of culture' that include video, audio or textual materials in different languages, including those that belong to geographically distant areas as is the case of Hindi for its learners in Europe. New avenues for communication with native speakers of foreign languages open up through the internet and though physically distant, these speakers are merely a 'clique away' on social media platforms, blogs, vlogs etc. Such increased mobility, both real as well as virtual, creates the feeling of a 'global village' and makes 'far away' cultures seem more approachable, but the demands placed on language pedagogy remain 'glocal'—they are present globally but answerable locally. Multilingual work environment amplifies the need for communicative language competence and content-based learning, while technology-enhanced learning generates new blended methods ideal for out-of-the-classroom teaching, with the on-going pandemic giving the whole exercise a new dimension. On the other hand, advances in the field of artificial intelligence have led to global availability of machine translation viewed as a service, which at some point will set the scene for a far reaching uniformization of the translatorial process where all translational tasks will be taken over by standard digital tools making human factor largely obsolete. Such dynamic and swift changes will definitely open up new, potentially not yet explored ways of learning and teaching. As a consequence of the above there is a growing demand made on teachers to apply new technologies, new technological tools and materials thus obtained in a manner that would facilitate communicative competence of a present day, digitally savvy learner.

Students joining Hindi classes at the university have already their own history of language/s acquisition during years of education in primary and secondary schools, and at times through additional private tuitions. Catering to the needs of the present-day learners, language courses offered within the formal education system and in private settings usually teach European

languages, with English being the predominant. Needless to say, because of its hegemonial position as the global *lingua franca*, English has a long record of methodological experiments and systematic improvements that have resulted in the production of a variety of methods, techniques, and educational materials (cf. McKay 2018). Moreover, English, as the main carrier of the popular culture is somewhat ever-present in everyday life, its learners willingly or unwillingly being immersed in it. In Poland, and probably that is the case for most of the non-English speaking countries today as well, English is considered the 'main foreign language' taught in the formal education system right from the pre-school level. It is perceived also as a language of aspiration. Other European languages, like German, French, Spanish, etc., are studied as second(ary) foreign language(s). Already acquainted with the well-developed materials and techniques used for teaching English—and to somewhat lesser extent, other European languages—students expect their studying aids for Hindi to be at least equally plentiful, attractive and efficient. However, when compared to English, or other European languages, teaching supports, like textbooks, audio books, exercise books, etc. for Hindi are rather poorly developed.

Not only do the inadequate study aids pose a problem to both teachers and learners of Hindi but so does the absence of standardized teaching and learning guidelines and, consequently, the want of regularized examination system that would enable Hindi learners to acquire a certificate of language proficiency at different levels, for instance within Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Learning, Teaching, Assessment).[4] The need for introducing standardization of teaching and learning outcomes in Hindi at least across Europe had been repeatedly discussed by participants of conferences on teaching Hindi as second/foreign language, for instance in Lisbon in 2019 and in Zagreb in 2020. It seems a fairly common consideration across all academic centers that teach Hindi today. Judging by the number of European universities where Hindi is taught, it is still commonly perceived as

4 https://www.coe.int/en/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages: *The result of over twenty years of research, the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment (CEFR) is exactly what its title says it is: a framework of reference. It was designed to provide a transparent, coherent and comprehensive basis for elaboration of language syllabuses and curriculum guideline, the design of teaching and learning materials, and the assessment of foreign language proficiency. It is used in Europe but also in other countries.*

'the first modern South Asian language' and as such the lack of standardized teaching and learning guidelines is a major drawback in the process of its acquisition.

With an overall growing demand on efficient methodology, I have attempted, as already mentioned, to introduce techniques that belong to different methods in order to enhance the communicative competence of the students and thus work on their speaking and listening skills (apart from reading and writing) as well as increasing their aptitude in intercultural communication and cooperation within a group. In particular, I drew on the communicative and task-based methods' stress on communication through samples of authentic language and task- or problem-solving aspects of language; on the content-based method's approach that combines acquisition of language and of other knowledge; on community language learning's emphasis on collective projects and cooperation in groups that minimizes adults' discomfort in learning; and from the learner-centered teaching's attitude towards enabling students' control over the process of learning that invokes their own sense of responsibility.

In an effort to continuously provide changing and dynamic content, I have selected and developed a number of specific teaching materials: texts, audio and video recordings meant to engage students in the process of learning by equipping them with a set of aids that are possibly different, attractive, evoke their interest and draw on present-day technology. As the process of second language acquisition is connected with the appropriation of culture, which includes aspects of every-day life, politics, media, fine arts, cinema, etc., I have chosen for Hindi classes—and I am in the constant search for new ones—various texts of culture that will be discussed here under three main categories, i.e. the textual, the audio and the video resources.

Textual resources

To start with I would like to draw your attention to the 'old-fashioned' teaching aids, i.e. textbooks and language-course books for teaching Hindi that have been published in different European languages and which can serve as a source of texts and exercises for specific purposes and the set tasks in any Hindi classroom. Apart from the English-medium books for learning Hindi, to name just a few, like Bahri and Jagannathan (1977), Snell and Weightman

(2003), Verma (1997), Kumar (1999), Narain Mathur and Mehrotra (2017), Knapczyk and Knapczyk (2020), there is a number of Hindi course books in other languages. All might serve as a potential source for future reference by providing texts and exercises for Hindi classes. For instance, the bilingual Czech and English course by Pořízka (1963), the three volume course in Russian by Dimšic and others (1969, 1980, 1983)—which in spite of being 'outdated' may still provide some excellent material, for example, for grammar drill-exercises—or the two volume course in Polish by Stasik (1994, 2012), with texts and dialogues in the first volume written by a Hindi writer, Abdul Bismillah; else the two volume textbook in German by Fornell and Liu (2010, 2013).

Moreover, online resources provide a treasure trove for reading, audio and video resources in Hindi. These are not limited to the online editions of printed media, the Hindi newspapers and magazines, or the numerous TV or news channels which constantly deliver day-to-day readings that offer relevant extra-linguistic content. Social media—like the feeds on Facebook and the Twitter accounts—are communication tools that students are conversant with and as such place Hindi content in a format and context familiar to students. For instance, tweets and the FB write-ups by Amitabh Bachchan, a Bollywood icon, were used in my Hindi classes when he commented on his visit to Poland in 2019. In this manner students received an intracultural feedback on Bachchan's impressions of Poland, which they found relevant and could immediately place in a well-known context—the content matter was familiar, the language—different. Moreover, Bachchan's write-ups were used to trigger further discussion in the classroom.

Lately, after the onset of the coronavirus pandemic, I circulated in my online Hindi classes some pictures and jokes downloaded from the social media sites so that students may get acquainted with some popular comments and the Indian response to the situation that concerned and affected them in their own daily life. Among those comments there was, for example, a photo, downloaded from a social media site, of a local liquor shop with a graffiti on its locked shutters saying: *khol de modi, sab cāy nahĩ pīte!* (*Modi open up, not all of us are tea drinkers!*). The innocuous sentence, besides its professed call on the Prime Minister of India to re-open the liquor shops is also a satirical spin-off on the Narendra Modi's portrayal of his youthful self as a humble tea-seller and a mockery of his puritan views. With the mediation of the text a classroom discussion followed, covering such a wide range of topics as

the humble beginnings of the present Prime Minister; the place of tea and other beverages in North India culture; and the restrictions connected with the pandemic and the alcohol consumption in India.

Furthermore, the internet offers access to many websites dedicated to Hindi literature (like a very popular site for Hindi poetry: http://kavitakosh.org) and university-run platforms that provide Hindi texts appended by vocabulary lists. It seems that Columbia University and Texas University at Austin are the leaders here in offering a wide range of free-access materials for learning Hindi that include textual, audio and video aids, as well as some materials on the Hindi grammar, with exercises. Some of the online platforms discussed here will be revisited in the section on audio and video teaching aids.

The Columbia University website, for instance, offers an opportunity to read a number of short stories and excerpts from prose writings of the Hindi canon (Devaki Nandan Khatri, Bharatendu Harishchandra, Premchand, Mohan Rakesh, Rajendra Yadav, Kamleshvar, Omprakash Valmiki, and Mohandas Naimishray) as well as a selection of likewise canonical poems in Braj and Avadhi (Kabir, Rahim, Biharilal, and Tulsidas) and modern Hindi (Sumitranand Pant and Mahadevi Verma). These resources have been prepared by a team of teachers and students working under the guidance of the late Alison Busch for her course in Hindi literature.[5] The Columbia University online platform lists links to other websites with various teaching aids in Hindi and Urdu, however, regretfully, some of the links are inactive.[6] A set of links relevant for studying Hindi—which includes language references, cultural references, and links to the online Hindi media—is also available on the New York University website.[7] Whereas the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill provides open access to an online coursebook *A Door Into Hindi* by Afroz Taj, it includes some video materials for lessons as well.[8] For those looking for materials on the history of Hindi literature, EPG Pathshala is an option. It is *an initiative of the M[inistry of] H[uman] R[esource] D[evelopment] under its National Mission on Education*, and provides free access materials—both e-texts and videos—that cover the history of Hindi literature in Hindi.[9]

5 http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/01glossaries-old/busch/index.htm

6 http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00urduhindilinks/hu_hindi.html

7 http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/mideast/hindi/links.html.

8 https://taj.oasis.unc.edu/lessons.html.

9 https://epgp.inflibnet.ac.in/Home/ViewSubject?catid=18.

Pictures or 'texts of culture' with linguistic component, like Hindi graffiti, slogans for social campaigns, public instructions, and road signs can also be employed as reading materials. To illustrate, a photograph of slogans from the social campaign to protect health of girls taken by me from a wall of a health center in a village in Himachal Pradesh displays, in a communicative context, the usage of the subjunctive forms—a grammatical concept which Polish students find difficult to grasp—but may also provide a starting point for a classroom discussion on the attitudes towards girls in some segments of Indian society. Whereas a picture of a road sign from the trip to Lansdowne in the foothills of the Himalayas that calls on the drivers to slow down and refrain from using horn while passing through the elephant corridor part of forest, exemplifies the subjunctive constructions but in a yet different communicative context. Here the grammatical lesson comes with an extra bit of information thrown in, namely the emphasis on the coexistence of India's growing population and the dwindling natural resources.

Printed booklets, forms, tickets, banknotes, instructions of use or application forms in Devanagari can also be utilized in task-based exercises and as props in role playing. For instance, Delhi metro booklets with maps of metro stations and various routes can be brought into play as a reading exercise in the initial stage of learning, but as a prop in the more advanced stages so that learners practice giving instructions on how to commute from one place to the other, using for example the imperative mode or practicing polite ways of address.

Last but not least, I want to mention reading materials which are considered to be of greatest importance in the grammar-translation method, i.e. passages from literature. Here, I would like to speak for implementing passages from life writings—i.e. autobiographies, diaries, letters, travelogues—in teaching and learning environment of Hindi classes of various levels. First and foremost, life writings, having the universal appeal of being narratives of real-life experiences authored by actual people, usually manage to engross those reading them much more than a reading of a fictional story would. Often composed in a fragmentary or anecdotal manner, life writings are also most amiable to locating and extracting smaller, self-contained passages suitable for reading in one session. Moreover, such texts offer a promising range of reading materials for Hindi students, from the beginners to those advanced, as they are usually composed in various 'idioms,' styles and language registers. They also generate special interest as they give glimpse of unique experiences of their authors, both as individuals and as members of specific communities,

e.g. politicians, writers, Dalits, women, domestic workers, and Adivasis. Thus, as texts contextually rich and historically grounded, they engage students of Hindi not only in learning the language but also spark their interest in social, cultural and political goings-on of contemporary India.

The contemporality of the life writing type of texts and their link to the present developments—historical, political or social—as well as their constant referencing of the lived reality offers a chance of reading them along a set of visual aids easily found on the internet. In fact, this is the manner of reading I would recommend for any textual material if possible. This is a strategy well recognized by translators to whom internet resources provide innumerable visuals helpful in translation whenever required. Reading with students a text that is accompanied by visual aids—like photographs, video materials, images of artefacts etc.—referred to during the reading task, is not only appealing but also pedagogically efficient. Literary extracts that, for instance, refer to unknow aspects of everyday life in India, like cooking on an open clay stove or plastering the walls with cow-dung mixture are easier to understand when learners are shown the actual footage of the action described in a literary passage.

Audio resources

Due to the diversity of spoken variants of an idiom distributed in the vast area of the Hindi speaking belt in India, not to mention the Hindi diaspora abroad, audio aids are of fundamental importance in the process of Hindi language acquisition. (Adopting an inclusive stance on what constitutes a 'language,' I prefer not to use the word 'dialect,' but 'a variant.') To accommodate the regional phonetical diversity of Hindi into the language course and to achieve a successful level of listening comprehension among learners, it is crucial to expose students to as many Hindi speakers and their authentic pronunciations as possible. Audio teaching materials may provide this opportunity to some extent, but understandably, an all-encompassing review of native speech samples from different areas of the Hindi speaking belt, a review that would also make allowance for different age groups, social classes, education levels, gender, etc., is a task beyond the scope of any language course. Having said that, in my classes I make sure that a large number of audio materials is regularly and pertinently present, with a view of exposing students to speakers whose language variants embody the diversity of the Hindi speaking region.

To this end, I have made about thirty short audio recordings of native speakers of Hindi who belonged to various social backgrounds and came from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Hariyana and Delhi. A couple of those were trilingual speakers of Tamil, English and Hindi, and have grown up in a Hindi speaking region. All recordings were made in an ad hoc manner to capture the everyday idiolect of the speakers, however, indisputably, the awareness of the fact of being recorded came into play. As recordings were not made in studios but locations such as homes, classrooms, parks, etc., there is an interference of other sounds and voices making the settings more natural. At present, I am working on an audiobook of spoken Hindi that would include those and similar recordings accompanied by transcripts, along with an introduction to some grammatical problems and aspects of the spoken language. It remains yet to be seen how to handle certain issues that make their appearance in these recorded samples of authentic utterances before they may be used as formal study aids. Here I have specifically in mind grammatical mistakes made by the speakers, use of swearwords and certain repetitions natural to the impromptu nature of the recordings. I have presented some of the recordings at the conference in Lisbon in 2019, and unsurprisingly, a heated debate ensued. Some experienced Hindi teachers present there, including native speakers, adamantly opposed the idea of introducing this sort of recordings into teaching.

Based on audio recordings, a range of tasks and/or exercises can be conducted in a class by employing a combination of audio and visual aids. For example, I have chosen a set of seven photographs taken by me in India that display everyday life scenes: a group of children on a swing, a roadside tea-stall, a vegetable vendor, a sari shop, etc. The students are first asked to comment on what they see in Hindi and later they listen to the description of the same scene recorded by a Hindi native speaker. This exercise-cum-task was actually inspired by a tiny book authored by Ronald Stuart McGregor. The book in question contained pictures and their descriptions in Hindi but unfortunately, I no longer have a copy of the publication nor its complete bibliographical details. In order to include auto-correction into the process of learning pronunciation and grammar, I encourage students to make their own voice recordings, for instance of a self-spoken diary. They are advised to listen to the recordings immediately after completing the task and then again after a gap of time to review and correct their own mistakes both in the pronunciation and the grammar, and most importantly, personally assess their own progress in learning.

Moving back to website resources, those interested in the long story telling tradition can refer to Virtual Hindi, a platform developed by Gabriela Nik Ilieva of the University of New York. There are twenty-two stories available there, divided into three categories depending on the proficiency level: for the beginners, for the intermediate, and for the advanced students. Nineteen of those stories are animal fables and the last three are modern stories authored by Susham Bedi, a Hindi woman writer settled in the USA. However, audio recordings are available only for the initial fifteen.[10] In this case, apart from listening to a story a learner can also read the transcript and refer to the glossary. Moreover, website contains grammar lessons with exercises, write-ups on festivals, Indian cuisine, etc. and some videos as well.

Video resources

Nowadays, not only popular Hindi cinema, but the internet with its online Hindi media, TV channels, and the social media are constant providers of video aids that can be used in the classroom. To start with, short clips of regular feature films from the treasure throve of the mainstream Hindi cinema or Bollywood can often be an illustration for cultural or social phenomena and be used as a starting point of a discussion, a role play, a task or an exercise. To illustrate, one of the last scenes of the film *Mardaani 2* (2019), where the protagonist, Shivani Shivaji Roy, a woman police officer played by Rani Mukherjee, while being interviewed on a talk show, directs a tirade at the anchor on how Indian society mistreats its women, starting from the way it forces them to dress and behave modestly, speak or laugh softly, etc. and ending on being 'eve teased'[11] in public places, molested or even raped. This scene can be a starting point of a conversation—in which learners are asked, for instance, to compare the situation in their own country and India—or as an introduction to a role play, where learners, working in pairs, enact the previously watched scene in their own words.

The clips from Bollywood classics immerse learners in cultural context by introducing them to spoken language, and especially certain catchphrases, which as an indispensable part of popular culture, are often then circulated

10 http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/mideast/hindi/stories.html.

11 'Eve teasing,' or *the making of unwanted sexual remarks or advances by a man to a woman in a public place* (*The Oxford Dictionary of English*), is a term widely used in South Asia and defined by Indian law.

in the colloquial idiom. To give just one example: a famous scene from a blockbuster released in 1975, *Sholay,* where the villain, the dacoit Gabbar, interrogates his men, beaten up by the two main heroes of the movie, and asks them repeatedly a very innocuously sounding question, the all-time favorite among Hindi speakers, *kitne ādmi the?* 'How many men were there?' The five-minute long scene opens with the said question and ends with an equally catchy phrase, *jo dar gayā samjho mar gayā* 'scared, one is as good as dead' and in an entertaining manner picturizes a range of grammatical and lexical issues, like interrogative adverbs, conditional statements, numerals and intensive compound verbs, as well as collocations and idioms.

Movies dubbed in Hindi, in particular international hits which are well known to the learners either in the original language version, usually English, or its dubbing in their own language are valuable teaching aids, as learners are frequently familiar with the context and quite often even remember lines of the dialogue. The novelty of listening to the well-known characters speaking Hindi evokes a playful interest and in the case of advanced groups classes can even trigger a conversation on the cross-cultural aspects of translation. Therefore, in my teaching, I have introduced, for example, clips of dubbed versions of *The Lion King, Shrek, Finding Nemo* and *Forrest Gump*.

An attractive way of introducing vocabulary or grammatical constructions is to do it with the help of songs from popular Hindi movies. The song, *Āj se terī*, from the movie *Pad Man* (2018) repeatedly uses constructions with intensive compound verbs, while in the lines of the song *Mere lie tum kāfī ho* from the movie *Shubh Mangal Zyada Savdhan* (2020) learners come across sentences with modal verbs. With the former film's plot built around the topic of difficulties faced in maintaining menstrual hygiene and the latter's exploring the contemporary theme of civil rights of the LGBT community and the acceptance of gay relationships in middle-class families, the songs, apart from displaying grammatical structures in communicative context, can also stimulate a discussion on the present-day changes taking place within the Indian society. To give here an example of a text from outside the Bollywood, a text that is a very timely teaching aid of interest to the students, I would like to mention a rap song by Big Deal titled *Why Call Me Corona?* The performer is a popular singer from Odisha and the video item is a bitter commentary on the racist remarks that Indian citizens from the North East living in the Hindi speaking

belt have to face.[12] The lyric uses simple grammatical constructions, like simple present, simple future tense and the subjunctive, and may serve as an opening to a discussion on the Other in the Hindi imaginary and an introduction to reading excerpts from literary texts on the subject.

Commercials and advertisements for social campaigns make also interesting teaching aids both for their linguistic content and cultural context. They are convenient because they tell a complete story in a short form and also because they play on emotions else are amusing, often both, and thus incite interest of viewers-cum-learners. A short movie, "The Seatbelt Crew," shot as a part of a positive social campaign against stigmatization of transgender people in India, promoted traffic safety by calling for wearing seatbelts.[13] In this video a group of hijras enacts actions of a plane crew showing with their gestures the safety instructions, but the twist is that they stand at the traffic lights and the instructions are not given in a serious dry manner but rather jestingly, somewhat similar to how hijras usually talk to people in these locations, asking for alms and dispensing blessings. Apart from the cultural context and social issues that the clip points to, it also offers an insight into the colloquial manner of expression and body language employed, in this case, by those belonging to the hijra community.

A series of commercials in the group "Jaago Re Tata Tea. Power of 49" explore several important social issues, among them, the empowerment of women through participation in the elections, the message being that women who comprise forty-nine percent of India's population are capable of changing power structures by exercising their right to vote. The commercials are broadly based on the comic effect of well-chosen word play. For instance, there is an advertisement, in which a beautician in a beauty parlor talking to her prejudiced, high-class clients teaches them a lesson on the importance of vote in democracy.[14] The commercial's suspense and comic incongruity is built on the double meaning of an idiomatic expression *kālā ṭīkā* or a 'black mark.' The girl demonstrates her trust in the significance of

12 https://youtu.be/b2str77DUN4, access 20.04.2020. From an introduction on the official website of Big Deal (https://www.rapperbigdeal.com/about): *Are you an Indian and yet people find it difficult to associate you like one? This question may sound strange to most of us, but certainly not for those of mixed race. Well, this confusion over his ethnic identity is exactly what prompted Odisha-born Samir Rishu Mohanty aka Rapper Big Deal to get into the world of rap and express the agony of his distorted sense of belongingness. Born to a Japanese mother and an Indian father, Samir was keen on being a rapper (...).*

13 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=muCU6_Y_Kyo

14 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HUhHTJsZVXw

applying a *kālā ṭīkā* and her high-class clients presume she means the black mark that is put on someone's body to ward-off an evil eye. To their—and viewers'—surprise, and the point made here comes as a climax of the commercial, she shows them her finger marked in black which is the evidence of her having cast her vote. Apart from introducing learners to some practical aspects of the electoral process in India (starting with the very obvious—for an Indian—fact that every voter is 'marked' with indelible black ink after casting her/his vote so that s/he cannot do it again under another's name), the advertisement gives a peak into an every-day reality of social classes interacting with each other and opens a range of topics for discussion in a classroom. In another commercial of the same brand, a girl applies for a beauty parlor license in a government office. She is told she has to first give some *pattā* or 'leaf', which is a code-word for a banknote and, in turn, an open invitation to pay a bribe to the officer. The girl innocently plays on the meaning of the word, enquiring which *pattā*s the officer is interested in and, in the culminating moment, offers him a box of tea and explains that it contains both small and big leaves that he asked for. Here too, the deplorable trappings of Indian bureaucracy, i.e. the ever-present corruption, are portrayed in a playful and humorous manner and, as a matter of fact, the wit of the young woman 'disarms' and 'defeats' them. The comic and lighthearted banter play a positive role in the process of learning.

On the other hand, there are some video materials that offer a peek into the darker side of India and its problems. The TV programs naturally present people of different social strata, age, gender, regions etc., thus showcasing different variants of spoken Hindi, while at the same time highlighting some contemporary social and political concerns. The series, "Satyameva Jayate," is one of such highly endorsable shows. My high opinion is basically due to its content that discusses a wide range of contemporary problems—water shortage, waste management, mental health, rape, dowry system, LGBT, etc.—but also its accessibility. Originally aired on the Star Plus channel, it is now available also online.[15] The very structure of each about seventy-minute long episode, with short clips introducing the subject and each interviewee; short conversations between the anchor, a Bollywood star, Amir Khan, and the interviewees; and the question and answer session with the audience makes it easy to extract smaller clips for use in the classroom.

15 Complete episodes in Hindi and other language versions are available at: http://www.satyamevjayate.in.

The learning resources accessible from two platforms run by USA universities is something further to recommend: various video, audio and textual materials from the Hindi-Urdu Flagship at the Texas University in Austen[16] and the innovative STARTALK Hindi Audio-Visual Module Project at Columbia University developed as a tool for self-study.[17] The former, successfully developed and enhanced for years by Rupert Snell and his team, abounds in materials for learning grammar, exercises, very original audio recordings (e.g. "Spoken Thesaurus" that contains twenty-three recordings of synonymous Hindi words and their meanings, as well as examples of their usage recorded in mixed Hindi and English medium or "Hindi-Urdu Voicemail" that comprises forty-seven short voice-mail-like recordings), and a rich set of video recordings of interviews with Hindi women writers on their lives and writings and other Hindi speakers on various subjects. Moreover, the platform gives access to a cluster of materials for content-based study that is focused on health, which again is a very unique endeavor, and to a set of English lectures on various India related topics.

The innovative initiative or the STARTALK Hindi Audio-Visual Module Project of 2015 prepared by Columbia University and headed by Rakesh Ranjan, that:

> "... introduces 42 thematic modules, which are based on real life situations with varied linguistic, social and cultural contents. The modules include situations in urban and rural locations with native speakers of different background, age and gender. Shot in Jaipur, its neighborhoods and Pushkar in July 2015, these video clips provide authentic samples of native speakers' speech. The six modules on Children and their Hobbies were shot in Delhi in February 2016. All modules are unscripted, unrehearsed and non-sequential. The clips are short and offer samples of Hindi speech in the presentational and interpersonal modes of communication. They are unscripted, unrehearsed and non-sequential."[18]

The video clips, which are professionally recorded and attractively edited, are accompanied by descriptions, vocabulary lists, lesson plans for self-study and transcripts of the video clips. Though, the platform was developed as a tool for self-learning it can be used in a classroom environment as well.

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16 http://hindiurduflagship.org/resources/learning-teaching/glossaries-alive/

17 http://hindistartalk.lrc.columbia.edu.

18 Description quoted from the platform: http://hindistartalk.lrc.columbia.edu/about/

Conclusions

Changes in the methodology of teaching philology at the university level are influenced by a number of internal and external factors. It seems that at today's point in time both teachers and students have found themselves caught at an interesting moment of transition that requires responses that must come from the understanding of the underlying processes and individual and institutional motivations. At present, students who begin their education in the philology faculties have little knowledge of grammar of their own native language. Inevitably, this influences the manner in which they learn foreign languages. Coming from the background of other language courses with their well-developed teaching aids, students/learners tend to have the same expectations vis a vis their Hindi courses and are not easily pleased with using solely coursebooks, copied texts and a set of printed exercises. There is general importance attached to the communicative aspects of a language which defines the common goal of the majority of learners-at-large, who, exposed to attractive visuals and technology-enhanced teaching aids and tools in other language learning environment, expect similar abundance and ease in their Hindi classrooms.

Teachers of foreign languages, finding themselves under a constant pressure of well-developed methodology of teaching English, get attracted to new methods and techniques. This is a development fueled basically by their will to accommodate specific needs of their students and thus help them achieve their learning goals. In the recent times, the pandemic restrictions, forcing a sudden switch-over to almost exclusive online teaching with a focus on developing materials for self-learning, made us aware of the fact that rapid changes that we have been observing in the recent decades—right from the appearance of the internet, introduction of computer-enhanced learning, etc. —can also take a very drastic turn and necessitate instant accommodation to new teaching and learning online environment. I strongly believe that teaching should be attractive and engaging for students as it then yields better results, and that application of various methods and techniques should be done with this aim in mind. It is also my view that teacher's commitment is of equal importance, as—no matter how cliched it may sound—teaching is not only a job, but also a vocation.

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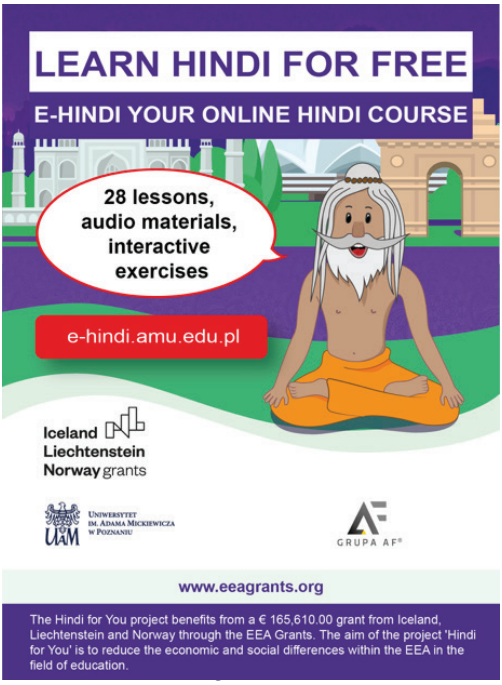
Useful websites with study materials

http://www.satyamevjayate.in
http://hindiurduflagship.org/resources/learning-teaching/glossaries-alive/
http://hindistartalk.lrc.columbia.edu
https://youtu.be/b2str77DUN4, access 20.04.2020
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=muCU6_Y_Kyo
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HUhHTJsZVXw
http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/mideast/hindi/stories.html
http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/01glossaries-old/busch/index.htm
http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00urduhindilinks/hu_hindi.html
http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/mideast/hindi/links.html
https://taj.oasis.unc.edu/lessons.html
https://epgp.inflibnet.ac.in/Home/ViewSubject?catid=18



Piotr Borek

Introducing B.A. Students to Hindi Literary Tradition through Problem Based Learning (PBL)

Abstract

PBL is known among its practitioners as a didactic method that greatly boosts students' efficiency in learning to learn. It allows for a shift of the center of gravity from knowledge content to skills. Despite its long university career, it is not as widely widespread in human studies as, e.g. in social sciences or in medical studies for which it had been created. The present paper provides an outline of PBL for the purpose of its wider implementation in teaching literary studies. The paper presents a case study of a course in Hindi literary tradition along with a proposition of an introductory class for B.A. students to illustrate a new way of implementing the PBL method with due attention paid to a literary text as a problem case. Eventually, the paper seeks to demonstrate that even a short problem case enables the acquisition of a considerable amount of knowledge content.

I. Reasons for a shift

Teaching Indian languages and literatures in the academic curricula in Central Europe still largely relies on traditional methods consisting in a binary system of lectures and widely understood reading classes. This is one of the main reasons why students stay focused on acquiring knowledge content based on the outcomes of scholarly research and on developing their language skills and capacity in textual critics. Such an educational process remains successful in preparing Indology students to work as translators, interpreters and, if combined with a strong focus on theory or with courses in other academic fields, also as scholars and advisors or publicists in the field of Indian culture, politics and religions, customs and so on. The process of creating a uniform and competitive European Higher Education Area, which has been

initiated more than two decades ago with the Bologna declaration, forced many faculties and departments into a radical transformation of the didactic process. With all advantages of the new system, many fields of studies of philological orientation, i.e. concentrated around teaching of languages and literatures, have faced an issue of dividing the teaching process into separate B.A. and M.A. studies versus formerly existing uniform five years M.A. One of important pragmatical questions that has arisen with such a change is about the professional skills of B.A. graduate students who either terminate their university education at this level or chose to continue it in other fields of studies. The problem is especially noticeable in case of academic courses that admit students with no prior knowledge of the language taught, a.o. Indian studies where teaching of Hindi-Urdu, Tamil, Bengali etc. has to be started with basic instruction on the appropriate writing system(s). It is often a point of agreement among scholars working in various Indological centres, at least in Central Europe, that dividing or shortening the didactic process along with an insufficient pace of adapting particular courses taught within is one of the main sources of students' dissatisfaction and thus of a considerable decrease of enrolments. Therefore, it becomes evident that immediate fluency in a language, its literary tradition or textual analysis cannot be kept as the paramount objective of teaching. Moreover, the knowledge that should be acquired by students willing to achieve an expected eloquence in their field of studies remains out of their reach not only due to a lower number of contact hours with the specialists. The inflating amount of significant publications and, especially in case of Indian studies, an essential shift of paradigm that largely denies old generalisations or simplifications of a seemingly homogenous Indian culture undermine the sense of the didactic process that is aimed primarily at knowledge acquisition. It is due to both, the reality of the information age and the long process of adapting to the new system yoked with market requirements that the educational discourse constantly moves from knowledge content to skills and learning to learn (cf. McPhail 2018: 71). A certain erudition that should be always expected from a graduate in human studies prevents a total shift of center of gravity, but there is no doubt that teachers of languages and literatures should embrace various methods with a potential to booster student's performance in academic outcomes and offer necessary skills in non-academic ones.

One of such methods is Problem Based Learning (PBL), of roughly a forty years career on different educational levels, so far widely applied in

many fields of studies (see Savery 2006) all over the world and, in case of higher education system in Central Europe, already well established in some curricula of the medical studies, but not much widespread in the humanities.

> "PBL is a teaching strategy that shifts the classroom focus from teaching to learning. The central premise of PBL holds that most students will better learn information and skills if they need them; need arises as students try to solve specific, open-ended problems. Beyond an orientation to problems, a PBL course promotes learning via activity and discovery. Students interact with each other and engage course material in a shared enterprise of learning-by-discovery. As students explore problems, they discover much about their topics and themselves. A discovery-oriented course provides students with opportunities and responsibilities to make significant decisions about what to investigate, how to proceed, and how to solve problems." (Burch 2001: 194)

In traditional or lecture-based learning, students are told what they need to know, they memorise a given knowledge content and eventually a problem is assigned to illustrate how such knowledge can be used. PBL relies on almost an inverse process as it starts with a problem to be solved, requiring students to identify their knowledge gaps or what they need to know in order to be able to struggle with the problem. By querying and making an effort to fill such gaps they both learn to solve the issue and simultaneously acquire necessary knowledge. But, what may be the crucial advantage of this method for many fields of human studies is that, if the problem is well designed, students need to go through a plethora of materials, and get familiarised with them. Thus, they do not only learn to learn, but also get a better grounded orientation in sources of knowledge which, in their future professional activities, they would need more than essential data memorised in traditional ways. Moreover, a well-proved advantage of the PBL is a long-term retention of knowledge in comparison with lecture based learning process (e.g. Yew & Goh 2016; Strobel & van Barneveld 2009).

II. Principles of the PBL class

> "PBL is organized around relevant and realistic problems that engage students in planning, investigating, making inquiries, developing evidence-based explanations, and communicating their ideas and results" (Lee &

> Blanchard 2019) and "it was originally developed to increase the skills of medical students in clinical reasoning and problem solving." (Lee & Blanchard 2019, cf. Barrows 1983; Neufelsd & Barrows 1974)[1]

A successful transition to PBL requires a total change of teacher's attitude and both teacher's and students' habits as it equals a shift from traditional teaching into learning oriented process. Teacher becomes a facilitator of the process and thus needs to withdraw, at least in the class, to a background position. Therefore, he limits himself to the role of a tutor with not much space to share his subject knowledge during the class. His role is to supervise the whole process, encourage students and also facilitate discussion. "Teachers guide students by asking Socratic questions about the engaging problems and the research strategy" (Burch 2001: 194). Being a vigilant observer during the class, most of his or her activity has to be relegated to the time-consuming process of designing the course and readiness to facilitate students' work at home through electronic means of communication. Besides the learner-centred approach and self-directed learning, PBL relies on small group work[2] and this usually does not create organisational issues for niche studies, including Indological courses.

Another essential principle of the method is the roles' attribution which consists of choosing two students to perform respectively as a chairman and a scribe. Here, the personal choice ideally may be left to the group, however after each class the roles should go to different individuals in order to avoid any kind of stagnation or exclusion and to let all the participants develop their social skills as well. The chairman's main responsibility consists in the plan execution which he fulfils through time management, moderating the discussion, stimulating activity and cooperation of the group members. S/he thus becomes a leader and appropriates some competences traditionally ascribed to the teacher. The scribe visualises the process of thinking by recording on the whiteboard the most important issues or results of the discussion (see *Figure 1*). All other participants are group members whose role is to discuss a problem case provided at the outset.

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1 For a concise overview of PBL method and essential references on its principles see e.g. Lee & Blanchard 2019 or, for a more detailed study, Duch et al. 2001.

2 Applying PBL in a large class requires substantial changes in the method and more structure in the class and course, but it can also prove successful. For some examples and discussion on such teaching situation see Shipman & Duch 2001.

The problem case can be presented to students in various manners and the way in which it is exposed generally depends on teacher's invention, but a fabricated story or just a portion of the text is what should sufficiently activate students' curiosity. As it has been already cited above, such a problem case should be relevant, realistic and have the power to engage the participants. Therefore, the whole activity during the class can be centred around the text as

> "(…) students use 'triggers' from the problem case or scenario to define their own learning objectives. Subsequently they do independent, self directed study before returning to the group to discuss and refine their acquired knowledge. Thus, PBL is not about problem solving per se, but rather it uses appropriate problems to increase knowledge and understanding." (Wood 2003)

The didactic process starts and terminates in the class, but it largely relies on research which is to be performed by students at home or in library (see *Figure 2*). The process is framed by two meetings in the classroom. The first meeting hinges on the analysis executed by the group and centred around the problem case. This is when students also get a perfect space to activate their prior knowledge and to detect knowledge gaps. The latter should be sedulously noted by the scribe and then forged into research subjects to be finally attributed, either by the chairman or through common decision, to individual group members. Whereas the second meeting starts with students' short presentations of their research outcomes, further discussion and evaluation. All stages of the process are equally important[3]. The last stage lets

3 A PBL tutorial is basically patterned as a seven steps process. D. F. Wood provides its concise and exemplary exposition in her article on PBL in medical studies:
"Step 1—Identify and clarify unfamiliar terms presented in the scenario; scribe lists those that remain unexplained after discussion
Step 2—Define the problem or problems to be discussed; students may have different views on the issues, but all should be considered; scribe records a list of agreed problems
Step 3—"Brainstorming" session to discuss the problem(s), suggesting possible explanations on basis of prior knowledge; students draw on each other's knowledge and identify areas of incomplete knowledge; scribe records all discussion
Step 4—Review steps 2 and 3 and arrange explanations into tentative solutions; scribe organises the explanations and restructures if necessary
Step 5—Formulate learning objectives; group reaches consensus on the learning objectives; tutor ensures learning objectives are focused, achievable, comprehensive, and appropriate

the students make clear what they have learned, evaluate their own activities under self-assessment and provide mutual feedback as peer-assessment. Both types of assessments should factor into the assignment grade and as such become practical tools to boost students' sense of responsibility and maturity.

III. Kernel matter in PBL: an example from the Hindi classroom

The crucial question that has to be answered by a teacher planning to apply the PBL method in his/her course is what kind of a text or other media s/he should provide in the classroom to meet the goals of the curriculum. In many fields of studies like medicine, social sciences or technology, these might be real life stories or imitating real ones with central characters struggling with difficulties or put in critical situations. This is how students can be most easily placed in an engaging position of empathy and thus get prompted to virtually help their protagonists to manage the crisis. In Indian studies such stories would well serve a course in culture that aims at making students acquainted with e.g. caste relationships or, for instance, a class in contemporary social issues which seeks to make them understand the problem of gynophobia. Naturally, an appropriate story is not the only model for a problem case and various ideas can be used to arouse interest and initiate brainstorming or discussion. A vast literature covering the practice of PBL in various fields of studies offers different ways of serving problem cases to the students.[4] However, some fields of studies require a completely different and innovative approach. In the mid of the method's university career,

> "[a]n examination of existing PBL models revealed that any application to Literary Studies was not going to involve simply 'cutting' a tried-and-tested template from, say, medicine and 'pasting' it into our own subject to create our own paradigm." (Hutchings & O'Rourke 2002: 74)

Step 6—Private study (all students gather information related to each learning objective)

Step 7—Group shares results of private study (students identify their learning resources and share their results); tutor checks learning and may assess the group" (Wood 2003).

4 See e.g. Duch et al. 2001, esp. White 2001. Or, for a detailed structure of an exemplary tutorial in economics see Mergendoller et al. 2000: 375-376.

B. Hutchings and K. O'Rourke, authors of a rare research paper on PBL in Literary Studies,[5] further quote a statement from an essential work on PBL in higher education, justifying their need to widen the scope of problem case models:

> "Problem-Based Learning is thus an approach to learning that is characterised by flexibility and diversity in the sense that it can be implemented in a variety of ways in and across different subjects and disciplines in diverse contexts. As such it can look very different to different people at different times." (Savin-Baden 2000: 3)

The standard course in Hindi literary tradition that I am conducting in the Institute of Oriental Studies in the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, aims at making students acquainted with theoretical conceptualisations on the history of Hindi literature, essential literary works and linguistic diversity of the tradition. Combining those goals is not an easy task even during heavily informative lectures and reading classes. Especially that the course is led at the B.A. level in which students' knowledge of Modern Standard Hindi is limited to grammar principles, a rather colloquial use of language at c. A2 level and to a few simple literary texts that had been served to them so far during language classes. Apart from such linguistic profile of the group members, some significant prerequisites that I may rely on in the process of knowledge activation (see *Figure 2*) are courses in Sanskrit poetics, history of India and introduction to literary studies, though to a limited extent as it is usually based on Western literary traditions. A problem case based on fabricated stories bears risk of time-waste and concentration on one of the above-mentioned goals only. Hutchings and O'Rourke propose a path-breaking model of an advertisement text, thus "devising a methodology that is based on existing models of procedure in subjects where PBL is well established" (Hutchings & O'Rourke 2002: 78). But what one may lack in their case is a literary text which, in a course concerning a literary tradition, would be ideally situated in the center of students' interest.

It is not an original idea that a literary text itself becomes the most genuine problem case for literary studies. However, just reading and discussing one that belongs to a canon would probably not make a PBL class more efficient than a traditional reading class antedated by an appropriate lecture

5 For another example of an article devoted to the application of PBL in Literary Studies see Lingan 2014.

on the subject. What I would like to propose instead, as an example of PBL application, is an introductory class in the history of Hindi literary tradition, centred around a literary text that touches upon the issues of literary history and critics, and reveals its historical context. In other words, as a result of such a choice students are left with a few stanzas that have the power to stir up the discussion, activate their basic knowledge of poetics, make them astound by its content and thus inspire to look for the exact meaning and reasons behind poet's message. A good example which proved functional in this respect in my didactic experience, would be a portion of the famous poem *Bhārat Bhārtī* (1912) by Maithilīśaraṇ Gupta.

IV. Scenario: from prior knowledge activation to research problems

In the beginning of a three-hour class, antedated by an outline lecture on Hindi literature and necessarily by an instruction class on the PBL method, students receive five stanzas (vv. 157–161) of the poem.[6] Providing the date of its composition should be helpful during the further class discussion and a bibliographical note will facilitate individual research at home as there is little chance that any of the group members knows the name of the author. Students are allowed to use dictionaries, possibly online, and optionally look at their notes from the prerequisite courses. They are being informed that the problem analysis should be divided into two sub-stages: one aimed at understanding the original text and the second at its further discussion. Both stages are time-

6 "us sāmpratik sāhitya par bhī dhyān denā cāhie,/ uskī avasthā bhī hamẽ kuch jān lenā cāhie./mṛt ho ki jīvit jāti kā sāhitya jīvan-citr hai,/ vah bhraṣṭ hai to siddh phir vah jāti bhī apavitr hai./157/

jis jāti ko sāhitya thā svargīy bhāvõ se bharā, / karne lagā ab bas viṣay ke viṣ-viṭap ko vah harā!/ śruti, śāstr, sūtr, purāṇ, rāmāyaṇ, mahābhārat haṭe,/ ve nāyikābhedādi unke sthān mẽ haĩ ā ḍaṭe!! /158/

ham to hue hī patit par durbhāv jo bharte gaye–/ sukumār bhāvī-sṛṣṭi ko bhī ve patit karte gaye!/ hā! ucca bhāvõ ko vahī kram āj bhī hai kho rahā,/ aślīl granthõ se hamārā śīl caupaṭ ho rahā! /159/

ab siddh hindī hī kahā̃ kī rāṣṭrbhāṣā ho rahī,/ par hai vahī sabse adhik sāhitya ke hit ro rahī./ rīte paṛe ab tak aho! uske akhil bhāṇḍār haĩ,/ tulsī tathā sūrādi ke kuch ratn hī ādhār haĩ!! /160/

uddeśya kavitā kā pramukh śṛṅgār ras hī ho gayā,/ unmatt hokar man hamārā ab usī mẽ kho gayā./ kavi-karm kāmutkā baṛhānā rah gayā dekho jahā̃,/ ham vir ras bhī smar-samar mẽ ho gayā pariṇat yahā̃! /161/" (Gupta 2014: 2528-2529 [Kindle location]).

limited and since students do not have much experience with translation of literary texts in Hindi so far, it is expected that the chairman or other group members suggests a work division. The ideal of the team work communicated during the instruction class should prompt them to divide themselves into pairs, each of which is attributed with a stanza to work on. The final result of their work or a draft translation of all stanzas should be presented in forum which enables a preliminary discussion and some negotiations concerning the meaning of the text. With a basic understanding of the content, the students are now able to proceed with further analysis.

Why does this very portion of the poem seems to be an adequate case for an introductory class? First of all, the text links different periods of Hindi literary tradition as the contemporary author appeals to some concepts central for the early modern poetry. Secondly, it invokes some terms central for Indian literatures in general and thus it creates for the group members a chance for a satisfactory use of their actual knowledge of Sanskrit literature. Thirdly, the text is politically and socially engaged; it has been composed at a thunderous time – that should be easily identified by students acquainted with political history – when modernising forces were clearly reflected in the literature.

As those arguments reveal, the problem case has to be designed with a strong attention paid to the prerequisites. In case of a different curriculum in which students have no classes in Sanskrit literary tradition or political history of India PBL lesson would require a totally different text which would refer to more general concepts. The prior knowledge activation is essential for the students to voice some ideas and thus to stir up the initial discussion. In case of the proposed portion of Maithilisharan Gupta's poem and the prerequisites as listed above, at least four terms should be crucial here: *nāyikābhed*, *śṛṅgār ras*, *vīr ras* and *rāṣṭrbhāṣā*.[7] Note that the first three have an immediate power to make the students think of the Sanskrit counterparts (*nāyikābheda*, *śṛṅgāra rasa*, *vīra rasa*); the text offers an easy tool to make the group members think

7 This might be also *jāti* that had been identified by the students during the first sub-stage of the analysis. It is highly possible that when attempting to translate v. 158, they were trying to rely on their basic knowledge of the *jāti* concept related to the caste system, but an evident incompatibility of such sense with the whole verse should drive them to check all dictionary meanings and come up with an idea of 'nation' as a more adequate understanding of the word. It can also be the first instance during the class which would help them to realise and conclude on the importance of constant use of dictionary when reading literature.

of the strong connection of both literary traditions. In the process of prior knowledge activation:

- *nāyikābhed* should make students try to recall a class or their own readings on Sanskrit *alaṃkāraśāstra*, a branch of knowledge about poetic figures,
- *śṛṅgār ras* and *vīr ras* would prompt the group members to discuss the *rasa* theory,
- *rāṣṭrbhāṣā* altogether with *jāti* and the date of composition (1912) form a perfect combination of data to make the class participants recall what they had learned on the history of India[8].

The instructional class on the PBL method makes students aware that they will need to formulate some research questions that they will subsequently attempt to answer at home or in library. Therefore, the discussion should eventually focus on the knowledge gap detection. This may be executed through a set of conceivable questions of such sort:

a. is *alaṃkāraśāstra* only the domain of Sanskrit literature?
b. what are the two types of literature that the poet counterposes?
c. why does the poet counterpose those types of literatures at this specific point of time?
d. who are Tulsī, Sūr—the names that some of the students might have already heard—and eventually why do those figures stand on the same side as *śruti*, *śāstr*, *sūtr*, *purāṇ*, *Rāmāyaṇ*, *Mahābhārat*?
e. who is on the other side, i.e. whom or what kind of litterature does the poet heavily criticise or even undervalue?
f. who, after all, is the author of such a text?[9]

The scribe is bound to register crucial points of the discussion on the whiteboard and they will finally be transformed into either concrete research problems, or

8 I am listing only those terms that proved successful in activating loci of knowledge in my own didactic practice (course in Hindi literary tradition for 3rd year B.A. students, Jagiellonian University in Kraków). Subsequently formulated questions of knowledge gap detection and research problems are equally based on the authentic work of my students.

9 This seemingly free order of the questions reflects a discussion by a group of my students.

simple tasks that would aim at providing some basic knowledge necessary to understand the sense of the poem. The research problems based on the above questions, i.e. aimed at answering such questions, will be further attributed to the individuals. Given that this is an initial class in Hindi literature, the problems, possibly identical with the subjects of presentations to be prepared out of the class, could be as simple as that:

a. *Nāyikābheda*[10] (or just *alaṃkāraśāstra*) in Hindi literary tradition.
b. Localize what has been named as *apavitr* literature before 1912.
c. Nation and national language in the beginning of the 20th century.
d. Localize Tulsī, Sūr and whatever else can be named as *pavitr* literature before 1912.
e. Resons for high esteem of *vīra rasa* in the beginning of the 20th century.
f. Matithilīśaraṇ Gupta – life, oeuvre, and political engagement.

It is necessary to assume that the plausible subjects of the individual research will be uneven, as in the examples drawn above. Some of them can be simply based on the most easily available internet resources, like Wikipedia, and the threat of students referring to them can never be completely avoided. In case of some research subjects (like b. or e.) students attempting to survey such popular open resources will quickly realise that the knowledge content they are searching for is available rather in research articles and academic books. But someone attributed with a subject containing specific, names or terms (like a. or f.) might be eager to take a shortcut in doing their homework. But since making students acquainted with some essential literature is always important goal of a general course in literary history, the group should be furnished with basic texts or, if library resources allow a bibliography sufficient to execute the task. The bibliography should be compiled according to the curriculum, though it should also contain essential or classical works, and possibly allow for a re-use for the purpose of the next problem cases that would be provided during the course.[11]

10 Here, I have provided the Sanskrit term, not the exact appearance of the word in the poem, as the students are likely to identify this term with the literary tradition they already know.

11 For instance, the bibliography for this scenario could be composed from among such list: Bahl 1974, Busch 2011a and/or 2011b, Chandra 1986, Dalmia 1997, Eaton 2014,

V. Scenario: what do students gain through PBL?

Students' presentations during the second meeting in the classroom are basically focused on filling the gaps detected a week or two weeks earlier. But what they should do out of class is not only collecting the most necessary data to explain individually attributed problems. They should also be able to demonstrate their acquaintance with the articles or chapters of books which had become the main source of the presentations. For a teacher, to gain such an aim, during the first meeting he or she may notify students that the next class will become a mini-conference and that presentations[12] will be followed by questions raised by the other members of the group.

As it will be seen from the list given below, presentations followed by questions and answers, and again a discussion, do not primarily serve to understand a small portion of the poem, but have the power to create an anchorage, i.e. the whole net of knowledge content that will help students proceed with further studies on the specificity of Hindi literature. This is what the purported set of subjects that have been attributed to the students will potentially make the group aware of:

a. what is *rīti-kāl* in the classical history of Hindi literature. Its neo-classical features and *rītigranth* as a signature genre,
b. the dominant *rasa*(s), themes and 20th-century evaluations of *rīti-kāl* literature,
c. the institutionally underwritten transition from Braj to Khaṛī Bolī Hindi,
d. what is *bhakti-kāl* in the classical history of Hindi literature. Sūrdās, Tulsidās and some other authors (cf. *tulsī sūrādi*),
e. some priorities in writing the history of Hindi literature in the first decades of 20th century and reasons for such priorities,
f. Maithilīśaraṇ Gupta as one of Hindi poets who actively participated in the process of nation-building.

Gaeffke 1978, Gupta Ch. 2011, Gupta N. 2011, Hawley 2017, McGregor 1974 and/or 2003, Ritter 2010, Śukla 1952, Trivedi 2003 and the works in students' mother tongue if available, like Rutkowska & Stasik 1992, Stasik 2000 and 2003 in the case of Polish students.

12 Each presentation may last around five minutes, however a time adjustment will be required, depending on the number of group members.

With such a set of possible outcomes and, what is even more relevant, in course of the whole teaching process, including all efforts made out of class, a teacher applying the PBL method in his or her course can forecast a variety of gains. In a teaching exemplified by the proposed scenario a B.A. student in Hindi literary tradition has a chance to get:

- acquainted with probably his first piece of Hindi literature and also get aware of its ideological function,
- awareness of debatable nature of the existing history of Hindi literature,
- acquainted with some essential issues in the history of Hindi literature,
- points of anchorage for his or her further studies in the history Hindi literature,
- basic knowledge necessary for a further introduction of the concept of Hindi literary tradition as counterposed to the concept of history of Hindi literature,
- awareness of a continuity between Hindi literary tradition and Sanskrit literary tradition that he or she is already acquainted with.

Besides the context of Indology, the course participants as university students in general:

- are bound to go through a set of secondary literature,
- will better remember the account since it has been produced through individual effort,
- learn to work in a team,
- are more conscious about advantages of cooperation since they have created an account out of scratches and then their individual efforts linked together,
- continue to learn on the importance of critical attitude towards a(ny) text.

The gains listed above have been broadly divided into two categories. One would be specific for a B.A. student in Hindi literary tradition and thus fulfilling a knowledge- and partially skill-focused curriculum. The other is bound rather to the changing expectations that the humanities face nowadays or students' needs in the eve of their professional careers, in view of the widening scope of the latter. Some of those gains will partially cover the goals already ascribed to the traditional lecture-based learning, but there are much more benefits, which are nowadays equally important, especially those related to training skills and qualifications.

VI. Conclusions

As it is always students' centred, PBL fosters "active learning, improved understanding, and retention and development of lifelong learning skills", it allows them "to develop generic skills and attitudes desirable in their future practice" (Wood 2003). Out of the method's most desirable advantages one should always bear in mind the issue of motivation as—according to Wood and what I am eager to confirm with my beginner's experience—"PBL is fun for students and tutors, and the process requires all students to be engaged in the learning process" (Wood 2003).

The course preparation is nevertheless extremely time consuming and often requires a radical change in teacher's habits; for some it may be hard to withdraw from the desk and forgo students' attention in the classroom. Besides some minor infrastructural impediments, there might be many practical limitations like how to assess students with unexpected absence and eventually how to make sure that the essential knowledge content will be covered within the course. This, of course, generates a question whether the content planned for the purpose of the traditional or lecture-based method is absolutely necessary and if and where some substantial cuts can be made. In many situations, students who are left too early with a greater amount of secondary literature "may be unsure how much self directed study to do and what information is relevant and useful" (Wood 2003). Besides, not every group performs in tune with teacher's curricular expectations. Some goals may need to be effectuated otherwise, either through a next problem case, or through a recurrence to a complementary traditional lecture-based meeting. However, even if some part of the knowledge content is being acquired by group members by their own effort, then students' satisfaction, a perspective of long-time retention (Yew & Goh 2016; Strobel & van Barneveld 2009) and a plethora of other gains, difficult to attain otherwise, makes the method promising for its application in teaching of literary studies.

The PBL method, with its pretty long history in other fields of studies proves to be more an open toolbox than a set of scenario patterns and has already become adaptable for the humanities as well. It may probably take more than one year of practice to properly craft some courses with an objective to satisfy the knowledge goals prescribed in the syllabus. However, constant transformations or changing expectations always require inventive settlements and an initial combining of traditional teaching with PBL or other

methods applied in various fields of studies may become a possible answer to new requirements.

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Mandar Purandare

Teaching Vocabulary in Hindi as a Second Language Course

Abstract

In Europe the tradition of teaching and learning Sanskrit is much older than teaching and learning Hindi. The first Indology study in Poland was the venerable and prestigious program in Kraków, which was established in the year 1860. Lectures on Sanskrit were offered from the very beginning and Hindi was introduced in 1973[1] by Professor Tadeusz Pobożniak. The scope of studying Sanskrit is largely academic, whereas learning Hindi has a practical aspect to it. It is a vibrant, vivid and widely spoken language in today's India that shares an interesting relationship with ancient Sanskrit. This article is an attempt to propose and explore the idea of a "Maximum Input Hindi in L2 classroom". It proposes a new teaching method that can be incorporated into a 'Hindi as a second language (further L2)' classroom. The relationship between Sanskrit and Hindi plays an important and interesting role in this regard. The idea of Maximum Input Hindi in L2 Classroom covers many aspects; however, in this article the focus is on creating a certain awareness in respect to Sanskrit and Hindi.

A note on research status

When it comes to teaching and learning Hindi at university level in Europe, there is very little or no research data, whether theoretical or empirical. In fact, the activity of teaching and learning Hindi in Europe exhibits some quite interesting features or characteristics, which need to be looked into carefully for the purpose of getting a better and clearer picture of the dynamics of Hindi didactics. One of the peculiar features is related to students' profile. Very rarely does any European student have access to Hindi language learning during primary or high-school education. Hindi does not yet belong to the

1 http://www.indologia.io.filg.uj.edu.pl/zaklad/historia (accessed 20/08/2022)

"Commonly Taught Language (CTL)" category, even though interestingly it occupies a third place in the list of the world's most spoken languages.[2]

Another aspect of this Hindi pedagogy is that there is hardly any other official institute apart from a university, where students can use, test and practise the knowledge or skills that they acquire in a Hindi L2 classroom on a regular basis. It is important to consider all these facts since they are directly related to the L2 didactics and hence should be considered when designing a Hindi as L2 course. All these factors are also important from the perspective of defining and understanding various other elements such as interlanguage, aptitude, and attitude in second language learning, acquisition of vocabulary, lingual and cultural competence, etc. It would be of great help if various Hindi teaching departments within Europe could collaborate in future and create empirical data corresponding to these various factors.

Scope and limitations of this article

For the unavailability of direct data related to Hindi didactics, the data on L2 teaching and learning referred to in this article comes from research on other languages like English, Spanish or French. It is also worth mentioning that this data sometimes also refers to high school L2 pedagogy. Hence, available data on L2 learning will serve as a dummy reference.

It is true that Hindi vocabulary in general shares a certain relationship not only with Sanskrit, but also with other languages such as Persian, Arabic, regional Indian languages, and some European ones. This paper, however, concentrates only on the Sanskrit-Hindi relationship and the suggestion is proposed that the various aspects of Persian-Hindi, Arabic-Hindi and other regional language influences on Hindi with regard to teaching environment should be discussed separately. Nevertheless, in a later phase a compilation of this data could help in developing a more comprehensive way of teaching and learning Hindi vocabulary.

Another important element to mention here would be that this article proposes a new model of Hindi vocabulary teaching for a B.A. programme in a conversational Hindi classroom and focuses on the Hindi-Sanskrit relationship. The Hindi L2 teaching is not based on the grammar-translation

2 https://www.statista.com/statistics/266808/the-most-spoken-languages-worldwide/ (accessed 06/06/23)

method; however, it does not completely neglect it as from time to time it is used depending upon the needs of students. Having in mind a three-year course of studies, it proposes a step-by-step introduction of various elements of vocabulary. If the proposed method seems valuable to fellow Hindi teachers, they shall feel free to introduce it as per requirements of their course and needs of their students. Problems that students speaking different first languages in Europe face in Hindi acquisition might be different, but the proposed method creates space for customisation. One would also need to research the role of English as a communicative language between teacher and student.

Objectives and goals in L2 learning:

Understanding and defining objectives and goals of learning a foreign language in the beginning is beneficial from the perspective of determining the teaching strategy of Hindi as L2. In my article I would like to focus on selected general objectives that a foreign language class should aim at. In fact, the objectives mentioned below do coincide partly with the ones of intercultural learning.[3] Here is the list.

1. Making students familiar with the culture, history and civilization of the language they are learning.
2. Creating an openness with respect to foreign cultures and languages.
3. Helping students to gain proficiency in the foreign language. Making them familiar with the literature of that language.
4. Promoting the acquisition of foreign languages on a very practical level.

Such a range of above-mentioned basic objectives in foreign language learning would be said to be applicable to a university level Hindi as L2 course. The teaching methods of the Hindi L2 classroom should thus be designed to achieve these objectives and goals. Here again we need to take into consideration students' profile. We do not have an exact idea about the aspirations or motivations of Hindi L2 students. Hindi courses are part of B.A. and M.A. courses in Indian studies or linguistics. The aptitude of students and their cognitive abilities to study a culturally distant language like Hindi, shall be tested. On a general basis, one can share an observation that yoga, Bollywood films, classical Indian dance and music, and the cultural diversity of India are

3 Sercu 2005: 21.

few of the factors that attract students to Hindi courses. Moreover, in a L2 class beliefs, aptitudes, goals, learning strategies, and various competencies of students may influence the performance of students.

Competency and performance

It is very interesting to see how the goals and competencies of L2 learning are interwoven and how they are closely connected to the dynamics of L2 didactics. A participant of the L2 course must develop three kinds of competencies: phonological, syntactic and semantic. Syntactic and semantic competencies seem to be more relevant from the practical point of view. The idea of lingual competency introduced by Chomsky in 1965 deals mainly with grammatical competence.

> "Linguistic theory is primarily concerned with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech community who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of language in actual performance." (Chomsky 1965: 3)

The idea of an 'ideal speaker-listener' is quite far from everyday situations. In fact, one shall have to think about a 'real speaker and listener' scenario instead of an 'ideal' one. In case of Hindi and/or other Indian languages the real speaker-listener scenario is a bilingual, if not multilingual one. As one can imagine, with the usage of more than one language it also involves many sociocultural aspects. That is why the term 'homogeneous speech community' used in the above statement would also need careful analysis pertaining to Indian languages, since they are prone to mixing and blending languages in a day-to-day conversation, i.e. in a 'real speaker-listener' scenario. It makes the above-mentioned condition presented by Chomsky far from everyday communication in the context of Hindi language. This theory, however, has its own implications in that it subsumes phonological, syntactic and semantic subsystems and thus is directly related to the initial inputs provided in any L2 classroom.

Interestingly, it is Chomsky again who describes an aspect of 'performance'. He distinguishes competence from performance as follows:

> "We thus make a fundamental distinction between *competence* (the speaker hearer's knowledge of his language) and *performance* (the actual use of language in concrete situations) (...) In actual fact, it [performance] obviously could not directly reflect competence. A record of natural speech will show numerous false starts, deviations from rules, changes of plan in mid-course, and so on." (Chomsky 1965: 4)

It is a challenge in a Hindi L2 course to provide atmosphere and inputs for the growth of expected competencies in order for a Hindi L2 student to perform well in a live conversation. At this point, I would like to suggest that a study of possible interaction between Hindi native speakers living in Europe and Hindi L2 students might reveal to what degree it influences their motivation to learn. This situation also involves exposure to various language registers. A particular native speaker, who becomes a Hindi L2 class teacher, may exhibit individual limitations in this respect. Performance is subjective, because many psychological factors play an important role in it. In a 'real speaker-listener' situation it is difficult to control the performance, whereas one has a certain degree of control on developing competency levels in a Hindi L2 classroom, which is more like a practice ground for the 'real speaker-listener' scenario.

Many researchers have contributed to further development of the idea of lingual competency, and it has been suggested that in L2 didactics one deals broadly with 'communicative competence' (Canale & Swain 1980: 1–77). The idea of competence proposed by Chomsky in 1965 is associated with knowledge of grammar rules; however, Campbell & Wales (1970) and Hymes (1972) propose a broader notion of communicative competence. This competence covers various types of competencies:

- Linguistic competence that corresponds to knowledge of vocabulary, grammar, semantics.
- Discourse competence enables L2 speakers to engage in continuous discourse, linking and comprehending ideas in longer written texts.
- Pragmatic competence allows L2 speakers to use their linguistic knowledge to convey and interpret meanings in real life situations.
- Sociolinguistic competence that consists primarily of the application of language in social situations, like conveying suitable degrees of formality.
- Sociocultural competence which includes an awareness of background knowledge and cultural assumptions.

At a first glance these competency areas might seem to exist as separate entities; however, they are closely interlinked. Acquisition of vocabulary and its organisation falls under grammatical competence; but its application and usage and, most importantly, awareness of background knowledge falls under sociocultural competence. With regard to our glottodidactical focus on vocabulary, these two competencies share an interesting connection. A Hindi L2 student first has to understand the vocabulary properly with all its possible aspects in a classroom, and then has to use it in real life communication. The occasions for communication in real-life situations need to be created in the L2 classroom. Various types of inputs, exercises, conversational practices, language games, audio-visual inputs need to be designed to provide a wide array of information related to the culture and usage of phrases in a live conversation.

L2 acquisition and learning

The average Hindi L2 student at the university level is an adult in their 20s. Therefore we need to reflect on how they learn foreign languages. Language acquisition, namely the study of how people learn a foreign language, is a recent field of study that dates to the second half of the twentieth century. Rubin (1975), for example, suggests that working on raising awareness of various learning strategies among students is crucial. The detailed description of acquisition and learning provided by Stephen Krashen (2009 [1982]) was one of the main guidelines for this paper. Usually, one tends to attribute the ability of language acquisition to children and think that this capacity is lacking in adults. Krashen (2009:10), however, with his acquisition-learning distinction, clearly suggests that adult learners of L2 also exhibit a process similar to that of language acquisition:

> "The acquisition-learning distinction is perhaps the most fundamental of all the hypotheses to be presented here. It states that adults have two distinct and independent ways of developing competence in a second language. The first way is language acquisition, a process similar, if not identical, to the way children develop ability in their first language. Language acquisition is a subconscious process; language acquirers are not usually aware of the fact that they are acquiring language but are only aware of the fact that they are using the language for communication."

This paves the way towards conceptualization of a pedagogic approach to L2 teaching in general, and more particularly seems to be helpful in creating innovative vocabulary teaching techniques. If one goes by this hypothesis, the input by the Hindi L2 teacher and the way it is designed plays an important role in the process of learning and acquiring Hindi. It is true that Krashen's view is more acquisition oriented; however, the learning part is not neglected. There is a certain analogy to the above discussion of competencies, hence the theoretical or grammatical competences proposed by Chomsky go hand in hand with the remaining array of competencies. The challenge in the Hindi L2 classroom of mainly European students, is probably to design various materials in such a way that they help learners to 'pick-up' a language. One needs to see which visual and audio inputs to introduce in which order, as well as to control linguistic and cultural information to design such a teaching programme. The following quote is proposed by Krashen (2009: 10) with reference to second language acquisition: "Other ways of describing acquisition include, implicit learning, informal learning and natural learning. In non-technical language, acquisition is 'picking-up' a language." Empirical research data related to Hindi L2 learning will provide more insight to help determine teaching strategies. Hindi L2 courses need to be made more attractive, interesting, relevant, creative and most importantly appealing to new generations of students.

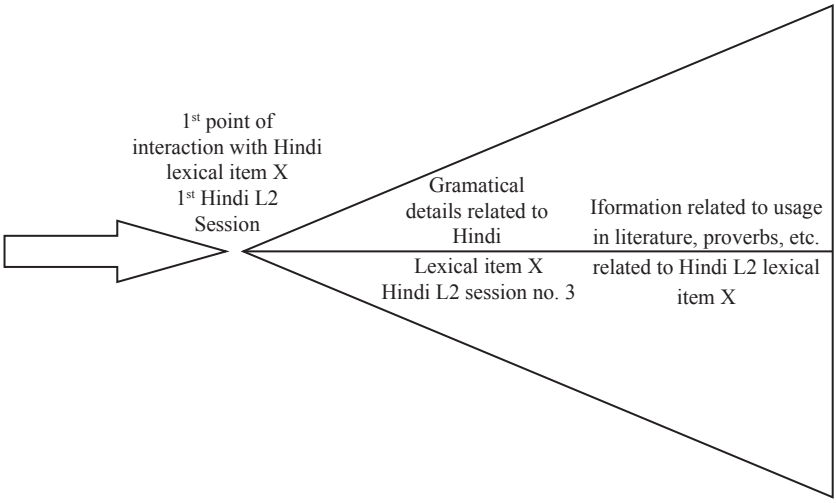
The above discussion is pertinent to learning and acquiring a language in general. But how is it applicable to teaching and learning vocabulary? As we have come to this point in our discussion regarding vocabulary, let us see some examples of what some other researchers have to say while explaining its importance. David Wilkins (1972: 111–112) stresses the importance of vocabulary in the following words "Without grammar, very little can be conveyed but without vocabulary nothing can be conveyed". According to Harley (1995a: 1–20) vocabulary is the most central element in the social system of communication. The book "Approaches and methods in language teaching" by Richards and Rodgers takes a thorough review of various teaching methods and one finds various interesting notes related to the history of language teaching. There is a section with a title "Vocabulary control" and it mentions "One of the first aspects of method design to receive attention was the role of vocabulary. In the 1920s and 1930s several large-scale investigations of foreign language vocabulary were undertaken." This is related to the English as foreign language teaching, however this kind of

survey or study had an impact on designing the English L2 courses. According to Richards (Richards 1998: 32) Michael West, who examined the role of English in India back in the 1920's mentions that vocabulary is an essential component of reading proficiency. Thus, one can easily imagine how gaining, understanding and implying vocabulary in various scenarios provides much of the basis for how well learners speak, listen, read, and write. This leads to a question: given its utmost importance, what are the likely facets of learning and teaching vocabulary? How does a L2 student learn the new vocabulary? A short note on the nature of vocabulary learning would be useful here at this point:

> "Knowledge of an L2 lexical item consists of several components. Generally, it is characterised by several dimensions of word knowledge (i.e. phonological and orthographic, morphological, syntactic and semantic) and by knowledge of conceptual foundations that determine the position of the lexical item in our conceptual system. Finally, it inevitably includes the ability of productive use, i.e. efficient retrieval of the lexical item for active use." (Pavicic-Takac 2008: 10)

Careful analysis of the above statement may show us that the learning of L2 vocabulary seems to have an incremental nature. The information associated with a lexical item expands over time and, consequently, across multiple learning sessions. Typically, it starts with a limited understanding of a word or lexical item in a classroom, but over time, L2 students accumulate increasing amount of information associated with that specific lexical item. This information may contain semantics, socio-cultural aspects, applications in practical life, literary aspects, historical references, etc. With reference to the previous discussion, it is worth mentioning here that this could happen as both a learning and an acquisition process. Both activities, vocabulary teaching and vocabulary learning, seem to need special attention in the classroom. Here I would like to propose a graphical representation of this vocabulary learning process. This graphical representation might help us visualise the process of learning of L2 lexical items, and further might help us in designing the strategy or strategies of teaching L2 vocabulary.

The horizontal line in this figure is a timeline that represents a progression of Hindi L2 classes conducted. The initial class usually provides very basic information about a lexical item i.e. a small bit that initiates the learning process. This basic information usually consists of proper orthographic



representation, direct and usual meaning of that item etc. Over a period of time, however, this information expands. The reach of this expansion depends on the scope of that lexical item. This expansion is represented here by the conical shape, which encompasses various aspects, i.e. socio-cultural, lingual, grammatical or historical of that lexical item. With time passing a L2 learner is supposed to get more and more information about that tiny bit that was introduced a few classes ago. Needless to say, this process is an ongoing one; however, a L2 classroom, in this case a Hindi L2 classroom, has to cater to and accommodate this process as much as possible and thus a strategy has to be designed to cover this phase during the course of a three-year B.A. Hindi L2 programme.

Several kinds of techniques and approaches to vocabulary teaching and learning could be utilised. Celik (2003: 361–369) for example suggests the technique of code mixing or code switching to teach vocabulary. The technique seems to be a bit unconventional as it involves the principle of implementation and the impact of using L1. As already mentioned, Hindi has a tendency for code switching, so it could be tempting to apply this technique in a L2 classroom; however, the lack of any empirical data makes it difficult to comment on the effectiveness of this strategy in a Hindi L2 course. Implementing mnemonic strategies like rhyming exercises, keyword or combination mnemonics is also part of any vocabulary teaching technique. Mnemonic exercises are fun and help students retain, memorise or to find associations with the vocabulary in a classroom. Here again, we do not have any actual research and experimental data to come to any conclusions. Implementing random mnemonic exercises

without exactly understanding the learners' problem areas and competency levels is surely not to be recommended. However, if one considers the nature of L2 and how L2 learners learn, one could probably design a special kind of mnemonic exercises for the Hindi L2 classroom.

According to Krashen and many other researchers, vocabulary acquisition is a product of reading (see Krashen 1989). Reading is a process that involves visual impulses and it helps a L2 learner to understand and visualise orthography better. There is however no standard collection of reading materials for Hindi L2 students organised according to their language proficiency. Children's books seem to be an interesting and creative source for the purpose of providing extra reading material. Fortunately, there are some good internet resources for free books such as Pratham Books. Thornbury (2002:13) in his book *How to teach vocabulary* provides a list of statements collected from English L2 learners. Here are two statements (the original statements contain the mistakes and seem to have been handwritten):

1. "Oral is my weakness and I can't speack a fluent sentence in English. Sometimes, I am lack of useful vocabularies to express my opinions."
2. "I would like to improve my vocabulary. I have the feeling that I always use the same idiomatic expressions to express different sort of things."

Importantly, after these declarations Thornbury (2002:13) remarks: "Vocabulary teaching has not always been very responsive to such problems, and teachers have not fully recognised the tremendous communicative advantage in developing extensive vocabulary."

The significance of teaching vocabulary should be easily understood from the above statement. Along with this, the neglect of such an important part of language in foreign language education is also clearly seen in this statement. It is important to note here that vocabulary learning can develop or contribute to the development of 'communicative advantage', which is one of the most desired things to be achieved while teaching/learning or acquiring any L2. Thus, with the mention of the term 'communicative advantage' we seem to complete a circle here. With the aim of developing communicative competence, the present practices of vocabulary teaching in a Hindi L2 classroom across various European universities need to be studied carefully and depending on that a new design needs to be proposed. So now, in order to develop this communicative competence in a L2 class, we have to first see what exactly the nature of the L2 vocabulary is as it has a direct bearing on diversification

of teaching strategies. It is essential to know it also in order to think about how it can be taught, with what examples, in what cultural, historical, etc. context. Grammatical and cultural relation of the foreign language with other languages is also a factor that plays an important role.

Hindi vocabulary

After the discussion of the general process of vocabulary learning and acquisition, we shall now scrutinise the particular case of Hindi vocabulary as a component of Hindi L2 teaching content. We shall also ponder over the scope of this vocabulary: which subjects shall be included; which adjectives, adverbs, nouns, synonyms and antonyms to introduce. Hindi vocabulary has its own specific characteristics. Unlike Sanskrit, Hindi is spoken almost nationwide, in various registers. Owing to the ongoing interactions with various languages, both Indian and foreign, it is adopting new lexical items. At present a blend of Hindi and English creates an interesting new variant called Hinglish. This process of blending with other languages or dialects is continuously creating various flavours of Hindi in its social and cultural spheres. It is not even necessary for a user of Hinglish to know English. For instance, a grandmother, not even literate, understands some everyday English words used by her grandchildren in everyday conversation mixed with Hindi.

An important point to note from a learner's point of view is this multilingual and changing character of Hindi. An average European student hails from a monolingual background and while studying Hindi enters into a new multilingual scene. Therefore, it becomes necessary to open various possible scenarios in front of European students in a L2 Hindi classroom and create awareness of this specificity of Hindi. There is no need to bombard students with more information than is necessary in the classroom. Considering the extent of this information, it will be necessary to choose a strategy for presenting it in a Hindi L2 classroom. This objective may sound obvious; however, it is difficult to achieve and might need a different didactic approach than the one used for teaching English as a foreign language for example.

Hindi and Sanskrit

The way the Hindi language has developed over the past several centuries has given rise to some distinctive features in the vocabulary of the Hindi language. The vast stream of *śabd-bhāndār*—literally treasure of words—or vocabulary of today's Hindi is made of various major and minor streams of words from other languages, hence Pathak (1982: 78) observes:

> "Modern Hindi in addition to Arabic-Persian loanwords abounds in English words too. On the one hand, the language has become Sanskritised owing to the growing number of direct Sanskrit loanwords (*tatsama*) during the *Chāyāvādī* movement; and on the other hand, its connection with normal life and the progressive movement has caused the prevalence of regional vocabulary and idioms. A language exhibiting such an array of characteristics is not only dominating the field of literature, but also other fields like print media, newspapers, magazines and All India Radio. In the field of education subjects new words are also being coined to make Hindi into a medium of expression for technical and scientific subjects. Consequently, with the expansion of its vocabulary, its expressive capacity continues to increase."[4]

Although this quotation is from a book written in 1982, the observation is relevant for today's Hindi. This paragraph mentions the *Chāyāvādī* movement that was dominant in Hindi poetry during 1918–1936 and is referred to as the golden era of standard Hindi. However, it also comments on the changes that Hindi is undergoing. One of the noteworthy aspects is that despite Hindi making more and more new connections with other regional languages, and with English, its original connection with Sanskrit has remained as a stable base. A very large part of today's spoken Hindi is being influenced by the language that is spoken in the entertainment industry (e.g. *bollywood kī hindī*). Hindi is an outcome of a long and rather complicated journey that begins with Sanskrit and its predecessors. Prakrits and Apabhraṃśas are the intermediate

4 *śabdāvalī - 1: ādhunik kālīn hindī mẽ arabī-fārsī ke śabdõ ke atirikt aṅgrezī śabdõ kī bhī bharmār ho gaī. ek or chāyāvādī yug mẽ tatsama śabdõ kā prayog baṛh jāne ke pariṇāmsvarūp yah saṃskr̥taniṣṭh huī to pragativādī yug mẽ dūsrī or sāmānya janjīvan se juṛ jāne ke kāraṇ ismẽ āñcalik śabdāvalī tathā muhāvrõ kā pracalan baṛhā. in sabhī viśeṣtāõ se paripuṣṭ hindī kā ab sāhitya ke atirikt samācār patrõ, patrikāõ aur ākāśavāṇī mẽ bhī bolabālā hai. śikṣā ke kṣetr mẽ vaigyānik evã prāvidhik viṣayõ kā mādhyam banāne ke lie nae śabd bhī gaṛhe jā rahe haĩ. phalataḥ iske śabd bhaṇḍār kī abhivr̥ddhi ke sāth-sāth iskī abhivyakti kṣamatā baṛhtī calī jā rahī hai.*

milestones in this journey. Language trees in various books illustrate the fact that the original source lies in Sanskrit (see Guru 1984: 16; Pathak 1982: 28).

Hindi vocabulary is largely made up of four categories of words: *tatsama*, *tadbhava*, *videśī*, and *deśī*. The vast collection of *tatsama* vocabulary is of special relevance for this article. Study of the everyday language, i.e. *rozmarrā kī bhāṣā,* shows that the *tatsama* vocabulary of Hindi has a variety of uses. Examining it, one can establish various layers of the Sanskrit-Hindi relationship. The following description of *tatsama* words is given by Pandit Kamata Prasad Guru, a renowned Hindi grammarian: "Tatsama are those words of Sanskrit, which are present in Hindi in their original form. For example, *rājā, pitā, kavi, agni, vāyu, vats, bhrātā* and so on."[5]

The distinguished author notes that Sanskrit words in nominative singular have been a part of the language for generations. They can be traced back to ancient literary works, and some have even emerged in the modern era, with this linguistic evolution ongoing.

This important remark is relevant from the point of view of a teacher and a learner. Nomenclature of Sanskrit language is very different and complicated. Sanskrit has masculine, feminine and neuter which are classified according to endings. One may divide them into following categories:

1. m/f/n nouns ending with a/ā/ī
2. m/f ending in i/u/r
3. n ending in i/u and
4. m/f/n ending in a consonant

Let us try to create a declension table for a few nouns having various endings (to avoid the complication maybe not a complete one, at least three rows of it up to the third vibhakti).

rāma, masculine noun ending with *-a*

Case	Singular	Dual	Plural
I Nominative	rāmaḥ	rāmau	rāmāḥ
II Vocative	rāma	rāmau	rāmāḥ
III Accusative	rāmam	rāmau	rāmān

5 *tatsam ve saṃskr̥t śabd haĩ, jo apne aslī svarūp mẽ hindī bhāṣā mẽ pracalit haĩ, jaise – rājā, pitā, kavi, āgyā, agni, vāyu, vats, bhrātā ityādi*. Guru 1984: 29.

ramā, feminine noun ending with *-ā*

Case	Singular	Dual	Plural
I Nominative	ramā	rame	ramāḥ
II Vocative	rame	rame	ramāḥ
III Accusative	ramām	rame	ramāḥ

nadī, feminine noun ending with *-ī*

Case	Singular	Dual	Plural
I Nominative	nadī	nadyau	nadyaḥ
II Vocative	nadi	nadyau	nadyaḥ
III Accusative	nadīm	nadyau	nadīḥ

Let us now see how these words are in use in regular Hindi conversation:

1. *āpkā betā rām kahā̃ hai ājkal*?
jī do mahīne pahle uskā tabādlā ho gayā. ab vah mumbaī mẽ kām kartā hai.
Meaning:
"Where is your son Ram nowadays?"
"Ram was transferred two months ago. He now works in Mumbai."

2. *namaste, kyā yah tasvīr ramā rastogī kī hai?*
hā̃! yah hamārī betī ramā hai.
Meaning:
"Hi, is this the photo of Ramā Rastogī?"
"Yes, this is our daughter Ramā"

3. *yah hai hamāre gāṃv kī sundar sī choṭī sī nadī. iskā nām hai nīrā. nīrā nadī par ek bahut purānā pul hai*.
Meaning:
"This is the beautiful small river of our village! Its name is Nīrā. There is a very old bridge over the river Nīrā."

So if we look at the above examples carefully, we will notice that in Hindi, not only the first case or *prathama vibhakti* (nominative) of Sanskrit is used, but depending on the classification of the type of noun, sometimes a form of address (*sambodhan*) is used and sometimes first case or *prathama vibhakti*.

We have not discussed all the categories of names here, but from these samples it can be seen that the nature of exchange of vocabulary between Sanskrit and Hindi is complex. Also, the changes of noun forms that occur in Sanskrit do not occur in Hindi language.

This is one of the key elements of the Hindi-Sanskrit relationship in terms of vocabulary use. The question is when and how to introduce this aspect of the Sanskrit-Hindi relationship in a Hindi L2 classroom. Here a parallel teaching of these elements or at least mentioning these elements in Sanskrit as well as in Hindi classrooms comes into picture. If this kind of information is shared with students, it will create an interesting base and may give them an insight into this exchange. Additionally, both Hindi and Sanskrit are taught side by side in many schools in India even today and surely few students have some knowledge or awareness of the nature of this vocabulary. Of course, language awareness and education of students in India is a separate subject.

As already mentioned here, in the case of using Hinglish in a conversation, one does not need a thorough knowledge of English, similarly, the use of Sanskrit in Hindi and other Indian languages does not require profound Sanskrit knowledge. A vast repertoire of everyday names, male or female, have their origin in Sanskrit and are used by a great number of people. Many Sanskrit nouns and adjectives are commonly used by average Indians without any knowledge of their etymologies or lingual, grammatical details.

Socioculturally, Sanskrit seems to play another interesting role. Since various Sanskrit *śloka*s and *mantra*s are quite popular, words having the endings *-am* or *-aḥ* (with visarga) are commonly heard everywhere and are still a part of the oral tradition. There are hundreds of such mantras and *śloka*s. Let us take a few examples:

Probably the most popular mantra is:

1. *om nama**ḥ** śivāya*!
Salute to Śiva [the auspicious one]!

2. A very short, concise form of Rāmāyaṇa, which has been circulating around in oral form:
*ādau rāma tapovanādi gamanaṃ hatvā mṛgaṃ kāṃca**naṃ***
*vaidehī haraṇaṃ jaṭāyu maraṇaṃ sugrīva saṃbhāṣa**ṇam** |*
*vāli nigrahaṇaṃ samudra taraṇaṃ laṃkāpurī dāhan**aṃ***
*paścādrāvaṇa kuṃbhakarṇa hananaṃ etaddhi rāmāyaṇ**am** ||*

Kindly note the highlighted word endings in the second example. These word endings with *-am* and *-aḥ* are understood by the native Hindi speakers as a typical characteristic of Sanskrit. These also create a particular sound and are directly associated with Sanskrit chanting. In regular practice we can observe that often these endings are attached mostly to Hindi *tatsama* words, whether it be a noun or an adjective or a verb. Many times, this is used to create a comic effect.

The purpose behind saying all this is that Sanskrit vocabulary has seeped into many levels of society and that it has been adapted by Indian languages in various forms. Thus, it appears in literature, in mass media or occasionally even in advertisements. Providing this information to students in an appropriate manner at the right moment is part of inculcating their sociolinguistic and linguistic competence, as was shown in the earlier discussion.

Nature of everyday vocabulary in Hindi and role of Sanskrit vocabulary

In a regular scenario of a conversational L2 Hindi class, students start their journey with a basic alphabet chart. Usually, a period of two to three weeks is enough for them to start reading and writing on their own. In the initial phases one usually starts with a set of day-to-day practical vocabulary. Talking about a very simple topic like ‘my room’ or things in the surroundings in the beginning phase always has its advantages. One can start by making a list related to the topic and L2 learners get to know the sound of it. This vocabulary consists of words that usually do not have complex ligature. One can always start with basic sentences like:

yah kamrā hai. This is a room.
yah khiṛki hai. This is a window.

This is a good start as this simple input usually leads to further exploration of vocabulary related to the topic ‘my room’. Collection of further vocabulary is quite an intuitive and simple process. Here follows a table with vocabulary related to the topic ‘my room’.

Table 1: Merā kamrā/My room

merā kamrā	**My room**
khiṛki (Skt.)	window
dīvār (Pers.)	wall
chat (Skt.)	roof
mez (Pers.)	table
darvāzā (Pers.)	door
farś (Arab.)	floor

It is not difficult to notice that none of the lexical items provided above sound like Sanskrit words. Instead, they sound more Perso-Arabic and the orthographic presence of diacritical marks (or *nuḳtā* like in *darvāzā*, a dot below a consonant) confirms this. In fact, the very word *kamrā* is of Portuguese origin. The *tadbhava* words in this list are *chat* (cf. Skt. √*chad* 'to cover') and *khiṛki* (from Sanskrit *khaṭakkikā*). There seems to be no direct Sanskrit term used in this list, thefore one may wonder if there are any Sanskrit equivalents to it. Well, there are Sanskrit equivalents, and a list of those words is given below. The italics in the middle column represent the Sanskrit words:

Table 2:

Real scenario vocabulary	***Sanskrit vocabulary***	**English meaning**
khiṛki	*gavākṣa/vātāyana*	window
dīvār	*bhitti/bhinti*	wall
chat	*chadi*	roof/ceiling
mez	*utpīthikā*	table
darvāzā	*dvāra*	door
farś	*bhūmi*[6]	floor

As one can notice immediately, the middle column sounds very different from the left hand one, and essentially these words are also used in different contexts. One may say that the Sanskrit equivalents for table or roof are very rarely used, whereas the other equivalents do find application mostly in written form. Let us take the example of *khiṛki* and *gavākṣa*/*vātāyana*. A first year student who has just embarked on the journey of Hindi needs simple and direct information in the very beginning. The word *khiṛki* is the first point of interaction in the class and this suffices for purposes of everyday

6 These equivalents were referenced from the dictionary: https://www.learnsanskrit.cc/.

communication. It is not very difficult for a Hindi L2 learner to memorise or internalise the above list of simple vocabulary by direct use in conversations or in written exercises etc. One can imagine that introducing the Sanskrit equivalents in the initial stages is not recommended in this case, since these equivalents are not a part of everyday conversations. As we have already established, one of the objectives of L2 didactics is to show students real scenarios in communication. Introducing Sanskrit vocabulary here would destroy this purpose. Sanskrit vocabulary in this case exhibits a very different register. Let us imagine that a Hindi L2 student is conversing with a native speaker in a real conversation scenario and makes the statement:

yah gavākśa hai! gavākśa kholo!

The lexical entry *gavākṣa* does not belong to the *tatsama* category though is present in today's Hindi; however, is not a part of everyday language. A native speaker might get confused upon hearing this or could even take it as sarcasm or poetic expression. By using a *tatsama* term such as *gavākṣa* one enters the literary or poetic realm of language. One may find many poems that contain *gavākṣa*, for example poems written by renowned Hindi poets like Kedārnāth Siṁh and Sumitranand Pant. The word *gavākṣa* is being highlighted in the examples.

Here are the fragments of poems:

1: Kedārnāth Siṁh "Śārad prāt"
subah uṭhā to aisā lagā ki śarad ā gayā,
ẽkhõ ko nīlā-nīlā ākāś bhā gayā,
dhūp girī aise gavākṣ se
jaise kāmp gayā ho śīśā...[7]

2. Sumitranand Pant "Narak mẽ svarg"
madir locnõ se gavākṣ the mugdh kuvalayit,
madhur nūpurõ kī kaldhvani se diśi pal guñjit.
nav vasant ke tum śāśvat vilās the kusumit
bhūmaṇḍal kī vidyā ke prakāś se jyotit.[8]

7 https://www.amarujala.com/kavya/shabd-sangrah/aaj-ka-shabd-gavaksh-kedarnath-singh-hindi-kavita

8 https://www.hindi-kavita.com/HindiSwarndhuliPant.php

The lexical item *khiṛki* finds a wide application in various film songs, ghazals, lyrics, folk stories etc; which shows that it is a part of the spoken vocabulary. One can see here that a lexical item is combined with various aspects such as its linguistic, sociocultural, literary uses etc. Here, the awareness of L2 learners plays an important role. The role of a L2 teacher lies in providing this information at the right moment to create an attentiveness in the Hindi L2 classroom. Suppose a L2 learner is not aware of this relationship, then it may also happen that while looking for the equivalent of window in a dictionary, he comes across the lexical item *gavākṣa* and would use it in a conversation or in a piece of writing. The knowledge of the Hindi-Sanskrit relationship with respect to practical Hindi vocabulary will be very helpful. This is also part of competency and will surely help in the performance aspect. Hence, it becomes important to explain this Sanskrit-Hindi vocabulary relationship, and its usage in the Indian context, to a Hindi L2 student.

Let us now look at Sanskrit prefixes and their role in Hindi. There are more than 20 prefixes in Sanskrit. These prefixes have various functions, such as emphasising, creating opposite meanings, creating a negation, indicating a positive characteristic as well as a negative one, indicating deterioration, showing a sense of direction or location (like towards, around, above, below) etc. Many of these prefixes appear in Hindi as *tatsama* words. Rajmani Sharma gives an extensive list in a categorised form in his book *Hindī bhāṣā kā itihās aur svarūp* (p. 222, 223). In the case of these prefixes their function in the original and in Hindi remains the same. Hindi has various types of prefixes: *tatsama*, *tadbhava* and foreign (mainly Perso-Arabic). A few examples of *tatsama* words with prefixes follows:

śoka → ***a***śoka/*grief or sorrow* – ***without*** *grief or sorrow*
hiṃsā → ***a***hiṃsā/violence – **non** violence
su*jana* → ***duř****jana*/**good** people – **bad** people
su*daiva* → ***dur****daiva*/**good** luck – **bad** luck

Hindi takes these loanwords directly from Sanskrit and the meaning is not changed in most of the cases. This stable base has remained unaltered for a long time and can be considered as one of the special characteristics of Hindi vocabulary. It is not difficult to notice that certain prefix pairs (*su-dur* for example) create antonyms. Considering the practical aspect of its usage, almost all of these prefixes find application in everyday conversation, in press

articles, films and so on. Hence, getting to know about this connection is a part of lingual as well as sociocultural competence.

The Sanskrit language and the old Indian tradition as a whole seem to be reflected in another everyday element, and that element is so minor that it may be overlooked. This element is human names in everyday use. Nowadays, of course, many websites list such names with their meanings (e.g. and example of such a website[9]).

A large part of the repository of male and female names used by Hindi speakers today are often also Sanskrit loanwords. One special characteristic of Indian names (both male and female) is that countless names that derive from Sanskrit are still prevalent today. Many of these loanwords are associated with names of gods, goddesses and deities. They tend to describe the qualities of these divine beings; but many names also describe positive characteristics like patience (*dhīraj*) for example. Here is a very short list of names (the first four are boy's names and the next four are girl's names):

Table 3:

sarveś	god of everything
nikhil	whole, entire
nipuṇ	expert, talented
vivek	conscience
amr̥tā	nectar
lāvanyā	beauty
pārvatī	belonging to / coming from a mountain
lakṣmī	good fortune, prosperity, success

The meanings of these names or emotions behind them gives a special colour to the character in a story, film or novel. In the Indian context names, and especially surnames, indicate caste, village, or a place of origin so these words create a cultural context. Names are also a part of religious or regional identity. Hence, it becomes important to understand the significance of names and the information hidden beneath them.

Speaking of names, an interesting point may be mentioned here. The field of film translation and dubbing/subtitling continues to grow. The work is done

9 https://resanskrit.com/blogs/blog-post/unique-sanskrit-names-for-newborn-boys-girls

from Hindi into English and other languages, and sometimes vice versa, which requires deep understanding of the linguistic and cultural contexts, which is a necessary tool for a translator. A good socio-cultural knowledge ensures that translation will be done correctly. Thus, probing into the nature and usage of Hindi vocabulary now takes us into the realm of cultural context.

Cultural context and its place in the L2 classroom

Studying this relationship between Hindi and Sanskrit, we can say that there are not only linguistic elements in it, but also other elements which are deeply related to culture. These elements create a cultural context, which is of the utmost importance. To date, there have been different types of research about how cultural contexts should be introduced in the language classroom, and what is their importance. In foreign language classes to date, the emphasis has been mainly on teaching language only. We observe a common tendency, probably by both teachers and students, of looking at language somewhat apart from its cultural context. Hindi L2 teachers need to consider this issue in terms of lingual as well as cultural inputs. Language, culture and context are often very intricately interwoven. Claire Kramsch (2001: 1) makes an interesting statement in the introduction of her book Context and Culture in Language Teaching:

> "Culture in language learning is not an expendable fifth skill, tacked on, so to speak, to the teaching of speaking, listening, reading and writing. It is always in the background, right from day one, ready to unsettle the good language learners when they expect it least, making evident the limitations of their hard-won communicative competence, challenging their ability to make sense of the world around them."

In the process of learning a language, not only is it necessary to learn various skills like reading and writing, but it is also necessary to know the cultural aspects related to that country, so that learned skills can be used properly in the future. Thus, from the very beginning of a Hindi L2 class a learner needs to be introduced to cultural inputs along with linguistic or grammatical inputs. Hindi L2 teachers have to think about proper methods to discuss aspects of vocabulary they are going to teach in Hindi L2 class together with cultural context. Considering the vastness of the information and the complexity of the cultural context pertaining to India, it is surely not possible to provide

complete information about the various aspects of the relationship between Hindi and Sanskrit in three years. However, the course can certainly trigger the curiosity of Hindi L2 learners and provide basic information that will be helpful and guide them in their further journey. Creating an awareness related to cultural context is one of the major tasks that needs to be considered in the design of a Hindi L2 course.

Language is a part of society and therefore it is not possible to see it in isolation from its cultural context. Halliday and Hasan (1989) share an important observation:

> "The notions of text and context are inseparable: text is language operative in a context of situation and contexts are ultimately constructed by the range of texts produced within a community ... one common sense conception is... that our ideas, our knowledge, our thoughts, our culture are all there almost independent of language and just waiting to be expressed by it. This attitude is so deeply rooted that it finds its expression for example in our theoretical writings about language."[10]

At this point the idea of collaboration of Sanskrit and Hindi teachers comes into the picture. Because there are usually two separate teachers for Hindi and Sanskrit, the author proposes a model, where they work together with a group of students and can jointly decide how and at what pace to introduce relevant cultural and linguistic elements in their respective classes.

It would probably be appropriate here to give a very simple example regarding cultural context. It is generally said that *namaste* is an Indian greeting. It has also been widely publicised at the international level. However, due to the coexistence of many languages and cultures and religious traditions, greetings like *jai rām ji, sat śrī akāl, rām rām, jai gaṇeś* and *ādāb* are also present in Indian society. If people of two different religions meet each other, they sometimes need to exchange greetings. A Hindi L2 classroom instructor will have to keep in mind that such information should reach the students in a fun yet authentic way. Information about the historical, political and social facts on India plays an important role from this perspective.

10 After Kramsch 2004: 10.

A model lesson plan for Sanskrit-Hindi collaborative teaching on three levels

After having established a few of the aspects of Sanskrit-Hindi relationship with respect to everyday Hindi vocabulary, one may think about how to realise it in a lesson plan. The following table shows a model lesson plan suggested by the author. Since we are talking about a three-year BA programme, the proposed collaboration may take place from the second semester of the first year, or the second year. The execution of the plan will depend entirely upon teachers.

Table 4: Week 09.

Monday	**Tuesday**	**Wednesday**	**Thursday**
Sanskrit: 1st year Meaning and significance of names.		**Sanskrit: 2nd Year** A thematic list of Sanskrit words – family/directions/body parts	
Sanskrit: 3rd year Introduction to prefixes. Basic characteristics and use (*su*/*dur*/*a*/).			Hindi Conversational: **2nd** year A thematic list of Sanskrit words used in Hindi – family/ directions/body parts; examples in texts.
	Hindi Conversational: 3rd year Examples of prefixes, use in Hindi (*su*/*dur*/*a*/). Short text reading, using vocabulary in sentences. Examples from literature/ newspaper articles.	**Hindi Conversational: 1st year** Examples of names in various films, stories etc. Which name would you like to choose for yourselves? A short discussion on local tradition/ changing trends of names in India.	

Discussion

Let us briefly discuss the merits and demerits of the scheme presented here. I am aware that it can be difficult to introduce this kind of practice at the BA level. There are usually some practical reasons behind this. Practical reason might be planning of both Hindi and Sanskrit classes in harmony. One could argue that this kind of scheme would be fine at MA level and not necessary at BA level. But a BA course can offer elements of basic knowledge to be further developed in an MA course. For students who are sharp and curious, such a plan could prove to be very good in terms of motivation. Importantly, planning like this will be fair to both Hindi and Sanskrit languages, and bring about certain changes to existing courses that will provide a new colour to the profile of the course, thus making it more attractive. Therefore, there is the possibility of getting some good results from this scheme. First, this kind of Hindi L2 classroom will help directly in developing competencies that were discussed earlier. The author feels that this can increase the motivation of students, which is one of the most important factors in L2 learning. The author is confident that the proposed activity will increase the creativity and scope of Hindi L2 classes.

Conclusion

The entire practice of teaching and learning a foreign language depends on many factors and has a number of related aspects, such as various competencies, understanding of grammar and of cultural context, aptitude of students to learn a language, learning vocabulary, ability to express oneself in a foreign language and to communicate with native speakers using various skills like direct conversation, translation or various forms of writing etc. These aspects have mostly been studied or researched in the context of CTL languages, though today they have to be studied in relation to Hindi for it ranks third among the languages spoken in the world.

In the globalised world of today there is an opportunity for European students to get to know one of the most spoken languages not of the CTL category. Such a course needs a different approach owing to the fact that European students of Hindi come from a different cultural context. This situation creates a lot of space wherein one could think about utilising hitherto unstudied elements related to L2 teaching and learning.

A large part of understanding L2 didactics is empirical, and hence various kinds of experiments would be required in Hindi departments across Europe. These experiments could relate to the development of reading and writing competencies and trying to map students' and teachers' beliefs relating to Hindi similar to the famous BAALI questionnaire by Horwitz. Study areas could also include what is the natural order hypothesis for students having different mother tongues. We must understand that even though the subject of this article is the everyday vocabulary of Hindi, we should not consider it to be only on that one subject. While discussing many aspects related to practical vocabulary, we hope that a lesson plan based on the relationship between Sanskrit-Hindi will help in the development of different competencies of Hindi and Sanskrit students. It will be possible to comment on the usefulness of such a scheme only after collecting the empirical data of the different teaching practices being followed in different universities of Europe while teaching Hindi. A Hindi course designed with the students in mind can be an important part of every European university. Efforts should be made to construct a Hindi course which develops a proper understanding of vocabulary in the context of possibilities of the growing film and other media industries, a Hindi course which reveals the beauty of the Hindi language.

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HINDI BEYOND CLASSROOM: TRANSLATING TEXTS, TRANSLATING CULTURE

Igor Grbić

Translating Language and Translating Culture: Some Problems in Translating the "Exotic", with Special Regard to Modern Indian Literature

Abstract

Translating a language easily slips into translating the culture talking through the language. What is the position and what is the consequent role of the translator, caught between saying just enough and too much? Starting from a theoretical exposition of the problem, in which E. Nida's difference between formal and dynamic equivalence is evoked, the article offers various possibilities of translating a number of examples, and closely traces the results each of them produces, depending on the context(s), type of text, targeted readership etc. The article focuses on modern Indian literature, mostly on novels written in English, which, globally, are its most or even the only visible segment. Some of the current practices are considered, accompanied by evaluations of their achievements and suggestions as to their improvements. In the final analysis, the "field" work in the article is meant to inductively corroborate the few theoretical premises allowed by the protean job of literary translation, the principal one being that the translator's sensitivity is not to be spoiled by a mechanical application of any ready-made rules.

General principles guiding the practice of literary translation, and theoretical problems dogging it—especially in relation to the cultural gap between the source and the target text—have attracted my attention in a number of my texts, but I specifically refer to Grbić 2018, more specifically to the sixth chapter of the book. In the present paper I do not aim at anything even remotely as comprehensive. It is my intention to tackle some very practical problems facing the translator. Therefore, I am going to mostly deal with some concrete examples, seen in the light of multiple choices opening up

before the translator, of the contexts of the choices, and of their particular consequences. I am focusing here on translation of modern Indian literature, but more often than not the procedure and the insights can, *mutatis mutandis*, be easily extended to other cultures.

Some initial remarks

In literary criticism and translation studies there are quite a few theoretical systems for which I have genuine appreciation, wholly or, more regularly, at least in part. However, both as literary and translation scholar, and creative writer and translation practitioner, I never stop deepening my awareness of how the truly great rule-maker in the two fields is the one able to understand that there are no unquestionable ready-made rules. There are no rules that could be applied, with a clean consciousness, as a matter of comfortable routine, irrespective of the context, particular language, imagined readership, etc. The only ground rule of writing and translating literature is that anything can be legitimate, if conducive to the realization of the unique spirit of the text in question (unique for the unprecedented and never to be repeated constellation of forces modelling the new eruption of the word), and, conversely, that anything is illegitimate, however blessed by traditional usage or beautiful in itself, if obstructing the realization of the unique spirit of the text. It is as simple as that, too simple, actually, for most creative writers and translators, and their theoreticians, to embrace and practise. During the writing − both purely creative, which is literature, and supposedly only imitative, as literary translation is too often seen − one is not to be bothered by theories seemingly applicable to the specific situation, or even by one or more similar situations from one's own experience that could by inertia just be copy-pasted. Instead, one had rather do much better to feel the pulse of the one-time-in-history here and now within the text, react to it both cerebrally and emotionally, but first of all intuitively, even instinctively, feeling the forms at the very moment the nascent text is being shaped (Coleridge, to take one knowledgeable instance, is also here to tell us that, in a truly gifted writer, a critical faculty is at work as early as during the writing itself), and only afterwards go back to it armed with one's secondary critical faculty (which, yes, may include the theories).

There is one theoretical binomial that I find unavoidable in this paper, too. It has been variously labelled as *target-oriented* vs. *source-oriented*

translations, as *substitution* vs. *transcription*, *foreignizing* vs. *domesticating*, but possibly the classic formulation was given by Eugene A. Nida, when he posited *formal* vs. *dynamic equivalence* (Nida 1964). A substantial part of translation work revolves around this issue, even when at first glance it does not look like that. You have formal equivalence when the target text reproduces the idiosyncrasies of the source text. You have dynamic equivalence when the target text adapts the original forms and/or contents in order to produce an equivalent effect on the target reader. Typically, not only the whole translation is made in one of the two ways, but its translator is generally affected by the one or the other strategy. Again, the choice, or the exact dosages of the two required for a specific translation, is a matter of careful, and inspired, balancing.

Is culture to be translated (and into which culture)?

Choosing between formal and dynamic equivalence is not only a matter of specific circumstances, but, to make things even more difficult, includes even situations that seem too technical, and therefore banal, to require anything but routine solutions.

Measures are a good example. I have no doubts that an American film, dubbed or subtitled for European continental viewers, should replace its miles and pounds with kilometres and kilograms. The guiding criterion here is that in film, time-ridden as it is, you just have to be as practical as possible. However, if you translate an American novel—and, for dramatic sake, let us suppose that our film is based on it—you can afford keeping the miles and pounds and leave it to the reader to do the maths, or you can do it yourself in footnotes, or, the most often, you can again translate them into the metric system. Your doubts in such an instance will depend on the kind of the novel you are translating. If it is a thriller set in the contemporary USA, you are probably right in translating the measures as a matter of course and trying to preserve the immediacy and fluency of the narration, denying any cultural specificity worth saving.[1] But translating measures is certainly wrong

1 Choices as the one under consideration are largely conditioned by tacit local conventions. In my own country, which is Croatia, the measures from the above example are normally adapted to the Croatian reader and any different approach is almost sure to be discarded. However, translators should always resist taking the general trends in their own milieu for granted, examine their viability both in

in translating an Elizabethan play, at least if the translation is meant for a readership more sophisticated than in the case of the previous novel, as it is very reasonable to assume it is. Asking Shylock to pay half a kilogram (or—if at all possible—even worse, kilo) of his own flesh is just bad translation, enabled by a kind of cultural inertia. Finally, having either metres or yards instead of cubits only when translating God-given measures for Noah's Ark or Moses' Ark of the Covenant will for many a reader certainly amount to blasphemous modernization that meddles in a sacrosanct text, besides being simply bad taste.

How does this work with Indian texts? Ancient Indian *yojana*s remain *yojana*s and it is difficult to imagine a context that would justify otherwise. Translating them into miles or kilometres is again a case of aggressive overlaying—and thus forging—a temporally and spatially remote culture with the comfortable self-evidence of one's own. How long is a *yojana* anyway? It was never standardized and could extend to 2.5, 4, 5, or even 9 miles (Monier-Williams 2002: 858). Which is what makes up footnotes and other kinds of extratextual material, to be discussed at greater length further in the text, the more unavoidable. Moving to our own times, I guess the vast majority of those who read modern Indian literature, in a culture with the metric system, does not know if in present-day India they use miles or kilometres, pounds or kilograms. These readers will not stumble on the latter as being culturally misplaced. Although, as time goes by, I myself have felt the latter increasingly unconvincing. I now feel that translating or not translating miles and pounds is not quite the same thing within the American or Indian scenario. The USA, being a British derivative, has been comfortable with its measures ever since its foundation. In India, on the other hand, the British element has been felt as intrusion into a fully developed culture ever since its appearance, so keeping their measures in a translation, however these may have become naturalized—that is, culturally neutralized—to the Indian context, might be felt as paying respect to their imperialist origin. I can easily imagine a politically delicate text in which such things would matter.[2]

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general and in the particular samples they are working on, and stand up for their own arguments, at least in translations signed by their own names.

2 In literature, there are few things that can achieve so much in saving the flavour of the original geographical and cultural settings as retaining some source idiosyncrasies, such as measures. By not reducing the *steppe* to a familiar word for flat grassland, and by counting its distances in *versts*, instead of miles or kilometres, translations

An Indian peculiarity far more engaging than the expected measuring differences are the quantifying expressions such as *lakh* and *crore*, meaning 100,000 and 10,000,000 respectively, which, to make things "worse", when written as numbers are actually given as 1,00,000 and 1,00,00,000. What to do in such situations? Again, advising that they should be routinely domesticated into the parameters of the target text is the comfortable way out, but, once more, it is also too easily sacrificing the nuances to the alleged hard stuff that only matters. Of course, if these numbers are found in a scholarly paper or newspaper article, which are all about communicating information, and as smoothly as possible, they are to be flattened into expressions familiar to the target readership with no second thought. But the moment we come to literature, the poetic language, which is not just a medium (and is primarily *not* a medium) to convey some content outside itself, it is again all up to the translator's sensitivity and sensibility. He or she is to carefully judge whether in the particular situation keeping such expressions might be profitable towards keeping the flavour of the source culutre, or they can be translated with no great loss, given the context, expected readership and the like. For instance, reading in the translation that "all went well until he was fined for exceeding the speed limit with his brand new twelve-lakh car" can do wonders in shocking the dozing reader back into the awareness that he or she is in India, that Mohan is not being fined by a blond policeman stepping out of his Chrysler, but—stereotyped as it might be—by a khaki-uniformed moustached avatar of the god of the roads, with a hard bamboo lathi dangling at his waist, amidst a general hullabaloo of lorries, buses, cars and scooters hissing at one another and deafening the reader with the simultaneous hooting of their horns. And this is no small gain. On the other hand, the translator's worthiness may equally be proved by translating, and if necessary adapting, such an expression. Thus *crore* should become million if the text alludes to the planetary popular television quiz show *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire*, whose Indian incarnation is called *Kaun banega karoṛpati*. *Karoṛpati*, literally lord of crores, functionally equals here *millionaire*, though, in all mathematical exactness, actually amounts to an owner of tens of millions. The idea to be

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have greatly contributed to our feeling a specifically Russian natural environment, just as keeping the *samovar*, instead of melting it into some tea urn or kettle, has done an immense job in signalling the presence of a peculiarly Russian, not English or French, salon, thus participating in making the world(s) of the great nineteenth-century Russian novel truly different, truly other.

conveyed is simply "a rich man", and to save the hint, what we need here is dynamic, not formal equivalence.

In another situation, however, I would advise a middle way. In an American film I saw many years ago a character coughing. Another character offers her a mint, saying: "Take an Eclipse, it'll help you." The Croatian subtitle, translated back to English, said: "Take a Bronhi, it will ease your breathing." Now, at the time Bronhi was a sweet brand very popular in Croatia, and the Croatian subtitle was simply a quote of its television commercial. There is charming wit to such a ruse, but after all is said and done it is a ruse, and the copying of a peculiarly Croatian slogan into a specifically American situation produces nothing but a ludicrous effect. On the other hand, keeping the original American brand in the translation would have meant nothing to a Croatian spectator (at least I am not aware of the specific candy's presence in the Croatian market; it must also be said, however, that even reproducing Eclipse in the caption would not have been simply amiss, given that the spectator could easily have produced the meaning against the visual component of the film medium). Personally, I would opt for a translation that avoids names, but keeps the basic common characteristic of the two brands, which is affecting the breath: "Take a mint, it'll help you".

It may have become clear by now that I certainly prefer formal, not dynamic equivalence. I favour preserving the inspiring, exciting, mind-broadening specificity of the source text to its comforting and comfortable, lazy appropriations by the target text. As a rule of thumb. So, yes, I believe a gecko should remain a gecko, because only as such it readily brings to life the pale reptile with bulging eyes, immovable on a fan-beaten Indian wall waiting to be whitewashed, instead of smuggling to our imagination a tawny, sunburned western lizard. And, yes, an ashoka tree should remain ashoka, just as, always generally speaking, I want a peepul (or peepal [*pīpal*]) remain what it is, rather than making it a fig, just for the fact that in the West it is commonly known as Indian or sacred fig. The word *fig* also immediately makes a western reader see a Mediterranean fig, which is not only different in its leaves − this being the least of our worries − but has absolutely no religious connotations, so unavoidable at the mere mention of *peepul*. Adding *Indian* to *fig* would be, if not simply ridiculous (what other kind of fig should I expect in India?), then at least encumbering the translation with botanical meticulousness. Adding *sacred* to *fig* would make one understand it as descriptively qualifying the specific tree, rather than technically referring it to the kind it belongs to. (The

footnote option is going to be considered further in the text.) However, if it is a children's picture book you are translating, *fig* will certainly do, and perhaps even just *tree*, depending on the target age, I expect. You go to meet other climates and cultures only after you have sufficiently interiorized your own.

One of the many related things to be aware of while translating is that words are not just their ready-made meanings (actually, the more a translator is literature-sensitive the more he or she understands that, in literature, words tend to produce meanings least of all from what follows the dictionary entries). This is a point highly relevant to Croatian translators from Hindi. At the conference presented in this volume Krešimir Krnic from the University of Zagreb touched on his experience in translating Saadat Hasan Manto's stories (and let me here point out that for a language as small as Croatian a direct translation from such an "exotic" language as Urdu is a first-rate cultural event.) He talked of many situations in which an adequate lexeme was missing in his target language, typically because of cultural differences. A member of the audience suggested Bosnian as the language that resolves many of the problems. Now, Bosnian is a language very kindred to Croatian, so much so that not everybody agrees the two are separate languages in the first place. The most striking difference is the marked presence, in Bosnian, of words derived from Turkish or—and this is probably much more frequent—only mediated by Turkish from Arabic and Persian (this is due to over four centuries of Turkish rule in Bosnia, which considerably changed its religious and cultural identity). Consequently, Urdu and Bosnian share a very great number of words. Even when some words are different, the cultural concepts behind them are still common to both so, again, you have the right word. But, as I have already said, words mean much more than their lexical meanings. In answer to the above suggestion from the audience Krnic said that as a matter of fact he would have preferred to translate Manto into Bosnian, but as the two of us readily agreed during the session break this would also have required publishing the translation in Bosnia. There is in language something called register, and it has to do with the right stylization of your discourse. It is not enough that there *exists* the word you need; it also has to *fit* the situation. While the vast majority of the words Krnic could have used were naturalized into Bosnian centuries ago and are thus stylistically neutral, just like in Urdu, in Croatian they would be experienced as stylistically charged loanwords, turning a Croatian text into Bosnian. Instead of translating from Urdu, the reader would have to translate from Bosnian (both stylistically and for the

fact that only a modest number of such words is at all known to the average Croatian reader). This does not mean that the translator should avoid all words of Turkish origin or mediation, or that he or she should paraphrase or footnote all of them. It is once again appropriate to say that the right translator can feel what words, and how many of them, can, rather than produce a stylistically wrong translation, create a right cultural flavour to it.[3]

Footnotes

It is time to outline one of the most tortured issues in the vocation of translation, one that by now we have been led to more than once in this paper. As noted by J. Levy (1982: 117), the great Czech translation scholar, not only do footnotes discontinue our reading, but, even more importantly, "a semantic unit, an organic component of the work, is hereby taken beyond its boundaries and thus made part of the editorial apparatus of the book."[4] I could not agree more. Footnotes, of the kind we are discussing here, are alien to the proper text and witness to the translator's interference into and diversion from the original texture. So, yes, in a literary translation footnotes are to be kept on a very, very short leash. But how do you then cope with situations that obviously require some comment for an outside reader?

3 The kind of situations as delineated here becomes worse with the widening of the cultural gap between the source and target languages. The standard Italian-Croatian dictionary (Deanović-Jernej 1990) offers four "solutions" for the Italian exclamation *bravo*. The first is *bravo*. The word is quite common in Croatian (much more so than in English), but the translator might have (justified) methodological qualms about translating an Italian word by not translating it (given that the word belongs to the language the translator is supposed to translate from). The second is *vrlo dobro*. In principle, this is a (or even the) true Croatian translation, meaning "very good". The third is *aferim*. And the fourth is *evala*. Again, the two, being Turkish loanwords, could be used by a Bosnian translator with no stylistic ado, but to have Giovanna say either of the two to Francesco in a Croatian translation is a hilarious mismatch that, even if not going as far as veiling Giovanna under a burka, certainly produces a fez-wearing Francesco.

4 A translator from classical Chinese and professional sinologist once told me that all the books on translation he had read helped him nothing with the problems actually arising in the living encounter with the text to be translated. His words struck a sympathetic chord. Levy's book is therefore to be the more warmly recommended as a truly useful guide to literary translation, with much food for thought based on specific practical situations. The English version is titled *The Art of Translation*.

I part company with Levy when, continuing from the above quote, he suggests incorporating an explanation into the text itself, as a kind of intervening extension. Again, while this can be perfectly legitimate in a text designed just for communication of information, the literary text is word-sensitive and any intrusion into it is a matter not of exegesis but poetics. Are you really so self-confident to believe that you can expand the author's text in his or her style, as he or she would have written it? Secondly, there is always the danger of the explanation becoming over-explanatory, unjustified by the context. I guess most readers are familiar with the stories in children's comics starting with a character sunbathing on board a cruiser and saying to his neighbour "It was so clever of you to tell your uncle the car factory owner that you had been swindled in your business affair so that with the money he gave you we can now afford this dream voyage"—meant exclusively to inform the young reader about the *Vorgeschichte*, the part of the story preceding the actual beginning as presented in the strips. While we may expect a child to be too young and story-ridden to notice the unnatural verbosity that spoils the poetics of the storytelling, the translator may not turn the reader of an adult text into a second child with analogous "solutions".

If, now in a translation of an Indian novel, a footnote is the only alternative to having a teenage Sunil shouting "I am so excited we are only a day away from Holi, the popular Indian festival celebrating spring and the victory of good over evil when people sprinkle and powder each other with all kinds of colours…" (or even some less colourful intrusion)—I feel bound to give an unwilling welcome to the footnote. Especially since there are a number of ways to make footnotes less visible and, consequently, less aggressive. You can relegate them all to the end of the text, to a separate glossary, to be consulted only by readers who really need them.[5] I never get tired of wondering at Indian novels written in English with no accompanying footnotes or glossary, which is mostly not the case with English translations of Indian novels writen in another language. Unlike the latter, however, the former are the ones that are published by big houses and reach a worldwide readership. And yet, they

5 I am here skipping the frequent, but superficial, objection that in the age of the Internet you do not need any such glossary inside the book. Not only − strange as it may sound to many − can we imagine readers with no internet access at the moment of reading, but a reader, particularly if searching the net in a language other than English, is likely to be diverted from the text much more than in the case of a properly designed footnote within the book itself.

are not not commented on, as if the peculiarities were a matter of language, not culture.

Such a glossary may then also accomodate the words we have already met here, such as *lakh*, *crore*, *ashoka* and *peepul*, to be looked up as a matter of option. Even if one does not find un unfamiliar term in it, this is always to be preferred to glossaries or footnoes compensating for a reader's lack of general culture. When an item does get admittance, it should be carefully calibrated in order to fit the specific needs of the specific text. Explaining that Chanakyapuri is the main diplomatic enclave in New Delhi is welcome only if the information is judged to be a necessary part of the context, not of a New Delhi Baedeker. The need for a commentarial apparatus is in itself bad enough and one should definitely not make things worse by turning it into an educational programme. There are other kinds of texts devised for such goals. Depending on the translator and the particular situation, *kajal* may stay *kajal*, or it may become *collyrium*, but if the text implies its decorative, hygienic and/or magic function, the unaware reader who has never seen the substance is entitled to an explanation. It will not help in the least to introduce a footnote saying that *kajal* is made by mixing lead sulfide and other ingredients.

Let us consider the fuller implications of the translator's choice on the following example. A *chataka* (*cātaka*) may stay *chataka*, for the mentioned sake of keeping the flavour of the source geography and its climate. It may become *cuckoo*, which it ornithologically is, but then one has to consider possible negative transfers stemming from automatically identifying the bird with the western cuckoo, such as seeing it as the harbinger of spring (while in India it announces the coming of the monsoon) or being reminded of it laying its eggs in the nests of other birds (which, while technically true of the *chakora* [*cakora*], too, is not, to my knowledge, such a prominent element in the Indian imagination of the bird). Opting for *Jacobin cuckoo* might look helpful, but at second glance it results unconvincing in its exaggerated exactness (and we can easily imagine it will be the more so if found in a simple dialogue). Again, if translating for children, *bird* will most likely be just enough. In very many situations not to be bypassed is the elegant option of simply juxtaposing *bird* as apposition to *chataka*: a *chataka bird* has the grace of the original, while not sacrificing the information (it is a bird) and requiring no additional explanation. If this is not what is in fact required. No good can come out of a footnote or glossary entry telling you that *chataka* is *Clamator jacobinus* (so what?), but "forgetting" to highlight its intimate and here already mentioned

connection with the so desperately awaited monsoon rains, so much so that ever since ancient mythology and literature it has been fancied as feeding on raindrops—without which knowledge the imagined bit of our imagined translation remains obscure, "as if something was missing", indeed.

Not all unfamiliarities, however, can be reduced to single terms, to be neatly listed in a glossary. What if in the novel I am translating a character starts crooning *merā jūtā hai jāpānī*? I may just resort to a generalization and say that the character is humming a popular film song. That seems correct enough. I do not think it is correct to simply drop that part of the sentence, because the previous idea has not occurred to me, and I want to avoid a footnote. But the precise title of the song may well be worth saving, if I judge this will contribute to the overall effect. The song comes from the 1955 *Shree 420*, one of the greatest Bollywood hits of all times, featuring the iconic chaplinesque Raj Kapoor in the main role. It is his song (as is the habit of Indian cinematography, it is actually sung by Mukesh, a professional singer). The character in the novel may be trying a new pair of shoes while evoking the popular song, which gives a charming touch to the scene (the song means "My shoes are Japanese"). Or he may be a police inspector going through the freshly received forensic report stating that the burglar's shoeprints have been identified as belonging to footware manufactured in Japan, which makes the inscpector's song mockingly triumphant. Or it may be unconsciously sung by the archetypal innocent countryman, after a two-month stay in a big city, in which case the song may be ominously suggesting that his pure soul is falling prey to the first corrosive consequences of metropolitan wickedness, just as in the case of the film's protagonist. In all of these cases the song is, in its exactness, a valid contribution to the markedly *poetic* effect of the scene, which is lost by making it anonymous. To save it for my less aware readers, I can still use the benefits of a glossary and include the title of the song into it.

But what if the thing to be explained goes under no name? What if it is a cultural fact? As a reader of Rushdie's *Haroun and the Sea of Stories* I would have been far more appreciative of the rhymed road signs appearing throughout the novel, and as its translator would have excitedly passed my appreciation of the mimetic play to my own readers, had I known that in the sub-Himalayan and Kashmir region (which actually underlies the fictional location of the novel) the signs warning drivers to drive carefully and respect the rules indeed are given in amusing rhymed couplets. But the novel's apparatus did not offer such a clue, I myself visited the area only years later, and I thus missed the

opportunity. Unnecessarily. Consider also the following case in point. Two characters in the novel, both males, are walking in the street, holding hands. While this immediately suggests their homosexuality, in the West, in India it is just a friendly gesture. How to avoid the wrong associaton in readers of the translated novel?[6] There are basically three options. First, I can just drop the nuisance. Second, I can translate even such things, not by translating word for word, but concept for concept. I will then think along the line of J. B. Phillips, who in his 1958 version of the New Testament softened Saint Paul's injunction to the Roman community to salute one another with a holy kiss (Romans 16:16) into "Give each other a hearty handshake", and conclude that if a clergyman could thus meddle in sacred scripture I am most certainly allowed to have the two men walk down the street "in the spirit of truly amiable friendship". Or, option number three, I will say a helpless yes to a footnote (or endnote, unmarkedly attached to the main text as a comment for the needy), in the belief that here the most important is to give my readers another opportunity to go beyond their small homophobic world and become aware of the fact that any community's norms are just cultural relativities, not God-given absolutes.

A translator cannot know everything

No, not even in the age of the internet can a translator know everything. (In fact, the internet's all too easy omniscience makes them know less and less.) However, what the age of the internet does make possible—and in the case of the translator, among others, actually mandatory—is to check and learn what one does not know to an extent unimaginable only a few decades ago. (The fact that in practise it is often not like that again goes hand in hand with the mental inertia created by the internet.) Ideally, of course, one translating an Indian text should be acquainted with all kinds of India. If one is not, there are sources to be consulted, including people in flesh and blood, experts in the area, because *not* everything is on the web. It should never have happened for the generally disastrous Croatian translation of Rushdie's *Midnight Children*

6 Now that I come to think of it, I can hardly recall having ever found this common sight from Indian streets in the many novels by Indian writers in English, no matter how close to the world's realities they tend or even claim to be. I suspect this might be a case of massive autocensure: all of these writers know they will be read mostly by non-Indian readers so they themselves cut out whatever might become a concomitant disturbance to these readers' sensibilities.

to go as far as making Shiva—a god I would have guessed was known even to lay westerners—a goddess (presumably because, in Croatian(!), nouns ending in *-a* are typically feminine in grammatical gender). However, much more important for a translator than knowing a lot—and I cannot stress this enough—is knowing there is something unknown. Recognizing the suspect points. Especially in cases when things do not make sense if understood in the way the translator understands them. What greater warning could one wish for? I remember finding in a Serbian translation of a book on Jung and the tarot a reference to *Tomasov gospel*. In Serbian (as in Croatian) this can mean only gospel music by T(h)omas (whoever he may be). This too should never have happened. The translator's unforgivable mistake was not that she had never heard of the apocryphal Gospel of (Saint) Thomas, which did make perfect sense in the context, but that she acquiesced to a "solution" which made absolutely no sense, only because there were such meanings of the individual words that made the lazy combination possible, instead of looking up possibly other meaning(s), such as would fit the context (of the entire book, as a matter of fact). One final example of things that should never happen is the Croatian translation of a modern Indian novel featuring a *kvalitetan čovjek*, which means "man of quality, high quality man". But the man appears only in this short moment of the novel, captured as a picturesque detail of an always busy Indian street! What sense does it make to morally qualify a character the novel will never again mention? However, there is one more thing we learn about the man: he sells icecream. This clears up the blunder. The expression in the English original is obviously *Kwality man*. Again, the translator is not expected to know of the famous Indian icecream brand, but in no way should she have ignored the peculiar spelling, the capital letter, and the nonsense resulting from the ignorance. The only right thing was to do some research—which sometimes may take more time than translation proper—and come out with a satisfying, meaningful solution. *Sladoledar*, for instance. "Icecream man".

Some final remarks

The issues analyzed in the present paper are, of course, only a minute part of what awaits one when doing literary translation. And the more so the more the culture in question and its language are different from the target ones. It has been my intention to offer very specific examples and, starting from sound

theoretical considerations, outline the practical ways of approaching them. They can be applied to a gamut of similar situations. Also, with due adaptations they can be profitably applied to very many situations only seemingly remote from the ones here presented. Eventually, the overall translation strategy will more often than not be affected by factors extrinsic to translation proper, such as the policy of a particular publishing house or the general translation and linguistic trend in a particular country, but it is part of the translator‘s vocation to fight as much as possible for realizing a translation according to criteria intrinsic to the profession, such as the translator’s own translation poetics, the target readership, the kind of text, its (and its culture’s) relationship to the target culture and so on. Sometimes even sacrificing the surface content, and not just form, of the original may prove beneficial for saving the depth form or content, that is, for preserving the intuited *essence* of the text and the way it functions *as a whole*.

Ideally, and generally speaking, doing and reading a translation is not just an invitation to a two- or three-hour fun reading, but to a widening of one’s own, always insufficiently comprehensive, perspective, and, consequently, a lifelong transformation of one’s own self. As stressed by A. Berman (Berman 1984) , there is a vital ethical dimension to translation, that demands of us substituting, whenever possible, *la visée réductrice de la culture*, the reductive intention of culture, accomodating everything to its own norms and values, with *la visée éthique du traduire*, the ethical intention of the translation job itself, aimed at edifying, ennobling, deepening the target readership. Translating the language only is so much less humane than translating also its culture.

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Krešimir Krnic

The Role of Extra-textual Elements in Understanding Literary Text

Abstract

When we think about linguistic and stylistic limitation that the target language puts in front of us, there is another aspect which makes understanding of the text in foreign language demanding for the readers—in our case our students—and which can make their life difficult and their understanding and translations of given texts less than perfect. This is what we call extra-textual element in translation process. In present chapter, another one highlighting challenges of translation, but this time with specific reference to an example from Hindi literature, i.e. two Partition stories by Bhisham Sahni (1915–2003). The author is most famous for his novel *Tamas* from 1974, which focused on the riots and upheaval during the Partition of India and which was later transformed into successful television series in 1988. But apart from this iconic novel, Sahni wrote also two well-known short stories about Partition, *Pālī* and *Amṛtsar ā gayā hai*. Both stories are language-wise of medium difficulty, but they have their own peculiarities that might pose a hinderance to readers not familiar with the political situation and some cultural stereotypes, or else might limit the depth of their understanding. While scrutinizing these issues, the chapter aims at elucidating the necessity of sensitizing Hindi language students, as possible future translators, to the extra-textual elements in translation.

Towards the curricular standardization

Literature is enriching our life. In aesthetic and epistemic sense. We enjoy its aesthetic beauty, and we learn about people, peoples, ideas, about human behaviour and innumerable other things. The level of the enrichment we will attain to, very often depends on our extra textual knowledge, on our overall level of education and on development of our literary taste through

our reading routine. In our own language we are not only linguistically more competent, but also we have more extra-textual information inherited from our education and cultural setting we live in, which enables us to understand the text in proper way. Sometimes, maybe, we even ask ourselves, when reading literature in our own language, is it even possible to translate it to another language and if yes, what concessions we should make, where we have to accept as normal that something will be "lost in translation". Mostly, when we think in along these lines, we think about linguistic and stylistic limitation that the target language puts in front of us. But there is another aspect which makes understanding of the text in foreign language demanding for the readers—in our case our students—and which can make their life difficult and their understanding and translations of the given texts less than perfect. This is what I call extra-textual element in translation process.

In the present paper, to prove my point, I will give example of the two Partition stories by Bhisham Sahni (1915–2003), who was quite prolific author in Hindi, his works ranging from novels, short stories, dramas, to the screenplays. He is most famous for his novel *Tamas*, from 1974. which thematized riots during the Partition of India and which was transformed to successful and yet controversial television series in 1988. Sahni wrote two well-known stories about Partition, *Pālī* and *Amṛtsar ā gayā hai*. Both stories are language-wise of medium difficulty, but they have their own peculiarities that might pose a hinderance to readers not familiar with the political situation and some cultural stereotypes, or at least which can limit the depth of their understanding.

Let us first briefly refer to the story *Pālī*. The story revolves around the life of two families and around the life of the young boy who at the time of Partition was unintentionally left behind by his parents in what became Pakistan. The Hindu boy, Pālī, only four years old, was abandoned and for four years lived as an adopted son with the Muslim couple who didn't have children of their own. He called his foster parents mother and father. He was properly converted to Islam, and got his Muslim name, Iltāf. After the first stress of being in new family and new cultural milieu, the boy quickly assimilated and lived the life of the young pious Muslim boy.

His real parents were at the end of their wit, and his real father, after moving to India never gave up search for his lost son. After four years, with the help of searching committee and social workers, he located his son and in the turn of events got him back. Then the boy, transplanted to India, once

more had to go through conversion process so his family and community can re-Hinduise him. For an experienced reader of Hindi literature, familiar with the circumstances of the Partition, the story might be easy to understand and to translate. But those who have only good language proficiency and lack of extra-textural knowledge, some sentences and expressions might pose a challenge.

Let us look at some examples:

aur ākhirī din baṛe śahar kā śaraṇārthī śivir khālī hone lagā thā, aur śaraṇārthī phir apne gaṭṭhar-poṭliyā̃ uṭhāe kaimp ke bāhar nikal rahe the, aur saṛak par ek ke pīche ek bahut-sī lāriyõ kī pānt unhẽ vibhājan-rekhā tak le jāne ke lie khaṛaī thī.

On the last day the refugee camp at the side of the big city started to empty up. The refugees once more were gathering their bundles and leaving the camp, a long line of trucks was waiting on the other side of the street to take them to the dividing line.

***

sabhī hindū-sikh ghar-bāhir choṛkar cale gae haĩ.

All the Sikhs and Hindus have left abandoning their houses and properties.

***

darvāze ke pīche pulis kā havaldār nahĩ thā, bacce ke mā̃-bāp bhī nahĩ the. moṭā-sā laṭṭh uṭhāe ek dāṛhī vāle ***maulvī*** *sāhab khaṛe the.*

Behind the door there was neither a police constable, nor the boy's parents. It was bearded **maulvī** holding the thick stich in his hand.

***

kāfir *kā baccā yahā̃ kaun lāyā hai?*

Who brought **infidel's** child here?

***

kyā iskī ***sunnatẽ*** *karavāī haĩ? isse kalam paṛhvāyā hai?*

a. Have you performed his circumcision? Has he pronounced the declaration of faith? |

b. Have you performed his **sunnat**? Has he read kalam?

***

*sunnatẽ hone kī der thī ki **maulvī** bhī bacce ko dulārne lagā, ab to pālī dard se cīkhtā huā 'pitājī, pitājī' pukārtā to bhī **maulvī** ko burā nahī̃ lag rahā thā, balki vah haṃs-muskarā rahā thā.*

The circumcision procedure was already delayed enough, so the **maulvī** started to fondle the boy, and even pain tormented Pālī's screeming 'Father, father!' didn't irritated the **maulvī** who was just smiling and laughing.

(*here the choice of word for 'father': *pitājī* could be the source of maulwi anger or irritation)

***

*jab **ramazan** ke din āe to ā̃gan ke bīcõbīc kharā hokar, ṭīn kā khālī kanastar bajā-bajākar zor-zor se āvāz lagāne lagā—"uṭho muslamāno, rozā rakho ... o... e!"*

In the days of **Ramzan**, he would stand in the middle of the yard and drummed on the empty canister he would loudly call—"Wake up, Muslims, observe the fast, oh, eh!

***

ab yah dīn kabūl kar cukā hai, tum samajhatī ho, ham ise kāfirõ ke hāth mẽ jāne dẽge?

Now he has already accepted the (proper) faith, do you think we will just give him to the infidels' hands?

***

*yahā̃ māmlā choṭī-moṭī riśvat kā na thā, god lie bacce ko lauṭāne kā bhī na thā, māmlā to dīn kā bantā jā rahā thā, bacce ko na bhejnā dīn kī khidmat **kā īmān aur sabāb** kā kām thā.*

It was not a matter of a big or small bribe, or of giving back the child which was adopted, it was more and more becoming the matter of faith, and not sending him back was an act **of** belief **and of pious deed**, both in the realm of religious service.

***

manohar lāl svayaṃ apne bacce ko pahcān nahī̃ pāyā. āṭh baras kā laṛkā, ūñcā kad-but, sir par rūmī ṭopī, nīce malmal kā kurtā aur salavār.

Even Manohar himself couldn't recognize his own child. Eight-years old boy, tall and well built, with a fez on his head, and below muslin **kurtā** (shirt) and **salvār** (throusers).

***

cupcāp uṭh khaṛā huā aur dāẽ hāthvālī koṭhrī mẽ jākar śīghr hī ek caṭāī uṭhā lāyā aur use ãgan ke ek or bichākar bhejā hai. us par dojānū hokar baiṭh gayā aur ***namāz*** *paṛhne lagā.*

He stood up silently and went to the small cottage at the right side, quickly he took a mat and spread it at one side of the courtyard. He kneeled on it and started to perform **namāz** (dayly prayer).

***

mullõ *ne iske zehan mẽ* ***tāssub*** *kā zahar abhī se bhar diyā hai.*

The **mullas** have already filled his brain with the poison of **tāssub** (fundamentalism).

***

bulāo ***paṇḍit*** *ko aur nāī ko.*

Call the **paṇḍit** and the barber. (two persons needed to perform a Hindu ceremony of ritual purification properly)

***

thoṛī der bād yuvā ***brahmacārī*** *ke veś mẽ bālak yaśapāl donõ hāth joṛ apne pitā ke sāth saṭkar dvār ke pās khaṛā ghar mẽ āe mitr-sambandhiyõ ko vidā kar rahā thā...*

A bit later in the appearance of the young **brahmacārī** boy Yaśpāl standing at the door with folded hands, together with his father and bidding farewell to friends and relatives who had come to their house.

In the quoted examples, it is clear that text presupposes that the reader is familiar with the events that followed the Partition of India in 1947, with the process of regaining lost relatives and property, with the fact that even Delhi was full of refugees, and that generally at some moments it was complete mess in the situations when people were moving from one country to another. Otherwise, for example a sentence such as *vāstav mẽ ek choṭe-se bacce kā kho jānā kaun-sā baṛī bāt thī* ('In reality it was not a big deal to lose a small child.') might sound a bit awkward.

However to understand the story properly certain familiarity with the basic concepts, or rather rituals, of Islam and Hinduism is required. The reader should know what is *namāz* (the obligatory daily prayer practices for Muslims); what is *rūmī ṭopī* (fez, a type of cap worn by Muslims) and how it identifies the character of the story; who is *maulvī* (respected Muslim religious scholar or Islamic religious authority in the community) and what

is his role in society; who is *kāfir* ('infidel', non-Muslim when referred to by Muslims); what is *sunnat* (circumcision) and what is it's religious significance in the Muslim society; what does it mean *kalmā paṛhvānā* ('to make someone recite/repeat the holy expression' as the confirmation of adherence to Islam in other words to convert); what is *tāssub* (fanaticism, bigotry) to grasp the Islamic undertone of some portions of the story. All this terms the reader should recognize as culturally significant and as demanding good thought on translation. At the other hand, he or she should recognize meaning of *mantra*s (prayers, holy sayings, meditation supporting formulas), shaving of hair, putting on the sacred thread and becoming *brahmacharin* (becoming a proper member of the Hindu community and start to learn the holy scriptures).

There is also skilful application of language to denote two contrasted communities, for example in the situation where Pālī/Iltāf has to recognize his parents from the photograph:

> *citr apne sāmne pākar baccā der tak use dhyān se dekhtā rahā, phir apnī tarjnī uṭhākar citr par rakhte hue ūñcī āvāj mẽ bolā:*
>
> *"**pitājī**!" aur phir tarjnī ko kauśalyā ke cehre par rakhkar usī tarah cillākar bolā: "**mātājī**!"*
>
> The boy attentively observed the photo put in front of him, and then he lifted his forefinger and put it on the photograph saying loudly: "**Pitājī** (father)!", and then he pointed at Kauśalya face and said in the same loud voice: "**Mātājī**! (mother)!"
>
> ***
>
> *majisṭreṭ ne dūsrā citr bacce ke sāmne rakh diyā. bacce kā cehrā khil uṭhā aur vah cahakkar bolā:*
>
> *"abbājī ! ammī !"*
>
> Magistrate placed another photo in front of the boy. The boy's face lit up and he warbled: "**Abbājī** (father)! **Āmmī** (mother)!"

Adding to the use of different words for father and mother when designating his Hindu and his Muslim parents, I may mention that such situations always put the translator at pain when decisions should be made—to use normal words in target language, and then explain the stylistic device in a footnote, or use just words from the source language and then explain their meaning in the footnote.

***

Let us look at some examples from another Sahni's story, the one with which general reader is probably more familiar then with the previous one. The sto*ry Amṛtsar ā gayā hai* (Amritsar has come/We arrived in Amritsar), deals with the situation in the train heading from somewhere (most probably Rawalpindi) in what was supposed to become Pakistan to India, some short time before the declaration of independence and subsequent partition of the country. The story itself is a literary masterpiece. Not only that in literary interesting way it exposes the problem of multi-religious nation, but also at the level of composition it drags the reader into its world and really produces what classical literary theory would call *rasa*s—feeling of disgust, fear, shame and compassion in the reader. Putting aside this literary evaluation of the story let me comment on it from the perspective of extra-textual knowledge necessary for its full understanding.

First of all, we may not skip the notion that the whole story, the journey from some peaceful surroundings through insecure and turbulent regions, to another secure place is in fact allegorical representation of certain political processes in Indian history. Sahni is achieving that by putting together people from different religious groups in the same wagon of the train and by depicting their interactions. In the beginning his method is quite simple, already in the first paragraph of the story he familiarizes us with the characters who are a bit stereotypical. (The narrator himself is one of the passengers). The author is introducing us to a Sikh who talks about his war exploits, the three Pathan merchants, one somewhat coy Hindu and one covered elderly lady of whom we do not know much, but probably she is also Muslim, although she might be Hindu (*der se mālā jap rahī thī* 'for a long time she told her beads') or even Christian. Already in the first paragraph the reader has to know what is not explicitly said, but is implied: that *sardar-ji* is a Sikh, that *Pathans* are Muslims and that *babu* is a Hindu. It is of course by itself understandable to subcontinental reader, but not necessary to our students.

To understand the joking mood of some sentences the reader should be familiar with the diet restrictions of a particular character,

> *phir vah hãsī-mañjẫk ke bīc merī bagal mẽ baiṭhe* ***bābū*** *kī or bhī nān kā ṭukṛā aur mẫs kī boṭī baṛhākar khāne kā āgrah karne lagā thā—'kā le,* ***bābū****, tākt āegī. am jaisā o jāegā. bīvī bī tere sāt kuś raegī | kāle dālkor, tū dāl kātā e, islie dubalā e...'*

> Then, in this atmosphere of teasing and joking, he started to persuade to eat even the **bābū** who was sitting at my side, offering him a peace of nān and a chunk of meat.—"Eat, **bābū**, it will give you strength. You will become as we are. Your wife will be happy too. Oh, you lentil eater, you eat just lentils, that's why you are so weak."

(Just as an additional problem in this example is how to translate Pathan's 'broken' Hindi.)

Even very simple statements, understandable by themselves, may bear more meaning if we read carefully "between" the lines. For example:

> *"o kitnā burā bāt e, am khātā e, aur tū amārā mũ dekhtā e..." sabhī paṭhān magan the.*
>
> "Well, how sad it is: we are eat and you just watch us..." All the Pathans were joyful.

In this sentence Pathans are in good mood, happy and prone to making jokes. But it is in a way connected to the fact that the scene is taking place in the train which has just passed Jehlam, it means still deep in the area where Muslims feel at home and safe.

Author doesn't miss the chance to characterize the Sikh as someone who will give some simple and rational explanation and who will try to turn the situation to fun.

> *"yah islie nahĩ letā ki tumne hāth nahĩ dhoe haĩ," sthūlkāy **sardār jī** bole aur bolte hī khī-khī karne lage! adhleṭī mudrā mẽ baiṭhe sardār jī kī ādhī tond sīṭ ke nīce laṭak rahī thī—"tum abhī sokar uṭhe ho aur uṭhte hī poṭlī kholkar khāne lag gaye ho, isīlie bābū jī tumhāre hāth se nahĩ lete, aur koī bāt nahĩ." aur **sardār jī** ne merī or dekhkar ắkh mārī aur phir khī-khī karne lage.*
>
> "He is not taking it because you haven't washed your hands," said the corpulent **sardār-jī** (Sikh) and started to laugh even while talking. His huge belly was hanging below the seat as he was in half-sitting pose.—"You have just woken up, and immediately you unfolded the bundle and started to eat, that's why babu-ji doesn't want to take anything from your hand, no other reason." And **sardār-jī** looked at me and winked his eye, starting to laugh once more.

What does it mean to be the part of majority, and how is majority tending to treat minority is very skilfully depicted in the following scene:

jitnī der koī musāfir ḍibbe ke bāhar khaṛā andar āne kī ceṣṭā kartā rahe, andar baiṭhe musāfir uskā virodh karte rahte haĩ. par ek bār jaise-taise vah andar jā jāe to virodh khatm ho jātā hai, aur vah musāfir jaldī hī ḍibbe kī duniyā kā nivāsī ban jātā hai, aur agle sṭeśn par vahī sabse pahle bāhar khaṛe musāfirõ par cillāne lagtā hai—nahĩ hai jagah, agle ḍibbe mẽ jāo...

As long as some passenger was outside the wagon, trying as hard as he could to enter, those who were sitting inside were trying to stop him. But as soon as he somehow entered the wagon, all the resistance was over and he became the member of the wagon's community, and on the next station exactly he was the one who would first start to yell at those outside—"There is no place here, go to the other wagon..."

The scene is very nice example of group psychology but it also rings a bell if we know a little bit about the Partition. Among other reasons for the Partition, one of the main reasons was fear of the Muslim population of united India that after the end of the British rule, Muslims, would became the second class citizens of the Hindu majority country. The option of having their own independent country in which they would be majority sounded more appealing to many Muslims. The scene of one powerful community (those inside the wagon) being hostile to the other which is not in power (those outside the wagon), is allegorical depiction of what was to happen in India.

There is also the scene of a man who desperately tries to board the train with his wife, daughter and luggage. No compassion is shown by those who have comparatively comfortable situation being in the wagon from before:

"aur koī ḍibbā nahĩ milā? aurat jāt ko bhī yahã uṭhā lāyā hai?"

"What, is there no other wagon? He has brought even the womenfolk here?"

There were more unpleasant scenes with people trying to push out the newcomers. Nevertheless, amidst that mess and violence, a peace and non-violence promoting elderly lady mentioned from time to time throughout the story is unsuccessfully appealing for compassion. Familiarity with political protagonists of the Partition period might be useful to reader to draw some parallels...

keval kone mẽ baiṭhī buṛhiyā karlāe jā rahī thī—"e nekbakhtõ, baiṭhane do. ā jā beṭī, tū mere pās ā jā. jaise-taise safar kāṭ lẽge. choṛo be jālimo, baiṭhne do."

> Only the old lady murmured—"Oh, fortunate ones, let her sit. Come on, my daughter, come beside me. We'll manage somehow this journey. Let her be, you bullies, let her sit."

After her effort proved unsuccessful, the lady declares:

> *"bahut burā kiyā hai tum logõ ne, bahut burā kiyā hai." buṛhiyā ūñcā-ūñcā bol rahī thī—"tumhāre dil mẽ dard mar gayā hai. choṭī-sī baccī uske sāth thī. berhmõ, tumne bahut burā kiyā hai, dhakke dekar utār diyā hai."*
>
> "Well, people, you did a very bad thing, a very bad thing." The old lady was talking loudly—"The compassion has died in your heart. A litlle girl was with her. You merciless people, you did very bad by pushing her out."

The train moves on. People are trying to figure out where they are. Their mood depends on that. The atmosphere grows tense. After being informed that they are in Vazirabad, Pathans are suddenly relaxed, but Hindus and Sikhs are even more worried. The man on the platform informs the passengers that there were massacres previously. No detail is given, but it is obviously expected from the reader to know what happened sometime in the Partition period with trains transporting Hindus and Sikhs from Pakistan, and Muslims from India... Without that knowledge the behaviour of the Hindu who lays down on the floor in next scene is not easily understandable for the reader. The same knowledge is necessary to grasp the heaviness of the situation in the sentence:

> *kabhī gāṛī kī raftār sahsā ṭūṭkar dhīmī paṛ jātī to log ek-dūsre kī or dekhne lagte.*
>
> If they felt that the speed of the train would suddenly reduced, they would start to look at each other.

The mood in the wagon changes as the train is getting closer to region which is safer for Hindus and Sikhs. But extra-textual knowledge is needed to understand that:

> *sahsā dublā bābū khiṛkī mẽ se bāhar dekhkar ūñcī āvāz mẽ bolā—"harbansapurā nikal gayā hai." uskī āvāz mẽ uttejnā thī, vah jaise cīkhkar bolā thā. ḍibbe ke sabhī log uskī āvāz sunkar cauṅk gaye. usī vakt ḍibbe ke adhikãś musāfirõ ne māno uskī āvāz ko hī sunkar karvaṭ badlī.*
>
> Suddenly, the feeble bābū looked out through the window and said loudly—"We have passed Harbanspurā." There was some eagerness in his voice, as if he was screaming. All the people in the wagon have startled

> at his voice. At that moment the majority of the passengers in the wagon turned to another side hearing his voice.

Complete change of the *babu*, previously coy Hindu character is taking place when the train reached Amritsar. Being in what he considers completely safe zone, he starts to be extremely aggressive, prone to physically injure or even to kill his Pathan co-travellers. He didn't succeed in this, since Pathans changed the wagon, they went to another one with other Pathans. The other communities in the train started to do the same. Once mixed and intermingled "nation" of the train, started to disintegrate into many smaller communal groups. The allegory is transparent, but again, familiarity with the events leading to the Partition and the Partition itself helps a lot.

The train proceeds further to Delhi. Militant *babu* didn't manage to hurt the Pathans who have changed the wagon, but he nevertheless found the candidate for his evil intention. During the night, when the train is slowly advancing toward its destination, he, for no obvious reason, killed the Muslim man who tried to board the train at one station. *Babu*, as many who know how to use the situation of crisis for their evil intentions, just took advantage of disinterested passengers who fell asleep, and committed the crime for which he will never be punished.

Getting closer to the end of the story, Sahni ends the night of terror with complete change of the atmosphere, almost as if he is depicting someone (individual or community) coming to senses after being in the nightmare for a while:

> *dhīre-dhīre jhuṭpuṭā chaṇṭane lagā, din khulne lagā. sāf-suthrī-sī rośnī cārõ or phailne lagī. kisī ne zañzīr khīñckar gāṛī ko khaṛā nahī̃ kiyā thā, chaṛ khākar girī uskī deh mīlõ pīche chūṭ cukī thī. sāmne gehū̃ ke khetõ mẽ phir se halkī-halkī lahriyā̃ uṭhane lagī thī̃.*
>
> Slowly the dawn started to break, and the day opened up. The clear light started to spread around. No one has dragged the chain and stopped the train. He received a blow and his body was already miles behind. Before them the wheat fields were again swinging in mild waves.

Ending the story somewhat ironically, Sahni put the sentence in Sikh's mouth. He is innocent and wanted to make fun, and he is not aware how much the sentence he uttered hit the truth.

> *"baṛe jīvaṭ vāle ho bābū, dubale-patle ho, par baṛe gurde vāle ho. baṛī himmat dikhāyī hai. tumse ḍar kar hī ve paṭhān ḍibbe mẽ se nikal gaye.*

yahā̃ bane rahte to ek-na-ek kī khopṛī tum zarūr durust kar dete...” aur saradār jī hãsne lage.

bābū javāb mẽ musakarāyā—ek vībhats-sī muskān, aur der tak saradār jī ke cehre kī or dekhatā rahā.

“You are really courageous, bābū, feeble and slim, but you have the guts. You showed great courage. Being scared by you these Pathans have left the wagon. Should they stay here, you would definitely break their skulls one by one to cure them.” And sardār-jī laughed.

Bābū just smiled—with some disgusting smile, and just stared at sardār-jī’s face for a long time.

It is really just a small selection of examples from this excellent story. It shows how already exceptional story starts to shine in full light only when we, or our students, have enough extra-textural information to grasp its complete meaning. It might be that exactly this extra-textural knowledge is the decisive step which makes our students capable of understanding the text we read as true literature.

Conclusion

So, what this text has to do with general aim of our annual conferences which started with an idea to share experiences and hopefully to improve our cooperation, or at least to find some points of mutual interest when thinking about the teaching process? I’m often reflecting about overall (meaningfulness) usefulness of the curricula we are developing in our study programs, about overlapping of the different subjects we teach and about the profile of our graduates. I know that for some it would sound like a kind of heretic question when asked about such an exclusive field as Hindi language and literature (or Indology in general for that matter), but I will nevertheless ask: why? Why we are teaching what we are teaching and why our students are studying what they are studying? The ultimate answer would be (as for many humanities’ sub-sections): because we and they like it. Fair enough! But for how long we can survive with this ultimate answer in the world which is bending under the sway of pragmatism and utilitarian approach to which university education is not immune?

Reconsidering the answer to the question why, it seems to me that there are basically two main reasons why it is plausible to teach and study Hindi. First is linguistical reason—if you are a linguist, deep knowledge of any language is immense asset to your professional development, not to talk about knowledge of such a widely spoken language as Hindi! The second reason has to do with literature. Understanding and translating Hindi literature is still greatly unexplored field and the field in which there is still much to be done in the decades to come. There are other reasons of course, mentioned very often, as for example the fact that Hindi is "fourth most spoken language in the world" or that India is fast-growing economic power, and golden area for those who know Hindi is, well, just around the corner. But such arbitrary statements, although attractive to hear, are more the wishful thinking of scholars than the reflection of the real situation.

So, let me go back to the first two reasons, which I hold more appropriate and plausible, since they have more to do with our thinking about the knowledge sets our students should be equipped with to became competent linguists, translators, literary critics etc. Here I can also refer to the question a colleague Mandar Purandare from Poznań asked: *How much Sanskrit for a Hindi student?*, and add another one: How much culture and history for a Hindi student? And the answer to this question is dependent on the profile of "Hindi specialist" we want to educate. If we want to educate competent translators, critics, editors we should put more stress on culture and history, very often on modern history. If we want to educate a linguist, we should put more stress on Sanskrit (and other languages of the Subcontinent). Such an approach can also be the instructive in modular curriculum development.

I will conclude with a question to all of you, and maybe with an idea to be reflected upon. The question is whether you think that it would be possible to make a tentative list of canonical writing in Hindi that we can expect with reasonable hope the student from Poznań and student from Sofia, student from Budapest and Vienna, would be familiar with. And besides, do you think it would be possible to make a list of the literary works that would cover a considerable number of cultural and historical check-points, accompanied by the reference materials with the aim to give the prospective students of Hindi satisfactory level of extra-textual knowledge to start her or his life as a competent translator, literary critic or any other professional attached to literature.

Texts used

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Višnja Grabovac

Translating Hindi Words – Some Difficulties and Possible Translation Techniques

Abstract

Even though the translation can rarely be reduced to a mere replacement of isolated lexical units of the source language with the closest linguistic equivalents of the target language still, ignoring for a moment the complexities of a language, the focus of the paper will be exactly on the smallest lexical units, i.e. words. The paper provides a short survey of the concept of equivalency and then proceeds to present some types of non-equivalency occurring at the word-level. Additionally, the paper introduces several potential translation techniques.

Introduction

Theoretical discussions and writings on problems a translator might experience while translating a text from a source language (SL) into a target language (TL) go back, according to some theoretics, to ancient Romans or, more precisely, to 1st century B.C. In what might be the first written remarks on the process and the aim of translation, both Horace and Cicero postulate the difference between *word for word* translation and *sense for sense* translation (Bassnet 1996: 43–44). Since those times, diverse translation theories appeared and were discussed but it was only in the 1950s that the first attempts were made to establish a separate discipline with the theory of translation as its own and primary subject, having a distinguished methodology and nomenclature (Ivir 1995: 517).[1] Today, especially under the influence of globalization, translation studies, as commonly known,[2] witness the growing number of authors, researches, and theories. It is the indicator of the importance of translation in

1 For the history of translation practice and theory see also Munday 2009: 1–5; Bassnet 1996: 39–75; Pym 2010, and Gentzler 1993.

2 The name of the discipline was proposed by James Holmes during the Translation Section of the Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics, held in Copenhagen

the world whose inhabitants get into contact with each other no matter how great the geographical or linguocultural differences might be. The following paper is a modest attempt to bring Hindi and Croatian, two geographically distant and in many respects different languages, a bit closer by presenting some difficulties which might occur while translating from Hindi into the Croatian language. Following Baker's thought that "it is sometimes useful to play down the complexities of language temporarily in order both to appreciate them and to be able to handle them better in the long run" (Baker 1992: 12), the focus of the following paper will be on the smallest lexical units—words. Even though the translation is the process which can rarely be reduced to finding out the lexical definition of an SL word and then replacing it with the closest equivalent word in TL still, by presenting some of the difficulties occurring at the word-level, as well as by offering some of the possible translation solutions, the author hopes to modestly contribute to the field of translation studies involving Hindi language. The first chapter will present a few prominent authors who took the notion of equivalence as the subject of their scientific interest, while the second chapter will present some types of non-equivalence occurring at the word-level. The third chapter, followed by concluding remarks, will present different techniques that may prove useful in the process of translating Hindi words into the Croatian language.

1. Equivalency and translation.

The theory of equivalence is a part of structural linguistics which was founded by Ferdinand de Saussure at the beginning of the 20th century. According to him, language is a structured system consisting of differential elements called linguistic signs. These are composed of the signifier (sound image) and the signified (concept) (Saussure 1966: 67). De Saussure writes that a word, as a part of a system, is "endowed not only with a signification but also and especially with a value, and this is something quite different" (ibid. 115). Since the words do not stand for pre-existing concepts, they cannot, claims de Saussure, have precise equivalents in meaning from one language to another (ibid. 116). However, beginning with the 1960s, new lines of translation theories appeared which partly rejected some of de Saussure's conclusions.

in 1972. The modified version of his paper was publised in 1987, in *Indian Journal of Applied Linguistics*. See Holmes (1987).

The concept of equivalence came into focus and became "one of the most controversial issues discussed in translation studies, where scholars disagree on its validity and usefulness" (Munday 2009: 185). Among prominent authors who took the notion of equivalency as integral to linguistics was John Catford who in 1965 published a book titled *Linguistic Theory of Translation*, aiming at providing a linguistic approach to translation. He distinguishes between textual equivalency and formal correspondence and defines translation as "replacement of textual material in one language by equivalent textual material in another language" (Catford 1965: 20). He points out that translation is not always about finding the exact equivalent but that it sometimes presupposes replacing SL text material by a non-equivalent one (ibid.). Popovič also considers translation as more than mere replacing SL lexical and grammatical items with corresponding TL items. He makes a distinction between linguistic, paradigmatic, stylistic, and textual equivalence and sees *expressive identity* between two texts as the final goal of translation. According to him, that goal can sometimes be achieved only by moving away from close linguistic equivalence (Popovič 1975, in Bassnet 1991: 25). Neubert distinguishes between translation as a process and translation as a result, seeing the theory of equivalence as the connection between the static and dynamic translation model. For him, translation equivalency is a semiotic category, consisting of syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic components (Neubert 1967, in Bassnett 1991: 25, 27). One of the most prominent authors with an interest in the problem of equivalency was Eugen Nida who, in his book *Towards a Science of Translating* (1964), claims that since no absolute correspondence between two languages is possible, no translation can be exact in each detail, so a translator can only aim at reaching closest possible equivalent (Nida 1964: 159). He speaks of two types of equivalency, namely formal and dynamic equivalency. Formal equivalence translation is "source-oriented; that is, it is designed to reveal much as possible of the form and content of the original message" (Nida 1964: 165), while dynamic translation is oriented towards the receptors and has as its aim finding the closest natural equivalent to the source-language message (Nida 1964: 166). In other words, dynamic translation is directed "primarily toward equivalence of response, rather than equivalence of form" (ibid.). Munday writes that equivalence can be described in terms of:

(a) whether it relates to words, phrases, clauses, sentences or entire texts, (b) the types of meaning lexical items can assume (denotative, connotative), (c)

the communicative effect produced by equivalence (dynamic equivalence), (d) the similarity of linguistic features (formal equivalence) and (e) the situation, i.e. purpose, function, audience, and so on, of a translation (functional equivalence) (Munday 2009: 186).

This short survey of some of the prominent authors in the field of translation studies is by no means exhaustive but, hopefully, it still offers some insights into the complexity of translation theories regarding the concept of equivalence.

2. Non-equivalence at the word-level.

Even though deeper analysis involving phonetic, phonological, lexical, orthographic, morphosyntactic, and semantic levels of lexical items would demand a different approach than one given in the following subchapters, still I hope to at least scratch the surface of the subject which in Croatia has not been treated before. Hindi words given below as examples appear without a context and are meant only as an illustration of some of the possible types of non-equivalency. The meaning of given Hindi is reliant on Oxford Hindi English Dictionary (McGregor 1993). When listing types of non-equivalence, I follow Baker (1992) and Pavlović (2015).

2.1. Culture-specific words.

When dealing with a text in a language that belongs to a significantly different culture, a translator must expect that, sooner or later, he or she will come across a culturally specific word. In other words, a translator will have to deal with concepts unknown or incomprehensible in the culture of the target language. E. A. Nida wrote that "differences between cultures may cause more severe complications for the translator than do differences in language structure" (Nida 1964: 130). Culture-specific concepts can be enumerated under different categories. For example, Newman, following and adapting Nida, lists five typical: 1. ecology (flora, fauna, winds, plains, hills, etc.), 2. material culture (food, clothes, houses, transport), 3. social culture (work and leisure), 4. organizations, customs, activities, procedures, concepts, and 5. gestures and habits (Newman 1998: 95). Other categories, of course, could be proposed. When it comes to translating from Hindi language, a representative of India and its notoriously known and extremely rich cultural diversity, a translator is likely to experience, to borrow Nida's words, severe complications. Hindi

language, understandably, abounds in culture-specific words such as, for example, *dharma*. It is a complex concept woven out from the centuries-long history of philosophical and religious thought and it is present in many aspects of Hindu society. It is quite obvious that translation of such a concept demands on the part of a translator a solid knowledge and familiarity with the culture to which it belongs, as well as careful consideration of the context in which the word is met. Complex, intangible or abstract concepts are usually more difficult to translate especially if they are unknown in the culture of the TL but abstract concepts such are *dharma, śruti/smṛti, samskār, bhakti, līlā, darśan, rasa, mokṣa, jhūṭhā*, etc. are not the only ones causing difficulties. More solid and visually available cultural items such are, for example, different types of clothes (*dhoti, śalvār, cūṛīdār, ackan*, etc.), food (*roṭī, parāṭhā, nān, kacauṛī, laḍḍū*), jewelry (*jhāñjhan, sarpec, kaṛā, candrahār, hathphūl, pāzeb*), musical instruments (*tablā, ḍhol, ḍholak, sambal, mṛdaṅg, pakhavaj, ḍamrū*), marks indicating one's status or membership of a specific group or religion (*tilaka*, *ṭīkā*, *bindī*, *sindūr*) or rituals (*pūjā, candrāyaṇ, upanayana* or *janeū*, *ārătī*) can also be problematic for the translator who, depending on the type of the source text, the purpose of translation, expected knowledge of the target audience, etc., will have to decide which translation technique to adopt.

2.2. TL lacks a lexeme denoting SL concept.

While the culturally specific concept refers to a concept that is not known or understandable in the TL culture, some concepts are easily understandable to the TL audience but are not lexicalized. Few random examples will suffice.

Sahelī – a woman's female friend. The Croatian language distinguishes between a male friend (*prijatelj*) and a female friend (*prijateljica*) but it makes no distinction between a female friend of a man and a female friend of a woman.

Potā/potī, *nātī/nātin* – son's son/daughter, daughter's son/daughter. The Croatian language makes a distinction between *unuk* (Engl. grandson) and *unuka* (granddaughter) but it has no means to distinguish between son's and daughter's child.

Silvāī – the cost of, or price paid for sewing. While there are Croatian direct equivalents for Hindi *silnā* (to be sewn), *silāī* (sewing), *sīnā* (to sew), still there is no lexeme corresponding to Hindi *silvāī* even though commonly used Croatian suffix *-arina* forms a derivative in the meaning of 'cost of/price paid

for'. For example, the meaning of *mostarina*, from Croatian *most* (bridge) and the suffix -*arina*, is the price paid for crossing the bridge; *cestarina*, from Croatian *cesta* (road), is the price of using the road, and *poštarina*, from *pošta* (post), is a price paid for postal services. Nevertheless, as earlier said, Croatian language does not provide a direct equivalent of Hindi *silvāī*.[3]

Virahī/virahiṇī – adj. separated (as from a loved one); love-sick, lonely, a lover suffering pangs of separation. While the feeling behind Hindi *virah,* namely the 'anguish of separation' from the loved one is experienced by many people and can be most probably understood even by those who have never suffered from it still, there is no lexeme in Croatian language describing the person in a specific state described and well known in Indian poetics.

Añjali – the pressing of the hands so the palms are touching with fingers close to the chest and pointing upwards. Even though people easily recognize and commonly use this posture of the palms, still the Croatian language lacks a specific word describing it.

2.3. The SL word is semantically complex.

There is always a possibility that a translator will come across a word which expresses a complex concept. Baker states that "[l]anguages automatically develop very concise forms for referring to complex concepts if the concepts become important enough to be talked about often (Baker 1992: 22). Given below are some examples of semantically complex Hindi words that have no direct equivalent neither in English nor in the Croatian language. All of them could also be enumerated under the category of culture-specific words.

Ballāī – a village workman who cuts wood and maintains the village boundaries. Croatian word *drvosječa* (Engl. woodcutter) only partly corresponds to Hindi *ballāī* since it does not imply that the person belongs to the village or that he maintains the village boundaries.

Sūtak – a state of ritual impurity existing after birth, or in a household after the death of one of its members. The Croatian language possesses the word referring to the period after birth in a household (*babinje*), and the period after death in a household could be translated as *razdoblje žalovanja* (Engl. the period of mourning). Still, the proposed translations lack the most important element of ritual impurity. Speaking of *sūtak*, one also finds the word *sūtikā*

3 The same goes for Hindi *dhulāī* (the sum paid for washing) and *tulvāī* (price paid for having something weighed).

– a woman who has recently given birth. The Croatian language has a word denoting a woman who gave birth for the first time (*prvorotkinja*), and who delivered a child multiple times (*višerotkinja*) but lacks a word which refers to a woman who recently gave birth. Same as in the case of *sūtak*, the element of ritual impurity is absent in both words.

Candrāyaṇ – religious observation or penance in which the amount of food taken daily is reduced gradually to zero and then increased, in step with the waning and waxing moon. Croatian word *post* (Engl. fasting) does not imply any connection whatsoever with the lunar phases nor with penance.

Piṇḍ – cake or ball of meal, flour or rice offered to spirits of ancestors; oblation to ancestors offered by nearest surviving relatives. In Croatia, the same as in most Western world countries, there is a custom of bringing flowers and candles to the grave of deceased ones but there is no single word referring to those offerings or one which implies that the offerings are made by the deceased's relatives.

Puṇyāī – a virtuous act of which the reward is to be received in a future rebirth. The first problem arising when dealing with *puṇyāī* is the fact that the concept of multiple past and future rebirths is not part of the general Croatian culture. While Christianity allows that there is some kind of a single afterlife (in heaven, purgatory, or hell), still the Christian view of the afterlife does not correspond to the Hindu one. The second problem lies in the fact that the Croatian language lacks a single word for a deed that leads to a "good" afterlife, even though there is a word *grijeh* (sin), which implies the deed leading to the afterlife in purgatory or hell.

Sāñjhī – designs traced out by women and girls on the floors of temples and houses (esp. in the dark half of the moon Āśvin) with colored powder, grain, flowers, and leaves. The act of the intentional or purposeful making of designs on floors, especially with powders or grains, is not a part of Croatian culture. Understandably, the Croatian language does not have an equivalent lexical item.

2.4. Different distinctions in meaning.

Some words belonging to SL can have the same propositional but distinctive expressive meaning. To illustrate it, I propose the verses met in Bollywood blockbuster *Devdas*:[4]

4 https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0238936/ (May, 2020).

pyar ātmā kī parchhāĩ hai ishq īśvar kī ibādat aur mohabbat zindagī kā maksad.

Pyār (love, affection), *iśq* (love, passion), and *muhabbat* (love, affection) all have as their primary meaning 'love'. Along these, there is also *prem* (love, affection, kindliness). Croatian language has *ljubav* (love), but other nouns that can be taken into account are *dragost* (kindliness), *strast* (passion), *privreženost* (attachment, devotion), and *zaljubljenost* (infatuation, the state of being in love). To translate faithfully the above-given verses in Croatian, one should provide three different words that match those in Hindi source text. *Ljubav* (love) is the closest equivalent for all three Hindi words, *strast* (passion) does not necessarily imply the feeling of love, *dragost* (kindliness) is quite a "weak" word that does no justice to neither of Hindi words, *privreženost* (attachment, devotion) could be also based on the feeling of respect, friendship, duty or dependence, while *zaljubljenost* (infatuation, the state of being in love) can sometimes have even depreciative meaning. Hindi words in the given example, however, mean *love*, graded according to the capacity, profoundness, nobleness, or purity of one's heart or intention. Furthermore, p*yār* and *prem* can mean simply love, a feeling that can be addressed to family members as well as to a lover, while *iśq* and *muhabbat* are never used to express the feeling of love towards family members and are impregnated with a sense of burning passion.

Hindi words *jal* and *pānī* also illustrate the difficulty appearing when dealing with the words which have the same propositional but different presupposed meaning. The translation of both words in English and Croatian is *water* (Croatian *voda*) but there is a slight difference between Hindi words which is not conveyed by their translation either into English or Croatian. For example, a Hindi speaker will never ask for a glass of water using a word *jal*, nor he or she will refer to the water of Ganges as *Gaṅgā pānī*.

2.5. Differences in form

During translation, difficulties may arise from the lack of suitable forms in TL. As an illustration, I propose two sets of Hindi examples. 1. *kachuā* and *kachuī* (male and female tortoise), and 2. *mālī* (gardener) and *mālin* (gardener's wife) / *lohār* (blacksmith) and *lohārin* (blacksmith's wife).

When it comes to deriving feminine nouns from masculine nouns denoting animals, Croatian language possesses few morpheme suffixes productive in motal word-formation. These are *-ic-*, *-k-*, *-ac-* and *-ic-*. For example:

> *lav* (Engl. lion)/*lavica* (Engl. lioness); *tigar* (Engl. tiger)/*tigrica* (Engl. tigress); *fazan* (pheasant)/*fazanka* (phasianid); *vrabac* (sparrow)/*vrabica* (-).[5]

On the other hand, certain nouns denoting animals have feminine grammatical gender and do not have their motal masculine pair. Among them is *kornjača* (tortoise) which means that while translating Hindi masculine *kachuā*, a Croatian translator will either have to use a grammatically feminine gender or translate it with *mužjak kornjače* (the male tortoise).

When it comes to the derivation of feminine nouns that refer to a woman's marital status, the Croatian language posses the suffix *-ica*. For example *kapetanica* (wife of a captain) from Croatian *kapetan* (captain); *majstorica* (wife of a craftsman) from Croatian *majstor* (craftsman), and *generalica* (wife of a general) from *general* (general). The first problem lies in the fact that the meaning of those derived feminine nouns (wife of) was common in the times when women did not participate in public services and were named according to their husband's profession.[6] In modern times, however, the first association upon reading or hearing *kapetanica*, *majstorica,* or *generalica* is quite unlikely to be 'the wife of'. Rather, the given feminine nouns will be understood to mean 'a woman-captain', 'a woman-general' and 'woman-craftsman'. That can be further illustrated by the example of Hindi *mālī* (gardener). The Croatian language distinguishes between *vrtlar* (gardener) and *vrtlarica* (female gardener) but the female counterpart of masculine *vrtlar* is never understood in the meaning of 'wife of a gardener' but of a 'female gardener'. The second problem is the inability and/or uncertainty on how to form a feminine noun.[7] Hindi *lohār* (blacksmith) has its direct Croatian equivalent in *kovač* but the Croatian language does not provide a way for derivation of a feminine noun.

2.6. Differences in frequency of using specific forms.

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5 Barić et al 2005: 316.

6 See Pišković 2011: 111.

7 See Barić 1987: 14.

The conjunctive participle in *-kar* is frequently used in Hindi to link two subsequent actions performed by the same subject. It corresponds to Croatian past verbal adverb, formed by adding the ending *-vši*/*-avši* to the infinitive stem of a perfective verb (*otišavši* 'having gone' from *otići* 'to go'; *vidjevši* 'having seen' from *vidjeti* 'to see'). While it is possible to translate every Hindi participle in *-kar* with Croatian past verbal adverb, still the frequency of Hindi participle both in formal and informal, oral and written communication does not correspond to the frequency of Croatian past verbal adverb. This type of Croatian adverb is more common in literary texts, in a certain degree it is stylistically marked, and is not met in everyday speech and less formal communication. Even if one was to translate a Hindi short story or a novel, insistence on direct translation of each Hindi participle in *-kar* with Croatian past verbal adverb ending in *-vši*/*-avši* would likely result in unnaturalness of the language.

2.7. The use of loan words in SL

Hindi language, especially the language of every day and technology-mediated communication, is saturated with English words. Free code-switching between Hindi and English is usually covered by the term Hinglish.[8] Leaving aside the reasons for overwhelming usage of English words not only among Hindi speakers but among speakers of the great number of other languages, it is worth mentioning that English words are used not only in the place of missing Hindi lexemes or for referring to modern concepts, but also in the place of perfectly common Hindi words. Some titles of Bollywood films can serve as an illustration:

Pyār impossible,[9] *Hello zindagī*,[10] *Prem kā game*,[11] *Break ke bād*,[12] *Isī life mĕ*,[13] *Śādī* ke side effects,[14] *Life mĕ twist hai*[15].

All the English words present in the above-given movie titles have their common Hindi counterparts. Still, the deliberate choice of using English

8 Other variants include Hindish, Hindlish, and Henglish. See Lambert 2018: 25.
9 https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1351224/ (May,2020).
10 https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1625331/ (May, 2020).
11 https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1610418/ (May, 2020).
12 https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1578261/ (May, 2020).
13 https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1781838/ (May, 2020).
14 https://www.imdb.com/title/tt3302962/ (May, 2020).
15 https://www.imdb.com/title/tt10006510/ (May, 2020).

instead of easily available Hindi words, indicates that the movies mentioned above have as their plot themes which are not considered traditional, and have modern, western-orientated, and usually economically higher class setting. All of the given titles are easily translatable into the Croatian language, but using Croatian words in the place of English ones will neutralize their purposeful use. On the other hand, there is plenty of English words that were borrowed into the Croatian language, especially in recent times. Many of them went through the process of adjustment and became the part of Croatian lexical repository. The usage of English words in everyday speech, especially among younger and media-oriented populations became quite common, but the Croatian language is highly inflected so the adjustment of English words to Croatian orthographic and inflection norms will often yield dubious results.

The more literary example is provided by the title of Phaṇīśvar Nāth Reṇu's (1921–1977) short story *Pañclaiṭ*. Composed of two nouns; *pāñc* (five and a council of five men) and *laiṭ* (light), it refers to the German Petromax lamp or lantern which started to be distributed all over the world around 1916. In Reṇu's story, the use of the English word 'light' implies the prestige of *pañcāyat*, which owns a modern, western-type lamp. Leaving aside the problem of translating a culturally specific word denoting council of five distinguished village men, we are left with the word 'light'. If translated with the Croatian words *lampa* or *svjetiljka* (lamp, lantern, light), the wordplay and the allusion to the prestige present in Hindi will be lost.

2.8. The problem of false friends.

The common definition of false friends or *faux amis du traducteur* describes them as a pair of words belonging to different languages, having the same form and etymology but different meanings.[16] A great majority of false friends are internationalism, and the difference in meaning results from the fact that two languages borrowed the same word from a third language (when it comes to European languages the word is most commonly borrowed from Greek or Latin), but the word was borrowed into two languages either with a different meaning or the different meaning developed over time.

Words *pājāmā* (loose cotton trousers) and *zulf* (lock of hair, locks) were borrowed into Hindi from the Persian language. However, these words came into Croatian through the influence of the Turkish language. Croatian *pidžama*

16 See, for example, Ljubičić 2003; Rifelj 1996.

(pajamas) does not mean loose trousers as in Hindi but, same as in English, clothes worn for sleeping. Hindi *zulf* is rendered in Croatian as *zuluf* or *soluf* and does not mean lock of hair but a sideburn worn by men. Hindi *cāy* (tea, borrowed into Hindi from Persian) is also an example of internationalism. The Croatian language has *čaj* (tea) and this word is, naturally, suitable for translating Hindi *cāy.* However, the translation can mislead a Croatian reader into thinking that people in India drink the same kind of tea as they do in Croatia. Hindi *cāy* denotes a drink made from a mixture of spices and milk and it is nothing like the *cāy* people drink in Croatia where it is made by pouring boiled water over a teabag usually containing herbs.

3. Some of the possible translation-techniques

In their pioneer work *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais* (1958), Vinay and Darbelent listed and described seven basic techniques that can be employed to overcome translation difficulties: borrowing, calque, literal translation, transposition, modulation, equivalence, and adaptation. The first three techniques, only possible when two languages are lexically, structurally, and morphologically comparable, are listed under the category of direct translation. The last four belong to the category of oblique translation, which is necessary when the direct, word for word translation is not possible. The authors further proposed other, complementing techniques: compensation, concentration/dissolution, amplification/economy, reinforcement/condensation, explication/implication, generalization/particularization, and inversion. Even though Vinay and Darbelent's work was highly influential, it caused certain confusion regarding the definition and distinction between technique, method, and strategy. According to Molina and Albir "translation method refers to the way a particular translation process is carried out in terms of the translator's objective, i.e., a global option that affects the whole text", while the strategies are "the procedures (conscious or unconscious, verbal or non-verbal) used by the translator to solve problems that emerge when carrying out the translation process with a particular objective in mind" (Molina and Albir 2002: 507–508). Strategies affect the choice of techniques which are understood as a "suitable solution for a translation unit". In other words, "strategies are part of the process, techniques affect the result" (ibid.). The following subchapters are mostly based on Baker's proposals who listed several ways

of dealing with non-equivalence at the word-level (Baker 1992: 26–42). It is worth mentioning that she does not discuss the confusion in terminology and uses the term strategy to refer to different types of translation solutions. Since examples given below refer to the *result* of translation, in this paper the term technique is used. Also, it is important to stress that chosen Hindi words appear in isolation so the chapter on translation techniques is only meant as the illustration of some of the possible ways of dealing with words that have no direct equivalent in the Croatian language. The context and the type of source text, as well as the expected profile of the target audience and purpose of translation, affect the choice of translation technique. In other words, what can be an appropriate translation technique in one case, does not have to be appropriate in another. For the same reason, no attempt was made to relate a specific difficulty or type of non-equivalence to the specific technique. The problem of translating culture-specific lexical units is complex and deserves special attention. Since it has not been treated separately in this paper, I refer the readers to several authors such are, among others, Nida (1964), Ivir (1987), Rubel and Rosman (2003), and Kramsch and Zhu (2020).

3.1. Translation by a more general word (superordinate).

Baker writes that translation by a more general word is one of the most common strategies for dealing with diverse types of non-equivalency. Given below are some examples of replacing Hindi words carrying distinctions in meaning by a more general Croatian word.

tablā, ḍhol, ḍholak, sambal, mṛdaṅg, pakhavaj, ḍamrū → *bubanj* (Engl. drum)
potā/*potī*, *nāti*/*nātin* → *unuk*/*unuka* (grandson/granddaughter)
jal, pānī → *voda* (water)
pyār, *iśq*, *muhabbat*, *prem* → *ljubav* (love)
cūṛī, kaṅgan, *hathphūl* → narukvica (braclet)
sahelī → *prijateljica* (female friend)

3.2. Translation by a more neutral/less expressive word.

sūtak → *žalovanje, oplakivanje, babinje* (mourning, grieving, childbed)
candrāyaṇ → *post* (fast, fasting)
piṇḍ → *prinos* (oblation)

bhakti → predanost (bogu) (devotion (to god))
puṇyāī → zasluga, dobro djelo (merit, good deed)

3.3. Translation by paraphrase using a related word.

lohārin → kovačeva supruga (wife of a blacksmith)
pativratā → žena čiji je zavjet odanost i vjernost suprugu (wife whose vow is loyalty and faithfulness to her husband)
jīvanmukti → oslobođenje od nužnosti ponovnoga rođenja (the release from the necessity of future birth)

3.4. Translation by paraphrase using unrelated words.

śalvār → široke, pamučne hlače (loose, cotton trousers)
ackan → dugi sako na kopčanje (long, buttoned jacket)
roṭī → tanka, beskvasna pogačica (thin, unleavened round cake)

3.5. Borrowing (using an SL word without explanation).

Some words can become known to the TL audience through, for example, mass media or the presence of SL speakers and their culture in TL countries. Below is a list of some Hindi words that can be left untranslated. Among them are *bāzār* and *zulm* which were borrowed into Hindi from Persian and Arabic respectively, but these were adopted into the Croatian language through the influence of the Turkish language. There is also *rikṣā* which was adopted into Hindi from the Japanese language. Some words are adjusted to the Croatian orthographic norms.[17]

mantra → mantra (mantra)
yoga → joga (yoga)
rikṣā → rikša (rickshaw)
zulm → zulum (wrong-doing, wickedness)
guru→ guru (guru)
bāzār → bazar (bazaar)
jaṅgal → džungla (jungle)
avatār → avatar (avatar)

17 Notice that all Hindī words except *zulm* were also borrowed into English.

3.6. Using an SL word with an explanation.

An SL word an be used together with an explanation. This is especially suitable if the word is often used in a source text or if it refers to a culture-specific lexical unit. In that case, the explanation can be provided when the SL word is used for the first time in the source text, either in brackets, by the SL word, or in a note.

Example: *gaṅgā taṭ par maṅgalvār kī śām kathak kī jādū bikharā.*[18]

Translation: *Čarolija* kathaka*, indijskoga klasičnoga plesa, u utorak se navečer nadvila nad obalom Gangesa.*

Back translation: The magic of *kathak*, Indian traditional dance, on Tuesday night spread over the bank of Ganges.[19]

3.7. Translation by cultural substitution.

In some cases, a translator will have to find a corresponding cultural substitute for replacing the SL word. A good example is provided by Hindi idiom *X ko ullū banānā* (lit. to make *someone* an owl). If the meaning of an idiom ('to make a fool out of someone') is to be translated into Croatian, one should replace Hindi *ullū* with Croatian *magarac* (donkey), *majmun* (monkey) or *budala* (fool) since Croatian idioms '*napraviti* <koga> *magarcem*' (lit. to make *someone* a donkey), '*napraviti majmuna* <od koga>' (to make a monkey *out of* someone), and *napraviti* <od koga> *budalu*/*napraviti* <koga> *budalom* (to make *someone* a fool/to make a fool *out of* someone) have the same meaning as Hindi idiom. In Croatia, as well as in the majority of the western-world the owl is a symbol of wisdom, not ignorance or stupidity so the Hindi word *ullū* has to be replaced with the Croatian cultural equivalent.

Another example can be provided by Hindi *bīṛī* (a twist of tobacco rolled in a tobacco leaf). Even though *bīṛī* resembles more to *cigarillo*, a type of cigar, still *cigarillo* is not a suitable equivalent. The word *cigarillo* has been adopted into the Croatian language through Spanish language and *cigarillos* are easily available for purchase in Croatia. Still, it is not so common to see someone smoking a *cigarillo*. Moreover, *cigarillos* are usually associated with a higher social status, some special occasion, and perhaps even with an exhibition of some sort of extravagance. In contrast, *bīṛī* is a cheaper, commonly used, and

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18 https://www.livehindustan.com/tags/ganges-river/18 (May, 2020).

19 I have translated the given Croatian translation back into English as literally as possible, ignoring the norms of the standard English language.

more traditional substitute for the western type of cigarette and is by no means associated with high status or extravagance. Thus, it would be more suitable to replace Hindi *bīṛī* with Croatian *cigareta* (cigarette).

Hindi *apsarā* (beautiful celestial female spirit of the clouds and waters in Hindu and Buddhist culture) can also serve as an illustration for this type of solution. It can be translated into the Croatian language by the words *vila* (Engl. fairy), and *anđeo* (Engl. angel). None of those two words directly correspond to Hindi *apsarā*, but both of them partly capture the connotations behind it. Croatian *vila* denotes a mythological being, depicted as a female of extraordinary beauty, usually inhabiting the forests. Since it is associated with beauty, it can be a suitable substitute for *apsarā*. Croatian *anđeo* denotes a winged being inhabiting the heavens and associated with pureness. Even though it is often met in the Christian context, the beauty and, more importantly, the heavenly abode of these beings make them a possible solution for *apsarās.*

3.8. Translation by neologism.

Translation by neologism is a relatively rare technique since neologisms demand a higher level of translator's creativity and can turn out to be incomprehensible or seem unnatural to the target audience (Ivir 1987: 43, in Pavlović 2015: 81). In certain cases, neologisms can be accepted and included in the linguistic repertoire of the target language (Pavlović, ibid.). Neologisms are often formed by analogy with already existing words. For example, Hindi *silvāī* (the price paid for sewing) can be translated into Croatian as *šivarina*. The word *šivarina* is formed on the analogy with preexisting words such are *mostarina* (sum paid for crossing the bridge), *cestarina* (sum paid for using a road), and *poštarina* (sum paid for postal services).

3.9. Translation by omission.

Often considered as the least desirable technique, translation by omission can be valid. Baker writes that omission may sound rather drastic, but in fact, it does no harm to omit translating a word or expression in some contexts. If the meaning conveyed by a particular item or expression is not vital enough to the development of the text to justify distracting the reader with lengthy

explanations, translators can and often do simply omit translating the word or expression in question (Baker 1992: 40).[20]

For example, Hindi particle *jī* when used as an honorific can be translated into the Croatian language as *gospodin* (Sir), *gospođa* (Madam), *poštovani*/*poštovana* (respected, estemeed, m. f.), etc. Nevertheless, in a certain context, it can be omitted so that the naturalness of TL is preserved. For example, "*Mere pitā jī par nibandh*" can be translated into the Croatian language as *Esej na temu* "*Moj poštovani otac*" (Essay titled "My esteemed father"). Yet, to the general Croatian audience, this translation may seem archaic and overly formal. So, unless the given Hindi sentence is met in a somewhat archaic context and the translator wishes to retain the sense of archaicity in his translation, or he/she wishes to retain the sense of SL culture, the particle *jī,* in this particular example, can be left untranslated. The second example is taken from Yaśpal's story *Pahāṛ kī smṛti*:

Example: k*avi log kahte haĩ ki virah prem kā jīvan aur milan ant.*[21]

Translation: *Pjesnici kažu da je razdvojenost život ljubavi, a [da je] susret kraj*.

Back translation: Poets say that the separation is the life of love and [that the] meeting [is] the end.

In the above-given sentence, Hindi noun *log* (m. f. pl. people, folk, members of any particular group) is met. When used in the meaning of 'members of any particular group', it often demands an omission in the Croatian translation.

Conclusion

As mentioned earlier, the process of translation is complex and involves on the part of a translator not only the mere knowledge of the source and target language but also the competence in dealing with multilayered difficulties that may occur as well as awareness of the numerous factors which affect its final result. This paper was an attempt to isolate and draw attention to some types of non-equivalency that might occur at the word-level while translating from Hindi into the Croatian language. Also, several translation techniques were listed that may prove useful when dealing with certain difficulties. The listed types of non-equivalency and mentioned translation techniques are

20 See also Dimitriu 2010.

21 Jain and Schomer 1999: 103.

illustrative and by no means exhaustive. Also, it should be kept in mind that the same problem will often demand a different approach, depending on a context, type of the source text, profile of the expected audience, aim of the translation, etc.

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BROADENING THE PICTURE: LINGUISTICS AND LITERARY STUDIES

Jacek Bąkowski

Khūn for *rakt* and *duniyā* for *saṃsār*. A Cognitive Approach Based on Word Embeddings to Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic Loanwords in Hindi

Summary

Hindi literary texts abound in parallel use of Sanskrit and—partly through Urdu—Perso-Arabic loanwords of similar meaning. Understanding and translating such counterparts by the same lexical units can result in the loss of shades of meaning that may be intended by the author when applying different registers. In particular, lexemes inherited from different languages can embody a different linguistic worldview (henceforth referred to as LWV) which can influence their meanings and/or include a shade of meaning related to their origin. Recent advances in quantitative linguistics—and in particular in natural language processing—make it possible to test theories formulated decades ago by other linguistic schools. Potentially one of the most interesting is the theory that the language spoken by a user reflects the worldview of their community (Wierzbicka 1997, Goddard & Wierzbicka 2014, Bartmiński 2007, Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2021). Productive as it is, however, this theory lacks rigorous empirical validation. Nevertheless, recent methods that foreground latent semantic relations between words in a corpus, such as word embeddings, could potentially allow this theory to be verified. Provided that the 'worldview in the language' hypothesis is true, these methods could provide a unique opportunity for scholarly insight into the content of that LWV. Moreover, they may prove to be an effective tool for research at the crossroads of ethnolinguistics and cultural studies, based on precise, objective, and quantifiable data. In this paper I investigate the possibility of applying the concept of LWV, along with quantitative corpus based approach and word embeddings, to the study of the meaning of such words.

1. The Linguistic Worldview

Generally speaking, the Linguistic Worldview is a mental representation, an interpretation of reality which is embedded in every language. It does not have to be conscious, rather it is a deep structure, formed over the centuries by depositing historical layers—past generations and cultures. Over time, these layers merge into one whole (Steiner 1975) and transform into a cultural prism through which we perceive and categorize the world around us (Cassirer 1944). Foreseen by Aristotle as *loci communes*, the LWV can be considered, from a sociological point of view, as a kind of collective memory (Halbwachs 1925).

Thus, in such a cognitive approach the meaning of a word is enriched, unlike in the structuralist approach, with an element of psychology, and takes into account the concepts and values which are associated with it in a given culture and language. In other words, how a given community perceives the element represented by a given lexeme, i.e. the mental state of the speakers associated with the expressions used. As it is highly culturally dependent, the mental state will vary depending on the linguistic and cultural community one belongs to. This means that in cognitive terms, the meaning of a word is far more complex than it would seem from its strict dictionary definition.

Indeed, as noted by Langacker "meaning is far more complex than grammar, and far more difficult to study and describe" but also "complete semantic descriptions cannot realistically be envisaged." Thus, "any actual description must limit itself to facets of the total meaning that are either central or relevant for a specific immediate purpose. If they are principled, linguistically revealing, and empirically supported, even partial characterizations are valid and useful". That means, that "for a given lexical meaning, certain specifications are so central that they are virtually always activated whenever the expression is used, while others are activated less consistently, and others are so peripheral that they are accessed only in special contexts" (Langacker 2008: 11, 39). Consequently, word meanings in the mental lexicon are tightly linked to the world knowledge contained in the human long term semantic memory (Quillian 1966).

The above considerations show that words have a more elaborate and complex meaning and do not only play the role of signs bound to a designated element. Their meaning is cultural and influenced by all their previous uses. They have a rich network of connections, allusions, and metaphors

characteristic of a given LWV. Their meaning is more encyclopedic than dictionary based, which has been described as an opposition between the dictionary view of linguistic semantics and encyclopedic semantics (Wierzbicka 1995). In this approach, a lexical meaning resides in a particular way of accessing an open-ended body of knowledge pertaining to a certain type of entity, and this knowledge, as previously noted, will depend on the cultural context.

For instance, as described by Wierzbicka, words referring to basic core cultural values such as friendship, freedom, family, homeland or other terms of the absolute will have different shades of meaning, connotations and will appear with a different frequency in different languages. It also seems accepted that vocabulary "occupies a privileged position in ethnolinguistic research, as it constitutes a classificatory network for the social experience of people speaking a given language" (Wierzbicka 2013, 137).

All these considerations lead us to the conclusion that, in such an approach, vocabulary and its meaning can be the key to the ethnosociology and psychology of culture (Wierzbicka 1997), making ethnolinguistics a science at the crossroads of multiple fields including corpus and cognitive linguistics, distributional semantics, and cultural studies. The question then arises: how can we capture something so volatile, elusive, subconscious, broad and complex as word meaning and all the stereotypes and world knowledge (i.e. the LWV) associated with given words?

2. Distributional Semantics

Distributional semantics has a relatively long history, dating back to the beginning of the 20th century and philosophical work by Ludwig Wittgenstein and Bertrand Russel, among others. It led to the realization of the importance of textual contexts to define the meaning of particular words. As Firth famously said, "You shall know a word by the company it keeps" (Firth 1957),[1] which allowed for further elaboration of the distributional hypothesis—namely, that word meanings are influenced by their usage patterns (Harris 1954, Firth 1957, Sahlgren 2008). Consequently, "words which are similar in meaning occur

1 Wittgenstein reached a similar conclusion when he wrote: "The meaning of words lies in their use" and "One cannot guess how a word functions. One has to look at its use, and learn from that" **(**Wittgenstein 1953).

in similar contexts" (Rubenstein & Goodenough 1965); and "words with similar meanings will occur with similar neighbors if enough text material is available" (Schütze & Perdersen 1995).

Thus, individual words do not function in isolation, their meaning is associated with the meaning of co-occurring words and we can infer, at least to some extent, the word meanings from their lexical co-occurrence patterns. This also means that the meaning of a word contains information about the concept it refers to—its designational meaning—but also about concepts with which it is likely to combine when used in a text (Quillian 1966, 31).

All of this leads us to the distributional hypothesis, according to which "the degree of semantic similarity between two words (or other linguistic units) can be modeled as a function of the degree of overlap among their linguistic contexts." (Harris 1954, Miller & Charles 1991, Baroni & Lenci 2010). In other words, the greater the similarity of words, the greater is the convergence of their contexts. Furthermore, according to the same hypothesis, it is possible to show, by means of the neighborhood of given words, the connotative meaning of particular words. Recently, sophisticated neural-network algorithms, e.g. Word2Vec, allow semantic relations to be identified between any set of words. And this leads us to Word Embeddings.

3. Word Embedding Algorithms.

3.1. Word embeddings—words as vectors.

Generally speaking, a word embedding is a word representation. Usually, it consists of a single dense vector of floating point values with several hundred dimensions (the so-called "word vector space"). Each vector is supposed to represent the meaning of a word and its context in the vector space. It is calculated by taking into account the words surrounding each word and therefore, unlike in the "bag-of-words" approach, does not ignore how neighboring words can influence meaning.

Therefore, instead of a one-to-one mapping between an element in the vector space and a word, the representation of a word—and also its meaning—is spread across all the dimensions in the vector space and each dimension contributes to the definition of many different words. As a result, a word will be represented in an abstract way as point in a multi-dimensional space that represents the entire vocabulary in use in a given corpus, with all dimensions

contributing to its meaning. Furthermore, the dimensions of that space will be defined by the contexts used to build the distributional model (Harispe et al. 2015, 46)—it will contain a subset of semantic memory reflecting the word's meaning.

Most importantly, and this is probably the key point in our study, in accordance with the distributional hypothesis these context vectors should represent word meanings in a way that allows us to measure the semantic similarity between different words. Indeed, words that share many linguistic contexts are located nearby in the vector space, while words which have very different contexts are located at a greater distance from each other. In other words, the geometric proximity between vectors increases when the semantic context of the corresponding words becomes more similar; words that are closer in the vector space are expected to be similar in meaning or at least semantically related. This means that words that share similar contexts will have similar embeddings, that is, their vectors also will be similar to a certain extent (Goldberg & Levy 2014).

This means that, based only on the lexical context, word embedding algorithms are able to capture semantic similarity between words, allowing us to determine what relationships may exist between words as well as how the concepts they represent are perceived and linked to other ideas by a given community (Kozlowski et al. 2019). Moreover, research has shown that these "inter-words distances in word embeddings correlate with human ratings of semantic similarity. [..] These results demonstrate that, by simply tracking co-occurrence statistics, a machine with no a priori concepts can obtain a lexicon that contains certain kinds of semantic memory" (Grand et al. 2022).

This is crucial, because it means that this vector space to some extent reflects our knowledge of the world and how it is organized in the human mind. Since the input stream to our vectors is a large collection of texts with local word associations a human might learn through ambient exposure to the language, we can assume that this vector space contains—at least contains traces of—subtle and complex cultural associations and the knowledge entrenched in these texts (Kozlowski et al. 2019). So—starting from the assumption that our linguistic corpus represents a certain state of knowledge of its authors, who are embedded in a given culture and its realities—our vector space is coherent not only from the point of view of semantics, but also our knowledge of the world. In a sense, it seems to represent a simplified picture of our LWV.

The question that then arises is how to measure distances between words in order to evaluate their semantic relatedness. As words are represented as points in a multi-dimensional space, we will consider their corresponding vector and, therefore, compare them through vector similarity measures. In our case we will use the cosine similarity which is based on the cosine of the angle between the vectors. Thus, the similarity is inversely proportional to the angle; the more similar are the words, the smaller is the angle between them (Harispe et al. 2015, 46).

3.2. Corpus Linguistics and individual worldview.

The methodology of corpus linguistics has already been used to trace an individual's worldview. Among other findings, psycholinguists observed that different personalities are reflected through the usage of pronouns (Pennebaker 2011). Other research shows that minute differences in the distribution of the most frequent words might betray some differences between male and female authors (Katz et al. 2017, Rybicki 2015, Weidman & O'Sullivan 2017). Importantly, the difference between male and female language has also been traced by using distributional semantics methods (Schmidt 2015; Caliskan 2022), giving us priceless hints as to its advantages and limits.

Some research shows that word embeddings are not objective, but can inherit, encode, and reproduce well-known social biases like racist, sexist, classist, community or ageist worldviews; this provides us with further evidence that language stereotypes and associations can be successfully extracted from texts (Swinger et al. 2019). This means that in order to extract correct language stereotypes, we need to operate on meticulously prepared data and use a balanced corpus of texts—or conversely, extract the characteristic features of certain authors from collections of their texts. Nevertheless, this also confirms that word embeddings can extract traces of the subjective reality embedded in linguistic corpora.

3.3. Corpus Linguistics and Linguistics Worldview.

Language holds a central position in the study of culture. Texts contain a vast amount of information about words and their usages and therefore, as previously mentioned, a part of our knowledge of the world. Since a linguistic corpus is a large collection of text and/or spoken utterances (i.e. linguistic

utterances), it can be assumed to represent—to some extent—the language and its use patterns; but more than that, a part of the LWV embedded in the language (i.e. collective knowledge, stereotypes, etc.).

Furthermore, by examining a sufficiently large corpus of texts and combining semantics with geometry, word embeddings allow us to capture the relationships between words, and through that to extract the LWV, certain entrenched cultural associations, beliefs and stereotypes (or at least a trace of them) of given words, by means of relationships that occur between their contexts, in a surprisingly expressive way. These realities are sometimes unknown or unnoticed even by native speakers. From a diachronic point of view they can also be of help to capture possible semantic drifts (Hamilton et al. 2016).

Word embeddings can, therefore, be helpful in partially reconstructing, or more precisely perceiving, the trace of the LWV contained in the examined body of texts, of course provided that the "worldview in the language" hypothesis is true.

3.4. Word2Vec.

Although the idea of word representations is not new, with one of its earliest uses going back to 1986 (Rumelhart et al. 1986), a breakthrough in the field occurred a decade ago.

In 2013 Mikolov et al. introduced the Skip-gram model, an efficient method for learning high-quality vector representations of words from large unstructured text data, designed to improve search engine performance. The goal of the Skip-gram model was to find word representations useful for predicting the surrounding words in a sentence or a document (Mikolov et al. 2013a). The same researchers introduced the Word2Vec algorithm as an extension of the original Skip-gram model, improving both the quality of the vectors and the training speed. Significant speedup and more regular word representation was obtained by subsampling frequent words, which appeared to be an alternative to the hierarchical softmax, called ‚negative sampling' (Mikolov et al. 2013b).

4. Peculiarity of Hindi language.

A distinctive feature of the Hindi language is that its vocabulary is drawn, among other sources, from the Sanskrit tradition and from Perso-Arabic one. However, the Perso-Arabic words did not always replace the words of Sanskrit origin. Sometimes, words of both origins function in parallel. Thus, from a dictionary point of view, they are synonyms, but despite their semantic proximity they can be carriers of different cultural stereotypes and exhibit different cultural association, connotational meaning, stylistic distribution, frequency occurrence (Urdang 1978), and also a different semantic prosody (Louw 2000). As a consequence, despite the fact that their referential meaning is the same, they are not functionally identical, and occupy a slightly different semantic field with a different range of application.

Language users are often not aware of the origin of the words they use. However, due to their structure, which can often be quite different from native or well assimilated words, some "foreign" words require greater perceptual and cognitive effort than words that sound more familiar. Thus, less common words may be perceived as less established, and therefore evoke different associations and connotations. However, through a process of gradual fixation, even complex structures can be thoroughly mastered, to the point that using them requires little conscious monitoring (Langacker 2008: 16).

For this reason, in the case of literary works, where the vocabulary is meticulously selected, careful examination of these words seems justified. Furthermore, for some authors the Urdu language and the richness of Persian vocabulary were relevant in forging a style of their own in Hindi. Translating their works without taking this important aspect of their work into account would lead to distortion and impoverishment of the translation.

Christine Everaert points out such conscious use of both registers in "Tracing the Boundaries between Hindi and Urdu", where she emphasizes that authors can consciously borrow words from both cultural contexts and use these borrowings to individualise their personal characters or create a certain atmosphere, sometimes using so little popular vocabulary that they themselves add a more familiar equivalent.[2] Using Urdu vocabulary can also be a way to provide additional information without directly mentioning it.

2 "There is one more reflection on conscious language usage: Hindi and Urdu authors can also borrow from the cultural heritages and use these cultural borrowings to typecast characters in the stories and conjure up certain atmospheres. For translators,

For example, it can be used to imply the context or origin of some personal characters.[3]

5. Analysis with Word2Vec.

For the purpose of this short demonstration I used the Hindi Monolingual Corpus provided by the Indian Institute of Technology Bombay made of roughly 44 million Hindi sentences (Kunchukuttan et al. 2018). However, two aspects are worth noting about the use of linguistic corpora with Word2Vec.

First of all, a lemmatized corpus would give better results. This is especially the case with highly inflectional languages, or for languages with large vocabulary and many rare words. Secondly, it should contain no spelling errors. Such errors are quite common in Hindi especially because of the misspellings of the length of vowels. Words which appear in the corpus under different inflected forms or with spelling variations are interpreted as different lexemes. As a result, distinct vectors are assigned to each version of a given word, even the misspelled ones, which can greatly influence the final result. Even simple lemmatization would not suffice, as it would not be able to unify spelling variants.

The Hindi Monolingual Corpus is not lemmatized, and so in order to get more accurate results the different inflected forms and spelling variants of the analyzed words have been reduced to standard lexical forms. The words analized here are limited to the pairs of synonyms for WORLD (*saṃsār/ duniyā*) and BLOOD (*rakt*/*kh̲ūn*), which were chosen as words referring to basic and universal core cultural values.

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the use of concepts linked to the cultural heritages poses the problem of cultural transposition" (Everaert 2010: 218).

3 "On a lexical level, the 'line of divide' between the two languages is not simply to be drawn on etymological grounds. Some Perso-Arabic words are used more frequently in Urdu than in Hindi; some are more connected with the Muslim background of the author or character in the story. The same is true for Sanskritic words in relation to Hindi and Hindu writers. Most of the words are however part of a continuum of words that are used both in Hindi and in Urdu, and are also a tool for typecasting, used to portray characters and setting." (Everaert 2010: 218).

6. The world: *saṃsār* and *duniyā:*

According to the lexical meaning, the pair of synonyms *saṃsār* (Sanskrit origin) and *duniyā* (Arabic origin) has roughly the same dictionary meaning: 'world'.[4] Some of the most similar words to them are presented below, with semantic similarity coefficients:[5]

saṃsār		
brahmānd	universe	0.6884
sr̥ṣṭi	creation	0.6831
bhūmaṃḍal	globe	0.6435
duniyā	world	0.6170
jīvan	life, existence	0.6170
manuṣya	human being	0.6134
bhāratvarṣ	India	0.6097
jīv	soul	0.57

duniyā		
saṃsār	world	0.6170
kāynāt	world, existing things, capital	0.6051
deś	country	0.5703
viśvă	world	0.5611
zindagī	life	0.5547
mulk	country	0.5153
yūrop	Europe	0.4676
kaum	community	0.4787
zamānā	time	0.4512

In the examples above we can see that the word *saṃsār* tends to be semantically related to other words of Sanskrit origin and with quite a high, even transcendental register i.e. the whole Universe, the Creation, the human being or the soul; meanwhile the word *duniyā* is barely associated with other words of Perso-Arabic origin and tends to be very realistic and less elevated. It should also be noted that the meaning of *saṃsār* is much wider and strongly

4 The *Urdū-hindī śabdkoś* presents them as synonyms and states that *duniyā* is of Arabic origin (Sacchidaanand 2017: 191).

5 A similarity coefficient of 1 means that the words are semantically identical, while 0 signifies semantic opposites.

connected to the Hindu philosophical and religious context. Therefore, the appearance of synonyms from Sanskrit around this word does not come as surprise. Likewise, *duniyā* has also a wider set of meanings and implies a different context.

7. Blood: *rakt* and *khūn*:

According to the Urdu-Hindi dictionaries, both *rakt* and *khūn* are synonyms for "blood".[6]

Some of the most similar words to them are presented below:

rakt		
rudhir	blood	0.8203
mūtr	urine	0.7289
yukrit	liver	0.7005
śleṣmā	phlegm, mucus	0.6931
glūkoz	glucose	0.6849
hīmoglobin	hemoglobin	0.6802
dhamănī	artery, vein	0.6785
khūn	blood	0.6738

khūn		
lahū	blood	0.8047
lohū	blood	0.6175
gośt	meat, flesh	0.5770
āṃsū	tear	0.5730
mavād	pus	0.5718
jism	body	0.5699
pasīnā	sweat	0.5666
rakt	blood	0.5620

On the basis of these results, we can see that the Sanskrit *rakt* tends to be used in a more medical context and may be associated with words with religious connotations.

6 The *Urdū-Hindī shabdkosh* presents them as synonyms and states that *khūn* is of Persian origin (Sacchidaanand 2017: 100).

On the other hand, the lexeme *khūn* tends to be used with other words of Perso-Arabic origin and in a more realistic and down-to-earth way (meat, sweat). However, the system detected that *rakt* and *khūn* are semantically related, but did not assign a high coefficient to this relationship.

Thus, we can see that a word of given origin tends to be used with other ones of the same provenience. Furthermore, in the context of these two pairs of words, the Sanskrit word is used in a higher, that is allegorical, metaphorical register with sometimes a religious connotation, whilst the Urdu one tends to be more realistic and sometimes maybe with a more negative connotation. However, a lemmatized corpus and further analysis of most similar words (not limited to the top 10) would give more accurate results.

8. Conclusions.

These preliminary results seem to confirm that large text collections contain traces of the cultural associations, language stereotypes, linguistic worldview, and interpretations of reality which are—even unconsciously—embedded in the language we use. Although conceived for a different purpose, and despite many flaws, word embeddings prove surprisingly effective for extracting these stereotypes and LWV. The few examples above, along with previous work, provide us with concrete examples of such use.

Thus, modern word embeddings methods offer us a unique opportunity for scholarly insight into the content of collective world knowledges by examining huge text corpora without being limited by the pace of human reading. Moreover, such results can be statistically authoritative, precise and objective, as they are based on extensive amounts of data from diverse sources, without relying upon the analyst's skills and intuition. At the same time, they verify via an empirical approach the 'worldview in the language' theory that has been intensively developed during recent decades.

Furthermore, word vectors may prove to be an effective method to detect, confirm, and better describe the elements that make up the LWV. They may help to understand how societies see and understand the world around them, thus becoming an important and powerful tool in the field of ethnolinguistics and cultural studies. When comparing corpora from different cultural contexts, they can highlight differences between different social groups. In a contrastive diachronic approach, when used with corpora from different time periods, they

may make it possible to trace and highlight how cultural associations change in a given society. If one is aware of their limitations, they can also prove useful in the process of learning and "feeling" Hindi and Urdu vocabulary, and help to gain intuition about the cultural load and complex associations of common pairs of Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic synonyms. Finally, they can also be useful when translating texts from Hindi to other languages, by helping the translator to capture these rich, connotative meanings.

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Katarina Katavić

The Hindi Gender System

Abstract

One of the hardest parts of language learning is mastering the gender oppositions. Hindi has two grammatical genders, masculine and feminine, which are partly semantic, partly phonological and partly arbitrarily assigned. The Hindi gender system has been researched to some extent, but only a few assignment rules have been extracted and most Hindi students still learn gender of nouns by heart. In order to facilitate teaching and studying this part of language, I extracted as many assignment rules as possible by using the TLex dictionary software and a wordlist containing more than 7000 Hindi nouns, taking into account both phonology and etymology of words at stake.

1. Introduction

Hindi has two grammatical genders, masculine and feminine, which are partly semantically, partly phonologically and partly arbitrarily assigned (Gnanam 1998: 286). The Sanskrit three gender system – masculine, feminine and neuter – which persisted through Middle Indo-Aryan, has been later reduced, so that the majority of New Indo-Aryan languages, just as Hindi, have only two genders. Other languages have either kept the neuter (e.g. Marathi and Gujarati), formed a distinction between animate and inanimate (Singhalese), or discarded all distinctions of grammatical gender (Bengali, Assamese, Oriya).

Since the early distinction between animate and inanimate in Indo-European has been weakened and has lost its importance in Sanskrit, there is a constant morphological opposition of masculine and neuter genders to the feminine, except in the direct cases (Bloch 1965: 149-150). This has also led to hesitation between masculine and neuter in many Sanskrit thematic stems, such as *ākāśaḥ*, *ākāśam* ‘sky’; *pustakaḥ*, *pustakam* ‘book’; and their latter merging (Bloch 1965: 150; Masica 1991: 221; Oberlies 2005: 12). Although the neuter has disappeared in the majority of modern languages as a distinct

grammatical gender, it has left certain traces in distinguishing animate and inanimate nouns (i.e. an additional instrumental and locative case in the singular of inanimate nouns in Singhalese; a choice of different postpositions for animate, personal or inanimate nouns in Kashmiri) (Bloch 1965: 151).

Another phenomenon that has appeared is the alternation of gender of particular nouns, especially due to long and short *-i* and *-u* stems drawn closer to each other and the development of word finals in Apabhraṃśa and New Indo-Aryan (Bloch 1965: 151; Oberlies 2005: 12). This is why, for instance, the Sanskrit masculine noun *agni* 'fire' appears as the feminine *āg* in Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi, *āg*^{i} in Sindhi, *jag* in Romani and *agg* in Panjabi and Lahnda; and the Sanskrit neuter *akṣi* as the feminine nouns *ā̃kh* in Gujarati and Hindi, *akkh* in Panjabi and *akh*^{i} in Sindhi (Bloch 1965: 151-152).

The change of gender happens also in loanwords during their appropriation in a new language, where many of them lose their original gender. Examples of such loanwords are the Arabic *kitāb* and Sanskrit *pustak*, both meaning 'book'. The Sanskrit word *pustikā* 'book' and its Prakrit derivative *potthiā* are feminine, as well as the derived Hindi form *pothī*. The word *kitāb* is masculine in Arabic and *pustak* neuter in Sanskrit, but both have become feminine in Hindi, analogously to the feminine *pothī* (Chatterji 1942: 231).

Besides denoting the semantical gender of male and female beings, another function of gender in New Indo-Aryan is denoting enlargement and diminution. Augmentatives and diminutives are formed by noun derivation, forming masculine nouns as augmentatives and feminine as diminutives (Bloch 1965: 152). Thus the diminutive of the masculine Hindi noun *bāġ* 'large garden' is *baġiyā* 'small garden', which is feminine. The Hindi word *rassī* 'string' is feminine and has developed from the masculine Sanskrit noun *rasmi*. Its augmentative in Hindi is *rassā* 'cable', which is masculine (Bloch 1965: 152). Many nouns denoting feminine beings are formed through derivation as well, such as *bāghinī* 'tigress', from *bāgh* 'tiger', or *seṭhānī* 'wife of a merchant', from *seṭh* 'merchant' (more on this in the following sections) (Bloch 1965: 152; Masica 1991: 218).

As shown above, the Hindi gender system has been researched to some extent, but only a few assignment rules have been extracted and most Hindi students still learn the gender of nouns by heart. Based on the research of a wordlist containing more than 7000 Hindi nouns, this paper attempts to show as many gender assignment rules as possible, taking into account both phonology and etymology of the words in question. This may be helpful to students in learning the gender of Hindi nouns.

2. The Ways of Gender Assignment

Generally, there are three ways to determine the grammatical gender – semantic, morphological and phonological. The semantic way is based on the meaning of a noun, i.e. the physical gender of a person or animal being signified (Audring 2016: 15). An example for that is the word *mantrī* 'minister', whose grammatical gender depends on the gender of the signified person. Hence the noun *mantrī* can be both masculine and feminine and signifies both male and female minister. Another example is the word *mahilā* 'woman', which is only feminine because it signifies only females.

The morphological way of recognizing grammatical gender is based on the declension system (Audring 2016: 18). For example, *kitābẽ* 'books' ends in *-ẽ*, the ending for the nominative plural form of feminine nouns, which shows that *kitāb* 'book' is feminine. The gender is generally most apparent in the nominative plural form.

The phonological way of gender assignment happens by determining the gender of nouns through their ending syllable (Audring 2016: 18). As the focal point of this paper this approach will be explained in detail in the following sections.

However, the morphological way can be used only during reception (through listening or reading), where there are given forms that can be grammatically analysed, but not in production (speaking or writing) where one has to know the gender of nouns in advance. Also, there is a huge number of nouns whose grammatical gender cannot be determined simply by their meaning. Many of them signify non-living things and their gender is arbitrarily or phonologically assigned. Therefore, focusing on phonological rules, especially in combination with the semantic ones, could be very useful for gender assignment.

3. Research

3.1. The Corpus Material

This research is based on the ongoing project of making the first Hindi-Croatian dictionary led by Katarina Katavić, Bharat Singh and Krešimir Krnic using a software called TLex. There is a complete wordlist of 10 000 main entries with information about the part of speech and origin. More than 7000

of the entries used for this analysis are nouns. The software has different filter options enabling the user to extract words of a particular part of speech, origin and with particular endings, as well as allowing them to see the particular statistics. However, because the wordlist does not cover the entire lexicon of Hindi, it gives us just an approximate insight.

3.2. The Results

According to the wordlist, most of the nouns ending in *-ā* are masculine. Many of them, including nominal adjectives, are *tadbhava* i.e. New Indo-Aryan, e.g. *andhā* 'blind, blind man', used both as an adjective and as a noun. There are also Arabic and Persian loanwords, for example, *amlā* 'worker' or *mazā* 'pleasure'. Even without knowing Arabic or Persian, some of the loanwords can be recognized by their phonology. They can contain phones such as *fa, za, k͟ha, ġa and qa* (written as फ़, ज़, ख़, ग़ and क़ in devanāgarī).

Masculine Sanskrit loanwords, i.e. *tatsama*, ending in *-ā* are for example *vaktā* 'speaker' and *abhinetā* 'actor'. The Sanskrit stems of these nouns are *vaktṛ* and *abhinetṛ*. The ending *-tṛ* signifies a doer of an action while *-tā* is the ending of its nominative singular form in Sanskrit. Such nouns have a special Hindi declension which is different from the declension of nouns such as *kelā* 'banana' or *laṛ^{a}kā* 'boy'. Their oblique forms are neither *vakte** and *abhinete** in singular nor *vaktõ** and *abhinetõ** in plural, but *vaktā* and *abhinetā* in singular (same as nominative) and *vaktāõ* and *abhinetāõ* in plural. This also applies to nouns with other kinds of stems such as *rājā* 'king' (Skt. *rājan*). What such nouns have in common is that they are Sanskrit and in Sanskrit they have a complex declension, with two or three different stems, while their Hindi stem is simply the Sanskrit nominative singular form. This is the reason why these Sanskrit nouns are masculine despite ending in *-ā*.

Sanskrit loanwords whose Sanskrit stems end in *-ā* are feminine in Sanskrit as well as in Hindi, e.g. *āgyā* 'order', *spardhā* 'competition' and *bhāṣā* 'language'. Sanskrit loanwords can be recognized by their phonological structure as well. They can contain specific Sanskrit phones such as *ṛ*, *ṣa* or *ḥ*, or consonant clusters like *jña* (pronounced as *gya* in Hindi), *kṣa*, *tra*, *rdha* and others.

Many feminine nouns ending in *-ā* contain suffixes like the Sanskrit suffix *-tā*, which signifies abstract nouns, such as *prasanntā* 'happiness' and *mitratā* 'friendship'. Also the suffixes *-iyā* and *-ikā*, which signify small things or female living beings, e.g. *baġiyā* 'small garden', *cuhiyā* '(female) mouse',

gujariyā 'Gujar woman', *nāṭikā* 'small drama', *mūṣikā* '(female) mouse' and *gāyikā* '(female) singer'.

Furthermore, all nouns in the list ending in *-i* are Sanskritisms, such as *pati* 'husband', *ravi* 'the sun' and *śaśi* 'the moon'. But most of those nouns, namely 83% of them in the wordlist, are feminine, like *bhūmi* 'earth', *mūrti* 'statue', *śakti* 'power' and *smṛti* 'memory'. In this case there are no recognizable rules for determining their gender, but there is a high probability that a noun ending in *-i* is feminine.

Many nouns ending in *-ī* are nominal adjectives containing the adjective-forming suffix *-ī*, such as *ajnabī* 'unknown; unknown person, stranger' and *pañjābī* 'having to do with Panjab; person from Panjab; the Panjabi language'. There are also Sanskritisms such as *vidyārthī* 'student' or *aparādhī* 'criminal'. Their Sanskrit stems are *vidyārthin* and *aparādhin*, which are masculine, while *vidyārthī* and *aparādhī* are their Sanskrit nominative singular forms (the same case as already mentioned *abhinetā* and *vaktā*). Nominal adjectives made by the suffix *-ī* and nouns originated from masculine Sanskrit stems ending in *-in* (in Hindi ending in *-ī*) can be both masculine and feminine, depending on the semantic rule (see section 2). Therefore, *cīnī* denotes both Chinese man and Chinese woman, and *vidyārthī* can mean both a male and a female student.

Despite such Sanskritisms being used in Hindi for both genders, their Sanskrit feminine forms ending in *-inī* (or *-iṇī*), which in Hindi are of course only feminine, e.g. *vidyārthinī* 'female student' (Skt. *vidyārthin* + *ī*), *aparādhinī* 'female criminal' (Skt. *aparādhin* + *ī*), *gr̥hiṇī* 'housewife' (Skt. *gr̥hin* + *ī*) are also in equally frequent use.

Some feminine nouns ending in *-ī* also contain the suffix *-ānī* (or *-āṇī*) signifying a female person, e.g. *seṭhāṇī* 'wife of a merchant' and *kṣatrāṇī* 'Kshatriyan woman'. The suffix *-trī* signifies a female performer of an action, e.g. *vaktrī* 'female speaker' (masculine *vaktā*), *abhinetrī* 'actress' (masculine *abhinetā*), *vidhātrī* 'female creator' (masculine *vidhātā*). There are also abstract nouns derived from adjectives or other nouns, e.g. *miṭhāī* 'sweetness', from *mīṭhā* 'sweet', or *duśmanī* 'hostility', from *duśman* 'enemy'. Most of the nouns ending in *-ī* are feminine, as much as 84% of them in the wordlist.

Of the nouns ending in consonants (or silent *-a*) 75% are masculine and most of them are Sanskritisms. Of all nouns ending in consonants (or silent *-a*) 41% are masculine Sanskrit loanwords, which in Sanskrit are in most cases either masculine or neuter, e.g. *anutāp* 'sorrow', *saṅkṣep* 'summary', *prabhed* 'distinction', *ādeś* 'order, command'.

Most of the nouns ending in *-k* are masculine in Hindi. Many of them contain suffixes such as the suffix *-ak* (Skt. *-aka*), forming masculine adjectives and nouns in Sanskrit, e.g. *ghātak* 'deadly; killer', *anurakṣak* 'protecting; protector', *anuvādak* 'translator'. Same as the suffix *-ik* (Skt. *-ika*), i.e. *sainik* 'military; soldier', *dārśanik* 'philosophic(al); philosopher'.

The number of masculine and feminine nouns ending in *-ṭ* is almost the same but there are no recognizable assignment rules except that nouns containing the suffixes *-haṭ* and *-vaṭ* are feminine, e.g. *cillāhaṭ* 'screaming', *khan^{a}khanāhaṭ* 'clinking, jingling', *banāvaṭ* 'structure', *rukāvaṭ* 'obstruction'. Most of the nouns ending in *-ḍ* are masculine Sanskritisms ending in the consonant cluster *-ṇḍ*, e.g. *khaṇḍ* 'part', *daṇḍ* 'punishment'. There are twenty-one nouns in the list ending in *-ḍ*, which is not much, but nineteen of them are masculine.

Most of the nouns ending in *-r* are masculine. Suffixes which appear in such words are *-dār*, as in *riśtedār* 'cousin' and *dukāndār* 'shopkeeper', and *-kār*, which signifies an action or a person who does the action, as in *up^{a}kār* 'favor' and *kalākār* 'artist'. The wordlist contains 79 nouns ending in *-b*. Out of these, 60 are masculine and out of these 50 are Arabic or Persian loanwords. That means most of them are masculine and Arabic or Persian.

Every *tatsama* in the list ending in *-d* is masculine, e.g. *prabhed* 'distinction', *saṃsad* 'parliament', *anuvād* 'translation'. 139 nouns are ending in *-d*. Only 43 of them are feminine, of which 33 are of Arabic or Persian origin, e.g. *āmad* 'arrival', *yād* 'memory', *ūmmīd* 'hope'. Anyway, there are also 36 Arabic and Persian masculine nouns.

Many words ending in *-t* are Sanskritisms such as adjectives derived from the Sanskrit past passive participle and masculine nouns, i.e. *atīt* 'gone; the past', *samāpt* 'finished; the end'. 352 nouns end in *-t*. 174 are Arabic and Persian loanwords, of which 151 are feminine. There are only 23 masculine nouns of Arabic or Persian origin. This means that 87% of Arabic and Persian loanwords ending in *-t* are feminine, such as *ādat* 'habit', *muhabbat* 'love', *aurat* 'woman' and *mulāqāt* 'visit'. In Arabic grammar *-at* (ـة) and *-āt* (ـات) are feminine endings.

Most of the nouns in the list ending in *-ś* are masculine. There are 84 nouns, of which 58 are masculine and among them 13 are of Arabic or Persian origin. Only 28 nouns are feminine and all except one are Arabic or Persian. The only noun which is feminine but not Arabic or Persian is the Sanskrit noun *apabhraṃś* 'Apabhraṃśa language' which can be both masculine and feminine in Hindi because of its syntagmatic connection with the feminine

noun *bhāṣā* ‘language’. That means that all non-Arabic and non-Persian nouns ending in *-ś* are masculine.

80% of nouns ending in *-n* are masculine, i.e. *anumān* ‘estimate’, *darśan* ‘philosophy’, *pān* ‘betel’. There is a small number of feminine nouns but some of them end in the suffix *-in*, i.e. *pañjābin* ‘Panjabi woman’, *majdūrin* ‘female worker’, *bāghin* ‘tigress’. 93% of nouns ending in *-y* are masculine, from which almost all are Sanskritisms, e.g. *nyāy* ‘justice’, *kārya* ‘duty’, *gadya* ‘prose’.

99% of nouns ending in *-v* are masculine (124 out of 126). Many of them contain the suffix *-āv*, like *dikhāv* ‘appearance’ and *dabāv* ‘pressing; pressure’, and the suffix for abstract nouns *-tva*, like *astitva* ‘existence’ and *mehettva* ‘importance’. The only feminine nouns in the list are *nāv* ‘boat’ and *nw̃̃v* ‘base’.

All nouns ending in *-ṇ* except one are masculine. Only *kiraṇ* ‘beam, ray’, which is masculine in Sanskrit, is feminine in Hindi, while *śaraṇ* ‘shelter’ can be both masculine and feminine. All nouns ending in *-ṣ* in the list are masculine Sanskritisms, e.g. *dveṣ* ‘hatred’, *pakṣ* ‘side’, *puruṣ* ‘man’.

4. Conclusion

The conclusions shown in the previous section are, as already mentioned, based on a wordlist made for a dictionary. The following table shows some rules extracted from them.

Masculine	**Feminine**
Almost all nouns ending in *-ṇ* and *-ṣ*	All nouns ending in *-āhaṭ* or *-āvaṭ*
Almost all non-Arabic and non-Persian nouns ending in *-ś*	Almost all Arabic and Persian nouns ending in *-t*
Nouns ending in *-kār* and *-dār*	Most Arabic and Persian nouns ending in *-ś*
Most nouns ending in *-ḍ*, *-n*, *-y*, *-v*, all ending in *-āv* and *-tva*	Most ending in *-i* and *-ī* (especially abstract nouns)
Most Sanskritisms ending in consonants (or *-a*), especially *-d*	Ending in *-ikā* or *-iyā* (diminutives and females), or *-in* (females).
Sanskritisms ending in *-ak* and *-ik*.	Ending in *-inī*/*-iṇī* or *-ānī*/*-āṇī* (females)
Sanskritisms ending in *-ī* (< Skt. *-in*)	Ending in *-trī* (< Skt. *tṛ* + *ī*)
Sanskritisms ending in *-tā* (< Skt. *-tṛ*)	Sanskritisms ending in *-ā* (feminine in Skt.), especially *-tā* (abstract nouns)

Most of these rules are not strict and there are almost always counterexamples. Many of them are referring to loanwords and require knowledge of the word's origin, which still does not mean that only students of Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian can master the Hindi gender system. The origin of some loanwords can still be recognized by their phonological structure (see section 3). Even without paying attention to the origin of loanwords, there are still rules and statistics which students can use while taking into account only Hindi itself. Any one of the regularities or statistical probabilities can be helpful to students in learning the gender of Hindi nouns.

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Hindi Cardinal Numerals in a Historical and Comparative Perspective

Abstract

This paper focuses on the sound changes governing the formation of cardinals in Modern Standard Hindi. Sound changes belong to the different MIA languages and their stages of development are distinguished from developments that took place in the NIA stage where many special sound changes appear. These changes display many irregularities that affect only numerals. A close inspection of sound development will reveal that not only sound laws participate in the formation of Hindi numerals, but that different types of irregularities appear in many cases. Irregularities include consonant doubling, loss of nasalisation and analogical contamination that appear only in numerals. Of these irregularities, analogical contamination played a crucial role. The unpredictability of such analogical changes eliminates the possibility to predict the form of the Hindi cardinals by relying on OIA and MIA material. Only one thing appears to be quite certain regarding analogical contamination: it appeared in the NIA period, after the Apabhraṃśa stage, probably at some early date of the NIA period.

Introduction

Memorising numerals from one to one hundred is one typical task students of Hindi are faced with. Cardinal numerals in languages students more commonly encounter (i.e. classical and modern Indo-European, together with the reconstructed Proto Indo-European, Hungarian, Finnish, or Basque) have forms from 1 to 10 etymologically based on unrelated stems. The structure of numerals from 11 to 19 in most languages is recognisable to some extent, but they are often quite irregular. However, in most languages, cardinals from 20 to 99 are analytical formations with some regular, recognisable pattern;

one must only learn the tens and master the rule of compound construction in order to form them.

The situation is, however, completely different in New Indo-Aryan (=NIA) languages. As in most other languages, cardinals from one to ten in the NIA are based on unrelated stems; in the case of numerals from 11 to 19, the system is recognizable to some extent. However, Hindi (and all the other NIA except Romani[1]) numerals from 20 to 100 are synthetic formations, developed through sound changes from the Old Indo-Aryan (=OIA) through the Middle Indo-Aryan (=MIA) languages and the older NIA dialects in different successive stages. Therefore, sound changes have completely obscured the previous OIA analytical formations.

I once heard a colleague claim that it would be easier for students to learn sound laws and to derive Hindi numerals from the OIA forms than to learn all of them by heart. This claim was, of course, made more as a figure of speech referring to both the complicated course of sound changes in the Indo-Aryan languages on the one hand, and to the great phonetic, phonological, and morphological variety in Hindi numerals on the other. It is important to emphasise that the same problem occurs in all NIA languages, while a large number of doublets and dialectal variations further complicate the situation.

This paper will focus on the sound changes governing the formation of cardinals in the Modern Standard Hindi (=MSH). The term MSH refers to the standard (or normative) variety of Hindi language of the press, administration, school instruction, and modern literature. The cardinal numerals considered in this paper are those presented by authoritative grammars (Kellogg, Shapiro, McGregor, Pořízka), Turner's (1966) etymological dictionary, and Berger's (1992) and Norman's (1992) articles. The term Hindi as used here shall refer to the broader network of dialects and literary languages (including the MSH) that fall under the Hindi umbrella.

Sound laws that belong to the different MIA languages and stages of development will be distinguished from developments that took place in the NIA stage. A close inspection of sound development will reveal that not only sound laws participate in the formation of Hindi numerals, but that different types of irregularities appear in many cases. Of these irregularities, analogical

1 Romani numerals were destined to develop in a different fashion than other NIA numerals; cardinals from 'one' to 'six', 'ten' and 'hundred' were derived from OIA, while the rest of the numerals are formed through new analytical formations or borrowings.

contamination played a crucial role. The unpredictability of such analogical change will, of course, immediately eliminate the possibility of being able to predict the exact form of the Hindi cardinals by relying on the OIA and MIA material.

The MIA and MSH cardinals: general remarks

The MIA numeral system represents a phonological development of the OIA numeral system. However, some forms that developed from the OIA forms are not attested in the extant OIA material. An example of this is the is MSH *terah* 'thirteen' that developed from the MIA (Pāli, AMg., JMāh.) *terasa*, which does not come from the OIA *trayodaśa*. The origin of the MIA forms may be either *tredaśa (<*trayadaśa) (Berger 1992:251) or *trayēdaśa, according to Turner (1966:342).

As the MIA sound system's development is essential to an understanding of the evolution of the New Indo-Aryan, a detailed outline of sound laws governing the MIA forms that are still visible in the MSH forms will be outlined in the following passages.

The OIA vowels and their reflection in the MIA and MSH

The initial *e-* in all numerals beginning with the OIA *eka*(*-ā*)- 'one' is retained, or it becomes *i-* in the MSH. The development of *e* > *i* reflects the MIA shortening of the long OIA vowel *e-* (>*ĕ-*) in front of a geminate cluster. This *ĕ* sometimes weakens to *i*[2] (Pischel 1900:73–74 §84; Bloch 1965:42–42): ***e****kādaśa* 'eleven' > AMg. ***ĕ****ggarasa*/***i****ggarasa* (MSH ***i****gārah*, *gyārah*); OIA ***e****kaviṃśati* 'twenty-one' > AMg./JMāh. ***ĕ****kkavīsaṃ,* ***e****gavīsā* (MSH ***i****kkāis*). In the MSH variants ***e****kaīs*, ***e****kīs* (Avadhī ***e****kais*), *e-* is retained, possibly because it developed from some non-geminated MIA form.

After the loss of *anusvāra* (*-ṃ-*) in the twenties, thirties, and forties, the preceding *-i-* is compensatorily lengthened: OIA *tri****ṃ****śat* 'thirty' > (Pāli *ti****ṃ****sa*, *ti****ṃ****sati*) AMg. *tī****s****aṃ*, *tī****s****ā* (MSH *tī****s***).[3]

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2 OIA *ml**e**ccha* > AMg., JMāh., Śaur. *m**ĕ**ccha* > AMg. *m**i**ccha*; OIA *kṣ**e**tra* > Māh. *ch**ĕ**tta*, AMg. *ch**i**tta* etc.

3 Misra (1967:158–159) notes that this change is quite rare in early MIA.

The sequence *-aya-* is contracted to *-e-* in numerals that contain *traya-* (Pischel 1900:115–116, §153; Misra 1967:118–119): OIA *tr**aya**striṃśat* 'thirty-three' > Pāli *t**e**ttiṃsa*/*t**e**ttiṃsati*; AMg., JMāh *t**e**ttīsaṃ*; Ap. *t**e**ttīsa* (MSH *t**e**tīs*).

Consonants in free positions in the OIA and their reflection in the MIA and MSH

Initial consonants in the MIA and NIA numerals remain unchanged. The only exception to this might be the initial MIA and NIA *ch-* in numerals developed from the OIA *ṣaṭ-* 'six'. There are, however, two explanations of this *ch-*. According to Pischel (1900:152–153, §211), the initial OIA sibilant is sometimes aspirated in the MIA into *śha-*, *sha-*, and *ṣha-*, all of which become *cha-*. The second explanation, advocated by more recent scholars, maintains that the initial *ch-* could not have developed from *ṣ-*, but rather from some underlying, presumably the dialectal OIA form not attested in the extant OIA material. This dialectal form is thus adopted in many MIA and NIA languages, including the MSH. According to Turner (1962–1966: 743), the OIA *kṣat-/*kṣvat- must be assumed. This form corresponds to the Avestan *xšvaš* and the Iranian Sakian *kṣai*. (Cf. Berger 1992:248; Norman 1992:204). Bubenik (1996: 64–65) begins from the PIE *kswes, which yields OIA *kṣaṣ (through RUKI, *e>a and cluster simplification). Further in the MIA, *k-* would be palatalised to *c-*, and *ṣ* would weaken into *h*, resulting in the Ap. *chah*. In this case, this is a change of a consonant cluster, not of a single consonant.

The final *-t* in the thirties, forties, and fifties is dropped in MIA (Pischel 1900:231, § 339): OIA *pañcaśa**t*** 'fifty' > Pāli *paññāsa*, AMg. *paṇṇāsa*, Ap. *pañcāsa* (MSH *pacās*)[4]; OIA *triṃśa**t*** > Pāli *tiṃsa*, JMāh. *tīsaṃ*, Ap. *tīsa* (MSH *tīs*).[5]

Consonants in the intervocalic position

Intervocalic unaspirated stops mostly disappear (Cf. Pischel 1900:137, §186; Tagare 1948:60; 78). OIA *ca**t**urdaśa* 'fourteen' > Pāli *cuddasa* (with the

4 Ap. -ñc- (MSH -c-) might have been restored by the influence of OIA pañca-.

5 OIA tāvat > MIA (JMāh, AMg., Śaur.) tāva; OIA abhūt > Amg. abhū; OIA paścat > MIA (JMāh, AMg., Śaur.) pacchā.

contraction of *-au-* > *-u-* after *-t-* was lost), AMg. *coddasa*, *cauddasa*; Ap. *cauddaha* (MSH *caudah*).[6] The intervocalic *-t-* disappears in all numerals ending with OIA *-ati* and *-īti*. In the eighties and nineties in the MSH, the final vowels are further contracted to *-ī* and *-e*: OIA *aśīti* 'eighty' > AMg. *asīi* (MSH *assī*); OIA *navati* 'ninety' > AMg. *naui*[7], Ap. *ṇavai* (MSH *nabbe*)[8].

In sound changes that affected numerals in the MIA, an intervocalic voiceless stop (whether resulting from the assimilation or simplification of the geminate cluster) could become *-y-*.[9] The sound *-y-* inserted in place of the intervocalic *-c-* is apparent in the MSH *bayālīs* 'forty-two', which developed from the OIA *dvācatvāriṃśat*. The initial *c-* is retained in the MSH *cālīs* 'forty', but OIA *-tv-* (Pāli *-tt- cattarīsa*) is already lost in JMāh, which preserves both *cāyālīsaṃ* and the contracted *cālīsa* (*āyā* > *ā*). In the JMāh *cāyālīsaṃ*/*cālīsa*, the development of *-tv-* > *-tt-* > *t* (?) > *y* > ∅ seems obvious.[10] Otherwise, only traces of this MIA *-y-* remain in the MSH cardinals: OIA *śata* 'hundert' > AMg., JMāh. and Ap. *saya*; Māh. *saa* (MSH *sau*),[11] as opposed to the Pāli *sata*.

According to Pischel (1900:171–171 §245), *-t-* could become *-r-* through intermediate *-ḍ-*. Pischel lists only numerals to illustrate this change: OIA *saptati* 'seventy' > AMg. JMāh. *sattariṃ* (JMāh has *sayari*). This *-t-* > *-r-* is still visible in MSH (*sattar* and all seventies compounds with *-hattar*).

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6 Loss of *-t-* is attested already in the Aśokan inscriptions, in the Gāndhārī and Niya Prakrits. Norman (1992:207) considers that the loss of intervocalic *-t-* is earlier in numerals than elsewhere.

7 With weakening of the glide *-v-* and loss of intervocalic *-t-*.

8 In other numeral compounds *-n*(*a*)*ve*, *-n*(*a*)*be*.

9 Geiger (1916:55 §36) refers to this inserted *-y-* (and *-v-* in non-numerals) as *hiatistilger*. For the discussion of these sounds see Pischel (1900:137, §187); Chatterji (1926:338–339, §170) and Tagare (1948:60).

10 *Catvariṃśat* > *cattarīsa* > *cāyālīsaṃ* > *cālīsa*.

11 Some NIA languages have an *u-* diphthong (Sindhī *saü*, Lahndā *sô*) that comes from the MIA neuter ending *-aṃ* (MIA *saaṃ*). For the change *aṃ* > *u* see Pischel (1900:238–239, §351). Other NIA languages have an *i-* diphthong (Kashmiri, Nepālī, Bihārī *sai*. According to Berger (1992:274) *i-* forms developed from MIA pl. *saīiṃ* (AMg. *do sayāiṃ* 'two hundreds'), while *u-* form developed from the singular MIA form because Avadhī (Lakhīmpurī) and Old Gujarati have singular with *u-*, and pl. with *i-* diphthong,

OIA *-d-* from OIA *daśa* ‘ten’ is preserved in the initial position (MSH *das*), but intervocalically in compounds it becomes *-r-*[12]: OIA *dvā**d**aśan* ‘twelve’ > AMg./Ap. *bā**r**asa* (MSH *bā**r**ah*).

The voicing of the intervocalic voiceless stop is evident in OIA *e**k**ādaśa* > AMg./JMāh. *e**g**ārasa* (MSH *i**g**ārah*/*g**y**ārah*).

The intervocalic *-ḍ-* in OIA *ṣo**ḍ**aśa* ‘sixteen’ becomes *-ḷ-* (Pāli, AMg. *so**ḷ**asa*) as a general rule in the MIA (Pischel 1900:168 §240).[13] In JMāh, *-ḷ-* can become *-l-* (*so**l**asa*), which appears in the MSH *so**l**ah*.

The intervocalic *-v-* is retained in most MIA but is lost in Ap. and the MSH numerals: OIA *eka**v**iṃśati* > AMg. *ega**v**īsā*, Ap. *eāīsa*; Avadhī *ekais*. MSH *ikkāis*, *ikkīs*, *ekīs*. It is interesting to note that in the MIA no reflexes of the OIA *ūnaviṃśati* ‘nineteen’ are recorded in the MIA, instead all MIA forms trace their origin in the OIA *navati*. However, the NIA numerals mostly go back to OIA *ūnaviṃśati*.[14] In the MSH *unīs* ‘nineteen’, the intervocalic *-v-* is lost, *-a-* and *-i-* are contracted, and *-i-* is compensatorily lengthened after the loss of nasalisation.[15]

The MIA intervocalic *-p-* > *-v-* change (Pischel 1900:143–144, §199) is also visible in the MSH forms: OIA *sapta**p**añcaśat* ‘fifty-seven’ > AMg. *sattā**v**aṇṇa*, JMāh. *satta**v**annaṃ* (MSH *satta**v**an*).[16]

The MIA *-s-* into which all three OIA sibilants are merged is visible in the MSH: OIA *daśa-* ‘ten’ > Pāli, Amg., JMāh. *da**s**a* (MSH *da**s***); OIA *dvya**ś**īti* ‘eighy-two’ > Pāli *dvā**s**īti*, AMg. *bā**s**īiṃ* (MSH *bayā**s**ī*).

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12 Besides numerals, the *-d-* > *-r-* change appears in the MIA adjectival and pronominal compounds formed with *-dṛś*, *-dṛśa*, *-dṛkṣ* (Pischel 1900:171–172, §245). In the MSH *cau**d**ah* ‘fourteen’, *-d-* is preserved because it comes from the geminate *-dd-*, which comes from the OIA cluster *-rd-*. According to Bloch (1970:228–229 §221), an early dissimilation of the intervocalic *-d-* against the initial *d-* of ***d**vādaśa* and *t-* of ***t**rayodaśa* should be assumed.

13 OIA *garu**ḍ**a* > AMg., JMāh. *garu**ḷ**a*; OIA *gu**ḍ**a* ‘ball, globe’ > AMg., JMāh. *gu**ḷ**a*; OIA *āmreḍ**i**ta* ‘reiterated, repeated’ > AMg. *āmeḷ**i**ya* etc.

14 A number of NIA languages like Assamese (*ekunavīsati*), Marāṭhī, Sinhalese, and others trace their forms from the MIA *ekūnavīsati* (cf. Berger 1992:253).

15 MSH *cau**b**īs* ‘twenty-four’ retained its intervocalic *-v-* because it is derived from the cluster *-rv-* (OIA *catu**rv**iṃśati*), which became *-vv-* in the MIA (JMāh. *cau**vv**īsa*). MSH *cha**bb**īs* ‘twenty-six’ also retained it because the geminate *-bb-* is derived from the OIA cluster *-ḍv-* (OIA *ṣaḍviṃśati*).

16 OIA *ko**p**a* ‘anger’ > MIA *ko**v**a*; OIA *nṛ**p**a* ‘king’ > MIA *ṇi**v**a*; OIA *dī**p**a* ‘light’ > MIA *dī**v**a* etc.

The MSH *-h* reflects the further weakening of the sibilant into a glottal fricative *ṣ* > *s* > *h* (Pischel 1900:182, §263, 1900:183–184, §265, Tagare 1948:77), which is present as of the MIA: OIA *aṣṭā**s**aptati* 'seventy-eight' > Pāli *aṭṭha**s**attati*, AMg. *aṭṭha**h**attariṃ* (MSH *aṭha**h**attar*) etc. Often, because final vowels are dropped, *-h* remains in the final position in the MSH teens (*gyāra**h*** 'eleven' *bāra**h*** 'twelve' etc.).

The typical Māgadhian rotacism *r* > *l* (Pischel 1900:178, § 256) is still visible in the MSH. OIA *catvā**r**iṃśat* < AMg./JMāh. *cattā**l**īsaṃ*, Ap. *cā**l**īsa* (MSH *cā**l**īs*) as opposed to Pāli *cattā**r**īsa*.

Initial clusters

The simplification of the initial cluster is evident in words beginning with *tr-* and *dv-*.[17] The initial cluster *dv-* undergoes regressive assimilation through a *db-* stage (*dv* > *b*) as attested in the numeral ***db**ādasa* (< OIA ***dv**ādaśan*) found on the fourth rock edict of Aśoka at Girnār.[18] Thus, *dv-* in the OIA compounds with *dvā-* as the first member (***dv**ādaśan* 'twelve'; ***dv**āviṃśati* 'twenty two'; ***dv**ātriṃśat* 'thirty two' etc.) is reduced to *bā-* in some MIA languages; this is retained in the NIA (MSH ***b**ārah*, ***b**ārā* 'twelve', Bengali, Assamese, and Nepālī ***b**āra*, Gujaratī ***b**ār* etc.). Older Pāli forms retain *dv-* in ***dv**ādasa*, which changed into ***b**ārasa* in later texts and in grammarians. AMg. and JMāh. have ***b**ārasa*[19]. The same assimilation of *dv* > *db* > *b* is evident e.g. in the OIA ***dv**āra* 'door' > MSH ***b**ār*.

The cluster *tr-* that appears in the numeral ***tr**i-* 'three' and compounds with *-**tr**iṃśat* 'thirty' and ***tr**ayas-* (***tr**ayodaśan* 'thirteen', ***tr**ayas-**tr**iṃśat* 'thirty-three' etc.) is reduced to *t-*: OIA ***tr**īṇi* > Pāli ***t**īṇi*, AMg., JMāh., Mā, Ṣaur. ***t**iṇṇi* (MSH ***t**īn*); OIA *ṣa**ṭtr**iṃśat* > Pāli *cha**tt**iṃsa*[ti]; Amg. *cha**tt**īsa*.[20]

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17 Cf. Bubenik 1991: 9–10; 45. In numerals, the simplification of the initial cluster *dv-* appears in compounds where the first member appears as *dvā-*. The OIA cardinal numeral *dva-* 'two' does not underlie the MIA *do* (or the MSH *do*), but *duvau attested as an Ṛgvedic metrical variant of *dvau.* Thus *d-* in the MSH *do* 'two' is not the result of the simplification of the initial consonant cluster *dv-*.

18 Hultzsch 1925: 7–8. This development appears only in western inscriptional Prakrits. Cf. Bubenik 1991:9–10; Hultzsch 1925: lxi.

19 In addition to *duvālasa*.

20 Cf. Misra 1967: 134–135. OIA ***pr**iya* 'dear' > Śaur. ***p**iya*, ***p**ia* (MSH ***p**i*, ***p**īa*); OIA ***pr**aṇa* 'vow, promise' > Śaur. ***p**aṇa* (MSH ***p**ən*).

Medial clusters

One of the most common MIA sound changes occurs in a cluster containing two stops, where the last stop is assimilated into the first one (regressive assimilation), resulting in a geminate cluster. Such a cluster appears in the MSH *cha**pp**an* 'fifty-six', where MIA the geminate cluster *-pp-* (<*ṭp*) appears: OIA *ṣa**ṭp**añcāśat* > Pāli *cha**pp**añcāsa*; Ap. *cha**pp**aṇa*. OIA *ṣa**ṭs**aptati* 'seventy-six' yields the MIA *cha**ss**ayariṃ* with the regular assimilation of *ṭs* > *ss*; *-ss-* is most probably simplified to *s[21] and then weakened to *-h-* in Ap. *chā**h**attari*.

The labial stop in the cluster *-pt-*, which appears in all numerals with the underlying OIA *sa**pt**a-* 'seven', is also regressively assimilated, resulting in the geminate *-tt-* in MIA (*Pāli sa**tt**a*). In Ap., the geminate *-tt-* is sometimes simplified to *-t-* (Ap. *sa**t**atīsa* 'thirty-seven'). However, the MIA geminate *-tt-* is preserved in the MSH *sa**tt**rah* 'seventeen' (Ap. *sa**tt**āraha*) and *sa**tt**āvan* 'fifty-seven' (Ap. *sa**tt**āvaṇī*). In MSH, *saĩtīs* 'thirty-seven' and *saĩtālīs* 'forty-seven'[22] *-t-* disappeared due to analogical contamination after the exemplar of *paĩtālīs* 'fifty seven' (Berger 1992: 261).

The cluster *str-* (*catu**str**iṃśat* 'thirty-four') yields the geminate *-tt-* in MIA (Pāli *catu**tt**iṃsa*, AMg *cau**tt**īsaṃ*) with the weakening of the fricative and the progressive assimilation of *-r-*. Furthermore, the geminate *-tt-* visible in the Pāli *catu**tt**iṃsa* is further reduced in the MIA to *-t-* in AMg. (*cau**t**īsaṃ* besides *cau**tt**īsaṃ*) and in Ap. (*cau**t**īsa*). The MSH *caũ**t**īs* contains an analogical nasalisation that will be discussed later in this paper.

In the cluster *-tv-* (*ca**tv**āriṃśat* 'forty' and compounds), the glide *-v-* is assimilated into the dental stop, yielding the geminate *-tt-* in MIA (Pāli *ca**tt**ārīsa*). JMāh. and Ap. have *cālīsa*, which is the closest MIA form to the MSH *cālīs*. This form might have developed as a contraction of the AMg. *cā**y**ālīsaṃ* (*y* < *t* < *tt*). In the other MSH forties, the cluster *-tv-* regularly developed through MIA forms into *-t-* or *-y-*, except in *cauālīs* 'forty-four', which obviously contains *-tt-* > *-t-* > *-y-* > ∅. This change had already occurred in the Ap. stage. Pāli *ca**t**ucattārīsa*, AMg. *cauyālīsaṃ*, Ap. *cauālīsa*.[23]

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21 The geminate sibilant cluster *-ss-* is reduced to *-s-* in Old Hindi. OIA *śī**rś**a* > Śaur. *si**ss**a* > Old Hindi *sī**s**a* > MSH *si**s***; OIA *ra**śm**i-* 'reins' > Śaur. *ra**ss**i-* > MSH *ra**s***.

22 *sī-* in JMāh. *sīālā*, the AMg. *sīyālīsaṃ* developed from *se* < *saya* < *sata* < *satta* (Norman 1992:217).

23 MSH *uncās* 'forty-nine', as did all MIA and NIA forms, developed from *ūnapañcāśat*, and not from *navacatvāriṃśat*.

The liquid *-r-* that precedes nasals, dentals, and glides is also assimilated. In the OIA *catu**rn**avati* 'ninety-four', *-r-* is assimilated in the Pāli (*catunavuta*), while in AMg. The nasal is further cerebralized in *cauṇaui*[*ṃ*]. In the MSH *cau**r**ānave*, *-r-* developed due to analogy. The assimilation of *-r-* preceding a voiced stop creating a geminate cluster appears in the AMg. *cau**dd**asa* 'fourteen' (cf. MSH *caudah*) < OIA *catu**rd**aśan*.[24] When preceded by a glide *-v-*, *-r-* is also assimilated: OIA *catu**rv**iṃśati* 'twenty-four' > Pāli *catu**v**īsati*; AMg *cau**v**īsaṃ*; Ap. *cau**v**īsa* (cf. MSH *cau**b**īs*).

On the other hand, OIA *anusvāra* (*ṃ*) is lost when followed by a sibilant with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel in MIA, which is still visible in MSH. The OIA *vi**ṃ**śati* 'twenty' > Pāli *vī**s**ati*; AMg., JMāh. *vī**s**aī* (MSH *bī**s**); OIA *tri**ṃ**śat* 'thirty' > Pāli *ti**ṃ**sa*; AMg. *tī**s**ā* (MSH *tī**s**).

The nasal in the cluster *-ñc-* (OIA *pa**ñc**a-* 'five') is retained in Pāli (*pa**ñc**a*) and AMg. (*pa**ṃc**a*); in the Old Hindi and the MSH, a trace of this nasal is visible in the medial vowel, which undergoes nasalisation and compensatory lengthening (*p**ã̄**c*). In the OIA compounds with *-pañca* as their second member, the palatal stop in the cluster *-ñc-* is assimilated, resulting in the geminate *-ññ-* in Pāli (*dvāpa**ñc**āśat* 'fifty-two' > Pāli *dvāpa**ññ**āsa* +), and *-ṇṇ-* in AMg. and Ap. (*bāva**ṇṇ**a*). The nasal is still visible in the MSH (*bāva**n*** 'fifty-two', *tirpa**n*** 'fifty-three', *cauva**n*** 'fifty-four' etc.).[25]

The reflection of the OIA *ṣṭ* in the NIA stage appears as irregular as opposite MIA where the change is regular. In Pāli, *-ṣṭ-* always yields *-ṭṭh-* in accordance with the rule that the sibilant is assimilated yielding a geminate stop which, if unaspirated, becomes aspirated (Misra 1967:142; Pischel 1900:140–142, §193–196; 207–208 §303). The MSH retained –[*ṭ*]*ṭh-*, which developed in MIA in the numerals *a**ṭṭh**āīs* 'twenty-eight', *a**ṭṭh**āvan* 'fifty-eight' and *a**ṭṭh**ānave* 'ninety-eight', although doublets with the non-geminate *-ṭh-* simplified at the NIA stage appear frequently in grammars and dictionaries.[26]

The regressive assimilation of medial consonant clusters also appears in a number of the OIA numerals. The clusters *-ḥs-*, *-ṭs-* are reduced to *-s-*, which further changes into *-h-*. This change also appears as of the MIA. OIA *catu**ḥs**aptati* 'seventy-four' > Pāli *catu**s**attati*, JMāh. *cau**h**attari* MSH

24 Cf. Pischel 1900:198–199, §288.

25 MSH, like most NIA languages, reintroduced the palatal in *pacās* (after the exemplar of OIA) in forms developed from *pañcāśat* 'fifty' (Pāli *paññāsa*, AMg. *paṇṇāsa*).

26 Kellogg (1893:142–146) lists only *aṭhāīs*, *aṭhāvan*, *aṭhānave*. Turner (1966:42) lists Avadhī (Lakhīmpurī) *aṭṭhāis*; for the MSH, he lists both *aṭhāvīs* (*˚āīs*) and *aṭṭhāvīs*.

*cau**h**attar*.[27] The MIA *-p-* developed from the cluster *-ḥp-* (OIA *catu**ḥp**añcāśat* 'fifty-four' > JMāh. *cau**p**annaṃ*). The intervocalic MIA *-c-* (< OIA *-śc-*) in *catu**śc**atvāriṃśat* 'forty-four' > Pāli *catu**c**attārīsa*) is then lost in MIA (AMg. *cauyālīsaṃ* and Ap. *cauālīsa*; MSH *cauṃtālīs*).[28] The cluster *-ḍv-* in the OIA *ṣa**ḍv**iṃśati* 'twenty-six' was assimilated into *-vv-* (AMg. and JMāh. *cha**vv**īsaṃ*) and into *-bb-* in Pāli *cha**bb**īsati*.[29] Ap. has both *-bb-* and *-vv-* in *cha**vv**īsa*, *cha**bb**īsa*; *-bb-* is retained in MSH *cha**bb**īs*[30]

The Middle Indo-Aryan to Modern Standard Hindi

Sound changes that affected the MIA forms are crucial for the shaping of the MSH numerals; in late Ap., future Hindi numerals can already be clearly recognised. However, in the NIA stage, another set of developments took place that would finally shape the MSH numeral system. It is noteworthy that a higher rate of irregularities appears in sound changes that govern the change from the MIA to the NIA.

Vowels

The loss of the final vowel *-a*, which is not reflected in writing, is one of the most remarkable features of the MSH forms evident in many ordinals. The final vowels that mark the MIA forms are generally retained in the Old Hindi[31], but are lost in the transition to the MSH (Misra 1967:216): Ap. *pañc**a***, *paṃc**a*** 'five' > Old Hindi *pā̃c**a*** > MSH *pā̃c*.; Ap. *vīs**ai*** 'twenty' > *bīs* etc.

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27 In the MSH *caũsaṭh*, *-s-* is retained. Cf. Ap. *causaṭhi*; Avadhī (Lakhīmpurī) *caũsaṭh*^{i}; Sindhī *cohaṭhi*. (< OIA *catuḥṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-four').

28 The Pāli *tetālisa* 'forty-three' developed from the OIA *tricatvāriṃśat*, and not from the OIA *trayaścatvāriṃśat* 'forty-three.' The AMg. and JMāh. *teyālīsaṃ* also developed from *tricatvāriṃśat*. The MSH *tẽtālīs* also follows the same line of development (with analogical nasalisation).

29 More often, *-v-* is assimilated into the preceding stop: OIA *kva* > MIA *kka*; OIA *kaṇva* > *kaṇṇa*; OIA *prajvalati* > *pajjalaï*; *jvalati* > *jalaï* etc. Pischel (1900: 205 §300) notes that *va* behind *da* shifts to *ba* (*dva* > *bba*); dialectically *tva* becomes *ppa*, *dva* becomes *bba*.

30 Bengalī has *chābbiś*, but Gujaratī *chavvis*.

31 The term "Old Hindi" here refers to literary material in Braj, Bundelī, and the earliest Khaṛī Bolī, as used by Misra (1967).

The medial short *-a-* in the OIA *ṣ**a**ṭcatvāriṃśat* becomes *-i-* (MSH *ch**i**yālīs*) between two palatals which developed in MIA (initial *ṣ* > MIA *ch-*, while *-ṭc-* > *-c-*, but then *-c-* > *-y-* in AMg. *chāyālīsaṃ*, AP. *chāyālīsa*).

The same vowels in sequence, long or short, result in a long vowel (Misra 1967: 204; Učida 1977:77): AMg. *aṭṭhās**ĭĭ**ṃ*, *aṭṭhās**ĭĭ*** > MSH *aṭhās**ī***.

The old Hindi forms where the first syllable consists of two, and second of three moras are sporadically contracted in a way that the second syllable is shortened. OH *battīs* 'thirty-two' > MSH *batt**i**s*; *bāīs* 'twenty-two' > MSH *bā**i**s*.[32] Shortening also appears in numerals with structure (C)V̄CV̄ and VCCVC followed by a shift of accent (*pacc**ī**s* > *pácc**i**s*).[33]

The MIA vowel sequences *-āi-*, *-āī-* remain unchanged (Misra 1967:207): AMg. *sattavīs**ai*** > Ap. *satt**āī**sa* 'twenty-seven' > MSH *satt**āī**s*; Ap. *aṭṭh**ā**vīsa*; *aṭṭh**āī**sa* > MSH *aṭṭh**āī**s*.

MIA *ă̆ŭ* regularly becomes *au* in NIA: MIA *ca**aü**daha* 'fourteen' > NIA *c**au**dah*.

In the final position, the MIA *-ai* is contracted to *-e*, except in monosyllabic words. This change affects all numerals from 90 to 99. MIA *ṇav**aī*** 'ninety' > MSH *nabb**e*** (Učida 1977:26)

Consonants

The first change that will be mentioned here is the simplification of the MIA geminates into a single consonant with the compensatory lengthening of the vowel: Ap. *s**att**a* 'seven' > MSH *s**āt***; Ap. ***aṭṭh**a* > MSH ***āṭh***, Ap. *s**aṭṭh**i* 'sixty' > MSH *s**āṭh***. This change took place in the Old Hindi (Misra 1967:195–196).[34] When preceding a cluster with a nasal, nasalisation accompanies the compensatory lengthening of the vowel: Ap. *p**añ**ca*, *p**aṃ**ca* 'five' > MSH *p**ā̃c***.[35]

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32 Cf. Učida 1977: 18.

33 Učida (1977: 36) cautiously remarks that regularity of this change is doubtful because it takes place only in numerals where extensive dialectical mixture occurred.

34 Cf. Śaur. *diṭṭhi* 'seeing, sight' > Old Hindi *dīṭhi* > MSH *dīṭh*; Śaur. *koṭṭhaa* 'storeroom' > the Old Hindi *koṭha* > MSH *koṭh*.

35 In the OIA *vi**ṃ**śati* 'twenty', the compensatory lengthening had already occured in the MIA (Pāli *vīsati*, AMg. *vīsaṃ*/*vīsaī*, Ap. *vīsai*), so MSH *bīs* is not nasalised. In the MSH *cha**bb**īs* 'twenty-six', gemination took place, attested already in the MIA: AMg. *cha**vv**īsaṃ*; Ap. *cha**bb**īsa*.

The MSH retroflex flap *-ṛ-* occurs instead of the expected *-ṭh-* (< MIA *-ṭṭh-*) in *aṛatīs* ‘thirty-eight’, *aṛtālīs* ‘fourty-eight’, *aṛasaṭh* ‘sixty-eight’. Normally, the unaspirated retroflex flap *-ṛ-* in MSH (and other NIA) is a reflex of the MIA *-ḍ-*.[36] Berger (1992:266–267; cf. pp. 257–258, p. 261) explains that this *-ṛ-* originally arose in *aṛasaṭh* ‘sixty-eight’ from *-ṭh-* by dissimilation from the *-ṭṭh-* of MIA *-saṭṭhi* (JMāh. *aṭṭhasaṭṭhi*). This supposedly spread analogically from *aṛasaṭh* to *aṛatīs* and *aṛtālīs*. However, Turner (1966:41) lists the Prakrit forms *aṭṭhayāla*, *aṛayāla* ‘fourty-eight’, indicating that the change *ṭṭh* > *ṛ* had already occurred in MIA. Norman (1992:217) lists forms with *-ḍh-* (AMg. *aḍhayālīsaṃ*), with the note that the unaspirated *-ḍ-* often occurs in texts instead of *-ḍh-*. Thus, it is possible that the flapped *-ṛ-* in *aṛtālīs* developed from the MIA *-ḍ-* (*aḍayālīsaṃ)*.[37] To support this, we can cite Norman’s (1992:218) note that even AMg. *aḍhasaṭṭhiṃ* ‘sixty-eight’ is written *aḍasaṭṭhiṃ* in some texts, which can also develop in MSH *aṛasaṭh*. If this is correct, *-ṛ-* developed through regular sound change, and not by analogical contamination.

The MIA cluster *-ṭṭh-* might also be retained in MSH instead of being reduced into *-ṭh-*. Thus, OIA *aṣṭāśīti* ‘eighty-eight’ > AMg., JMāh. *aṭṭhāsīi* > MSH *aṭhāsī*, but OIA *aṣṭānavati* ‘ninety-eight’ > Ap. *aṭṭhāṇavai* > MSH *aṭṭhānave*/*aṭhānave*.

The glide *v*, which is not dropped in MIA, becomes *b* in the intervocalic position: Ap. *cauvīsa* ‘twenty-four’ > MSH *chaubīs*[38]. In compounds with the OIA *-navati*, the intervocalic *-v-* can be retained: MSH Ap. *baṇavai* > MSH *bānave*/*banabe*; cf. also Ap. *navai* > MSH *navve*/*nabbe* with irregular doubling.

Common irregularities

Besides smaller irregularities and doublets mentioned in previous passages, the doubling of consonants is a feature of NIA sound changes typical for

36 Turner (1926:38–39) ascribes this change to influences from the Muṇḍa and Dravidian substrata. Chatterji (1923[I]:249) suggests that the Greek transcriptions of *-ḍ-* and *-ḍh-* as *-r-* show that the flapped pronunciation *ṛ*/*ṛh* in the intervocalic position had already evolved in the early MIA period, or even earlier. OIA *kaṭukaphala* ‘bitter fruit’ > MIA *kaḍuaphala*: Gr. καρυόφυλλον.

37 Normally, *-ḍh-* would become the retroflex flap *-ṛh-* in MSH.

38 In the Ap. *cauvīsa* (AMg. *cauvīsaṃ*, *cauvīsā*), *-v-* is not dropped because it developed from the OIA cluster *-rv-* (*caturviṃśati*).

numerals. MSH ***ek*** 'one' < MIA ***ekk****a*[39]; ***pacc****īs* 'twenty-five' (besides *pa**c**īs*) < Ap. *pa**c**īsa*; ***ass****ī* 'eighty' < Ap. *a**s**ii*, *a**s**ī*; *na**vv**e*/*na**bb**e* 'ninety'. A number of regular doublings in the MIA is unexpectedly preserved in numerals as opposed to other the MSH vocabulary: *-tt-* in MSH seventies, *-pp-* in *cha**pp**an* 'fifty-six', and *-bb-* in *cha**bb**īs* 'twenty-six'. MSH *sa**tt**ar* 'seventy' < MIA *sa**tt**ari* (Pāli, AMg., JMāh., Ap.; Ap. *cha**pp**aṇṇa* > MSH *cha**pp**an*; Ap. *cha**bb**īsa* > MSH *cha**bb**īs*) etc. as opposed to other words where the clusters *-tt-*/*-pp-*/*-bb-* would be reduced to *-t-*/*-p-*/-b-: MIA *ci**tt**ala* 'spotted' > H. *c**ī**tal*; > MIA *pa**tt**a* 'leaf' > Old Hindi *pā**t**a*, MSH *pa**t***; Śaur. *ra**tt**i* 'night' > Old Hindi *rā**t***, MSH *ra**t*** (cf. Učida 1971/1972:257; Misra 1967:196; Masica 1991: 187, 192). However, some geminate consonants do exist in the MSH words apart from numerals (cf. Učida 1971/1972:266).[40] After extensive consideration of such words, Učida (1971/1972: 271–273) concludes that these might have come from Hariyāṇavī and Kauravī (colloquial Hindustanī) dialects of Western Hindi that preserve geminates, as opposed to other Hindi dialects.[41] Regarding the numerals with geminate clusters, it is hard to reach a verdict as to whether they were taken from Delhi dialects (or from some Pañjābī dialect), or if they represent some kind of irregular development that tends to occur in numerals. Mewāṛī (and Rājāsthānī) does not have the *-tt-* cluster (*ago**t**ar*/*eko**t**ar* 'seventy-one' [MSH *ikha**tt**ar*], but has *-pp-* (*cha**pp**an*) as opposed to e.g. Maithili *cha**p**an* 'fifty-six'). On the other hand, Avadhī regularly retains geminates (*sa**tt**ari*, *ekha**tt**ari*, *cha**pp**ana* etc.). The MSH geminate *-cc-* in *pa**cc**īs* (also *pa**c**īs*) 'twenty-five' is, according to Oberlies (2005: 27), brought about by analogy from *cha**bb**īs* 'twenty-six', which retained its *-bb-*(*-vv-*) from the MIA.

An irregular feature of the MSH *pacās* 'fifty' is the vowel that is not lengthened and nasalised. In this numeral, cluster *-ñc-* was reintroduced, most probably on the model of the OIA form, somewhere in late MIA (Ap.

39 Berger (1992:245) ascribes this gemination to the empathic pronunciation to which numeral 'one' is subject (Cf. Berger 1958).

40 MIA *ku**tt**a* 'dog' > MSH *ku**tt**ā*/*ku**tt**ī*; MIA *kha**tt**a-* 'hole, ditch' > MSH *kha**tt**ā*.

41 Učida (1971/1972:2773) actually refers here to previous claims (e.g. Turner [1966]) that the MSH words with geminate consonants are Pañjābī loanwords. Učida claims that (a) "High Pañjābī" developed later than the geminates appear in Hindi dialects (by Tulsidās), therefore this is not "Panjabismus" but rather the influence of the Pañjābī dialects; (b) words with geminates also appear in different Hindī dialects located around Delhi (Kauravī and Hariyāṇavī) that might have supplied such words to the MSH.

pañcāsa as opposed to the older MIA forms – Pāli *paññāsa*, AMg. *paṇṇāsa* with expected assimilation of the occlusive -*c*-).[42]

Concluding notes on the sound laws governing the formation of the MSH ordinals

Now, if one would like to predict the MSH forms relying on the MIA while applying sound laws, one would be successful in a number of forms. For example, if we take the OIA *aṣṭāśīti* 'eighty-eight', on the MIA level, -*ṣṭ*- would yield -*ṭṭh*-, -*ś*- would change to -*s*-, and the intervocalic -*t*- would be lost; thus, *aṭṭhāsīi* would result, the form attested in AMg. Further, in the NIA stage, -*ṭṭh*- would be simplified into -*ṭh*-, and -*īi*- would be contracted into -*ī*-; *aṭhāsī* would result, which is indeed the MSH form. However, if we take the example of the OIA *catuṣtriṃśat* 'thirty-four' and apply the sound laws governing the MIA forms (loss of the intervocalic -*t*-, -*ṣtr*- > -*t*-, loss of the final consonant, loss of nasalisation with compensatory vowel lengthening) we would predict *cautīsa*, which is indeed confirmed in Apabhraṃśa. By removing the last short vowel, we would predict the MSH **cautīs*; however, an unexpected nasalised diphthong appears in the MSH *caũtīs*. This nasalisation is brought about by an analogy that affected many the MSH (and other NIA) ordinals. Therefore, the next chapter will briefly survey the analogical formations in MSH ordinals.

Analogy

One appropriate definition of analogy in historical linguistics is that of Hock & Joseph (1996:154), who define analogy as a "change in phonetic structure conditioned by non-phonemic factors… Analogical change, as defined now, tends to introduce greater phonetic similarity between semantically, formally, or functionally similar linguistic forms". Furthermore, a few different, but partly overlapping types of analogical change are distinguished and categorised into two groups (Hock & Joseph 1996:153–176). The first, "relatively systematic" group contains four-part (or proportional)[43] analogy

42 Cf. Bloch 1970: 230; 1967:43; Oberlies 2005:27.

43 An example from English illustrates this well–stone (sg.) : stones (pl.) influenced cow (sg.) : *cows* (pl.), which replaced the older pl. *kine*.

and levelling.[44] "Non-systematic" types of analogy include blending and contamination. Contamination is the process that concerns us here because it affects words that are often uttered in close succession.[45] The numerals are learned and used in everyday communication, administration, and even literature, often in a close, regular succession. It is no surprise that analogical contamination, which depends heavily on the mental association of forms with each other, affects numerals so strongly.

Analogical contamination affected a large proportion of Hindi cardinal numerals from 1 to 100. However, it is difficult to provide a precise percentage because of three factors. Some changes, such as the lengthening of the short vowel, did not alter the form significantly, e.g. the long *-ā-* in the MSH *b**ā**īs* 'twenty-two' (<OIA *dv**ā**viṃśati*, AMg. *b**ā**vīsā*) influenced the lengthening of *-a-* in MSH *ikk**ā**īs* 'twenty-one' (OIA *ek**a**viṃśati* > AMg. *ekk**a**vīsaṃ*, *ig**a**vīsaṃ*).[46] This leads us directly to the second issue that many forms affected with analogical contamination preserved doublets where analogical change did not occur (MSH *ikkīs*, *ekīs*). For instance, the regular MSH *bānave* 'ninety-two' has an analogically altered doublet *bayānave*, which developed after the exemplar of *bayāsī* 'eighty-two'. The same is with regular *pacīs* 'twenty-five' and analogical gemination *-cc-* in *paccīs*. The third factor are different interpretations of the history of some forms. Berger (1992:266–267; cf. pp. 257–258, p. 261), for instance, explains that *-ṛ-*, which originally arose in the MSH *aṛasaṭh* by dissimilation, spread to the MSH *aṛatīs* and *aṛtālīs*. However, *-ṛ-* could have also developed from the MIA *-ḍ-* by a regular sound change. Another example is *pan**d**rah* 'fifteen', which developed from the Ap. *pannarasa*/*paṇṇarasa*, where *-d-* does not appear. Berger (1992:252) suggested that *-d-* is inserted in the same fashion as OIA *vānara* > MSH

44 Levelling is the elimination of morphophonemic alternation produced by a regular sound change that takes place in the paradigm. E.g. alternations of *s* : *r* in Germanic languages created by Verner's Law are eliminated in English. In Old English *curon* (past plur.), *-r-* becomes *-s-* in *chose*, or past participle (*ge*)*coren* becomes *chosen* modelled on the pairs *cēosan* (present) > *choose*, *cēas* > *choose* (Hoch and Joseph 1996:155).

45 According to Hock & Joseph (1996:167), contamination most often affects antonyms and numerals.

46 Regular forms like *aṭhānve* 'ninety-eight' (< OIA *aṣṭānavati*), *satāsī* 'eighty-seven' (< OIA *saptāśīti*) etc. influenced analogical lengthening in: *unānve* 'eighty-nine' (< OIA *ūnanavati*), *caurānve* 'ninety-four' (< OIA *caturnavati*). It is noteworthy that the Bengalī *unanai* 'eighty-nine' *-a-* did not undergo lengthening.

*bān**d**ar*. However, Norman (1992:211) lists the MIA *paṃ**d**arasa* with the suggestion that an early *-ndr-* cluster appeared in MIA; the MSH form may have originated from such a form.

Nevertheless, it can be tentatively said that around one fourth of the cardinal numerals from 1 to 100, or slightly more, underwent analogical contamination. The following passages will describe noteworthy changes.

Analogical nasalisation

Nasalisation that arose from analogical contamination affected these MSH cardinals: *taĩtīs* 'thirty-three'; *caũtīs* 'thirty-four'; *paĩtīs* 'thirty-five'; *saĩtīs* 'thirty-seven'; *taĩtālīs* 'forty-three'; *saĩtālīs* 'forty-seven'; *caũsaṭh* 'sixty-four' and *paĩsaṭh* 'sixty-five'. In the Ap. stage, none of these numerals were yet nasalised.[47] The model for this change is the cardinal *paĩtālīs* 'forty-five' (< OIA *pañcacatvariṃśat*). Nasalisation in *paĩtālīs* developed through irregular dialectical development in MIA (OIA *pañca* > *paññaya-*, *paṃya-* > *paiṃ-*),[48] which is reflected in many NIA forms.[49] The expansion of this nasalisation is curious, as it spread both "horizontally" (e.g. from 'thirty-five' → 'thirty-four') and "vertically" (e.g. from 'forty-five' → 'thirty-five'). Nasalisation jumped 'vertically' from *paĩtālīs* 'forty-five' to *paĩtīs* 'thirty-five', from whence it 'horizontally' affected *caũtīs* 'thirty-four' and *taĩtīs* 'thirty-three', where the further spread halted. It should be noted that *taĩtīs* has a regular doublet *tetīs*.[50] It is curious that *paĩtālīs* affected *taĩtālīs* 'forty-three' while *chauālis* 'forty-four' was bypassed. On the other hand, *paĩtālīs* 'forty-five' 'horizontally' influenced *saĩtālīs* 'forty-seven', bypassing *chiyālīs* 'forty-six'. *Paĩtālīs* 'forty-five' further 'vertically' influenced *paĩsaṭh* 'sixty-five', which influenced *caũsaṭh* 'sixty-four'. This nasalisation spread star-like in all directions. The impression of the complete randomness of its spread is attested in two of its features: (a) some numerals are bypassed in an unpredictable way, (b) it is impossible to predict the reach of the range of influence.

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47 *Caũtīs* :: Ap. *cautīsa*; *paĩtīs* :: AMg., JMāh. *paṇatīsaṃ*; *saĩtīs* :: Ap. *satatīsa*; *taĩtālīs* :: AMg. *tettālīsaṃ*; *saĩtālīs* :: AMg. *sīyālīsaṃ*; *caũsaṭh* :: Ap. *causaṭṭhi*; *paĩsaṭh* :: AMg. *paṇṇasaṭṭhiṃ*.

48 Berger 1992:260.

49 Bengalī *paṃyatāllis*, Bhojpurī *paeṃtālis*, Pañjābī *paiṃtālī*.

50 Avadhī already has *tẽtīs*, Ap. only non-nasalised form *tetīsa*.

Analogical spread of -(i)r- and -ǎy- and -i(y)-

These three analogical contaminations spread only 'vertically', affecting compounds with 'two', 'three', and 'six'. Thus, the *-r-* from *caurāsī* 'eighty-four' first spread horizontally to *tirāsī* 'eighty-three' (probably replacing some form developed from the MIA *tiyāsīti), from whence it took *-i-* and spread as *-ir-* vertically to ***tir****ānave* 'ninety-three'.[51] It also spread to ***tir****asaṭh* (sixty-three' and ***tir****pan* 'fifty-three', surprisingly bypassing *tihattar* 'seventy-three'. In these numerals, the analogical formation *tir-* replaced the regular *te-*/*ti-*. In the MIA stage, *te-* is thoroughly preserved (JMāh. *teṇauī*; AMg. *tesaṭṭhiṃ*; JMāh. *tevaṇṇaṃ*), so this change occurred early on in the NIA stage as it affected many NIA forms including the Avadhī *tirsaṭh*^{i}.[52]

From some numerals with a numeral word for 'two', an analogical *-y-* spread vertically to other compounds with 'two'. The sound *-y-* arose in *bayālīs* 'forty-two' (OIA < *dvācatvariṃśat*), where it developed regularly, replacing the intervocalic *-t-* in MIA (AMg. *bayālīsaṃ*). However, it first bypassed the regular *bāvan* 'fifty-two', but affected the dial. *bāyasaṭh* 'sixty-two', which preserved the regular doublet *bāsaṭh*. The change then did not affect the regular *bahattar* 'seventy-two', but it did affect *bayāsī* 'eighty-two' and *bayānve* 'ninety-two', which also preserved the regular doublet *bānave*. Again, this analogical appearance of *-y-* occurred in the NIA stage without any trace of this development in MIA.

In a number of MSH numerals, *-a-* has been analogically replaced with *-i*(*y*)-. The MSH numerals *chiyāsaṭh* 'sixty-six', *chihattar* 'seventy-six', *chiyāsī* 'eighty-six', and *chiyānave* 'ninety-six' do not correspond to their respective MIA forms *chāvaṭṭhi*, *chāhattari*, *chalasīi*, and *chānavai*. The origin of this contamination (*ch*)*iy-* is *chiyālīs* 'forty-six', where *-i-* developed from *-a-* between palatals (MIA *siyālīsa*). Again, there is no trace of this change in MIA.

Concluding remarks

The MSH cardinal numerals developed through a complex network of interconnected linguistic phenomena. Three of such phenomena can be possibly distinguished on the basis of material presented in the previous

51 MIA *teṇauī*, *teṇauiṃ*.

52 Cf. Pañjābī *tarāṇve*, Nepālī *tirānabe* etc.

passages. The first are regular sound changes mostly governing the formation of the MIA forms from the OIA forms; a new set of rules govern the change from late MIA forms to the NIA numerals, culminating in the MSH. However, only roughly half of the number words from 1 to 100 may be regarded as having developed regularly through sound laws. Even there, many special sound phenomena appear, especially in the NIA stage, which displays many irregularities and changes that affect only numerals. The second are irregular developments like the doubling of consonants and loss of nasalisation, which also appear only in numerals. The third is analogical contamination, which deeply affected the system and made its final form unpredictable. These analogical formations appear unpredictable and arbitrary. Only one thing appears to be quite certain regarding analogical contamination: it appeared in the NIA period, after the Apabhraṃśa stage, probably at some early date of the NIA period as it affected different languages in a fashion that was at least comparable, if not quite similar. This loose uniformity might suggest that some of the most remarkable analogical changes spread before further differentiation in languages appeared. This late appearance of analogical change is significant. If we take into consideration the claim of the 19th century neogrammarians that analogy ("false analogy", as it was sometimes called) is a sign of decay and lateness, it might be suggested that some numeral forms were so mutilated at the end of the Ap. stage that they lost their distinctiveness; analogical contamination therefore appears to help in distinguishing amongst the forms because of their eminent importance in everyday dealings. For instance, it may be claimed that the Ap. *beāsī* 'eight-two' may have been too similar to the NIA *bīs*(*a*) 'twenty', and analogical contamination makes *bayāsī* more distinctive. But if this is true, why did analogy not affect *paccīs* 'twenty-five' and *pacās* 'fifty', which serve as a possible source of everyday confusion? Currently, I see no clear indication in the material to support the explanation that analogy helps distinguish between forms, although the late appearance of analogy still calls for an appropriate explanation.

Abbrevations

MSH Modern Standard Hindi
OIA Old Indo-Aryan
MIA Middle Indo-Aryan
JMāh. Jain Māhārāṣṭrī
AMg. Ardha-Māgadhī
Ap. Apabhraṃśa
Śaur. Śaurasenī

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Milena Bratoeva

"The Text Within the Text": Mapping the Intertextuality in Kunwar Narain's Narrative *Hiuen-Tsiang in Kucha*

Abstract

Kunwar Narain (1927–2017) is considered an iconic figure in the postmodern Hindi literature. He belongings to the most outstanding authors of the Hindi-speaking world in the post-independence history of India. It could be claimed that his literary works are marked by a noteworthy intertextual circulation of codes, allusions and symbols, taken out of the realm of Indian and World literature, art, history, philosophy etc. Focused on the short story *Kuchā mẽ huen-tsāṅg* (*Hiuen-Tsiang in Kucha*) published in author's second Short Stories Collection, entitled *Becain pattõ kā koras* (*The Corus of restless leaves*, 2018), the current paper aims at illustrating how an intertextual approach to Narain's prose can contribute to deeper comprehension of the meaning of his works as well as of their aesthetic capacity and impact. Examining the intertextual texture of a particular short story and the intertextual links it can activate, I will try to prove that the study of Narain's works from an intertextual viewpoint could contribute significantly to better understanding of the "postcolonial intertextuality" (Trivedi 2007) and the role it plays in the Post-independence Hindi literature.

Kunwar Narain (1927–2017) is considered an iconic figure in the postmodern Hindi literature. He is one of the most prominent authors in the Hindi-speaking world within the post-independence history of India. His literary work[1] has been widely recognised not only as a remarkable achievement of

1 His most illustrious works include *Chakravyūh* (Circular Siege, 1956), *Apné Sāmné* (In Front of Us, 1979), *In Dino* (These Days, 2002), *Ātmajayī* (Self-Conqueror, 1965), *Vājashravā Ké Bahāné* (On Vajashrava's Pretext, 2008) etc.

Indian literature, but also as a precious contribution to the world literature.[2] Although he owes his fame primarily to his poetry, Narain has also authored short stories, literary criticism, translations, essays on Indian music, world cinema, and more. It could be claimed that a distinctive and noteworthy characteristic of Narain's literary work is the intertextual circulation of codes, allusions and symbols taken up from the realm of Indian and World literature, art, history, philosophy etc.

In his Introduction to the volume with Narain's poems translated into English entitled *No Other World* (2010) Harish Trivedi defines Narain as an "embedded cosmopolitan" and writes:

> "He is not the only modern Indian poet to have read English and world literature, for throughout the colonial and post-colonial periods Indian creative writers often read widely in English but wrote solely in their own languages. What distinguished him is that is his case, this Western stimulus is embedded in his assiduously cultivated knowledge of the 3,500 years-old tradition of Indian literature, beginning with Sanskrit and coming down to Urdu (the most recently born of the Indian languages, with a Perso-Arabic genealogy). He thus possesses a poetic sensibility which is exceptionally diverse culturally and historically, and out of these rich (re)sources, he often digs out familiar casts in which to pour the new metal of his modern—and partially modernist—sensibility" (Trivedi 2010: 9).

Taking into consideration this significant feature of Narain's literary work it seems to me reasonable to try to approach his poetry and prose in an intertextual perspective.

In his article *Colonial Influence, Postcolonial Intertextuality: Western Literature and Indian Literature* the above quoted scholar argues that "the close study" of Nirmal Verma's and Krishna Baldev Vaid's work, but also of many other Indian writers "may lead to a serious enrichment of our understanding of both (colonial) influence and (postcolonial) intertextuality, and possibly also a reformulation of the very meaning and definition of these terms on the evidence of their modified function in a (post)colonial context, beyond the ateliers of Western theory" (Trivedi 2007: 132).

2 He has been honoured with many national and international awards—the Jnanpith Award, Padma Bhushan, Sahitya Akademi Award, Kabir Samman, Vyasa Samman, Warsaw University's honorary medal (Poland) and Premio Feronia (Italy) etc. Many of his works have been translated into English, German, Russian, Polish, Italian, Japanese etc.

Sharing Trivedi's conclusion I will try to prove that beside Verma and Vaid, namely Narain is one of the most emblematic among the "many other Indian writers" in whose works the intertextuality is "the function of a more deeply permeating intermingling of two radically different cultures within the same individual sensibility" (Ibid.).

In my view the analysis of Narain's works from an intertextual viewpoint could contribute significantly to better understanding of the "postcolonial intertextuality" and the role it plays in the post-independence Hindi literature.

I have chosen to focus in the current article on the less studied prose of the Hindi writer, because it provokes very interesting reflections on the essence of the narration, the narrative structure, the internal mechanisms of narrative etc.

I will introduce a brief intertextual analyses of Narain's only one short story—*Kuchā mẽ huen-tsāṅg* (*Hiuen-Tsiang in Kucha*[3]) appearing in author's last Short Stories Collection, entitled *Becaina pattõ kā koras* (*The Corus of Restless Leaves,* 2018) and published after his demise.[4] Interpreting the narrative, I will try to illustrate that the sophisticated "heteroglossia" is a distinctive feature of his work revealing a complicated process of an inner cultural hybridisation of author's personality as well as of his worldview, being simultaneously "eastern" and "western", traditional and modern, metaphysical and rational.

On the Intertextuality—in brief

Intertextuality is a highly complex and multidimensional phenomenon, often associated with postmodernism. Nowadays there isn't one accepted mainstream definition of intertextuality[5] and the term is constantly being transformed in the course of its usage. As pointed out by Allen it is "one of the most commonly used and misused terms in the contemporary critical vocabulary" (2000: 1). According to Moyise the term "has taken on a life

3 Kucha—an ancient Buddhist kingdom in Central Asia (now a part of northwestern China), located on the branch of the Silk Road; an important centre of Hīnayāna Buddhism.

4 Here I would like to express my gratitude to the son of Kinwar Narain, Apurva Narain, who kindly presented me many of the books of his father and among them also this one.

5 For detailed historical overview of the evolution of the theory on intertextuality see Allen 2000.

of its own" and should be used as an umbrella term for the complexity of interactions between texts (2002: 429). The intertextuality has been discussed predominantly in the field of literary criticism and linguistics but also in the field of non-literary arts, especially in the last decades. Beside the traditional approach to the intertextuality in the perspective of the literary theory and linguistic, it has been explored also from a cognitive point of view, shifting the attention to the reader and the mental processes taking place during her/his interaction with the text. It is important to note that the awareness of the intertextuality by the reader can contribute also to the better comprehension of any texts and its relevant interpretation.[6]

As it is widely known, Julia Kristeva coined the term "intertextuality"[7] in the late 1960s with reference to what Bakhtin[8] calls the dialogic aspect of language and literature.[9] She used the term for the first time in an essay introducing the work of the Russian scholar, whom she had read in Russian while still a student in Bulgaria, before she settled in France.

The intertextual approach to literature reveals that no text is a complete creation of its author, that it isn't an independent unit of communication, isolated from other texts, that everyone literary discourse depends on other discourses. In this respect, Roland Barthes, Kristeva's mentor, pointed out in his emblematic article "The Death of the Author" (1977) that texts originate not from their authors but from a plurality of voices. He argues that:

> "a text is... a multidimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash. The text is a tissue of quotations... The writer can only imitate a gesture that is always anterior, never original. His

6 In this respect the intertextuality analysis could be successfully applied in teaching literature in order to help students to understand better and deeper the meaning of the literary texts they learn. More on this topic see Ahmadian and Yazdani (2013).

7 In the essays "Word, Dialogue and Novel" (1966) and "The Bounded Text" (1966-67). Both essays have been published in her first volume of essays *Recherches pour une semanalyse* (1969).

8 Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin (1895–1975), a prominent Russian literary theorist, semiotician and philosopher of language, one of the major figures of twentieth-century literary theory. Among his most significant works are *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* (1929, 1963), *Rabelais and His World* (1965), and *The Dialogic Imagination* (1975).

9 Apart from Bakhtin, Kristeva was also influenced significantly by Saussure's idea of semiology.

> only power is to mix writings, to counter the ones with the others, in such a way as never to rest on any one of them" (Barthes 1977: 146).

Similarly, Umberto Eco stated: "It is not true that works are created by their authors. Works are created by works, texts are created by texts, all together they speak to each other independently of the intentions of their authors" (Quoted in Haberer 2007: 57).

The intertextual approach seeks to reveal "the text within the text" if I quote the title of Lotman[10]'s article published in 1981, originally in Russian ("Текст в тексте"[11]). Despite exploring this idea in the perspective of semiotics Lotman's ideas about "the structure of dual codes" is in some respects comparable with Kristeva's reflections on the very essence of the intertextuality[12].

The structure of the text within the text implies a kind of mechanism of the mirror inside the text. The mirror in the work of art redoubles the semiotic process, which makes it a complex self-referential system.

Texts within Narayan's texts

Narain's short story to be interpreted is distinguished by a blending in a harmonious whole the characteristics of an essay, a fictional diary and a short story. This is specific for many of Narain's narratives, namely that they could be defined as a kind of bridge between different literary genres. The author often applies the model of the so-called hybridization and genre mixing. As he said in the Introduction of the Collection:

> *āj jo kahānī likhī jā rahī hai uskā pāramparik rūp badal rahā hai | gadya kī vidhāõ kā milā-julā rūp vibhinn tarīkõ se kathā-lekhan mẽ śāmil ho rahā hai. mujhe gadya kī adhikāṃś vidhāõ kā uddeśya ab ekdiśātmak na hokar bahuāyāmī aur bahudiśātmak hotā lag rahā hai.* [13] *(2018: 5)*

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10 Yuri Lotman (1922–1993), a Russian (Estonian) literary scholar, semiotician, and cultural historian, the founder of the Tartu-Moscow Semiotic School, considered to be the first Soviet structuralist.

11 First appeared in the semiotics journal of the Tartu school *Sign Systems Studies* − Σηειωτικα 14 (1981).

12 See Spassova 2018.

13 "The traditional form of the short story being written today is changing. Mixed forms of prose genres are getting involved in story writing in various ways. I find the purpose of most prose genres to be multi-faceted and multi-directional rather than unidirectional" (My translation).

Another significant feature of the text is the crucial narrative and aesthetic role, played by the portrait/painting (*chāyācitr*/*citr*)—that of the famous Chinese Buddhist monk Hiuen-Tsiang.[14] The painting functions as "intertext" generating from one side a distance between them and the texts but from other—a discourse enabling the readers to perceive their own self from the perspective of the other. It "comes to life" and traveling through time makes the readers to reflect on important aspects and values of their own existence.

Kucchā mẽ huen-tsāṅg begins with the following two sentences:

ek bār horhe luīs borhes kī kahāniyõ kī bhūlbhuleyā mẽ ghūmte hue maĩ acānak huen-tsāṅg kī duniyā mẽ jā pahuñcā. bahut pahle kī paṛhī huī pustak "di lāiph āph huen-tsāṅg" (śaman havurd lī) mẽ dī huī antarkathā yād āne lagī |[15]

By quoting three names: a) of the renowned Argentine writer and poet Jorge Luis Borges;[16] b) of Hiuen-Tsiang—the famous Chinese Buddhist monk, travelling in India during the VII century; c) the book entitled *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, translated into English by Samuel Beal, Narain shapes the macro-intertextual level[17] of his story composed as a kind of recollecting, reviving of the memory (*yād āne lagī*). An important semantic core of the story is the word "labyrinth" (*bhūlbhūleyā*) calling to the mind the title of collection of Borges's short stories translated into English.[18] Borges himself has been considered a writer of labyrinth. The narrator of Narain's story—a human being of 21th century (*maĩ, ikkīsvī̃ sadī kā ek prāṇī*), is wandering

14 Another interesting example in this respect is also the narrative *Monālīsā kī iyārī* मोनालीसा की डायरी (*The Diary of Mona Lisa*), published in the same volume. Its intertextual texture is also very rich of implications and conclusions.

15 "Once upon a time while wandering through the labyrinth of Jorge Luis Borges's short stories I suddenly reached the world of Hiuen-Tsiang. I began to remember the story given in the book "The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang" (Shaman Hwui Li) I had read long ago". (My Translation)

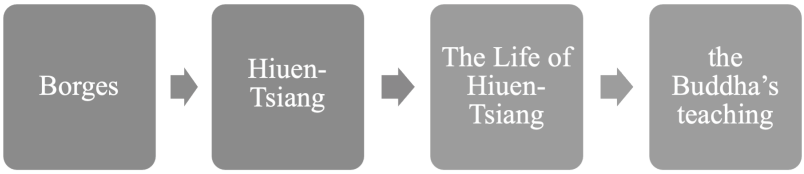
16 Narain was deeply interested in the literary work of Borges and translated into Hindi some of his poems (*Tanāv*, 1987).

17 About the macro- and micro-intertextuality see Ahmadian and Yazdani 2013: 160–161.

18 *Labyrinths: Selected Stories & Other Writings*. By Jorge Luis Borges. Edited by Donald A. Yates and James E.Irby. A New Directions Book, New York 1962.

actually in the labyrinth[19] of his memory where he meets the Chinese Buddhist monk and travels through time and space with him.

The macro-intertextual (horizontal) level of the story can be summarized in the following way:



The indirectly suggested intersection point of the three quotes at the beginning of the narrative is the Buddha's teaching viewed by the way still in the title of the story—*Hiuen-Tsiang in Kucha*.

The Buddhist topic is introduced in an original manner highlighting the impact the Buddhist teaching has outside its homeland India as well as of its historical time—on a "Western" modern writer of twentieth century, on a Chinese ("Eastern") Buddhist Monk of the seventh century whose life is retold in *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang,* translated into English by Samuel Beal, one of the first prominent scholars in the field of Chinese Buddhism. That is, it is about the circulation of Buddhist ideas in the world culture, about their traveling through time and space.

Borges was very much interested in Buddhism and even published a book entitled *Qué es el Budismo*? (*What is Buddhism*? 1976), co-authored by Alicia Jurado. He gave also a talk on the Buddha and his teaching in 1977.[20] Basic concepts and ides of Buddhist ethics and philosophy find their way into stories and essays such as *The Cult of the Phoenix*, *The Garden of Forking Paths*, *The Library of Babel* etc.[21].

But even more important in respect to Narain's short story is the fact that the reference to Borges sets in motion the intertextual link to the magical

19 The labyrinth is an ancient, archetypical symbol depicting the way to the unknown, the risk of the search, the danger of losing the way, the finding and ability to return.

20 The writer delivered a series of seven lectures in Buenos Aires, each one dealing with a different theme. The fourth talk was dedicated to the Buddhism. The talks were published as a separate book under the title *Seven Nights* three years later. See Borges 1984: 58–75.

21 More on this issue see Fishburn 2020: 211–218.

realism and the fantastic genre in which the travel through time is viewed as an important narrative strategy.[22] I this respect the narrative strategy of this text can be defined also as nonlinear.

Introducing the name Borges, Narain defines the intertextual frame of the whole story focused on the travel back in the past by the narrator and the Chinese Buddhist monk who "came to life" and stepped down from his portrait:

> *viral saṃyog! sākṣāt huen-tsāṅg – itihās-prasiddh baudh vidvān. maĩ ikisvin sadī kā ek prāṇī sātvĩ̃ sadī ke harṣakālīn yug mẽ. romāñcakārī anubhūti! .... maĩ huen-tsāṅg ke praśānt cehre ko dekh rahā thā. kyā ve jānte haĩ ki maĩ bhaviṣya ke kisī sadī se unkī sadī mẽ ā gayā hũ̃. kaun jāne ve sab jo unke sāth the kin sadiyõ se ākar us ek kṣaṇ mẽ ikaṭhā ho gae the.*[23]

The stepping down from the frame of the painting by Hiuen-Tsiang depicts metaphorically the dynamic nature of human thought crossing easily the limits of the historical timeline.

Further the author retells the dispute between Mokṣagupta and Hiuen-Tsiang focusing on the nature of the truthful knowledge and wisdom. The deep semantic structure of this passage is shaped by the means of a complex chain of intertexts—titles of basic Buddhist canonical texts, Hindu treatises, philosophical concepts (like *nirvāṇa* and *bodhisattva*) etc. This chain of intertexts draws up the micro-intertextual (vertical) level of his narrative:

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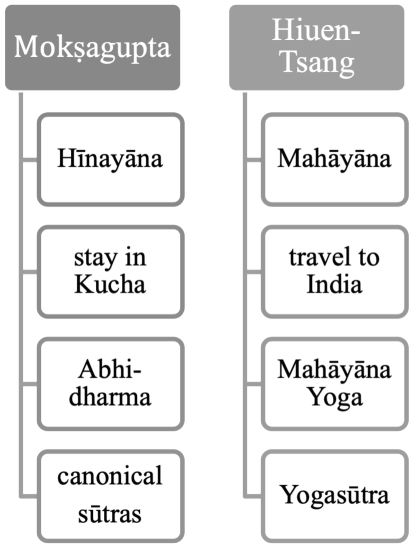
22 In a lecture delivered in September 1949 Borges points out four devices of fantastic literature: 1) a work of art within a work of art; 2) reality contaminated by dreams; 3) travel through time; 4) the double.

23 Extraordinary chance! The famous in the history Buddhist scholar Hiuen-Tsiang in flesh and blood! What a romantic experience! ... I was looking at Hiuen-Tsiang's calm face. Does he recognize that I have come into his century from any future century? Who knows, from which centuries are all those who were with him now, gathered together at that moment (My translation).



In fact, Hiuen-Tsiang reported in his book that the Kuchean monks did not show any respect to the Mahāyāna texts. Mokṣagupta, who was a Kuchean noble monk and who studied Buddhism over twenty years,[24] told Hiuen-Tsiang that it was not necessary to go to India since they had all the canonical Buddhist treatises in Kucha. When Hiuen-Tsiang asked him if he has the *Yogasūtra*[25], the noble monk replied that this is an abominable text, which no one true Buddhist disciple should study: "*kyā āpke pās yogasūtra bhī haĩ*," *huen-tsāṅg ne pūchā*. *mokṣagupt ke cehre par kṣobh kī lahar dauṛ gaī.* [26]

This is a key-moment in the dispute between the two Buddhist monks revealing the fundamental difference in their attitude to the means through which one may accomplish the final spiritual perfection. Special characteristic of the Hindu *Yogasūtra* tradition as well as of the Mahāyāna yoga schools is their emphasis on meditation and on the in-depth psychological analysis. *Yogasūtra* in this respect is one of the most significant intertext in the story.

24 According to the Chinese sources, retelling the biography of Hiuen-Tsiang.

25 The foundational treatise of Yoga philosophy and practice attributed to the sage Patañjali and composed probably between 500 BCE and 400 CE. Further in the narrative is mentioned the so-called Mahāyāna yoga or the Buddhist school Yogācāra (or Vijñānavāda) founded, according to tradition, by the brothers Asaṅga and Vasubandhu (4th/5th century CE).

26 "Do you have *Yogasutra* as well?"—Hiuen-Tsiang asked. A wave of outrage ran over Mokṣagupta's face.

An important role in this process plays the central intertextual allusion of travel/traveller (*yātrā*/*yātrī*)—the historical Hiuen-Tsiang travels to the holy Buddhist places in India and back to China; Narain's Hiuen-Tsiang comes to life and stepping down from his contemporary portrait goes back in his time; the narrator in the story, the man of 21th century, travels back in the time of the Chinese Buddhist monk and the great Indian emperor Harsha[27] who also was deeply influenced by the Buddha's teaching. In all these cases the travelling is identified with the accumulation of wisdom and inner spiritual experience, while the permanent dwell in one and the same place—with scholastic, limited knowledge and even with ignorance. It is obvious that the author takes advantage of the rich symbolic meaning of the notion of "path" (*mārg*) in the philosophical and religious teachings in India, including the Buddhism.

Traveling through the labyrinth of his memory (*smṛti*) Narain's hero realizes the importance of the personal experience, which is much more valuable than the doctrinaire, theoretical knowledge. The real existence of every individual is a never ceasing running in the labyrinth of the consciousness, of our inner universe with its multiply dimensions of perceptions and cognitions, for life and cognition are inseparably connected. In this way, running in the labyrinth of the consciousness, we do realize that the time and space are not fixed categories that we all live in a circular time as it is pointed out in the Buddhist philosophy and psychology.

As Narain's narrator says:

vah jo hamārī smṛti mẽ hai, jīvit hai hamāre vartamān mẽ bhī, hamārī cetnā se anuprāṇit aur sacet kiyā huā. vah jāg rahā hai hamārī kalpnā se jagāyā aur gatimān kiyā huā. vigat, ek film kī tarah, āgat kiyā huā. vismṛt bhī, yāni bhulā huā bhī, samay ke akhaṇḍ mẽ hai kahī̃ maujūd. pratyek kṣaṇ surakṣit, avinaṣṭ, jyõ-kā-tyõ. use bhī jagāyā jā saktā hai, uske kisī bhī kālkhaṇḍ ko āj aur abhī, yāni trikāl ko tatkāl se joṛkar sakriya jiyā jā sakatā hai—punaḥ punaḥ vibhinn samayõ mẽ, vibhinn sthānõ mẽ. unkī buniyāddī urjā ek hai; uske āyām aur rūpākār kaī haĩ.[28]

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27 He ruled North India between 606 and 647 CE. According to Hiuen-Tsiang namely the king was a devout Buddhist.

28 What is in our memory it is alive also in our present, animated and realised by our consciousness. It is awakening, it was awakened and set in motion by our imagination. The past, like a film, was made to come back. Even unremembered, that is, forgotten, it is still present somewhere in the unbroken time. Protected in every one moment,

Concluding remarks

The brief intertextual analysis of this narrative illustrates how Narain embeds in his short story one literary or philosophical work within another and in this way cuts the ties between the text and the external world. Thus, the narrative becomes an entirely self-sufficient world in itself. Applying different types of intertextual relations, the author opens the reader's insight and makes him to grasp the universal truth about his/her inner essence and existence as well as to experience an extraordinary intellectual delight.

It could be argued that in general composing his literary texts, Kunwar Narain consciously or unconsciously, often uses the potential of intertextuality[29]—through quotations, allusions and references he constructs a complicated network of related texts and proves that "any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another" (Kristeva 1986: 37).

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undestroyed, as it is. It can also be awakened, any of its pieces of time, today and now, that is connecting the very moment with the three times—past, present and future, it can be activated—again and again in different times, in different places. Its basic power is one and the same, but its dimensions and manifestations are manifold. (My translation)

29 Good examples in this respect are: *Chakravyūh* (Circular Siege), *Ātmajayī* (Self-Conqueror), *Vājashravā Ké Bahāné* (On Vajashrava's Pretext), *Ayodhyā 1992*, *Monālīsā kī Dāyarī* (Mona Lisa's diary) and many others.

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The contributions collected in these volume originated as conference presentations, subsequently, the authors reworked them, and presented them for double-blind peer-reviews by experts in the discispline. We set out to organise these papers to form a volume that will serve as a methodological companion for academics, teachers and students of Hindi language and literature. The volume is divided into three sections, the first one titled "Hindi in the Classroom" is dedicated to teaching methodology; the second section or "Hindi Beyond the Classroom: Translating Texts, Translating Culture" deals with translation as a coherent part of teaching and learning experience and the third section titled "Broadening the Picture: Linguistics and Literary Studies" discusses linguistic and literary case studies connected to teaching both, Hindi language and literature.

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