Language Ideologies and Multilingualism: Discourses of the Loss of Language

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Abstract

This paper attempts to explore an ecological understanding of the loss of language in a multilingual country such as India. India is abundantly blessed with linguistic diversity. Tribal, minorities', and non-schedule languages can significantly contribute to the development of linguistic diversity of this country. Linguistic pluralities and ideologies intrinsically exist in various forms of sociolinguistic narratives of our societies. These narratives happen to be the primary representations of subaltern groups and also marginalized communities of this country. In this paper, we point out linguistic diversities and ideologies in 'commonsense' beliefs, political and sociocultural orientations. However, there is a cultural and linguistic loss that always takes place in the process of linguistic globalization and imperialism.

Language Politics in India

During colonialism, several language planning and policies emerged, and all of them could be considered as against Indian expectations and experiences. Current debates upon various aspects of language endangerment across India and elsewhere are directly connected to language politics. Language politics predominantly goes hand in hand with the elite classes and castes of this country. These particular classes and caste groups do not own (and have not owned) a specific language through generations. Further, no particular language is part of their sociolinguistic identity across intergeneration. As and when a language emerges as the dominant one, it becomes the language of these elite classes and caste groups. In the contexts of Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and English languages, this perception can be realized and observed. Historical evidences substantiate the way in which linguistic manipulations have taken place. Thus, this paper assesses many different aspects of linguistic globalization that are an exemplary case of issues and controversies surrounding linguistic globalization and particularly language politics in India.

Why Paramount Importance to Sanskrit and English in India?

There are several frameworks available today for understanding the global role of English. Similarly, such models are also available to realize the socio-cultural prominence of Sanskrit that is given in South Asian contexts generally and in India particularly. It is necessary to discuss why paramount importance is given to languages like Sanskrit and English. These analyses are complemented by Sheldon Pollock's work on 'Cassopolis and Vernacular' & Canagarajah's work on 'politics of location', which provide powerful insights into a periphery community's local and global investments in English (Lee, Ena and Bonny Norton, 2009). Most

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people are aware that linguistic diversity and biodiversity across the globe in contemporary situations is experiencing a mass extinction.

Increasing Extinction Rates

At the same time, a parallel crisis for languages is being predicted by many people; extinction rates ranging from 50% to 90% of the world's 7000-odd languages are being predicted by the end of this century. 'Many regard languages as a benchmark for cultural diversity because virtually every major aspect of human culture ranging from kinship classification to religion is dependent on language for its transmission' (Suzanne Romaine, 2015). Thus, this paper focuses primarily on the consequences of the loss of linguistic diversity for cultural diversity in a multilingual situation and the implications of language ideologies. UNESCO's declaration of the year 2008 as a special year with the slogan "languages matter" was intended to direct attention to the possible disappearance of much of the world's linguistic diversity (UNESCO's World Report, 2009, 1). It is strongly felt to reiterate firm commitment to languages as a key vector of cultural diversity that strengthens the universality of human rights and ensures their effective exercise. This paper contends that a satisfactory answer to the question of why languages matter requires a new understanding of the critical role of linguistic diversity in the survival of cultural diversity (Suzanne Romaine, 2015). It is very significant to review the impact of the global spread of English with a view to enhance our understanding of the relationship between the English language, multilingualism, and social change. In this paper, we establish an argument of the spread of English internationally. Today, intellectual and ideological positions are taken with reference to the global spread of English. Pennycook (2000, 2001) calls this sociolinguistic process as 'colonial celebratory to postcolonial performativity' Von Humboldt rightly states the importance of diversity as follows: 'the absolute and essential importance of human development lies in its richest diversity' (1854).

Language Ideologies

The concept of language ideologies is not discussed with loud and clear theoretical positions as far as linguistic loss is concerned in India. The very notion of discourses of the loss of language obviously begins with discussions on language ideologies both in monolingual and multilingual situations. Kubota (2004) advocates the need to bring this important issue to the forefront to address 'linguistic and cultural norms and standards...built upon particular worldviews that determine who are legitimate native speakers of English, what constitutes the legitimate form of English, etc., which have been internalized locally by non-Anglophone people' (478).

The fundamental values of ideas and language ideologies in specific run only in interruptions throughout Indian history. Never-ending wars have been waged to control them as essential socio-political categories of native language, aiming either to bring them on one's side or to change their meaning to suit a certain political alignment and vision of India. The story of Indian socio-political and sociolinguistic realities has witnessed numerous attempts to reformulate the meaning of cherished native words and their values, with socio-cultural and linguistic ranking prominently in the perpetual redefinition process. The history of linguistic appropriations demonstrates that Indian linguistic compatibility takes place either with Sanskrit

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or/and English language alone. Consequently, the sociolinguistic conflicts between native languages and Sanskrit/English are still prevailing.

'In multilingual, heterogeneous societies, language ideologies are constantly constructed and reconstructed in discursive interactions at micro and macro levels. These interactions are always subject to relations of power in society, relations which include, inter alia, gender, class, race, ethnicity, and sexuality. If the dominant, majority group in a society, nation, nation-state, or community considers that the ideal model of society is monolingual, monoethnic, monoreligious, and monoideological' (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998a). These words illuminate the questions of social justice, such as how linguistic discrimination and monolingual ideology potentially exclude those who are compatible with multilingual situations and unwilling to fit the monoglot standard. However, this paper attempts to review our understanding of language ideologies in multilingual communities. Multilingualism has a great potentiality to foster linguistic diversity and ideologies irrespective of their socio-culture and politico-economic status. Elite class communities and nation states always consider that a monolingual community is an ideal model of a society. The implications of this model of society lead to the loss of native languages in a multilingual country and help to establish monolingual communities. The presence of a monolingual community means promoting intolerance and non-secular and undemocratic social and linguistic practices in multilingual societies.

Introduction: Why an Analysis of Language Ideology?

Many things are taken into consideration to understand the phenomenon of language ideologies in the context of the loss of language. Language loss has been a very serious discourse of debate from the mid-20th century. The thought and focus of linguists who are involved in the study of language loss involve the identification of reasons behind language shift and loss. Alongside, they also took part in developing the theoretical aspects of 'why language maintenance and preservation are of paramount importance in the studies on language endangerment processes. I do not know what an ideology is but I understand what an ideology is through its underlying mechanism that intrinsically evolves in a language. Many linguists across the world have been continuously concentrating on language ideology since half a century to envision multifaceted aspects of ideologies in relation to language especially in multilingualism.

The concept of language ideologies can be established many a time in the course of interactions between individuals and institutions of a speech community. Thus, it is necessary to examine definitions and conceptions of language and ideology in a wide range of sociocultural settings. They focus mainly on how such defining realities shape interrelations between individuals and institutions. The aspects of linguistic representations emerge both in implicit and explicit modes, which construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world; this is what we mean by 'language ideology' (Woolard: 1998). This line of argument is well fitted with Raymond Williams' observation, 'a definition of language is always, implicitly or explicitly, a definition of human beings in the world' (1977:21). In the social process, the language ideology can be construed as whether it is implicit or explicit, but it is a difficult task to

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externalize in its totality. However, language ideology has not merely linguistic but sociocultural and anthropological importance. This importance lies between linguistic structures and social structures that mediate in the pursuit of language ideologies of a speech community. As Woolard rightly points out intersections of linguistic and sociocultural perceptions in construing linguistic ideology, 'ideologies of language are not about language alone. Rather, they envision and enact ties of language to identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology. Through such linkages, they underpin not only linguistic form and use but also the very notion of the person and the social group, as well as such fundamental social institutions as religious ritual, child socialization, gender relations, the nation-state, schooling, and law' (1998:3). On the other hand, Silverstein defines linguistic ideologies by emphasizing more on linguistic dimensions, 'sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use' (1979:193). There is no conflict as such between these views, but the mode of theorization of language ideology differs. Simultaneously Heath and Irvine respectively define the concept to explore the totality of social experience of a speech community as 'self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group' (1989:53) and as 'the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests' (1989:255).

Indian Multilingual Experiences

All these scholarly discussions explicitly invoke multidimensional aspects of language ideology. One important question might emerge as to how these understandings of language ideology are compatible with Indian multilingual experiences. Indeed, these scholarly inputs are not confined to their own contexts alone; they are extended to across communities. However, this paper attempts to explore language ideologies in India, especially in a multilingual situation based upon common theoretical assumptions. It is also strongly felt to develop an understanding between language loss and language ideology in a multilingual country like India.

The Indian linguistic environment is persistently hierarchic, which created a dichotomy between dominant and dominated languages like Sanskrit and Kannada, Hindi and Kannada, English and Kannada, Kannada and Tulu, and so on and so forth. This linguistic phenomenon definitely reflects upon the pursuit of ideology. One significant and theoretical understanding of linguistic ideology in Indian multilingualism is a very complex reality. India is not just multilingual nation but also a multicultural, multireligious, and multiethnic nation. Consequently, language ideology becomes a very complex reality in India. In the sense, beliefs and feelings about language and discourse that are possessed by speakers and their speech communities are part of their socialization alone. The socialization process, which is relying upon a particular language in which a child is exposed to that language in its early ages, is not common in India. It is very obvious; no socialization process takes place based on multilingual and multicultural realities. But, cross cultural socialization process is a later phase that always happens in a multilingual society. On the other hand, 'language ideologies' vary dramatically within and across native cultural groups. Many Indian native language communities, for example, have inherited traditions for using language that value the adoption of loanwords from dominant languages like Sanskrit and English despite the fact that many languages have a long history of regarding their languages as symbols of linguistic solidarity and group identity. Alongside, in

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few other speech communities, they do not regard their languages as symbolizing sociolinguistic identity, especially minorities and other small communities.

Why is the analysis of language ideologies necessary? This analysis is an essential and critical part of a complete analysis of a language in a speech community. The importance of language ideologies becomes one of the key factors in any analysis that would relate to the language and discourse of a speech community. These are also regarded as key aspects of a given speech community to envision the sociocultural worlds of their speakers. This mode of analysis would help us to view the structures of cultural sovereignty, which becomes a very important phenomenon of language ideologies. Thus, emphasis is given more on the socialization process that always depends upon 'collective' perspective of a speech community. The whole process devotes itself to understanding language ideologies and sociocultural transformations of a speech community through the socialization process. The socialization process also plays a vital role in the formation of group identity and linguistic solidarity. This persistent identity results in effects on language beliefs, practices, and struggles that are connected to language ideologies of a speech community in contemporary situations. This can be substantiated by Silervstein's definition on linguistic ideology: 'set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use' (1979:193). The analysis so far justifies a community's consciousness that reflects upon both language ideologies and socialization of its community understands. The various modes of structural and functional analysis of language ideologies is a primary source of the quest for an understanding of what language ideologies are and how they function within and across speech communities.

Mediating Factors

Mediating factors in the process of socialization in each speech community are not common across India. For this reason, discursive and epistemic aspects of language ideology obviously differ from one another. It is also a difficult task to figure out the differences between implicit and explicit structures of a language ideology in multilingualism. This meta-pragmatic confusion is the underlying structure of linguistic ideology of Indian Multilingualism. That's why multilingualism appears to be a tricky entity that poses challenges to language and culture. As a result, language survival becomes a greatly difficult task; however, in the present scenario, language loss has become a common phenomenon across the world and India is no exception to this condition.

Nevertheless, this confusion can normally persist. Sometimes, it presumes to resolve this confusion only in the process of language death or language loss or language endangerment. To some extent, this argument can be substantiated with justifiable evidences in India and also elsewhere. The fact is any language shifting demonstrates the ideological shifting of their context to other that leads to demarcate between language loss and language survival.

Judgment and Usage

A particular feature of language ideologies is embodied both in judgments and usage. Typology of language ideologies has been the focus of intensive study of syncretism of different beliefs. Language ideologies are thus not only interesting in themselves. For Silverstein, their

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importance lies in the fact that beliefs about language mediate between language use and social organization (Pillar: 2015). In contrast, Kathryn Woolard referred to the concept as an intellectual bridge: 'The topic of language ideology is a much-needed bridge between linguistic and social theory, because it relates the microculture of communicative action to political and economic considerations of power and social inequality, confronting macrosocial constraints on language behavior' (1994, p. 72).

Linguistic Pluralism: The Politics of Linguistic Identity

Linguistic plurality is a natural phenomenon of India. The existence of multilingualism in India has a long history. Both structural and functional aspects of multilingualism are highly complex. Thus, the understanding of multilingualism always poses challenges. Another important dimension of Indian multilingualism is that we need to discuss its formation. In the sense, the concept of multilingualism in India is not a composition of many languages into its folder. Rather, it is the way in which discursive and epistemic formation of multilingualism takes place throughout the history of Indian linguistic repertoire. The nation-state always tries to maintain monolingual and monocultural states rather than multilingual and multicultural states. Multilingualism and the nation-state will not go hand in hand because managing multilingualism is always a threat to the state. Thus, the nation-state attempts to iron out all sorts of sociolinguistic diversities that speech communities foster throughout generations.

Mother Tongue - Ownership

Mother is a qualifier in the phrase 'mother tongue 'that indicates the primordial relation with a given language of a speech community. No social/ethnic/tribal community can be found across the world without its own speech. Consequently, the primordial identity structures of any community are normally asserted and realized in association with the concept of mother, i.e., a mother land, a mother tongue, etc. The relationship between a community and a language is organic as far as socio-cultural and historical realities are concerned. However, a community can always claim an ownership right on a language and land as well. By and large, every community establishes its ownership on language and land irrespective of their caste, creed, community, and geography. The established fact is that no community emerges without its own land and language; even in the case of nomadic communities, the fact holds, which means they do have their own language, but they may not have their own and permanent settlement; still there are claims. However, the mother land and language have become the fundamental affiliations of a community irrespective of their socio-political status, be it a civil society, nomadic, tribal group, etc. When any social group wants to articulate its identity structures, it always relies upon either language or land, and in many cases, it is a language. As a result, mother language and land have become symbols of identity of a community. Of course, nationality, citizenship, religion, tribe, culture, and language are all markers of identity. But language is the essence of identity (Blommaert 1999). These symbolic structures are being represented through various emotional modes and realities. Apart from this, language helps human beings to develop intellectual, moral, social, and emotional structures. This emphasizes in valuing all sorts of socio-cultural-economic and political traits in which language takes a major part. Through this process, elite language speakers construct the 'symbolic domination' (Bourdieu: 1991) to diminish the identities of minority languages in a pluralist society. The fact is that in the pluralist societies, multiple identities exist. These identities are supposed to develop a kind of cohabitation in plural

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societies. But instead, they allow dominant language speakers to establish coercive structures of power that restrain the identity structures of minorities. Keeping in mind these issues, the present article mainly attempts to understand the intimate link between language and community. In this process, obviously language becomes a key tool in the entire life of a community.

The concept of 'mother tongue' is a highly contested phenomenon, and concurrently, it is also an ambiguous one. However, it proves that no socio-cultural phenomenon can be defined at best in any given point of time but that could be realized based on certain socio-political assumptions. In other words, according to the 2008 newsletter of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), 'Learning in the mother tongue has cognitive and emotional value…'(P.5). In 2002, the FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations) asserted that the intellectual development of children is very much linked to the language they speak; if they are taught in their mother tongue, their intelligence develops more. When children are learning through their mother tongue, they are learning concepts and intellectual skills that are equally relevant to their ability to function in their entire life. In other words, according to the 2008 newsletter of UNESCO, 'Learning in the mother tongue has cognitive and emotional value … (P.5).

Multilingualism and Sociocultural Diversities: The Dialogic Imagination
Several important perspectives have emerged from sociolinguistics that helps to analysis multilingualism in the contemporary situation. It is very important to observe the focus of these discussions. Multilingualism is not mere a linguistic phenomenon. It depends upon sociocultural, politico-economic, and education realities. As a consequence, the whole linguistic situation in India has become problematic and complex. Here, sociocultural asymmetric structures are inherited. Power relations are also part of these asymmetric structures. In this context, linguistic hegemony plays a vital role. However, understanding the nature and function of such multilingualism does not rely upon only linguistic characteristic features but also depends upon hegemonic structures and power relations. Many linguists and scholars have defined and described multilingualism as ways of cohabitation and coexistence. Nevertheless, it is a very difficult task to outline interrelations between languages by such plain definitions and descriptions. This is because these descriptions will never figure out the sociocultural threats that we confront in the context of multilingualism.

It is very hard to imagine a community without a language. But if we go through the whole history of human beings, we understand the kind of relationship develops between language and society. In reality, it seems to be a natural phenomenon. Every speech community speaks a particular language, and in such a situation there appear to be no explicit crises. In case of multilingualism, facts entirely differ from this understanding. The reason is that multilingual communities confront a several challenges. A very important challenge is to maintain equal understanding and structural adjustment between diversity and homogeneity. In Karnataka, the development of Kannada is not only the question of Kannadigas (those who speak Kannada as their mother tongue). Fostering the aspirations of other tongue speakers' responsibility is also inherent in this framework itself. Whenever we talk about the development of Kannada, many a times, these interests emerge to promote the 'hegemony of Kannada'. It is necessary to critically examine all sorts of sociolinguistic threats that take place in such promotion. Loose positions of

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democracy are regarded as universal values. Such threats are very common in multilingualism and multiculturalism contexts.

Multilingualism and Democracy

Therefore, the one prime focus of this paper is to understand interconnections between multilingualism and democracy. In democratic societies too, it is necessary to realize how education plays a vital role both in the fostering or vanishing of a language. However, many important questions need to be addressed to understand multilingualism: in order to accomplish the aspirations of a community, whose language must be given importance? Who does it represent? To which language must the state provide its support? Are such languages willing to protect the communities' interests in terms of social, economic, political, and educational aspirations? Whose languages are neglected? What is happening to the fate of human fundamental rights? What kinds of language planning and language policies should be evolved to maintain and preserve diversity existing in communities? How is the state responsible in creating the fissures between elite and subaltern groups? What are the conspiracies and strategies that take place in multicultural and multilingual situations to make communities inclusive and exclusive? All these questions are very important in the multilingual context since democracy and multilingualism aim together to bring about an understanding between diversity and unity. This is not supposed to be egalitarian but should be a practical reality through which we can see the real characteristic features of democracy. Differences should be distinct identity structures of their existence and should not be hierarchic structures. We should understand that there is a major difference between egalitarianism and practicality. We can understand the interrelationships between democracy and multilingualism through the aforementioned questions.

State's Aim: Monolingual Society

The state is always attempting to form monolingual societies. The language policies of a government do support the domination of a particular language. Further, the (government) state also imposes upon the people to accept this particular dominant language. As a result of such language policies, people are under pressure to ignore their own languages. Thousands of languages are being spoken by Indians as their mother tongues. Many of these language speakers even today are suffering from cultural, social, educational, and political inequality. The main reason is that languages like Sanskrit, English, and Hindi are supported by state. Instead of strengthening democracy, these languages are representing Vedic values and colonialism. These languages are threatening the existence of native languages, and they also create inferiority among the speakers of these languages. Sanskrit has continuously been doing this injustice to the native languages. English has entirely encroached upon native languages in all the functional domains because English has become a link language, which also indicates the rejection of the existence of native languages. Indeed, some languages have acquired an association with the nation-state. As a matter of fact, these languages will obviously acquire the hegemonic and dominant status. This linguistic hierarchy is rooted in every functional domain of language use. We may wonder how it is possible in a democratic situation to find such linguistic discrimination. Undoubtedly, these discriminatory realities always prevail across generations. Consequently, many native languages have been marginalized. In that case, what is the importance of democracy and its philosophical framework? How are structures of inequality

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intrinsic in communities' existence and identity? Why is someone skeptical about all the aspects of language and democracy? The major qualities of democracy are to foster common people's equality and liberty of a given nation.

Tolerance and Equality

The phenomena of democracy and multilingualism are depending upon the values of tolerance and equality on equal basis. If democracy accomplishes the aspirations of people, subsequently, communities are relying upon on their own languages. This argument considers that there is an interrelation among language, life, and democracy. Due to the impact of feudalism, capitalism, bureaucracy, and such forces, the very basic definitions of democracy have been changed. Therefore, concepts such as 'all are equal' and 'political correctness' appear ridiculous. This is nothing but an irony of democracy.

There is significance for the participation of people in a democracy. It is true in terms of the process of selection of political representatives; people have the liberty to select their representatives according to their wish beyond the boundaries such as caste, creed, communities, and territories. This does not mean these selections represent all the members of given communities. It is very difficult to answer to this fundamental question. It is strongly felt that there are no compatibilities (adjustments) between political policies and social structures. Theoretically speaking, if there are compatibilities between these structures, practically they will never come true. These are not mere assumptions but practical implications. Even after seven decades, the objectives of democracy are not defined clear and loud. It is observed that there is no understanding between constitutional concerns and those representatives who manage these concerns. For name sake, constitutional safeguards are designed to protect the aspirations of marginalized and minorities. There are constitutional privileges to accomplish their aspirations; on the other hand, they have every right to force the government towards effective implementation of these constitutional safeguards. Right to expression, right to education, right to health, etc. are inherited as fundamental rights alone.

The fundamental intention of Constitution is to view everyone equally. Theoretically, the constitution aspires that every member of this nation should attain all these rights and liberty. If government follows the ideas of the constitution, no political or social interests become significant. Otherwise, the concept of democratic government itself can be considered as misnomer. It is very important to note that today's government interest lies in the protection of capitalist and elite communities by mere tagging of the concept of democracy. However, no government is interested to protect the aspirations of common people of this country. As every citizen has the right to participate in every public activity, similarly, every citizen of this country has the liberty to take decisions related to individual prosperity. However, many people have no privileges to take decisions related to their languages. For example, issues such as the medium of instruction and language education can be taken into consideration. It is believed, perhaps, in every democratic nation the concept, 'equality' is only a base mantra. But there is no any such equality that exists between people's languages and state-supported languages. Politically charged principles like equilibrium, coexistence do not possibly exist in the social and linguistic contexts. In fact, these are the real challenges to democracy.

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Individual and Collective Levels of Multilingualism

Multilingualism exists both at individual and collective levels. But it is necessary to discuss about collective multilingualism that confronts several types of crises in its existence. This is because any individual for his own purpose becomes a multilingual speaker. Various languages that are used in different functional domains are responsible for individual multilingualism. Many a time, individual multilingualism is confined individual needs alone. But it is necessary to note that collective multilingualism is related to existential challenges. This is not just to accomplish and decide the wants and "un-wants" of people but upholding their existence and identity. It is needed to critically and carefully examine such multilingualism.

Understanding multilingualism should not take place only based upon any particular individual's language skills and competencies. Rather, it is important to identify the language that acts as an identity, right, and cultural resource of a community. It should function as a medium of a community to accomplish its prosperity. It is essential to discuss in the process of projecting the importance of multilingualism, wherein we confront several hindrances in a multilingual situation. Based on every individual's language skills and competence level, either bilingualism or multilingualism status can normally be recognized. But it is of paramount importance to note the differences between at least two languages the rate of communicative competence of a speaker. Equal communicative competence level between two or more languages defines a speaker as multilingual or bilingual. This definition is linguistically accepted. We are not supposed to consider this development as linguistic imposition of one particular class/community on another. In such linguistic situations, it is quite a natural phenomenon that one language dominates another. But it entails a different sort of analysis. At the same time, in the sociolinguistic perspective, the nature of bilingualism or multilingualism is entirely different altogether. Speakers of any speech communities are obviously having equal proficiencies and communicative competencies in all the languages that are being practiced in a given speech community. It should be noticed that Skutnabb-Kangas talked about many of these concepts in her researches.

Social Structure, Bilingualism and Multilingualism

There is an interconnection between the way bilingualism or multilingualism formation takes place and a particular social structure. This interconnection always exists in the form of discrimination. As a result, it is impossible to find equality in bilingual or multilingual communities. As an alternative, we discover different structured and types of bi/multilingual realities. For example, the nature of bi/multilingualism can be divided into additive bilingualism and subtractive bilingualism. In the course of education, when a new language is learned in addition to one's mother tongue, it is called additive bilingualism. The learner's total linguistic repertoire is extended (Skutnabb-Kangas). At the cost of their mother tongues, learners learn a new/ dominant /majority language, which is called subtractive bilingualism. As a result, the individual's total linguistic repertoire does not grow because the mother tongue is displaced. Thus, language endangerment or maintenance is not in the hands of speakers of a language. It depends upon the state that designs the kind of language policy and language planning. These realities always emerge in favor of elite classes or the language that represents such classes. Education through the mother tongue does not mean obtaining an education through a dominant language. Instead, every speaker should obtain education through his/her mother tongue.

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Complex and Problematic Phenomenon

All the discussions thus far focus on the dimensions needed to comprehend the nature of multilingualism in its totality. Many studies have so far focused on multilingualism in the descriptive linguistic framework alone. These studies are never focus on locating multilingualism in the sociopolitical and economic contexts. It is a very difficult task to deal with the totality of multilingualism without locating it the sociopolitical and economic contexts. The multilingual situation in India is a very complex and problematic phenomenon. This is also the very difficult task of estimating the specific reasons, which are responsible for the complex and problematic multilingualism. However, a few reasons can be posited to resolve this complexity: at one hand, factors such as Sanskrit language and historical developments, and on the other hand, political fluctuations and various dynasties. Later, colonialism, English, and its administrative attitudes and structures of the present nation-state also joined hands. All these reasons appear to define multilingualism as a metaphor of cultural integration but all of them are mere pretentions. However, such relations are being considered as indicators of coexistence. What is the real strength of multilingualism? What are the sociocultural implications of multilingualism? How are these relations encouraging a particular class or communal politics? While a few speech communities accomplish their economic empowerment through their language, other speech communities experience setbacks due to their own languages. This is very strange; we do not realize that one particular language is responsible for all these consequences. Thus, one language, one religion, one nation, one script, etc., have come into the mainstream with monolithic ideologies. These realities are intrinsic in the basic concepts of communities. Instead of attaining social distinction and religious diversities, we attempt to create severely loosened structures of plurality. Therefore, we have lost faith in understanding multilingualism as an indicator of our social identity. This is because we firmly believe that political unification is the ultimate phenomenon in the formation of nation-state. It is true that language always rejects homogeneity, but it is longing for heterogeneity or diversity. It is very evident that no language is constituted based on monolithic structures. That is why, in its past, every language experienced 'language contact', and as a result, it must have borrowed many words from such other languages. This process does not indicate the historical development alone but represents the historical change and social diversity in the contemporary situation. However, language is not only a medium; it is also a mode of understanding diversities that exist in sociocultural thoughts.

What kind of relation subsists between language and cultural politics? It is significant to know how cultural disparity lies in the process of such relations. By dissecting inner relations between language and culture, we come to know how language is responsible for sociopolitical inequalities. There is a social cohesion in multilingual societies; there are those who present an argument who firmly believe that there is a 'unity in diversity'. Those who accept the principle of one language, one religion, one culture, and one worldview are only firmed about such hegemonic structures. Because of Sanskrit and English languages, many native languages of India cannot assert their own literary and cultural identities even today. These languages have accepted the imposed identities, and through this, they assert their social and political identities. The constitution has provided the rights to avail education and justice in their own languages. Many speech communities have been defeated in availing constitutional privileges, because these privileges have not become rights; they only pretend to be rights. Thus, communities are suffering from such disadvantages. That is why language plays a vital role in the formation of

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social identity. But the irony is that language is the instrument that is used along with religion and ethnicity to divide communities. Language, ethnicity, and religion are used as prominent parameters in order to recognize social existence, status, communicative competence, and identity. Language is also a key factor in cultural politics which plays a prominent role in the formation of any sort of social identity.

It is quite natural to attain language skills from more than one/two languages in a multilingual situation. But these skills always create a space for having dialogue among intellectual and social contexts and individuals. In addition to such knowledge horizons, tolerance to different languages and cultures is being sustained. It is necessary to critically examine all these arguments.

Politics and Globalization

Due to the impact of politics and globalization, the fissures that exist already among social, religious, political, and economic realities are further increased. Relationships between multilingualism and democracy are vanishing. Once upon a time, there was sociocultural importance for these relationships. For democratic societies, fundamental rights and liberty are necessary. There are necessary evils like political feudalism, communalism, and casteism; however, today democracy is seized by politicians according to their wishes. Historically there was a consistently developed social inequality, and due to political reasons, today it is further increased. Thus, political domination and cultural politics go hand in hand. The interesting fact is that for all these happenings and developments, language is the key arena. It has been argued so far that the implicit dimensions of linguistic pluralism are required to understand the sociolinguistic framework in which language practices are embedded. An analysis of language attitudes and ideologies is a systematic account of language ideology as social process through which we understand implicit structures of linguistic hegemonies.

Loss of Language and Cultural Conceptions: Language Politics and Ideologies

Sue Gal and Judith Irvine (1995) have argued that our speech communities and the language associated with them are ideological constructs – ideological with respect to linguistic theory and more generally with respect to language and society (Penelope Eckert, 2004).

Multilingual communities always confront issues such as unequal attitudes between education and language policy. While formulating language policies, we should keep in mind education and its implication. In order to resolve the linguistic crisis, we need to adopt certain measures. In this sense, protecting relationships among societal, economical, and linguistic aspirations should not be a political strategy. Rather, it should be a cultural responsibility. The questions of individual and collective rights are also tackled with this responsibility. These discussions provide a wide scope to elaborate the relationship between education and multilingualism by taking into consideration the following arguments:

1.   If majorities' languages have instrumental value, minorities' languages have emotional value. Both of these are hindrance to the social mobility and prosperity of a society.
2.   By learning majorities' languages, every speaker attains economic-social mobility.

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3.   It is true that by learning minorities' languages, we promote 'cultural mobilization', but individual mobility will be restricted because it creates sociocultural ghettoization.
4.   If minorities' language speakers are sensible enough, they definitely shape their rational/ critical perspectives and modern attitudes from majorities' languages.
5.   Any decision we take is obviously a social construction. However, the choices between majority or minority languages are based upon dichotomy or binary oppositions.

All these arguments affirm that developing an argument is a difficult task. We may have differences of opinions about these positions. Nevertheless, the sociocultural advantages that are available to majority languages cannot be denied. These understandings always obtain social consent and acceptance. No doubt, these are useful to few people or very few communities. It is necessary to evaluate carefully the implications and threats of these understandings. Such language imposition explicates the hidden agenda and interests of a state. Such an imposed language becomes a sociocultural resource; be it in education or employment or in any other such domains, a language that gets its own place is always being supported by the state.

Every language that is being supported by the state has its own aims and objectives. As a result, its benefits and advantages are confined to only very few communities or classes. Obviously, minority and other language speakers never obtain any sort of socio-economic benefits from the state-supported language. These privileges and benefits are immediately available to linguistically and culturally dominant language speakers alone. This is because the language they speak is located in such a hegemonic location. These language speakers control power and also dominate education, politics, employment, administration, and other domains. Naturally, everyone chooses such a hegemonic language in every functional domain.

Consequently, the uses of their mother tongues are confined to only family and private domains. To make it clear, all these languages are under pressure to assimilate into a hegemonic language. Language policies like 'Kannada compulsory' are always supportive to linguistic assimilation. Every language speaker is longing for economic prosperity and social mobility. This is also very necessary. Those who raise questions regarding Kannada progress and pro-Kannada activists must be very careful to ensure that Kannada does not become 'anti-people'. People from other language speaking communities can avail political and economic benefits if they can speak Kannada; no doubt, this strategy is an undemocratic principle. The 'Kannada compulsory' policy should extend to capitalists and industrialists; if not, it is always questionable.

"Minority" Language
One should not consider the speakers of other languages or minorities' language as second citizens in multilingual or multicultural communities; such wisdom and principles are very important in multilingual/multicultural communities. There is a lot of difference between practicing Kannada from one's own interest and learning Kannada as an imposition. Insulting and humiliating non-Kannada speakers (for example blackening their faces) are not only anti-Kannada/antisocial but also anti-human. This sort of mindset always indicates an anti-people attitude. If we examine the philosophical relations between culture and equality, we understand linguistic hegemony and its imposition, and this process creates cultural threats which are very

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much visible. It is necessary to publicize throughout the world the faith that language policy has moral, political, and legal importance. In order to continue their cultural identities as is, minority language speakers, without considering the advantages and disadvantages of their languages, are longing for mother-tongue-based education. These attitudes appear to hegemonic language speakers as 'anti-community'. It is significant to note that minorities speak a language in their private domains that will not make any impact on others, even though there are very strong arguments stating that this impact hinders their economic prosperity and social mobility. It is very rigorously discussed that those who stick on to their languages alone long to live at socio-economical margins only. They willingly choose this way of life. This acceptance is nothing but slavery. This sort of mindset is regarded as 'happy slave'. It is also said that speakers of a particular language are responsible for this attitude. Therefore, it is very well argued that it is not appropriate to accuse other language speakers for such linguistic developments. At the outset, this argument seems to be right, but it is wrong to accept such decisions. Thus, it is important to examine the reasons behind this mindset. Besides such rejections, this is a very populist model and pedagogically driven thought. It is wrong to say that this model is not based upon cause and effect. This is because in India, for the majorities, literacy is a nonpolitical action and the possibility of intellectual advancement has gone on without their notice. Consequently, they will not acquire any rationalism and wisdom for the upliftment of their communities and for exercising their rights. The irony is that throughout history, education has become a private asset of a few classes and religions to protect their moral system. Further, the culture of these communities is alone being projected as national culture. Education is exploited to inculcate a common consent among various communities regarding their culture and to validate this mindset among all social groups irrespective of their caste, creed, and community.

The reason behind the attitudes as to why minorities stick on to their language is that minorities are not aware of the dominant language, and this creates socio-economic threats. Further, they are interested in strengthening the roots of linguistic and cultural identities. Another important linguistic problem that confronts minorities in India is that the dominant language always induces socio-political unification. These coercions reiterate fundamentalism and communalist re-presentation. These coercions are a curse for the communities that are sociologically and economically backward. Further, these are the root causes of all sorts of discriminations. Thus, minorities' affiliation of their mother tongues become stronger and affirmed. Over centuries, Dalits and tribal and backward communities who have been using Kannada are still at margins and stagnant. It is an irony that Kannada is a language of power, but it has not become an advantageous language for all these communities. When a language is used as weapon in any given situation, 'linguistic intolerance' will increase. The language that is dynamic in all its functional domain is a dominant language. Consequently, language rights and choices will be buried. This is obvious; undoubtedly, the death of freedom of rights and choices also systematically takes place in democratic nations.

Experience and Education
The experience and education we acquire through the mother tongue is very effective. If it transforms to the second language, there is a lot of difference in the effect. Due to the elite bilingualism, this difference further increases. This is because upper-class linguistic positions can cause significant risks. Kannada-Sanskrit, Kannada-English, Kannada-Hindi, etc., are the

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examples of elite bilingualism. Ironically, this type of bilingualism is more acceptable. It also insists on the denial of bilingual/multilingualism of the subaltern classes. Kannada-underprivileged languages, Kannada-tribal languages, Kannada-minorities languages, etc. are recognized as examples of subaltern bilingualism/multilingualism. This kind of linguistic situation widens the horizons of experience more than any sorts of risks even though minorities will not have opportunities to save their languages in such a social atmosphere. Multilingualism is a very complex phenomenon, particularly in India. It is also argued that multilingualism hinders national integration. The intent of these arguments is that the political restraint will be prevented. This argument substantiates how nonlinguistic realities are determinants of the existence and identity of a language. But we fail to realize the fact that multilingualism is the signifier of multiculturalism.

Discourse of Nationalism and Language Ideologies

Communities that embrace a monolingual policy in education and other functional domains will be able to achieve social mobility. Such an argument has come to the fore in recent times. It is a hidden agenda of the nation-state that makes such a monopoly of a 'monolanguage' policy to fulfill its hidden intentions in all these functional domains. The language here is not only a weapon, it also insists on linguistic and cultural integration. Those who promote monolingual policies often consider the bilingual education system as a threat to the consciousness of nationalism or unity. Furthermore, linguistic diversity is believed to lead to social and cultural conflicts and caste/ethnic hatred. In addition, there are some who argue that multilingualism causes ethnic wars. They hide the fact that many communities want social cohesion for their political survival. It is not true that nobody understands that social cohesion is not an impossible phenomenon that can be achieved via impartial language policies.

Social Harmony in Multilingual Communities – Not Possible?

The argument is in circulation in the contemporary context that cultural integration and social harmony that exist in a monolingual community cannot be found in multilingual communities. Many sociologists believe that multilingualism and multiculturalism are the most important reason for the deprivation and subjugation of unity in communities. If we examine these arguments critically, we understand that both beliefs are wrong. Through linguistic and cultural unification, monolingualism becomes a 'universalization'. True, it is not a surprising fact. However, such unifications or monolithic attitudes are the organizing parameters of social and political realities. The fact is that they further increase cultural threats. Only nation-states are in need of monolingual communities. For nation-states, the sociolinguistic diversity is an unbearable phenomenon. Thus, it is a politically very close phenomenon for the linguistic-cultural integration of the nation-state. This is the motivation underlying the purpose of being able to maintain its political well-being. Such sociolinguistic positions are the symbols of nationalism. While the geographical area and revenue tax are important in the context of imperialism or imperial governance, they have also contributed to linguistic integration. But there are doubts that the principles of such integration must have religious intentions rather than political purpose. We need to take into consideration one important factor, which is that there are official languages during imperial governance but not national languages. This is not a justification, but only a comparison between the democratic linguistic situations and the imperialistic linguistic situations. This comparison is confined to knowing the major concerns of

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democracy, which are meant to protect the basic aspirations of citizens. The significance of this comparison is to examine linguistic realities and cultural politics in the context of democracy. We find cultural politics throughout history in India. But, who creates such a politics and on whom is it exercised? How does this politics obtain support from the state? To maintain its vested interest, the nation-state developed the concept of 'national languages'. The languages that are recognized in the eighth schedule of the Constitution of India are all considered national languages. But the privileges and advantages available to Hindi & Sanskrit languages are not provided to other languages. If we compare Hindi and Sanskrit with other Indian languages, we understand the concept of national language, how discriminatory it is, and also how cultural politics plays a vital role behind the development of this concept. Linguistic and cultural discriminations that have persisted over centuries are still prevailing in the democratic situation also.

Majority-Minority: Politically Motivated

The dichotomy of majority and minority is politically motivated. In the sense, they are entirely depending upon the state's policy decisions. Many a time, some languages on many occasions are considered as majority languages, and on some other occasions, they are considered as minority languages. At the same time, some languages are permanently treated as minority or marginalized languages. Therefore, the difference between language and dialect cannot be defined only based upon linguistic parameters. There is mutual intelligibility among dialects, and in some cases, although they belong to same language, there is no mutual intelligibility among its dialects. For example, we can notice such a relationship between Kannada-regional and social dialects. Because of political reasons, some dialects are assigned official status whereas many dialects being practiced by a majority of people are denied this status due to the state's policy decisions.

Nation Building

There is a close relationship between language policy and nation building. Language politics is alive even today because of the state's support. Thus, despite constitutional rights, the choice of language used is a political strategy based on the domain. Therefore, the rights that are provided by constitution are buried. Promoting monolingualism is not only a wrong move but it is also a way of inculcating disintegration among people speaking different languages. Apparently, such behaviors can be seen as techniques that integrate, but it is very obvious that they do not. Historically, the causes for most linguistic conflicts are to officially deny the recognition of minority language rights. There are a lot of arguments that such policy decisions are 'legitimate positions'. There is also a relationship between political instability and language policies (for example, India and Sri Lanka). Languages like English, Sanskrit, Hindi, and Kannada languages enjoy de facto supremacy. Due to these consequences, sociolinguistic conflicts will emerge. This phenomenon is not new to the state. However, the nation-state still forms linguistic and cultural integration. In a multilingual situation, a monolingual policy is intolerant. Upon arguing that maintaining multilingualism can also maintain social, economic, and political stability, it is possible to achieve any community's prosperity. There is no doubt about that this argument is democratic. The purpose behind such thoughts is that discussions about languages are the questions of community existence. The denial of any language is not just related to communication alone. It is also related to the aspirations of that community. The main

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reason for the conflict that exists between Tamils and Sinhalese in Sri Lanka is language. Such conflicts over a time will take political shape. Multilingualism or bilingualism is a way to maximize the diversity of perception but not a deficiency.

Language Policy and Contradictions

Throughout history, there has been a desire to formulate linguistics to complement contemporary politics; economic policies have always been based on discrimination. Due to the colonial dominance, the English language is being supported by the constitution of India. As a result, there are a lot of fluctuations in the existence of native languages. What are the consequences of promoting English? Why language policies are directly shifted from colonialism to neocolonialism? To protect whose interests are languages like English, Sanskrit and Hindi being assigned hegemonic status in India? And why did we accept this kind of language politics? Because of these implications, native languages are suffering from sociolinguistic domination by hegemonic languages. Keeping in mind all these questions, it is necessary to reevaluate language policy and planning in India.

Native languages in India are confronting major challenges; a very important one among them is that these languages are inefficient in rendering knowledge in areas like technology, science, medicine, and other such modern disciplines at one hand. On other hand, all these native languages should be effectively harnessed to face the impact of globalization in the domains of politics, social, education, and economics. Of course, these languages need to emerge in a new avatar. It is due to the implications of new economic policies that the relationship between linguistic positions and challenges of lives has become a very complex phenomenon. It is very evident from these arguments that there is a direct relationship existing between communities' lives and language policies. Ironically, today, the idea of 'linguistic rights' is ridiculous. In fact, it is fine that the constitutional concern is that everyone should obtain education through their mother tongue. At the same time, there is also a constitutional sanction to use the English language in all the functional domains. Legitimate power should be given to the native languages that are recognized as national languages in the eighth schedule of the constitution of India. However, English has intruded into the entire space that is constitutionally provided to native languages. It appears that the state demonstrates its socialism face, but its hidden agendas are always favorable to fulfill the aspirations of capitalists. In this new era, imperialism has not become weakened. Instead, it has emerged in a new avatar in its radical form. It receives all the power required to maintain its interests with the help of the state. Governments will implement the language policies that capitalists make. Such trends can now be implemented in recent times. That is why English has been given a national language status. From the dimensions of both use and function of this language, English has a social and political status that native languages do not have it. English, which has such political societal support and insistence, has established its hegemony over the native languages.

Social, political, economic, and administrative inequalities are the intrinsic qualities of language policies in India. Indigenous language speakers are ignored in sociopolitical participation. It is believed that if people do not speak English language, it becomes a hindrance to the socioeconomic prosperity of a given community. Because of English, the sociopolitical differences of elites and marginalized communities are increased further. These attitudes are

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devaluating the native languages and cultures of many communities of India. There are several shifts that have taken place in the language policies in India. The state is responsible for all these consequences. We always confront challenges to stabilize compatibility among different language speakers in India. All these challenges are the real reasons for these shifts and consequences. Even the very slightest attention that was given to language policies during colonialism may have led to these shifts.

Purpose of Language Policies

The purpose of language policies is to inculcate national consciousness among citizens and to make any particular language as national language. In the process of education, this national language becomes one of the important language subjects through which the concepts like nation, nationalism, and national integration are disseminated. In fact, many a time, these concepts inculcate among students a meaningless and insignificant mindset. The main reasons behind for formulating three-language formulas are national integration and national love. The constitution of India also supports such language policy. It is impossible to find any common understandings or accepted consent among Indians regarding the concept of 'national language' since in the eighth schedule of the constitution of India, very few languages are only recognized as national languages. Even de facto languages like English have been considered as one of the national languages. Many sorts of language policies are imposed upon the common man in the name of education. Language planning and policies in India have self-evidently declared that they are inefficient to teach science and technology. Thus, English language has been considered as inevitable to teach science, technology, medicine, etc.

For those who walk through the way paved by colonial experience, the concept of nationalism seems to be entirely different. It is just impossible for such people to maintain social coherence in India. Though we have been liberated from colonialism, anti-community attitudes are still inherent in today's state, which is based on democracy. Cultural orientations, traditions, and national loyalties are the real replicas of colonialism. Colonial language (i.e., English) takes predominant place in each and every policy decision, either social or political. As a result, language policies are English-centric rather than Indian-language-centric.

There is a relationship between education, language policy, and cultural identities. Such a cultural relationship leads to marginalization of indigenous language communities. However, transacting in certain languages is a prestigious issue, whereas conversing in some languages creates inferiority among the speakers of given speech communities. If we raise questions like why there is always support for such attitudes in a multilingual situation, we definitely find the answer to be that language policies are the key reasons for such support in multilingual situations. It should be noted here that political purposes that are inherent in language policies always lead to social fissures. The constitution is highly concerned about principles such as equality and liberty in the midst of communities. In such a constitution, these contradictions intrinsically exist. The constitution validates the fact that mother-tongue education is an appropriate medium of instruction and also it should be made a fundamental right. Nevertheless, this system has several fissures. It is a historical irony. In India, the very purpose of language policies is to recognize more and more the existence of languages like English and Hindi. In the

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interest of small, minorities, and tribal languages, it is necessary to bring a radical change in the scope of language policy and planning.

Colonialism and Language Policies

Countries that are dominated by colonialism have their own languages that they wanted to use in all functional domains after liberation from such dominance. In fact, they have got such an opportunity too. But our language policies gave social, educational, political, and economic importance, and political dominance is given to only few languages. Consequently, native languages are deprived of such opportunities. How do we deal with these attitudes? It is very evident that this system is a very complex phenomenon. In the process of decolonialization, these kinds of contradictions have emerged. In order to strengthen these contradictions, our language policies also join this process. Because of these crises, there is no effective transformation in the existence of indigenous languages of India. As a result, economic dependency began. It is not an easy thing that it has become inevitability for cultural dependency. India is depending on other languages for its economic prosperity. Thus, languages that enjoy hegemonic status are attaining unnecessary importance and sociopolitical values.

Challenges in Reestablishing Linguistic Diversity

In the process of reestablishing linguistic diversities in social, educational, and political domains, it is necessary to understand the challenges we confront at this juncture. These understandings would also help us to recognize the challenges that we confront in the process of decolonialization.
1.   These ideas are the basic factors for transforming civil rights into social, economic, and political rights.
2.   At one hand, third-world countries make use of these ideas to attain their political liberation, and on the other hand, hindrances emerge from language policies for economic and cultural liberation.
3.   Education and public institutions have a vital role to play in protecting the existence and identities of languages. Education and culture are not stagnant phenomena. Rather, they create a hegemonic status to preserve the culture and well-being of any community (Bourdieu: 1970). Consequently, the collective identities of native languages are left out from the mainstream.

The above arguments appear to make it possible to understand the relative positions that exist in such linguistic communities as the overall nature of the multilingual context and linguistic diversity. These debates are about not only the language itself but also the roles that languages play in a society. There are also beliefs that the system of language communications is organized. But language is not just a tool, it is also a system of cultural, political, and economic realities of a whole community. In contrast to this argument, the tongue is indefinitely referring to the linguist, but it is not too hard to devise anything else. Such arguments argue that each language only refers to the respective language speakers. Hence, there is the belief that from the perspective of language nothing can be defined, and such beliefs are responsible to prove the misconceptions that are deep-rooted. Such beliefs can be triggered by lack of linguistic knowledge. There is a historical significance in the multilingual or bilingual education system. This system describes educational, cultural, economic, and socially driven inequalities, not just challenges of a language.

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