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The Oldest Grammar of Hindustani

Tej K. Bhatia

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Just how challenging was the learning of exotic languages, let alone the writing of their grammars, some three centuries ago? To answer this question let me cite the classic case of Sir William Jones, a distinguished Orientalist and the founder of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Sir William wanted to learn the Sanskrit language when he was appointed a Supreme Court judge in Calcutta in 1793. Every attempt was made to hire a Brahman to teach him. Surprisingly, in spite of the high salary offered, no Brahman in Calcutta offered to take the job. Attempts to hire a teacher from other cities also failed. In those days, Brahmans, who held the highest rank in the elaborately structured Indian society, were primarily responsible for teaching the Sanskrit language. Although Bengal was under British dominance, no self-respecting Brahman came forward to teach the distinguished representative of the British ruling class. The reason for this was the Indian view that anyone who crossed the boundaries of the Indian Ocean was an "untouchable." By this definition, Europeans were inherently "super untouchables." Finally, however, a doctor, a non-Brahman, agreed to teach Sir William. He was in a position to defy the rules because he had no family and, being a doctor, was indispensable to society. His act of defiance in offering to teach Sir William was not without its own stipulations. Among other conditions, he required his pupil to adopt a vegetarian diet, provide special seating arrangements, observe an appropriate dress code, and hire a Hindu servant to bring the holy water of the sacred Ganges River to purify the study room. Thus prospective language learners had to face an extreme form of linguistic chauvinism as well as a lack of bilingual language instruction and pedagogical materials. This restricted and crippling language-learning environment handicapped the earliest foreign grammarians of Hindustani for more than a century. Consequently, the learning of languages and the writing of grammars demanded not only intellectual exercise but also a keen sense of linguistic adventure on the part of foreign learners.

Hindustani is a modern Indo-Aryan language spoken in several South Asian countries (India, Pakistan, and Nepal) as well as in other countries outside Asia (Mauritius, Trinidad, Fiji, Surinam, and Guyana) by approximately 600 million people, as either a first or a second language. Hindustani, which is a descendant of the Sanskrit language, is not strictly the name of any particular dialect of the region, but an adjective, Persian in origin, meaning "Indian." Historically, the term was used to refer to the lingua franca variously known as Hinduī, Hindawī, Rextā, and Rextī and in recent times popularly known as Hindi. All of these labels denote a mixed speech spoken around Delhi which gained prominence around the twelfth or thirteenth century as a contact language between the Arabs, Afghans, Persians, and Turks on the one hand and native residents on the other. Under court patronage and because of other social factors, two distinct styles with two different scripts developed in the course of succeeding centuries. The style written in Perso-Arabic characters, which borrows heavily from Persian and Arabic, is referred to as Urdu; that one written in the Devanāgarī script with Sanskrit borrowings is known as Hindi. Later, because of political, social, and attitudinal factors, Urdu became associated with the Muslim population, and Hindi with the Hindu population.

The oldest grammar of the Hindustani language was written in Dutch by J. J. Ketelaar, a native of Germany, in 1698.[1] It has never been published and was until 1935 considered to have been lost. The grammar is even more than an invaluable document for the history and development of the Hindustani grammatical tradition. It reveals an era of linguistic adventurism and romanticism in the history of the linguistic sciences in general and Indic linguistics in particular. It takes us back to that time in European history when the quest for the exotic worlds of Asia and Africa was as urgent, compelling, and challenging as the search for extraterrestrial intelligence may become in our time. Ketelaar was the first of a series of European professionals—army officers, diplomats, judges, medical men—who, out of their passion for exotic languages, laid the groundwork for a new era of grammatical scholarship in India, scholarship which might be termed the alien grammatical tradition.

1. J. J. Ketelaar, "Instructie off onderwijsinge der Hindoustanse en Persiaanse talen nevens hare declinatie en conjugatie . . .," 1698, ms. no. 1825-II, the Royal Archives, The Hague. In the literature on Hindi linguistics the following variations can be found in the spelling of Ketelaar's name: (first name) John, Jean, Joan, Johannes; (second name) Jashua, Josua, Joshua; (surname) Ketelaar, Kotelar, Kessler, Kettler.

In spite of its extraordinary linguistic, sociopolitical, and cultural merits, Ketelaar's grammar represents a most misunderstood and little researched area in the history of Hindustani grammar. There are several reasons for this. Of the two most important, one is generic, the other particular in nature. First, the preoccupation of Indian scholars with the classical language, Sanskrit, the *deva vāṇī* or language of the gods, led them to neglect altogether the modern vernaculars of India. India is credited with one of the most sophisticated grammatical traditions in the history of linguistics—the Sanskrit grammatical tradition—and is justifiably renowned for grammatical treatises like Pāṇiṇi's grammar, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī,* which has been called "one of the greatest monuments of human intelligence."[2] It is ironic that this unmatched classical grammatical tradition made no room for vernacular languages, even those with a long literary tradition of their own. It fell to Europeans to initiate the task of writing grammars of modern Indian vernacular languages in order to meet their own communicative, colonial, commercial, and missionary needs. Unfortunately, this new and alien gram-

2. Leonard Bloomfield, *Language* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1933), p. 11. Bloomfield (1887-1949) devised the modern "scientific" method of language study and laid the foundation of American structural linguistics. We should remember that the discovery of the Sanskrit language revolutionized the linguistic sciences. It led to the concept of an Indo-European language family and laid the foundation of modern comparative or historical linguistics and phonetic science.

matical tradition won no acclaim from Indian scholars for about two centuries. Indian grammarians either totally ignored it or gave it a biased and uncharitable treatment.

The second reason for the neglect of this work has to do with the state of scholarship concerning Ketelaar's grammar itself. Until now scholarship on this topic has been based on secondary and indirect sources because the grammar had never been published and until the 1930s was thought to have been lost. The only published versions of this grammar were its Latin translation by Mills[3] and the Hindi translation of the Latin version by Vechoor.[4] In the absence of the original text, Mills became the basis of scholarship and is still considered authentic. Reliance on these sources is the main reason that basic questions about the dating, authorship, and nature of the original manuscript remain either unanswered or answered inadequately.[5]

It is now possible to answer these questions in an authentic fashion using the primary source, the manuscript of Ketelaar's grammar. This article presents the first analysis of the original version since David Mills translated it approximately two and a half centuries ago. Several new questions together with the issue of how the manuscript finally surfaced will also receive attention here. First, however, some remarks about Ketelaar will explain the rather unusual context which gave birth to the first grammar.

Ketelaar had an interesting life. He was a German, born at Elbing on the Baltic Sea, 25 December 1659, the eldest son of a bookbinder. He started his career as a bookbinder's apprentice but often got into trouble, robbing and even trying to poison his master. Fired from his job, he went to Danzig (Gdansk), where he committed another theft, eventually leaving for Stockholm in 1680. Two years later he joined the Dutch East India Company and sailed for India. On his arrival at Surat, he was appointed as a "pennist," a clerk. He rose to the position of "Assistant" in four years. Between 1705 and 1708 he successfully completed an Arabian mission. By 1708 he was appointed a "Senior Merchant" because of his experience and capacity in the "Moorish" language and customs and was accredited to the then Mogul rulers Shah Bahadur Shah (from 1708 to 1712) and Jahandar Shah (in 1712) as Dutch envoy. In 1711, he was also the company's Director of Trade at Surat. In 1716, Ketelaar was appointed Dutch envoy to Persia. That same year he died of fever at Gombroon (now Bandar Abbas) on the Persian Gulf while returning from Isfahan; the fever may have been contracted during a two-day visit to the local jail because he would not order a Dutch ship to act under the Persian governor's orders against some Arab invaders.[6]

Although we do not know the circumstances under which Ketelaar wrote his grammar, it is clear even from this brief biographical account that he was widely traveled and quite familiar with South Asia. He learned Hindustani from his day-to-day conversations in an actual field situation with Indians at different levels of society, not from a teacher.

In search of Ketelaar's grammar

The rediscovery of Ketelaar's grammar has its own interesting history. A combination of historical accidents and the intermittent exchange

3. David Mills, ed., "Grammatica Hindustanica," in *Dissertationes Selectae,* 2nd ed., ed. David Mills (Leiden: C. Wishoff and G. J. Wishoff, 1743). The first edition of Mills's work was published in 1725. The only surviving copy of the 1725 edition is in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

4. Methew Vechoor, ed., *Hindī ke tīn prārambhik vyākaraṇa* (Three early Hindi grammars) (Allahabad: St. Paulus Prakāshana, 1976).

5. See, e.g., Panjabarava Jadhava, *Hindī bhāshā aura sāhitya ke adhyayana men īsāī mishnariyon kā yogadāna* (The contributions of Christian missionaries to Hindi language and literature) (Poona: Karmavīr Prakāshana, 1973), which gives 1743 as the date of the grammar. Others, such as M. Ziauddin (*A Grammar of the Braj Bhākhā by Mirza Khan [1676 A.D.]* [Calcutta: Vishva Bhāratī Book Shop, 1935]) and S. Chatterji ("The Oldest Grammar of Hindustani," *Indian Linguistics* 2 [1965]; 68–83 [originally written in 1931 and published in 1933]) give 1715 as the tentative date. According to Chatterji, "the exact date when the work was prepared is not known" (p. 68).

6. For more information about Ketelaar's life, see J. Vogel, "Joan Josua Ketelaar of Elbin, Author of the First Hindustani Grammar," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 3 (1964): 817–22 (originally published in 1935).

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of information among a handful of scholars saved the work from oblivion—the fate of many other unpublished old grammars. Nonetheless, its recovery was slow. The search can be classified into the following phases.

1. In April 1893, Sir George Grierson—a highly respected Indologist—read a paper entitled "On the Early Study of Indian Vernaculars in Europe" at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The paper subsequently appeared in the society's journal.[7] In this paper Grierson stated that the first grammar of Hindustani had been written by Benjamin Schultz in Latin in 1745.[8] He noted that he had not had the opportunity to see a copy of this grammar.

2. The next phase began with the reading of a paper by Emilio Teza before the Reale Accademia dei Lincei of Rome in January 1894. The title of this paper was "Dei primi studi sulle lingue industaniche alle note di G. A. Grierson," and Grierson published an abstract of it in the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[9] This paper corrected the date of Schultz's grammar to 1744 (not 1745, as cited by Grierson) and rightly pointed out that Schultz mentions in his preface yet another early grammar—that of Ketelaar, which had appeared in 1743 in the second edition of *Dissertationes Selectae,* edited by David Mills.

At this point in our history, information about the existence of Ketelaar's grammar was based on only indirect evidence (the reference in Schultz's grammar); no scholar, including Schultz, claimed to have actually seen it. But Grierson's unveiling of Mills's work, first in the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and subsequently in his monumental work, *Linguistic Survey of India,*[10] improved the situation significantly. Mills's work purported to be a translation of Ketelaar's grammar in print. Grierson presented a very brief account of the grammar and hypothesized that it had been written in 1715. Although Grierson did not discuss his reasoning, it is likely that he gave this date because it was known that Ketelaar had died in 1716. Grierson's account of the grammar was very sketchy, only one paragraph in length, and left considerable room for misconceptions.

3. The first relatively detailed account and analysis of Ketelaar's grammar appeared in the 1933 article by the distinguished Indian linguist Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji.[11] The article was written ten years after he happened to obtain a copy of David Mills's entire work at a used bookstore in England. Chatterji established the existence of Ketelaar's grammar beyond any doubt and removed several misconceptions about it. He revealed that the original grammar had been written in Dutch and translated into Latin by Mills. Chatterji also supported Grierson's dating of the grammar, 1715, and emphasized that the original manuscript was lost.

4. The major credit for setting the record straight about the date and the existence of the original grammar goes to a well-known Orientalist, Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, of the Kern Institute, Leiden. In response to Chatterji's article, he wrote a note to him in October 1932 to point out, first, that the original grammar was written much before 1715 and, second, that the original manuscript was not lost but was still preserved in the Royal Archives of the Netherlands. In his own article on Ketelaar, Vogel stressed that "the Dutch original was never published and the manuscript copy at The Hague is the only one known to exist."[12]

Yet Ketelaar's work languished. As recently as 1976 Methew Vechoor

7. Sir George Grierson, "On the Early Study of Indian Vernaculars in Europe," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Part I, 1893, pp. 41–50.

8. Benjamin Schultz, *Grammatica Hindostanica,* . . . (Halae Saxonum, 1744).

9. Sir George Grierson, *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (May 1895): 88–90.

10. Sir George Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India,* vol. 9, part 1 (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1916).

11. Chatterji, "The Oldest Grammar."

12. Vogel, "Joan Josua Ketelaar," 821.

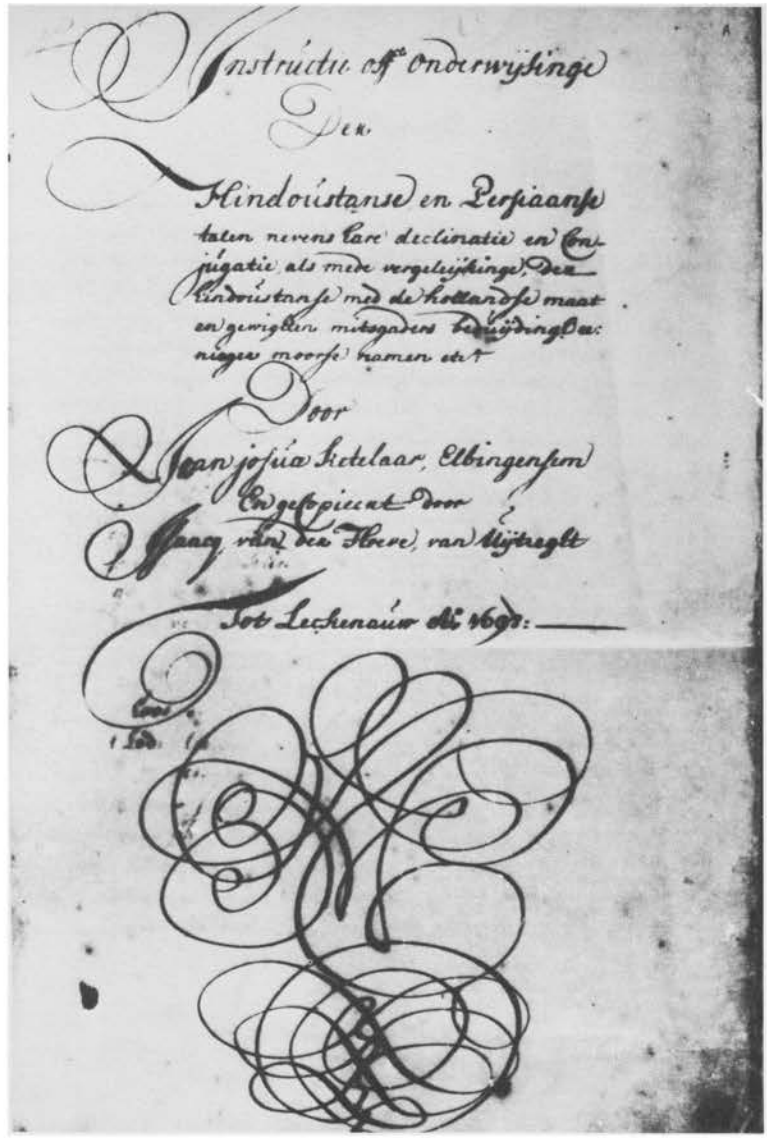
Instructie off Onderwijsinge
Der
Hindoustanse en Persiaanse
talen nevens hare declinatie en Con-
jugatie als mede vergeleijkinge der
Hindoustanse med de hollandse maat
en gewigten mitsgaders beduijdingen
nieger moorse namen etc.
Door
Jean josua Ketelaar, Elbingensem
En gecopieert door
Jsaacq van der Hoeve, van Uijtregt
Tot Lechenauw A° 1698:

Figure 1. Title page. English translation: Instruction or teaching of the Hindustani and Persian languages, including their declension and conjugation also comparison of the Hindustani with the Dutch measure and weights and the meaning of some Moorish names etc. By Jean Josua Ketelaar of Elbing/Copied by Jsaacq van der Hoeve, of Utrecht at Lucknow A. D. 1698.

translated Mills's Latin work into Hindi. Although he reported the existence of the original grammar, he made no effort to find out about it.

5. In July 1981, I visited various archives in the Netherlands and was able to get a copy of Ketelaar's grammar. Three main factors led me to seek out the first grammar: (1) curiosity and a quest for the original source; (2) Mills's admission that he had transformed the original work in accordance with principles of Latin grammar; and (3) serious discrepancies between Mills's and Vechoor's versions. Thus, it took approximately a century of scholarship, from 1893 to 1981, to establish the dating, authorship, and authenticity of the grammar. However, this scholarship still fell seriously short of establishing the precise nature of the original grammar.

About half a century has passed since Vogel called the attention of scholars to the original manuscript. This period witnessed the publication of several books, translations, and articles on the

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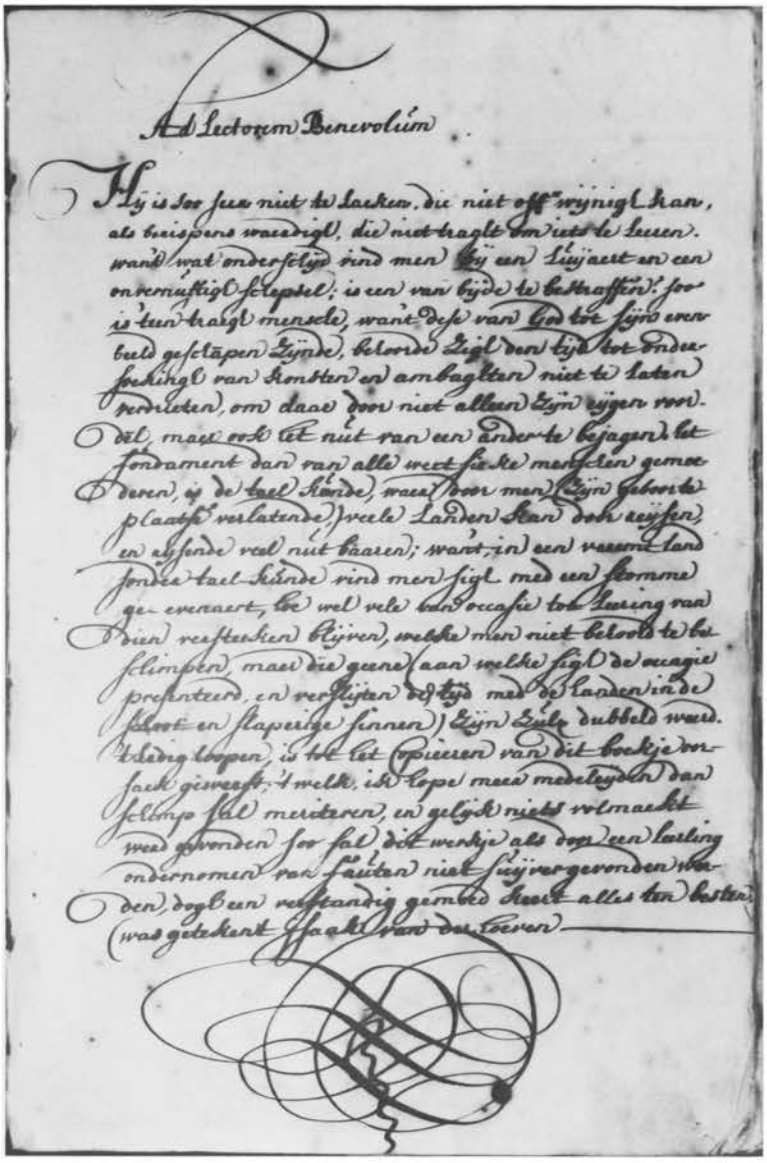

Ad Lectorem Benevolum

Hij is soo veel niet te lachen, die niet offt wijnigh kan, als buijspens waardigh, die niet traght om iets te leeren. want wat onderscheijt vind men tusschen een luijaert en een onvernuftigh schepsel; is een van bijde te bestraffen? soo is een traagh mensche, want desse van God tot sijn eerbeeld geschapen zijnde, behoorde zijgh den tijdt tot onderzoekingh van konsten en ambachten niet te laten verdrijven, om daar door niet alleen zijn eijgen voordeel, maar ook het nuttigh van een ander te bejagen. het fondament dan van alle weetgierige menschen gemoederen, is de taal kennisse, want door men zijn geboorte plaatse verlatende, veele landen kan doorreijsen, en eijsende veel nuttigheijden; want in een vreemt land sonder taal kennisse vind men zijgh met een stomme geweerd, hoe wel vele hebben occasie tot leering van dien weetgierigen blijven, welke men niet behoort te beschimpen, maar die geene aan welke zijgh de occasie presenteert, en verslijten de tijdt met de handen in de schoot en slapeerige sinnen, zijn zulke dubbeld weerd. t'zedig loopen, is tot het opsteeken van dit boekje oorsaak geweest, t'welk, ik hope meer medelijden dan schimpe zal meerderen, en gelijck niets volmaakt weer gevonden soo zal dit werkje als oop een leerling ondernomen van fouten niet suijver geevonden worden, doch een verstandig gemoed keert alles ten beste. (was getekent Isaak van der Hoeven

Figure 2. Foreword, English translation: To the Kind Reader/He is not so much to blame who cannot do much, as the one who does not try to learn something is worthy of reprimand, because what distinction is there between a sluggard and a dumb creature? If one of these is to be punished, then it is the sluggard, because this man having been created by God in His image, should not be sad to spend his time in searching the arts and trades to strive not only for his own advantage, but also for the good of others. The foundation of all inquisitive human minds is the study of language through which one can leave his birthplace, travel through many countries and during the travels generate much profit, and because in a foreign country without knowledge of the language, one feels himself as a dumb person. Although many remain deprived of the opportunity to learn, such people one should not scold, but one should scold those to whom the opportunity presents itself and [who] spend the time with their hands in their lap and with a sleepy mind, deserving such scolding doubly. Not having anything to do was the reason for copying this booklet which I hope will deserve more pity than scorn, and as nothing ever was found to be perfect, this little work, as if it were undertaken by a student, will not be found void of mistakes; however, an intelligent mind changes everything for the better. (Signed, Isaak van der Hoeven).

grammar; yet until now no scholar responded to Vogel's comment by seeking it out.

It is surprising that even scholars such as Vogel, inspired by the discovery of the grammar to do research on the biography of Ketelaar, did not make any serious attempt to analyze the original grammar. Since they do not discuss the matter, it is difficult to know why they failed to search for the original.

One possible explanation is that Mills's Latin translation, which led scholars to the original manuscript, also posed a serious threat to it. It overshadowed the original, and the supposition that Mills's was the oldest version extant became a reality in the minds of scholars. The existence of the Latin version seems to have cast a spell on investigators, leading to curious errors and misconceptions. A case in point is Chatterji's article. Its opening paragraph states, "Joannes Josua Ketelaar. . . during the first two decades of the eighteenth century wrote, in Latin, the first grammar of Hindi,"[13] although the rest of the article makes it clear that Chatterji knew that Ketelaar had written his grammar in Dutch and not in Latin. In short, the impact of the Latin version on Hindustani grammatical scholarship was so strong that it superseded the original work. Moreover, Indian as well as Western scholars took it for granted that Mills's translation was an authentic and faithful representation of the original. It has been analyzed, reanalyzed, and translated as such. An understanding of the true nature of Ketelaar's grammar comes at a time when scholarship on the topic in question has compounded error on error. Analysis of the original grammar may create a favorable climate for answering old questions and raising new ones.[14]

13. Chatterji, "The Oldest Grammar," 68.

14. And for reviving some questions long thought settled: The description of the manuscript and the discovery of significant differences between it and the Mills version make it possible to argue that perhaps more than one copy of the oldest grammar existed and that Mills may have used a copy different from that in The Hague. This might explain the differences between the manuscript and Mills's translation. Although no serious investigation should dismiss this argument out of hand, its highly speculative nature readily becomes clear from the following facts. During the entire history of the Hindustani grammar tradition, no investigator has ever reported the existence of more than one copy of Ketelaar's grammar. According to Vogel, the copy in The Hague is the only one known to have existed. Mills admits to having made changes and additions in his edited version; he does not provide the slightest indication that there was more than one copy of the manuscript. Ketelaar's copier also leaves the impression that only one copy exists (see Fig. 2 below). Finally, the authenticity of our copy and the existence of only one copy of the manuscript can be confirmed by a review of records of the Dutch East India Company in the Royal Archives, The Hague. Needless to say, no other library or individual has ever reported having seen another copy of the manuscript. Thus, any argument questioning the authenticity of the manuscript in The Hague must prove first the existence of more than one copy. Until such proof emerges, it will be difficult to challenge the claims made in this paper.

A description and analysis of Ketelaar's grammar

With respect to questions of dating and authorship, the title page of the manuscript (see Fig. 1 for the original Dutch title page together with an English translation)[15] proves that Grierson's speculation about the date of the grammar was not correct. It is clear beyond any doubt that the grammar was completed by J. J. Ketelaar no later than 1698. The final manuscript was copied by Jsaacq van der Hoeve in the Dutch language. Mills must not have known about the existence of the grammar until 1725 at the earliest, because the 1725 edition of his work does not contain any reference to the Ketelaar manuscript. In the absence of the manuscript, Grierson's speculation about its date was accepted by later historians of Hindustani grammar. The correct date takes the history of Hindustani grammar back into the seventeenth century instead of the eighteenth.

A quick glance at the manuscript reveals that earlier investigators also seriously underestimated its length. Chatterji, Vechoor, and Tiwari[16] thought that Ketelaar's grammar was a very short one; Tiwari estimated that it did not exceed thirty pages, while Chatterji concluded that it was only fourteen pages long. The length of the manuscript is actually 162 pages. The manuscript is written on 10″ x 16″ paper and is bound like an Indian register. It is in fragile condition and the ink has begun to seep through the pages, making its reading a rather strenuous task.

The general organization of the grammar is as follows: the title page, a foreword by the copyist (Fig. 2), a brief introduction to the Hindustani language by Ketelaar, a table of contents (Fig. 3), and the main body of the grammar.

It is interesting that in his foreword the copyist abandons the traditional task of commenting on the text and its author. Instead, van der Hoeve chooses to highlight the underlying motivations for learning a foreign language. His observations provide a rare insight into the at-

15. The grammar is written primarily in two languages, Hindustani and Dutch. Professor Christine Boot provided generous assistance in translating the Dutch; translations from the Hindustani are mine.

16. U. N. Tiwari, "Bhumika" (Introduction), in *Hindī*, ed. Vechoor, pp. 9–12.

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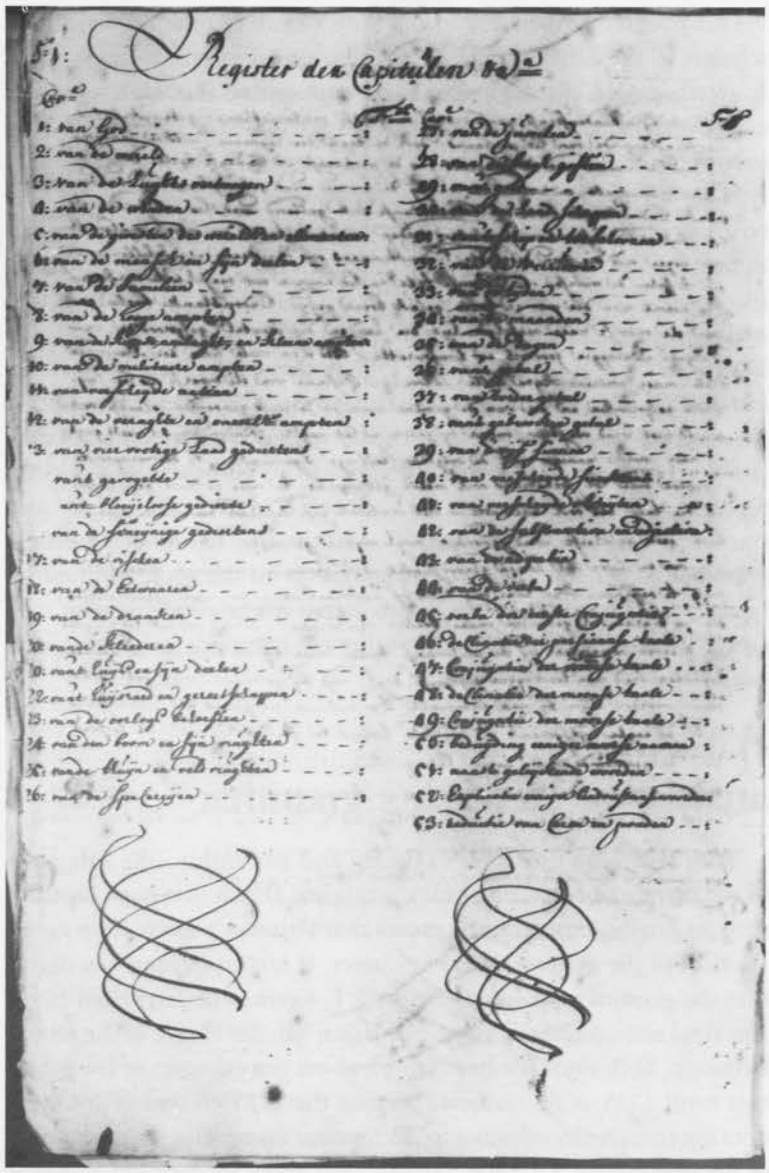

Figure 3. Table of Contents

Register der Capitulen
(Table of Contents)

1.	van God	1.	of God
2.	van de wereld	2.	of the world
3.	van de lught vertoogen	3.	of the air
4.	van de winden	4.	of the winds
5.	van de gewesten der wereld en elementen	5.	of the parts of the world
6.	van de mensch en sijn deelen	6.	of man and his parts
7.	van de familien	7.	of the family
8.	van de hooge ampten	8.	of high offices
9.	van de kunst ambaght en kleene ampten	9.	of the arts and lower offices
10.	van de militaire ampten	10.	of the military offices
11.	van verscheyde natien	11.	of different nations
12.	van de veraghte en oneerlike ampten	12.	of the despised and dishonorable occupations
13.	van viervoetige land gediertens	13.	of the quadrupeds
14.	van't gevogelte	14.	of the birds
15.	van't bloeijeloose gedierde	15.	of bloodless creatures [insects]

16.	van de feneijnige gediertens	16.	of poisonous animals
17.	van de vischen	17.	of the fish
18.	van de Eetwaaren	18.	of foods
19.	van de dranken	19.	of beverages
20.	van de kleederen	20.	of clothes
30.[a]	van't huis en sijn deelen	30.	of the house and its parts
32.[a]	van't huijsraad en gereetschappen	32.	of furniture and tools
23.	van de oorlogs behoeften	23.	of needs in war
24.	van den boom en sijn vrughten	24.	of trees and their fruits
25.	van de thuijn en veld vrughten	25.	of the garden and field fruits [crops]
26.	van de specereijen	26.	of spices
27.	van de juweelen	27.	of jewels
28.	van de giften	28.	of poisons
29.	van gelt	29.	of money
30.	van de landschappen	30.	of landscapes
31.	van't schip en toebehooren	31.	of the ship and what belongs to it
32.	van de verruwen	32.	of paints
33.	van de tijden	33.	of the times
34.	van de maanden	34.	of the months
35.	van de dagen	35.	of the days
36.	van't getal	36.	of numbers
37.	van't order getal	37.	of ordinals
38.	van't gebrooken getal	38.	of fractions
39.	van de vijf sinnen	39.	of the five senses
40.	van de verscheijde siecktens	40.	of different illnesses
41.	van verscheijde oliteteijn	41.	of different oils
42.	van de substantiva en adjectiva	42.	of diverse nouns and adjectives
43.	van de adverbia	43.	of adverbs
44.	van de verba	44.	of verbs
45.	verba der eerste conjugatie	45.	verbs of the first conjugation
46.	declinatie der persiaanse taale	46.	declension of the Persian language
47.	conjugatie der Persiaanse taale	47.	conjugation of the Persian language
48.	declinatie der moorse taale	48.	declension of the Moorish language
49.	conjugatie der moorse taale	49.	conjugation of the Moorish language
50.	beduijding eeniger moorse namen	50.	meaning of some Moorish names
51.	naast gelijckende woorden	51.	similar words
52.	explicatie eeniger hindoustanse woorden	52.	explanation of some Hindustani words
53.	deductie van c[b] in ponden	53.	deduction of C in pounds

[a]Numbering error in the manuscript.
[b]Unreadable.

titudes of seventeenth-century Europeans toward the learning of second languages. Mobility and intellectual gain are cited as two important motivations. Three centuries later, his observations retain their validity and freshness.

In his introduction Ketelaar remarks primarily on three main points: the multilingual setting of seventeenth-century India, the varieties of Hindustani and its writing systems, and the problems of representing the correct Hindustani pronunciation in Dutch letters. He notes the dominance of three languages—Hindustani, Persian, and "Moorish"—on the Indian linguistic scene and describes their impact on each other and on the other Indian languages. The term "Moorish" meant

"Muslim" in European languages of the time, but in the context of India it came to refer specifically to the Dakkini (Deccan) variety of Hindustani. This appears to be Ketelaar's meaning. It seems that he was *not* distinguishing Muslim and Hindu linguistic usage in northern India (now usually labeled "Urdu" and "Hindi"); in fact, his Hindustani lexicon shows considerable borrowing from Persian and Arabic. With respect to the second point, he notes the existence of geographical and ethnic varieties of Hindustani and stresses the wide-ranging impact of Persian. As evidence, Ketelaar points out that although Hindustani can be written in native scripts, it is a common practice to write it in Persian letters. He remarks that his target is the spoken language. The treatment of these two points is sketchy but, later scholarship suggests, essentially objective and accurate in nature.

However, as Ketelaar discusses his third point, the problems of representing the correct Hindustani pronunciation in Dutch, his objective linguistic approach gives way to a subjective one. On several occasions, Ketelaar's linguistic attitudes interfere with his extraordinary talent for linguistic analysis, and he emerges as a representative of a colonial power rather than of the linguistic sciences. He fails to recognize several underlying reasons for the difficulties at hand: the phonetic and phonological differences between Dutch and Hindustani, namely the absence of such features of pronunciation as aspiration and retroflexion in Dutch; the inadequacy of the Dutch writing system to capture the unique phonetic/phonological properties of Hindustani; and human limitations in transcribing natural spoken speech in the absence of modern recording instruments such as tape recorders. Instead, he holds the habits of native speakers of Hindustani responsible for the problem. For example, he complains that many Hindustani words are "half-pronounced and mumbled." This explanation is clearly a reflection of linguistic attitudes and is responsible for his conclusion that Hindustani requires uncommon attention from those who would learn it. Although one cannot dispute this general conclusion about the learning of Hindustani or any other foreign language, the reason underlying Ketelaar's conclusion, poor oral linguistic performance by native speakers, can hardly be correct. (We may note that in the entire Hindustani grammatical tradition of three centuries, no other European grammarian made a similar observation.)

Unlike later traditional grammars which aim at teaching Hindustani as a second language, Ketelaar's grammar does not provide a guide to the Hindustani pronunciation of his Dutch transcription. He left this task to his Dutch readers. This means that he presumed his readers would have some shared intuitions regarding the assignment of phonetic value to Dutch graphemes within a word. Even if one does not question the adequacy of his premise, an absolute reliance on the intuitions of Dutch speakers leaves his transcription subject to different interpretations of Hindustani pronunciation. It thus places a heavy burden on modern historians of Hindustani grammar in constructing a reliable guide to what Ketelaar considered correct Hindustani pronunciation. Under normal circumstances it would have been easy to construct a guide by comparing his Dutch transcription with the target Hindustani words; one could then write rules to capture the relationship of Dutch graphemes to the phonetic value of the target words. But in this case the situation is not so simple, for two reasons. First, Ketelaar was self-

taught and often made errors at the level of phonetics. Second, the possibility cannot be overlooked that more than one positional phonetic variant of Dutch graphemes may have existed in the seventeenth century. Although preliminary analysis of the grammar shows that the latter possibility did not play any substantial role in Ketelaar's overall transcriptional scheme, it would be premature to dismiss it without undertaking a detailed study. Such an endeavor is outside the scope of this paper. Even attempts to investigate phonetic variants of seventeenth-century Dutch graphemes cannot guarantee an accurate reconstruction of Ketelaar's intended pronunciation guide, because any attempt to build the notion of positional phonetic variants of Dutch graphemes into his transcription scheme could end by reading more into Ketelaar's work than is actually there.

A glance at the table of contents reveals the unique format of Ketelaar's grammar. The main body of the work consists of a lexicon and a grammar. The first seventy-five pages are devoted to the lexicon. In most grammars, the lexicon follows the grammar section. This sequence is conventional even in those dictionaries which also contain a grammatical sketch. Some of the topics covered in Ketelaar's dictionary (list of poisons, tropical illnesses, needs in war, poisonous animals, etc.) distinguish this work from succeeding grammars. In addition, the dictionary section follows a sequence that is unique for such work. Analysis of the contents of approximately three hundred Hindustani grammars written in the eighteenth century through the twentieth shows that in no other grammar does the vocabulary component begin with an ordered set of lexicons dealing with such semantic classes as "God," "the world," "the air," and "the winds." Even the grammars written by missionaries for missionaries do not begin with such a sequence. It should not be concluded from this that special-purpose bilingual vocabularies and word lists designed to meet the different needs of merchants, missionaries, the military, or ordinary travelers never formed a part of Hindi grammar. Such lists were provided but not in the orderly and extensive fashion found in Ketelaar's grammar. Furthermore, they generally appear quite late in the tradition.

The first page of vocabulary (with transcription and translation provided) is shown in Figure 4. An examination of the figure shows that Ketelaar made an attempt to provide Persian equivalents of the Hindustani lexical items but could not complete the Persian section; about two-thirds of it are left blank.[17] The rest of the manuscript is devoted primarily to a grammatical sketch of Hindustani. A sample grammar page (with a transcription, English translation, and textual notes) is shown in Figure 5. Only eight pages of the grammar section are devoted to Persian grammar.

17. I have left the Persian material untranslated here.

Thus three noteworthy characteristics of the grammar emerge at first glance. First, in contrast to traditional Hindustani grammars, it places heavy emphasis on presenting data rather than on formulating rules. Second, the grammar developed in the lexicographical tradition. Equal emphasis is given to the dictionary of Hindustani and to the grammatical sketch of the language. This property distinguishes it from both the preceding Indian grammatical tradition and the succeeding Hindustani one. In both traditions, lexicography was seen as an independent component of language pedagogy and was rarely mingled with the study

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Figure 4. First page of vocabulary

of grammar. Third, the grammar was at least intended to be a grammar of both Hindustani and Persian and is thus one of the earliest attempts to write a two-language grammar. Systematic attempts in this direction do not appear until the the first two decades of the nineteenth century.

Yet Ketelaar's work holds more riches. Another distinctive characteristic emerges when one glances through the dictionary section. Ketelaar divided the Hindustani lexicon into forty semantic classes. Although some of the classes—such as family, numerals, names of days, months, and man and the parts of the body—overlap with those in traditional grammars, most of them fall in the domain of what are termed special-purpose grammars. The inclusion of classes of vocabulary dealing with high offices, the despised and dishonest professions, military ranks, jewels, money, the ship and what belongs to it, and the like, is rare. These characteristics of Ketelaar's work are noteworthy because they mark a point of departure from the usual trend in the development of the grammatical tradition of a language: They are generally viewed as late developments.[18]

18. For example, the movement to teach English for special purposes (e.g., to foreign medical students) gained momentum only in the 1970s. See Peter Strevens, "English for Special Purposes: An Analysis and Survey," in *Studies in Language Learning,* special issue on language for special purposes, ed. J. Ronayne Cowan, vol. 2, no. 1 (1977): 111–35.

TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION OF FIGURE 4

	Dutch	Ketelaar's Hindustani forms	Target Hindustani forms	English Translation
1. Van God (of God)	God	alla[a]	allā	God
	geluk	issay	isāī	happiness/ Christian[b]
	engel	forista	farishtā	angel
	geest	gawies	khavīs[c]	spirit
2. Van de wereld (of the world)	de wereld	dunnia	duniyā	world
	de hemel	asmaan	āsmān	heaven, sky
	de zon	soerts	sūraj	sun
	de maen	tsjaand	cānd	moon
	de zonneschijn	dhoep	dhūp	sunshine
	de maeneschijn	tsjaandini	cāndanī	moonlight
	de sterre	tarre	tāre	stars
3. Van de lught vertoogen (of the air)	de wolken	badel	bādal	clouds
	de nevel	kohor	kohrā	fog
	de rijp[d]	packa	pakkā	hoarfrost/ ripe
	de dauw	oos	os	dew
	de regenboogh	dhannek	(indra) dhanush	rainbow
	de blixem	biejli	bijlī	lightning
	de donder	geoja	garjan	thunder
	de hagel en sneuw	oleh er krooi	ole aur karā[e]	hail and snow
	de reegen	barsjaat	barsāt	rain
	de schaduw	tsjaia	chāyā	shade
	de ijs	pala	pālā	winter, frost, ice[f]
	verduystering des maenes	tsjaand grahen	chandra grahaṇa	eclipse of the moon
	verduystering der sonne	soerts grahen	sūraj grahaṇa	eclipse of the sun
4. Van de winden (of the winds)	de wind	bauw	vāyu[g]	the wind
	de noordewind	otterki[h] bauw	uttar kī vāyu	north wind

[a]The Hindu terms for God are not given. This indicates that Ketelaar received his language input largely from Muslim speakers. Modern Hindi uses three terms for God: *ishwar, bhagwān,* and *allā.*
[b]The primary meaning of the Hindustani word is "Christian."
[c]*Khavīs* is Persian in origin and means "ghost." Thus, it has some negative connotations which its Dutch translational equivalent *geest* lacks.
[d]Dutch *rijp* means both "hoarfrost" (Hindi *pālā*) and "ripe" (Hindi *pakkā*). Ketelaar chooses the wrong equivalent in Hindi as his target word, i.e., *pakkā.*
[e]*Karā* is Gujarati for "hail."
[f]The primary meaning of the Dutch word is "ice."
[g]The spoken medieval Hindustani form of Sanskrit *vāyu*, "wind, air."
[h]The target form is *uttar kī.* The word boundary is overlooked by Ketelaar.

The grammar section of the manuscript presents the basic outline of Hindustani grammar. The categories postulated and their treatment are similar to those of traditional grammars: nominal, adjectival, pronominal, adverbial, and verbal categories. An overview of this section shows that Ketelaar's treatment is quite preliminary and lacks depth. This is not totally unexpected in view of the fact that it is a pioneer work and came into being under severe handicaps. Several topics of Hindustani grammar, such as its writing system, phonetics, and phonology, receive no attention.

The omission of any exploration of the writing system is another example of Ketelaar's unconventional approach to language pedagogy. The history of the Indic grammatical tradition is a testimony to the special

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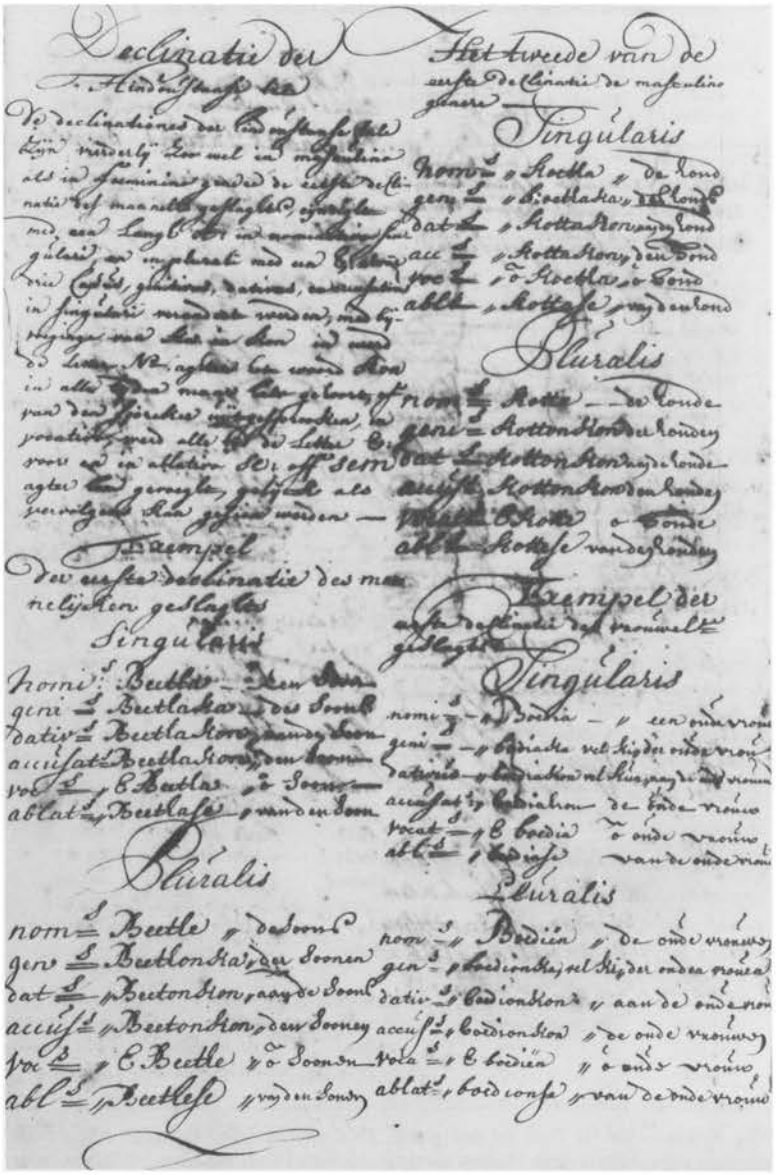

Figure 5. Sample grammar page

fascination that Indic scripts have held for non-native grammarians.[19] But throughout his grammar Ketelaar employs the Roman script in the transcription of Hindustani data. This approach turns out to be a special blessing, as the transcription preserves rare information about seventeenth-century spoken Hindustani. For the fact is that Indic or Hindustani literature is an unreliable indicator of the actual pronunciation of the period: It is written in the Devanāgarī script, which is syllabic in nature.

In a syllabic writing system, a written symbol, a grapheme, represents a syllable, whereas in an alphabetic writing system, a symbol represents one sound. Compare, for example, the Roman grapheme *k* and its Devanāgarī equivalent क. The Roman symbol represents only one sound whereas the Devanāgarī symbol represents two. The phonetic value of क is *k* + *a*, i.e., the vowel *a* (called "schwa" and symbolized phonetically as ə) is inherently present in the Devanāgarī consonant symbol. Although in actual spoken Hindustani the inherent vowel *a* is dropped under some conditions, the Devanāgarī writing system fails

19. It was the most striking feature of the Chinese approach to Sanskrit. "To the Chinese, the alphabet meant everything. They simply assumed that knowledge of the Sanskrit script was as important a feature of Sanskrit as knowledge of characters is of Chinese" (J. F. Staal, ed., *A Reader on the Sanskrit Grammarians* [Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1972], p. 5). This attitude has remained an important characteristic of all non-native approaches to Indic languages.

TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION OF FIGURE 5

DECLENSION OF THE HINDUSTANI LANGUAGE

The declension of the Hindustani language is fourfold.[a] In feminine as well as in masculine gender, the first declension of the masculine gender is with a long *a* in the nominative singular as well as in the plural.[b] With a repetition,[c] three cases—genitive, dative and accusative—are obtained as the result of the addition of *ka* and *kon* in words. The letter N is added to the word[d] *kon* in all tenses; it may be heard or pronounced.[e] In the vocative, E precedes all and in ablative *se* or *sem* is added after as exemplified below:

	Ketelaar's Hindustani forms	Dutch	Target Hindustani forms
Example of the first declension, masculine: son[f]			
		Singular	
Nominative	beetha	den soon	beṭā
Genitive	beethaka	des soons	beṭe kā
Dative	beethakon	aan den soon	beṭe ko
Accusative	beethakon	den soon	beṭe ko
Vocative	e beetha	o soon	e beṭe
Ablative	beethase	van den soon	beṭe se
		Plural[g]	
Nominative	beethe	de soons	beṭe
Genitive	beethonka	der soonen	beṭõ[h] kā
Dative	beetonkon[i]	aan de soons	beṭõ kā
Accusative	beetonkon[i]	den soonen	beṭõ ko
Vocative	e beethe	o soonen	e beṭo
Ablative	beethese	van den soonen	beṭõ se
The second of the first declension of the masculine gender: dog[j]			
		Singular	
Nominative	koetha	de hond	kuttā
Genitive	koethaka	des honds	kutte kā
Dative	kottakon	van den hond	kutte ko
Accusative	kottakon	den hond	kutte ko
Vocative	o kotta	o hond	o kutte
Ablative	kottase	van den hond	kutte se
		Plural	
Nominative	kotte	de honde	kutte
Genitive	kottonkon	der honden	kuttõ kā
Dative	kottonkon	van de honde	kuttõ ko
Accusative	kottonkon	den honden	kuttõ ko
Vocative	o kotto	o honde	o kutto
Ablative	kottese	van den honden	kuttõ se
Example of the first declension of the feminine gender: the old woman[k]			
		Singular	
Nominative	boedia	een oude vrouw	buṛiyā
Genitive	boediaka/ki[l]	der oude vrou	buṛiyā kā/kī
Dative	boediakon	aan de oude vrouw	buṛiyā ko
Accusative	boediakon	de oude vrouw	buṛiyā ko
Vocative	e boedia	o oude vrouw	e buṛiyā
Ablative	boediase	van de oude vrouw	buṛiyā se

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		Plural	
Nominative	boedien	de oude vrouwen	buṛiyã̃n
Genitive	boedionka/ki	der ouden vrouwen	buṛiyõ̃ kā/kī
Dative	boedionkon	aan de oude vrouwen	buṛiyõ̃ ko
Accusative	boedionkon	de oude vrouwen	buṛiyõ̃ ko
Vocative	e boedien	o oude vrouwen	e buṛiyo
Ablative	boedionse	van de oude vrouwen	buṛiyõ̃ se

[a]The intended meaning appears to be the following: There are four nominal forms in Hindustani: masculine singular and plural and feminine singular and plural.
[b]In his Latin version Mills took the liberty of correcting and editing Ketelaar's grammatical statements. He inserted an additional statement at this point without making any mention of his insertion in the translation. This additional statement noted that Hindustani masculine nouns (ending in long *a*) end in *e* plural. Vechoor also incorporates this added statement into his Hindi translation.
[c]The marker *kon* is shared by the dative as well as by the accusative case. That is what Ketelaar means by the word "repetition."
[d]Terms such as "word" and "letter" are used by Ketelaar to designate Hindustani case markers.
[e]What Ketelaar appears to mean by this sentence is that the actual form of the dative and accusative marker is *ko*. Some speakers, however, optionally add nasalization to *ko*.
[f]Since the phonetic shape of the English noun "son" does not change with different case markers, the translation of its Hindustani and Dutch equivalents in different cases is unnecessary.
[g]Vechoor's transcription of this entire paradigm is misleading. He adds a feature, retroflexion, to the dental *t*, changing the first vowel from *ee* to *e* and the final vowel *a* to long vowel *ā*.
[h]The symbol [~] stands for vowel nasalization.
[i]Ketelaar's original forms do not indicate aspiration—*h*. In these forms, Ketelaar's transcription became a close approximation of the correct Hindustani form of the noun *beṭā*, "son." However, Mills regularizes the paradigm and adds aspiration—*h*—on his own. His transcription of these two forms is *beethonkon*.
[j]This entire paradigm is missing from Mills's and Vechoor's translations.
[k]Vechoor's transcription of the entire paradigm deviates from the original as well as from the Mills transcription. He substitutes the correct modern Hindustani form *buṛiyā* for Ketelaar's original form, *boedia*, "old woman."
[l]The feminine genitive marker *kī* is given neither in the Mills translation nor in Vechoor's translation.

to mark its deletion and thus does not provide linguists with evidence for a rule called the schwa-syncope rule which operates in modern Hindustani.[20] According to this rule, the stem final schwa is deleted between two consonants if the first is preceded by a non-nasal vowel (i.e., an oral vowel) and if the following consonant takes a suffix beginning with a vowel. For example, schwa is deleted in the case of /*laṛak* + *ā*/ = [*laṛkā*] (boy), but not in the case of /*laṛak* + *pan*/ = [*laṛakpan*] (childhood). Ketelaar's Hindustani equivalent of "lightening" (Fig. 4) presents evidence of the existence of this rule in seventeenth-century Hindustani.

20. For a more detailed discussion, see Tej K. Bhatia and Michael J. Kenstowicz, "Nasalization in Hindi: A Reconsideration." *Papers in Linguistics* 5 (1972): 202–12.

In spite of its overwhelming importance, the grammar is not free from shortcomings. Ketelaar committed errors, both transcriptional and factual, at all linguistic levels: phonetics/phonology, morphology, and syntax. However, these errors do not undermine the value of the grammar in any important way: Its merits significantly outweigh its shortcomings. Most important, these errors in themselves provide raw, unedited data of a unique kind to students of second-language acquisition. Since there were no grammars of Hindustani before Ketelaar's, and since no tradition of teaching Hindustani as a second language then existed, Ketelaar was necessarily self-taught. Therefore, the manuscript provides the Hindustani data in a totally "unedited" state. An analysis of this data has important implications for research on the acquisition of Hindustani

as a second language, especially with respect to the acquisition of phonological features such as aspiration and retroflexion, seen synchronically as well as diachronically.

Distorting a grammatical tradition: Problems with Mills's translation

An examination of the actual manuscript radically changes earlier views on the nature of this important document. What has been read and reread, analyzed and reanalyzed, translated and retranslated by scholars—that is, Mills's purported translation of the work—is very far from being a true representation of it. Mills's translation is in fact a *complete reworking* of the original grammar. It is especially ironic that this finding does not have to depend on an examination of the manuscript. It can be confirmed independently by Mills's own introductory remarks, which indicate that he intentionally transformed the original work in accordance with principles of "Latin grammar," a statement unfortunately ignored by modern scholars. Consequently, the existing literature (Grierson, Chatterji, Chaudhari,[21] Jadhava, Shrivastava,[22] and Vechoor) shows no awareness that:

1. Mills's version of the oldest grammar is heavily contaminated. Mills added chapters, including one on the various writing systems of Hindustani.

2. Mills left at least half of Ketelaar's Hindustani material out of his version.

3. Not being a scholar of the Hindustani language, Mills often made errors in copying Ketelaar's data.

4. Mills's orientation to the Latin grammatical tradition played havoc with Hindustani grammar. His conception of grammar was strictly prescriptive in nature, and thus he could not tolerate any variation in linguistic data.[23] According to this criterion, Ketelaar's grammar was not ideal. Mills must have been disturbed by the wide variation in its Hindustani grammatical data and the apparent lack of concern for a standard form. In his view, the value of the grammar would have been undermined if the phenomenon of linguistic variation had remained unchecked. His version is therefore excessively edited.

To remedy the problem, Mills apparently decided to introduce homogeneity by systematically eliminating linguistic variants. This task could not have been easy for him because he had no competence in the language and could not have readily found an expert on Hindustani in Europe. But these limitations were not permitted to interfere with the objective of introducing linguistic homogeneity into the grammar; he simply followed what were intuitive, arbitrary, and ad hoc criteria in editing Ketelaar's data.

The editing principle he followed was this. Given a frequent variant and a rare variant of a form in the text, the frequently occurring variant was taken to be the correct representation of the form. Consider, for example, Ketelaar's declension of the Hindustani noun *beṭā* (son) given in Figure 5. The noun in question is composed of two morphemes, the base morpheme *beṭ* (offspring) plus an inflexion, the masculine, singular morpheme *ā*. Ketelaar's paradigm presents two variants of the base morpheme *beṭ*, i.e., *beeth* and *beet*. Analysis of his data reveals that *beeth* is a high-frequency variant because it is used in ten out of twelve oc-

21. A. Chaudhari, *Hindī vyākaraṇa kā itihās* (History of Hindi grammar) (Patnā: Bihār Hindī Granth Academy, 1972).

22. Murlidhar Shrivastava, *Hindī ke yuropīya vidvān: vyaktitava aura kritiva* (European scholars of Hindi: personality and contribution) (Patnā: Bihār Hindī Granth Academy, 1973), pp. 185–265.

23. In this conception, a grammar ought to give only the uniquely "correct" forms in a language, "form" being used as generic term in linguistics to refer to the surface representation of a linguistic unit. Nonprescriptive grammars refrain from making any judgments about several coexisting varieties of language.

currences of the base morpheme in the declension. *Beet,* occurring twice, is then the low-frequency variant. Although comparison shows that the low-frequency variant *beet* is a close approximation of the actual base morpheme *beṭ*, Mills employs only the high-frequency variant in the declension of the noun. Moreover, he makes no mention of the infrequent yet more accurate variant.

The principle of substituting high-frequency variants for low-frequency ones was not scientific, but in Mills's view was the best practice under the circumstances. The concern for linguistic homogeneity had drastic consequences for the transmission of Ketelaar's grammar. Although Mills's lack of reference to the actual forms is contrary to modern principles of text editing, it was still within the spirit of the classical Latin grammatical tradition as conceived by him and others working at that time.

The editing of the data was carried out in good faith for plausible reasons, but the fact remains that it proved deleterious. In his edited version Mills made two fundamental changes: He replaced correct Hindustani forms with incorrect ones and incorrect forms with correct ones. From the viewpoint of linguistic research, both types of substitution were equally harmful. They resulted in the manipulation of Ketelaar's data and made it possible to reach totally inaccurate conclusions about the language development and grammatical insights of the pioneer grammarian.

The temptation to introduce "correct" forms into Ketelaar's grammar was not restricted to Mills alone but has continued to the present. The translation of Mills's work into Indian languages has further contaminated the original data, as Indian editors introduced even more changes. The reliability of Ketelaar's data has thus been systematically subverted. Table 1 provides a demonstration. In the table, the three versions exhibit major variation with respect to three linguistic features: aspiration (denoted by the Roman letter *h*), retroflexion (expressed by the symbol [o] placed underneath a letter), and word boundary (marked by a space). Of the three, aspiration and retroflexion have the highest rank in the Hindustani language in terms of their significance for meaning, that is, they induce semantic change in Hindustani words. For example, in the first line of the table the words *beetonkon* (without aspiration), *beethonkon* (with aspiration), and *beeṭokõ* (with retroflexion) yield "to the sticks," a nonsense word, and "to the sons" (ignoring the absence of word boundary), respectively. Such variation cannot be dismissed as insignificant.

This direct evidence calls for a reassessment of the Mills version as well as of the earlier reports of Ketelaar's grammar. It is now clear that in the absence of Ketelaar's original document, the importance of Mills's version has been overestimated in the literature. It can no longer be treated as a faithful translation and is in no way representative of seventeenth-century spoken Hindustani. Although the value of the Latin version is significantly undercut on these grounds, it is not reduced to a document of mere antiquarian interest but has, in fact, gained importance on new sociolinguistic grounds. It complements the original in reconstructing the sociolinguistic situation of the eighteenth century. For example, Mills's version now presents evidence that the controversy over the adoption of the "classical" or the "vernacular" model of grammar was not restricted to the vernaculars of Europe but also found its

TABLE 1

Target form	Ketelaar's original version	Mills's version	Vechoor's version
beṭõ ko sons to Sons (dative case)	beetonkon	beethonkon	beṭõkõ
beṭiyõ se daughters from Daughters (ablative case)	bethiase	beetiase	beṭiiãse
ãṛũ peach Peach (nominative case)	aindloe	aadhoe	ãḍũ
bãp kã father of Father (genitive case)	baaba ka	baabda	bãbehã

extension in Asian vernaculars.

It was not an accident that Mills chose to translate Ketelaar's grammar into Latin nor was it unthinking of him to adapt it in accordance with the model of Latin grammar. His decisions were a reflection of the controversy then dominating the European grammatical scene. The classical model of Latin grammar was on a collision course with new grammatical models of the vernaculars. These challenged Latin's supremacy. Consider, for example, the case of English grammar. The earliest grammars of English were written in Latin in the sixteenth century on the pattern of Latin grammar, yet by 1572 grammarians such as Petrus Ramus were finding that many Latin grammatical categories and terms were irrelevant to English. English did not really begin to free itself from the grip of Latin grammar until the second half of the seventeenth century. Mills's decision to adapt Ketelaar's work according to Latin grammar was largely a renewal of the debate in the context of Hindustani. Being a classicist, he could not bring himself to accept a vernacular model, that of Dutch, even for Asian vernaculars.

The importance of Ketelaar's grammar

The importance of the manuscript of Ketelaar's original grammar goes far beyond proving its existence. It now has a unique place in the grammatical tradition of Hindustani and fills the single most important gap in our knowledge of the history of Hindustani grammar. It will be a major research tool for students of linguistics and Indic languages. For historical linguists, it provides access to rare samples of the spoken Hindustani of the late seventeenth century and is a valuable document for the historical study of the acquisition of Hindustani as a second language.

The grammar also provides a rare look into seventeenth-century methods of teaching foreign languages. A comparison of the oldest Hindustani grammar with succeeding ones shows a significant shift after Ketelaar. No grammar since his has provided special lists of poisons, dangerous animals, oils, tropical illnesses, military needs, weather elements, and religious terms. Moreover, modern grammars place much

more importance on grammar itself than does Ketelaar's and reflect a significant shift from the pedagogical perspective of the pioneer grammarian. Ketelaar's view of the teaching of Hindustani as a foreign language was essentially religious-colonial, the direct consequence of his and his audience's occupations and outlook. This is radically different from the current secular view of foreign language pedagogy oriented to a general school education. Modern grammars of Hindustani are written for a number of reasons, mainly to provide Indians with education for citizenship and to transmit the literary, social, and cultural values of India to others. Ketelaar, however, saw knowledge of Hindustani as a tool to promote colonialism in India. His aim was not to teach literacy in Hindustani but to satisfy the needs of a narrowly defined group interested in carrying out commercial, missionary, and colonial activities. To meet these needs, Ketelaar was selective in the choice and sequence of the content of his grammar. He was not interested in teaching all aspects of the language. Instead, he focused on just those classes of vocabulary items, sentence patterns, and expressions that were relevant for his own and his audience's needs. This explains his emphasis on vocabulary rather than on grammatical details.

In addition, the grammar provides useful sociolinguistic data for the study of such topics as the nature of linguistic variation, and language attitudes, of about three centuries ago. For example, early colonial attitudes toward Hindustani can be seen in Ketelaar's description of it in his introductory remarks as a language of barbarians with no intellectual content. The selection of Hindustani data also reflects language attitudes to some extent. Ketelaar employs Hindustani examples of the following type: "I am an owner," "you are a slave." The presence in the vocabulary of "slave girl" and similar words and phrases can be viewed as more evidence of the author's colonialist attitude. It may be argued that Ketelaar's Hindustani data were merely a reflection of his perception of seventeenth-century India. After all, master-slave relationships existed under the Moguls, whose empire then reached its greatest extent. Yet it is curious that Ketelaar is the only grammarian to use such material in the main body of his work. Even his immediate successors overlooked this basic social pattern in providing their linguistic data.

The work is an invaluable document for historians of Hindustani grammar. It is now possible to demonstrate the error of many claims based on Mills about the Hindustani grammatical tradition in general and about Ketelaar's grammar in particular. Thus, we now know that Ketelaar's grammar was *not* descriptive-prescriptive in nature. It was not aimed at a general classroom audience; it did not emerge independently of the Hindustani lexicographic tradition; it was not a very small work; and its data do not exhibit remarkable linguistic homogeneity. It turns out that the grammar is representative of the vernacular grammatical tradition. It presents considerable data on the language and tends to be nonprescriptive in nature. Variation in the Hindustani data is one of its striking features. Except by borrowing categories from classical grammar, it does not follow that model. Ketelaar's grammar exhibits no preference for standard or prestigious Hindustani forms nor does it hesitate to present a tentative analysis of the language at several points. It maintains the casual style of a vernacular grammar and departs

from the classical tradition whenever it is deemed necessary, either in the dictionary or in the grammar section.

Conclusion

The location of the manuscript of Ketelaar's grammar may well be the most important discovery in the approximately three-century-old tradition of scholarly work on the Hindustani language. It has come at a critical time in the history of Hindustani grammar, when researchers are still dependent on secondary and indirect evidence for a description of the oldest known grammar. Its idiosyncratic properties point to a distinctive model of grammar that can be termed the "religious-colonial" model, providing the Hindustani grammatical tradition with a unique point of origin. In a grammatical tradition, the writing of grammars for special purposes is viewed as a very late development. For example, the English grammatical tradition endured for approximately four centuries before the writing of such grammars gained momentum in the 1970s, when English began to dominate as a world language. Against this background, it is significant to find the Hindustani grammatical tradition *beginning* with a grammar for special purposes. The contrary development of Hindustani and English grammars thus suggests that some form of political or linguistic colonialism stimulates the growth of grammars for special purposes. Full of surprises, Ketelaar's grammar should prove illuminating for historians of the Hindustani grammatical tradition and promises important revisions of it.[24]

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