Demands for a Separate Linguistic State
The Question of Identity and Territorializing Bundelkhand in India

Sibansu Mukhopadhyay

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Abstract

This paper tries to set the questions on 'national' identity in the Indian context. Especially when the postcolonial management of Indian nation states fails to resolve the problems or the crisis with the marginal identities in India, this paper reconsiders the issue. There are several groups or communities in India desire to get their 'own' political identity or the national status like Bundelkhand. They are fighting against the linguistic states under which they lived as marginal. This paper revisits the issue considering a certain example of Bundelkhand Liberation Movement. Rather than viewing this *identity* crisis as the contradiction of the *center-peripheries* relation, it is suggested here that the crisis of *identity* can be understood better when situated within the political as well economic problems of modern nation-state.

Introduction

This paper seeks to exemplify or revisit the question of *identity* in case of re-structuring the linguistic states in India. Before taking the main tasks and arguments of this work, something on the method of the observation and the data analysis have to be calculated primarily. As any preconceived idea or model or method of analysis perhaps also in quantification produces nothing but so many paradoxes, here a 'subject' intervenes into the observations and at the same time s/he keeps distance observing the *discourse*, *non-discursive formations* and the *other* 'men'.

1. Objective

The most important thing is to give an example or a case, which helps to understand the thesis.

1.1 The thesis

According to the format of the *linguistic state* in India one may comprehend following two-folded issues mainly. Assuming a prototypical idea on 'modern' Indian states we can continue formulating a linguistic nation state as follows 'primarily' or 'essentially':

Fold 1 (Private property):
   a. an (*imagined*) boundary, i.e., land as *private property*
   b. a homogenous, *total*, well shaped language as a modular form (et al. Anderson 1983)
Fold 2 (The machinery of modern state):
   a. Printing technology to write over the private properties
   b. State apparatuses (Ideological State Apparatuses = ISA and Repressive State Apparatuses = RSA, et al Althusser, 1977)

The main occupation of this paper is to engage with the functions in re-structuring a linguistic nation state.

1.2 The example

This paper examines the 'desires' for a separate state of Bundelkhand, covering an area of lower Uttar Pradesh and the northern part of the Madhya Pradesh. Let us bring this example in focus just to indicate the objective of this paper.

Bundelkhand is called 'historically' the land of *Bundela kingdom* and also sociologically a so-called 'linguistic community'[2] of India. With a great majority of population, four southern districts of Uttar Pradesh and eight northern district of Madhya Pradesh speak 'Bundeli' language, which is recorded by the census as a 'dialect of western Hindi'.[3]

The separation movement for Bundelkhand is known as "bundelkhOnD mukti andolOn" or the "Liberation Movement of Bundelkhand". It is merely a projection of a *desire* of 'formal elaboration'[4] in the era of Indian post-independence by more than one organization like Bundelkhand Mukti Morcha (BMM). As an observer I had to examine this example of *desire*, the discursive and the non-discursive formations of the projection of Bundelkhand state, enough with my positional subjective competence, ideologies and imaginations.

3. Approach

Here we are discussing about how we present our approach to the texts, conversations, ideas and the observing subject's own engagement. Especially the use of metaphorical words like 'fantasy', 'desire' (as if it is duly imposed upon an individual) should be explained.

3.1 The first premise of this work is to introduce those psychoanalytical tools or concepts is considered here as metaphors through which one can be engaged with the process of genealogical reconstruction concerning demanding a separate linguistic state. Let us justify why do we here deploy these psychoanalytical tools?

The process of changing social scenario and aspectual modifications of the social structure that makes a space of uncertainty and keeping positive analytical methodology in mind it is very difficult to examine that space. Such a space, which is hardly

analyzable, is not identifiable with a boundary. A case of social or political movement is merely considered as mass participation only why 'they' are demanding. But this simple case when one observes s/he quantifies assuming 'they' are in a 'real' collective body, as if the assumption preoccupied in the observer's mind. I shall not remake this 'preoccupied' assumptions.[5] This space is unlike to draw analogy with a real body in singular number which can be objectified on the table and scanned with the standard biological tools.

The analogy between the metaphor of the *psychosexual* development of a subject and the case of political demand for the linguistic state may be drawn for looking into the facts and fusions of the movement for the separate linguistic state. To avoid this 'preoccupation with the regulative' (Singh 1998) it is very essential to suppose that in a certain case of political movement, the needs, the demands or the desires in it, come from an imagined psyche. As an observer I as a separate body and mind do not grasp the 'real' exactly as I am confused with what and how my close friend remains undisclosed his/her own. Other hand, my friend whom I believe in best is what I consider to accept his/her appearance. How do I call my experience 'real'? Best I shall be engaged with other's body and mind from positional subjectivity and shall try to negotiate this appearance with a 'metaphor'. When I interact with my friend I suppose an imagined psyche.[6]

3.2 If one believes or imagines a homogeneous form of anything is possible, he or she needs to think of its commonness. For example, when we consider 'crow is black', we often reject the *white crows,* which are uncommon to us in making the sense of application that 'crow is black'. The same way 'essentially' according to the Euro-centric politico administrative purpose, a so-called "nation-state" depends on such 'homogenous' modular forms like religion, language etc., which helps to construct its body, by rejecting its non-essential 'real'ities.[7] (Anderson 1983)

The national consciousness *re-writes* the appreciations of *togetherness* as a *nation* though there is the *cultural heterogeneity* across the scale or the model given by the Europeans. The consciousness for nation building arose in India in the colonial period.

But the question is that in case of where we describe the demand for a nation state, who is the demanders of a state? We often observe 'they' are fighting for their need, does 'really' the mass or population take part directly in a revolution?

Above all when we are taking part in the electoral as well as in the *parliamentary democracy* and its media control, how do we draw the equation straight way? Respecting the popular or politico-practical words like 'subaltern's revolution' or 'proletarian revolution' I must go to introduce the term in Chatterjee's notion of 'mediator'.[8]

The mediators are those who mediate the issues between the state and the population. Therefore the role of the mediators is more important than any objective study of a society. What I meant as 'consciousness' above 'is' or 'ought to be' something like mediator's motivation.

3.3 For the autonomy of the state, it is necessary to concise a homogenous form of certain things, I discussed before, especially in case of India it should be determined that upon what language the state would consist of. In this occasion the 'form' of that language should be reconstructed. And another thing is there, the land or the territory must be defined through which the authoritarian state can publish its geographical boundary. The basis of language and land transforms into the plenty of metaphors, metaphors of ideologies.[9] The mediators *imagine* and *construct* the ideologies through the cultural history and confining a homogeneous past to propose a substantial *identity of self*.

And thus the language managers, the crucial performers in the Mediators' Enterprises, try to elaborate the social hierarchy imposing the monolingualism *ON* other. We like to scrutinize the issues in the context of Bundelkhand mukti andolOn.

4. Annotations and Re-presentations

In Bundelkhand, as it was surveyed in 2000, I faced so many problems of regarding the 'definite' identity of Bundelkhandees or Budelees. Especially when we were scrutinizing the official documents of the Government of India and the 'other' collected documents, we saw that there are the different states of confusions, we argue here, in the statistical data of language and land. For example, we found there are two different names of the language of Bundelkhand even in the Census Report, i.e., Bundeli and Bundelkhandi. Even these two languages simultaneously were present in the 1961 census conducted by the Government. And there are different geopolitical maps of Bundelkhand too.

Who are the Bundelkhandees and who are the Bundelees? What is the *historical reality* behind the demand? The majority of people are very poor in this region so far I intervened into them. They are struggling for collecting food. I asked them. Most of them are ignorant about the autonomy-movement for the statehood and the prestige imposed by the mediators or the technical intelligentsia and even undoubtedly *unconscious* about the *total* 'historical management' of Bundela kingdom. But they are very much known of their internal society, its facts and fictions.

4.1 The boundaries

According to the historical map of India, Bundelkhand comprises five districts of Uttarpradesh and six districts of Madhyapradesh. This region consisted of mainly nine small princely states, was grouped and organized for the administrative purposes of the East India Company, before the termination of British rule in India, in 1947. "Historically Bundelkhand included Hamirpur, Jhansi, Jalaun, Lalitpur, and Banda districts, now in Uttarpradesh. Prior to 1947, however the name was restricted politically to the princely states of the Bundelkhand agency, created in 1802 as a sub-agency of the British central India agency. In 1948 Baghelkhand and Bundelkhand merged into Vindhyapradesh, which, with several former enclaves of southern Uttarpradesh, merged with Madhyapradesh in 1956. Bundelkhand thus no longer has any political identity."

Reiterating this historical memory, the people who are concerned with the demand for Bundelkhand as a separate state try to reconstruct its boundary.

According to the *Gazetteer of India* the territory of Bundelkhand is stayed 'between the river Jamna on the north, the Chambal on the north and west, the Jabalpur and Saugor Divisions of the Central provinces on the South, and Rewa or Baghelkhand and the Mirzapur Hills on the South and East.'[10] Grierson observed:

> "Politically this area includes the British districts of Hamirpur, Banda, Jhansi and Jalaun; so much of the Gwalior agency of central India as consists of the home districts of the state of Gwalior, the whole of the Bundelkhand agency, and a small portion on the west side of Baghelkhand Agency. [11]

To define the Language Boundary Grierson stated:

> "Bundeli is bounded on the East by the Bagheli dialect of Eastern Hindi; on the north-west by the closely related Kanauji and Braj Bhakha dialects of Western Hindi and in Hamirpur, by the Tirhari form of Bagheli spoken on the bank of the Jamna; on the south-west by various dialects of Rajasthani, the most important of which is Malwi; and on the South by the Marathi." [12]

We have date, Bundeli speaking area = 43452.4 sq. km. and former Bundela kingdoms and domains = 22180.7 sq. km.

But there are the several agencies who demand Bundelkhand as a separate state after independence of India with different manners and motives. However, there are different maps of Bundelkhand according to the different agencies like Institute of Grassland and Fodder, Government of India Agency, Political organization, e.g., Bundekhand Mukti Morcha, Grierson's survey and the cyber representation of Bundelkhand. [13]

It is very strange that the basis of land on what the demanders would propose to be separated suffers indeterminacy and fuzziness. Suppose a hypothetical land X is the demanded property of land, which has a historical background H. Therefore the combination of the cultural history and present existence of land is $X = f(H)$. But one can observe that the cultural history and the land, both were not as the same as present in the past. Perhaps the combination was (X_1, H_1) in a supposed past time and (X_2, H_2) in another.

Then why should one pretend an unbreakable uninterrupted parity or synthesis of the continuous property of the land? It is a question of motherland, which cannot be discontinued in certain case. In case of Bundelkhand, there are different forms of land in due respect of time and space and even the demanders' motives. Let us see how the differences would be synthesized.

4.2 Language

Grierson Counted the number of Bundeli-speakers. The figure was 6,869,201. Grierson categorized;

> "Bundeli is the dialect of Western Hindi spoken in Bundelkhand and the neighbourhood, including not only the Bundelkhand Agency, but also Jalaun, Hamirpur, and Jhansi, together with eastern portion of the Gwalior Agency. It is also spoken in the adjoining parts of Bhopal, and in the Damoh, Saugor, Seomi, and Narsinghpur, and parts of the Hosangabad and Chhindwara districts of the Central provinces. Banda though politically in Bundelkhand does not speak Bundeli. Here the language is mixed, but is in the main Bhageli. Bundeli has a small literature dating from the time of Chhattar Sal or Panna and his immediate predecessors of the early part of the eighteenth century. The Serampore missionaries translated the New Testament into it. The city of Mahoba is within Bundelkhand, and hence it follows that the most famous folk-epic of Northern India, the lay of Alha and Udan, which deals with the fortunes of Mahoba and its captured by Prithviraja of Delhi is sung by wandering bards in the Bundeli dialect.
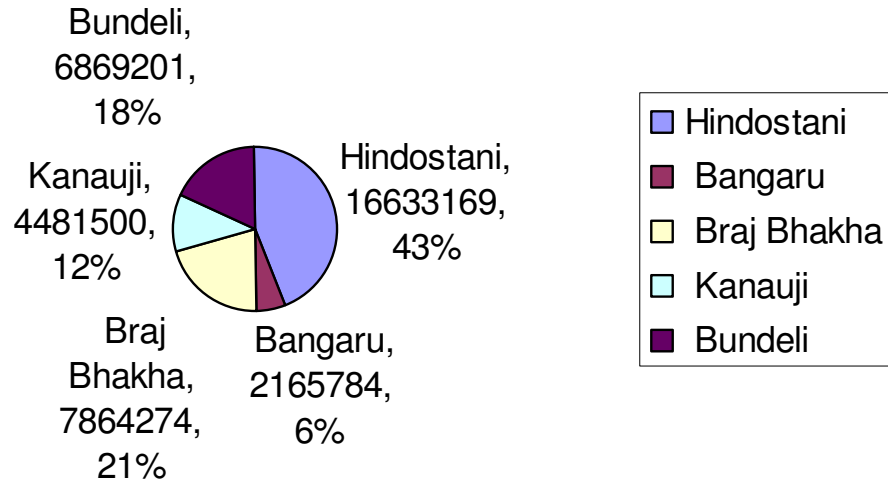>
> These three dialects are all closely connected with each other, and are typically pure forms of the speech of the Inner Sub-Branch." [14]

According to Grierson, the "Inner Sub-group" of Indo-Aryan Languages was categorized into two wings; i) Central Group and ii) Pahari. The Central group had six sub-categories. These were; a) Western Hindi b) Panjabi c) Rajasthani d) Gujrati e) Bhili f) Khandesi. Bundeli was observed as one of the five "dialects" (sic) of Western Hindi and it covered 18% of the total number of Western Hindi population.

In the Indian Census there was no counting of these individual "dialects". A total number of Western Hindi speakers were counted in the 1921 Census, i.e., 41, 210,916. This number was differed from the Grierson's figure, i.e., 38,013,928.

Figure 1

The Distribution of Western Hindi "Dialects"

Bundeli, 6869201, 18%

Kanauji, 4481500, 12%

Hindostani, 16633169, 43%

Braj Bhakha, 7864274, 21%

Bangaru, 2165784, 6%

Legend:
- Hindostani
- Bangaru
- Braj Bhakha
- Kanauji
- Bundeli

4.2.3 Other Observations on "Bundeli" Language

In the *Ethnologue* Report published by the official web site of Ethnologue data from *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, 14th Edition,* Copyright © 2004 SIL International, the Profile of the Bundeli language is as following:

> BUNDELI [BNS] 644,000 (1997 IMA) to 8,000,000 or more (1997). Uttar Pradesh, Jalaun, Jhansi, Hamirpur, Banda districts; Madhya Pradesh, Balaghat, Chhindwara, Hoshangabad, Sagar, Sehore, Panna, Satna, Chhatarpur, Tikamgarh, Shivpuri, Guna, Bhind, Morena, Gwalior, Lalitpur, arsinghpur, Seoni, Datia districts; Maharashtra, Bhandara, Nagpur districts; Rajasthan; Gujarat; Andhra Pradesh. Alternate names: BUNDEL KHANDI. Dialects: STANDARD BUNDELI, PAWARI (POWARI), LODHANTI (RATHORA),KHATOLA, BANAPHARI, KUNDRI, NIBHATTA, TIRHARI, BHADAURI (TOWARGARHI),LODHI, KOSTI, KUMBHARI, GAOLI, KIRARI, RAGHOBANSI, NAGPURI HINDI,CHHINDWARA BUNDELI. Classification: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Central zone, Western Hindi, Bundeli.[15]

On the other hand according to Anthropological Survey of India:

> Bundhelkhandi/Bundeli. A language of the Indo-Aryan subfamily (Central group). According to the 1971 census (provisional figures) language speakers were 376,036.

Area: Andhra Pradesh, Gujrat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. [16]

The tradition and heritage of Bundeli (tatsamized as "Bindheli" in a book on Bundeli language and culture, published by Bundeli Bartta Sodh Samsthan (1999))culture and language has been upheld. The instances of the languages of Bindhelkhand (Bindhya-ila-Khand, i.e. the territory surrounded by the Bindhyachal Mountains) are said to be found in a number of archaic documents like Maharnobo-Prakrit Bhasa Kosh, Arsa grantha (i.e. Aryan books), Vyakaran (grammar) etc. It has been inferred that the evidences show the existence of a "rich" language, which was more than a spoken language. And it achieved the status of a literary language being used in the plays as a language of the messengers. A literary survey has been conducted which they claim, has contributed much to the question of linguistic evidences by indicating the presence of such names of languages like "Bindheli" and reference like "hinah Banacarenam" (inferior forest-dwellers) in the text of Natya Shastra written by Bharata.

5. Paradox of Census Report

The *paradox* between the observations of the Governmental agencies made on the *fact* of certain distribution of a so-called *community* and the construction of genealogical fantasy as well as imaginative boundary imagined by the mediators of such particular *community* can be viewed as the contradiction between official *perception* and local *imagination* derived from the super-ordinates' domain. Simultaneously there are two phases. One is what the state perceives of its populations and the other is what the voices from the other ends project their genealogy.

5.1 Looking through the pages of Census Reports published by Government of India, we found a surprising growth of speakers of some Indian speech communities that defeats even the logic of birth rate. One such speech community is Bundeli. In 1961, the speaker of Bundeli was just 1 and there was another language called Bundelkhandi comprising almost 22065 speakers of this language. What is the difference between the two names Bundelkhandi and Bundeli? Grierson stated:

> "As its name implies, Bundelkhandi is the language of
> Bundelkhand. 'Bundeli' signifies the language spoken by the
> Bundelas, who are the principal inhabitants of that country." [17]

But according to the so-called 'organic' features of language specific, are there any differences? In the 1971, Bundeli was said to have 376036 speakers (17 times more than 1961 figure, 110% growth) and the lone speaker of Bundelkhandi was vanished. In 1991, Bundeli-speakers were 1657473, 4.5 times more than that of 1971(21.5% growth). The growth is not only surprising but astonishing also as the pan-Indian population birth-rate is much lower than this increasing astronomical figure.

Table 1

Speakers of	1961	1971	1981	1991
Bundeli	1	376,036	*	1,657,473
Bundelkhandi	22,065	-	-	-

Figure 2


Linguistic Growth of Bundeli (Bundelkhandi) Speakers
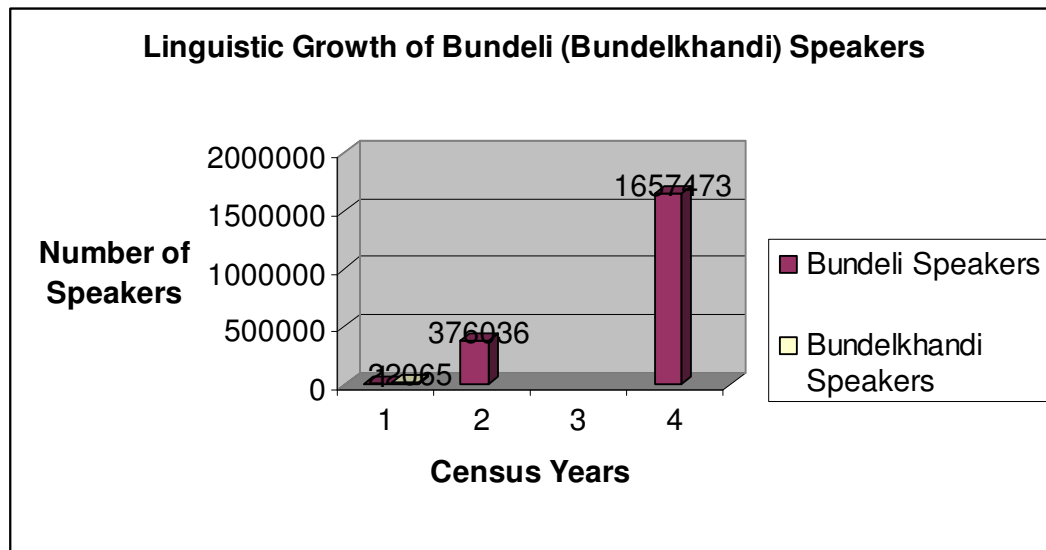
What is going on there? Population-growth in India is not so rapid, explosive and irrational. The simple answer lies in the process of census-return from Bundelkhandi population. The majority of the people in Bundelkhand, in some reasons, did not affiliate themselves with the Bundeli language in 1961, but in 1971 and 1991 they had rolled 'back' to their Bundeli identity. Why were they rolling back to Bundeli-identity?

In the Atlas of Bundelkhnad (1997: 2-3), published by Indian Grassland and Fodder Research Institute, it is stated that "The Bundeli dialect is a variant of Hindi and is the common conversational tongue used by the people of this area. Besides the geographical background, which makes it a compact unit, the Bundeli language supports its entity as a cultural factor." The problematic of language-dialect dichotomy of the dated Linguistics is still vivid here in this discourse as once it is referred as "dialect" and it is also categorized as "Bundeli language".

Bundeli is a language spoken in the North of Madhyapradesh is categorized under the umbrella of Hindi in the Indian census. Do the speakers of Bundeli try to get out of the hegemonic selving of Hindi by returning their own mother-tongue in the census? Numerical information on language/mother tongues over all India was collected for the first time during the Census conducted in 1881. The statistical practice of making approximate population was however, older in different provinces. For example, the census returns of Bombay Presidency(1864), Madras Presidency (1871) and Bengal Presidency(1872) did contain a few direct or indirect references to some languages, their strength of speakers or the areas where spoken.

Information on statistical linguistic database of India through the conventional inquiry on "mother tongue" started to be gathered through the censuses of the Government of India from 1891 to 2001. It is observed that the several "mother tongues" were returned in every census. For example, in 1961 and 1971 the total number of returned mother tongues was around 3,000, and in 1981 the number was 7,000 and in 1991, was more than 10,000. This gigantic numerical figure of returns need to be justified and classified in terms of actual "languages" and so-called "dialects" to understand the scenario of pluri-linguistic-scape of the country. The census list produced 1652 mother tongues in 1961 but 1576 in 1991. How the "mother tongues" became reduced?

Figure 3
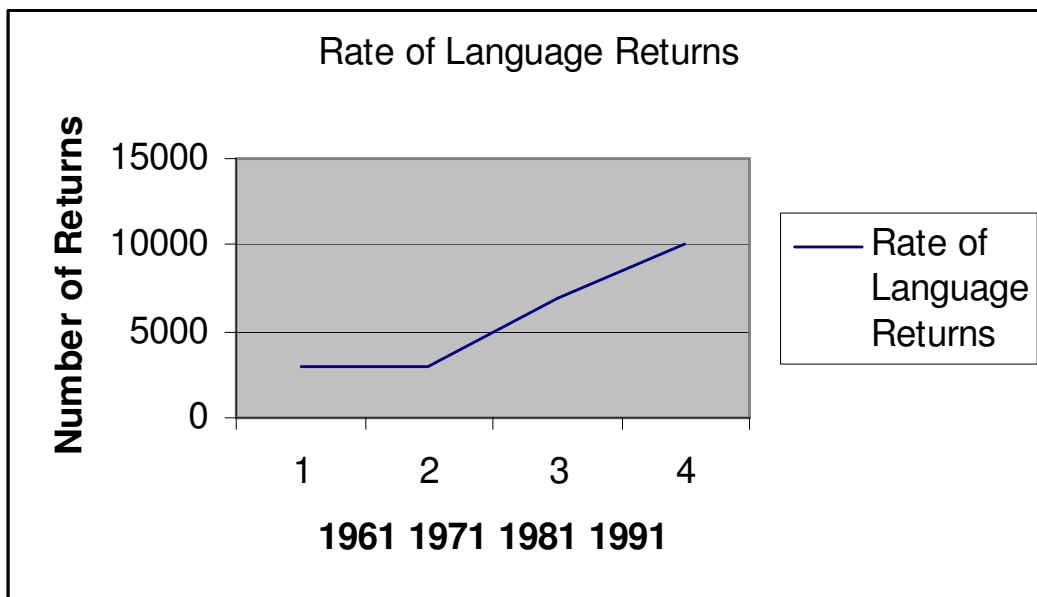
What is striking here that the new consciousness of enumerating and solidifying fuzziness of geopolitics and language-identity is proliferating in the context of global nation-statist program. The problem that haunts contemporary sociolinguists are that of the future planning of language in the context enumerated Indian plurilingual milieu.

6. Searching causality

Now let us come to the causality of the above discussed problems. Before that I must state that here I don't concentrate on certain fundamentalism by terming causality, though it is known that in a popular sense something causal=fundamental.

In 1980's when the second phase of Indira Gandhi's Government was running and then also in time of Rajiv Gandhi, the States where the other political parties were controlling over there raised the issue to have more political liberty against the process of centralization of the governmental power. Consistently at the same time there were so many small political entities, like Gorkhaland, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, Uttaranchal, Bundelkhand, etc. deserving their own status of power were also raising their voices against the centralization. But the scenario had been changed in 1990's. BJP desiring to get supported from all these "small" entities proposed to re-create the small states in India (choTe rajjyo nirman). It should be noted that most of the regions where the BJP government considered thinking about the re-creation of the small are mostly very backward. Therefore as a definite result of this politics, the so-called 'small' geo-political entities stepped out to proclaim their own economic liberty against centralized economic policies and to draw the desiring state-boundary. Especially in cases of Uttaranchal, Chattisgarh and Bundelkhand there is a certain game of electoral politics, which has no scope to be described here in detail, I had observed. The 'registered' and 'unrecognized' political organizations like Bundelkhand Mukti Morcha (BMM) in Bundelkhand have the scopes to playing role in such game to go ahead for liberation. However, I interviewed a leader of BMM and now characterize it as a *de-facto* of the movement for Bundelkhand as a separate state.

6.1 The interview

In 2000, I met the then President of BMM Mr. Sankarlal Malhotra to review the facts of the demands for Bundelkhand State. It should be important to keep in mind that at that time when I interviewed the president the states like Uttaranchal, Chattisgarh and Jharkhand did not get the status of separate statehood.

In an evening of August 2000, when I with my friend went to the house of the President, the initial formalities were almost wonderful, and in the absence of president the other members of that house perceived us as a reporter of newspaper. After some time, the President came and sat on a sofa in front of us. A boy served us soft drinks. As he had an injury in his right hand the President leaned on a pillow supporting his left shoulder. After a traditional greeting I asked him questions.

The first question I asked about why BMM moves for a separate state of Bundelkhand. President drastically answered: "We need autonomy; autonomy for educational and language planning, autonomy for economic justice". As he continued himself I did not make any intervention:

"We are Bundelkhandis. Bunedkhand is our state. And also we are Indian, *India is our country* in the same way through which the other communities like Bengali, Bihari, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Harianvi, Gujarati, Tamil, all say India is their own country. Being a part of Indian culture they have *developed* themselves along with their own culture and have made policies for their *development* and so on. On the other hand there is no state, constitution, police force, high court or law for us."

"Though there is the historical basis of our different geo-political entity and a distinct *cultural identity* as we, the Bundelkhandis do not have our own state. So our indigenous cultures and languages are not getting light of *development*. There is Punjab for Punjabis, Bengal for Bengalis, Bihar for Biharis, Gujrat for Gujratis, Tamilnadu for Tamils, then why not Bundelkhand for Bundelkhandis?"

The fact is that this Bundelkhand is located in overlapping zone of two different states; Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. There are no more instances of it. The other places (which are deserving separation) simply, like Uttarakhand(?) in Uttar Pradesh, Bidarva in Maharashtra, Chattisgarh in Madhya Pradesh, Telengana in Andhra Pradesh, Sourastra in Maharashtra, Gorkhaland in West Bengal, Bodoland in Assam, Jharkhand in Bihar - are demanding their own state. All these demand autonomy because they wish to preserve their culture. They are *fighting* against only one *mother state*, but Bundelkhand is fighting against two, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh.

Bundelkhand Mukti Morcha like the other organizations in all over India is fighting for their own state and they are comprises together to form a central organization like *'choTe rajjo nirman muktimorca' (The Organization of Making Small States).* It is against the centralization policies of Government."

6.2 The remarks

That means, they are making their provision within the federal character of India following the basic premise of linguistic states re-organization so that no one could blame them as a secessionist morcha. The President of Bundelkhand Mukti Morcha, Mr. Sankarlal Malhotra claimed, "We are the *real* Indians". India is prefixed with "real" to emphasize, as expected in the nationalist discourse, the "authentic" "classical" genealogy of them compared to the "other". Surprisingly, in the conversation with Malhotra, we found the construction of Hindu Bharat quite contrary to the Nehruvian India-project. Malhotra gave us their proclamation, published (2000) from the headquarters of Mukti Morcha in Jhansi. One of the chapters was on the: "STATE BUNDELKHAND-'TOTAL REVOLUTION'-THE ONLY WAY". The concept of "total revolution" is of course borrowed from the B.J.P.'s "sarvatmak viplav" and thus has a socialist tinge in it. And, it is well known that socialist followers of Lohia demanded the autonomy of the indigenous languages against the propagation of Sanskritized Hindi by Hindu Mahasabha Group. The Hindu-socialist nexus is albeit surprising as local B.J.P. does not subscribe to the views of BMM. Santosh Kumar Gupta said, the local leader of BJP in Jhansi "the people

of Bundelkhand are not with them (Bundelkhand Mukti Morcha), Malhotra is fighting alone".

It is mere truism that except the local intellectuals or mediators, none (the common people) bothers the whereabouts of the new-state formation. This simultaneous subscription of BMM to Nehruvian India-project, Socialist indigenous language project and Hindutva-project gives birth to a complex synthetic space as it is evident in their proclamation.

7. Conclusion

Now this issue must be concluded with certain statements on why I used the words like 'fantasy' or 'desire' to approach to the Bundelkhand issue. Actually, observing many 'factors' or the 'intensions' and keeping the 'contradiction' between the people suffering from the economic crisis and the crucial role-playing of the demanders in the governmental politics, in my mind I fixed myself to study the psyche of the demanders.

As I started the issue concentrating on 'language', I must conclude here with some on the 'linguistic colonization' to realize the psychic condition to win the power play. Perhaps that takes away from the 'realistic' observation but must help us to consider the possibilities of the separation movements in India. There are three spaces to be understood, i.e., External Colonizer—Internal Colonizer—Marginal/ Regional Colonizer. The colonized has not any say. Has it? Or I may ask, is there any 'body' colonized? The story remains to be narrated.

NOTES

1. Being an assistant of the project "The Glotto-politics of Linguistic Subalternity in Multilingual India" (1999), designed by Dr. Debaparasad Bandyopadhyay, Linguistic Research Unit (LRU), Indian Statistical Institute, Kolkata, I first thank Dr. Bandyopadhyay, who encouraged me to think the theoretical perspective of the Language Movements in India. I am also grateful to the then Head, Dr. Amitav Chaudhry and the other members Mrs Shubhasree Ganguly, Dr. Anuradha De, LRU, ISI, Kolkata, who supported me and suggested several pointers.

2. See Hudson, 1980, p. 31 -32. The concept of 'Linguistic Community' as well as 'Speech Community" has been depicted here as it was borrowed primarily from European paradigm and later from American Sociolinguistics.

3. A *language* in a sense of a finite set of signifiers, indicates Externalized Language (EL). This EL patronizes the State to build up a nation. Therefore, EL helps to recognize people within the territory of a geo-political scenario. On the other hand the State needs a *type* or a modular form through a well defined geopolitical boundary rather a boundary of authority to the people. In the formation of a Nation-State there are no linguistic factors associated with the choice of one

language variety (EL) as well as a standard language. Thus the 'other' language varieties are categorized as 'dialects'. The dialects are somehow the defeated languages. (Phillipson 1992: 55)

4. This 'impossible' of that I speak here is inseparable from the thinking of validity and from the unconditional hospitality that is required of State. The unconditional injunction for conflict resolution is: I have to welcome the 'other' - whoever 'the other' is, and unconditionally, i.e., without asking for a document, a name, a context or a passport. See Singh, Dasgupta and Lele, 1995

5. Singh, introducing how the dominant discourse of sociolinguistics may be problematized says, "Assuming that "linguistics" is about underlying process that make language "tick" and sociology is about NOT (sic) taking social appearance for granted, I argue that any sociolinguistics that does not meet these requirement of linguistics and sociology cannot be taken seriously. I also argue that most of contemporary sociolinguistics must be rejected and transcended because of its preoccupation with the regulative." (1998: 1)

6. Kakar (1982) shows that the 'modern' attitude has a propensity to 'equate' the 'imaginary' or the imagined state of affaires with the untrue. And "as the source of subjectivity and private images, the psyche too is apt to be regarded here with a degree of suspiciousness" he says.

7. Anderson (1983) proposed the following definition of the nation: *it is an imagined political community - - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.*

8. Chatterjee (1993) helps us to think about how the nationalist movement of India took a shape of mass movement. He indicates to a certain class of people who led the movement in this aspect. Chatterjee states such a person who belonged to this class, and explains this way: "Not only was he in the middle in terms of income, but he had also assumed, in the sphere of social authority, the role of the mediator. On the one hand, he was claiming that those who had wealth and property were unfit to wield the power they had traditionally enjoyed. On the other hand, he was taking upon himself the responsibility of speaking on behalf of those who were poor and oppressed. To be in the middle now meant to oppose the rulers and lead the subjects." (1993: 92) After the colonial era, the middle classes may still participate in the civil society as these played roles in the colonial public sphere.

9. IDEOLOGY is a very specific term used in the post-Marxist theories, such as Christian ideology, democratic ideology, feminist ideology, Marxist ideology, etc. Luis Althusser (1977) shows that there are two major mechanisms of State-organization for ensuring the *people of the State*. The first is the RSA, or Repressive State Apparatuses that can enforce the public behavior *directly*, like *police*, the *criminal justice* and *prison system*. The ISAs are some kind of institutions, which manufacture ideologies like schools, literary studies, religions,

the family, legal systems, politics, arts, sports, etc help people to build up ideas and values, and to believe the State as such is "eternal".

10.   cf. Hunter, William Wilson, Sir, et al (1908). Imperial Gazetteer of India, Volume 12. 1908-1931; Clarendon Press, Oxford. Also cited in Grierson 1916.

11.   See Grierson, G.A. 1916/1968. Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. IX, Part-I. p. 86

12.   see ibid, p. 87

13.   cf. http://encarta.msn.com/map_701510853/Bundelkhand.html

14.   See the "classified list" in Grierson, G.A. 1927/1967. Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. I, Part-I. p. 163

15.   http://www.ethnologue.com/

16.   Singh, Manohar. Ed. 1997. People of India (National Series, Vol. IX). New Delhi: OUP

17.   cf. 11.

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