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LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE PLANNING IN INDIA

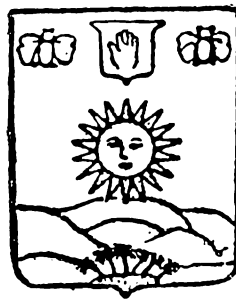
Report of a Seminar held at the Deccan College, Poona
from 3rd April to 8th April 1967

Edited by

N. G. KALELKAR

Convener of the Seminar

L. M. KHUBCHANDANI



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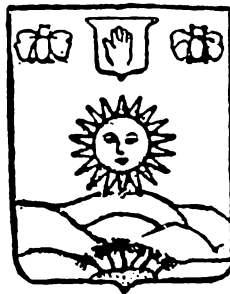
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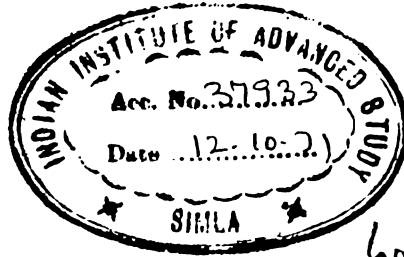
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PREFACE

A seminar in Linguistics and Language Planning in India was organised by the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics at the Deccan College Post-graduate & Research Institute, Poona, from 3rd April to 8th April, 1967. The subject of the Seminar was rather wide and scholars from diverse disciplines viz. Linguistics, Sociology, Anthropology, History and Archaeology, working at the Deccan College, participated in the Seminar. I am grateful to the participants for their enthusiastic response and ready co-operation in this venture.

A number of issues were discussed in the Seminar with special reference to Indian situation, e.g. educational and sociological aspects of language, language question in historical perspective, language standardisation, technical terminology, translation, laboratories for teaching languages. I hope the proceedings of the Seminar will throw some light on the complex problem of language in developing nations and will stimulate further discussions on the subject.

Papers presented at the Seminar are given in full and discussions held are given in abridged form after each paper. I thank Dr. Parso Gidwani, Research Fellow in Sindhi Linguistics, for his generous help in recording the discussion.

LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

By

L. M. KHUBCHANDANI

I have great pleasure in welcoming you all on behalf of the Deccan College to the Seminar on Linguistics and Language Planning in India. At a Seminar like this, where most of the participants are connected with the Deccan College, I need not take much of your time in formalities. I am particularly glad that many of our colleagues from the Linguistics, Archaeology and Sociology-Anthropology faculties, though quite busy with the Summer Courses and other year-closing activities, have responded enthusiastically to our request for participation in this Seminar.

In India the language question seems to be very much clouded with passions and prejudices and with the passing of two decades since our Independence, it has assumed serious proportions. Disregard of many elementary facts of the role of language in social and individual life has led to many political and administrative errors. Linguistics scholars in India, hitherto, have been conspicuously silent about the language policy of the country.

Linguists in the country have, so far, been engaged primarily in the studies concerning historical development and structural analysis of various written and unwritten languages. In recent years attention of some linguists has been diverted towards the aspects of language teaching and preparing technical terminologies of various Indian languages. But very little attention has yet been paid to the functional aspects or social usages of various languages of the country. The problem language as a medium for the transmission of feelings and as a medium of national development has not yet been investigated objectively by experts in these fields.

Language plays an important role in the social, economic and educational development of the nation. Some linguists deny that language planning is at all possible like planning in the technological fields. They say 'it is naive to believe that a language can be propagated by reasonable means, by persuasion, or by social laws which are not related to the intentions of individuals'. One of our colleagues jocularly remarked that now in such seminars linguists are also going to discuss politics. But, on the other side, linguists cannot lock themselves up in detached "ivory towers". They must participate in indicating right paths to be followed for the immense transformation taking place in the country since independence. History has recorded some earlier attempts

at conscious language engineering (in Norway, Israel and in other places) which were successful when they did not clash with spontaneous social trends. The linguistic affairs of a country ought to be considered in the light of various political, educational, socio-cultural, economic, financial and other practical considerations.

Here the linguists and other social scientists form a forum to discuss how some of these problems can be overcome. Let's hope a clearer picture will emerge from these discussions about the nature and scope of social scientists, particularly linguists, in solving the language question on a more realistic basis. Unbiased and scientific investigations of various problems concerning language by linguists, sociologists and historians might help in arriving at the most widely acceptable solutions.

Dr. Katre has been the guiding spirit in organising this Seminar. We are very glad that he has consented to inaugurate it. I now request Dr. Katre to inaugurate the Seminar.

April 3, 1967

L. M. KHUBCHANDANI
Convener.

LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE PLANNING (IN INDIA)*

By

S. M. KATRE

I HAVE great pleasure in inaugurating this Seminar on Linguistics and Language Planning in India organised by the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics. It is appropriate that a Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics should be seized of the problems of Language Planning, for this is a phase in the development of linguistic science itself which has been extending its scope over many different fields of applications, and this, without any specific planning, but in a haphazard manner, as problems presented themselves and linguists were called upon to assist in their solution.

Long before linguistics laid claims to be considered as a member of that aspirant group of border-line subjects which wish to be considered as coming within the scope of the more exact sciences, in opposition to social sciences, problems of language planning have raised their head in different periods of history. It was particularly in the development of European literature that educated persons felt the need of a recognised body of scholars to give authority to the written forms of a given language, which resulted in the establishment of academies in France, Germany and other countries. These academies were to give authority to the written forms of the living speech and to determine what was admissible and what not within the periphery of each language stock. Such academies were anticipated in India more than a millennium earlier to the establishment of the European academies, particularly in South India, with special reference to the Tamil land. The three Sangams were responsible for producing some of the most inspiring literary masterpieces in any language, but the problems they were called upon to deal with were primarily relating to what should be acceptable norms within a given language.

The problems of language planning, on the other hand, are results of an ever-changing political history of the world and the changing patterns in the emergence of new independent states and new linguistic groups which seek escape from the dominance of historically enforced linguistic habits that have not reached the substrata of a given society. This is most marked in the

* Inaugural talk.

twentieth century when more than half the world is maturing into independent states. The first set of problems obviously may be illustrated from the recent history of Norway where the language of Government and Education was either Swedish or Danish and is now consciously being replaced by Norwegian, but there the controversy begins: what kind of Norwegian? Here then are problems relating to standardisation of originally different dialects and loan-words to be utilised from the stock of neighbouring, well-developed languages of administration such as Danish and Swedish, the development of a national language which must express the innermost feelings of a growing nation becoming more and more conscious of its own linguistic forms, but a process over which no authoritative body has yet any control. We may next see a development of these problems in Indonesia where a number of languages belonging to the Austric group of speech forms are spoken, but where, until the dawn of independence, Dutch was the language of administration. Under the Indonesian national movement, the Bahasa Indonesia has developed according to certain definite movements which were the result of some kind of language planning.

With the emergence of new independent nations in Asia and Africa, representing many language areas which were submerged by the dominance of one or other of European languages at a time when tremendous scientific and technological progress has been achieved, the need for language planning is felt and people are becoming keenly conscious of their linguistic needs in a modern world which must keep a balance between internal needs and external necessities of at least acquiring one or the other international medium of communication.

With us in India the problems of language planning have taken a slow pace. In the 19th century the thirst for new knowledge allowed the gradual introduction of English at the school and university level as at the administrative and legal levels and became the uniting force which made India a single nation despite the multiplicity of its languages and dialects. But with the subsequent freedom movement inspired by the effects of English study and the study of British traditions, a realisation of the gap existing between the educated minority and the illiterate majority necessitated a reorientation of the approach to linguistic problems: right from the beginning Gandhiji and the Congress realised the importance of the great regional languages and of the possible link language which Gandhiji deliberately termed Hindustani (against the more sophisticated terms Hindi and Urdu) which could serve all-India trans-linguistic needs. From the beginning of the 19th century, under inspiration from British rulers, the great regional languages of India had begun to grow and mature and a few, like Bengali and Marathi, had even ventured to produce highly technical and scientific research publications. But with the winning of independence and the need to extend the benefits of education to all members of the society, some of the major problems in this field relate to the development of our regional languages and their modernisation, in order to enable them to

function efficiency in the place of English; the number of languages to be taught at the school and college level, and most urgent of them all, teaching the illiterate to acquire literacy as a first means of becoming integrated in an educated secular democratic society which was the aim of our Constitution. In a country which is a linguist's paradise, representing four distinct families of languages, and having more than 1000 known languages and dialects, with less than 20% of literates, it goes without saying that we have sets of problems here the like of which is not to be seen in any other country. Like the size of our country in term of the human inhabitants (the second largest in the world, but denser than the first) the size of our problems also is large. The reorganisation of the country on linguistic considerations has not reduced the problems of language planning; but on the other hand, they have been proliferated and with the emergence of narrow linguistic attitudes threaten at one stage the integration of the country as a whole. Indeed, since 1956 when the reorganisation was achieved, the emotional intergration of the people of India as belonging to a single nation has added to the stature of these problems.

It is in this context that we must consider what part the science of linguistics has to play in regard to the problems which this situation has engendered and how it can show the way to a logical, impersonal solution which can be accepted by one and all in spite of the uninformed attitudes which most of us develop on language questions, based primarily on our emotions. In the course of your deliberations you will no doubt deal with different phases and aspects of these problems and offer your considered views both as professional linguists, sociologists, anthropologists or historians. I am sure that the results of your deliberations will have basic value to our policy makers when they plan to deal scientifically with these problems and not merely tinker with them. The fact that the Report of the Kothari Commission is before Parliament and that one of the members of this Commission has now been entrusted with the Union portfolio of Education are guarantees that these questions will be dealt with scientifically and without recourse to any emotional approach. Herein lies the opportunity for and the challenge to linguistic science.

It is hardly necessary for me to say at this stage that the development of linguistic studies in this country owes everything to the necessity of language planning. It was the farsightedness of the Rockefeller Foundation to have assisted the Deccan College to develop these studies, primarily with a view to dealing with language planning. I believe the recommendations made by the conference of linguists and educationists in 1953 are still valid, for the most important part thereof still remains to be realised. We have made considerable progress and a lasting impact on Government; witness, for example the recommendation regarding setting up of State Institutes of Language as part of the general body of conclusions reached by the Kothari Commission in their Report. Linguistics has been recognised as the bedrock on which these

edifices are to be built and on the basis of which our great languages will flourish and contribute largely to the growth of our prosperity as a nation. But we have still a major way to go before all our objectives are gained. I am certain that this seminar, which you have organised today and which I have pleasure in inaugurating now, is pregnant with large consequences and significant in achieving the objectives which we outlined briefly but comprehensively 14 years ago. Let linguistics come out of its solitude and make its proper contribution to language planning and justify its claim to be considered ripe for inclusion in the more exact sciences without losing its cherished place in humanities and social sciences.

LANGUAGE & PLANNING : CONCEPT & PROBLEMS

By

N. G. KALELKAR

'Planning' is to-day a house-hold word all over the country. Even an average person has heard it, though he may not know what it exactly means. But he knows that we have already completed three Five Year Plans and are about to embark on the fourth. He has heard that there is a Planning Commission and a minister in charge of the Plan, that the country wants to develop its industries, step up its food production, have various welfare projects, because it wants to be self-sufficient in as many spheres as possible and depend less and less upon imports and foreign aid.

Planning is accepted as an instrument of social change and progress, progress that is well thought out, well directed and planned.

Planning is done, therefore, in view of a definite objective. This objective suggests itself in the light of our increasing needs with which our resources as organised at the moment cannot cope. The objective must be achieved within a particular time and this can be done only if we fix a time-table and respect it. This requires a study of the means at our command, the extent to which our own resources can take us and the amount of foreign aid we would require to fill the gap between our contribution and our needs.

There is a limit to the progress we can make within a specified period and the aid that foreign countries can give us. For instance, in order to be self sufficient in the matter of food we must bring under cultivation as much land as possible, use all the modern devices to make the harvest richer and surer every time. But this can be done at a particular pace only. Food stocks can be purchased or received as gifts from the outside world, but there too, the limitations of our finances and of the aid giving countries must be taken into account.

In order to proceed in the matter of planning we must become aware of our needs, our lower production in the face of higher demands, shortages which affect not only their own sphere but our all round development as well. This knowledge will set us thinking about the remedies we have to try. Even in order to be aware of the existence of the malady and to assess its gravity, we need the help and guidance of specialists. Sometimes our needs are quite

obvious. Their nature and gravity can be easily grasped. Such is the case of India's food problem. But sometimes the ailment may remain undetected and may have serious consequences as in the case of language.

Once the experts give their report we need an organisation, which will study it and decide upon the steps to be taken, and an agency to implement the decisions. The method and means of implementation are quite often subject to criticism, because they are sometimes misdirected or inadequate and sometimes display a lack of knowledge of the real situations. The failure to achieve the objective within the specified time-limit may lead to a fresh study of the problem.

Is planning unavoidable? Can we not let things take their own course? In a society where we want to shape things in a particular way, where we want to introduce social and economic justice, we cannot allow things to drift or leave them to chance. Deliberate well organised planning alone can lead to progress and prosperity.

This applies to fields of production where a slow rate of progress is likely to upset economic well-being of the people. In fields like family planning much depends on propaganda and upon the measure of success we achieve in overcoming a people's prejudices and sentiments. If men and women are enlightened about the goal to be achieved and the means to be adopted their co-operation may come more willingly. But this is a difficult task and perhaps it is much easier to build a steel plant or increase food production than loosen the hold of traditional ways on people's minds. Planning sometime means going against the current, it sometimes means going quicker than the current. It is the deliberate forcing of events in the place of natural growth.

Such is the nature of planning and the question naturally arises as to whether in the human activity called language, planning can at all intervene.

If we recognise language as a social institution and if we admit that the life and activities of a society are duly reflected in its language, there is no reason why language cannot be subjected to a planned programme. In order to do it we will have to find out the requirements of our languages and consider the question whether these requirements can be met by means of planning.

We know well enough that not everything in a language can be subjected to change. For instance nobody will think of modifying or reorganising the phonology or morphology of a language, though some people have seriously proposed it. Someone may want to remove the three gender system

of Marathi and make it follow the Hindi pattern with a view to bringing the two languages closer, remove the series of affricates in which it differs from the other Indo-Aryan languages or regularise its nominal system.

We can easily ignore these attempts by saying that the irregularities and complexities of a linguistic system are more the headache of a foreign language learner than of the native speaker. The structure of a language should be left untouched.

Still society is continuously evolving and its activities are increasing and becoming more and more complicated. This may be due to progress, social changes, increasing contact with various types of cultures from abroad and so on. All this is to be expressed and it is up to the members of a society to see that it is properly done. It is a collective responsibility. The process of change in linguistic expression is normally unconscious and assumes the tacit consent of the speakers. This may be done by creating new words or expressions or through borrowing.

As far as India is concerned two factors have dominated its linguistic shape : the one is the long foreign rule which was responsible for bringing India into contact with the Western ways of thinking and living, the other was the united efforts of the political leaders from the various regions to achieve a common goal.

As long as the foreign rule continued a single language, English, dominated our intellectual life and carried on the country's administration. Political leaders thought in terms of unity, freedom and a common language. Freedom has come without bringing in its train the promised fruit. Even the national unity of pre-independence days proved to be short-lived to such an extent that Jawaharlal Nehru was forced to lead a campaign of emotional integration to use Chinese and foreign menace to make people forget their differences.

On the question of national language bad approach and bad planning have resulted in giving a setback to the Hindi movement. Even the expression 'national language' had to be changed to 'official language' to placate the opponents of Hindi. Our linguistic policy has proved that government orders and propaganda are doomed to failure if the sentiments of regional populations are not properly understood and the interests of their languages are overlooked in the pursuit of a national ideal which has not received the approval of the whole country.

I am not going to deal here with the problem of the national language, but with some other real problems which we are facing in the sphere of regional development. India has thirteen important regional languages and they are assuming an everincreasing role as languages of administration and higher education. Their area of communication is becoming wider.

They are, with their important dialects and sub-dialects, the means of mass contact. It is feared that if they are not properly developed they cannot fulfil effectively the task which has fallen to them with the disappearance of English. In fact many people honestly believe that regional languages can be employed in certain walks of life only and that they cannot be used, for instance, as media of higher education or in the law courts.

Even the most militant advocates of the regional languages have to admit that these languages have to be properly enriched and developed as regards vocabulary and expression. But this, they think, can be done if we take stock of the short-comings, consult experts, appoint committees with a view to remedying the situation.

Accordingly the various State governments have appointed boards to prepare dictionaries for administrative use. This means not only translating from English into the regional language, but sometimes proposing an altogether new usage for an old word or even creating new words. We have to borrow concepts from English which are new to the Indian languages. Those who try to evolve new forms for them must be equally at home in English and the regional language. They must know whether a similar concept exists in their language, what it signifies and whether the form created for it can have currency in that it can be easily adapted in the context in which it figures.

It is, therefore, necessary to work out how many concepts have to be adopted and how best they can be adopted. The difficulty is minimised if they are accepted in the form in which they appear in English. The general policy of word-makers is not to adopt an English word unless they think it impossible to give it some shape in their own language.

So far as communication is concerned, this way of doing is not always successful. The translator may create a form but he cannot give it the power to carry in itself the suggestion of its own content. This may be possible sometimes, but not always. The one who translates or creates a new word has the original English word before him, but when the newly created word is sent into circulation, used in writing and speaking before people who do not know its significance, great care must be taken.

Thus the task of dictionary makers is not merely of coining and supplying of new forms but of studying their adaptabilities in advance. The taste of the people, the genius and history of the language have to be understood properly.

Planning can also contribute to teaching programmes and preparation of text books, scientific terminologies etc. But the important factor in all this is the proper study of the language for which new words and expres-

sions are being coined. Planning for language is thus possible, but it will always be experimental. Because one never knows what a language will assimilate and what it will discard.

One of the most serious problems is that of the teaching of English which requires careful study and planning. Before we start tackling it, we must know the number of trained teachers available for the purpose, the number of students at different levels and the time that can be devoted. We must not only know how to teach but also what to teach. It is harmful to rely too much on American and British experts for this purpose. We should first find out what exactly we want and, instead of wasting time over niceties of pronunciation (which varies all over the Anglo-Saxon world) and grammatical accuracy, get to grips with the problem and start working.

Another important problem is about the teaching of Hindi. Over-enthusiastic and arrogant protagonists have done irreparable damage to the cause of Hindi. The sentiment of non-Hindi speakers was never considered and it remains to win over the opponents before making any move to introduce Hindi as the full-fledged official language.

Finally, though the Constitution recognises only 15 languages (including Sindhi), we must not forget that there are numerous tribes living an isolated life and whose languages have yet to be properly studied. Unless a well-planned programme is launched these linguistic groups are likely to remain neglected. The establishment of communication with them is a vital need for the oft-reiterated dream of national integration.

Discussion

Dr. N. M. Sen : Although the structure of a language cannot be forcibly changed overnight, the language itself modifies and changes its structure in the course of its historical development. Thus, Old Indo-Aryan had 3 genders; but in the New Indo-Aryan languages, the Eastern group (Assamese, Bengali, Oriya) has completely dispensed with genders, Hindi has retained two, whereas Marathi has retained all the three. The general tendency is, however, towards the elimination of the genders, and there are some evidences of this even in modern Marathi. This process may, perhaps, be accelerated by some sort of 'planning' (as 'planning' means acceleration of the slow natural process). If Marathi teachers, writers and scholars do not frown upon the 'wrong' genders and allow, for the time being, both the forms (e.g. *tī ala* besides the 'correct' *tī alī*, *tē alē* besides *te ale* or *alē etc.*) co-exist, a time may soon come when the genders will be completely obliterated.

We may probably note here the fact that *tatsama* (Sanskrit) words used as predicative or attributive adjectives are now-a-days allowed in Marathi

to be used in the masculine even though the nouns qualified by them may be in the feminine or neuter (although this was not allowed only a few years ago). The same relaxation may now be extended to pure Marathi adjectival words, and thus the slow 'unplanned' evolutionary process may be transformed into a fast 'planned' revolutionary one.

Dr. N. G. Kalelkar : Planning does not interfere with the basic nature of the language. The particular structure of a language is a historical process and if any change is to take place in the present structure it will be left to the laws of evolution than those of deliberate planning.

Dr. (Mrs.) I. Karve : Technical Dictionaries ought to describe the State Language bodies seem to follow Gresham's Law — the bad ones seem to push out the good ones.

Dr. L. M. Khubchandani : Technical terminologies should be made available to experts and writers in respective fields as reference works and not with mandatory sanctions, except terms for denoting proper designations. Besides we ought to have the machinery to watch the currency of these terms. Also any other terms coined by individual initiative and opinions may be invited from experts in their fields for approving the suggested terms or giving alternate forms. For instance, journalists have to coin various terms while translating the news items and they keep track of the usage of these terms. Those which do not gain currency from other workers in the field are discarded and in their place alternate terms are used.

Shri S. N. Salgarkar : (1) The new coinages introduced by the various State Language bodies seem to follow Gresham's Law — the bad ones seem to push out the good ones.

(2) Monopoly of text book publications is forcing such coinages of these committees on the persons who have no access to the original of which they are translations or transliterations. In this respect the attitude of the committees seems to be the same as that of Dr. Goebbels, viz., 'an oft repeated lie becomes a gospel truth' by wide circulation, these bad coinages will gain currency to the detriment of good language and though the speaker is most willing to force such a change, he is most unwilling to force the change of 3-gender system to 2 gender system on Marathi. We are already hearing complaints of the literary thinkers of such bad coinages gaining currency by the exigencies of high speed news translation by inept sub-editors.

(3) The work of enumerating the 'concepts to be adopted is colossal — nay, infinite, because how can you enumerate all the concepts of all the peoples in all their walk of life and such highly exploding cultures as those of today.

Shri C. R. Sankaran : A misleading unwieldy compound word in Tamil is coined for the highly specialised term the 'cathode-ray-oscilloscope' in English. The original technical terms in English may be retained in all the regional languages. In general, we have an incoherent homogeneity in lieu of the more healthy coherent heterogeneity. Where there are certain tell-tale terms, such as *unti* in Tamil for 'the diaphonous' from the root *untu* 'to push' they could be borrowed as scientific terms by the other regional languages. I would also suggest that with an intensive training in phonetics, people might be let to use in due course the IPA as the Universal Alphabet though at a distant future.

Dr. M. V. Sreedhar : I cannot agree with the view that Hindi should be taught only for one or two years in the High School curriculum and there the students should be left to themselves to take care of Hindi, because the students in non-Hindi regions would in a couple of months time forget whatever they learnt in two years time due to its disuse. They should therefore be given a prolonged period of training in acquiring skills in handling Hindi as a language.

Dr. A. R. Kelkar : I agree with what Dr. Sreedhar has stated, out of my own experience with Hindi learning.

Dr. L. M. Khubchandani : Considering many common syntactic and semantic structures, cultural concepts and vocabulary between all Indian languages, whether belonging to Indo-Aryan family or to Dravidian family, it is not necessary that Hindi should be taught in schools for a long duration. This being so, for a Marathi or Gujarati native, the learning load of Hindi would not exceed even half of the load of learning English or any other European language. In order to lessen the burden of languages in school curriculum, I suggest that Hindi should be taught through short intensive courses on optional basis.

INDIA'S LANGUAGE

C. 300 B.C. — 1960 A.D.

By

H. D. SANKALIA

When the question of the official language of India is hotly discussed, a review of what the official language or the language in law courts and administration was in various periods of India's past history would be of topical interest. For the purposes of this review, the long period of over 2000 years for which evidence is available may be divided into three broad periods :— Hindu (C. 300 B.C. — 1,300 A.D.) ; Muslim (C. 1,300 A.D. — 1,700 A.D.) and British (C. 1,760 A.D. — 1,947 A.D.).

During the first period, we are entirely dependent upon inscriptions. These are either exhortations to the people (as in the case of Asokan edicts), or land grants to Brahmanas, or *prasatis* of kings and ministers, that is panegyrics, recounting in laudatory language the public deeds such as the building of a temple, dam or granary and its management but more often the conquests— real and imaginary. The inscriptions are carved on rocks, pillars, stone slabs and copper plates. As a rule, they bear the king's seal or signature and often the date when the work was recorded, either after a particular era then current or the regnal year of the king's accession to the throne. Unlike other literary compositions, these inscriptions faithfully portray the happenings in the king's court, though this cannot always be said of the various conquests so grandiloquently sung in many an inscription.

The earliest inscriptions, (barring the few pictographs on seals from Mohenjodaro etc.) that we have, are the Mahasthan Inscription from North Bengal and the edicts of Asoka, all belonging to the 3rd century B.C. and to the Maurya dynasty which ruled a greater part of India from Pataliputra (Patna) in Magadha (Bihar).

The Asokan edicts are found almost all over India. Whether written in Brahmi or Kharoshtri (a Central Asian script developed as a result of the contact with the Aramaic of Iran) for edicts from northwest India, the language of the edicts is Prakrit with slight regional differences. Certainly,

Prakrit could not have been the language all over India, particularly in Sind, Saurashtra, Andhra and Mysore. A draft of the edicts was prepared at Pataliputra and sent out to different parts of India, irrespective of the fact that it was the southern or the eastern corner of his far-flung empire. An exception, however, had to be made, as has very recently come to light, in the case of the Indo-Greek principalities, located in what is today Afghanistan. Here the edicts carved on a rock, just outside Kandahar are to be found in a bilingual script, viz. Greek and Aramaic.

For some six centuries after Asoka, there was no king who ruled over such a vast area as did the Mauryan emperor. The country was divided into small and large kingdoms. Still the interesting thing is that the rulers of these kingdoms took pride in writing their donations and war records in the then current Prakrit, but gradually switched over to Sanskrit. Where exactly the beginning was made, it is difficult to say. But in A.D. 150, King Rudradaman ruling from Ujjain recorded the reconstruction of the dam of the lake Sudarsana of Junagadh in Saurashtra in excellent Sanskrit verse. Sanskrit thus must have become a court language by this period in Western India (Sind, Gujarat, Malwa) though this Saka King's contemporaries in Maharashtra still stuck to Prakrit.

For some two centuries, inscriptions continued to be written practically all over India in Sanskrit and Prakrit. Sanskrit was firmly established in Pataliputra by 320 A.D. when the Gupta dynasty came to the throne. All their inscriptions as well as those of their contemporaries — even some of the petty kings in the forest regions of Madhya Pradesh — chose to inscribe their deeds in Sanskrit. At this distance of time this progress of Sanskrit and its victory over several local dialects and languages would appear remarkable, nay phenomenal. Two examples would show that the spread of Sanskrit was not so fast. It reached Bengal only in the fifth century, and slightly later Andhra, Mysore and Madras, as the inscriptions of the Guptas, the Chalukyas and the Pallavas testify. For more than three centuries, Sanskrit held undisputed sway all over India. Not only the genealogical portion and the description of the king's exploits but in the grant portions even the names of villages and towns were Sanskritised.

Faint stirrings of the rise or the undercurrent of Kannada and Telugu are first heard in the inscriptions of the Chalukyas of Badami and their collateral branch in Andhra. The names of a number of villages are not Sanskritised as in the north, but are mentioned in their original form which is near to old Kannada and Telugu. However, till the very end of their rule (c. 750 A.D.), Sanskrit enjoyed the privilege of the court language.

It was Sanskrit again which became the language of communication and the spread of, first, Buddhism and then Hinduism to Central Asia, and to the whole of South-east Asia, including China and Japan. Of course, in this process, its original form and diction often got changed or diluted. Hence it is called "Hybrid Sanskrit".

We can also learn a lesson from the script. Not only Sanskrit but Sanskrit written in Brahmi script, with its few regional variations, served as a unifying factor for a number of centuries.

Slightly further south, the Pallavas gave up their wholehearted preference for Sanskrit. Besides Sanskrit, they also favoured Telugu and Tamil, thus recognising the claims of the regional languages in their official transactions. The lead given by the later Pallavas was taken up by their successors, the Cholas, first hesitatingly, but soon fully. The illustrious Rajaraja I initiated in 985 A.D. the practice of prefixing to his records a set of historical introduction in Tamil. Formerly this used to be in Sanskrit. But it must be said to their credit that bilingualism was not given up. A few records are both in Tamil and Sanskrit, whilst in purely Kannada and Telugu-speaking areas, these languages were employed.

The story in Kerala is similar. Here the earliest Malayalam inscriptions are dated to 900 A.D. In the rest of India, the story was slightly different, and later we shall briefly point out the reasons for this difference.

During the century and a half (320 A.D. — 470 A.D.) of Gupta rule in the north, a kind of cultural unity had been created. This is best visible today in the extant literature, art and architecture. This unity was badly shaken when the Hunas, Gurjars and other peoples from Central Asia entered India by different routes. Though many of these were absorbed in the mass of the Indian population, these people did leave their impress upon the indigenous culture (laws, language, literature, dress, art).

The exact nature of this influence is not yet determined, but one fact is clear. The inscriptions of all the dynasties such as Gurjara-Pratiharas, Paramaras, Chahamanas, Chalukyas and Gahadvalas of Northern and Central India from the 7th century onwards contain an increasing number of non-Sanskritic names of people and places, though the major portions of the inscriptions are still written in fine chaste Sanskrit. This feature definitely indicates that though probably the king and his immediate courtiers spoke and understood Sanskrit, the masses did not. So the portion which affected the latter most was greatly influenced by the various regional languages.

Thus by the 10th-11th century, we can witness the emergence of proto-Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Kannada, Telugu and Tamil languages in inscrip-

tions. In distant Bengal, the story was slightly different. It received Sanskrit late and retained it till the end of the Hindu rule as the records of the Palas, Varmans and Senas testify. Though, here too, a few indigenous words and expressions have been detected in the names of palaces.

An interesting development must be noticed. The later Yadavas who ruled over parts of Maharashtra, Andhra and Mysore (Karnatak) were multi-lingual. In their court, Sanskrit, Marathi and Kannada and possibly Telugu all were used as needed. For we find that the grant portion of their inscriptions in Maharashtra is in proto-Marathi while the script is Devanagari. However, these records addressed to the Kannadigas are in late southern Brahmi and in proto-Kannada.

The seeds of mediaeval Indian States were thus sown in about the 7th century. Some of these later comprised or corresponded with what are today contiguous linguistic areas. The emphasis at that time was not so much on regionalism or linguism as on dynastic pride, which cut across linguistic barriers. This did lead to a remarkable growth in regional cultures in several ways, the most notable being in literature and in art and architecture. But it is often forgotten that this was achieved at the expense of larger national interests.

The concept of nationalism, of course, was absent not only in India, but everywhere else. This had very disastrous consequences as our history tells us. We have created such a condition once again after nearly a millennium. The same old struggle between the centripetal and centrifugal forces is witnessed. A thousand years ago, it was conscious, now it is unconscious and that is the pity. We refuse to heed the lessons of history.

During the Muslim rule, depending upon the original nationality of the various invaders, first Arabic, then Turkish (for a brief period only) and then Persian became the language of administration with varying use of regional languages including Sanskrit. In a wider context, the interaction of these languages gave rise to Urdu or Hindustani in the north and Dakhani in the Deccan.

In Gujarat a mixed or hybrid Sanskrit had come into existence as early as the 12th-13th century A.D. and continued to survive until the 17th century as the *Lekhapaddhati*—a collection of treaties, court orders, sale deeds and revenue matters—undoubtedly shows. Probably because of this continuous tradition of the use of Sanskrit as late as the 15th Century Mahmud Begada of Gujarat and a few other Muslim kings thought it necessary or took pride in recording their exploits in beautiful Sanskrit verse. (A long *praśasti*, of the former carved on stone is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay). The

same thing was done by a Gond king of Mandla, Madhya Pradesh, two centuries later.

In one way or another, Persian was adopted as a court language by Muslim and Hindu kings alike. From this pedestal, it was slowly removed by English. For well nigh 150 years it has dominated the Indian sub-continent.

Even during the British period, Urdu remained the language of courts and administration in the north. That was the language for communication between the administration and the masses. Indeed even today it is largely Urdu written in the Devanagari script and it is being gradually Hindized.

If the official languages are plotted on a graph over a period of 2,000 years, it will be found that first Prakrit (c. 300 B.C.—100 A.D.), then Sanskrit (c. 100 A.D.—700 A.D.) and then Sanskrit with an increasing use of regional languages (c. 700 A.D.—1200 A.D.) were the principal languages used in courts and administration as evidenced by inscriptional usage. Then came Arabic, Persian and English. The last is still with us. Can it be forcibly ousted?

A brief consideration of the conditions and circumstances under which Prakrit, Sanskrit, the various vernaculars and then Arabic, Persian and English became the languages of administration, would show that in each case the conditions were not always the same.

Asoka chose a form of Prakrit to record his edicts, because this was the language which was best known to his court, not necessarily because it was known all over or even in a greater part of India. Thus its use may be attributed to political domination. But the same cannot be said of the subsequent introduction of Sanskrit. For a thousand years and more, it was already in the land and developed a rich literature which could express any idea with great ease. Men took pride in calling themselves '*samskr̥ta*', that is "civilised" in modern parlance. It was this thought which made all the foreign dynasties—the Sakas and others—adopt Sanskrit as the languages of administration.

When the Guptas came to the throne in 320 A. D. Sanskrit had already been established and they found little difficulty (we feel?) in making it their court language, and during the subsequent period, it spread in the nooks and corners of India until its progress was checked by new emergent forces within India and by the invading forces from without. Behind the introduction of Arabic and Persian there was nothing but political domination. The same can be said about English. But it was so imperceptible, so gradual that the conditions soon changed when an Indian realised that to call himself 'civilised' he must learn English. Meanwhile, unlike previous periods in our history, English has continued to flourish outside India and become an

international language. It is against these odds that Hindi, a would-be national language, has to fight.

Reorganisation of India into linguistic States and the encouragement of regional languages and the attempts to make Hindi the official language, however justified theoretically and advocated by such eminent and saintly personalities as Mahatma Gandhi and Sri Aurobindo, have in effect simultaneously released centripetal and centrifugal forces, while the erstwhile cementing force is being deliberately eroded. A clash is, therefore, inevitable.

History teaches us that only in two ways does a language acquire a national status. If enforcement fails, then that language has to grow and win the hearts and minds of the nation, as did Sanskrit two thousand years ago.

Discussion

Dr. Sukumar Sen : The Aśokan edicts are not found in one dialect. But the inscriptions are written in the language which may be called as Pataliputra language. It is not the same as that of the edicts.

Whenever Brahmins came in power, Sanskrit was used in place of Prakrit. The use of Arabic and Persian was not imposed on people. Persian rulers used their own languages for official purposes because they could not learn Sanskrit. The English also was used by English rulers for the same reason.

Dr. H. D. Sankalia : We do not know definitely whether the people in South India knew Prakrit. The same is the case in Maharashtra. The fact that the text of these inscriptions was prepared in Pataliputra and sent out to different parts of India, at least suggests that some people throughout the country knew Prakrit very well.

At Pataliputra, the rulers were not Brahmins but Kshatriyas. But even then, Sanskrit was in use as they wanted the help of Brahmins for administration and rituals.

Dr. Mrs. I. Karve : Language plays an important part in peoples' life. Sanskrit was essential then due to Brahmin influence specially in rituals. But in these days the role of official language was different from now.

Dr. S. M. Katre : We must consider the link between the court language and the common peoples' language in those days. The first official documents available to us are the Aśokan inscriptions.

Sanskrit became useful for the rulers. The position of Sanskrit could be checked from the indirect sources as well. Around the second century A. D., the speakers of Kannada and Telugu claimed that their languages were derived from Sanskrit.

Prakrits mixed a lot of Sanskrit elements. Kannada and Tamil also mixed a good deal of Sanskrit. A great part of Sanskrit literature was written in the South.

Certain changes occurred in the official language round about the 13th century.

Shri C. R. Sankaran : I think the official language in ancient times was Sanskrit but it was slightly different from the Sanskrit used for rituals.

Dr. N. M. Sen : What policy do you suggest regarding the official language in present times? Should the official language be imposed by the State or left to the will of the people?

Dr. H. D. Sankalia : I think the language has got to grow and win the hearts of people to acquire a national status, particularly when you do not have powers to enforce a language on people.

Referring to the position of the official language in ancient times, I must mention that the language of the masses was always quite different from the official language.

In those days Sanskrit was known to scholars but I cannot say so for the masses. The official language which was and that of the scholars also, was different from that of the masses.

Shri S. B. Kulkarni : During the Maratha rule, the official terminology of court documents, was, no doubt, Persian but their contents were in Marathi. Shivaji took certain measures to remove Persian terms from official use and got prepared a Rājyavyavahāraś, giving Marathi and Sanskrit terms for official use.

Dr. S. M. Katre : These records show that during the Maratha rule, Marathi was influenced by Persian which was the contemporary official language in Delhi.

Dr. L. M. Khubchandani : In earlier times, functions of official language were quite different from those of the present times. In earlier days the official language was meant for the privileged class and the common man had practically no need of that language. But now when literacy is considered imperative for every citizen and, in democracy, everyone is expected to participate in the affairs of the country, the functions of the official language need to be reviewed in a different light.

Dr. A. M. Ghatage : The term 'official language' is too vague. If all the needs of communication of a person could be fulfilled through his regional language, it is not necessary to have one official language for the country.

Dr. Mrs. I. Karve : These days the sentiments for regional languages have grown very high. People want to learn through their regional languages. At this stage we must seriously consider this question. Do we need certain languages other than the regional language and which do we need?

Dr. Sukumar Sen : I think we have to replace English by an Indian language and for this Hindi has been considered as most appropriate.

LANGUAGE AS A SOCIAL FACTOR

By

IRAWATI KARVE

1. Language is *par excellence* a social phenomenon. Language cannot arise unless there are social groups. While society is a necessary condition for the origin of language, it is not a sufficient condition for it, as will be evident from non-human societies which have no language.

2. A particular anatomical structure and mechanism together with a neural structure are necessary to produce certain type and varieties of sounds which can be combined into words. Mere possession of such an anatomical structure is again, though necessary, not a sufficient condition for the production of language. Both these conditions are therefore necessary to have a language.

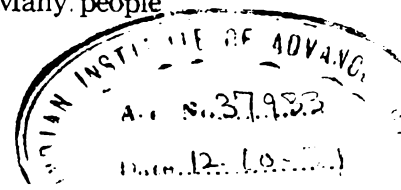
3. The minute a language is born it transforms a social group into a cultural society with a continuous life in past, present and future, over wide spaces with some control over things not seen and later over ideas i.e. conceptual thought. The relationship between a group of sounds, which we may call a word and the thing they refer to is arbitrary and conventional. Language and what it means, is a highly complicated transmission of convention from one generation to another. Learning to make a tool is a mental and physical activity on a different level from learning words, the conventional syntax and the references to things. A language is learned long before other cultural skills are mastered.

4. The things referred to by language are never merely things of the phenomenal world which can be demonstrated with the help of sciences. A large number of things are feelings, ideas and values. In fact the words in a language are so loaded with feelings and values that social scientists feel sometimes the necessity to devise a science, like mathematical science, which has signs with no such load to carry. Social phenomena like group solidarity, reference groups, antagonisms and a host of others are fostered, through the help of a language, though other group distinguishing signs are also often used. The load of meaning and emotion carried by words or sentences is sometimes made very explicit in the grammar of language. We talk about different moods. The indicative giving merely information with almost no emotional nuances. The indicative, however, is not completely devoid of emotional load as the context in which it occurs the tone in

which it is uttered might give it this weight. The imperative, as the name suggests, calls before our eyes a social situation of superiority and subordination, one of the most fundamental of social situations. The optative mood suggests an option and therefore a freedom to do or not to do a certain act. The name '*vidhyartha*' for this mood is very suggestive. In Indian philosophy '*Vidhi*' suggests all actions not only allowed but sanctioned by the society. When the words '*yajeta svaragakāmaḥ*' are uttered, the form *yajeta* brings about a desire in the heart of the hearer to do the thing. *Yajeta* is a form which is loaded with social values, all that is sanctioned and, to a certain extent, sanctified by the society. This one form represents the whole value framework of a society. That the language should have recognized the various forms of verbs shows the range of social function which language fulfills.

5. Language as a vehicle of communication also raises emotional blocks to communication. Those speaking the same dialect have instant feeling of togetherness. Those speaking different but understandable dialects, still feel that they belong to a group, but people speaking different languages may have attitudes ranging from aloofness to antagonism depending on the social situation. A person not belonging to the Brahmin community can very well stress the fact through a turn of speech. The use of Hindi language might raise antagonism which other languages of the north, say Bengalee, or Assamese may not arouse. Linguistic patriotism if one can use the phrase, has played a very great role in modern times. Most of the modern European nations are at the same time linguistically homogeneous groups and the unfortunate regions on the border which are generally bilingual change hands with each war, as has happened in the case of Alsace and Lorraine. Claims are laid on territories on the plea that their people speak a particular language. Modern political creeds like communism which go beyond small territories to embrace the whole world have found language a barrier towards the fulfilment of this dream. In Soviet Russia attempts have been made to suppress Languages and linguistic groups. Recently there has been some liberalisation when it was realized that this type of suppression, instead of leading to uniformity, might breed deep seated hatreds. In its endeavour or haste to build a strong unified state, our government has also tried to impose one common language on the people of India. The attempt has been resisted almost in all states but has led to near rebellion in the South. People in India are rethinking about the language problem.

A language is a binding factor not only for those who live in a linguistic region but also for those who had to leave the native place. People speaking the same language when outside of their native region have greater attraction towards one another and respond more quickly than they would have done in their native place. The Sindhi people have had to abandon their homeland and build up their lives again in different linguistic regions. Many people



have expressed an opinion that they should take up the language of their hosts, and that the Sindhi language which has now no home-land of its own should have no place in India. This is an argument which shows : (a) What I have called linguistic patriotism to an intense degree and (b) a lack of the realization of the needs of an exiled people. The Sindhi people as a whole have deep feelings of insecurity, and for many at least there is a real social need to hold on to their language as a visible symbol of belonging to a group, giving them emotional solidarity with their group. In the future they might lose their language, but on the other hand, they might hold fast to it and foster it among foreigners as the Jews have held fast to their religion.

For India today language has become a serious issue at different levels of the National life. It needs to be discussed and tackled in an objective way but it is also emotionally so loaded that people hold to certain opinions as self evident. In spite of this I wish to place certain aspects of the question before this learned gathering, since I am addressing a group of people trained in objective thinking, who may be interested in this urgent social need of society. Specially as the technical skills which these people can supply might help to surmount difficulties.

We became a single political state of the federal kind on 15th August 1947. In the world there has not yet been in the past nor is there at present a state of the type of the Indian Union. India has thirteen linguistic states, of which nine have languages derived from Sanskrit and which became independent languages sometime between the 9th and the 11th century. All these languages have a literature some of which goes back to the 13th century. Thus they have a linguistic history comparable to European languages. The four southern states have languages which belong to a separate family, called Dravidian. The inscriptional record of these languages are older than those of the northern modern languages. And Tamil, the southernmost language of this group, has literature which goes back to the early Christian period or perhaps a century before Christ. It can be called one of the oldest living languages of the world. In India, the largest group speaking one language are the Hindi speaking people, who form about 38% of the population. The literature of the Hindi speaking group, however, is not richer than many other languages in India, neither is it older than the other languages. U.S.S.R. which comprises a land area much bigger than India and which has also many languages spoken in different regions, belonging mainly to two linguistic families, cannot be compared to India. The only language which had written and scientific literature also was Russian. A large number of people in Transcaucasian region belong to primitive tribes who had no alphabets. And so Russian could be imposed on these people as their second language as also the common language of the federation. Because India has many languages of equal standing, it is not palatable to any group to have the language of some other group imposed on it. If Europe went from a common market, to

common statehood it would have to face problems similar to ours. All states want their state language to be made the official language of the state as also the common language of the instruction from the primary stage to the higher university stage. Though these languages are developed and sophisticated, they have to incorporate the knowledge and thought underlying western technology and science. Japan, faced with a similar problem, has done it rapidly and efficiently by adopting wholesale the terminology of the West. While being so adopted the words have become transformed so as to suit the Japanese tongue and Japanese alphabets. Whether the Japanese Government had set up committees to translate Western concepts I do not know, but all the state governments in India, as also the Central Government, have set up committees for translating English words into Indian Languages. If the committees are working in the same way as they are in Maharashtra quite 50% of the new words will be ununderstandable to the common man. Can this be remedied? Secondly, we need urgently text books for all branches of knowledge, which, at least to begin with, will be translations of Western textbooks. Again all universities in India and the Central Government are willing to pay handsomely for such translations. However, both the younger workers and the older workers in the universities are unwilling to spend their time in translation when there are vast fields open for actual research work. The result is that a large number of these translations are mechanical and are done without understanding the theme, so that they are rejected by boards of studies. Can you devise a technique of rapid and satisfactory translation from one language to another? Such a technique might satisfy the massive demand for education and knowledge which we are facing at the present day. Also, such a device of translation might make communication easy in interprovincial gatherings, like our Parliament, where instantaneous translations, of the type found in U. N. O. meetings, might help to relieve the tension of the language controversy. At a higher level, we want to consider the question whether it is possible to have one language of communication for the whole of India. Hindi has gone a long way towards achieving this status, but the methods used are such that the resistance to Hindi might grow as the state languages become richer and also dominate completely the life in a state. The channel of spreading Hindi, which finds no resistance among non-Hindi-speaking people, are the movies and the popular tunes sung in them. Hindi, which is taught as a compulsory subject at the lower school levels, is learnt reluctantly. It is felt that with so much to earn our curriculum is getting loaded with language studies. One wonders whether the linguists cannot devise an easy method for teaching Hindi and for reading Hindi, so that the language is made accessible not merely to the schoolgoing population but to anybody who has a mind to learn it, and at a reasonable cost. This would be an experiment in mass teaching which, if successful, can enable Hindi to be dropped from the regular school curriculum and might make it palatable by making it available but not compulsory. In its aims also Hindi must be modest. It must never aim to replace the regional languages. It should be a language of easy and informal

communication between Indians of all regions. If, while this is happening, Hindi people themselves achieve great things in art, literature and science and record their experience in their language, other people will certainly eagerly read these books. But in foreseeable future it does not seem possible that Hindi can become the only language for the whole of India. I may add here, as my personal opinion, that such an aim will not achieve national greatness either ; we are people with different languages, different skin colours, different gods. We have chosen a new type of unity and we should become aware completely that our unity need not be based on uniformity or homogeneity but on mutual sympathy, understanding and tolerance of differences. As I have said this is an altogether new experiment in history, we have to be very cautious very humble and very sincere in achieving it and if the linguists gathered here can show a way to learn new languages easily and quickly, they would have helped immensely towards this process.

At the 3rd level the language problem is again a stumbling block in our national life. As a nation in the modern world we have to guard not only our internal communication but strive for communication with the rest of the world. A historical accident has made us possessed to a certain extent of a Western language, namely English, which holds a unique position in India. Though it is spoken by the least number of people in our country, it is used in all the states of India and understood by people who have had high-school and college education. It has thus become the common language for the educated people of India, as also the language in which representative of India can talk to the other nations in international gatherings. Intense patriotism has led political leaders to demand the abolition of English in slogans like "*angreji hatā do*", well-known to everybody of you here. A number of leaders who knew or know English themselves think that abolition of English in School and teaching through the regional language will provide the illiterate masses with easy access to higher education. Speaking on behalf of the rural people these leaders wish to make it possible for a person to take matriculation examination followed by college education without any knowledge of English. We have already dealt with one aspect of the question, which was instruction upto the highest degree in regional language. The other aspect is whether we can achieve it and whether we may not be ultimately depriving the masses of something to which they have access today, if English is abolished in the schools. Those classes of people who already possess it will take care to educate their children in English by giving instruction at home or through tuition, a procedure which is either impossible or too costly for the masses. The inclusion of English in school curriculum makes it possible for every poor boy to take some kind of instruction in this foreign language without paying extra fees. The general school fee covers this item also. The present government gives freeship to poorer students who would get instruction in English free of cost. These advantages would be lost to the poorer people. Also in the transition period when there are not enough books in our language, such a student may be deprived of

certain necessary knowledge. The chances of climbing the social ladder economically and politically would be smaller. Just this one small thing namely abolition of English from school might lead to the perpetuation of inequalities which we have been trying to remove. It is said about India that at a critical period in its history it failed to take notice or be aware of what was going on outside India. In the past this insularism was supposed to be one of the causes of the decay and ultimate downfall of India. We may be heading towards this type of insularism by closing our window on the world, which happens to be English. Instead of abolishing English, would it again be possible to make it easily available to the masses irrespective of whether they are going to school or not? English is available today for those who can pay for it and people who know the advantages of learning English pay heavily and willingly. What we want is not to abolish English but to break down the monopoly of the possession of English by a certain class of people. Here again modern techniques of language teaching might help to make more and more people acquainted with English. If we can get it out of the school curriculum, we can also minimize the literary bias with which English was taught in the school. English, for us, is an instrument for communication with the outer world and an instrument for acquiring modern knowledge and modern techniques, so that the teaching of English will have an orientation very different from that of the school. It is not as if English cannot be taught in this new way in the schools, but it is very difficult to change a social organization once established, and the schools and the English teachers will offer resistance to new ways of teaching. At least, in the experimental stage, it is better to tackle this question outside the school. Also, if there are similar efforts for teaching French, Russian, Japanese and Bantu, we may have more windows on the world and these other windows may succeed in correcting the one-sided view we got through English only. In this way our world-view may become truer and more balanced. And I was wondering again whether English lessons cannot be devised by you people in such a way that English can be made available cheaply to people who are willing to spend certain time over acquiring this language. If the major language problems could be tackled in an objective way and with needed expertise in language teaching methods, it will help our new nation at this critical stage.

Discussion

Dr. Y. B. Damle : Is it possible to teach English outside the classroom as suggested by you?

Dr. Mrs. I. Karve : Yes. Modern methods make it possible to run classes for the intensive teaching of a language. It would be worth while making an experiment of this type. It is better to teach English from the start to fresh learners, rather than have students who have been taught the wrong way.

Dr. M. V. Sreedhar : Not even 5% of our students who study in the high schools need English after their school days. Hence it is a waste of time to teach English as a compulsory subject in every high school, as suggested in your paper. I would, rather, suggest that English should not find any place in the academic curriculum. After passing the S. S. C. Examinations, English could be taught by means of intensive courses to those students who actually need it. This would be comparatively cheaper and would avoid wastage as the students have sufficient motivation for learning.

Dr. A. R. Kelkar : What about the cost ?

Dr. Mrs. Karve : As I said, it is worth while making an experiment with a batch of students and then get an idea of the time, effort and cost involved. As a layman I cannot do it.

Shri S. N. Salgarkar : The remark that by abolishing English, knowledge will be concentrated in the hands of a small group is a serious one. It is indicative of the directions of a sanguine revolution we are marching to, if we do not pay heed to the implied danger and its gravity. It is high time we prepare intensive courses in English and administer them to the masses at a cheap price.

Dr. Mrs. I. Karve : Yes, good teaching of English should be made available to those who want to learn at a comparatively low cost.

LANGUAGE PROBLEM : A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

By

Y. B. DAMLE

I have advisedly given the title "Language Problem : A Sociological Analysis", primarily because I have already discussed language learning as a process of socialization in some other context.¹ It is very well known that language learning is an aspect of socialization and that various social structural features like family, class and caste, social stratum, etc. enter into the situation. In this paper, however, attention is pinpointed on the language problem in India.
Language, Culture and Region :

It hardly needs any saying that the reorganization of states in India in 1956 was primarily guided by the major theorem of equation between language, culture and region. It was felt that language represented a more or less homogeneous and distinct cultural pattern which could be located in a given region. Thus a correspondence was assumed between language, culture and region, on the basis of which the states were more or less reorganized in India or are being reorganized, for instance, the Punjabi Suba.

In-Group Vs. Out-Group :

The assumed correspondence between language, culture and region fosters an in-group feeling amongst those who share a common language. In-group plays a very significant part in one's life and also in social life. Virtues of a primary group and in-groups have been extolled by writers like Cooley. Homans has brilliantly analyzed the importance of in-group even in an industrial set-up where the norms of work and production are decided upon by the in-group. However, Homans also points out the important distinction, not to say cleavage, between the internal normative and value system, and external normative and value system.² Homans obviously has in mind the in-group and out-group situation. Therefore, taking a cue from Homans we have to extend the in-group and out-group analysis to the linguistic group as well. Briefly put, those who belong to a particular language, culture and region are said to be the members of an in-group. Conversely, all those who do not belong to such a group are members of an out-group. Naturally

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1. See Y. B. Damle, "Language learning as a Process of Socialization," (Unpublished manuscript)
 2. See George C. Homans, *The Human Group*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1951.

and inevitably, there is not only a difference between such an in-group and out-group but also distance and possibilities of conflict attendant on such difference. The greater the intensity of in-group loyalty the greater the possibility, not to say danger, of alienation from the out-group which may even culminate into hostility towards the out-group.

Social, Economic and Political Loyalties :

It has been noted earlier that a correspondence is assumed to exist between language, culture and region, which is given recognition in terms of the formation of linguistic states. It was assumed that the correspondence between the three, as mentioned above, created an in-group situation, particularly in relation to the out-group, meaning thereby other linguistic groups, cultures and regions. The logical extension of the in-group feeling was obviously the creation of a system of socio-economic, political loyalties. Thus all those who belong to a linguistic, cultural and regional group would experience a sense of belonging and homogeneity irrespective of religious, ethnic and social differences, since all the three factors would be in common. Likewise, the region being a political unit would foster a system of political as well as economic loyalties. It is heartening to note that since Independence it is no longer necessary for a person to have a domicile certificate. However, in reality it is very difficult for a person belonging to one linguistic group, culture and region to enter into the Government service of another region. Moreover, there is a continuous effort to extend politically the territory of a linguistic cultural region which is clearly reflected in the unsettled boundary disputes between various states in India. The system of economic loyalties is generated by the concern for the prosperity and welfare of the members of the in-group viz., linguistic, cultural and regional group. Efforts are being made and energies are being channelized to ensure prosperity by providing avenues of employment and livelihood to the members of an in-group. Carried to its logical extreme this principle would develop into excluding all others who are members of out-groups, in this context those who belong to different linguistic, cultural and regional groups. Mention must be made here of the steps taken by certain states in India to make it a precondition for the starting of an industrial project, that the majority of the workers to be employed in such concerns must belong to the local linguistic, cultural and regional group. I want to specially refer here to the organization called Shiv Sena in Bombay which is trying to ensure economic justice to the local people viz., Maharashtrais. In fact, this organization owes its genesis to the broadminded and non-discriminating policy of the Maharashtra State in respect of providing opportunities for employment and livelihood to all irrespective of considerations of language, culture and region. In fact, the activities of the Shiv Sena pin-point the problem of "Cosmopolitan Cities" like Bombay, which is also the capital of Maharashtra. In the so-called cosmopolitan cities the in-groups and the out-groups come face to face with each other, sharpening competition

as well as conflict. As mentioned earlier the region being a political unit, a system of political loyalties is easily developed round it, crystallising the linguistic, cultural and regional loyalties. These loyalties might even take a shape where they might constitute a threat to the wider system of loyalties viz., the loyalty to the nation. In brief, the loyalty to the in-group might militate against a meaningful and smooth relationship with the out-group, in this context, the other linguistic, cultural and regional groups.

I want to list and pinpoint attention of some of the problems attendant on the situation mentioned above.

(a) *Communication* : In the first place communication would pose an important problem in the face of such a situation, because people belonging to different linguistic, cultural and regional groups would find it difficult to communicate with each other meaningfully. This would particularly hold good in the case of the general mass of people who may not know any link language. Instances of misunderstanding due to the breakdown of communications are well known. (b) *Migration and Mobility* : Difficulties in communication would also militate against migration and mobility. This problem would be accentuated when organized efforts are made to prevent migration and mobility. This would really mean going back to a system of *primordial sentiments and loyalties* leading to parochialism and provincialism. An attitude of intolerance may be developed towards the out-group. All manners of suspicion and prejudices, stereotypes, etc. could develop out of such a situation. The situation might indeed become explosive by generating a positive feeling of hostility towards the out-group, which may be aggravated by a *slowly developing economy such as ours*. I want to mention again the activities of the Shiv Sena, which are nothing but a result of the feelings of economic insecurity arising out of the failure to compete effectively with other linguistic groups in matters of employment and livelihood. In a rapidly expanding economy there would be a place in the sun for everybody irrespective of language, culture and region. An important sociological consequence of this situation would be "de-individuation."³ De-individuation signifies an undue measure of loyalty to the in-group which constitutes a threat to the wider society because of overinternalization of the norms and values of the in-group, so that one becomes insensitive and oblivious to a wider system of norms and values. In this context, a person might so much internalize the norms and values of his linguistic, cultural and regional group, and develop such an intense system of loyalty towards it, so as to be insensitive and oblivious to the wider system of norms and values and fail to develop any

3. For an elaborate explanation of "de-individuation", see Leon Festinger, A. Reppione and Theodore M. Newcomb, "Some Consequences of De-individuation in a Group," in A. Paul Hare, Edgar F. Borgatta and Robert F. Bales (Eds.), *Small Groups : Studies in Social Interaction*, New York : Alfred A. Knopf, 1955, pp. 290-299. Also see Y. B. Damle, "Formation of Regional States : A Study in De-Individuation," *Poona University Teachers' Social Science Seminar*, 7 (1963).

loyalty towards them. Obviously enough, such a situation would be extremely dangerous, since it would promote the process of *Balkanization* in the country. To a certain extent the food problem in the country can be explained in terms of the situation depicted above. Even when people in other deficit states are starving there exist restrictions on interstate movement of grains. All these have obviously implications for *national integration*. If the in-group and out-group situation is allowed to develop and persists beyond a certain point, culminating in competition and hostility, it would constitute a danger to *national integrity*.

Specific Solutions to Some of the Problems Expected from the Linguists :

It would be certainly naive to suggest that linguists should be burdened to solve all these problems where ace statesmen, politicians, administrators and others have failed. Yet the linguists may be able to reduce the differences, not to say conflict, between the in-group and out-group by their expertise. It would not be too much to expect of the linguists to evolve methods, techniques and procedures whereby language learning would be facilitated considerably. Concretely speaking if the linguists make it possible for a person to develop the working knowledge of another language within a short period of two or three months, then the problem of communication would considerably be eased. In a sociological study of the problems of migrated students in Poona the difficulties of communication due to linguistic differences have been sharply pointed out.⁴ If communication is taken care of a better appreciation of similarities and differences between the various linguistic, cultural and regional groups is likely to ensue which would minimise the differences and distance between the in-group and out-group so that it may not develop hostility. This point has also been made in the study mentioned above. Meaningful interaction between different linguistic groups can be promoted by working out suitable methods of language learning. In its turn such interaction would promote a better understanding between linguistic groups. Due to the facility of learning a language other than one's own migration and mobility would be promoted. Migration and mobility have not only economic consequences in the sense that economic prosperity through an efficient allocation of resources and facilities including skilled personnel would be possible, but it would also lead to wider system of loyalties and a sense of belonging. The cleavage between in-group and out-group may be almost obliterated by the extension of the in-group. A polyglot can easily assimilate himself or herself in various linguistic situations. Through the extension of in-group loyalties and the obliteration of competition and conflict with the out-group, national integration would also be promoted. I want to emphasise here that if the linguists can facilitate learning of language, literature would not lag behind. Linguists would help

4. P. H. Reddy, *Education in a Cross-Cultural Setting*, a thesis to be submitted for Ph.D. in Sociology.

a great deal by facilitating the functional use of language so as to insure a minimum level of communication, interaction and a narrowing of the in-group and out-group differences and distance (on the linguistic basis) and can facilitate mobility and migration as well as economic development and national integration.

Discussion

Dr. S. M. Katre : We are facing a controversy over the problem of a common script for all Indian languages. Just take the example of Tamil speakers who are against the adoption of one common script. They correlate the Devanagari, script to Indo-Aryan languages, though both, Tamil and Devanagari scripts are derived from a common source. By apprising the people of this historical relationship, we might be able to persuade them to accept the common script.

Dr. (Mrs.) I. Karve : We must give a fresh look to the language needs in fast changing times. In ancient times Brahmins learnt Sanskrit and they exploited the masses. In a similar fashion, during the foreign rule, rulers imposed certain languages on the nation to their own advantage and never paid any attention to the needs of the people.

Shri C. R. Sankaran : We must find out the cause of the language conflict and then work out the methods which may bring back harmony in the country.

Dr. Mrs. I. Karve : We must bear this factor in mind that there never was harmony in our history. Language regionalism has given new opportunities to those classes which were deprived of their rights in the past. Today unfortunately many of our policies are being oriented towards exploitation through language.

Dr. H. D. Sankalia : I think the worst thing about this language problem is that we are not able to arrive at a decision. Once if a firm decision is taken, one way or the other, then the matter will end there. And then we will have to concentrate on the implementation of that decision.

Dr. L. M. Khubchandani : I think here the pertinent question is not so much about the learning of various languages, compulsorily or on optional basis, but of language attitudes. Some Indian languages experienced discrimination and others faced suppression at the hands of foreign rulers. Now, after independence, speakers of these languages are trying to extend the power of their languages beyond their own frontiers and thus are attempting to gain various privileges on the basis of language. This is why many people who are themselves good scholars of Hindi oppose Hindi. They are against Hindi either because they find that Hindi native speakers are exploiting the language for gaining certain privileges or they feel that similar privileges are being denied to their mother-tongue.

STUDY OF LANGUAGES IN A MULTILINGUAL NATION :

COMMENTS ON EDUCATION COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS

By

L. M. KHUBCHANDANI

In any multilingual set-up the communication network becomes very complex. The functions of social interaction performed by one language in a monolingual situation are here shared by two or more languages. In multilingual interaction no single language caters to all the needs of the participant. Language being a dyadic (dual) behaviour, the choice of using a particular language is determined by (1) the demands of the situation, depending on the listener's capacity, the speaker's ability as well as the cultivation of the language and also by (2) the factors of social identification, language here serving as a label for status, prestige and fashion. The second factor adds sentimental affiliation with one or the other language. Hence such situation must envisage the potential rivalry among these languages.

In post-independence India, with the changed role of languages, language consciousness has come very much to the fore on the social and political scene. With the result that various institutions, wielding authority, have been forwarding rival claims regarding language privileges in the fields of education, administration and other spheres of formal communication, conditioned by their regional, educational and economic interests.

At this juncture, it is a happy augury that the Education Commission Report (1966) has given broad outlines regarding the language policy and has pointed out the attention of administrators, educationists and planners towards the express need to formulate a clear policy and to follow it up with firm, bold and imaginative actions, rather than drift away towards ad hoc solutions.

1. Language Policy :

The Commission rightly points out the necessity of developing an appropriate language policy which can materially assist in social and national integration. It must be evolved from the scientific study of the social, political and multilingual structure of the country. In such a linguistic and federal democratic set up as India, the question of language planning is a serious

matter of great complexity. It requires that the fundamental research concerning multilingual communication network be undertaken in collaboration with experts from various behavioural disciplines—linguistics, psychology, sociology, education—to examine the situation in broad national and universal perspective and various issues concerning language policy be decided by constant reference to these findings.

At present there is no centralised national organisation to which governmental or non-governmental administrative agencies, broadcasting and publicity organisations, universities, colleges and schools might look for guidance concerning various aspects of language policy such as (i) position of various State and non-State languages, literary and non-literary languages, 15 Schedule-languages and languages not included in the VIII schedule, population-wise major and minor languages, languages for regional, inter-State and international communication, languages for modern technological advancement and languages for cultural, moral and religious upbringing etc., (ii) functions of these languages in monolingual and multilingual environments, (iii) their changing role in the developing country, (iv) problems of language study at school, college and university stages : objectives, curriculum, teaching methods, maintaining standards etc., (v) requirements for languages to be media of education or to be vehicles of administration, (vi) problems of switch-over in the transitional stage from one medium of education to another or from one language of administration to another, (vii) problems of literary development of modern and classical languages, (viii) safeguards for tribal languages, linguistic minorities, mobile classes like industrialists and businessmen, professionals and academicians, All India Services etc.

For developing a proper long-term language policy, it is essential that a broad-based Institute of Language Planning should be established with the active co-operation on inter-disciplinary experts of behavioural sciences on somewhat similar lines as the organisations of national standards for industrial and agricultural development.

2. Medium of Education :

Many educationists are in agreement on the point that the development of talent-latent is possible through education in the mother-tongue (MT). If the Commission's recommendations are successfully implemented, the majority of students will have the facility of acquiring education right from the elementary stage to the advanced university stage through their MT without any interruption.

2.1 Switch-over in the Transitional period :

At present all the states have the provisions of teaching through the MT upto the Lower Secondary stage (Class X or XI) and a few universities have

started introducing the MT at the college stage. Mostly after the high school, students are faced with the problem of switch-over from their MT to a common existing medium—English or, in a few cases, Hindi at the college stage. Till major Indian languages develop as fit media for higher education, the problem of switchover from one language to another should be given proper attention.

In the transitional period, if demanded by academic standards, the media of education at the higher secondary stage (Class XI-XII) should be based on a combination of the MT and common language—English or Hindi—the proportion of latter gradually increasing till English or Hindi becomes almost the sole medium at the postgraduate stage.

The policy regarding the switch-over of the medium of higher education and research from existing English should be guided predominantly by *academic standards*. In the transitional period, it is likely that the switch-over in the language of administration, which should be guided by the *convenience of the people*, may be effected easily at the gram panchayat and district level than the switch-over in the medium of education at College and University stage. Till the teaching of regional languages develops through various training programmes, textbook bureaux and advance centres of research, the uniformity in the language of administration and in the medium for higher education and research should *not* be insisted on at the cost of 'learning' which is the primary foundation of human progress and international co-operation.

The Report also provides for the use of non-regional languages as media of education, e.g. linguistic minorities using their MT, all-India institutes using English or Hindi, as the medium. It also considers it desirable to set up a few institutions, both at the school and university level, with some of the important world languages as media of education. This means that at every stage there will be a few institutions available with specialization in a particular medium and students will have the choice to go to a school or college with a suitable medium. This, I consider, as an ideal situation, provided co-ordinating measures are taken to deal with the problem of switch-over from one medium to another in situations such as a student shifting from one place to another where the facility of education through his MT is not available, teaching staff or standard teaching materials in particular subjects are wanting at the higher educational stage in the medium through which he has studied so far.

2.2 Auxiliary Media of Education :

Besides, in this multilingual educational set up, it is expected of the student that at the completion of the lower secondary stage, he will have acquired sufficient control over three languages : MT and two non-native languages, broadly Hindi as the official medium and the link language for the majority of the people for inter-state communication and English as the

associate official medium and link language for higher education and for intellectual and international communication.

When both non-native languages (Hindi and English) have significant functional value in the normal activities of an ordinary literate citizen, it does not appear to be a sound principle to confine the students strictly to a single medium throughout their long career (from the age of 6 to roughly 21 years). In such a multilingual situation it is very essential that along with the MT as principal medium, the second and third languages should also be provided as *auxiliary media of education*, to develop the students' power of expression in these non-native languages in the content subjects such as history, geography, civics, moral sciences etc. This provision can be greatly instrumental in reinforcing the function of these languages outside the class-room and thus lessen the burden of heavy allotment of many hours to the teaching of the second and third languages for attaining the desirable level of proficiency. These auxiliary media can also prove very useful as alternatives for smoothening the switch-over from one medium to another, in case facilities are not available in the M.T. medium for higher education at certain places. This provision will also remove, to a great extent, the handicaps faced by the nation in the absence of a single medium, at least at the university stage such as economy, efficiency, mobility of teachers from one part of the country to another, promotion of national integration, provision for an easy communication between academic and professional men and administrators, intellectual co-operation among the universities and exchange of research knowledge published in various Indian languages.

3. Operation of the Three-Language Formula :

The liberalised Three-Language Formula, as recommended by the Commission, is, in my opinion, academically sound and if successfully implemented, would get us more or less the desired results without the bitter pill of compulsion. It will have another advantage of allowing a wider choice to parents and students to suit their different aims and aptitudes in life. So far the aspect of motivation has been neglected in formulating the language policy of the country. The study of one or the other language should not be forced on the unwilling sections of the people. We must bear this aspect of learning in mind that with a negative motivation towards a skill or a subject, a child will learn it with the greatest difficulty, if indeed he learns at all.

According to the modified Formula, suggested by the Commission, (i) the mother-tongue (MT) or the regional language (RL) will be compulsorily studied for 10 years (classes I-X, age 6-15 years), hereafter terms as L_1 , (ii) the official language—Hindi (H) or the associate official language of the Union, English (E) for a minimum of 6 years (Classes V-X, age 10-15 years), termed as L_2 and (iii) a modern Indian (MIL) or foreign language (MFL)

(not covered under (i) and (ii) or used as the medium of education) for a minimum of 3 years (classes VIII-X, age 13-15 years), termed as L_3 .

3.1 Starting Points of the Second and Third Languages :

Learning a second language is essentially an adaptation of the supreme psychological fact of the learning of the MT. Many considerations suggest class III or IV as the optimum starting point for introducing a new language. In this connection, Nelson Brooks points out "On the one hand, the child of eight has already become familiar with the school world in which he is to spend so much of his time. He has already become literate in his mother tongue — an intellectual achievements of immense significance — and has by now a sharpened sense of awareness of the business of learning. On the other hand, he is still young to enjoy talk for its own sake, to intimate new sounds with an almost mirror-like accuracy, to accept and use new expressions without feeling a strong urge to take them apart or to compare them word by word with the mother tongue".¹ The curve of learning by imitation declines with increasing age, the curve of learning by analysis rises. Time will bring about changes in these factors and the beginning of a second language may as a result, be more difficult if he postpones his start until later years.

In multilingual India, where various languages claim regional dominance and where 14 major languages have been recognised in the Constitution as national languages (now 15, with the recognition of Sindhi), pan-Indian languages like Hindi and, for some time to come, English, will be occupying significant functional position in our national life. Hence it is imperative to ensure that students attain the desired level of comprehension and expression and certainly of retention in these languages. In such a situation I consider it essential to introduce the L_2 and L_3 of the Formula (mostly Hindi and English) in the school curriculum at least *one year earlier* than envisaged in the Report, which will contribute to effective learning and will lead to better retention of these languages. This suggestion implies that the study of L_2 should compulsorily begin from class IV (at the age of 9 years) instead of class V and of L_3 from class VII (age 12 years) instead of class VIII.

The Commission's Supplementary Note on 'the place of language in school curriculum in selected countries (pp. 217-23) shows that many developing Asian countries with multilingual set up begin the study of a second language from grade IV :

Israel — In Arabic schools where Arabic is MT, Hebrew as a second language is taught from grade IV and English as a third language from grade VI.

1. Nelson Brooks — Language and Language Learning : Theory and Practice, Harcourt, New York, 1960, pp. 113-14.

Afghanistan — begins the study of a second language (Persian or Pushtu) in grade IV.

Ceylan & Jordan — introduce English as a second language from class IV on compulsory basis.

In Europe, Ireland with Irish as official language, introduces English as a second language, right from class II, compulsorily.

3.2. Levels of Attainment :

The Formula only broadly suggests the minimum number of years of study of the three languages, keeping in view the general frame-work of education at the primary and secondary stages. The hours of study to be allotted to a specific language would very much depend on spelling out the level of attainment desired from the student at the time of the completion of a particular stage of education, the availability of standard text books and other teaching aids and of trained language teachers.

The question of instruction of different languages at different stages should be examined more thoroughly on the basis of co-ordinate research in allied disciplines — education, linguistics, psychology. With the aid of fundamental research in language teaching methods, it is possible to simplify the language teaching process. By introducing modern techniques in language teaching, in designing language curriculums, preparing language teaching materials and orienting language teachers in modern techniques, we can achieve the desired proficiency of language skills in a effective manner, with a higher degree of certainty and in considerably less time than what is spent at present.

The allotment of more or less time to the teaching of a particular language should not be judged as a prestige or status issue for that language. The study of MT in schools would require relatively less time than the teaching of L_2 or L_3 , as the student already acquires considerable control over the auditory and speaking skills of his MT outside the school. In the school his target of learning MT are roughly (i) to learn reading and writing, (ii) to refine his other production skills : comprehension, composition, style etc. (iii) to modify his linguistic habits to the acceptable versions of his speech (prescriptive skills) and (iv) to know about the system of his MT (grammar). The teaching of language skills and the study of literature and its appreciation should be treated separately in the school curriculum at the higher secondary stage.

The instruction of Hindi to students whose MT is any other Indo-Aryan language (say, Marathi) would require considerably less time and effort than the teaching of Hindi with the same proficiency to students whose MT is a non-Indo Aryan language (say, Tamil). Similarly the learning of

any Dravidian language (say, Tamil) would require considerably more time and effort for the student whose MT is an Indo-Aryan language (say, Hindi) than for the student whose MT is any other Dravidian language (say, Telugu).

Languages belonging to the same linguistic family have quite many similarities in phonological and grammatical systems and also common syntactic and semantic patterns, common vocabulary and styles, which reduce the learning load to a considerable extent. The teaching of English or any other MFL would require more time for an Indian student than for acquiring the same proficiency in Hindi, Tamil or any other MIL as the syntactic and semantic structure, cultural concepts and vocabulary are quite different from those of any MIL.

Under language teaching programmes, the emphasis should be on teaching production skills of a particular language. Different varieties of literature in that language: journalistic or commercial articles, speeches, short stories, poetry etc. should be suited to the teaching of production skills in that language.

3.3 Different approaches for Teaching Second and Third Languages :

Language learning is a bundle of skills which, like all skills, are subject to a degree of mutual interference when only partially learned and to weakening through disuse no matter how well they are eventually learned. Hence it is important not only to introduce them in the proper order but to keep them up to pitch and to maintain them in the proposed proportion to each other.

Hence teaching various languages at the school side by side (under the Formula at least three languages in classes VIII-X) and without any intensive programme retards effective learning. It transmits rather more of a boredom to the student than genuine interest in these languages by devoting on an average 3 or 4 periods daily out of the total 6 or 7 periods of learning for acquiring similar sets of habits—reading, writing, comprehension etc.—of different linguistic codes.

In the teaching of MT the emphasis is different, and the students' process of learning MT skills is also somewhat different. But while teaching second and third languages, instructions for acquiring the same skills from two different codes (say, Hindi and English) side by side certainly confuses the student and creates monotony in learning, which must be avoided at any cost, if we are interested in encouraging the student to create personal association and attachment with the skills in a particular language.

In view of these handicaps the principle of staggering the introduction of two languages has been recommended in the Report. This principle will, no doubt, help a great deal in language learning programme. But it is not enough to overcome the resistance and to break the monotony and drudgery of learning the same skills in two (or more) different languages side by side.

I suggest that the teaching of two (or more) languages simultaneously with uniform speed should be avoided and it should be paced out with different degrees of intensity. Language learning is more certain and rapid if the teaching is intensive. In the initial period, a new language should be taught intensively, roughly 12-15 periods a week. Later regular periods for the study of that language should be considerably reduced and it should be used as an auxiliary medium for teaching a content subject (e.g. history, geography, civics) for the reinforcement of what has been learnt and for increasing the degree of proficiency in that language.

Educational authorities may even explore the possibilities of teaching optional languages outside the Formula (additional RL, optional L3 at the higher primary stage) as intensive courses during 3 or 4 'Summer Sessions' of 8 weeks each, with the instructions of 5-6 hours daily, to cope with the heavy load of language learning. The same language may be reinforced in the regular school curriculum by providing one or two periods a week. The provision of such 'intensive summer sessions' can be made during the summer break by suitably increasing the gap between two regular annual sessions.

3.4 Languages at the Higher Secondary Stage :

The study of only two languages is made compulsory at the higher secondary stage (classes XI-XII) and it has been recommended that students should be given the option to select any two of the Formula languages studied earlier, or a combination of any two languages from the following groups (i) modern Indian languages, (ii) modern foreign languages and (iii) classical (Indian or foreign). This arrangement implies that the student has the liberty to begin with two altogether fresh languages in the same year (class XI). This will be detrimental in his learning either of the languages.

I suggest that this choice should be restricted so that the student can opt for only *one* fresh language in class XI and continue to study at least one language under the Formula.

4. Limit on the Maximum Language Study :

In considering the study of languages the Commission has rightly put a limit that at no stage should the learning of FOUR languages be made compulsory. But the Commission also considers it desirable that the provision should be made for the study of additional RL for linguistic minorities (from class III), of L3, in most cases Hindi in non-Hindi regions where students opt for English as L2 (from class V), and also classical language (CL) and any other modern Indian (MIL) or foreign language (MFL) from the lower secondary stage at the option of the pupil.

In such a situation it is possible that some educational institutions at the lower ladder, i.e. a school or a district level institution, might compel students to study 5 or 6 languages at a time—L₁, L₂ and L₃ under the Formula and additional RL, CL, other MIL or MFL—by manipulating the choice of other subjects and thus defeat the purpose of a well-balanced curriculum. Hence, it is essential that the limit of *optional languages* should also be set in the school curriculum. Considering the proportion of language study in the total education perspective up to the secondary stage, I feel that at no stage the pupil should be allowed to undertake study of more than FOUR languages at a time, keeping the following scheme of compulsory and optional language-study as a general basis of reference. In this scheme two principles have been borne in mind—

- (1) The starting point of introducing additional languages should be advanced by at least one year than envisaged in the Report and
- (2) No two fresh languages should be introduced in the same year. (Optional languages-study has been shown in parenthesis in the following scheme) :

Classes	Age (years)	No. of languages	Compulsory (+ optional) languages
1. I	6	1	L ₁ : MT/RL
2. II-III	7-8	1 (+1)	L ₁ (+ additional RL) ²
3. IV	9	2 (+1)	L ₁ + L ₂ : H/E (+ addl. RL)
4. V-VI	10-11	(2+2)	L ₁ + L ₂ (+ addl. RL) (+ L ₃ : E/H)
5. VII-IX	12-14	3 (+1)	L ₁ + L ₂ + L ₃ (+ addl. RL/CL)
6. X-XII	15-17	2 (+2)	Minimum of any 2 and maximum of any 4, provided (i) at least one language studied under the Formula and (ii) only one fresh language introduced in Class X.

5. Preparing Language Curriculum :

Different starting points, different degrees of advancement, different situations, these are universal problems, probably no more and no less acute in

2. Linguistic minority children are likely to know oral skills of RL before joining the school and can optionally begin with the learning of the visual (reading and writing) skills.

language learning than in any other subjects. At least, defining levels and ascertaining at which one a student ought to be working if circumstances permitted, will make the problem less acute.

Considering compulsory as well as optional introduction of various languages at different stages, it will be essential to spell out different levels of attainment in the light of different starting points. The subject matter of language learning may be divided up into a number of such levels—e.g. elementary, intermediate, advanced—and may be suited to the age, ability and interest of the learner.

In our educational set up the study of various languages up to the secondary stage can be defined through the following stream-lines. Years of optional study are shown in parenthesis:

Languages	Classes	Years of study	Max. years
1. (a) RL or MT	I-IX/-XII	9 ($\div 3$)	12
(b) Addl. RL other than MT	II-VI/-IX/-XII	(5) (+3) ($\div 3$)	11
2. MT other than RL as L ₁	I-IX/-XII	9 ($\div 3$)	12
3. (a) Mostly H/E & as L ₂	IV-IX/-XII	6 (+3)	9
4. (b) Optional E/H introd. earlier	V-VI/IX/-XII	(2 \div) 3 (+3)	8
(c) E/H as L ₃	VII-IX/-XII	3 (+3)	6
5. (a) CL as additional language	VII-IX/-XII	(3) ($\div 3$)	6
(b) -do-	X-XII	(3)	3
6. Any other optional MIL/MFL not covered under 1-4 above.		(3)	3

In every stream-line at the elementary level learning of oral skills should be given priority over that of the visual skills. At the intermediate level, gradually, the reading skill is brought into prominence and further, at the advanced level, the writing skill is also emphasised along with other skills. The final outcomes of each level in all the streams would not be identical. There will be a quality of naturalness and of durability in the learnings in

Stream *a* that will not be found in stream *b* and, again, in stream *b* that will not be found in Stream *c*.

The learner's programme should be so articulate that primary schools know what secondary schools are going to teach the pupils they send them and that secondary schools know what learnings primary school pupils have before they receive them.

6. Study of Hindi :

6.1 Motivation for Hindi :

In the present linguistic set up of the country, Hindi is supposed to develop so as to become a unifying force in Indian life. Up till now not much effort has been made to develop the language on the national level by assimilating various styles of Hindi and Hindustani-spoken and written-in Hindi regions and in the various parts of the non-Hindi regions (e.g. Bombay and Culcutta colloquial Hindi, Dakhini Hindi of the Deccan, Mopla Hindi of the South) and by incorporating various innovations of other languages (for this very purpose the VIII schedule was framed), which have developed many useful expressions in certain specific fields because of their varied cultural experiences, so that the official language, Hindi is enriched to serve as a fit medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India. Unfortunately this task has been hampered because of the political controversy over the language issue and also because of the lack of clarity and determination on the part of many protagonists and scholars of Hindi. Hence the development of Hindi is still being dictated by regional standards of the Hindi-speaking areas and there is lot of confusion prevailing over the 'national standard form' for the purposes of broadcasting, inter-State communication, technical and administrative translations and for teaching in non-Hindi speaking regions.

The development of a 'national standard form' of Hindi and the publications for children on technical and scientific subjects in the language would provide adequate motivation to non-Hindi speaking pupils to study Hindi more intensively. For the effective learning of Hindi in non-Hindi areas and of other MILs in the Hindi areas more incentives should be offered to students. Such as (i) arranging tours to the regions whose language they are learning and encouraging them to get extensive experience of other cultural aspects of that region along with that language. (ii) Annual Language Festivals of high school students and of University students may be organised on the pattern of Youth Festivals at the state level as well as at the national level where students may be encouraged to express themselves in any MIL other than their MT through elocution, recital and drama competitions.

6.2 Hindi Teaching on a Voluntary Basis :

To make Hindi an effective medium and a link language for the majority of the people for inter-state communication, the Commission rightly emphasizes that a nation-wide programme for promoting the study of Hindi on a voluntary basis be organised. In this connection, I would urge that a uniform scheme should be designed under the adult education programme in every State, benefitting from the rich experience of the various national and regional bodies for the propagation of Hindi such as the Dakshin Hindi Prachar Sabha, Madras, the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti, Wardha (branch of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan), both of which are recognised as 'national institutions'. Such institutions have done laudable and constructive spade-work during the last three decades for the propagation of Hindi with the help of mostly non-native Hindi teachers motivated by missionary zeal.

In the school curriculum, if it is recognised that the principle of teaching Hindi is different from that of teaching English, the possibilities of organising 'intensive Hindi sessions' in schools, during summer vacation, can be explored with the active co-operation of recognised Hindi institutions. The teaching of other MILs should also be tackled on similar lines.

6.3 Effective Teaching Methods :

The fact that a majority of students will be studying Hindi only for either 6 or 3 years makes it all the more necessary to ensure the adoption of effective modern methods of teaching the language by persons who have been specially trained for the purpose. Today the need of Hindi teachers in the remote non-Hindi areas is met largely by a band of voluntary organisations devoted to the propagation of Hindi as the national language. But these teachers, in most cases, are not acquainted with modern teaching methods and continue to teach the language through traditional translation-grammar technique, which is no longer a very effective method to teach a second language.

In this respect it is essential to plan a nation-wide crash programme to achieve maximum results in a short span of time. It would be useful to assign the work to a committee of specialists in the field of teaching Hindi as a second language, to survey the magnitude of the problem and to look into the existing arrangements of teaching Hindi as an additional language throughout the country and make recommendations for formulating programmes of teaching Hindi in different stream-lines in the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian regions. A central institute of Hindi should be established, preferably in the non-Hindi region, with its regional counterparts in every non-Hindi-speaking states, on a pattern similar to the Central Institute of English of Hyderabad and the regional Institutes of English in the various states. These central

and regional Hindi Institutes may be entrusted with the task of conducting fundamental research in the teaching of Hindi, preparing contrastive analyses of interfering languages, launching orientation programmes for the existing Hindi teachers of various stages and training schemes for fresh language teachers, framing detailed syllabi for different levels (such as elementary, intermediate, advanced) and, on the basis of that, preparing teaching materials (textbooks, work-books, manuals etc.) for different classes.

Language is a great of human society. With proper planning, clear perspective and imaginative action, a developing nation like India, having a rich variety of languages, can exploit the situation towards having an insight in human behaviour, utilising the multilingual communication network for technological advancement and other benefits, instead being sentimental regarding one or the other language and thus directing peoples' energy towards discord and rivalry.

REFERENCE :

Report of the Education Commission, Government of India, New Delhi, 1966.

Discussion

Dr. S. D. Laddu : The paper gives ample evidence of the thought given by the author to the vexed question which is of interest and concern to everyone in India today. By laying stress on the academic standards, as being the principal guides during the switch-over in the transitional period, what a truly scientific approach should be in the present situation in India.

However, I do not agree with him when he upholds the Commission's recommendations to set up institutions "with some of the important world languages as media of education" as "an ideal situation" where students will have choice to go to a school or college with a suitable medium". Here is a case when science has to yield to a compromise with culture. Health, educational practices demand instruction through the medium of the mother tongue. Sometimes a situation arises creating the necessity of imparting instruction in a non-MT language. Realising this, the value of "choice" may be judged for each category of students.

- (1) Those from families of international agencies. There may be choice of medium between an international language (*which may or may not be the MT*) and the national language.

(2) Those belonging to families in All-India services — There may be choice only between national and regional media on the condition that the student passes a test in the non-MT language he wants as medium. The demand for instruction in the *MT should be discouraged here* (unless it was the national language). Because, firstly, it is apt to create difficulties at some stage of education (teaching, examining etc.) and secondly, it generally fosters isolationist tendencies.

(3) Those from the same region :

Only MT as the medium, without choice.

(4) Those of migrated or non-migrated Indian families within India :

Choice of international language as the medium should be disallowed.

Shri S. N. Salgarkar : The institution carrying out the entire teaching in foreign languages, one of which is English, is nothing but an English medium school in disguise for the elite.

Dr. L. M. Khubchandani : In the present set up of education, we tend to prescribe specific subjects for the development of a child. I am not very enthusiastic about this prescription-oriented education. I would rather side with the choice-oriented education, where educationists organise different sets of choices to suit the learners' aims and aptitudes in life, and where the state provides opportunities and incentives in the society so that learners are motivated to opt for the subjects or medium (or media) of instruction required for national purposes.

Psychologically, compulsion of any kind in learning, be it for the benefit of an individual, is met with resistance, which defeats the very purpose of education. Hence I would prefer the Union, or any state government, to decide to discourage a particular medium or a subject by fixing priorities in granting financial assistance to institutions and by granting other incentives, rather than totally disallowing education through a particular medium or teaching of a particular subject in the state.

Dr. M. V. Sreedhar : I think a Malayalam speaker will have more difficulty in learning Hindi than learning English, as both, Malayalam and English, do not have gender.

Dr. L. M. Khubchandani : A few typological similarities between the structures of the mother-tongue and the target language, as pointed out for Malayalam and English, might mislead a learner. But when we look into the details of Malayalam and English structures, we find that the vast differences

in phonological, grammatical and semantic structures and also in cultural concepts of the two languages would involve a much greater effort for a Malayali student to learn English than to learn Hindi. Though Hindi and Malayalam belong to different linguistic families, both have many common points of structure and cultural concepts due to historical and geographical affinities. These factors are of considerable help in learning a language.

Dr. R. N. Vale : To begin with, it would be more scientific to know the child with his heredity and environment. For, a child coming from the educated home is likely to be better equipped than the one coming from an illiterate family. Similarly a child coming from the rural environment will have to be differentiated from the one born and brought up in a big city. Even disregarding such discrimination, if we cater to the development of an average hypothetical child of ordinary means and capacities, it would not be advisable to introduce a second language in the primary 3rd or 4th standard. The study of the first language — the mother tongue or the regional language — alone should be continued till the individual acquires sufficient control over it. Language skills of the normal literacy level hitherto require atleast four years to master them.

Moreover, the discipline acquired through the mastery of the first language is the base for learning a second, a third or any number of new languages. So it has to be well-laid and firm. The cultivation of the first language should not be left off or given a secondary place after the completion of the primary stage. Individual self-expression in one's own language, to meet all needs and circumstances, require a more qualitative and systematic study from primary to the university level.

The status of other languages, classical, Indian or European, should be secondary and optional. A provision for teaching three or four such languages should be made in the school time-table and students should have the choice to select any of them. Independent language institutes may be set up at various centres where these languages should be taught in the shortest possible time through the regional language to one who has obtained a secondary school certificate.

Dr. Mrs. I. Karve : I do not understand why there is insistence on the teaching of the mother tongue throughout the school career when it is to remain as the medium of education. I suggest that it should be dropped at the higher stages when the second and third languages are to be introduced. This will lessen the load of language learning in the curriculum.

I do not know whether any country is following the pattern of introducing the second and third languages as auxiliary media of education.

Shri S. N. Salgarkar : I doubt if at any time all the education one aspires for can be had through the medium of the mother tongue only. Espe-

cially in the field of science and technology which is expanding at an exponential rate and we have already the disadvantage of a few hundred years, it will never be possible to study these subjects through the mother tongue at the university stage. If the expenditure involved in preparing textbooks (copied, unoriginal and translated) is diverted to making courses for teaching English in a crash programme, a lot will have been achieved.

Dr. S. D. Laddu : The ideas on auxiliary media of education, with a view to strengthening the student's expression in the non-native languages in the content subjects, are good. Experience, however, over all these years, and almost in every part of India, has shown the failure of the ideals aimed at e.g.; in the case of the mastery of expression in English. This probably again stresses the value of the mother tongue as the medium. But there could be other factors responsible for the failure, like the out-of-date methods of teaching, which must be studied carefully.

Dr. L. M. Khubchandani : Regarding the utility of auxiliary media of education, let me add that if we accept active bilingualism as a matter of public communication for an ordinary literate citizen, we need not insist on having a single medium for all subjects, throughout the 15-20 years period of education. We should train the student for handling certain subjects, in the second or third languages, on a limited scale. It will serve as a reinforcement exercise to attain desirable proficiency in these languages, so that after finishing his academic career, when he faces the multilingual situation he is well-equipped to adjust himself in the society.

Apart from this, I consider that active bilingualism in schools will really be one of the vital factors in the modernisation process which will qualify Indian languages for new roles in the society. A language cannot develop in isolation. It is rather erroneous to presume that Indian languages can be developed by creating a vacuum by eliminating the English medium and then stretching the mother tongue as the medium to the final stages of education and research. I believe that, in the present context, active partnership between the developed language-English-and the developing languages will be very healthy for the growth of Indian languages.

Dr. A. M. Ghatage : I have a mathematical problem here. If a language is taught at the rate of 12-15 hours per week, you will be teaching three languages for 45 hours per week to a student of class VII at the age of 12 years, which is beyond his physical capacity.

Secondly, we cannot just prescribe a particular number of years for the study of one language and another number for other languages. We must first specify what are the targets for such study and what normal proficiency is expected from students after having gone through the required course.

Shri S. N. Salgarkar : The Commission has stated the recommended study of the second and third languages in a vague fashion, in terms of years of study. I suppose it should have been in terms of (1) the number of hours put in and (ii) the level of competency expected.

I feel that for L_3 , the study should be restricted to (i) 160 hours, spread over one semester of 4 months, followed by (2) three hours per week thereafter to retain the skill acquired and also to offer scope for improvement and advancement.

As far as competency targets are concerned, the emphasis in the study of L_3 should be on understanding and reading skills and in the study of L_2 more time has to be allotted for developing the writing skill. As for L_1 , no such criterion need be laid down, since it also involves the study of literature and there is hardly any suggestion that need be made in this field.

Dr. A. M. Ghatage : The idea of intensive courses in schools is somewhat ridiculous.

Dr. R. N. Vale : The so-called intensive practice in one or many languages, other than the mother tongue, at a time is likely to be boring and harmful to the development of the student. Similarly, the vacations in the primary and high school stages should not be used for learning additional foreign or indigenous languages. For, vacations are absolutely necessary to allow the endo-psychic process to consolidate whatever is learnt during the school terms. At the most, vacations may be utilized in giving the necessary work experience to them in a limited way.

Dr. L. M. Khubchandani : In my scheme, the total time envisaged for the study of languages would not exceed 22-24 hours a week which is much below the time spent on language study in schools at present. At a time only one language can be introduced on an intensive scale, i.e. 12-15 hours a week. In the next stage, this language is to be followed up by 3-4 hours a week, and also to be used as an auxiliary medium for teaching a content subject.

The Commission has broadly suggested the pattern of language study, as the first step, considering the total frame-work of education in a multi-lingual federal set up. I agree with Dr. Ghatage that a clear demarcation of the levels of attainment in these languages at various stages will be necessary for preparing the scheme in detail. This should be the next step for which educationists and linguists will have to work together and prepare suitable programmes of language study.

The success of intensive courses organised by the Dakshin Hindi Prachar Sabha, the Wardha Rashtrabhasha Samiti and other have shown that

there is strong motivation. Such programmes could be implemented on a wider scale without causing an extra burden to students. I have merely suggested adjusting the timings of long vacations to accommodate these language intensive courses for optional study.

Shri Kandhari : The load of four languages will be too much for a child. Specialisation in any subject should not begin at the high school stage, but at the college level.

Dr. L. M. Khubchandani : In order to get effective control over a language, it need to be introduced before completing high school education. However, the spirit of my suggestion has been to bring down the number of optional languages from 4 or 5 to the maximum of 2 at any given time.

Dr. S. M. Katre : The basic question is, 'why do we require more than one language?' The second question is regarding the variety of Hindi which should serve the purpose of the national language. The programme of developing Hindi will have to be scientifically worked out so that it is accepted by all language communities.

Dr. L. M. Khubchandani : If L1 i. e. the mother-tongue or regional language satisfies all the needs of communication for the citizens of a country, then there is no need to go for other languages. But, I think, the multi-lingual situation in our federal set up demands from a literate citizen the knowledge of at least two, preferably three, languages for participating fully in his environments.

Dr. A. M. Ghatage : Unless you suppress the mother tongue, you cannot have other languages as a matter of compulsion. I think, we should have only one language compulsory and others optional.

Shri Kandhari : The first language is most important, without any question. The second language should be Hindi. The third language should only be for the people who want to go abroad or are dealing with international agencies.

Shri S. N. Salgarkar : It is high time that Hindi should be given proper place as a regional language like Marathi, Bengali and Tamil. The true official language of India should be what Gandhiji called Hindustani, which includes all the versions of Hindustani spoken over India and incorporate various innovations of other languages.

Secondly, the concept of the development of many useful expressions in different languages for certain specific fields, because of their varied cultural experience as mentioned by Dr. Khubchandani, has a very important bearing

on my plea of retention of English as the medium of instruction for certain technological subjects. We must realize that the 'technical culture', which we are now trying to adapt, is not our own and hence we never have had those "cultural experiences" and our languages have not developed in those fields. The retention of English in these fields is therefore, less imperative. We may teach astrology or astronomy or the Vedanta philosophy in Sanskrit, but not cosmology or modern physics or modern medicine in any of the Indian languages. (Ayurvedic medicine may be an exception).

Dr. N. G. Kalelkar : I don't think that the mixing of expression from different languages for developing a national language will ever be successful. We should not be double-minded. It is far easier to accept the language and then develop it for the new responsibilities it is called upon to face.

Shri Kandhari : I suggest that Hindi as spoken by the people of Delhi and used by All India Radio should be adopted as a standard form for the whole country.

Dr. L. M. Khubchandani : I consider that the proliferation of Hindi, or more precisely Hindustani, through a large part of the country during last 2-3 centuries, has been mainly due to its flexibility of expression and adapting itself to various cultural experiences all over India. But the recent trends of developing a rigid 'high-brow' style of Hindi, by discarding assimilated Perso-Arabic elements from the language and charging it with an excessive dose of borrowings or 'arm-chair coinage' of technical terms from the Sanskrit stock, even at the cost of intelligibility in communication, have widened the gulf between the nationally accepted Hindustani and the official diction of Hindi.

If Hindi has really to become an effective medium of expression, representing all the elements of the composite culture of India, the most essential thing is that psychologically the Indian masses should get the feeling of participating in developing a standard form of the link language, and not being dictated by the regional standards of a particular language groups. Hence it is necessary to retain the flexible characteristics of Hindustani, as envisaged by Gandhiji, and develop a simple style of the language for administrative, academic and technological use.

LANGUAGE STANDARDIZATION

By

A. M. GHATAGE

In his recent book called 'Language Standardization', Dr. Punya Slok Ray has put forth a three-fold criterion for this purpose; it should be cheaper to acquire and maintain, more dependable in performance and in each specimen more like any other. Most of the discussion, which follows, pertains to scripts or writing systems for languages, to which criteria of the nature indicated above can be applied with some show of reason. But, as applied to languages, I fail to understand what they could mean. What do we mean by saying that one language is cheaper to acquire than another, or cheaper to maintain, unless we are referring to the learning of a second language? And surely this is not intended. In what sense is one language more dependable in performance than another? All along, linguists have maintained that all languages are capable of doing linguistic work for which they are evolved. And finally what are we to understand by the expression that each specimen of the language should be more like any other? Does it refer to the inherent homogeneity in a given language as compared to others, which is always true, or lack of variations in the language itself, in which case each language will show a different picture? Surely, the application of criteria of this nature to languages is not much revealing, and so, standardisation in language should mean something else than is suggested by this book.

Both scholars and laymen have taken two distinct and slightly opposite attitudes towards language. One such attitude is to let the language alone to itself, while the other is to try to lay down norms for it to shape and develop. The layman lets the language alone because he is not much concerned with it and its working, except as a means to some practical end, and the scholar, impressed by its importance and compelling social force, thinks it beyond the scope of either modification or change with a definite purpose in view. On the other hand, the same layman is keenly conscious of the value and prestige which attaches to the linguistic expression in life, and constantly endeavours to adjust his own speech to the accepted norm, either from one dialect to another, or one style to another, and so on. In the past, scholars also took a similar attitude and attempted to lay down standards and norms which should be followed in languages. These took the form of prescriptive or normative grammars, and were even legislated in the form of the decisions of language academics.

This ambivalent attitude towards language is due to the very intimate connection it has with its speakers. We, as human beings, have acquired, with constant application some abilities by way of skills in many manual activities, knowledge with respect to many a subject and even insight in others. But we have also grown with some others, like the social organization, religion, law, form of government, customs, beliefs etc., and also language, which we have internalised in our earliest days from the surroundings in which we lived. Language, in particular, has thereby become a part and parcel of our inner life and has acquired an importance, which cannot be explained on the basis of its being merely means to an end. This is why we put so great an emphasis on the use of language and yet find it hard to alter it consciously.

Another characteristic feature of language is the large variations it may show when it is used by a large linguistic community. Logically speaking an ideal system of communication should be ideally uniform, and any difference in its coding and decoding operations means less efficiency in its use leading to lack of perfect understanding and hence some amount of break in communication its primary purpose. But in fact all languages show variations of diverse kinds in their actual use and we hardly expect to find a language which is homogeneous throughout its spread over a large area or over a stratified society or even over a wide range of use. The more uniform such a system becomes the less like language it looks to us, and a good algebraic notation, or a rigidly formulated botanical classification, or a perfectly precise symbolism of logic is felt as less of a language and more of something else. The reason is obvious. We do not want to use language merely for communication of ideas or thoughts or information but also for a whole gamut of emotions, overtones and attitudes which cannot be done without a fair amount of suppleness and variation.

Standardization in language, as distinct from script or notation, comes out of these two features, variation in speech and association of language with overtones of social and personal origins. The questions which naturally arise in this context are, is standardization of languages possible, if possible, is it desirable and if so how and to what extent should it be carried out? A discussion of these questions will also clarify, it is hoped, what standardization means in linguistic matters.

It is often contended that it is not possible to tamper with language and no pre-designed change can be introduced in it with any hope of success. If natural languages cannot be specifically modified, it is thought, the only way to improve the situation is to produce artificial languages and a number of such attempts, of artificial international auxiliary languages, is on record. Both linguistic theory and the practical experience in this field appear to discredit this type of approach for linguistic standardization and no success is expected along this line. Whether natural languages can be modified accord-

ing to a preconceived plan is yet an unsettled question and the bit of evidence, which is available in this respect is of an inconclusive nature. Hence when people speak of developing languages, enriching them or adapting them to modern uses and needs, or incorporating in it material from other languages so as to suit its genius etc., these are mere phrases the exact significance of which is too vague and imprecise to help us get anywhere, and the *modus operandi* for it is unknown.

One of the basic assumptions of historical linguistics is that language undergoes constant change in course of time, and such a change cannot be arrested if the language is to be a live means of continuous use. As the real forces which produce these changes either for good or for bad yet remain mostly untraced and unknown, the problem of controlling these changes becomes a matter of doubt and uncertainty. Hence one is left with the facile attitude of regarding the natural growth in language as either a matter of progress automatically brought about, and hence cause for satisfaction or a matter of degeneration, and hence causing despair, but, in any case, beyond the control of speakers and policy-makers. But this leaves behind a faint hope that, in theory at least, a language can be modified and desirable changes introduced in it, provided the root causes of such changes can be ascertained and then controlled and modified in the way one desires. Slightly more is known about the way in which the linguistic changes work, and it is now clear that more than a precept or an order, what may succeed in linguistic matters will be examples and persuasion, which is certainly going to be a slow process, as it should be. It is neither possible nor desirable to force the pace of linguistic changes. Once it is admitted that linguistic changes can be brought about, standardization should then mean nothing but these changes being directed along desired lines, mostly leading to convergent developments. Probably, this process is inherent in the natural development of languages themselves, and what can be called standardization is simply to help it proceed along prechosen ways. There is reason to believe that every literary language of cultural importance has undergone such a process and the examples of Latin or Attic Greek are cases of unusual clarity.

Standardization in language thus implies a choice of a particular form of speech giving it a wider scope in use, with the necessary adjustments, to cope with new situations. In theory, any dialect or even an *ideolect*, can be thus standardised and there are cases of a local dialect, like the speech of a single town Roma, becoming the basis of a standard language of great geographical and cultural expanse, or the *ideolects* of a Dante or a Luther forming the basis of standard Italian or German. All the same, it is a matter of historical accident and the forces involved in it are so complex and so unpredictable that planning on this basis is impracticable and futile. We thus answer our first question by saying that standardization of a given form of speech is possible, though the choice of the form and the way in which this

can be done are not completely under the control of the policy-maker and the desirability or otherwise of a given course must be the basic criterion of choice, involving non-linguistic considerations.

Can there be a large linguistic community with no standardised language for some specific uses? I doubt it very much. A situation in which each and every regional and class dialect is used for all purposes is not practicable, and probably does not exist. It is possible to have a series of standards at different levels, like the local standard, the provincial standard, the national standard etc., as there could be different standards for writing prose or poetry, standards for refined speech, colloquial speech or even more intimate type of conversation. In a situation of this type, either they are very close to each other, and hence do not produce any serious difficulty, or their functions are well demarcated from each other with no conflict involved. If the forms are much different a situation develops in which one becomes the standard language and the others sink to the status of mere patois. No planning can reverse this position and the only way out is to develop the standard to the fullest extent and to see that it takes on itself the functions of the other forms. It goes without saying that extra-linguistic considerations, like economy of effort, facilities of printing and publication, closer contact in all walks of life and many other things, are going to favour a fewer number of standards, or standard of wider scope, than many standards of limited use. A situation like that of ancient Greek dialects for different types of works, or different Middle Indo-Aryan Prakrits for different social and sex groups, is inherently artificial and to that extent unstable. It has nothing to recommend itself.

The procedure of standardization is simple enough. It involves no new creation, no translation, no calques, no borrowing, no adoption. These are the normal processes of linguistic change and are operative as much in the standard language as in other sub-standard forms. The basic process is a choice of one feature as against others, a kind of selection out of the existing material, and then endowing it with greater prestige, which would naturally lead to its wider and more frequent use. This may pertain to a linguistic feature which in itself may have no importance as to the case of the alternative inflections in Middle English for the third person singular of the present tense *-th* or *-s*, the second of which was selected and given wider scope. The discarded feature may either remain as an archaism, as in this case, or lose prestige and become a sub-standard form, as in Marathi *sāpadṇe* and *gavasṇe*.

The real problem in language standardization is to get to know and be able to put into operation the means of making the choice acceptable to all concerned and help it spread at the cost of the discarded alternatives. As there is nothing inherent in the features themselves, which can help us accept one at the expense of the other, and as innovations or choices in languages can as much attract as repel the speakers by their being mere innovations or

choices, this problem is well-nigh insoluble at the theoretical level. Hence come in considerations like expediency, use of coercion, persuasion and other more subtle pressures like bestowing praise or prizes, monopoly, subsidization and a host of other well-known methods usually used in bringing about social changes. To what extent linguistics can be of help in this matter remains a doubtful proposition.

Discussion

Dr. (Mrs.) I. Karve : In Sanskrit drama there is one language for prose and another for poetry. Paris, for instance, plays an important role in standardising the French language.

Dr. L. M. Khubchandani : Norwegian and Modern Hebrew are good instances which show that with proper planning existing speech can be given a form for serving specific purposes of the community.

Dr. D. P. Pattanayak : From the point of view of a locality, the language spoken there is the standardised speech of that locality.

Dr. A. M. Ghatage : Unless y agrees to speak the language of x , no standardisation can be there. If every speaker says that his form of speech is correct, I doubt if any standard language exists there.

Some standard must be accepted by all speakers of the group. The very process of standardising a form is done at the cost of another form. When one form is accepted, the other one is not driven out but becomes less frequent or is treated as archaic.

Every innovation starts at an individual level. It cannot start in the air. Standardisation is one kind of language change. When one form is chosen at the cost of another, it is standardisation.

Shri Mankodi : Does this mean that standardisation is a matter of choice?

Dr. A. M. Ghatage : Standardisation is a process of the selecting a dialect. But if a language is driven out to replace another, it is not standardisation but imposition.

Dr. H. S. Biligiri : Suppose we have a local dialect, do you think that the standardisation has taken place there?

Dr. A. M. Ghatage : Yes, that will be a local standardisation.

Shri. S. B. Kulkarni : Preventing the use of certain words as unparliamentary, would you call it standardisation?

Dr. A. M. Ghatage : Certainly.

Dr. L. M. Khubchandani : I would like to clarify this point. According to your statement, if a dialect is selected at the cost of another, it is called standardisation and if a language is replaced by another, it is called imposition. In a bilingual situation, if a child unconsciously picks up a language other than his mothertongue, it cannot be called 'imposition'.

Dr. (Mrs.) I. Karve : If authority intervenes in changing language habits it is 'imposition'.

Dr. L. M. Khubchandani : Different varieties of Hindi or Hindustani are spoken in Delhi, Lucknow, Banaras, Patna, Calcutta, Bombay and other places. A linguist can study these different varieties and give certain directions for selecting a common core which is mutually intelligible and unambiguous to all Indian speakers. A linguist can only place these guidelines before the society and the ultimate acceptance depends on the prestige attached to these suggestions and all other socio-cultural factors. This role of a linguist can be considered as an effort towards the standardisation of a language.

By

D. P. PATTANAYAK

Translation is the process by which meaningful experience from one speech community is communicated to another. In a monolingual situation, this might mean transmitting a message from one dialect to another, from one register to another, or from an early stage of the language to its later stage. The marginal or interlinear glossing of the early Latin texts and the Vedic *Nighantus* presenting strings of synonyms may be considered as two manifestations of the unlingual translation. A third manifestation is the transmission of a message from one style to another. The following Tamil examples demonstrate the differences between two stages as well as two styles of the language.

Old Tamil *nān katti uṭaiyen*

Written Tamil *enniṭam katti irukkiratu.*

Spoken Tamil *engiṭṭe katti irukku.*

Even among the spoken varieties of speech there is difference between the caste dialects of Tamil, Thus :

Non-Brahmin *ennakku so:ru veṇu* 'I want rice'

Brahmin *ne:ku śa:dam veṇu* 'I want rice'.

The syntactic differences, the vocabulary substitutions and the grammatical changes in the above examples point out some of the complexities involved even in a unilingual translation.

The early and medieval translation efforts in Europe, including those of Bible translation, emphasised word for word translation with lamentable results. From word to sense through phrase, sentence, paragraph and a discourse, mark the progress in the history of translation. In India too the same progress may be noted in the ideas implicit in the *Nighantus*, *yāakas* *Nirukta* and partially explicit in Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. From a pure listing of synonyms, through the groping in the darkness for finding a basis of etyma in *Nirukuta*, one comes to the refreshing distinction between *pada-*

śphoṭa and *vākya śphoṭa* in Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya with clear emphasis on definition as the mechanism for making meaning explicit rather than word or a sentence.

Unilingual or intralingual translation may be viewed as 'rewording' or interpreting a message expressed by a set of verbal signs by means of other signs in the same language. But in the substitutions of code units it is almost impossible to find two units isomorphic in their domain. That is why the so called synonyms may be viewed as expressing subtle differences of registers or distances in space and time. Thus substitution of current form or an obsolete form or both for a current term may be reflecting a bi-register or multiple register intra-lingual translation as the case may be.

Although unilingual translation is of great interest, it is bilingual or interlingual translation that is considered as the translation proper by most people. Intersemiotic translation deals with the interpretation of verbal signs in terms of non-verbal behaviour and is outside the interest of most linguists.

A basic underlying assumption of the word for word and sentence for sentence translation is that the semantic contents of a word or a sentence in the source language can be specified precisely in a word and a sentence in the target language. But it is futile to look for full equivalence between features of two languages. It is important to underline from the very beginning that such substitutions when attempted are generally partial. For example, for the word 'curds' in English the Oriya equivalent is *dahi*. But the varieties of curds expressed by *basā dahi*, *chedā dahi* do not have their English counterparts.

In the sense that any two languages are potentially capable of expressing the totality of cognitive experience, they are the same. But since different language speakers more often than not, perceive and segment experience differently and to the extent languages use different devices in expressing even the same content, they are different in handling 'meaningfulness'. This is why translation, which aims at communicating the meaningful experience from one language to another presupposes bilingual competence. The more balanced and advanced the mastery of bilingualism the more facility he has in interpreting the bicultural data manipulated by the source language and the target language.

Robert Graves, the English poet and novelist calls translation a lie, a polite lie. Some have also called translators traitors. Robert Graves thinks of translation as almost absolutely impossible whereas the other group think that translators can never be faithful. It is also recognised that 'faithful translations are seldom beautiful and the beautiful ones are seldom faithful. Since earliest times faithfulness has been considered to be the touch-stone

by which translations are tested. The French translator scholar Etienne Dolet (1509-1546) was strangled to death and all his writings put to flame as his translation of Plato was considered to be unfaithful to the original. Since then with the expansion of the notion of valid translation, the concept of faithfulness has also been considerably enlarged. We have arrived at a time when 'equivalence in difference' or presentation of a message in two different yet equivalent codes, is not merely accepted as valid, but preferred by many.

It is necessary to emphasise at this point that as any cognitive experience is conveyable in any existing language, one has to be proficient in the use of different devices in the target language for the expression of any conceptual information contained in the source language. Some of the devices may be examined for clarifying the above position.

(a) Qualification and amplification of terminology Siberian chukchees:
Screw=rotating nail.

(b) Loan translation

Russian : Horseless street car called *eletriceskaya konka* 'electrical horse car'.

(c) Addition of information

(i) English : She has brothers.

Sanskrit : dual. She has two brothers.

Pl. She has more than two brothers

Either/or. She has either two or more than two brothers.

(ii) English : I fired a worker.

Russian : More information needed.

One has to know whether the action was completed or not in order to determine the choice between a completive or non-completive aspect of the verb.

nanyal or nanimal

one has to know whether the worker was a man or woman in order to exercise choice between a masculine and a feminine noun.

rabotnika or rabotnici

(d) Difference in grammatical categories : Gender. Police is feminine in Hindi which sounds queer to an Oriya speaker.

The Czech poet Joseph Hora was frustrated while he tried to translate Boris Pasternak's poem 'My Sister Life'.
as Russian : zhizny is feminine while Czech zivot is masculine.

- (e) Repetition of constituents leading to change of meaning and the use of this device by different languages in different ways.

Philippines language : Truly Truly = Perhaps (Doubt)

Dravidian : (Tamil) : veḷaveḷai = appropriate time

Malayo-Polynesian languages : bāhāsā bāhāsā = Languages (Plurality)

Sanskrit : kaṅṭhe kaṅṭhe = In each voice (each, every)

The above examples are sufficient to demonstrate that unless one has adequate command over the target language in all its dimensions, it is hard to get the ease so necessary for translation. If the linguist himself is not a translator, he can aid the translator by supplying him with the best description which, in turn, will give the translator an insight into the working of the languages concerned.

It has already been suggested that facility in language use is not sufficient for one to be a good translator. It is important that the translator be bicultural as well. Language is the product as well as the expression of culture. One's knowing a language is not really complete — without knowing how meaning is structured. Unfortunately, due to the influence of behavioural conditioned reflex on the study of language and the necessity to emphasise automaticity at the initial stages of language acquisition, unfortunately the study of meaningfulness has been neglected by linguists. This lulled some to believe that the study of culture is not essential for the translator. A few examples are given below to demonstrate the necessity on the part of the translator for having an insight into the cultural phenomena.

- (a) Behaviour as expressed by language means different things to different communities. Thus "Beating the breast" means 'repentance' in Luke 18 : 13, 'to congratulate oneself' in the Central African Chokwe language, 'pride' as well as 'deep sorrow' in Oriya.
- (b) Cultural norms and permitted deviant behaviour are different in different societies.

Supposing through observations and enquiry one finds that most people go to bed between 9-11 p.m. and they get up between 5-7 a.m. It is further found that a few people get up between 8-9 a.m. It

in a particular culture people view this as a matter of personal convenience then there is no pattern. But if people who get up late are considered sick and lazy, then it provides a clue for further enquiry in establishing a pattern of rest in the community.

- (c) The attitude of an American and a Spaniard to bull-fight provides a very interesting example of cultural difference and necessity of bicultural insight. The Spaniard considers bull-fight as a sport, a triumph of humanity over brute force. The American considers it a demonstration of cruelty, the killing of a defenceless animal. The attitude of a Spaniard towards human and animal is so differentiated that there are separate groups of words indicating animal and human body parts. It is not enough to know this fact and jump into conclusions about the character of various culture groups. The American attitude towards animals, for instance, is different from their attitude towards fish. Tarpon fishing is similar to bull-fight in almost all its aspects; no American considers it cruel.

Although people may be aware of many socio-cultural and linguistic divergences in their own immediate surroundings, somehow they tend to consider the alien culture to be an undifferentiated and undisturbed whole. Such an attitude leads one to generalise about the whole community from isolated individual traits. Such attitude is a hindrance to good translation. A translator attempts to reproduce in his audience something of the same effect which is supposed to have existed in the original. The sooner he recognises that words are tools for the manipulation of concepts, that the problem of response to meaning is different for different communities, and that one has to focus attention on the total cultural context, not to ferret out hidden motifs of words but to establish the extent to which verbal symbols carry emotive meaning and in what way they segment experience, the better equipped he is as a translator.

It must be clear by now that translation as an art and as a science goes beyond the narrow domains of linguistics. It may be considered a part of applied linguistics, where knowledge of the language structure is an essential equipment. The qualities of a good translator are his competence in manipulating the structures of both the languages and both the cultures he is concerned with. Knowledge of the conclusions arrived at by researchers in the fields of philology, symbolic logic, psychology, psycholinguistics and cybernetics are likely to enhance this competence.

The purpose of translation also determines the degree of sophistry in culture required on the part of the translator. A scientific translation or the field notes of a sociologist may require a verbatim translation without much refinement in the language. A religious translation is judged on a different

standard by a sectarian. In one Marathi translation of the Bible, the use of the term *mulgā* was preferred to *putra* in the sense of 'son' on the ground that the term *putra* etymologically means 'one who relieves his father from hell fire'. The implication, howsoever remote, of Jesus, the Son of God, saving his father from hell fire, was considered repugnant to the doctrine. On the other hand, a specialist might need a heavily annotated translation of a piece to give him all possible nuances of meaning. Translations of narrative, descriptive, and interpretative prose are relatively simpler than translations of poetry, where 'profusion is forced into a miniature mould'. The sonorous quality of words and metres, which is an essential part of a verse structure are almost impossible to recreate in the target language. With how much of the texture and mood of the original the translator will be satisfied with, depends partially on his competence, partially on his audience, and partially on the purpose of translation.

This brings us to the question of the qualitative evaluation of translation. Judging a translation as 'good' or 'bad' really reflects a relative placement of the translation in question in a gradient scale with 'unacceptable' and 'excellent' at either end, and degrees of acceptability in between. When Carlyle's 'Hero and Hero Worship' is translated in Marathi as *vibhūti pūjā*, it may be accepted by the Marathi readers in the absence of a better translation but there is no doubt that it is an unacceptable translation. This translation does not convey Carlyle's sense of 'Hero' and betrays the lack of understanding of the cultural context of the essays on the part of the translator. The translation of Elliott's 'Waste Land' in Oriya is very inferior in quality, yet it is read with appreciation by many in the absence of a better translation. As a habitation is not judged 'unlivable' simply because a few rules of sanitation are not observed, similarly a translation is not absolutely rejected because it is not perfectly satisfactory. The existence of more than one competing translation of texts is proof of relativity in style, appreciation, and acceptance.

Discussion

Dr. A. M. Ghatage : How would one render a faithful translation of an idiomatic work? Is it necessary for the translator to know about the cultural background of the language from which the translation is made?

Dr. D. P. Pattanayak : Yes, unless he has the cultural background, he cannot do justice to the translation.

Dr. A. R. Kelkar : As for example in translating the term 'repentance' in the Bible, a translator is supposed to provide the mythological background associated with the term.

Poetic translations are much more difficult than the other.

Dr. (Mrs.) I. Karve : We have four different translations of *Meghadūta*. The language of these translations represents difference of time and place. Translators are also of different calibre.

Dr. A. M. Ghatage : The crucial point about translation is whether it should be a good one or a correct one. What should be the standard for judging a translation ?

Dr. L. M. Khubchandani : A translation of a literary work should be a good one which primarily conveys the aesthetic sense of the original work. But a translation of a factual work, say a scientific paper, should emphasise on conveying faithfully the correct information given in the original work.

Dr. A. M. Ghatage : In translating the dialogues of Plato, the best way is to give the literal translation along with footnotes, explaining the cultural background.

LANGUAGE LABORATORIES IN INDIAN SITUATION

By

S. N. SALGARKAR

I am presenting to you today some facts and figures about the Language Laboratories and how they are to fit in the Indian Scene. Perhaps to most of you, the individual items presented may not at all be new, since you might have already wondered about them and also given some serious thought to some of them. I am merely collecting all such items together in a form of notes. This has probably made this presentation read a bit disjointed here and there; it is however to be hoped that you will excuse me for that.

In this presentation, I propose to lay down my investigations in the (1) the cost of administering (2) the costs of installations (3) the problems involved in manufacturing these LLs in India and (4) some auxiliary planning that need be thought of simultaneously. I also want to sound (5) a note of caution in being too enthusiastic about this important tool and lastly (6) I want to make an appeal to the authorities who are at present planning to install a LL in their Institutions. It is to be hoped that these findings are useful to a practical planner.

Speakers at this forum have stressed the need of making foreign language teaching available cheaply, (for this purpose, foreign language means any language other than one's own mother tongue). Linguistics methods have established that it is necessary to stress and drill the points of difference between the target language and the floor language (here the mother tongue). It is at this drilling stage that language laboratories figure themselves. It is needless to discuss here how LLs amplify a good teacher for drilling purposes since it is more or less common knowledge and also brought out in a summary form in one of the circulated papers in an earlier seminar. It is taken for granted that the LLs are going to come in and coming to stay. It is for us to find what they are going to cost to make, to install, to administer and how to be self-sufficient in them; as also to see what other problems need to be thought out now.

Number of school and college authorities had approached the present author to help them plan a LL for their institution. They always came with the idea of procuring the equipment from abroad—as a gift from a generous foundation or a government agency or very rarely, by a token payment in hard

currency. To my knowledge, there are about 12 LLs so established in India. The existing method of financing has resulted in (a) Capital expenditure—in foreign exchange (hidden, sometimes) (b) crippling dependence for spare parts on foreign sources constituting a continuous drain of hard earned and hard currency. I believe the 12 imported LLs are enough as prototypes and time has come to think of fabricating them locally.

It is not necessary to go all the way to the full-fledged Library mode LL all at once. It is possible to install in the first place a Broadcast mode LL. This evens out the financial strain and the strain on the foreign exchange resources—and perhaps resulting in some saving in this region. At the same time it gives time to train the personnel. The growth of the equipment and personnel capability go hand in hand—using the equipment to the highest efficiency all the time. Without wasting a single item of the installed equipment, the Broadcast mode LL can be gradually converted—over a spread of a few years if necessary—into a full-fledged Library mode LL. This gives us also an opportunity of gearing together the development programmes in (a) Substitution of Foreign Manufactured Equipment by indigenous products (b) Training necessary personnel (c) Preparation of Teaching material, to go hand in hand.

Development of Indigenous Manufacturing Programme.

Let us break down an uptodate LL to see what components go to make it. In the ultimate analysis it consists of (1) A few students booths made of comfortable, acoustically treated furniture, (2) Microphones, (3) Headphones (4) Switching facilities, (5) Tapes and (6) Tape Recorders. The tape recorders may be further broken down into (1) Tape deck consisting of the tape transport mechanism and the magnetic heads (ii) 2 or 3 low level high fidelity amplifiers, and again (iii) Switching facility. Of these following parts are being made in India now or can be made in India without any planning time required.

(1) Microphones, (2) Amplifiers, (3) Switching devices and (4) the furniture items to make the booths and the Instructor Consoles; leaving (1) Headphones, (2) Tapedecks and (3) Tapes out in the cold. The hitch in Indian manufacture of these items is not so much technological as it is commercial. There is not so much demand in the country to manufacture them at a commercially competitive price. It is therefore, necessary that we may rely on the foreign assistance i.e. import from abroad in the *initial stages only*. The very momentum of the development of these LLs all over the country will create the necessary demand to give the fillip to the Indian industry. The present position in these items, now proposed to be imported is stated as follows:

(1) *Tape Deck* :—(a) Magnetic recording heads of acceptable quality are now being made in India. One basic raw material viz. the magnetic steel

shall also be made available locally in about a years time, thus making the component completely indigenous.

(b) *Tape Transport* :—Though tape recorders are at present being manufactured in India for the entertainment market, the complete tape deck is being imported. This is so because the components to be cheap enough have to be manufactured in a quantity not justified by the market today. The demand created by the LLs may bridge the gap. One must, however, note that it is possible to build a 3 motor drive, easily and early, without the crippling necessity of large demand. Such a drive is a little costly, no doubt—but is 100% indigenous and not as costly as a single motor drive produced in limited quantities.

(2) *Headphones* :—The position is about the same. The combined demand of the communication industry does not justify production. The demand from LLs is, however, going to be a substantial percentage of the total market and may bridge the gap.

(3) *Tape* :—A commercial plant, to be economical has to manufacture 10 million feet of tape per day or approximately 20,000 reels. The combined demands of Broadcast—Cine-industries and entertainment market do not justify this production; nor does the additional demand, created by the LLs add anything significant. The increase in the demand in the amateur field, once the T/Rs are being locally manufactured, will, however, be considerable and may ultimately justify the plant. In the interim period one has to depend on import. Here again, one may suggest a saving device. In the U.S. & U.K. where instrumentation tape of 1", 2", 3" width is manufactured in quantity for sophisticated purposes, the product is not always upto mark and large quantities of tapes of this width are wasted for want of use. This tape is good enough for the LL work. By installing a slitting plant, one may feed the need of LLs to come up the cost of such a tape is likely to be few cents compared to \$ 1.50 (12/-) today for a commercial tape.

Cost of Language Laboratories.

Let us investigate the cost of making a LL—in the way advocated earlier i.e. a Broadcast mode LL first, converted into a Library mode LL, gradually. I must state that these estimates are exploratory and I am still working on them. I am still trying to investigate the Japanese market for the proposed imported components to reduce that cost. Moreover these estimates are for manufacturing a single piece of a LL—losing to large scale production advantages. For such an assembly product, even 5 pieces is a mass production—with all the economic advantages.

Again, estimates are made here for a 30 position LL. Such a size is an ideal size and can be handled in practice by 2 teaching assistants. This also

facilitates training of 27 students together, a feasible unit from class management point of view, for teachers of the course.

Phase 1 :—Broadcast mode LL with 30 booths, 2 monitor positions with intercom facilities and recording facility from student booth at the central monitor station by one monitor.

A. Instructor Monitor Console		Rs. 7,000/-
Imported content :—		
(1) Direct Imports today	Rs. 1000/-	
(2) Indirect Imports today	Rs. 750/-	
	<u>Rs. 1750/-</u>	
	(25%)	
B. Student Positions. 30 Nos.		Rs. 40,000/-
Cost per booth :—		
(a) Furniture	250/-	
(b) Headphone, Microphone	500/-	
(c) Amplifiers	200/-	
	<u>1300/-</u>	
	x 30 Nos.	
Import Content :—		
(a) Direct Imports	250/- per position x 30	
	= 7,500/- (19%)	
	<u>9,250/-</u>	
Total Imports		Rs. 47,000/-
	or 20% approx.	

Phase 2 :—Conversion of 30 booths—not all at once, but in a phased fashion—to complete Library mode booths.

Cost of Conversion per booth :—		
Rs. 1450 x 30 Nos.		Rs. 43,500/-
Import Content :—		
250/- per position x 30 Nos.		
—7500/- (16%)		
	<u>16,750/-</u>	
Total Import		Rs. 90,500/-
	20% approx.	

Notes :—

- (1) This is development cost — being the cost of 1st prototype.
- (2) Manufactured on a commercial scale, the cost is estimated to come down by 20% min.
- (3) Imported content of such an installation can be brought down in phase 2 by advance planning on import substitution.
- (4) Compare this with the cost of an imported LL of equivalent capacity—\$ 15,000 exclusive of duty. The duty is 100% approximately.

Let us therefore assume that in the long run a 30 position, 2 teacher LL is going to cost us Rs. 75,000/-. This has got important bearing of on the cost per student per course.

Running cost of a LL (30 positions/2 Teacher) Annually.

A. Broadcast Mode LL.

(1) Depreciation of equipment on 10 years life basis.	Rs. 4000/-
(2) Electricity @ 1.5KVA@ 8 hrs/day. @ 10ps per BOT Unit @ 260 days/yr.	Rs. 300/-
(3) Cost of tapes (Monitoring tapes for after-the-lesson correction. Cost of Masters not included). 8 courses/yr x 6 tapes per course x 30/- per tape.	Rs. 1500/-
(4) Repairs and maintenance annually, L. S. Spare 1000/- Contract 1500/-	Rs. 2,500/-
(5) Permanent Lab. Staff, including benefits.	3,000/-
	<hr/>
	11,300/-
Add administration @ 5%	600/-
	<hr/>
	11,900/-
	say 12,000/-

No. of working hrs. per day8

No. of useful working hrs. per day.....6

No. of working student hrs. annually.

6 hrs/day x 27 students/shift x 240 day/yr.

=40,000 Student hours.

Cost per student hour——Rs. 0.30 paise

Cost per student of six weeks

..Rs. 9/-

B. Library Mode LL :-

(1) Depreciation.	Rs. 7,500/-
(2) Electricity (4.5 KVA load)	Rs. 900/-
(3) Cost of student Tapes. 8 courses/yr x 60 tapes/course x 12/- per tape.	Rs. 11,500/-
(4) Repairs & maintenance annually, L.S. Spares 2,000/- Contract 3,000/-	Rs. 5,000/-
(5) Permanent Staff incl. Benefits.	Rs. 7,000/-
	<hr/>
	31,900/-
Add Administration @ 5%	Rs. 1,600/-
	<hr/>
	Rs. 33,500/-

Annual student hours-40,000

Cost per student hour. Rs. 0.80 paise.

Cost per student per course (six weeks) Rs. 24/-

Needless to mention again that these costs are likely to go down as stated earlier.

A competent accounts expert administrator can easily see ways of wholly or partly subsidizing these costs.

Accommodation :—Space requirements for such a LL is a hall—well secluded from the noisy school areas—of approximately 120 sq. meters with roughly 3:4 aspect ratio. The cost of such a hall in the costliest locality is not likely to exceed Rs. 25,000/-. This cannot be reasonably added to the student cost for well known reasons.

As an additional trimming to such a hall, the institute may consider (1) Acoustic treatment & (2) Air conditioning-in that order. The cost of these is :-

(1) Acoustic Treatment :-5000/- on Capital account.

(2) Air Conditioning :- Rs. 10,000/-On capital account and Rs. 150 per hour (Incl. depreciation) running cost. These items add not more than 6.25 paise per student hour to the cost and are any way optional – but desirable.

For these calculations, the LL is assumed to be working for 8 hrs. per day, 240 days a year. This provides for a 21 day shut down for annual maintenance, stock varification, vacation/leave of the staff and students.

Of the 8 hrs. per day, approximately 2 hours are lost in daily maintenance routine, duplication and other work, shift change etc. leaving 6 hours for the use by the students – 6 batches of 1 hour. Each batch can have 27 students, leaving enough spare equipment.

An intensive Course normally runs for 6 weeks and during this period 27×6 or approx. 160 students can be trained. 8 such courses can be run yearly training 1250 students per year.

Assuming a ready made course available the LL (teaching) staff required to administer the same to six batches consists of $2\frac{1}{2}$ full time teaching assistants for lab. work. The class work of the six batches can be handled by 7 full time teachers and $8\frac{1}{2}$ teaching assistants. Thus a force of 7 teachers and 11 teaching assistants can train 1250 students – per year – at a cost of not more than Rs. 55/- per students. The total cost of the course per student is thus a little less than Rs. 80/- including lab costs.

The estimate of teachers cost/student may be a little irrelevant and also disputed. It certainly helps us frame estimates of linguistically trained teachers (if not diploma holders) required in the near future.

One more thing I want to bring to the notice of authorities in the field of linguistics and language teaching. With the introduction of mechanical and audio visual aids in Language teaching, there is an imperative need that the language teachers are taught to use to equipment with all its flexibility, in the class-room without the crippling and many a time dominating need of an engineering assistance. The equipment as manufactured follows certain simple basic logic. Once one understands it, the equipment becomes putty in ones hands instead of one becoming the slave of equipment. It is a refusal to understand this basic logic combined with the usual Indian tendency to rely on "aid" when it is forth coming, that has resulted in this necessity of some engineering personnel being present in the class-room. The engineering personnel is needed – and as will be seen from the estimates above provided for — but not during the lab. session. They should and must remain behind the curtains. It is not at all impossible that the teacher is able to handle all the equipment in its routine operations, alone without assistance with cursory training (to get to know the variations of the particular type of equipment in use) provided the basic philosophy of such an equipment is already known. Framers of syllabi must act now to incorporate this aspect of modern audio visual aid – a through knowledge of the philosophy of equipment including a practical grounding on one type of equipment – as a part and parcel of study of language teaching methods. Incidentally perhaps the very first place where such equipment should therefore be installed is our language teachers' training institutes.

This brings us to the question of which places should be the first to receive such installations. It is perhaps obvious that they should be :

- (1) Language Teachers Training Colleges.
- (2) All Linguistics departments.
- (3) All residential Universities.
- (4) Perhaps all Legislative Assemblies with "Tower of Babel" problems.
- (5) All mofusil places having a large enough student community to justify a language laboratory and the same to be administered by the local schools/colleges jointly.

I wish to raise my voice in caution about being too enthusiastic about the LL. A LL is a powerful tool making a giant out of a good teacher; it is, however, an animate machine; it can also make a monster out of a bad teacher. I have to mention this because I have seen school and college authorities planning a LL without having a linguistically trained staff, and are intending to make their own lessons without regards of any kind to linguistics, especially in the field of what is termed corrective English. I believe the linguistics experts assert their say in this situation now lest it goes beyond

repairs and has complicated an already difficult situation. The Education planners must be made to lend their ears to the linguistics expert and linguistic experts must not allow the opportunity now to go by default.

Lastly, I have an appeal to the authorities of institutes who are planning to install a LL in their institutes. Many of them are thinking of getting the whole equipment as aid. Some are fortunate to have already aligned a source for this purpose. I submit that they use their foreign resources only to the extent they are necessary today — viz. Tape decks, Headphones and Tapes. Then get the rest of the equipment fabricated locally in a commercial fashion. They will have the satisfaction of having given a push in the right direction to the Indian Industry apart from having saved the foreign exchange. The aid unused may perhaps be used for some other equipment more useful in the department. The authorities will thus reduce their indebtedness to the donors as well as have the satisfaction of having used the aid properly. Even one or two such equipments made in this fashion will serve the industry considerably, putting all of us on the right path to self sufficiency.

Even if only one such institute heeds to this appeal, this note may be considered to have served its purpose.

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LANGUAGE IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

(With special reference to India)

By

LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI

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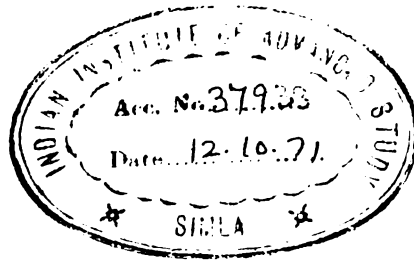
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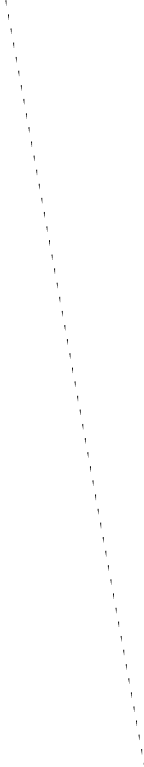
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