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"Haryanvi: Language, Culture and Identity"

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Abstract:

Formation of Haryana among other Indian states after independence, based on linguistic cultural identity, places Haryanvi as one among dominant cultures and identities in Indian union. Haryanvi as a functioning linguistic medium for Haryanvi culture and identity represents a unique trajectory among other languages and western Hindi dialects of Braj, Awadhi, Kannauji, Bundeli and Dehlavi as categorized by Grierson(1928). In order to initiate the discourses on Haryanvi as functional linguistic medium, as Paul Brass(1974) argues "instead of problematizing the power equation that is intrinsic to such dichotomies, an alternative approach not as dichotomies but as complementary varieties operating in their own sphere is required". Understanding the linguistic limitations of Haryanvi as a dialect on the one side and its predominant influence on Haryanvi culture and Identity on the other side, the paper tries to study the historical developments of Haryanvi as a relevant functional cultural linguistic medium under the dialect - language discourses, orality - texuality discourses and in relation to other linguistic mediums like Hindi and Sanskrit as Indian languages and Hebrew as a non- Indian language.

Key words:

Haryanvi, culture, identity, linguistic medium, language discourse

Haryanvi: historical perspective

The language question in India has been is a matter of much debate since colonial times. It has played a crucial role in shaping the educational policies of the regimes. From time to time they were contested and debated by interested parties whom the hegemonic policies of the day affected. Some of these debates are still relevant (Sreenivasa Rao, p. 63). In the debate of the hierarchy among languages, dichotomies are often posited as language versus dialect, classical language versus vernacular language, standard versus non standard, regional versus national language and national versus international language. In Indian context official language versus non-official language, dominant regional language versus non-dominant regional language too are part of these debates. In order to initiate the discourses on Haryanvi as functional linguistic medium, as Paul Brass(1974) argues "instead of problematizing the power equation that is intrinsic to such dichotomies, an alternative approach not as dichotomies but as complementary varieties operating in their own sphere is required".

Grierson's massive linguistic survey(1928) identified two major branches of the Hindi language area - western and eastern. Haryanvi is grouped under the western hindi languages group along with Brai, Dehlavi (Khariboli dialect of Delhi region), Kannauji, und Bundeli. (Brass 1992:152). The advocates of Hindi as "regional standard language of north India" have sought to bring all these mother tongues, and others, including Punjabi under its extended umbrella. Except in relation to Punjabi, this quest has met with a large measure of success" (Kumool Abbi, 2013 p.55). Hindi was adopted as the first language

and Punjabi as the second language for the official purposes of by State of Haryana on 5th March 1969. Unopposed acceptance of Hindi as official language like in many regions of Hindi language area identified by Grierson, has found its success in Haryana too. The official language Act of Haryana, also promoted continued use of English language in State Legislature. "Unless and until the State Government otherwise directs by notification, the English language may, as from the appointed day continue to be used, in addition to Hindi, for the transaction of business in the Legislature of the State." (The official language act, Haryana 1969). Haryanvi the cultural linguistic medium of the state, is left out in the Act. The ready or subdued acceptance of Hindi domination in hindi heartbelt, surprised many scholars (Mukherjee 1994; Oommen 2002; Ghosh 2006) as it represents a reversal of trends in other parts of India, where with similar circumstances have given rise to cultural identities in terms of local and regional identities. Dehlavi, the khariboli dialect of Delhi region represented through the state of Delhi. Punjabi is represented through the state of Punjab and Haryanvi through the state of Haryana whereas many other mother tounges were grouped under "Pradesh", Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh etc. Punjabi become the official language of state of Punjab. Dehlavi became the official Hindi. In that perspective, the case of Haryanvi becomes unique and the silence of official language act of Haryana, on Haryanvi becomes even more surprising, that the name of the state of Haryana, itself derives from Haryanvi cultural identity.

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Dialect- Language and Scripts debate

Scripts of Languages in their early formation stage, are generally absent and at a later stage scripts and symbols emerges and written form becomes the possibility. Some languages have developed multiple set of symbols to be used as alphabets, and reduced to one widely accepted standard version at later stages. Though it might appear so, a language is not constrained to its scripts. Many African languages use French scripts. Does the absence of scripts make the mother tongue a dialect, unworthy cousin among languages? Does presence of scripts make the mother tongue a language? Not necessarily, would be the probable answer. There are enough instances that mother tongue like magadi with the scripts considered to be a dialect in Bihar. Therefore whether a mother tongue has scripts or not, does not make it a language or dialect. Dehalvi (khariboli dialect of Delhi) has adopted Devnagiri scripts from Sanskrit to become the official language Hindi. It clearly shows that script formation of a tongue represents not the organic essential but later developmental aspect of a mother tongue. Therefore the premise that mother tongue Haryanvi does not have its own scripts can not deny its right to be a mother tongue or to be a language. What shall be the Haryanvi scripts, is a policy decision can be taken by the Haryana legislative assembly as it was happened in the case of Hindi. Operating sphere of the mother tongue Haryanvi, how does Haryanvi represents and functions as cultural linguistic medium, how non-language status of Haryanvi in the state of Haryana, affects the cultural and Identity formation of its speakers, are the questions that requires more attention.

Operating sphere of Haryanvi

In order to understand the operating sphere of a mother tongue, like Haryanvi, it is important to make a difference between administrative linguistic medium and cultural linguistic medium. In common parlance, one might tend to argue that any language can perform both these functions, but in closer look, it can be seen that the languages differ in degrees in relation to these functions. An official language as administrative linguistic medium will be effectively functional in spheres like administrative correspondence, formulation of administrative acts, rules etc.. It also can be effectively functional as medium of instruction in schools and colleges too. It can function as a lingua Franca too. In nutshell, it corresponds to the rational aspects of functional linguistic medium. A cultural linguistic medium is on the contrary is effectively functional for the emotional aspects of a community. It is the linguistic medium that keeps the shared history of the community alive. As a result, proverbs, idioms, tales, poems, performing arts, folk arts, literature all are represented through such a linguistic medium. Emotional expressions of lived and shared experiences and the subsequent interpretations of the reality and truth,

forms the foundations socio- cultural value systems which in turn ensure the lasting survival of that cultural identity. If a community has a language which fulfills both these rational and emotional aspects, it strengthens the regional identity and provides an effective tool to bring socio-cultural changes and developments in the community. Societal developments can be bifurcated into economic development, and socio cultural development. Economic development is based on the degree of availability of goods and services that are produced and consumed by the community. It speaks about the affluence of things for the consumption and not necessarily well being of the members. Whereas socio- cultural developments means changes in the value systems and shared life style for the lasting well-being of the community. An economic development model can create buildings and facilities say for example for schooling, but can fail in ensuring the learning process. Socio-cultural development model might not be effective in making buildings but turns to be more effective in ensuring the learning process. Both these aspects are inseparable for a vibrant society with developed economy.

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Under these perspectives, one can conclude that it is ideal for a state or community to have a language which fulfills the both rational and emotional aspects of culture as the linguistic medium. In case of Haryanvi, though unrecognized by the state of Haryana in the official language act, the Haryanvi continues to be the cultural linguistic medium of the people of Haryana. Hindi, along with English functions as official languages and caters to the rational aspects where as Haryanvi remains a major linguistic medium for the emotional aspects of the Haryanvi culture. Considerable differences in degrees between the economic development and socio-cultural development in the state of Haryana, are related to its language policy or not? needs more reflections. Economic ranking based on per capita income places Haryana among the best performing states. In social and Human development Index, it ranks along with medium performing states. Therefore one can hope that the day will also come, that the Haryanvi will be also recognized though not as a official language but as a cultural language of the state of Haryana.

Mothertounge, Society and culture

.The relationship between language, culture and identity of a society is complex and scholars have concluded in different ways. Chomsky argues that human beings are endowed with a innate language device which makes the languages possible and proposes that languages have more universal characterestics than their apparent differences. He proposed transformational generative grammar, the principles of deep structure and surface structure of language (syntactic structures), the theory of universal grammar, language innateness and biological endowment of language. (Chomsky). Analysing how the languages vary, Edward Sapir and Benjamin lee proposed that the that speakers of different tongues may think differently. Sapir-Whorf hypothesis considers that language serves two inseparable functions in society: first, it has a communicative function, whereby members of one society think and communicate using their language as a medium; and second, it serves a representational function, whereby language shapes and influences the individuals' and society's view of reality and the world. Each society has its language, and hence, its own worldview.

An application of this understanding to Haryanvi, as a mother tongue, it leads to a Haryanvi world view that is different from Hindi world view. Those who are influenced by the Hindi education might tend to undervalue Haryanvi world view as irrelevant and unwanted. Gradually an inferiority feeling can creep into Haryanvi identity Vis a Vis Hindi or Punjabi. As a result educated parents might start discouraging their wards the use of mother tongue at home, school and other public places. Discussing about the minority languages, Sreenivasa Rao writes "the dominant linguistic groups, on the other hand, remain largely monolingual and look down upon the minority tongues as primitive or not proper or uncivilized" (2008, P.64). The emotional bonding, the emotional ways of understanding the lived circumstances through a world view is possible through a language which also has a shared living history. An adopted language fails to fulfill this aspect of shared living

history and in generating an emotional, bonding to the culture. The world view and the shared living history of an adopted language do not belong to the community, it is from somewhere else, from some other community.

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The arts and literary tradition which is the representation of the refinement in the culture rests solely on the emotional bonding and shared living experiences expressed in the mother tongue. Therefore not only to strengthen the creative and artistic expressions, but also to preserve them, an emotionally connecting mother tongue is a necessity. Through strengthening of Haryanvi, its culture, arts and its literary traditions becomes vitalized. As more and more artistic expressions emerges, the divergent views becomes shared and become the part of the shared cultural history, and bring positive refinements in the world view of that tongue, and cultural refinement occurs. When a cultural linguistic medium like Haryanvi is neglected, culturally unique artistic and literary creativity of that culture is crippled, and may lead to a socio-cultural stagnation for the respective communities.

Hebrew, Sanskrit, Hindi and Haryanvi comparative trajectories

Hebrew was the language of the Jews resided in Israel. The Jewish Tohra, the religious text was composed in this language. Even some of the books in Christian Bible is also originally composed in Hebrew. It means the language fully developed in both dimensions rational aspects and emotional aspects of the culture. Jews were scattered across the globe due to Roman oppression in early decades of Common Era. As the modern day Israel was formed ater 2000 years later, the jews came back from different parts of the world with different languages. That linguistic diversity required a common language as a communicative medium. Hebrew was revived as official language and translation from all world languages to Hebrew started, which eventually made Hebrew a thriving modern language. In Indian scenario, Sanskrit language worked as both as a lingua franca (rational aspect of the language) and also a cultural language (emotional aspect). But the modern Indian state accepted Khariboli with devnagiri script as its official language. Khariboli as it was just another tongue had its limitations for the use of administrative usage because it is was very rarely used for the same before and also has a limited literature in comparison to Sanskrit. The only advantage was there are many closely related tounges were present in the north west Indian region. National translation mission and Hindi prachar Sabhas became necessary to make the Hindi a viable language. Dr. Omprakash Singh, concludes the epatshala written material with these words '

यद्यपि खड़ी बोली हिन्दी के प्रयोग के कुछ उदाहरण हमें प्राचीन हिन्दी साहित्य मं मिल् जाते हं, पर यह निर्विवाद सच है कि खड़ी बोली ने अधुनिक काल मं ही स्वस्थ स्वरूप ग्रहण किया है। खड़ी बोली हहन्दी को अपना ितषमान साहहहत्यक रूप ग्रहण करने मं कइ सौ साल का समय लगा है। हम जानते हं कक खड़ी बोली की हिकास परम्परा ब्रजभाषा और अधी अकद साहहहत्यक भाषाओं से तो जुड़ा ही है, अन्य भारतीय भाषाओं से भी जुड़ा है। आस सन्दभष मं ईदूष और दहखखनी का नाम खासतौर से हलया जा सकता है। खड़ी बोली के मिरूप ग्रहण मं फोटष हिहलयम कॉलेज और भारतेन्दु मण्डल के रचनाकारं का महत्त्िपूणष योगदान है। हहन्दी साहहत्य के आहतहास मं छायािाद के प्रारम्भ तक खड़ी बोली गद्य और पद्य का पूणष हिकास हो चुका था। अज खड़ी बोली हहन्दी मं पयाषप् त साहहत्य सजषन तो हो ही रहा है, यह मीहडया के हलए भी ईत्कृ ष्ट भाषा बनी हुइ है""।

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