

The Eighth Schedule Languages* A Critical Appraisal

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*'In India, language is one of the most significant markers of social inequality. Much of the social dominance is translated into language.'*¹

Yogendra Yadav

Social and Political Scientist

Introduction

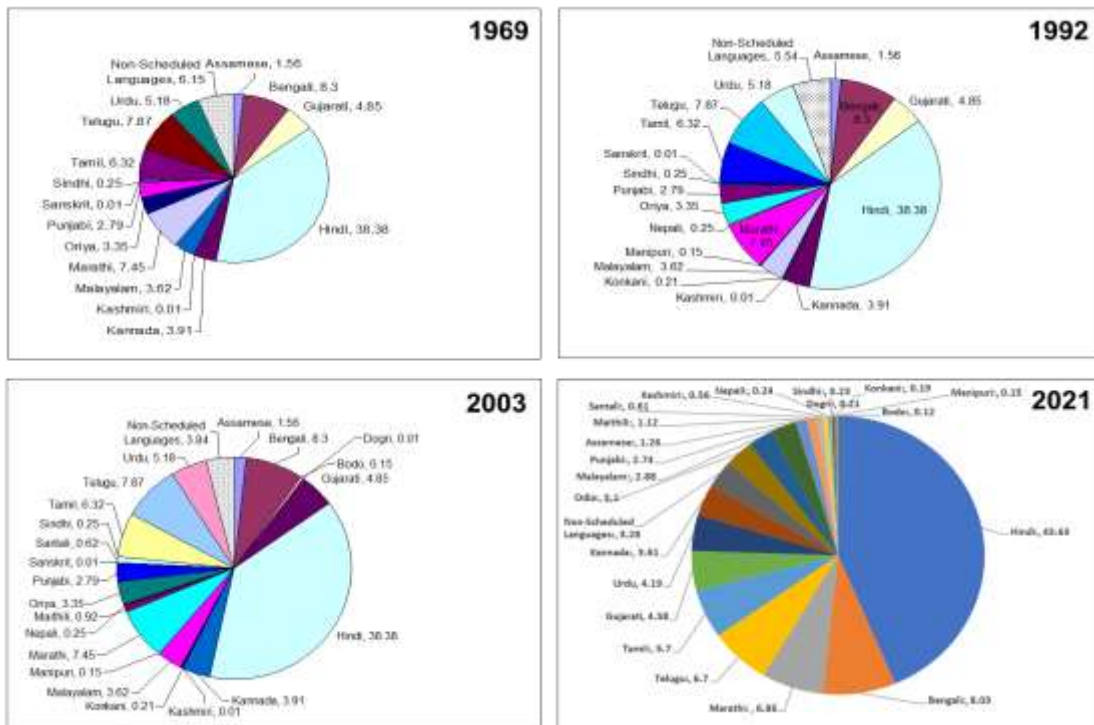
Before independence, India had only two languages-*English* and the *vernacular(s)*. All Indian languages were put together under one nomenclature -vernacular. After her independence empowerment of Indian languages took place in two stages. First-when they found a place in the Constitution under one nomenclature or the other, they got a *status*. Second-when the States of the Union were re-organized on linguistic lines. Many of them got a *State*, on the basis of majority of speakers of a language in the respective state. The Constitution of India identified select languages as Scheduled languages and placed them in the Eighth Schedule. The rest of the languages automatically, officially got identified as non-scheduled languages.

In India, the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution is cited in language related discussions more often than any other language related Articles of the Constitution and discussion on language related decisions. This indicates its importance as well as utility of the schedule.

The Constitution of India adopted on November 26,1949 by the Constituent Assembly listed 14 languages Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam. Marathi,Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Tamil,Telugu and Urdu in the Eighth Schedule. The Constitution was amended in 1967, to include Sindhi; in 1992 to include Konkani, Manipuri, and Nepali; and to include Bodo, Dogri, Maithili and Santali in 2003.Thus there are 22 languages in the Eighth Schedule. Since 2003, no additional language is included, though there are demands for inclusion from different languages.

Languages of the Eighth Schedule through the Decades

The four charts below illustrate the composition of the Scheduled and Non-Scheduled Languages in India through decades since creation of this dichotomy.



The chart 2021 is an illustration from the language data from the 2011 Census of India language tables.

The languages listed in this Schedule have in due course have acquired different connotations. They are identified as *national languages* by the Congress party. Jawaharlal Nehru had said that 'the makers of our Constitution were wise in laying down that all the 13 or 14 languages' were to be *national languages*. There is no question of anyone language being more a national language than the others... Bengali or Tamil or any other regional language is as much a national language as Hindi' (Kumaramangalam:1965). While addressing Parliament in 1963, he had described the languages of the Eighth Schedule as *national languages*.² The Congress Working Committee meeting of April 5, 1954, had recommended that progressively the examinations for the all-India services should be held in Hindi, English and the principal regional languages, and candidates may be given option to use any of the languages for the purpose of examinations' (Kumaramangalam:1965). And the Congress Working Committee meeting of June 2, 1965, had said that "The Union Public Service Commission (UPSC) examinations will be conducted in English, Hindi and other national languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution" (Prasad:1986).

The report of the Deputy Commissioner of Minorities, popularly known as Minorities Commission Report and The Official Language Resolution (3) of 1968 consider languages listed in the Schedule as *major languages* of the country. The Programme of Action 1992 on National Policy on Education, 1986, considers them as *Modern Indian Languages* and depending on the official contexts they are identified as *Scheduled languages*. The National Education Policy 2020 too considers them as *modern languages including Sanskrit*. All these terms are not arbitrary. They are loaded words with official connotations. They have gained specific meanings and applications and implications in the linguistically reorganized multilingual nation.

Dimensions of the Schedule

Though the Constitution presents a unidirectional picture of the language Schedule, an analysis of its use provides a multidirectional implication. Some of them are:

1. The reported intention of the (first) author of the list;
2. The functions that the members of the Constituent Assembly desired for these languages;
- 3.(a) The Constitutionally assigned role and function of the Schedule, and
(b) its extension by the Official Language Resolution 1968.
4. Aspirations of the speakers of various languages seeking membership in the Schedule;
5. Some of the purposes for which the Schedule is utilized since the adoption of the Constitution; and
6. Consequences of the same in terms of advantage and disadvantage.

Reported Intention

At the time when the Constitution was framed, the language situation was fluid in the country. There were rivalries between languages. In order to provide a list of languages in the Constitution which are to be developed for administrative work as well as for science and technology, M. Satyanarayana, a member of the Drafting Committee on the Language Resolution, with the permission of Jawaharlal Nehru, prepared a list of 12 languages - Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu, Oriya, Bengali, Assamese, Punjabi and Kashmiri. Nehru added Urdu as the 13th name to the list (Tayabji:1977). Thus, *the original aim was creation of a list of languages to be developed for administration, expression of science and technology in independent India.*

Member's Aim and Scope

The draft provisions on language prepared by K.M. Munshi and N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar for discussion by the Indian National Congress outside the Constituent Assembly (discussed by the party and revised by the Drafting Committee on August, 24, 1949) relating to the Schedule under 301(B)(1) had made provision for the constitution of a Commission with the Chairman and representative members of different languages of Schedule VII-A for the progressive use of Hindi, restrictions on use of English, etc. The Schedule at this juncture

had (1) Hindi, (2) Urdu, (3) Punjabi, (4) Kashmiri, (5) Bengali, (6) Assamese, (7) Oriya, (8) Telugu, (9) Tamil, (10) Malayalam, (11) Canarese, (12) Marathi, (13) Gujarati, (14) English (Thirumalai: 2004). Also having a separate schedule listing language was found unnecessary by R.S. Shukla because representatives of many languages cannot solve the problem of official language of the Union.

However, the draft of Part XIV -A of the Constitution of language taken up for discussion by the Constituent Assembly on September 12, 1949, had Schedule VII-A with (1) Assamese, (2) Bengali, (3) Canarese, (4) Gujarati, (5) Hindi, (6) Kashmiri, (7) Malayalam, (8) Marathi, (9) Oriya, (10) Punjabi, (11) Tamil, (12) Telugu, (13) Urdu. The aim of this Schedule of languages was to provide representatives for the constitution of the Commission and Committee of Parliament on Official Language according to Article 301-B. At that time the Special Directive Article 301-1 stated that ".It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of Hindi and to develop the language so as to serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment assimilating, without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and the expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India, and drawing, wherever necessary *or* desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily from Sanskrit and secondarily from other languages" (Constituent Assembly Debate, p. 1323).

In both the drafts the Schedule had no relation to any other Article of the Constitution. It is to be noted that English was a part of the congress party draft, and not a part of the draft of the Constituent Assembly. In the debate of the Constituent Assembly on Scheduled languages, attempts were made to:

- (a) rename or correct the name of the language,
- (b) enlarge the list,
- (c) redefine the Articles either by restricting or by enlarging their scope, and
- (d) enlarge the role.

(a) *Rename*: The name of the language 'Canarese' was substituted by the name 'Kannada' through an amendment moved by S.V. Krishnamoorthy Rao (CAD, p. 1486).

(b) *Enlarge the list*: Out of the 176 Adivasi (Tribal) languages; Mundari spoken by 40 lakhs, Gondi spoken by 32 lakhs and Oraon spoken by 11 lakhs were proposed by Jaipal Singh for inclusion in the Schedule because they are important and spoken by a greater number of people than some of the languages already included. He selected only 3 out of 176 Adivasi languages because he did not want to overburden the Schedule. He felt that through the acceptance of these languages there will be encouragement to "the cause of unearthing ancient history" and "that these languages should be encouraged and developed so that they themselves can become enriched and, by their enrich.'llent, they enrich the Rashtrabhasha of the country" (CAD, p. 1439). Rajasthani and Hindustani were two of the 14 languages

proposed to be included in the list by Naziruddin Ahmad (CAD, p. 1482). But his amendment was negated. Syama Prasad Mookerjee requested for inclusion of Sanskrit (CAD, p. 1391). The amendment seeking the insertion of Sanskrit after Punjabi in the list was adopted (CAD, p. 1486).

(c) *Redefinition*: Through amendment No. 188 S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao wanted to enlarge the scope of Article 301-1 by adding the following clause:

"The President shall appoint a permanent Commission consisting of experts in each of the languages mentioned in Schedule VII-A for the following purposes:

- (i) to watch and assist in the development of Hindi as the common medium of expression for all India;
- (ii) to evolve common technical terms not only for Hindi but also for other languages mentioned in Schedule VII-A for use in science, politics, economics and technical subjects.
- (iii) to evolve a common vocabulary acceptable to all the component parts of India" (CAD, p. 1337).

He did not press for the amendment and he withdrew the same. His suggestion was appreciated but it was not found necessary by Gopalaswamy Ayyangar to add to the draft because of an article in that particular part which directs the State "...to take steps for promoting the development of the Hindi language, to take all steps that may be necessary for enriching it, for enabling it to draw upon Hindustani and other languages in the country for style, forms of expression and so on, and for enriching its vocabulary by borrowing, in the first instance, from Sanskrit and, secondarily, from all other languages in the world" (CAD, p. 1475).

(d) *Enlarge the Role*: It was also proposed by Naziruddin Ahmad that the States be reorganized on the basis of these principal languages (CAD, Amendment 277). This amendment too was negated.

The present list of languages and the role originally assigned to it, as B.M. Gupte pointed out in the debates, then, itself is the result of balancing various language forces active at the time of the framing of the Constitution. "The name of the language is accepted as Hindi but the protagonists of Hindustani are confronted with the directive clause. In that clause itself those who are the champions of Sanskritized Hindi are appeased because it is laid down that Sanskrit shall be the primary source of vocabulary, but at the same time the advocates of the other school are also placated by providing that the words from other languages shall not be boycotted" (CAD, p. 1406). Here, the aim of the Schedule mainly was the development of Hindi and identification of the sources for its development.

Constitutional Assignment

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The Eighth Schedule Languages - A Critical Appraisal

The Constitution vide Articles 351 and 344 has assigned two specific functions for the Eighth Schedule. Article 344 relates to the constitution of the "Commission and (committee of Parliament on official language", popularly known as Official Language Commission. This Commission will have a "Chairman and such other members representing the different languages specified in the Eighth Schedule " This Commission, in addition to other matters relating to the official language of the Union, will make recommendations on the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union, language to be used in the Supreme Court and the High Courts and for Acts, Bills etc., and -language for communication between the Union and a State or between one State and another and "restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union".

The Special Directive in Article 351 wherein another reference to the Eighth Schedule is made relates to the development of Hindi. Here, (a) it is the duty of the Union to promote the spread of Hindi, (b) it should develop to serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India, (c) it has to enrich by assimilating the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in other languages of the Eighth Schedule without interfering with its genius, (d) and also it should enrich itself by drawing vocabulary primarily from Sanskrit and secondarily from other languages.

Thus, the Constitutional assignment is for the development of official Hindi, Hindi for communication across different languages and spread of Hindi across the States and the Union Territories. May be as indicated by Raghuveera it was important to evolve a language "... which will bridge the gulf between Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Telugu, Tamil, Assamese, Oriya, Punjabi -all the languages of India. We have to find a language which will serve the needs not only of Hindi and Urdu but also of all the regions of the North and the South" (CAD, p. 1461). Article 344(1) is considered as inoperative, and Article 351 as recommendatory. Also, the Eighth Schedule is considered as anachronistic (Pattanayak:1986).

But attempts are made to enlarge the scope of the Schedule to make it relevant. One such attempt is the Official Language Resolution, 1968, adopted by both Houses of Parliament. It extended the functions of Article 351. Accordingly, it became the "...duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language and to develop it so that it may serve as a median of expression ". Simultaneously, "... the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution specifies 14 major languages of India besides Hindi, and it is necessary in the interest of the educational and cultural advancement of the country that concerted measures should be taken for the full development of these languages"; and "... a programme shall be prepared and implemented by the Government of India in collaboration with the State Governments for the coordinated development of all these languages, alongside Hindi, so that they grow rapidly in richness and become effective means of communicating modern knowledge". The

responsibility for the compliance of this is mainly with the Department of Education of the Central Government.

Since the Constitutional assignment was looking biased towards Hindi, the development of languages of the Eighth Schedule for educational and cultural advancement also was added as the / responsibility of the Union Government.

Aspirations of Some Languages

The amended Schedule had different intentions every time. In the case of Sindhi, its inclusion provided. a sense of constitutional and cultural identity; equality of members of the community as Indians; avoided discrimination in the absence of such a recognition; and sustenance of Sindhi culture and language (Daswani:1979).

The Manjपुरi speakers also wanted inclusion of Manipuri to avoid 'alienate' feeling, discrimination in the grant of assistance to the Scheduled and non-Scheduled languages and to have a proper place in the Indian mainstream.³ Nepalese, wanted inclusion of Nepali to get integrated with the mainstream of Indian nationallife.⁴ Because of the long standing controversy regarding the position of Konkani as a dialect or as an independent language, the speakers, since Konkani had become the official language of Goa, wanted its inclusion in the Eighth Schedule to confirm its independent status as a language.

Similarly, the International Santal Council wanted inclusion of Santali in the Eighth Schedule because it is a widely spoken mother tongue of more than 2 crores of people, and has its own Ol Chiki script, for its preservation and all-round development. It is contended that since it is not included in the Schedule it is not used in the competitive examinations and is deprived of facilities of further growth.⁵ Now all these languages are part of the Schedule.

The Reports of the Minorities Commission, on different occasions and while considering the requests of different languages for their inclusion in the Eighth Schedule, have stated that:

- (a) Articles 344 and,351 do not confer any special status, privilege or benefit on speakers of these languages,
- (b) it is an erroneous impression that the 15 languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution are the only recognized languages,
- (c) no benefit or disability accrues to a language by its inclusion or otherwise in the Eighth Schedule and the endeavors of the Government is to encourage the development of cultural and literary heritage of all languages irrespective of their inclusion in the Eighth Schedule,
- (d) in the Provisions of the Constitution relating to the safeguards for linguistic minorities, no mention has been made of the Eighth Schedule,
- (e) non-inclusion of a language in the Eighth Schedule does not preclude the

- speakers of such a language from the benefits provided for linguistic minorities,
- (f) no additional benefits to the concerned language in the matter of safeguards available to linguistic minorities,
 - (g) inclusion of a language in the Eighth Schedule leads to the unending demand for addition of more and more languages, and
 - (h) the number of languages in the country is too large for inclusion in the Eighth Schedule, etc.

It is a wrong perception to look at the requests from the point of view of linguistic minorities and their rights only. A clear picture will emerge only when these demands and their relation to the Constitutional provisions are assessed independently. Actually, the language movements for inclusion are for recognition and privileges and to merit special attention for development (Annamalai:1986).

Role Extension

As minority languages, both scheduled and non-scheduled languages are found to be, on par at great disadvantage because they are either totally engulfed in another language environment or broken up by geopolitical discontinuity. For example, Telugu is the language of the majority in Andhra Pradesh (83.13%). But it is a minority language in Tamil Nadu (8.13%). In the second category Santali is the language of a minority population in one or more than one state like Orissa, Bihar and West Bengal (Mahapatra:1991).

This is the conventional view of disadvantage and does not give a clear picture of disadvantage. Preference leads to discrimination. And discrimination to disadvantage. In this context it is intended to examine the question of advantage or disadvantage created by the use or non-use of the Eighth Schedule of languages as a list of select languages for different language and literary purposes. Here, disadvantage is looked at from the point of view of (a) its functionality to the mother tongue speakers, and (b) language and its development.

Schedule VIII, Literature and Creative Expression

The Government and private literary bodies use the Eighth Schedule as a select list of languages for literary awards and other purposes, The National Sahitya Akademi recognizes the languages of the Schedule as literary languages by default. It has set criteria separately to recognize languages from non-scheduled languages. The National Book Trust treats the languages of the Eighth Schedule and English as the major Indian languages for preparing the source-books in English for highlighting about 600 ancient and modern classics in the project 'Masterpieces of Indian literature'⁶. Similarly, the Bharatiya Jnanapith also restricts its literary awards to literature in the Eighth Schedule languages. Various State bodies further recognize some more languages as languages having literature worth rewarding. For example, Karnataka Sahitya Akademy, gives awards to literary works in Tulu, Kodagu, Konkani and Lambani in Kannada script in addition to literary works in Kannada.⁷

The Central Institute of Indian Languages in its scheme of assistance provides assistance for improvement of language teaching and materials production to the voluntary organizations and state agencies. This scheme defines the term 'Indian Languages' to include all the languages (other than Hindi and Sanskrit) as set out in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution and other languages.⁸

This Institute has another scheme to award prizes to authors writing books or manuscripts in Indian languages other than Hindi, Sanskrit, English and the mother tongues mentioned in the Eighth Schedule and the tribal and non-tribal languages having literature of merit.⁹

Similarly, the Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development, has programmes for promotion and development of languages¹⁰. It also provides financial assistance for the publication and purchase of books in Indian languages and English; it defines Indian languages as "languages as specified in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India, including their recognized dialects and other recognized tribal languages". Under this scheme during the Eighth Plan period assistance is given for the maintenance and support to reputed organizations, short-term studies, periodicals and teaching of languages, and also for publication and purchase of encyclopedias, bibliographies, dictionaries, descriptive catalogues of rare manuscripts, original writings on linguistic, literary, Indological, social and cultural themes, transliteration and publication of classics from one Indian language to another Indian language, and reprint of rare books,"

It can be said that most of this will go in favor of English and some languages of the Eighth Schedule; rarely will it percolate to other languages. Inclusion of 'Other Languages' in such of these cases is only a token show of 'non-discrimination' among Indian languages. The National Literacy Mission conducts literacy campaigns in regional languages. 'If a district has a majority spoken language, the campaign will be through that language' (Halemane:1992). The literacy campaign in South Canara of Karnataka was partly conducted in Tulu written in Kannada script. Whereas the National Photo Competition 1993¹¹ on Adult education, on the theme of 'Literacy and Development' to promote awareness of literacy through the medium of photography among the people of the country, invites photographs on the suggested theme by restricting itself to a short slogan in anyone of the Indian languages, viz., Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, and English, the National Essay Competition on literacy/adult education¹² for students of secondary/senior secondary levels on "Mass literacy campaign and my participating role" or "My school's role to remove illiteracy"; students of graduate/postgraduate levels on "Literacy -A Weapon Against Communalism" or "Literacy - Equality for Woman"; teachers of primary /middle and secondary levels on "Role of the Teacher in the "Creation of a Learning Society" or "Developing Learning Materials for Literacy and Continuing Education" is further restricted to English and Hindi only. Thus, students and teachers who are partners in Total Literacy Campaigns of nearly 180 district

literacy campaigns in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, etc., through the regional languages and other languages like Tulu, are outside the purview of this competition.

The discrimination of scheduled and non-scheduled languages encompasses the field of films too. The Government of India has the National Film Festival Regulations aiming at "encouraging the production of films of aesthetic excellence and social relevance contributing to the understanding and appreciation of the cultures of different regions of the country and promoting integration and unity of the nation."¹³ This has two competitive sections -feature films and non-feature films, produced in India and certified by the Board between January 1 and December 31, of the previous year. Apart from the general awards in 28 categories given irrespective of the language for feature films, each of the languages specified in the Eighth Schedule gets awards for the best director and the best producer. Every year most of these languages get the awards. The award for producer and director in the category of best feature film in each of the languages other than those specified in the Eighth Schedule goes to one language only.

Schedule VIII and Education

The Eighth Schedule has played the important role of an arbitrator in deciding the medium of instruction in secondary schools because "The mother tongue formula could not be fully applied for use as the medium of instruction at the secondary stage of education. This stage gives a more advanced education to enable students to follow a vocation after school leaving stage and also prepares them for higher education in universities. The languages used should be modern Indian languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution as well as English."

Since Konkani is only a spoken language without script and is not in the Eighth Schedule, the Kerala Government had not recognized it as a minority language in 1970 (13 RCLM 1971). But on the representation of the Konkani Bhasha Prachar Sabha and the recommendation by the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities the Kerala Government, vide GO MS 130/G 1/Edn. of July 4, 1974 declared the Konkani community in Kerala as a linguistic minority in the State entitled to the protection guaranteed under Article ¹⁴.

The Government of Madhya Pradesh too has extended facility of instruction. in their mother tongue to the children of speakers of languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule (16 RCLM 1974), thus denying facility of. instruction in their mother tongue to speakers of minority languages including tribal languages like Madia, Bhili, Korku, Gondi, and Halbi. In Uttar Pradesh too, the rules framed by the Board of High School and Intermediate Education had not provided facilities for instruction in minority languages except English in a few cases. In 1968 the Minorities Commission advised providing of instruction through the media of modern Indian languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule (9 RLMC 1980. In 1981 too, the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities recommended that "facilities for instruction at the

secondary stage of education through the mother tongue/minority languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution should be provided if not made available at all or in full" (21 RCLM 1981).

Thus, one need not be surprised when the Fifth All India Educational Survey identifies that "only the major 16 languages recognized by the Constitution are used as media of instruction in a large number of States and Union Territories and most of the remaining languages display a localized pattern confined to one or the other State or Union Territory". Thus, other Indian languages used in primary or upper primary stage like Maithili, Kokborok, Dogri, Ao, Angami, Serna do not continue as medium at the secondary stage. Also, Santali, Khezha, Tripuri, Bodo, Garo, Mizo that were used as media of instruction at the school stage during the Third All India Educational Survey also dropped out as media of instruction, leading to the conclusion that "as we go up on the educational ladder, the number of languages used as media of instruction goes on declining".¹⁵

A language gets not only a different status after its inclusion in the Eighth Schedule, but also certain specific privileges. It becomes a modern Indian language. If spoken in a specific geographic region, it is called a regional language also. These get opportunities which other languages are deprived of. Automatically they become eligible along with English to get the benefit of assistance to authors, publishers producing books to serve as textbooks, discipline-oriented supplementary reading material and reference books of an 'acceptable standard' at reasonable prices for the students and teachers of Indian universities and technical institutions in the scheme of National Book Trust.¹⁶ Only Indian publishers from each of these languages including English are honored by the Federation of Indian Publishers.¹⁷

The language and literacy development programmes undertaken in the nation become easily accessible to languages of the Schedule and not to others. Thus, the market value of a language increases after its inclusion in the Schedule.

The all-India level competitive examinations are conducted for entrance into higher and technical education and employment by different organizations. The Eighth Schedule languages are used by them in selected spheres. The Joint Entrance Examination is conducted for the Indian Institutes of Technology (at Bombay, Delhi, Kanpur, Kharagpur and Madras) and the Institute of Technology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, for B.Tech., B.Arch., B. Pharma, Integrated M.Sc. and M. Tech. courses for Indian nationals. The candidates answer 4 papers. The first paper is a screening paper having objective-type questions in chemistry, physics and mathematics. The candidates are permitted to answer in English or in the Indian languages - Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu,¹⁸ only if they have appeared for 10+2 or equivalent examinations by answering in these languages. However, though they can answer in any of these languages it is to be noted that the question papers are set only in English and

Hindi. But the competitive examinations conducted by the Indian Institutes of Management (at Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Calcutta and B. Lucknow) for the postgraduate programme and fellow-programmes in Management consists of questions in areas such as quantitative and verbal skills, reasoning, comprehension of ideas and. English language to predict the ability to undertake the courses in management. The expected proficiency in English and mathematics is of 12th standard level.¹⁹ Here all other languages including those of the Eighth Schedule are excluded.

Similarly, the all-India Pre-Medical and Pre-Dental examination of the Central Board of Secondary Education and the examination of the Armed Forces Medical College, Pune, set question papers for subjects like physics, chemistry and mathematics in Hindi and English, thus depriving all other Indian language medium students of fair competition.

Even in 21st century in 2020, this list of languages is used as a select list of languages for various purposes in the country. The National Education Policy 2020 states that ‘There will be a major effort from both the Central and State governments to invest in large numbers of language teachers in all regional languages around the country, and, in particular, for all languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India (Page 13).’

Eighth Schedule and Administration

In the use of languages in administration too, the Eighth Schedule has played the role of controller of recognition of languages. There are many districts where a majority of the population of the district uses a language other than the official language of the State, since "the language of the minority group should be recognized as an official language in that district in addition to the State official language. Recognition for this purpose may, however, be given ordinarily only to major languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution²⁰." Though this goes contrary to the Constitutional provisions this almost bars any other language from being recognized as an official language.

Eighth Schedule and Employment

In the case of Civil Services examinations conducted by the Union Public Service Commission, the preliminary examination has two compulsory papers of objective type. Here medium of examination is Hindi and English only. In the main examination, the qualifying papers are one of the Indian languages selected by the aspirant from the languages of the Eighth Schedule and English. The papers counted for merit could be answered by the candidate in one of the languages of the Eighth Schedule or English. However, the questions will be in Hindi and English only, except in case of literature and language papers.

In spite of the existence of this provision to write the UPSC Civil Services main examination in any language of the Eighth Schedule, the majority of the candidates are choosing English, which is not a Scheduled language. An analysis reported by *The Hindu* (24/06/2016) indicates that students opting for English medium has increased from 54.50% in

2009 to 84. 68% in 2014. Among the Scheduled languages, during the same period Hindi medium was preferred by 74% in 2009 and it has declined to 66% in 2014. Amongst other Scheduled languages only Marathi, Tamil and Telugu are opted by more than 5% each by the aspirants.²¹

The examinations conducted by the Union Public Service Commission for the National Defense Academy, Indian Military Academy, Naval Academy, Officers Training Academy, Air Force Station test proficiency of the candidates in English. And the question papers in other subjects are set in English only.

The University Grants Commission conducts test for Junior Research Fellowships and eligibility for lecturer ship also applicable to physical education, library personnel and for fellowships of the Indian Institutes of Technology. The test has three papers. The objective-type paper intended to assess the teaching/research aptitude of a candidate designed to test reasoning ability, comprehension, and divergent thinking, and also the objective-type paper II on the subject chosen by the candidate is in English and Hindi only. The subject-specific question paper III of descriptive type has to be answered either in English or in Hindi. Even if the candidate at postgraduate level has studied through the medium of any other language of the Eighth Schedule, he cannot answer in that language. Here also even the other Scheduled languages are discriminated against as opposed to English and Hindi.²²

Observations

The Staff Selection Commission set up in 1976 is the largest recruiting body in the country. It recruits for the posts of Lower Division Clerks, Upper Division Clerks, Stenographers of Grade C and Grade D, Statistical Assistants, Junior and Senior Hindi Translators, Transmission Executives, Inspectors of the Central Excise, Inspectors of Income Tax, Divisional Accountants, Auditors etc., through all-India competition by scanning nearly 20 lakh applications a year. The role of this Commission is to "select the right person for the right job at the right time" (Bajpei 1993). Depending upon the post for which the selection is made, the examination has questions for comprehension and writing ability in Hindi, comprehension and writing ability in English, test of reasoning ability, numerical aptitude, general awareness, test of clerical aptitude, which is a specific component of the recruitment to the clerk's grade, wherein nearly 8 lakh applicants compete, a compulsory English test to assess the knowledge of English vocabulary, grammar, and comprehension. The tests in general intelligence, numerical aptitude and clerical aptitude are in Hindi and English only.

In the recruitment of Section Officers (Audit), the eligibility level being a Bachelor's degree of a recognized university with 50% marks, the candidates can opt for language test in General Hindi or English. This is in addition to a compulsory paper for all in General English based on error recognition, fill in the blank, cloze passage, comprehension etc. Whereas other subject papers in reasoning ability, general awareness and arithmetic will be set in English and Hindi only.

The Banking Service Recruitment Board holds competitive examinations for Indian citizens for clerical and officer's cadre and for management trainee's posts. Graduation is normally entry level qualification. The scheme of examination has both objective type and descriptive-type questions; the objective type of tests cover reasoning ability, numerical ability, general awareness and Knowledge of English. The descriptive part for assessing the ability of the candidate to comprehend, analyze and express his views is in English or Hindi and has to be answered in one of these two languages.

The Railway Recruitment Board also holds competitive examinations for selection of candidates for various categories of posts. They have to answer the descriptive type questions in English or Hindi. The public sector undertakings such as the Unit Trust of India too conduct selection examinations. The written examination is of the objective type consisting of a test of reasoning, quantitative aptitude, test of English and general awareness. The same is the case with almost all the private sector undertakings.

Since Hindi is the official language of the Union and English is the associate official" language most of these all- India level employment opportunities expect minimum competence in Hindi or/and English at the entry point itself. However, for recruitment to the State services: (i) Knowledge of the State Official Language should not be a pre-requisite for recruitment to State services, that is to say, superior or gazetted services. A test of proficiency in the State Official Language may- be held after selection and before the end of the period of probation. (ii) A candidate should have the option of using English or Hindi as medium of examination for State Services, as an alternative to the official language of the State (RLMC 1984).

It is said that languages listed in this Schedule do not have any relevance for the drawing of State boundaries, for the declaration of an official language within States, or for use as media of communication at' different levels (Pattanayak :1986). But as we have seen in the cases discussed above, the Eighth Schedule languages have many statutory privileges, and are the preferred languages for educational and administrative purposes. They are not ignored or left out in most of the language-related decision-making process.

These instances of the use of the Eighth Schedule or non-use of the same in the area' of literature and other creative expressions, education, administration, and employment -help to identify layers of language and disadvantage. The pattern is as follows:

- (a) English and Indian languages;
- (b) English, Hindi, and other Scheduled Indian languages;
- (c) English, Scheduled languages with State and Stateless languages;
- (d) English, Scheduled languages and non-Scheduled languages.

English is serving independent of other languages and also it is serving sometimes as a substitute for the non-Scheduled languages, and sometimes as a substitute for all other Indian languages excluding Hindi. It is seen above that English is at an advantage for its users, but from the point of view of language Hindi is in an advantageous position.

In India, English is taught as a compulsory language from pre- primary in Nagaland; first standard in Sikkim; third standard in Manipur, Tamil Nadu, Tripura; fourth standard in Himachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, fifth standard in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, sixth standard in Bihar, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal; and seventh standard in Gujarat. Also "... the new method of teaching English, based on the so-called functional communicative approach has been far from unqualified success and much to the dissatisfaction among parents and guardians..." (Ashok Mitra:1992).

There is no comparable uniformity in the duration of its teaching and learning in the schools. Graduate studies in science and humanities in all the regional languages are possible, even postgraduate studies in humanities and science in Tamil and Hindi are possible. Similarly, post-graduate studies in Humanities are possible in Telugu and Kannada (Dalal:1987).

The national level competitive examinations for employment with 'power', though held on all-India basis to provide equal chances for the eligible candidates, actually do not keep all regional language candidates on par. It was seen in illustrative cases discussed above, though not theoretically but practically, many mother tongue medium persons are outside the purview. English is a compulsory language in most of the all-India level employment opportunities. It is the sole medium of instruction in Technical education and a majority offer it as a medium for higher education. Most of the all-India jobs go to the Hindi and English medium students of the Hindi speaking States and English medium students are at a disadvantage to compete with others who have their education from pre-primary till qualifying examination in English or in Hindi. This inclusion and exclusion create surplus manpower in one region and scarcity of the same in another, leading to migration in visible numbers.

Thus, the excluded population, in order to retain their hold on the local employment market, attempt to exclude all other mother tongue *i* groups and try to define the 'son of the soil' on the linguistic basis as, 'Who is Kannadiga?'. And in Karnataka only Kannadigas should get, employment.

When the employment gates are closed at the national level based on language competence, at the regional level too, the regions try to close their employments for the people of languages of other regions. The disadvantage for one language group at one level creates disadvantage for all other groups at another level. Measures in the school. system to

compensate the disadvantage at a regional level include giving grace marks in the concerned language. And in employment giving time and providing facility to learn the language. The first one gives concession to the people who are the real residents of the State and the second one aims at preventing the entry of people from other language regions.

Eighth Schedule and Language Development

The development of the languages of the Eighth Schedule to become effective means of communicating modern knowledge as desired in the Constitution and the Official Language Resolution needs to be assessed. Though precise assessment is needed, it is not possible without quantified research in each language. But some pointers to the trends are available. Let us look at two Scheduled languages, Tamil, and Kannada. Due to modernization of Tamil, simplification of structures at the level of grammar, creation of technical terms for almost every scientific discipline, "movement to develop scientific Tamil to write science, administrative style of writing and legal style of writing ..." have become possible (Annamalai:1989). And "...one can intellectually discuss the political system in Tamil without sounding pedantic" (Annamalai:1992).

In the case of Tamil, the process of modernization will be accelerated if (a) "a large number of people use it to meet their modern needs socially and cognitively" leaving English and (b) "political manipulation of Tamil as a symbol for affective ends becomes less important and it is used more as an instrument for intellectual ends" (Annamalai:1989). Similarly, in Kannada the educational books have created a language for the possible expression of original ideas though the theories and ideas are not original. Still "Kannada is not the language of our thought. In this sense Kannada has not been able to come to terms with modernization. How do we talk in Kannada about atomic science, Freudian psychology, or Eliot's poetry? To this extent Kannada is not my language" (Kambra:1993). If Kannada people come out of their need to depend on English-medium education, modernization of Kannada too will be accelerated.

Language development is both a natural and a planned process. In both the cases, it involves enrichment of vocabulary, development of new forms of expression and addition of new registers. Availability of teaching and learning materials, and source books on art, culture, science, education in these languages can be taken as one of the parameters of language development.

The Publication Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, is one of the largest publishing and book-selling enterprises in public sector, with the largest output of general interest titles, largest chain of journals. It has published more than 7,000 titles till 1992 and publishes 464 issues of 20 journals a year. It publishes and markets books and periodicals in Hindi, English and the major Indian languages only. Even 'Yojana', an intellectual forum on the problems and achievements of India's development, is published in English, Hindi, Tamil, Telugu as fortnightly and as

monthlies in Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Punjabi and Urdu only.

As part of the development of Indian languages, to make them medium of instruction in graduate, postgraduate and professional education of various universities, the Government of India from 1968-69 has provided assistance to different States for the production of university level literature in regional languages.

The assistance is limited to a ceiling of one crore rupees per State per Plan period. The amount released and spent up to March 31, 1987, is an illustration of assistance for a part of development of some Scheduled languages.

Language	Amount	Original books	Translated books	Total books
Hindi	4,62,18,284	1,185	399	1584
Malayalam	1,03,00,250	1,009	1,009	2018
Telugu	1,03,00,000	560	54	614
Marathi	1,01,00,000	313	9	322
Tamil	1,00,00,000	736	174	910
Oriya	0,94,24,845	320	56	376
Gujarati	0,94,21,500	695	89	784
Bengali	0,93,47,000	258	24	282
Punjabi	0,88,67,991	160	17	177
Assamese	0,77,09,490	597	12	609
Kannada	0,77,88,758	592	193	785

The Stateless Scheduled languages do not find a place as regional languages for this assistance for language development. The main language development activities for expanding their functions are planned in Scheduled languages with States only, whereas language development for non-Scheduled languages is normally for their preservation. In the natural process, majority of them may not be developing or expanding the range of their registers. In Karnataka, the majority of Tulu and Kodagu speakers have become bilinguals in Kannada. So, the regional language functions as their language for absorption and expression of modern knowledge. These languages do not find any need to expand their vocabulary and registers for expression and dissemination of contemporary knowledge. Some of the schemes and programmes approved by the Planning Commission and continued during the Eighth Five- Year Plan 1992 - 1997, for the promotion and development of languages are follows:

Language	Scheme/Programme	Allocation (in lakhs)
Hindi	Aid to propagate it in non-Hindi States	900.00
	Appointment and training of Hindi teachers	1,200.00
	International Hindi University	155.00
English	To raise the standard through EL T, etc	380.00
Sindhi	Promotion and development	170.00
Indian languages and English	Purchase of books	135.00
University level book production	Along with the revolving fund already created for that purpose in the universities	41.00

The recently formulated National Education Policy 2020 states that ‘For each of the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India, Academies will be established consisting of some of the greatest scholars and native speakers to determine simple yet accurate vocabulary for the latest concepts, and to release the latest dictionaries on a regular basis (analogous to the successful efforts for many other languages around the world). The Academies would also consult with each other, and in some cases take the best suggestions from the public, in order to construct these dictionaries attempting to adopt common words whenever possible. These dictionaries would be widely disseminated, for use in education, journalism, writing, speechmaking, and beyond, and would be available on the web as well as in book form. These Academies for Eighth Schedule languages will be established by the Central Government in consultation or collaboration with State Governments. Academies for other highly spoken Indian languages may also be similarly established by the Centre and/or States These Academies for Eighth Schedule languages will be established by the Central Government in consultation or collaboration with State Governments. Academies for other highly spoken Indian languages may also be similarly established by the Centre and/or States’. (Page 55-56). Thus, all other languages not in the Eighth Schedule remain outside the ambit of language development activities and in this way the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution is used as a tool to create advantage or disadvantage for the Indian languages.

From the point of view of advantage and disadvantage of Indian languages, four groups emerge in the order of decreasing advantage:

- (a) Hindi,
- (b) other Scheduled languages with a State,

- (c) other Scheduled languages without a State, and
- (d) all other non-Scheduled languages.

In the context of majority and minority relations the official recognition of a language in India is at Union level, State level and inclusion in Schedule VIII (Chaklader:1987). But this Schedule is used for the purposes for which it was not intended. The list of languages prepared for the development and spread of Hindi is functioning as a list of Scheduled languages used arbitrarily for formulating and implementing language related decisions. It is also not used uniformly in similar contexts. This is causing disadvantage to other languages and their speakers.

The majority and minority are to be seen in terms of their access to the resources through language. Now efforts are on to remove English from the UPSC examination in such a way that there will not be any legal complications.²³ Of course this has not so far happened, and even if it happens, Hindi or the Scheduled languages may replace it. But for the promotion and development of Indian languages, and not to create another type of disadvantage, the language through which the candidate is educated should become the medium of examination, where both questions and answers are in the concerned language.

Under these circumstances many more languages are intending to have the membership of the Eighth Schedule for recognition, for privileges, for empowerment, to merit special attention for development etc. For example, Bhoti desires inclusion in the schedule because it would be '(a) Respecting the rights of the people of the entire region of Himalaya which is strategically sensitive and linked with security of India. (b) Emotional integration of the people of Himalayan region, particularly Buddhist Community with the mainstream of the country. (c) Protection and promotion of one of the most ancient cultural heritage of India zealously preserved for centuries by the Buddhist community of the Himalayan State of India from Ladakh to Arunachal Pradesh²⁴. There are languages like Tulu spoken in South Canara in Karnataka and Deuri in Assam. Tulu seeks financial assistance for language, literature and culture; renaming of the district as Tulu jilla; priority for Tulu in Tulu Nadu; inclusion in the Eighth Schedule;²⁵ to educate Tulu speaking children in that language at least up to the fifth standard;²⁶ introduction of Tulu as an optional subject in schools and colleges; setting up of a Tulu Academy²⁷ Deuri too seeks recognition of it in Roman script as a medium of instruction at the primary level of education; creation of an autonomous State to 'preserve and protect the political, economic and cultural rights of the Deuri people.'²⁸

The Anglo-Indian Guild urged "to include English in the Eighth Schedule as it is not only the mother tongue of Anglo-Indians but also the official language of the northeastern States". Also, it requests for "restoration of service safeguards the community enjoyed in the railways, post and telegraphs, the customs, and central excise", loss of which has "resulted in considerable exodus of the community to the UK, Australia, and representation to the

community on national and State bodies such as NIC, Planning Commission, Public Service Commissions and Municipal Corporations.²⁹

To Conclude

It is important to note that no language seeks its inclusion in - the Eighth Schedule to enrich Hindi by lending its linguistic resources but intends its own development through inclusion because of direct accessibility of resources and economic opportunities for its speakers will automatically be available due to enhanced status.

I understand from my personal notes that several years ago the Union Government made an attempt to evolve the criteria for examining the demands for the inclusion of languages in the Eighth Schedule. And the criteria suggested were that languages should have (a) Literary traditions and scripts of their own. (b) Spoken by the largest number of people in large contiguous geographical zones as dominant languages of certain regions. (c) Being recognized as official languages in the States. (d) Being an ancient language of culture and heritage and also a resource language in modernizing the major literary languages. (e) Being spoken by a large population, geographically distributed and dispersed, but with own script and literature. Most unfortunately, I am unable to locate the reference to this in my notes. My intention for including this information here is to inform that an attempt is made to evolve criteria for inclusion of languages in the Eighth Schedule, instead of going by socio-political pressures.

In order to avoid advantages to some languages and disadvantages to some other languages, while formulating the language policy, a re-look at the concept of language recognition through Eighth Schedule of the Constitution is necessary. At the Union and State levels, languages have to be recognized for specific purposes rather than for expanding the role and amending the existing list at the Union level.

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*(a)The first version of this paper ‘The Eighth Schedule Languages: A Critical Appraisal’ was published in: *Language and the State: Perspectives on the Eighth Schedule* Edited by R.S. Gupta, Anvita Abbi and Kailash S. Agarwal New Delhi ; Creative Books. 1995. (P. 61-91). (b)The second version of the same was updated and published in *Perspective in National Policy on Education and Bhoti Language* published by the Trans Himalayan Parliamentary Forum and Himalayan Buddhist. Cultural Association, New Delhi.2008. (P.133-165).(c)The present version is the revised and updated version of the paper. Certain data though old, is retained since it is found to be relevant. (d)The Comments at the end of this paper by two scholars Kapil Kapoor of the Jawaharlal Nehru University and Prof. R. Gargesh of the University of Delhi were published as part of the first and second versions of the paper. Since the basic analysis and argument of the paper continues to be relevant even today, the comments are retained as they were published with the first and second versions.
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NOTES

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2. Cited from Shamla, C.R.S. *The Hindu*, January 7, 1992, "National languages for India".
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11. Schemes/Programes approved by the Planning Commission for the development of languages for continuation during the Eighth Five Year Plan, (1992 – 1997).
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12. Announcement in *Indian Express*, July 15, 1993:
 - (i) 3,000 words, Rs. 5,000, 3,000,2,000, 1,000.
 - (ii) 3,000 words, Rs. 10,000,6,000, 4,000,2,000.
 - (iii) 5,000 words, Rs. 12,000, 8,000, 7,000,2,000.
13. Regulation of 40th National Film Festival.
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22. UGC Brochure.
23. Statement of the Union Minister, *Deccan Herald*. May 16, 1993.
24. National Policy on Education and Bhoti Language.2008.
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26. Tulu Kuuta, reported in *The Hindu*, December 23, 1988.
27. Tulu Kuuta, reported in *The Hindu*, April 18, 1992.
28. Memorandum submitted to the Chief Minister on July 1, 1993, by the 'Deuri Autonomous State Demand Committee. *The Hindu*, July 10, 1993.
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COMMENT -1

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This is a very exhaustive and critical survey of the Eighth Schedule - its original intention, its subsequent amendments and extensions and its use for originally unintended purposes. I find myself in complete agreement with the learned writer's opinion that "the Schedule is used for the purposes for which it was not intended", and the unstated implication that it has not been used for the original purpose of enabling major Indian languages to contribute to the development of Hindi as a pan- Indian language or restriction of the use of English. The writer has amply demonstrated that the Eighth Schedule has been an instrument of discrimination among Indian languages and that from "the point of view of advantage and disadvantage of Indian languages, four groups emerge in the order of decreasing advantage:

- (a) Hindi;
- (b) Other Scheduled languages with State;
- (c) Other Scheduled languages without State; and
- (d) All other non-scheduled languages.

The fourth category, we may note in passing, is a large class when we remember that there are almost 64 school languages in India. Thus, it is demonstrated that the *Constitution*, in matters of language, as of caste, has been an instrument of strengthening and perpetuating the *status quo* by giving a statutory status to the major languages and effectively acting as an inhibiting intervention in the natural course of development of languages. This is a threshold study -the learned writer takes you up to the threshold from where serious questions can be asked. I wish to draw attention to them.

1. "Though English is not a part of the Eighth Schedule, it has acquired a role more important than any other language." Again, "English is serving independent of other languages and also it is serving sometimes as a substitute for all other languages", *excluding Hindi*. the writer goes on to qualify (but I think the Qualification is not needed). The question that merits attention is: How has this happened? Or, shall we say how has this been managed and why? "It is to be noted", the writer says, "that English was a part of the Congress party draft and not a part of the Constituent Assembly". The landscape is clear. We know which culture managed this. Recently, (around the end of July '93), in a convention on Hindi attended by the Prime Minister, it was reported that the resolution for "restriction of English" was not supported as it was believed it is a 'political' /question, not a linguistic question. The writer notes that "restriction of the use of English" is part of the intention (Article 344). This has never been on the agenda.

This whole exercise of making India an English-centered state needs to be looked into. What is the role of the Eighth Schedule in this? In the long list of public examinations, the writer shows this discrimination against regional languages. Apart from the relationship of English to the Eighth Schedule, the relationship of English to regional languages needs to be examined. It is not that English has been fostered as a matter of deliberate policy to counter the 'regional' languages, because 'regional languages' -the phrase itself is pejorative and loaded -are seen as instruments of *regionalism* which is seen as a variations challenge to a normative political culture which, while talking of diversity, is in fact centripetal and egocentric.

The writer aptly notes that amendment number. 188 seeking cooperation between regional languages and Hindi was not accepted. This enabled English to take over the natural role of Hindi. Taking advantage of the North-South divide on the question of Hindi, English is fostered, seemingly in opposition to Hindi, but effectively at the cost of regional languages. The writer notes with reference to Tamil and Kannada, that the adoption of English as medium of instruction has impeded the development of Kannada. But Tamil modernized rapidly once it rejected English as a medium of instruction. "English" is a handy instrument of de-nativization, as it were -with some justification, of the British before 1947. This is what one means when one asserts that the Constitution is a "document that perpetuates".

2. Arising from this, one may ask a very fundamental question about the compulsions to put down in writing the names of some languages, about this scriptal exercise in ethnography. The answer is clear: 'Denativization'. The political compulsion of the British, Macaulay downwards, is equally the political compulsion of their successors after 1947. A truly native government, non-subordinated mentally to the Western modes of thought, is yet to come. If the written Constitution had not come into existence, it is reasonable to suppose that the conflict engendering 'majority-minority' consciousness would not have taken such a clear, fixed shape as it has taken now in the Indian ethos. It is time to abandon the Eighth Schedule.

The Constitution has been amended ('patched') seventy-nine times, t is time to review it. There is a 19th century (Sartor Resartus) philosophical statement about three kinds of intellectual indications in a society -there is a time to tailor, there is a time to patch and there is a time to stitch a new shirt. We are perhaps at a stage when we need to stitch a new shirt. After all, we can see the borrowed Western mentality behind this exercise - the desire to inscribe, the bibliolatrous imposition on an essentially idol-worshipping people, and secondly, the legislative imperative -"so let it be written, so let it be done" -the fiat of the Pharaoh. Both the impulses are asymmetrical with the Indian civilization.

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COMMENT – 2

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Delhi – 001

The descriptive paper entitled "The Eighth Schedule Languages: A Critical Appraisal" by Dr. B. Mallikarjun is quite illuminating and raises some very pertinent questions about the status of languages in India today. Although the Constitution recognizes the composite culture of India based on the theme of 'unity in diversity', the present paper highlights the fact that the dominant languages listed in the Eighth Schedule enjoy certain privileges by virtue of their dominance which are often denied to minority languages. This is borne out by the fact that whenever minority languages manage to get recognition, they do so only with the help of sustained pressure. The paper amply makes the point that the layers of disadvantage with respect to language, are in the order of:

- (a) English, as opposed to Indian languages,
- (b) English and Hindi as opposed to other Scheduled Indian languages,
- (c) English, Scheduled languages with State as opposed to Stateless languages, and,
- (d) English and Scheduled languages as opposed to non-Scheduled languages.

It may be said that the way the Constitution is being implemented, the Official Language, the Associate Official Language, and the languages of the Eighth Schedule have created an anomalous situation. It is amply clear that diversity is something basic to the Indian ethos. The 1961 Census had recorded 1,652 mother tongues. And, at least 200 of these had 10,000 or more speakers. Tribal languages constituted a quarter of the 1,652 mother tongues (Pattanayak 1973), and some of them, such as Santali, Gondi, etc. could be counted as major languages because of the large number of speakers. The 1981 Census where the enumeration was on the basis of the main language spoken in the household, and not mother tongue, the languages were grouped under a dominant language. Here a total number of 106 languages have been separately recognized, and of these 94 have 10,000 or more speakers. Thus, in terms of numbers, according to the 1961 Census Bhojpuri (over 10 million speakers), Chattisgarhi, Magahi/Magadhi, Maithili (each having over 5 million speakers), and Marwari and Santali (with over 2 million speakers) figure in the top 18 brackets. However, it appears that the founding fathers had in mind only languages with a 'great tradition'.

Another feature of diversity of the Indian scene is that no State or Union Territory is completely homogeneous. The minor languages in States/Union Territories range from about 5% in Kerala to nearly 85% in Nagaland. There are States/Union Territories like Andhra Pradesh, Goa, Gujarat, Kerala, U.P., and West Bengal where the dominant language is used by more than 85% of the population, and there are States like Himachal Pradesh where

Mandiali is spoken by about 17%, and a State like Nagaland where Konyak is spoken by about 15% of the population. While in the first set a dominant language of the Eight Schedule functions as the Official Language, in the latter set, in the absence of any State language in the Eighth Schedule, the Official Language has been accepted to be Hindi in the case of Himachal Pradesh, and English in the case of Nagaland. Kashmir is the only State where the dominant language Kashmiri, mentioned in the Eighth Schedule, is not a State language, a function which is performed by Urdu. However, because of the dominance of some languages, either a process of homogenization or one of conflict can be perceived. The homogenization process can be seen when populations from Punjabi speaking areas to as far as Bhojpuri and Maithili speaking areas show Hindi as mother tongue, or, as Ekka (1979) has shown that one-third of Kurukhs of Central India, because of socio-economic pressures, have abandoned the Kurukh language. On the other hand, there are groups such as Oraons of Chotanagpur and the Bodos of Assam who are struggling against assimilation.

Further, diversity and multilingualism in the social scene can be perceived in the linguistic behaviors of a migrant population. They speak their mother tongue at home, and another variety in the marketplace and perhaps another at their place of work. Switching between languages is quite normal.

The normal situation for India is to recognize the diversity and adopt a multilingual approach for language planning. The Eighth Schedule languages along with articles 343 to 351 and the education policy geared towards a three -language formula have led to a not very harmonious state of affairs.

Article 343(i) of the Constitution has made Hindi the Official Language of the Union, and, clause (2) provided for the use of English for a period of 15 years. English, a relic of the colonial rule, a language which does not find any mention in the Eighth Schedule, has, in fact, come to stay and is at present the language of the greatest importance.

The Official Languages Act, 1963, provided for the continued use of English. And in 1967 with the amendment of the Official Languages Act, English acquired a special status as "Associate Official Language". This definitely was not the original aim of the founding fathers. The miniscule vested interests have managed to maintain their dominant position, which has also been aided by agitations against Hindi. The importance of English can be gauged from the rush for admissions for children in English medium schools of Delhi nowadays. The paper by Mallikarjun has given facts that English is the medium of examination for all the all-India competitive tests that he mentions.

Article 351 had envisaged that Hindi would be able to reflect the composite culture of India. Therefore, it wanted to "secure its enrichment by *assimilating*, without interfering with its genius, the forms, styles and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and drawing wherever necessary or desirable, for its

vocabulary, primarily from Sanskrit and secondarily from other languages". The article appears to be at best a compromise in the prevailing situation. However, though Hindi was to progressively take over all functions of the state, it has not been allowed to do so because of the controversies related to its variety and the duration of transition. Further, Hindi was Sanskritized in a big way, for it was felt by a section that Sanskrit represented the composite Indian culture. According to Rawat (1985) the lexicon was Sanskritized and attempts were made to develop a Hindi officialese keeping the English structures in mind. Thus, the short effective sentences of Hindi became long and stilted. Further, this exercise was begun at a time when in Tamil a movement had been going on for many years to desanskritize it (Annamalai:1979).

Further, Hindi also became a symbol of communal divide, i.e., Hindi as opposed to Urdu. in relation to Hindus and Muslims, and also Hindi as opposed to Punjabi in relation to Hindus and Sikhs. However, Government orders cannot create a composite culture, and a viable media for communication amongst the people. These are basic ground realities. Hindustani, it appears, which would have absorbed linguistic elements from other Indian languages would have been and perhaps still may be the only acceptable pan-Indian variety. Hindi films have already contributed enough to make it viable. It was perhaps this kind of variety that had made Iqbal say "Hindi hain ham vatan hai hindostan hamara". One would agree with Pattanayak (1986:30) when he says: "Hindi should have become an emotional refuge for the minorities. Instead, Hindiization is identified with rigid conservatism rather than flexible pluralism."

The implementation of the two-language (Tamil Nadu) or the three- language formula has also reduced the status of many minority languages. In fact, the mother tongues or the respective dominant regional languages have become alternatives. Here it is the dominant regional languages that are hegemonistic. In fact, many Urdu speakers in U:P., Malayalam speakers in Tamil Nadu, Kannada speakers in Maharashtra and Punjabi speakers in Delhi cannot even learn their Mother tongue as an optional language. This forces the linguistic minorities to open their own schools.

At present the situation is that different languages are attempting to wrest benefits for themselves, in terms of funds and creation of jobs. Languages in the Eighth Schedule have now come to acquire a kind of membership to a prestigious club. The Amendment of 1967 to include Sindhi. and that of 1992 to include Konkani, Manipuri and Nepali, are pointers in this direction. This leads to the creation and propagation of stereotypes whereby certain standardized varieties are considered as superior and the dialects considered inferior. At present the options appear to be limited. Efforts should be made to minimize disadvantage, as is also stated in the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission (1988), that knowledge of a language should be a post-employment criterion, that work of the local people. in the form of forms, applications, letters, notices and bills, etc., should be conducted in the local languages and not in the Official Language alone. Efforts should be made in principle and

practice to implement effectively the directives of Article 351. What is needed is to give shape to a dynamic, viable model which should accept multilingualism at the grassroots level.

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