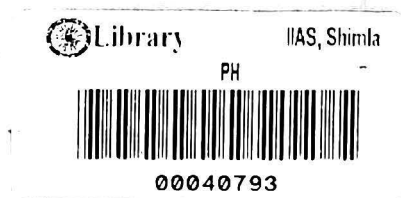


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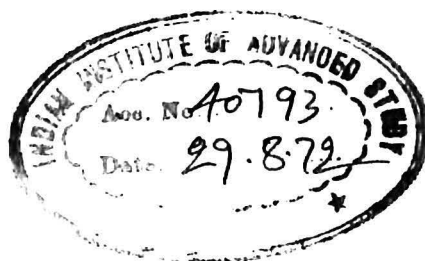
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LINGUISTIC PROSPECTS OF THE EMERGENCE OF AN INTERNAL CONTACT LANGUAGE FOR INDIA

Introductory Note

Most of the discussion on languages in India revolves around the respective positions of English, Hindi, and other Indian languages in the linguistic and political set-up of the country. In this discussion, the terms *national language*, *official language*, *link language* (all of them used both in the singular and plural) have become blurred and emotionalized to an extent that makes it advisable, for the purposes of this study, to replace them, wherever possible, by the abstract and purely functional terms *internal contact language* and, in a different context, *international contact language*.

For similar reasons, terms like *imposition* (of Hindi as the official language of the Union) or *switch-over* (to regional languages as media of instruction) will have to be avoided: they appear to be out of place in a democratic set-up and tend to betray the user's failure to revise pre-1947 thought patterns.

The following observations are largely conditioned by the political situation in India. Throughout this article, it is assumed that

- a. some democratic form of government,
- b. secularism,
- c. some form of political unity,
- d. some form of social contiguity, and therefore
- e. a contact language for purposes of internal communication
(migration, economy, defence)

remain desirable to the Indian people.

I. English

I.1. Surface Language. There will be little disagreement that for the time being at least a moderate knowledge of English will be a useful instrument for superficial contact, both internal and international, in India. But it is doubtful whether it will suffice for the intensive contact necessary, e.g., for the successful operation of a steel-plant or the combat efficiency of the army.

Indian English (IE) has been called a *surface language*¹. It is so, more explicitly,

1) See Lothar Lutze, On the State and Status of Languages in the Hindi-speaking Area of Northern India. International Conference Modern Foreign Language Teaching Preprints—Part I, Berlin, 1964, pp. 327-33.

- a. socially as a *prestige language*²,
- b. psychologically as a *cerebration language*³,
- c. linguistically as a *projection language*, i.e. a secondary language (L₂) in which speech patterns of a familiar primary language (L₁) have been projected into an unfamiliar linguistic environment⁴, and consequently
- d. from the point of view of language teaching, as a *foreign language*.

For statistical as well as social and linguistic reasons, the equation English=international contact language=internal contact language, which has been advocated by a number of eminent Indians, appears unrealistic⁵. It is an irony of history that for the smoothest solution of the country's main language problem the British should have left India at least a century too soon. In 1947, when the live contact with British English (BE) was practically severed, they left a language characterized by a decreasing stock of fossilized Victorianisms, from both administrative and literary sources, and the increasing influence of projections from various regional languages⁶.

1.2. Absence and Difficulty of Standardization. To some extent, this should explain the absence and difficulty of standardization of IE⁷. In 1891 Schuchardt spoke of the Indo-English "der Indier, das nach massgabe der zahlreichen einheimischen sprachen mehr oder weniger variirt"⁸. The present state of affairs may well be illustrated by the following Lok Sabha incident :

"When Mr. D. C. Sharma put a question to the Minister of External Affairs about the fate of the Indian High Commission staff, Mr. Kapur Singh commented, "Ungrammatical English".

Mr. Sharma angrily retorted : "This gentleman speaks English with a Punjabi accent. Why should he make such remarks ?"

The Speaker, Mr. Hukam Singh, appealed to the members to calm down. "I am not going to judge whether the English spoken here is correct or not, whether it is the

2) One social dialect of IE, a kind of hyper-BE which appears like an attempt to out-British British speakers of English, is obviously a pre-1947 imitation dialect, or a *false form* of a social dialect as described in A. Capell, *Studies in Socio-Linguistics*. Janua Linguarum Nr. 46, Mouton & Co., The Hague, 1966, p. 112.

3) See *code-switching* in L. M. Khubchandani, *Equipping Major Indian Languages for New Roles*. Statement presented to the Seminar on Language and Society in India, Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, October 1967.

4) See also Braj B. Kachru, *The Indianness in Indian English*. *Word*, Vol. 21, No. 3, 1966, pp. 391-411. The study limits itself to an examination of material drawn from IE literature.

5) See Appendix B.

6) This does not exclude the existence of more recent varieties of *Imported* English of the type "I'm particular, sir. always relish monaco. jolly good plain. with toppings, absolutely out-of-this-world !" (*The Statesman*, 23-5-67).

7) The Central Institute of English, Hyderabad, has only recently initiated the standardization of the phonological system of IE.

8) See H. Schuchardt, *Das Indo-Englische*. *Englische Studien* XV, 1891, pp. 286-305.

Queen's English or 'not', he said. "I want members to understand each other" (*The Statesman*, 7-12-65).

Obviously little has changed in this respect since 1891. But even if Mr. Hukam Singh's common sense prevailed, standardization would in the long run be necessary in order to balance the growing regional influences on IE and to ensure the continued usefulness of the language as an instrument of international and internal communication. The growing mutual unintelligibility of Indian and non-Indian varieties of English, i.e. the increasing possibility of a non-Indian speaker not understanding an Indian speaker of English and vice versa or of one Indian speaker of English not understanding another, may be phonological as well as grammatical. Complaints by non-Indian participants in international conferences of finding it extremely difficult to understand the English spoken by their Indian colleagues are becoming more frequent⁹; but even the *Statesman* film critic, in his review of *I am Twenty* (12-11-67), complains:

"While it is not a bad effort, I feel it is time the makers of these films made sure that the English spoken by Indians with vastly different regional accents is really comprehensible. In this particular film, even Indians have difficulty in following all the dialogue and it will certainly not be very easily followed, if at all, abroad.

There must be some solution to this problem, but until then either those with very clear English pronunciations (let them sound as Indian as they like otherwise) should be used, or regional languages should speak for themselves, with professional dubbing after a few sentences."

Near grammatical unintelligibility may be illustrated by a letter written by one of the candidates in last year's Presidential Election:

"Why you pole vote to me in the election of Rashtrapatti? Indira Prime Minister and others propagandise vote to minority is victory of secularism. On this principle Sihks are more a minority than Mohammedan. So on this ground I, Dr Man Singh, is more deserving candidate rather than Dr Zakir Husain" (*The Statesman*, 6-5-67)¹⁰.

9) See Guenter Zehm in his report on the Fifth International Aesthetics Congress (*Die Welt*, 1-9-64): "Die eigenwillige Betonung, die die indischen oder japanischen Teilnehmer dem Englischen beziehungsweise dem Deutschen gaben, erschwerte das Verstaendnis sehr."

10) This seems closely akin to the substandard variety of IE called *Bandit English*, as it is preserved in a telegram sent by Dongar Singh and Batri Singh to "her highness the senior Maharani Saheba of Gwalior" on February 9, 1931: "Police of Young Sahib badly pressing to our family members and abusing them badly. The cases done by us not by our family members. While our head is present, why cutting nose? Head may be removed, gari parbar salamat, kindly see us with eyes of judgment and send your CID to our place where we live at Garhiyamiran tahsil, Ambah C/o Sunder Singh zamindar, and get out written in which we shall give complete information to your honour and we are not able of your enmity" (see *The Statesman*, 21-5-67).

This example stands for much of the unpublished and published provincial writing in English. Even in a Standard IX text-book of English prose published by the Central Board of Secondary Education the following reference to 'maelstrom' can be found on page 160 :

"Malestorm: Note that the word is made up of 'male' and 'storm'...Many English words are formed by joining a prefix to a word, e.g., malefaction, malevolence. The profix (sic.) male means evil, ill..." (see *The Statesman*, 21-7-67).

In everyday spoken or written communication in English, unintelligibility or reduced intelligibility will most of the time not be admitted and therefore difficult to detect. 80% of a group of Delhi University students asked in an interview to explain the meaning of 'explosive issue' failed to recognize the figurative use of the adjective and entered into narrations on atomic explosions.

1.3. Projections. The following is a selection of IE standard and substandard deviations from BE which appear to be projections from Hindi-Urdu (HU)¹¹. This Hindi-Urdu variety of IE (HUE) may be considered representative of Indo-Aryan varieties of IE in general. Most of the examples in subsection 1.3.2 are taken from *The Statesman* : *Statesman English* is generally considered to be of a comparatively high standard.

1.3.1. Phonology. Much of the difficulty in understanding many speakers of HUE is due to

- a. interference of deviant conditions in the intonational and accentual systems of HU, which are responsible, e.g., for the reduction of BE stress distinctions and, consequently, the frequent occurrence of stress displacements in the accentual system of HUE ('dévelop', 'intégral', 'organize', no change of stress in 'référence'—'réfer') ;
- b. readjustments in the consonant and vowel systems of HUE under systemic pressure of the HU systems¹², which explain, e.g., the usual monophthongization of BE diphthongs in HUE;
- c. rearrangements of segmental phonemes conditioned by the phonological system of HU, e.g., vocalization and breaking-up of consonant clusters, as in /filim/ 'film', /sapréd/, /sápřed/ 'spread';
- d. spelling pronunciations¹³, especially by users of the Nagari script, as in 'paradigm', 'parliament'.

11) See also the collection of examples in Mira H./Hans J. Vermeer, *Das "Indo-Englische"*. *Lebende Sprachen*, VIII/4-5, pp. 135-8 ; 6, p. 184 (Bibliography).

12) See P.B. Pandit, *Indian Readjustments in the English Consonant System*. *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. 25, 1964, pp. 202-5.

13) Similarly, spelling pronunciations have been observed in the Russian spoken by L₂ speakers in the Soviet Union.

1.3.2. Grammar. A Standard Grammar of IE would have to consider the grammaticalness of some of the following deviations from BE (projected, in our case, from HU grammar):

- a. a new (simplified) set of rules on the use of the articles. HU is practically an articleless language, which explains the inconsistency in the use of the articles, especially the definite article, in HUE :

"Two of the three bullets struck the door of the car. But third penetrated inside but narrowly missed the Prime Minister" (*The Statesman* (St), 22-2-64);

"Thirty members of Indonesian Parliament today accused President Suharto, of fostering confusion over the status of the ousted President, Dr Soekarno" (St, 1-6-67)¹⁴;

"A revolt is brewing in the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir" (St, 12-4-67);

- b. a different system of comparison. HU comparison practically manages without inflectional affixes and phrases (HU 'us se acóhā' 'better than he', lit. '(seen) from his position, good'); HU 'zyādā' and its opposite 'kam' are ambiguous and, depending on the context, correspond to (1) 'much', 'many'—'little', 'few', (2) 'more'—'less', (3) 'very much', 'very many'—'very little', 'very few', (4) 'too much', 'too many'—'too little', 'too few'. This may explain the following standard and substandard deviations:

"And surprising as it may seem, the dak bungalow and the cemetery did have much in common than one can think of" (St, 5-4-68);

"Three North Korean soldiers were killed yesterday in serious clashes since the 1953 armistice" (St, 7-4-67);

"The furthestest that anyone went was Mr C. K. Battacharya (C)" (St, 5-7-67) ;

"I like German too much" (a university student, for 'I like Germany¹⁵ very much') ;

- c. replacement of the BE present perfect by the present durative (corresponding to HU grammar) in

"Reports of similar incitements of Indian Muslims to leave Tripura by trespassing Pakistanis are being received here for some time now" (St, 22-8-63);

14) See also the omission of the correlatives 'the — the' in "Smaller the plot, costlier it is" (St, 7-12-65).

15) HU names of languages are usually formed with the derivational affix - ī ('bangālī', 'rūsī', 'angrezī'). This explains the frequent analogous occurrence of 'Germany' in the place of 'German' and, conversely, 'German' in the place of 'Germany' in HUE.

"Mrs Vidyapati Devi, septuagenarian mother of Bhagat Singh, is ailing for some time past" (St, 30-10-63);

"Over 2,000 tourists are arriving here daily during the last four days" (St, 29-5-67);

"About 1,000 students who are occupying the technical university since yesterday were asked to leave the building by afternoon" (St, 15-4-68);

- d. independent ('perfective') use of the past perfect (as in HU grammar):

"The Tokyo Nichigeki dancing team was here some three years ago. In their present brief tour they had given a few shows at Sapru House" (St, 22-1-64);

"The child Chhotu Ram, was knocked down by a motor-cyclist opposite Jaipur estate. The motor-cyclist, Rakesh Kanta, had been arrested" (St, 18-12-65);

- e. deviations in objective constructions, also largely under the influence of HU grammar, such as

"Submarines to search U. S. weapons" (St, 30-1-66);

or the 'gaps' in

"I wish you" (common usage);

"Thousands of policemen...went round in procession in Old and New Delhi, covering over eight miles before they reached outside the Home Minister's residence" (St, 15-4-67);

"Mr Swaran Singh said so far as the specific anti-Indian activities of the Chinese Embassy in Nepal were concerned, the Government of India had drawn the attention of the Government of Nepal" (St, 27-6-67)¹⁶.

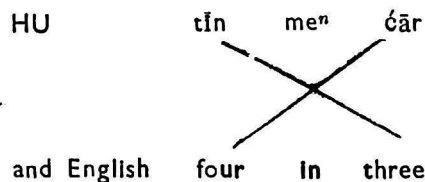
1.3.3. Structural Transfer. Although IE is structurally non-related to HU, the structure of its HU variety (HUE) is increasingly modified by HU structure in the areas of lower medium and low stylization (see Appendix A: the lower the stylization the more under structural pressure of HU). E. g., in connecting (1) 'I don't know', and (2) 'Who is he?', dependence of (2) is marked by a simple change in its word order: 'I don't know who he is'. In the corresponding HU pattern, in the place of a word order change in (2), the dependence marker 'ki' is introduced. Thus, in HUE, we receive the following stylistic scale :

- a. 'I don't know who he is.'
- b. 'I don't know who is he.'
- c. 'I don't know that who is he.'
- d. 'I don't know ki who is he.'

16) In C. F. Hockett's metaphorical terminology, the verb forms 'wish', 'reached', and 'had drawn' in the preceding three examples, with their special directive "valences", would be left "unsaturated" in the surface layer of BE grammar (A Course in Modern Linguistics, Macmillan, New York, 1958, pp. 248-9).

What may be called a *structural transfer* takes place between (a) and (b).

Similarly, the structural pressure of HU postpositional constructions may occasionally lead to confusion. The tabla teacher's instruction to play 'four in three', i.e. four beats over a basic pattern of three, invariably came out as 'three in four', due to the cross-relationship of



There is no other explanation for

"opinion of difference" (a Delhi University lecturer, 20-12-65);

"Six weeks after he took office he proposed a solution to the dismantling question: dismantling for preparations should stop..." (St, 20-4-67);

"Merely abstaining from using physical force is not enough. There should be no hatred of venom in the heart" (St, 5-9-67).

1.3.4. Lexicon, Idioms. The present study is not so much concerned with direct borrowings from HU (e.g., 'pundit', 'pukka', 'khud', 'gadi', 'godown'¹⁷), many of which have been incorporated in the lexicon of BE, as with what might be termed *projected translations*, such as 'take out a procession' (HU 'jalūs nikāl nā'). Whereas this would be a *semantic projection*¹⁸, the indiscriminate use of 'Yes (No), please'¹⁹ (HU 'Hān (Nahīn) jī') and the stereotype polite question 'Your good name?' (HU 'Āpkā śubh nām?') would be cases of *phonetic projection* with 'please' and 'good' serving as *phonetic substitutes* for 'jī' and 'śubh' respectively (identical number of syllables (1), identical syllable peaks).

Misplacements like 'success malaria' (on a wall in Brindavan, summer 1962) for 'eradicate malaria', the adjectival use of 'country' in the sense of 'improvised', 'makeshift' as in 'country bomb' (*National Herald*, 21-9-68) and 'vacate aggression' for 'end aggression'

17) Also 'Kathgodown', the popular anglicization of HU 'Kāṭhgodām', (name of a town at the foot of the Himalayan hills). The joke of the Englishman who finds Indian cities either 'bad' or 'poor' (place names ending on '-bād' or '-pur') also belongs here.

18) See much of the material from IE literature in Braj B. Kachru, *The Indianness in Indian English*. However, it should be borne in mind that writers of IE fiction are much less influential than the IE press and that, socially and linguistically, they represent, at most, the minority whose language they use and by whom they are read in India.

19) Also, perhaps, 'Yes (No), sir'. See Vermeer, *Lebende Sprachen*, VIII/4-5, p. 136.

occur frequently²⁰. Some of them, e.g., the use of 'Good morning' and 'Good night' regardless of the time of day or of 'Come in' by the person who asks to be admitted, are due to contextual confusion, others to the ambiguity of HU equivalents, e.g.,

HU 'kal' 'either day adjoining today', i.e. (1) 'yesterday', (2) 'tomorrow' :

"Dr M.S. Mehta, who retired as Vice-Chancellor of Rajasthan University tomorrow, will be called the "builder" of Rajasthan University" (St, 3-1-66 ; possibly misprint) ;

"Over two lakh citizens of Ujjain and about half a million pilgrims, who have arrived here for the fourth and last bathing day of Kumbh mela, locally known as Sinhashta, tomorrow faced acute shortage of drinking water today" (St, 12-5-68) ;

HU 'se' (1) 'since', (2) 'for' (duration) :

"the Safdarjung airport, which has been steadily fading out of the aviation picture since over six years" (St, 7-1-66) ;

HU 'jaldī se' (1) 'quickly', (2) 'soon' :

"dresses himself soon" (translation of German 'schnell'; Delhi University, 25-1-63);

"But quickly he switches off the light" (translation of German 'bald'; Delhi University, 25-1-63) ;

HU 'rakhnā' (1) 'keep', (2) 'put' :

"The gap in the mechanization may be "compensated" by putting more human labour, but there is no substitute for chemical fertilizer" (St, 14-12-65) ;

"He keeps his tooth-paste on the tooth-brush" (Delhi University, 25-1-63)²¹.

2. Hindi-Urdu

If one agrees that the surface character and secondariness of IE should set certain limits to its continued effective functioning as internal (if not international) contact language in India, the question arises what other language might ultimately be in a position to take its place. The Constitution says : Hindi²². No other serious proposal has ever been made.

The term *Hindi*, as used in the public discussion, is ambiguous and the source of much controversy. It cannot easily be defined. We consider it (1) a regional dialect more precisely called *Khari Boli*, which is of little immediate importance to the present study, and (2) a Khari Boli-based set of speech form varieties with common structural and exchangeable content elements. The latter are exchanged not so much according to the

20) Misplacements are not necessarily substandard. They would include the phenomenon of *register-confusion* as described in Braj B. Kachru, *The Indianness in Indian English*. The combination of 'vacate' and 'aggression' may be due to the relative unfamiliarity of IE speakers with lexicon of Latin origin, which leads to frequent misplacements and curiosities like 'literary-cum stayable' (sic.) or 'Chopin-cum-Beethoven specialist'.

21) See also the ambiguity of HU 'zyādā' - 'kam' in 1.3.2 (b.),

22) See Appendix C.

regional as to the social background of the speaker. Following A.R. Kelkar's recommendations²³, we have called (2) *Hindi-Urdu* (HU) (by Kelkar also contracted to *Hirdu*).

2.1. Openness of Hindi-Urdu. Because of the enormous variety of social and linguistic environments in India, any language emerging as the internal contact language of the country would fall under a heavy linguistic strain. Only a language with a high degree of openness would be able to bear this strain.

The terms *open* and *closed* as used in the description of languages and of attitudes towards language should not be seen as a pair of pigeonholes but placed along a scale indicating the degree of responsiveness of a language and its speakers to external linguistic and non-linguistic influences. Thus, German would probably be more closed at present than English.

In India, for obvious historical and social reasons, thinking in terms of closed languages and the consequent purist and prescriptivist attitudes towards language have had a long and powerful tradition. When Hindi, after 1947, was on the point of merely taking the place of its predecessors as another 'upper' language, it could not but be opposed by the regional and social groups who felt they were being left out once again.

2.1.1. Structure²⁴. Hindi-Urdu, on the other hand, is a highly open language. Its oneness is structural. Structurally, HU is closely related to, if not identical with, the other Indo-Aryan languages; it shares structural elements even with a non-Indo-Aryan language like Tamil²⁵. HU structure is highly powerful: its pressure on the structure of IE, which is structurally non-related to HU, was shown in 1.3.3.

2.1.2. Content. The structural oneness of HU stands in contrast to the diversity of its lexical content.

Any language will respond to challenge. In the Indian situation this challenge is: extension of vocabulary. Besides using indigenous means of innovation, a HU-based

23) "Hindi-Urdu is essentially non-regional, that is, regionally unmarked. It has standard as well as substandard varieties: the substandard forms are lowbrow casual and not ordinarily reduced to writing. The standard forms use the *Devanagari* and *Perso-Arabic scripts* (don't call the scripts Hindi and Urdu, as some do): *Hindi* (by definition standard, formalized highbrow and middlebrow that is H-oriented) uses the former, *Urdu* (by definition standard, formalized highbrow and middlebrow that is U-oriented) uses the latter, *Hindustani* (HU-oriented, never highbrow) uses both. Hindustani may even be substandard (lowbrow formalized)" (Studies in Hindi-Urdu I. Deccan College, Poona, 1961, pp. 19-20).

24) For 2.1.1, 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 see Appendix A.

25) See William Bright, Diversity and Unity in Languages of India. Paper presented to the Seminar on Language and Society in India, Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, October 1967, pp. 4-5.

internal contact language would have to remain open to lexical influx from other languages, Indian²⁶ as well as non-Indian. In this way such a language would reflect the cultural-historical growth of the country.

Among the non-Indian donor languages, English would naturally be prominent²⁷; it would serve as a lexical link to non-Indo-Aryan Indian languages as well: its permanent place will be in the common *lexicon* of Indian languages, especially in fields like technology, modern warfare, etc.

2.1.3. Stylization. In the context of *stylization*²⁸, Sanskrit, Classical Persian/Arabic and British English should be considered the principal *orientation languages* of HU. The degree of stylization would be determined by the degree of orientation-language consciousness in the speaker's (writer's) mind. Stylization would mainly affect the choice of lexical content, but occasionally, and only in the area of high stylization, also the structure.

Roughly speaking, there are three areas of stylization: HS (high), MS (medium), and LS (low). An individual speaker (writer) may shift between HS and LS according to situational requirements (e.g., formal discourse, conversation with equals, instructions to subordinates)²⁹.

2.2. Some Current Speech Form Varieties of HU. Among current speech form varieties of HU, neither the HS variety propagated by All India Radio and other government agencies nor S.K. Chatterjee's *Bazaar Hindustani*, a lower LS variety³⁰, could possibly form the base of a generally acceptable internal contact language, the

26) The neo-Sanskrit borrowings of 'High' Hindi have been claimed to be a link between the different linguistic regions of the country. This is true only to a certain extent; in view of the generally inflated and regionally variant meanings of such borrowings, this 'link' seems little reliable.

27) This prominence frequently results in the complete or nearly complete anglicization of content elements in utterances like "Yadi *emotions* kā *control properly* kiyā na jāe..." (Ludhiana, 8-3-64); "Thehro (sic.), *check point ko report karo*" (Army Hindustani, see 2.2); "Offer karta Dīl Ko:/ Refuse na karna—/Meri muhabbat ke *bulb ko/Fuse* na karna" (written on the back of one of Delhi's two-seat scooters; reported in *St*, 27-11-67), with 'kar-' functioning as impure verb marker. English titles are given to Hindi films for their general association with 'high life' (*Jewel Thief*, *An Evening in Paris*). Much of the preference given to English lexicon should be due to its generally superior phonic 'penetrating power', which would be worth a detailed examination.

28) This term is used in a restricted sense here.

29) See Anoop Chardola, Some Linguistic Influences of English on Hindi. *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 5, No. 2, February 1963, pp. 9-13; Two Social Dialects of Hindi. *Orbi*, xii, i, 1962.

30) In the present study, *Hindustani* is considered a collective name for MS and LS varieties of HU (see also A. R. Kelkar, *Studies in Hindi-Urdu I*).

former for its lack of *communicability*, the latter for its lack of *acceptability*³¹. Both are extreme varieties; what is needed are *compromise varieties* like the one used, in the Roman script³², by the Indian Army (although *Army Hindustani* is by definition highly register-bound), or, even more important, the one used in the so-called Hindi films, which are extremely popular all over and even outside the country. These two varieties have been left without political interference and are conditioned by considerations of combat efficiency and marketability respectively; both are basically MS varieties, with occasional excursions into the HS and LS areas in *Film Hindustani* (the Benares pundit, the Lucknow nabob; the illiterate servant).

Note that since the beginning of *Nai Kavita* (New Poetry) and *Nai Kahani* (New Story) about two decades ago most of what is worth reading in Hindi literature has been based on compromise varieties of HU³³.

2.3. Two Coinciding Views of HU. In his *Manual of Hindustani* (London, 1864), Duncan Forbes presented the following view of that language:

"Throughout the extensive empire of India, from Cape Comorin to Kashmir and from the Brahmaputra to the Indus, the Hindustani is the language most generally used. It consists of two dialects: that of the Musulmans, commonly called the Urdu or Rekha, and that of the Hindus, called Hindi or Khari Boli. The former abounds in words and phrases from the Persian and Arabic; the latter confines itself to words of native origin or words borrowed from the Sanskrit. As the two dialects, however, follow the same grammatical rules, they are understood here to be both included under the general name Hindustani, which means, par excellence, the language of Hindustan" (quoted from St, 11-3-68)³⁴.

Gandhi, in his speech at the preparatory meeting for the 9th Hindi Literary Conference, Bombay, felt that

"...We should pause and think what Hindi means. I don't think the Sanskritized language they use is Hindi; it is an artificial product. Nor is Persianized Urdu Hindi...

31) See also *Learnability* and *Usability* in A. R. Kelkar, Problems of Unrecognized Speech Forms in India. Paper presented to the Seminar on Language and Society in India, Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, October 1967, p. 6. P. S. Ray introduced another term, *respectability*, into the discussion.

32) S. K. Chatterjee has been a prominent advocate of the introduction of a slightly modified variety of the Roman script on an all-India basis. As an emotional no-man's-land, it might help to neutralize communal prejudices. See also Punya Sloka Ray, Language Standardization. *Janua Linguarum* Nr. 29, Mouton & Co., The Hague, 1963, pp. 92-105.

33) This does not hold true of a good deal of Hindi literary criticism, especially of the more orthodox type, which often and more than seems necessary depends on Sanskrit borrowings and projections from the language of English literary criticism.

34) Duncan Forbes had a fairly clear conception of the *acceptability* of Hindustani (see 2.2); he wanted to enable his students "to express themselves in Hindustani like rational beings, and not as the jargonists of bygone days, who acquired a villainous smattering of the language from the lowest of the natives, by ear only, and set at defiance all the rules of grammar and *propriety*" (italics mine).

If there is any language in India which can become its national language, it is Hindi-Urdu. No one should conclude from this that he may neglect his own, the regional language"³⁵.

Both of these views, although somewhat simplified, coincide with the outline of HU given in sections 2.1 and 2.2 of the present study. What they have in common is their realism : the realism of the practising language teacher who wants to

"facilitate the essential attainments of conversing with fluency and composing with accuracy in the most useful of all the languages spoken in our Eastern Empire" -

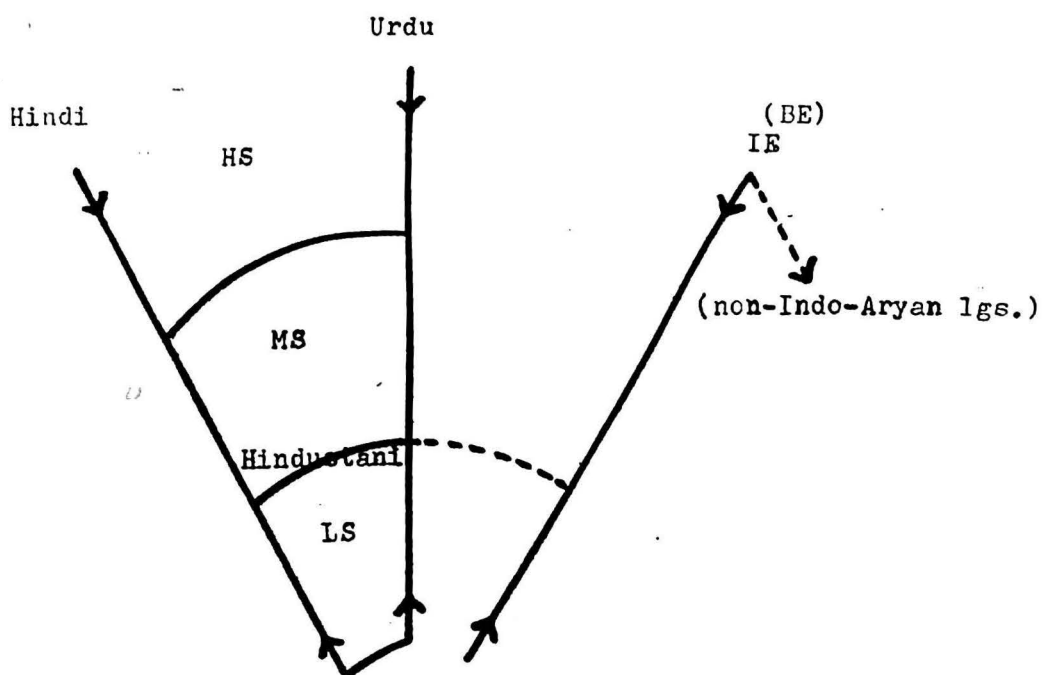
with the ultimate purpose of maintaining and consolidating the colonial administration of that Empire ; the realism of the political leader preparing his nation for the day when this administration would cease to function.

35) Mahatma Gandhi, Collected Works, Vol. XV (August 1918-July 1919). The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1965, pp. 240-1. Nehru held a similar view : "The basis of Hindi and Urdu, their grammar and general vocabulary are the same. In reality, the two are fundamentally one language... I want Hindi and Urdu to take over and absorb words and ideas from foreign languages as well. I have no doubt that Hindi and Urdu, though dressed in different garments, will get closer and closer to each other" (Bhāṣā lekhan aur pustak. Nayā Sāhitya, 12/12, December 1967, p. 4; my translation).

Appendix A. Hindi-Urdu

(Sskrt)

(ClPers/Ar)



Appendix B. Statistical Background

The statistical information presented here should be read with some caution, especially as it refers to a country as large and complex as India and because of the occasional lack of clear-cut terminology (e.g., Hindi—Urdu—Hindustani). Furthermore, as it is based on the Census of 1961, absolute and relative changes that must have occurred since then have not been considered³⁶.

In the 1961 Census 438,936,918 speakers out of a total population of 439,235,082 returned 1652 different mother tongues distributed over the following language family types :

1. Indo-European	574	languages	321,720,700	speakers
2. Dravidian	153	"	107,410,820	"
3. Austric	65	"	6,192,495	"
4. Tibeto-Chinese	226	"	3,183,801	"
5. Mo.tgs. outside India	103	"	315,466	"
6. Kisan	1	language	50,378	"
7. Unclassified	530	languages	63,258	"
	1,652	"	438,936,918	"

The situation becomes slightly less complex if one considers that the mother tongue of 383,705,771 speakers, i.e. 87.35% of the total, is one of the 15 Eighth Schedule languages. The distribution is as follows :

1. Hindi	133,435,360	speakers	=	30.38%
2. Telugu	37,668,132	"	=	8.58%
3. Bengali	33,888,939	"	=	7.72%
4. Marathi	33,286,771	"	=	7.58%
5. Tamil	30,562,698	"	=	6.96%
6. Urdu	23,323,518	"	=	5.31%
7. Gujarati	20,304,464	"	=	4.62%
8. Kannada	17,415,827	"	=	3.97%
9. Malayalam	17,015,782	"	=	3.87%
10. Oriya	15,719,398	"	=	3.58%
11. Punjabi	10,950,826	"	=	2.49%
12. Assamese	6,803,465	"	=	1.55%
13. Kashmiri	1,956,115	"	=	0.45%
14. Sindhi	1,371,932	"	=	0.31%
15. Sanskrit	2,544	"	=	—
	383,705,771	"	=	87.35%

36) See (a) Census of India 1961, Vol 1, Part II-C (ii) - Language Tables (1965); (b) Ashish Bose, An Exploratory Study of Internal Migration in India Based on (a). Delhi, 1965.

All the 15 languages in the Eighth Schedule belong either to the Indo-European or Dravidian language type families. Among the languages or language groups not included in the Eighth Schedule, Bihari (16,806,772 = 3.83%) and Rajasthani (14,933,016 = 3.40%) have the largest numbers of speakers. In spite of certain distinctive features, both are generally considered sub-groups of the Hindi group of languages, which, together with the other major languages of the *Hindi-Urdu-Punjabi (HUP) Region* (L.M. Khubchandani), would add up as follows :

Hindi	133,435,360	speakers	=	30.38%
Bihari	16,806,772	„	=	3.83%
Rajasthani	14,933,016	„	=	3.40%
Urdu	165,175,148	„	=	37.61%
	23,323,518	„	=	5.31%
Punjabi	188,498,666	„	=	42.92%
	10,950,826	„	=	2.49%
	199,449,492	„	=	45.41%

In a multilingual country like India the picture would be incomplete if one did not consider the position of subsidiary languages and the number of bilingual speakers. English is almost negligible as a mother tongue (223,781 speakers=0.05%), but still the most important subsidiary language before Hindi (English : 10.9 mill. speakers=2.5%, Hindi : 9.4 mill. speakers=2.1%)³⁷. The regional distribution of English and Hindi as subsidiary languages may be seen from the following table :

Mo. tg. ³⁸	% bilinguals	% of total		% of bilinguals	
		Hindi subs. lg.	Engl. subs. lg.	Hindi subs. lg.	Engl. subs. lg.
Assamese	9.0	2.2	2.3	24.6	26.0
Bengali	8.7	1.8	4.6	21.0	53.5
Gujarati	7.3	3.9	2.1	52.6	28.8
Hindi	5.1	—	2.7	—	52.8
Kannada	14.4	1.0	1.7	7.1	13.1
Kashmiri	10.7	0.8	0.4	7.3	4.0
Malayalam	7.1	0.5	4.5	6.7	63.0
Marathi	10.5	6.2	1.6	58.8	15.4
Oriya	5.8	1.6	1.3	28.1	23.3
Punjabi	14.2	7.4	4.1	51.9	29.1

37) S. M. Kumaramangalam (India's Language Crisis, New Century Book House, 1965) gives a slightly higher percentage (2.84) of speakers of English (Standard VIII level); his figures for Tamilnadu are: urban 6.46%, rural 0.808%.

38) Sindhi is not included here.

Mo. tg.	% bilinguals	Hindi subs. lg.	% of total Engl. subs. lg.	Hindi subs. lg.	% of bilinguals Engl. subs. lg.
Tamil	8.1	0.3	4.1	4.0	51.1
Telugu	14.0	0.9	2.3	6.2	16.2
Urdu	22.1	4.4	1.9	19.8	8.7

In Urban Delhi, Greater Bombay, Calcutta and Madras the languages with the largest numbers of speakers are :

Urban Delhi	Greater Bombay	Calcutta	Madras
1. Hindi 76.19%	1. Marathi 47.62%	1. Bengali 65.61%	1. Tamil 72.31%
2. Punjabi 13.61%	2. Gujarati 21.38%	2. Hindi 19.88%	2. Telugu 14.42%
3. Urdu 6.49%	3. Urdu 10.77%	3. Urdu 9.23%	3. Urdu 6.03%
4. Bengali 1.21%	4. Hindi 8.87%	4. Oriya 2.15%	4. Malayal. 3.42%
			(6. Hindi 0.95%)

Note that Urdu holds the third position in all the four cities.

Finally, for an evaluation of India's language problems one should remember that according to the 1961 Census 24% of the population are literate; only 2% have at least reached matriculation and constitute the educated élite "which is primarily affected by the present linguistic controversy"³⁹.

Appendix C. Constitutional Background

The Official Language of the Union is dealt with in part XVII (Articles 343-351) of the Constitution of India⁴⁰. Article 120 (Part V) deals with the Language to be used in Parliament, Article 210 (Part VI) with the Language to be used in the State Legislature. These Articles came into force on 26th January, 1950, the day of the commencement of the Constitution (cf. Part XXII, Article 394).

The Eighth Schedule to the Constitution lists, in alphabetical order, fifteen languages recognized by the Constitution as the (regional) Languages of India. They are, with the regions in which they predominate : 1. Assamese (Assam), 2. Bengali (West Bengal, Tripura), 3. Gujarati (Gujarat), 4. Hindi (Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi), 5. Kannada (Mysore), 6. Kashmiri (Jammu/Kashmir), 7. Malayalam (Kerala), 8. Marathi (Maharashtra), 9. Oriya (Orissa), 10. Punjabi

39) See Bose, p. 4. For some statistical aspects of Linguistic Displacement, Language and Religion, Language and Literacy, Language and Migration see Ashish Bose, Some Aspects of the Linguistic Demography of India. Paper presented to the Seminar on Language and Society in India, Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, October 1967.

40) The Constitution of India (As modified up to the 15th April, 1967). The Manager of Publications, Government of India, Delhi, 1967.

(Punjab), 11. Sanskrit, 12. Sindhi, 13. Tamil (Tamilnadu)), 14. Telugu (Andhra Pradesh) 15. Urdu⁴¹.

As can be seen, Sanskrit and Urdu are included in the list ; English is not. Sindhi, the language of a refugee community, is a late addition : it was included with the Constitution (Twenty-first Amendment) Act of 10th April, 1967.

Regional languages (or Hindi) may be adopted for official purposes within a State and thus replace English, if the State Legislature so decides (Article 345) ; besides Hindi (or, for a period of fifteen years⁴², English), they may be used for the transaction of business in the State Legislature (Article 210). Whereas the use of regional languages is thus restricted to the State level⁴³, most of the problems arise in connection with, and most of the space is devoted to, the installation of the Official Language of the Union.

This seems to be contradictory to the unequivocalness and brevity of the opening sentence of Article 343. (1), which clearly establishes that "The official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script."

But even in the next clause (343. (2)) a period of fifteen years (26th January, 1950—25th January, 1965) is fixed in which "the English language shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before" the commencement of the Constitution, obviously in order to give Hindi sufficient time to prepare itself for its new responsibility ; and in case it fails to do so in the said period, clause (3) provides that "Parliament may by law provide for the use, after the said period of fifteen years, of...the English language...for such purposes as may be specified in the law"⁴⁴.

In the same way Article 120, according to which "business in Parliament shall be transacted in Hindi or in English" (1), provides that after 25th January, 1965, it shall

41) Geographically, Urdu is a *homeless* language in India; it has large numbers of speakers scattered over Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Mysore, Haryana, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, and Delhi, with a concentration on urban areas, besides being usually associated with the Muslim community. See Appendix B and S. Maqbul Ahmad, *Urdu's Position in India To-day*, and Sabira Zaidi, *Urdu in India—Problems and Prospects*. Papers presented to the Seminar on Language and Society in India, Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, October 1967.

42) "Unless the Legislature of the State by law otherwise provides" (Article 210. (2)).

43) The provision of Article 120 (1) that "any member who cannot adequately express himself in Hindi or in English" may be permitted "to address the House in his mother tongue" has quite frequently been used by MPs as a pretext to introduce the languages of their region into the Union Parliament, especially after last year's General Elections.

44) In December 1967, the Official Languages (Amendment) Bill was enacted by the Union Parliament. It is meant "to give statutory recognition to the assurances of the late Prime Ministers regarding the continued use of the English language as long as the non-Hindi-speaking people did not desire a change" (Y. B. Chavan). According to non-Hindi-speaking critics, however, the Bill has been 'watered down' by the controversial Resolution accompanying it.

“have effect as if the words “or in English” were omitted therefrom”, but only unless “Parliament by law otherwise provides” (2).

In Article 348. (1) English is declared the language of the Supreme Court, the High Courts, of Bills, Acts, orders, rules, regulations and bye-laws “until Parliament by law otherwise provides”, i.e., for an indefinite period. Obviously, this provision is meant to safeguard the uniformity of the legal system of the Union. Even within a State which has adopted a language other than English for use in Bills, Acts, Ordinances, etc., their English translation “shall be deemed to be the authoritative text thereof” (3).

The general tendency of Part XVII of the Constitution, however, is clearly restrictive with regard to the use of English (cf. 344. (2) (b)) and in favour of “the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union” (344. (2) (a)). Article 351, which provides a Directive for the development of the Hindi language, deserves to be quoted in full :

“It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.”

This Article seems to have been the source of many if not most of the misconceptions of the language policies of the Union, in particular for the following details :

1. The term *genius* (of the Hindi language), especially if used in a legal context, is vague and open to conflicting interpretations.
2. *Hindi* and *Hindustani* are not clearly defined ; obviously, and contrary to Gandhi's conception, a language called ‘Hindustani’ has become one of the feeder languages of a language called ‘Hindi’.
3. The unnecessary emphasis on Sanskrit served as an excuse for the pseudo-sanskritism of the early years of independence⁴⁵.

⁴⁵) In the Constituent Assembly, agreement on (1), (2), and (3) was reached only after a prolonged debate; the decision to use *Hindi* and not *Hindustani* was taken by a one-vote majority.

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