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**Census and the Aspects of Growth and Development of
Bangla vs. Bangla-Hindi Bilingualism -
With Special Focus on West Bengal**

Atanu Saha, M.A.

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Abstract

This paper investigates the growth and development of Bangla-Hindi Bilingualism based on the Census of India data from 1931 to 2001. The investigation is carried out in the following manner: First of all the census data from 1931 Census was collected and the total number of Bangla speakers and Hindi speaking population (comprising the second largest population in West Bengal) was compared. The status of both Bangla as a first and second language and data for Bilingualism of Bangla English or Bangla-Hindi were collected as per the availability. The observations were then tallied with the data given in the People of India Project. The analysis reveals several pertinent information which may be used to make appropriate language policies in the state and other parts of the country.

List of abbreviations

COI	Census of India
POI	People of India Project
POP	Population
SC	Scheduled Castes
ST	Scheduled Tribes

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OC Other Castes
MT Mother Tongue

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Introduction

India is a multilingual Nation. In many places, both rural and urban, there are well settled people groups, domiciled for centuries, which use a variety of different languages for intergroup communication. There are also recent migrants from other parts of India for purposes of education, employment, etc. Thus there is bilingualism or multilingualism everywhere. In the British colonial period people of Bengal developed a Bangla-English Bilingualism predominantly. After independence it was Hindi-Bangla Bilingualism that started to emerge as the dominant form of bilingualism in this state. There is an increase in the number of mother tongue speakers of Bangla as biological growth. Increase in the number of Hindi Speakers is generally ascribed to factors like migration, inter-caste and inter-language marriage, employment and education Without presuming anything I have tried to

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investigate the following.

1. During British Period

- i. Status of Bangla
- ii. Status of Bangla-English Bilingualism

2. Post Independence

- i. Bangla-Hindi Bilingualism
- ii. Different Communities Living in Bengal
- iii. Male vs. Female Bilingualism
- iv. Rural vs. Urban Bilingualism

Methodology

I have tried to investigate the topic in the following manner:

- A. Take census data from 1931 onwards and see the total number of Bangla speakers and Hindi speaking population (comprising the second largest population in West Bengal).
 - i. Both Bangla as a first and second language.
 - ii. Data for Bilingualism of Bangla English or Bangla-Hindi wherever available.

B. Take the People of India Project figures and tally them with the Census data

C. Final Analysis and Fact Findings

Census of India, 1931: Summary of Figures

Bangla was the mother tongue of 923 persons in every 1,000 inhabitants of Bengal. In the Census of India 1881, the number was 954 out of 1,000 native born population used Bangla as their MT. In 1911 it stood at 919. In the Dacca Division less than 15 persons in every 1,000 spoke MTs other than Bangla. In Rajshahi and Burdwan Divisions prevalence of other languages showed as 121 and 123 persons among every 1,000 speakers respectively.

Hindustani was spoken by less than 4% of the total population. Highest density (77 out of every 1000 persons) of Hindustani speakers was found in the Presidency Division. Increase of Hindi speaking population is shown below: (See Part ii Imperial Table Language Part. ii of 1931 census of India)

COI 1931	Year	Total persons	Per centage
Persons returning	1881	204	20.4
	1891	295	29.5

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Hindi as MT Per 1,000	1901	347	34.7
	1911	414	41.4

Total speakers of Hindi/Hindustani in Bengal were 1,891,337 with a density of 370 per ten thousand people. Main concentrations of speakers of Hindi were seen in Calcutta, Howrah, (southern part of Bengal), Malda (central part of Bengal), and Jalpaiguri (northern part of Bengal). Highest increase in terms of percentage (9.5%) of Hindustani speakers is seen between years 1881-1891. There is also a sharp increase of about 7% between the years 1901-1911. Many reasons may be suggested for such sharp increase. The most important and plausible reason could be the emergence of Kolkata and cities around as a major industrial belt, which needed and attracted a large labor force.

Birthplace was in Bengal but Spoke a non-Bangla Native Language

Place	Percentage to total
Burdwan	5%
Chittagong Hill	51% (in Bangladesh)
Darjeeling	47%
Hooghly	4%
Howrah	2%
Jalpaiguri	14%
Malda	22%

Chittagong Hill has always remained as a place of many communities including the tribes of Mizoram and Burma. This fact is reflected here in this census. Same is the case with Darjeeling where significant population of Nepalis and Gorkhas are found. In spite of that Bangla was used as the ordinary medium of conversation by over 93% of the total population of the province.

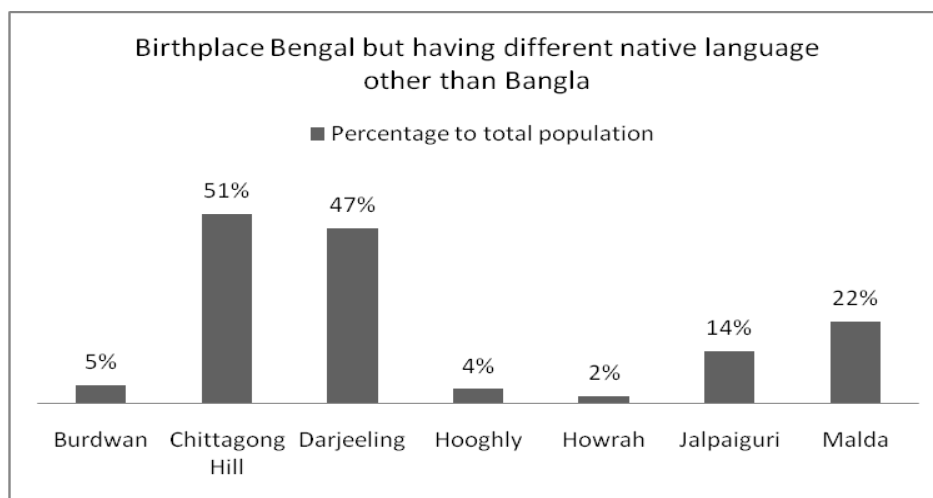


FIGURE 1. BIRTH PLACE BENGAL BUT DIFFERENT MT

Bilingual Configuration (1931 onwards)

It can be observed in the census data that bilingualism inevitably occurs more frequently in those places where least homogeneity of Mother tongues is seen. For example, Chittagong Hill Tracts & Division, now in Bangladesh shows more bilingualism than their plains counterparts.

I have collected the data of Darjeeling District to compare the scenario of Northern part of West Bengal with other regions.

Persons Returning Hindi As Mother Tongue	Place	Number of Bilingual	Percentage
		per 10,000	
	Dacca [Now in Bangladesh]	15	0.15%
	Faridpur [Now in Bangladesh]	01	0.01%
	Chittagong Division	20	0.2%
	Chittagong Hill Tracts	30	0.3%
		Per hundred people	
	Darjeeling	45	45%
	Sikkim [Separate State of India]	42	42%
	Bankura	7.66	7.66%
	Jalpaiguri	6	6%
	Calcutta	5.4	5.4%
	Midnapore	3.1	3.1%
	Malda	3	3%

The data of Malda is taken to compare the scenario of Central part of West Bengal simultaneously. Darjeeling and Sikkim show higher percentage of Bilingualism although it is actually quite higher than even the Chittagong area of Bangladesh. Census of India 1931.

Place	Bangla as MT	As a subsidiary language	Hindi as MT	As a subsidiary language
All Bengal	47,133,888	519,207	1,891,337	202,365
West Bengal	7,585,061	271,191	437,291	62,121
Calcutta	686,451	23,675	4,36,123	40,712
Malda	773,094	24,641	2,01,735	6,526

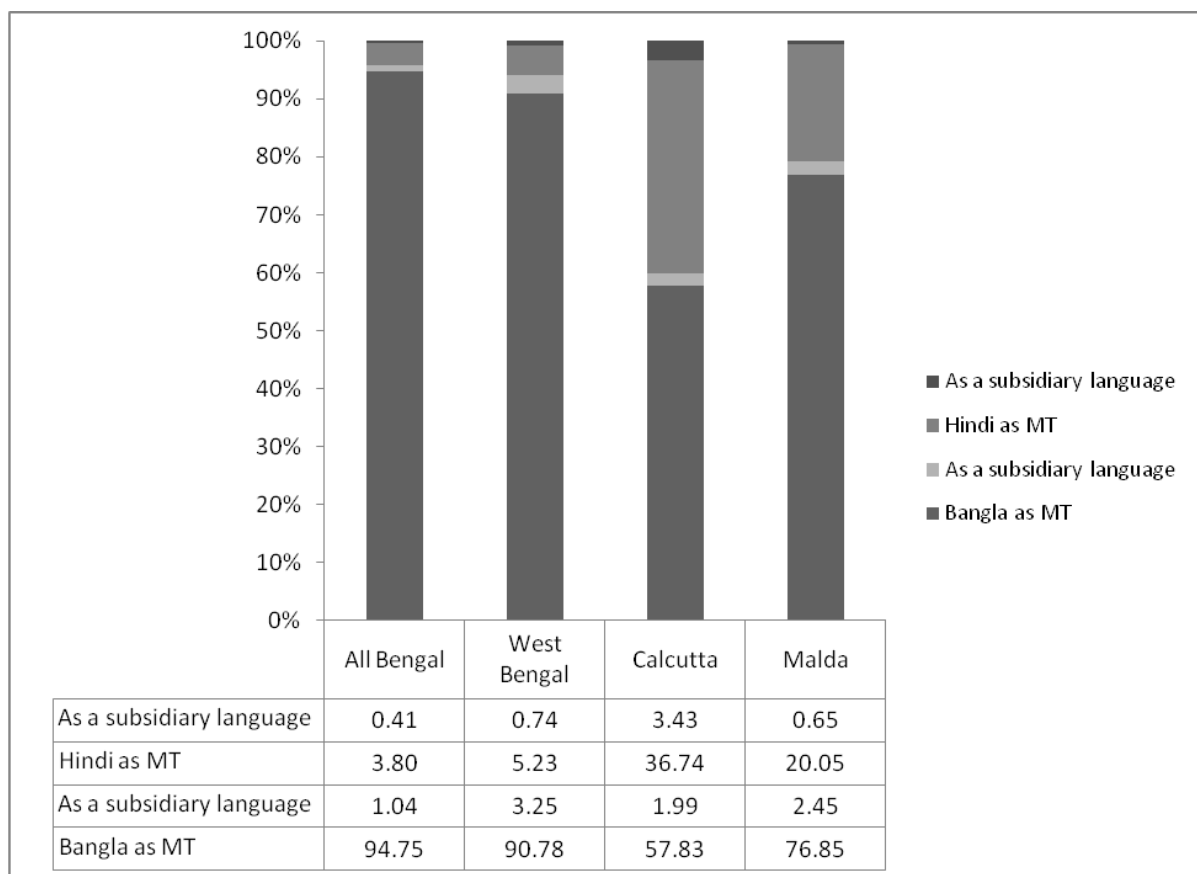


FIGURE 2 BANGLA AND HINDI AS L1 & L2 IN 1931

Analysis of the Data from Census 1931

Bangla as a mother tongue was spoken by almost 95% people in All Bengal including Bangladesh. The percentage comes down to 91% in the case of West Bengal in the 1931 Census. The Highest percentage of Hindi as a mother tongue is located in Calcutta (36.74%). Hindi as a second language was largely spoken throughout West Bengal which is about 5.23% of the total population. Where Bangla as MT was spoken by less number of people Hindi emerged as a major language. This is even true in case of Hindi as L2 and 3.43% of total population of Calcutta was using Hindi as a subsidiary Language according to the census data 1931.

Census of India 1941

I list below the names of different communities living in Bengal, a British Territory at that time. There were as many as 139 communities living in Bengal British Territory that time consisting of a total population of about one crore and fifty four lakhs of people. Major contributors to this diversity (1% and above) were people from the following communities:

Bagdi (SC), Dhoba ,Dom, hari, Jalia, kaora, Mal, Malo, Muchi, Patni, Pod , Rajbangshi, Namsudra, Kumbhakar (Non SC), Kurmi, Mahishya , Modak, Napit, Pundari,

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Sadgope, Shaha, Subarna Banik, Sutradhar, Barui, Brahman, Jogi, Goala, kamar, Kapali, Kayastha. All these communities use Bangla as a mother tongue or as a subsidiary language subsequently.

Another noteworthy point is that there were some communities which have more number of females than males. Examples are the communities like Agariya, Baiti, Gonrhi, Keot, Nagar, Tili, Nat, Pari, and Kapuria.

What I did in this short study is a comparison between the Census and the People of India Project carried out by K. S. Singh in 1991. I will come back to this project when I describe the POI in detail. Meanwhile we need to take a look at the detailed structure of the communities provided in the VOL. IV; Appendix Bengal, Census of India 1941.

Census of India 1951

According to this census, speakers of Hindi remained as the second largest of the total population in Bengal. In this census the territories which were counted as parts of Bengal were Chandernagore (now a subdivision of W.B.) and Sikkim.

Table: Comparison of Bangla and Hindi Speakers

Territory	Total number of Bangla speakers	Male	percent age	Female	percent age	Total number of Hindi speakers	Male	percent age	Female	percent age
All	21,039,601	11,040,439	52	9,999,162	48	1,580,724	1,071,960	68	508,764	32
West Bengal	20,994,374	11,015,741	52	9,978,633	48	1,06,727	50,751	48	55,976	52
Chandernagore	45,198	24,683	55	20,515	45	3,917	2,929	75	988	25
Sikkim	1,514	-	-	-	-	2021	1,757	87	264	13
West Bengal plain	22,664,984	12,187,804	54	10,477,180	46	1,40,739	96,152	68	44,587	32
Himalayan west Bengal	1,853,192	1,006,068	54	847,124	46	11,802	6,695	57	5,107	43

l divisio n										
Calcut ta	1,670, 592	98330 3	59	6872 89	41	98114 4	29384 6	30	687 298	70
Malda	827,80 9	42011 6	51	4076 93	49	25428	14933	59	104 95	41

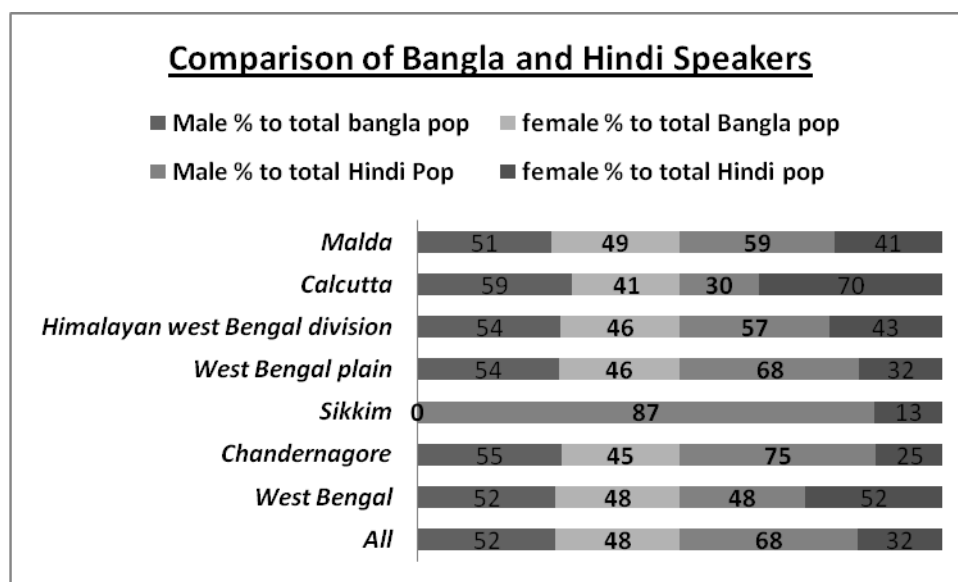


FIGURE 3. COMPARISON OF BANGLA AND HINDI SPEAKERS

The male percentage to total Bangla population is higher in Calcutta than the rest of Bengal. This is also true for female Bangla Speakers. Sikkim shows higher rate of Hindi Speaking Population. But again there is a significant variation between male and female percentages of speakers. Interestingly it is Calcutta where more female Hindi speakers [70% to total Hindi population] can be observed.

<u>Data for Bilingualism</u>				
I	Ii	Iii	Iv	v
Name of the area	Total speakers	Total persons returning as speaking a second language subsidiary to that shown in Col.i	Subsidiary languages	Percentage
All languages	24,704,293	1,615,534	Bengali : 779,030	48.22
			Hindi : 450,193	27.87

Himalayan west Bengal division	1,857,107	320,454	Nepali : 214,946	67.08
			Hindi: 66,083	20.62
			Bengali : 34,615	10.80
West Bengal plain	22,709,461	1,212,772	Bengali: 744,414	61.38
			Hindi:378,462	31.21
Chandernagor e	49,909	1,724	Hindi:1001	58.06
			Bangali:698	40.49
West Bengal	24,516,659	1,531,502	Bengali: 778,331	50.82
			Hindi:443,544	28.96
Calcutta	2,547,859	206,052	Hindi:93,226	45.24
			Bengali: 79,160	38.42
Malda	8,99,226	21,457	Bengali: 15,310	71.35
			Hindi: 2,695	12.56
Bengali				
West Bengal, Chadernagore & Sikkim	21,039,601	379,407	Hindi: 324,055	1.54
Himalayan region	1240297	38,461	Hindi:30,444	79.16
			Nepali 5,910	15.37
West Bengal plain	19,799,275	340,935	Hindi 293,603	86.12
			Urdu 30,791	9.03
Chandernagor e	45,198	1,021	Hindi 996	97.55
			Urdu 25	2.45
West Bengal	20,994,374	378,375	Hindi 323,051	85.38
			Urdu 32,126	8.49
Calcutta	1,670,601	66,663	Hindi 54,466	81.70
			Urdu 7855	11.78
Malda	8,27,809	5,540	Hindi 4,663	84.17
			Urdu 492	8.88
Hindi				
West Bengal Chandernagor e and Sikkim	1,580,724	295,002	Bengali 253,506	85.93
Himalayan region	1,71,304	30,660	Bengali:23,747	77.45
			Nepali:4,805	15.67
West Bengal plain	1,407,399	263275	Bengali:229,758	87.27
			Urdu:30,682	11.65
Chandernagor e	3,917	534	Bengali:534	100.00
West Bengal	1,574,786	293,401	Bengali:252,971	86.22
			Urdu:32,339	11.02
Calcutta	519,953	64,736	Bengali:49,699	76.77
			Urdu: 13,129	2.53

Malda	25,428	4,900	Bengali:4,833	98.63
			Urdu:66	1.35

Bengali or Bangla as a second language is used by 48 % and Hindi by 28% [approx.] of the total Bilingual population of all the languages of Bengal. In Himalayan West Bengal region Nepali is used by larger number of people as a subsidiary language (around 67%). Urdu is also found as a second predominant language in places like Chandernagore, Malda and Calcutta.

Interesting picture emerges if we consider second language spoken by the foreign language speakers at this time in Bengal.

Census of India 1951: Bilingual Data

Name of MT	Region	Total Bilingual speaker	Bengali as 2 nd language	% to total	Hindi as 2 nd language	% to total	Others	% to total
Chinese	West Bengal Chandernagore and Sikkim	806	185	22.95	592	73.45		
Burmese	„	185	110	59.46	47	25.41		
Persian	Bengal	260	219	84.23	26	10.00		
	Calcutta	26	5	19.23	12	46.15		
Armenian	Bengal	180	50	27.78	118	65.56		
Hebrew	Bengal	108		0.00	67	62.04	Urdu: 22	20.37
	Calcutta	98		0.00	57	58.16	Urdu 22	22.45
Arabic	Bengal	88	23	26.14	45	51.14	-	
	Calcutta	22	3	13.64	4	18.18	Urdu 15	68.18
Japanese	Bengal		Predominant					
Sinhalese	Bengal		Equal		Equal		-	
Balochi	„		Only					

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			Bangla					
Pakhtoon	„		--		--		Predominantly Urdu	
Caucasian	„		-		Predominant		-	
Mongolian	„	Out of every 5	-		1		Nepali 4	80
Siamese	„	-	-		Only			
English	Bengal	11,615	1,497	12.89	8,327	71.69		
	West Bengal	11,576	1,462	12.63	8,325	71.92		
	Calcutta	8,933	1,079	12.08	7,625	85.36		
	Malda	2	-		1	50.00	Urdu 1	50
German	Bengal	79	3	3.80	75	94.94		
French	„	56	15	26.79	32	57.14		
Dutch	„	-	-		Only			
Italian	„	11	5	45.45	6	54.55		
Czech	„				Only			
Greek	„	14	9	64.29	5	35.71		
Russian	„	7	2	28.57	5	71.43		
Danish	„				Predominant		Nepali	
Swedish	„				„		-	
Scotch	„				„		Urdu	
Irish	„				„		-	
Portuguese	„				„		-	

Chinese-speaking population prefers Hindi rather than Bangla as per the data shown. The English-speaking population prefers to do so. Bengali is given priority in case of Persian, Japanese, and Balochi speaking populations, etc.

Census of 1961

West Bengal

A continuous influx of people from East Pakistan could be seen between 1931-51 & 1951-61 here in this census. In **Tripura** Bengali population increased because of migration from East Pakistan. Significant increase is also seen in the number Chakma population because of the migration.

Decadal Change with Percentage

Name of language	Region	1911	1921	1931	1951	1961
Bangla	All	14,804,853	14,281,426 [-3.54]	15,476,625 [+8.37]	21,662,053 [+39.97]	29,408,246 [+35.76]
Hindi	Bengal	1,770,997	1,680,201 [-5.13]%	1,646,151 [-2.03]%	2,117,539 [+28.64]%	1,894,039 [-10.55]%
	West Bengal	1,771,007	1,680,201 -5.13%	1,646,207 -2.02%	2,117,539 28.63%	1,897,825 -10.38%
	Overall growth	9.84%	9.62%	8.72%	8.05%	5.43%
	Calcutta	380,515	349,231 -8.22%	319,693 -9.32%	544,080 71.8%	566,242 4.07%
		37.44%	33.15%	27.18%	20.16%	19.34%
	Tripura	-----	----	----	8043	744,803 92.60% 65.22%

There was a rapid gain which is almost 31% in Bangla population between 1931- 1951. During this period Hindi speaking population also steps up. However this process decelerates between 1951 -1961. Significant growth of Hindi population is visible in Tripura in the census of 1951 & overall growth is recorded as 65.22%. According to this census, total speaker of Bangla in India was 33,754,408 out of which 2,106,172 reported as bilingual. In West Bengal, total speakers reported as bilingual were 1,710,905.

Let us see now how Bangla and its dialects contribute to the total number of population in West Bengal in the next section.

**Table : Classified mother tongues
identified with Bangla**

Name	Speakers	Percentage
Bahe	4	0.000012
Bangla	33754408	99.600085
Barik	864	0.002549
Batiari	430	0.001269
Chakma	46071	0.135943
Dehari	18	0.000053
Hajong	8858	0.026138
Kachari bangla	371	0.001095
Kishanganjia	55597	0.164052
Lohari malpaharia	27	0.000080
Mal paharia	4077	0.012030
Murari	16	0.000047
Rajbangshi	18762	0.055362
Samaria	407	0.001201
Takam	29	0.000086
All Bangla	33889939	100.00000
		0

Source: Own Calculation Using Data from
Census, 1961

Bilingual data [Source* table C-VI Bilingualism] All→Unpartitioned Bengal & Includes figures of Bangladesh

Region	MT	Name of the Second language	Male	Female	Ratio of Male: Female
All	Bangla	English	1,177,173	314,125	3.74
		Hindi	424,154	190,720	2.22
West Bengal	Bangla	English	1,051,795	246,973	4.25
		Hindi	180,784	55,902	3.23
	Hindi	Bangla	165,150	62,127	2.65

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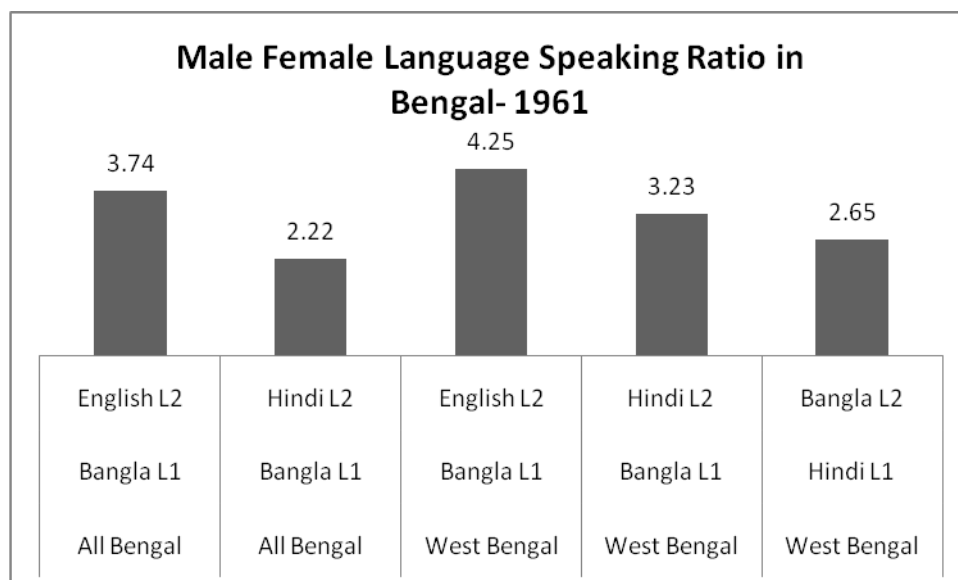


FIGURE 4. MALE FEMALE LANGUAGE SPEAKING RATIO IN BENGAL

A significant difference must be seen in this context. Male female ratio is highest (i.e., 1 female for 4.25 males) in case of Bangla as the first language and English as a second language. The ratio is lowest in case of Hindi as second language in all regions of Bengal. One thing can be inferred from the discussion and that is English which is seen as a status symbol is learned by more males through the education system, etc. The gap can also be seen in Bangla speakers learning Hindi. Bilingualism perhaps also reflects on the literacy rate of that area in this way.

The Census of India 1971

The varieties of Bangla that are considered in this census are Chakma, Haijong/Hajong, Malpaharia, and Rajbangsi.

Distribution of speakers of Bangla and Hindi according to rural vs. Urban is as follows:

State/ Division/ Dist.	Total / Rural/ urban	Bengali			Hindi		
		Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
West Bengal	Total	37805905	19595365	18210540	2715384	1754046	961336
	Rural	29939593	153685589	123745996	822084	477161	344923
	Urban	7866312	4226778	3639534	1893300	1276885	616415
Calcutta	Total	188747	104749	839981	73185	52159	2102

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		1	0		3	1	62
Malda	Total	138176	709165	672601	96131	50453	45678

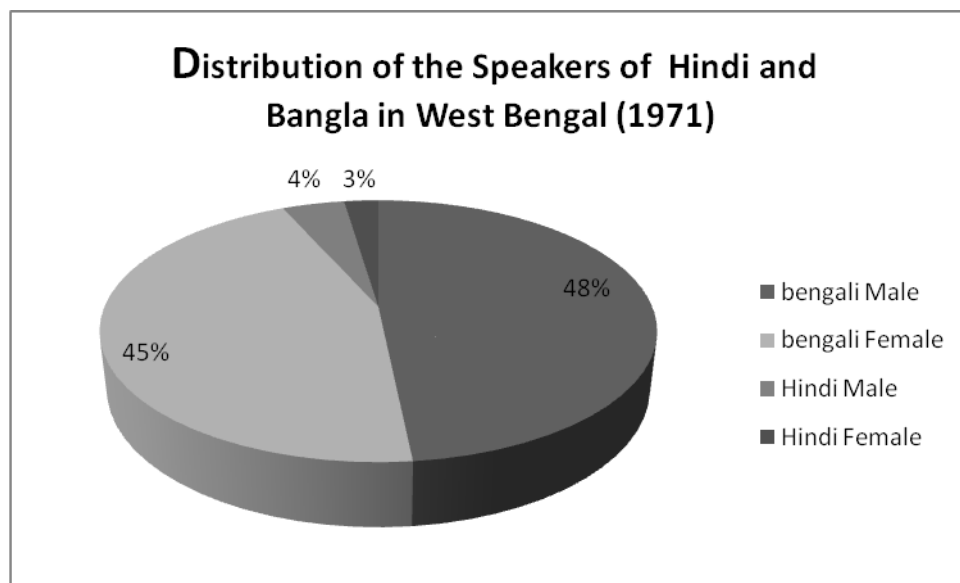


FIGURE5-THE DISTRIBUTION OF SPEAKERS IN WEST BENGAL

Observations

Hindi speakers consist of 7% of the total population of West Bengal during 1971. The males who speak Bengali as their mother tongue constitute 48% of the total population whereas Female percentage to the total population is 3% less than the male speakers. Interestingly the difference between the Male and the Female Hindi speaking persons (as their mother tongue) is just 1%.

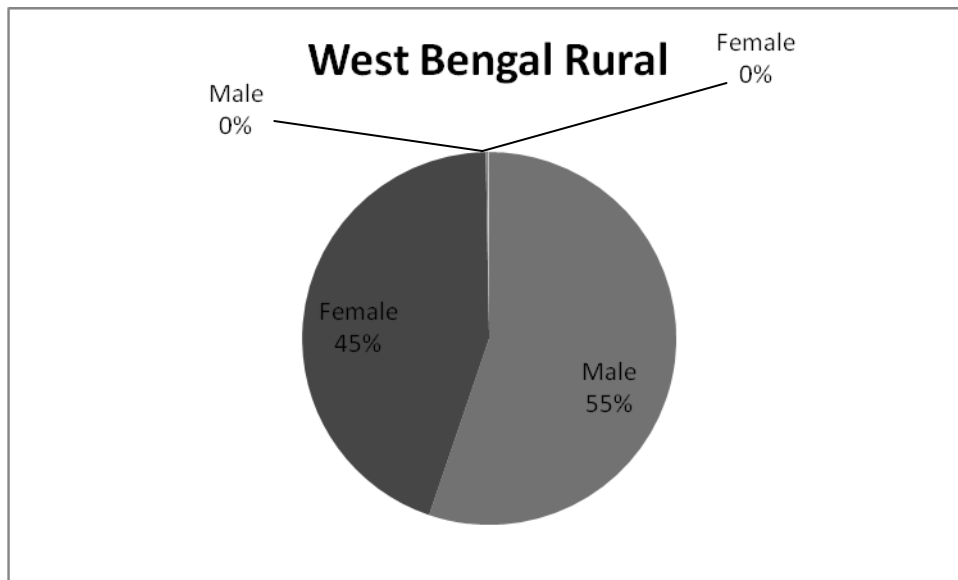


FIGURE 6 RURAL DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF WEST BENGAL

Percentage of Hindi Speaking population is almost negligible when we consider their presence in rural areas of West Bengal.

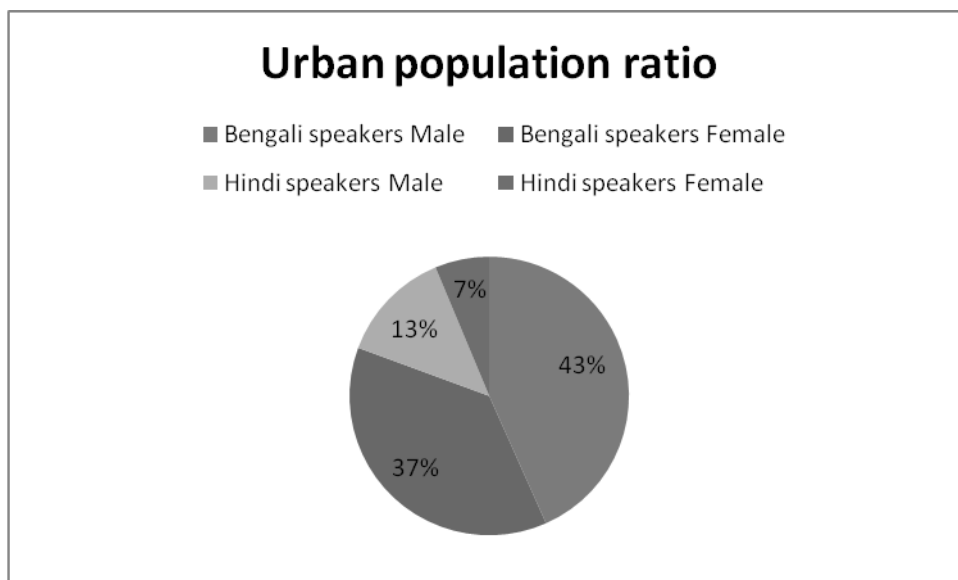


FIGURE 7 WEST BENGAL URBAN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGE

In respect to 80% Population speaking Bengali in the urban areas, Hindi is spoken by atleast 20% people in those areas. It can be noted that in case of both the languages the difference between the male population and that of the female is 6%.

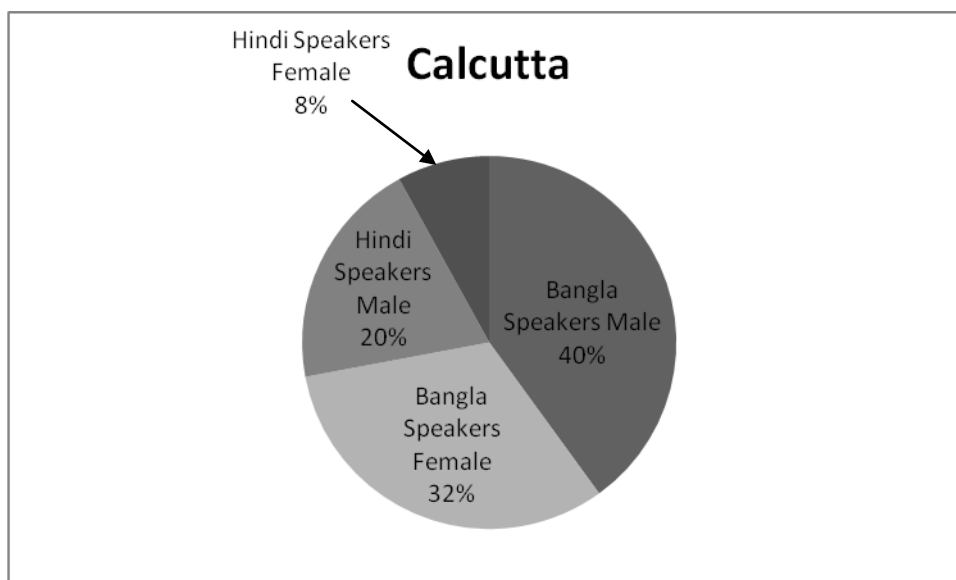


FIGURE 8 DISTRIBUTION OF SPEAKERS IN KOLKATA

Percentage of Hindi speaking population goes even higher (20% Male and 8% female) in case of the capital city Kolkata. It is clear that bilingualism actually becomes evident in a place where different people come together for purposes of education, employment, etc.

TABLE C-VI DATA ON BILINGUALISM

Mother tongue	Total	Number of Bilingual speakers	% to total	Male	% of male to total	Female	% of females to total
Bangla	37805905	3450390	9.13	2551570	6.75	898820	2.38
Hindi	2715384	525870	19.37	385445	14.19	140425	5.17
Second language					% of male to total Bilingual population		% of females to total bilingual population
Hindi				410535	11.90	157405	4.56
Bengali				235050	44.70	103545	19.69

From the table above it is clear that bilingualism is higher in the case of Hindi-speaking people than the Bangla speakers, and the rate of bilingualism is higher among the males rather than females.

Comparative Study of Census Periods 1981, 1991, and 2001

According to the 1981 census of India, there were 51,298,319 persons who returned their Mother Tongue as Bangla. The increase from 1971 census is as follows:

$$\frac{(\text{Total population of 1981} - \text{total population of 1971})}{\text{Population of 1971}} \times 100\% \\ \frac{(51298319 - 44792312)}{44792312} \times 100\% = 14.52\%$$

And if we take the population of the 1991, the percentage (from 1991) goes to $\frac{(69595738 - 51298319)}{51298319} \times 100\% = 35.66\%$

There is a sharp rise in the population speaking Bangla as L1 (near about 23%)

Census of India 1991

According to the data available the distribution of Bangla speakers in West Bengal was 58,541,519 in the 1991 Census. Number of Hindi speakers has been stated as 4,479,170. The percentage of population in specified languages to the total population can be realized from the table given below:

State / District	Bangla	Hindi	Urdu	Others
West Bengal	85.99	6.58	2.14	1.30
Calcutta	63.60	21.14	11.82	3.44
Burdwan	79.97	1.62	---	0.50
Malda	89.92	4.14	---	0.77

#Ref. Census of India 1991 West Bengal; series 26 part XI

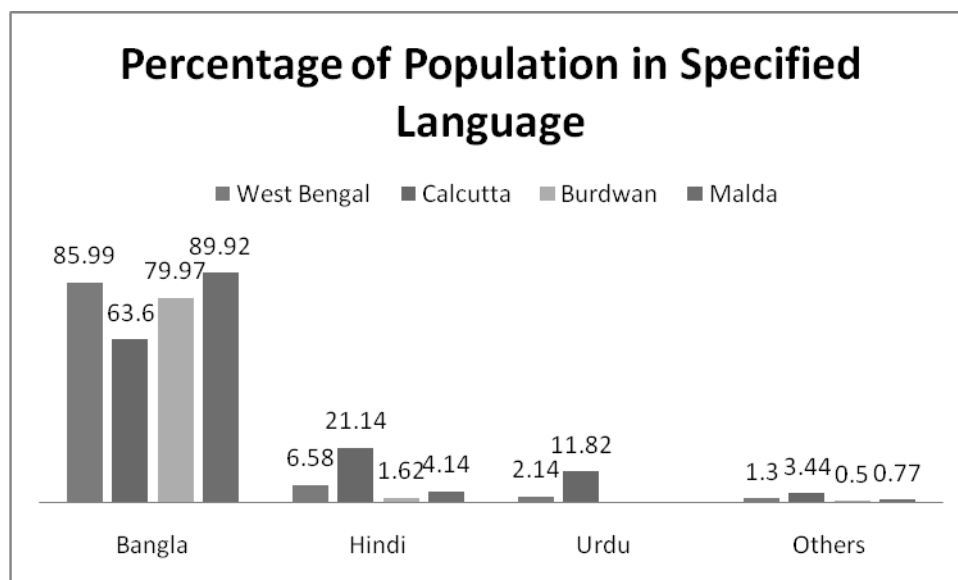


FIGURE 9 PERCENTAGE OF POP. IN SPECIFIED LANGUAGE

Bangla is spoken by 86% (approx.) of the total population of West Bengal. The percentage goes higher in the case of Malda district which is in the central part of Bengal and it comes down in Kolkata which is the capital and a metropolitan city of West Bengal. Hindi as well as Urdu speakers are mostly located around Kolkata.

Language Atlas 1991

The total number of persons who returned their mother tongue as Bangla is 69,595,738 in the year 1991. The other varieties that are reported in the census are Chakma, Haijong/ Hajong, Rajbangshi. The distribution is as follows:

Annexure II of language atlas 1991

Name	Number of Speakers	Percentage to total Bangla Population
Bangla	66,552,894	99.94
Chakma	182,953	0.27
Haijong/ Hajong	48,667	0.07
Rajbangshi	34,106	0.05
Others	2,777,118	4.17
Total	66,595,738	100.00

District wise data sheet of languages					
Name of the place	Total population	Bangla	percentage	Hindi	percentage
West Bengal	68077965	58,541,519	86	4,479,170	7
Kochbihar	2171145	2,121,043	98	40,312	2
Jalpaiguri	2,800,543	1,957,324	70	440,032	16
Darjiling	1,299,919	374,204	29	158,738	12
West dinajpur	3,127,653	2,398,071	77	233,476	7
Maldah	2637032	2,371,220	90	109,264	4
Murshidabad	4,740,149	4,647,181	98	46,704	1
Nadia	3,852,097	3,785,689	98	39,927	1
North 24 parganas	7,281,881	6,417,254	88	605,005	8
South 24 parganas	5,715,030	5,623,081	98	65,757	1
Calcutta	4,399,819	2,798,358	64	930,172	21
Haora	4,355,230	3,194,882	73	371,839	9
Hughli	4,355,230	3,819,895	88	310,866	7
Medinipur	8,331,912	7,557,350	91	148,521	2
Bankura	2,805,065	2,556,906	91	11,213	0
Purulia	2,224,577	1,731,231	78	215,546	10
Bardhaman	6,050,605	4,838,705	80	683,481	11
Birbhum	2,555,664	2,349,045	92	41,317	2

Source : My Own Analysis using Census 1991

If we look at the district-wise profile sheet for Bangla and Hindi Languages, the picture is not very different. Percentage of Hindi shows greater significance at those places where Bilingualism becomes evident as a natural phenomenon.

Distribution of Male and Female Bilingual [Language atlas 1991, Appendix III]

Territory	Population			No of bilinguals					Percentage of bilingual to total population		
	Person	Male	Female	T	M	%	F	%	T	M	F
India	836,583,988	435,216,358	403,367,630	165,015,313	103,415,879	<u>63.4</u> <u>4</u>	59,599,434	36.56	<u>19.4</u> <u>4</u>	12.37	<u>7.1</u> <u>1</u>
WEST BENGAL	68,077,965	35,510,63	32,567,332	8,668,465	6,397,195	<u>73.8</u>	2,271,	26.20	<u>12.7</u> <u>3</u>	9.4	<u>3.3</u> <u>4</u>

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		3				27				
						0				

If we compare the bilingualism of West Bengal with that of India we get the following: Although the total percentage of bilingualism among the male speakers is higher than the percentage of bilingualism at the national level, percentage of bilingualism among the females is still poor. Bilingual percentage of West Bengal is less than the total bilingual percentage of India. But again the female contribution to the total bilingual population is not even half the level of National Female Bilingualism.

Census of India 2001

Speakers of Bangla, as reported in this census, are eight crores, thirty-three lakhs sixty nine thousand and seven hundred sixty nine. In the next table I am going to talk about dialects of Bangla in terms of Speakers strength. The Data available here is for the years 1961,1991 & 2001.

Bangla and its major dialects								
1961			1991			2001		
Name	Speakers	Percentage	Name	Speakers	Percentage to total Bangla Population	Name of the language	Speakers	Percentage to total population
Bangla	33754408	99.600085	Bangla	66,552,894	99.94	Bangla	82,462,437	98.91
Chakma	46071	0.135943	Chakma	182,953	0.27	Chakma	176,458	0.21
Hajong	8858	0.026138	Haijong/ Hajong	48,667	0.07	Haijong/ Hajong	63,188	0.08
Rajbangshi	18762	0.055362	Rajbangshi	34,106	0.05	Rajbangshi	82,570	0.1
Bahe	4	0.000012	Others	2,777,118	4.17	Others	585,116	0.7
Murari	16	0.000047	<u>Total</u>	66,595,738	100	Total	83,369,769	100
Dehari	18	0.000053						
Lohari malpaharia	27	0.00008						
Takam	29	0.0000	-			-		

		86						
Kachari bangla	371	0.0010 95						
Samaria	407	0.0012 01						
Batiari	430	0.0012 69						
Barik	864	0.00254 9						
Mal paharia	4077	0.01203						
Kishangan jia	55597	0.16405 2						
Total	3388993 9	100						

In the census of 1961 many of the dialects of Bangla have been taken into account while preparing the final tables whereas in the censuses of 1991 and 2001, this did not take place. The main criterion which has been put forward is that the dialects/ languages having ten thousand and above speaker strength alone would be considered for mention in the final data. That is the reason why we won't be able to describe the stories of the Dialects like Bahe, Murari, Dehari, Lohari Malpaharia, Takam, Kachari Bangla, etc. any more. However, figures of other three dialects of Bangla apart from the main standard variety are constantly available in all the censuses and those three dialects are Chakma, Hajong, and Rajbangshi.

Distribution of per 10,000 persons by language 2001

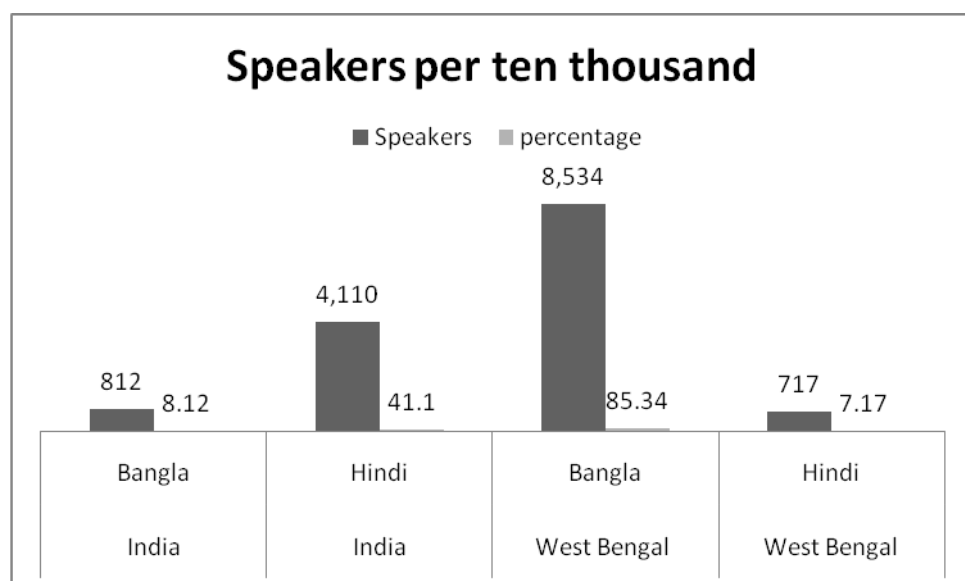


Figure 10 distribution of speakers per ten thousand

Bangla is present in the verbal repertoire of 8.12% people in India. In West Bengal the percentage is as much as 86%. Although Hindi is spoken by almost 41% of the total population of the country, in West Bengal it is not more than 7.17% of the total population. But it is found that Hindi has remained as the second largest language in terms of speakers strength in West Bengal.

People of India Project: Language and Scripts

This project on Indian languages was carried out in 1992 and the census data of 1981 has been integrated into it. Let's see how Bangla has been looked at in this project.

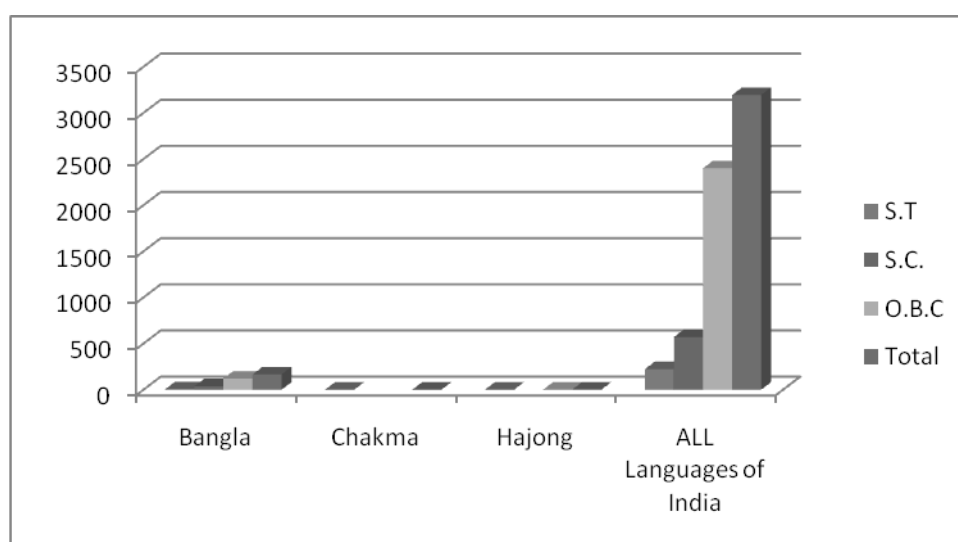
Bengali

It is a language of Indo-Aryan subfamily (Eastern group). According to the 1981 census the speakers of this language were 51,298,319 persons, (8.32% of the total population of India). This figure includes Chakma, Hajong and Rajbangshi.

Area: It is spoken in the States of Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Orissa, Tripura and West Bengal.

The number of communities using the scheduled languages with their variants:

<i>Sl.no.</i>	<i>Name of</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>S.C.</i>	<i>O.C</i>	<i>Total</i>
I	Bangla	6	38	121	165
	Chakma	1	-	-	1
	Hajong	1	-	1	2
	Bengali				168
ii	ALL	2	571	2400	3194



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Figure 11 The number of communities using the scheduled languages with their

Variants

There were six Scheduled Tribe communities, thirty eight Scheduled Caste and around one hundred twenty one other caste communities found using Bangla at the time this survey was done.

The Scheduled Languages With their Variants and the Number of Communities Speaking Them For Inter-Group Communication (Source: POI; appendix IV page-268)

SL.No.	Name of the language	S.T	S.C	O.C	Total
I	BENGALI	50	31	80	161
ii	ALL LANGUAGES OF INDIA	525	427	1997	2949

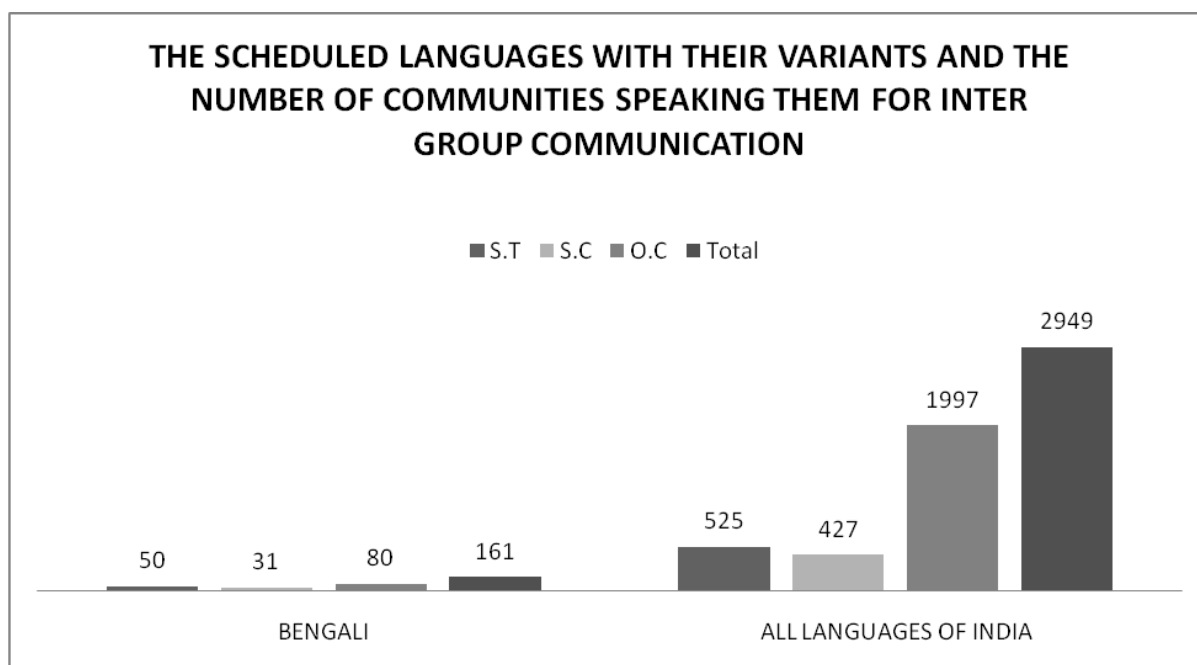


Figure 12 The Scheduled Languages with Their Variants and the Number of Communities Speaking Them for Inter-Group Communication

For intergroup communication Bangla is used by fifty Scheduled Tribes, thirty-one SC communities and eighty other caste communities. Bangla is used by one hundred and sixty-
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five communities for in-group communication and by one hundred and sixty communities for the purpose of inter-group communication. I identified the names of 212 communities in the POI project. The detailed list is given in the appendix 1.

I compare the list of communities given in the census of 1941 and Languages and Scripts of POI in the following few pages. It is found that lots of new names are identified by the people who carried out the POI project. The total communities listed in 1941 census were 113 whereas in the POI project the number has gone up to 144.

Similar names in both the lists are marked with a special symbol ^.

The reason behind this difference could be several. Many communities might have decided to come out and wanted to be introduced under a new name or there may be influx of population, migration etc.

I found these two lists as extremely useful for my description.

Census Data of Bangladesh 1991

The good thing about this census is that the communities were given importance and their population data was recorded. Apart from Bangla language speaking population all the other linguistic major and minor groups were taken in to account. The total population of these communities is counted as 1205978.

Table 11: Distribution of the Ethnic Communities of Bangladesh by Population Size and Geographical Areas, 1991 [Other than Bangla which is the National language of Bangladesh and spoken by the majority of the population]

Ethnic Community Population

Number	Name of the Community	Pop.	Percentage
1	Bawrn (also spelt as Bum, Baur, Barn)	13471	1.12
2	Hajong	11540	0.96
3	Buna (found only in the 1991 Census Report)	7421	0.62
4	Chakma	252858	20.97
5	Garo (people prefer the name Mandi)	64280	5.33
6	Harizon (found only in the 1991 Census Report)	1132	0.09
7	Kharni (also spelt as Khurni, Kami)	1241	0.10
8	Khasi (generally known as Khasia)	12280	1.02
9	Khyang (also spelt as Hyena)	2343	0.19
10	Koch (also spelt as Kots, Kuch, Coach)	16567	1.37

11	Lushai (also known as Kuki, Mizo)	662	0.05
12	Mahat (also known as Mahatu)	3534	0.29
13	Manipuri (also known as Meithei)	24882	2.06
14	Marma (also known as Mag, Mogh, Mug)	157301	13.04
15	Mro (also spelt as Mroo)	126	0.01
16	Mrong (also spelt as Murang, Mrung)	22178	1.84
17	Munda (also known as Mundari)	2132	0.18
18	Oraon (also spelt as Urang, Urao)	8216	0.68
19	Paharia (also known as Pahary)	1853	0.15
20	Pankho (also spelt as Pangkhu, Pangkhua)	3227	0.27
21	Rajbansi (also spelt as Rajbongshi)	7556	0.63
22	Rakhaine (a branch of Marma)	16932	1.40
23	Sak (also spelt as Chak, Tsak, Thak)	2127	0.18
24	Santal (also spelt as Saontal)	202162	16.76
25	Tanchangya (a branch of Chakma)	21639	1.79
26	Tipra (also known as Tripuri, Tripura)	81014	6.72
27	Urea (found only in the 1991 Census Report)	5561	0.46
28	Other (see text, for comments)	261743	21.70
	Total -	1205978	100

The dialects of Bangla that are comparable to the Census of India, 1991 are Chakma, Hajong and Rajbangshi.

<i>Comparative study of some Dialects of Bangla</i>				
West Bengal 1991			Bangladesh 1991	
Name	Speakers	Percentage to total Bangla Population	Speakers	Percentage to total Bangla Population
Chakma	1,82,953	0.27	2,52,858	20.97
Hajong/ Hajong	48,667	0.07	11,540	0.96
Rajbangshi	34,106	0.05	7,556	0.63

Total -	66,595, 738	100	1,205,978	100
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Numbers of Chakmas are greater in Bangladesh according to this analysis. They occupy 21% (approx.) of the total in Bangladesh. Hajong population in West Bengal is around 0.07% and 0.96% in Bangladesh. In case of Rajbangshi the percentages are 0.05 and 0.63 respectively.

Census of Pakistan 1998

I expected to get some Bangla population in the census of Pakistan but I failed. Although I got data from Census of 1981 and 1998 there is no mention about Bangla language or any of its dialects. The reason could be because of very little size of the population and maybe it is given in the column titled 'others'. I have listed the names of the languages as given in the census. Main languages are mentioned as Urdu, Punjabi, Pushto, Sindhi, Saraiki and so on. [Census of Pakistan 1998:- Population By Mother Tongue.]

Summary of the Findings

In 1931 Bangla population was 95% to the total population of Bengal province. Some predominance of other languages can be found only in places like Rajshahi and Burdwan Division. Differences in mother tongues were mostly found in Chittagong Hill and Darjeeling. In terms of bilingualism it was Chittagong Division of Bangladesh which showed largest percentage and this was the case also in the Darjeeling Division of West Bengal.

Hindi or Hindustani started to show significant figures in Bengal between 1881-1891 & 1901-1911. The highest percentage of Hindi speaking population was found in Calcutta (36.74%) during this period.

Bangla was used as a mode of Communication by at least 113 communities throughout Bengal as per census 1941 [See page 11-13]. Sikkim showed a higher percentage of Hindi speaking population than the rest of the Bengal. The state was an integrated part of Bengal at that time.

Urdu speakers were mainly found in Calcutta, Chandernagore and Malda. Nepali remained a major language in the Himalayan West Bengal region.[See page 16]. There were as many as 14 dialects which have been identified as classified mother tongues with Bangla. [See page 17].

Data on Bilingualism also reveals some facts. In the census of 1961 it is found that there is a clear gap between male and female bilingualism. Male-female ratio was highest (4.25:1) in the case of using English as a second language. In the case of Hindi also this difference was quite clear. [page 19] This fact is revealed also in the 1971 census. [see Table C-VI Data on Bilingualism page 23]. The Male-female difference in bilingualism was evident in the census of 1991 too. [see Page 26]

In rural areas, Bengali was spoken by 84% of the total population as per the census of 1971. The percentage of Hindi speaking population was almost negligible. It was only in the urban areas that Hindi became a major language (both as first language as well as a second language). People developed a habit of bilingual speech in the urban areas for various reasons. [See figure 6 page 21]

Other than Bangla, languages which play an important role in West Bengal are Hindi and Urdu. The largest Hindi population (21.14%) and Urdu speaking population are both found in Calcutta according to the census of 1991. However, Hindi remained as the second major language of West Bengal. It becomes evident that wherever there is an opportunity of education and employment, Bangla-Hindi bilingualism became inevitable. [See page 26]

In both the censuses of 1991 & 2001 the major dialects of Bangla were identified as Chakma, Hajong and Rajbangshi.[Page 27] In the census of ... Bangla was spoken by 8.12% of the total population of India and in the case of West Bengal the percentage went up to 85.34%.

In the POI Project, 212 communities have been identified speaking Bangla both for in-group and inter-group communication.[Page 30]

Census of Bangladesh 1991 identifies Chakma, Hajong and Rajbangshi as three larger communities consisting of 21%, 1% and 0.63% of its total population respectively.

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Appendix 1

Communities Using Bangla for In-group and Inter-group communication.

Source: People of India project, Vol. IX 'Language and Scripts,' K.S. Singh & S. Manoharan.

1. No	Community	Subgroup	Status	In group	Intergroup	State
1	Acharya			Bengali	Bengali	Tripura
2	Aghori			Maithili	Maithili, Hindi Bengali	West Bengal
3	Aguri			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	Bihar
					Bengali	West Bengal
4	Ahir			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
5	Angarak			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	Bihar
					Bengali	West Bengal
6	Assamese muslim			Assamese	Assamese, Hindi, Bengali	Assam

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7	Asur/ Bir		S.T	Asuri	Asuri, Bengali	West Bengal
8.	Bagal			Kudmali	Kudmali, oriya, Magahi, Bengali	Bihar
9	Bagdi		S.C	Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	Bihar
					Bengali	West Bengal
10	Bagti			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
11	Baida			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
12	Baidya			Bengali	Bengali	Tripura
					Bengali	West Bengal
13	Baidyakar			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
14	Bairagi			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
15	Baishya			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
16	Baiti			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	West Bengal
17	Bajandar/ Nagrachi			Bengali	Bengali	Tripura
18	Bajkar			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi, Urdu	West Bengal
19	Dandachatra majhi			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi, Kudmali	Bihar
				Oriya	Oriya , Bengali, Kudmali	Orissa
				Oriya	Oriya, Bengali, Kudmali	West Bengal
20	Deswali Majhi			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	Bihar
					Bengali	West Bengal
21	Dhal Kshatriya			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	Bihar
22	Dhanuk/ Dhanak			Hindi	Hindi, Bengali	Tripura
23	Dharua		S.T	Kudmali	Kudmali, Hindi, Oriya, Bengali	Orissa
24	Dhawa			Bengali	Bengali, urdu	West Bengal
25	Dhekaro			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	Bihar
26	Dhimal			Dhimal	Dhimal, Nepali, Bengali	West Bengal

27	Dhoba/ Dhobi		s.c	Bengali	Bengali, Assamese	Assam
					Bengali	West Bengal
28	Doai		S.C	Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
29	Dom/ Dum/ Dombo		S.C	Bengali	„	„
30	Dusad (Gope)		S.C	Sadri	Sadri, Bengali, Kudmali	West Bengal
31	Dusad (patwar)		S.C	Hindi	Hindi,Bengali	West Bengal
32	Gandhabanik			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
33	Bin		S.C	Paschima	Paschima, Bengali	West Bengal
				Hindi	Hindi, Bengali	Tripura
34	Birhor		S.T	Birhor	Birhor, Bengali	West Bengal
35	Binjoa/ Brijlal			Brijlal	Brijlal, Bengali	Tripura
36	Birija		S.T	Birija	Birija, Bengali	West Bengal
37	Bishnupuriya			Bishnupuriya	Bishnupuriya , Meitei, Bengali	Tripura
38	Byadh			Bangla	Bengali	West bengla
39	Chain			Bangla	Bangla	West Bengal
40	Chakma		S.T	Chakma	Chakma, Assamese, Hindi, Bengali	Assam
				Chakma	Chakma, Bengali	Mizoram
				Chakma	Chakma, Bengali	Tripura
41	Chamar		SC	Bengali	Bengali	Tripura
42	Chapua Kamar/ Kol kamar			Bhanjabhumia	Bhanjabhumia ,oriya , Bengali	Orissa
43	Chasot			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
44	Chik baraik		ST	Panchpargania	Panchpargania, Bangla	West Bengal
45	Chinese			Chinese	Chinese, English, Hindi, Bengali	West Bengal
46	Chirimar			Bengali	Bengali	West

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						Bengal
47	Chitrakar			Bangla	Bengali	West Bengal
48	Choupal/ Chaupal		SC	surajpuri	Surajpuri, Hindi, Bengali	West Bengal
49	chuanari			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
50	Churihara			Urdu	Urdu, Hindi, Bengali	West bengal
51	Dalu			Dalu	Dalu, Bengali	Meghalaya
52	Dhara			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	Bihar
53	Dharna/ Dhurua			Bengali/ oriya	Bengali, Oriya, Hindi	Orissa
54	Dhunua			Urdu	Urdu, Hindi, Bengali	West Bengal
55	Ganesh			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
56	Gareri		SC	Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
57	Garo		ST	Garo	Garo, Bengali, kakbarak	Tripura
					Garo , Bengali	West Bengal
58	Ghasi		SC	Kudmali	Kudmali, Bengali	West Bengal
59	Ghunnya			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	Bihar
60	Goala			Hindi	Hindi , Bengali	Tripura
61	Gokha		SC	Oriya	Oriya, Hindi , Bangla	Orissa
62	Gondalika			Bangla	Bengali	West Bengal
63	Gonr / Gonrhi		SC	BENGALI	Bengali	West Bengal
64	Gop			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi , Assmaese	Assam
65	Gour			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	Bihar
					Hindi, Bengali	Tripura
66	Gurkha / nepali			Nepali	Nepali , Hindi, Bengali	Tripura
67	Hajjam / Navid			Bengali	Bengali, Assmaese , Hindi	Assam
				Bhojpuri	Bhojpuri , Bengali	West Bengal

68	Halam	Kaloi	ST	Kakbarak	Kakbarak, Bengali	Tripura
			ST	Halam	Halam , Bengali, Hindi	Assam
		Kaipeng	ST	Halam	Halam, kakbarak, Bengali	Tripura
		Molsom	ST	Halam	Halam , kakbarak , Bengali	Tripura
		Rupini	ST	Kakbarak	Kakbarak, Bengali	Tripura
69	Haludas			Bengali	Bengali	Tripura
70	Hari			Bengali	Bengali, Assamese	Assam
				Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
71	Hira		SC	Assamese	Assamese, Bengali, Hindi	Assam
72	Ho		ST	Ho	Ho , Bengali	West Bengal
73	Jalia			Bengali	Bengali, Oriya	Orissa
		Jalia kaibarta	SC	Bengali	Bengali	Tripura
74	Jalekeot		SC	Assamese	Assamese, Bengali, Hindi	Assam
75	Jamatia		ST	Kakbarak	Kakbarak, Bengali	Tripura
76	Jhalomalo		SC	Bengali	Bengali, Assamese	Assam
			SC	Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
77	Jogi			Oriya	Oriya, Bengali	Orissa
				Bengali	Bengali	Tripura
				Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
78	Kachari		ST	Bodo	Bodo, Bengali, Assamese	Meghalaya
			ST	Bodo	Bodo ,Bengali	West Bengal

79	Kachera			Oriya	Oriya,Bengali	Orissa
80	Kahar		SC	Bengali	Bengali	Tripura
				Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	West Bengal
81	Kakmara			Telugu	Telugu, Bengali	West Bengal
82	Kalal			Urdu	Urdu , Bengali	West Bengal
83	Kalwar			Hindi	Hindi, Bengali	West Bengal
84	Kamar			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	Bihar
85	Kanda		SC	Oriya	Oriya, Bengali	Tripura
86	Kasar			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
87	Kaora		SC	Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
88	Kapali			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	Bihar
				Bengali	Bengali	Tripura
				Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
89	Kapuria			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
90	karga			Kudmail	Kudmali, Hindi, Bengali	Bihar
91	Karmakar			Bengali	Bengali, Assamese	Assam
				Bengali	Bengali	Tripura
92	Karua			Hindi	Hindi, Oriya, Bengali	Bihar
93	Kayastha			Assamse	Assamese, Bengali, Hindi	Assam
				Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	Tripura
				Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	West Bengal
94	Kela			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
		Sapua		Oriya	Oriya, Hindi, Bengali	Orissa
95	Keuta			Oriya	Oriya, Bengali	Orissa
96	Kewat/keot/ Kebot		SC	Hindi,	Hindi, Bengali	Tripura
			Sc	Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
97	Khalifa			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
98	khandait			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
99	Khandwal			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi, oriya	Bihar
100	Kharia			Kharia	Kharia, Bengali, Assmaese	Assam
			SC	Kharia	Kharia, Bengali	Tripura
			ST	Oriya	Oriya, Bengali	West Bengal

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101	Kharwar		ST	Khotta	Khotta, Bengali	West Bengal
102	Khasi		ST	Khasi	Khasi, Bengali	Tripura
103	Khatik		SC	Hindi	Hindi, Bengali	West Bengal
104	Khen/ Sen			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
105	Kisan		ST	Sadri	Sadri, Bengali	West Bengal
106	Koch		ST	Koch	Koch, Assamese, Bengali	Meghalaya
107	Koery			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
108	Kol		SC	Hindi	Hindi, Bengali	Tripura
		Kol lohar	ST	Oriya	Oriya, kol, Bengali	Orissa
109	Kollan			Oriya	Oriya, Hindi, Bengali	Orissa
110	Konai		SC	Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
111	Kora		St	Khotta	Khotta	West Bengal
112	Koraga			Oriya	Oriya, Hindi, Bengali	Orissa
113	Kotal		SC	Hindi	Hindi Bengali	Tripura
			SC	Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
114	Krikshatriya			Bengali	Bengali, Assamese	Assam
115	Kulala		ST	Kuki	Kuki, Bengali	Tripura
116	Kumbhar			Bengali	Bengali	Tripura
				Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
117	Kunjra			Hindi	Hindi Bengali	West Bengal
118	Kunui			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
119	Kurmi	Kudmi mahato		Kudmali	Kudmali, Hindi, Bengali	West Bengal
120	Kurol			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
121	Laskari			Bengali	Bengali	Tripura
122	Let			“	“	West Bengal
123	Lodha			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	Bihar
124	Lohara		SC	„	„	West Bengal
125	Mag			Mag	Mag, Bengali	Tripura
126	Maghaya Kumbar			Oriya	Oriya, Bengali	Orissa
127	Mahar		SC	Marathi	Marathi, Bengali	West Bengal
128	Maheswari			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal

129	Mahisya			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
130	Mahli		ST	Thar	Thar , Bangla, oriya	Orissa
			ST	Bangla	Bengali	West Bengal
131	Mal/ Malla			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	Bihar
			SC	„	Bengali	West Bengal
132	Mal paharia		ST	Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	Bihar
			ST	Malto	Malto, Bangla, Hindi	West Bengal
133	Malakar		SC	Bengali	Bengali	Tripura
				„	„	West Bengal
134	MALI			„	„	„
135	Mangar			Nepali	Nepali, Bengali	West Bengal
136	Manipuri			Meitei,	Meitei, Assamese, Bengali	Assam
				„	Meitei, Bengali	Tripura
137	Maria muslim			Assamese	Assamese, Hindi, Bengali	Assam
138	Marwari			Marwari	Marwari, Hindi, Bengali	West Bengal
139	Mayara			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
140	Mete			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
141	Mizo	Lushai	ST	Lushai	Lushai, Bengali	Tripura
		Ralte		Mizo	Mizo, Bengali	Tripura
142	Modak			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	Bihar
				Bengali	Bengali	Tripura
143	Mukhi			Assmaese	Assmaese, Hindi, Bengali	Assam
144	Munda			Nundari	Mundari, Bengali	Tripura
145	Murasing			Kakbarak	Kakbarak, Bengali	Tripura
146	Mushahar/ Bhuiya		SC	Hindi	Hindi, Bengali	Tripura
			SC	„	„	West Bengal
147	Naga	Jeme/ Zeme	ST	Zemi	Zemi, Hindi, Assamese, Bengali	Assam
148	Nagar Brahman			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
149	Nai/ nai thakur	Napit		Bengali	Bengali, Hindi, Assamese	Assam, Tripura
150	Naickan			„	Bengali	West Bengal
151	Namasudra			„	Bengali, Hindi	Bihar
				„	Bengali, Hindi	Madhya

						Pradesh
152	Nat			„	Bengali	West Bengal
153	Newar			Nepali	Nepali, Bengali, Hindi	West Bengal
154	Nikari			Bengali	Bangla	West Bengal
155	Noatia		ST	Kakabarak	Kakbarak, Bengali	Tripura
156	Nunia			Bengali	Bengali	Tripura
157	Oriya			„	Bengali, Hindi	West Bengal
158	Paharia			Paharia	Paharia, Bengali	Bihar
				Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
159	Pakhimara			Hindi	Hindi, Bengali	West Bengal
160	Paliyan		SC	Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
161	Pan		SC	Oriya	Oriya, Bengali	West Bengal
162	Pan oriya			„	Oriya, Bengali	Tripura
163	Pangan			Meitei	Meitei, Bengali	Manipur
164	Panika		ST	Chattisgarhi	Chattisgarhi, Bengali	Tripura
165	Parja/porja/p oraja/paroja			Oriya	Oriya, Hindi, Bengali	West Bengal
166	Pasi		SC	Hindi	Hindi, Bengali	West Bengal
167	Pathan			Urdu	Urdu, Hindi, Bengali	West Bengal
168	Patikar			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
169	Patni		SC	„	Bengali, Assamese	
170	Pnar/ Syteng		ST	Khasi	Khasi, Hindi, Bengali	n
171	Pondara			Oriya, Bengali	Oriya, Bengali	Orissa
172	Punjabi Hindu			Punjabi	Punjabi, Hindi, Bengali	West Bengal
173	Puran	Bhanja puran		Bengali	Bengali, oriya	West Bengal
175	Putuli bania			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi, oriya	Bihar
176	Rabha		ST	Bodo, Bengali	Bodo, Assamese, Bengali	Meghalaya, west Bengal
177	Rai			Nepali	Nepali, Hindi, Bengali	West Bengal
178	Rajbangsi			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	Bihar
			SC	„	Bengali	West Bengal
179	Rajbhar		SC	Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	Madhya pradesh
180	Rajput			„	„	West

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						Bengal
		Rajput solanki		”	”	”
181	Ranghi dhoba			Assmese	Assamese, Hindi, Bengali	Assam
182	Rangrez			Rajasthani	Rajasthani, Hindi, urdu, Bengali	West Bengal
183	Rautia			Panchparga nia	Panchpargania, Bengali	West Bengal
184	Riang		ST	Riang	Riang, Assamese, Bengali, Hindi	Assam
185	Rudrapal			Bengali	Bengali, Assmaese	Assam
186	Sabar		SC	”	Bengali	Tripura
187	Sadgop			,	”	West Bengal
188	Sagar			”	”	Tripura
189	Sahi			”	”	West Bengal
190	Santal		ST	Santali	Santali, Hindi, Bengali	West Bengal, Tripura
191	Saora		ST	Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
192	Sarak			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
193	Sarki		SC	Nepali	Nepali, Bengali	West Bengal
194	Sarua Brahman			Oriya	Oriya, Bengali	Orissa
195	Shabdakar			Bengali	Bengali	Tripura
196	Sheikh			”	”	West Bengal
197	Shersahbadia			”	Bengali, Hindi	Bihar
198	Siyal			”	Bengali	West Bengal
199	Subarna banik			”	”	”
200	Sunri		SC	”	”	”
201	Supakar			Oriya	Oriya, Bengali	Orissa
202	Swarnakar			Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
203	Sutradhar			”	”	Tripura
204	Tanti			Oriya	Oriya, Bengali	Tripura
205	Teli			Bengali	Bengali, Assmaese, Hindi	Assam
				”	Bengali	Tripura
206	Thetri			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi, Oriya	Bihar
207	Tiyor		SC	Bengali	Bengali	West Bengal
208	Toto		ST	Toto	Toto, Bengali, Nepali	West Bengal

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209	Tripura			Bengali	Bengali, Hindi	Assam
210	Turi		SC	Mundari	Mundari, Bengali	West Bengal
211	Uchai		ST	Kokbarak	Kokbarak, Bengali	Tripura
212	Utkal Brahman			Oriya	Oriya, Bengali	West Bengal

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