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**HINDI AND INDIAN LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY - A SURVEY  
FOR FUTURE LITERACY**

**Vijay K. Sunwani, Ph.D.**

# HINDI AND INDIAN LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY A SURVEY FOR FUTURE LITERACY

**V. K. Sunwani, Ph.D.**

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*[To say that I did not attempt to write this paper originally in Hindi would be far from the truth. My past experiences tell me that my effusions in Hindi were not even acknowledged, perhaps relegated to the dustbin.. Hence, I write of my mother tongue in a different language, with the hope that some one will find it worth publishing. Of course, having written this paper in English it can automatically be rendered into Hindi by the software developed by IIT Chennai, for Indian languages.]*

## **Introduction**

India is a land of much diversity. One such is its diversity of language. There are several language communities in India and each language community follows its own language and intra community culture. Yet that does not separate it from the pan Indian culture: it emphasizes and underlines both. The multilingual and multicultural fabric of India accommodates a great many differences in its geographical boundaries. Unity in Diversity has now become a cliché; perhaps what is now India's strong and integrating point is its plurality and multilingualism. The richness that bilingual and multilingual students bring from their communities to the classroom is a point worth examining and strengthening their personal practice in language, Sanskrit language and literature date back to more than 5000 years. So does Tamil, to approximately 4000 years. At the same time there are some Indian languages that did not have written forms until recently, e.g. Lushai, Ao, Khasi, Garo, Santhali, Ol Chiki, Konkani, to name just a few.

## **Diversity of languages**

Further, the number of its speakers emphasizes the diversity of languages in India. Speakers of different languages vary. Their number, because of the migrating population, also changes. 40% of the people speak and understand Hindi to a considerable extent that gives it a numerical strength of 250 million speakers. And Andamanese, spoken in some areas of the recently tsunami affected group of islands is spoken by a handful. And yet Andamanese is as important as Hindi in the lives of people concerned; the peoples the two languages are serving, irrespective of their number.

## **The numerical strength**

On the world stage, we have some tribal and aboriginal languages whose populations may be larger than those of speakers of some European languages. Bhili and Santhali, with a speaking population of 4 million can easily outnumber the speakers of say, Italy or

Bulgaria, or the 2 million Gondi speakers are hardly a match for the Norwegians. My references to the countries are in the highest terms; they are all referred to in a very respectful manner.

Briefly, all over India some 50 languages are taught in various schools. Newspapers in 90 different languages are published in the country, radio programmes are broadcast in 71 languages, and on a modest estimate, films are produced in 15 Indian languages which have a sizeable viewer ship. And that is a land and a country one should be proud of – offering a salad bowl, tossed salad, language salad, Mexican potpourri, language pakora tempura, bhaji greens, saag sarson ka *a la* Indian languages.

To put it differently, Indian languages are mainly derived from language families as diverse as:

### **Indo European**

Languages spoken in North and Central India are derived from the Indo European family. Indo European refers to a family of languages that were spoken over a large part of Europe and parts of southwestern and southern Asia about 1000 BC. Indo European essentially refers to the easternmost (India) and westernmost (Europe) expansion of the family of languages. Some of the major groups of this family are Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Hellenic, Italic, Celtic, Germanic, Slavonic, Baltic, Armenian and Albanian.

We are concerned with Indo-Aryan, the easternmost group within Indo-European, spoken by peoples of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Indo-Aryan is most closely related to Indo-Iranian with which it forms the Indo-Iranian sub group. Indo Aryan is represented in numerous sources, Sanskrit, Ashoka's edicts, Buddhist treatises in Pali, Prakrit and Apabhramsa. Two major scripts were used then: Kharoshti and Brahmi. Most scripts used for Indo-Aryan languages stem from Brahmi including Devanagari. Statistics suggest that 54 languages are spoken by  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the population of India.

### **Dravidian**

The Dravidian family is responsible for languages spoken in South India. Dravidian languages are also found in Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, West Bengal and Bihar; and in Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Nepal and the Maldives. Dravidian languages share the South Asian subcontinent with three other language families: the Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-European, the Munda branch of Austro-Asiatic, and Sino-Tibetan.

The Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution (1951) accords official status to four Dravidian languages: Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu. These languages have long histories recorded in epigraphy and native literatures: Tamil dates from second century BC, Kannada from 4 century AD, Telugu from 7 century AD and Malayalam from 10 century AD.

And these 20 languages of Dravidian language family are spoken by  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the population of our country. While mainly these two language families are largely used by a majority of the Indian body politic, these languages are also geographically distributed, controlled as their movement is by geographic and natural contours.

### **Mon-Khmer**

The Mon-Khmer family accounts for about twenty languages used in Assam.

### **Sino Tibetan**

The Sino-Tibetan language family in India is the smallest from the point of population strength, but largest in the number of languages. To give an idea, some of the languages are Gurung, Tamang, Thakali, Limbu, Thulung, Sema, Rengma, Lotha, Kuki, Yi, Lahu, Lisu, and Hani. The best known among them are Tibetan and Burmese; the script of the former dates to 7th century and that of the latter to 12th century inscriptions. Many of these languages did not have writing systems but now they have independently developed Devanagari based alphabet such as Lepcha and Meitei.

And thus in the context we are talking about, the Sino-Tibetan family, of the North Himalayas and Myanmar, takes the largest share of sustaining 98 languages of India. With some slight approximation, it may be said that 118 languages are used by 0.2% of the population of our country. In addition, each language is as important as the other, irrespective of the speakers it has got.

### **No language can stand alone**

Therefore, none of the major languages, including Hindi or English, can stand alone. They have to be complementary, one to the other. All the more, in case of Hindi, since it is the official language of the Republic of India, of which one has to and should be justly proud. In this very diverse linguistic scenario, when English alone is not sufficient, language learning has to be propelled to the top of the educational agenda.

The idea, then, emerges that teaching languages is not isolating, as many of us would believe overseas. In non-Hindi speaking countries, even Hindi speakers use a mix of languages as help and comfort to the audience.

The Constitution of India began with the recognition of 16 languages. Today it recognizes 22. Many of them have literature that is of a very high and rich standard. 'Language is something that can have a literature. This is where it is so different from chess. And if we include folksongs and stories, then literature is immediately important in almost any language, important for ways in which things said in the language are understood. It has to do with the "force" which one remarks or another may have in that language, for instance. And in this way, it has to do also what is seen to make sense and what is not.'(Wittgenstein)

With increasing frequency every language is trying to find a place for itself in the Constitution. Every community is trying hard to find a political cushion for its culture: Konkani, Maithili, Sindhi, Santhali, and today Ol Chiki.

### **Dying Languages**

It may sound a contradiction in terms but even with so many languages vying for a place in the great expanse, there is some language somewhere in the world, gasping for breath, and later will perhaps die soon. And yet there are some areas in India, which are truly monolingual. For instance in the Bastar area of Chhatisgarh there are only two speakers of a language known as Ghoshti, no third one exists. If something happens to one of them the day is not far when the language will become extinct. Such conditions may happen to Jarwas, Shompens, Onges and Andamanese.

An 82-year-old linguist William Shipley and his young protege are among the last speakers of a native California language known as Maidu. Shipley is most proud of knowing Maidu, the language that has shaped his career and much of the course of his life, but understood by less than a dozen people on earth. Maidu is certainly unlike anything most white people are likely to have encountered. It has eight cases and no prepositions and contains an arsenal of sounds not found in any European language - glottalized k's and g's, imploded b's and d's. Like many Indian languages, it is polysynthetic, meaning that what we would express in a sentence the Maidu express in a single word containing a long string of suffixes.

### **Hindi**

Hindi is spoken in most states in northern and central India, an Indo European language, of the Indo-Aryan subfamily. It evolved from the Middle Indo-Aryan Prakrit languages of the middle ages, and indirectly, from Sanskrit. It derives a lot of its higher vocabulary from Sanskrit. Due to Muslim influence in Northern India, there are also a large number of Persian, Arabic and Turkish loanwords.

### **The Official Language**

Hindi became the official language of India on January 26, 1965, although English and 21 other languages are recognized as official languages by the Constitution of India.

Linguists think of Hindi and Urdu as the same language, the difference being that Hindi is written in Devanagari, while Urdu is written in Persian script and draws on Persian and Arabic. The separation is largely a political one; before the partition of India into India and Pakistan. Spoken Hindi and Urdu were considered the same language, Hindustani. Hindi and Urdu presently have four standard literary forms: Standard Hindi, Urdu, Dakhini, and Rehkta. Dakhini is a dialect of Urdu from the Deccan region of south-central India, chiefly from Hyderabad, that uses fewer Persian or Arabic words. Rehkta is a form of Urdu used chiefly for poetry.

Hindi is the predominant language in the states and territories of Himachal Pradesh, Delhi, Haryana, Chandigarh, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand. In spite of these demarcations, it is not easy to delimit the borders of the Hindi speaking region. For political mileage as well.

Perhaps, Hindi is the second most spoken language in the world, after Chinese. About 500 million people speak Hindi in India and abroad, and the total number of people who can understand the language may be 800 million. A 1997 survey found that 66% of all Indians could speak Hindi; 77% Indians regard it as "one language across the nation". More than 180 million people in India regard Hindi as their mother tongue, 300 million people across the world use it as a second language. There are approximately 100,000 speakers of Hindi in USA; 685,170 in Mauritius; 890,292 in South Africa; 232,760 in Yemen; 147,000 in Uganda; 5,000 in Singapore; 20,000 in New Zealand; 30,000 in Germany.

Urdu, the official language of Pakistan, is spoken by about 41 million in Pakistan and other countries.

Hindi is a minority language in many countries, such as Fiji, Mauritius, Guyana, Surinam, and United Arab Emirates. Surinam had the distinction of holding the world's first Hindi conference.

### **Hindi in the West**

Hindi is taught with sizeable pride and gusto in the Netherlands. While the India Institute of Amsterdam provides information on Hindi, Sanskrit, Tamil, Urdu and Nepali, the Hindi Parishad Nederland (HPN) has several branches and spreads the specialized knowledge of Hindi among the Dutch. The descendants of the ancestral serf migrants treasure the values and cultural tradition including the language of their forefathers. Many basic schools teach Hindi as a compulsory subject. Private institutions as well as private teachers are available for the study of Hindi, Urdu and Sanskrit.

At the University level Hindi, Sanskrit, Tamil are being taught at the Indology department of Leiden University and the University of Groningen. HPN and Hindi Prachar Sanstha, Nederland are two important institutions that promote the study of Hindi in the Netherlands. They also publish Hindi textbooks. HPN conducts examinations in Hindi at the level of Prathmik, Prarambhik and Prawesh. At a more advanced level examinations are organized in cooperation with the Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Samiti from Wardha, (Maharashtra), India.

Curiously, illegal immigration also contributes to language learning and teaching. Open hearted as the Dutch are, illegal immigrants and asylum seekers from India find the country a haven. This has created a new group within the Dutch community of interpreters and translators, specializing in Indian languages such as Hindi, Bengali, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu.

Just a footnote, if you have missed it, that for good reasons or bad, the favourite Indian languages remain the same. Check the list for yourself. Indian Literature is equally popular, but that not being the theme of this paper, suffice it that Rabindranath Tagore, Sri Aurobindo, Vivekanand, Premchand, Iqbal, Saratchandra, Gita Mehta, Vishnu Khare are no just wall papers. They are honoured and respected just as Shakuntala, Bhagvad Gita and the Ramayana have been on the courses of study at Leiden University since 1865.

And finally, names of some publications which are self explanatory; Hindorama, Hindu Life, OHM - Vani, Indiawijzer, and Saraswati Art.

### **The Pimsleur Approach**

In some European countries the favoured approach for teaching Indian languages such as Hindi, is known as the Pimsleur approach developed by a language educator of the same name, who wanted language learning to be quick, fun, easy and result oriented. Every lesson has been designed as the foundation for the next. While the vocabulary is limited, Dr. Pimsleur feels it is not how many words you know, but rather, which words you can use in your daily life. By aiming each lesson at teaching you to use those 2500 words, the Pimsleur approach teaches you to speak the most Hindi in the least amount of time. It also believes in the TPR (Total Physical Response) or Immersion in language learning.

### **Hindi and its dialects**

Hindi has many dialects. To mention a few prominent ones: Khadiboli is the basis for the language used by the government and taught in schools; Bumbaiya Hindi, popularized by the migrant population of Mumbai and Hindi films which have an international appeal. Films made in Mumbai have now also broken into the Western markets, concentrating on the Indian diaspora, to wit, Dilwale Dulhaniya Le Jayenge, Devdas, Hum apke Hain Kaun, etc. Braj, Awadhi, Bundeli, Chhattisgarhi, (Lahariya or Khalwahi), Hariyanavi (Bangaru or Jatu). There has been considerable controversy on the status of Punjabi and the Bihari languages, including Maithili, Bhojpuri, and Magadhi.

### **The standardization of Hindi**

After independence the country, the Government of India worked on standardizing Hindi, and following changes took place:

- Standardization of Hindi grammar: In 1954, the Government of India set up a Committee for preparing a grammar of Hindi. The committee's report was later released as "A Basic Grammar of Modern Hindi" in 1958. However regional variations are aplenty, and bound to exist.
- standardization of Hindi spelling The script democratizes many varieties though Hindi purists would love to have it otherwise.
- standardization of Devanagari script by Central Hindi Directorate, Ministry of Education and Culture to bring about uniformity in writing and improve the shape

- of some of its characters. At one time it was thought to adopt the roman script for Hindi. Not having agreed to was a great honour to Hindi, otherwise its prestigious Devanagari script would have gone, over the years, to the Rosetta Stone.
- scientific mode of scribing the Devanagari alphabet. The devanagari script represents the sounds of spoken Hindi almost exactly, so that a person who knows the devanagari letters can sound out a written Hindi text, without of course understanding what the meaning is. There are 11 Vowels and 35 Consonant sounds in Hindi.

As in all languages there has been plenty of give and take. For a change we list a sample of some words from English of Hindi language origin:

bangle	an ornament worn by women on their wrists, made of glass, gold, silver, aluminium, wood, ivory etc.
bandana	from <i>bāndhnū</i>
bungalow	a single storey house, <i>banglā</i> , "belonging to Bengal"
blighty	from <i>vilāyatī</i> ( a foreigner, in the context British)
cashmere	from <i>Kashmīr</i> , used attributively
cheetah	from <i>chītā</i> , (Sanskrit) <i>chitraka</i> , "speckled, variegated"
chai	Tea made with spices, generally cardamon
coolie	
cot	a portable bed
cummerbund	a waist band
cushy	comfortable
gunny	A coarse heavy fabric made of jute or hemp, used for making sacks.
jodhpurs	tight-fitting trousers, usually for horse riding
jungle	" <i>jangal</i> ," desert, waste, forest", (Sanskrit) <i>jangala</i> , dry, dry ground, desert
khaki	<i>khākī</i> , "dusty"
loot	
mugger	(crocodile) <i>magar</i> , a type of crocodile.
punch	a drink
pyjamas	
shampoo	meaning 'to squeeze'.
shawl	
thug	
verandah	

The simplest distinction of Hindi would be an example from the use of its honorifics. It uses a three-part system of honorifics in the second person pronoun ("you"): somewhat mystifying. The more formal pronouns are used in situations in which it is proper to express a degree of social respect. The less formal pronouns depart from this and indicate, on the one hand, intimacy, or on the other, an absence of social respect. The most formal is "aap", and safest for use in all situations, ranging from deeply respectful to the merely businesslike. When first meeting adults, whether at the bank, hotel or a restaurant, we should use "aap."



The more intimate "tum" would be acceptable in talking with children or with adults with whom one is on intimate terms. The safest with adults is to wait and see what pronoun they use with you. They will almost certainly start off with "aap," but might, over time, start to use "tum" if your relationship becomes more like that of close friends. If not too confident, continue using "aap."

The most intimate pronoun for you is "tu." This is only used in situations where there is a total absence of human formality: it is used in addressing animals or God, for example. With humans, it may be avoided, even for children, but it is not, because it is always used. "Tu" expresses intimacy (even here "tum" is safer) or extraordinary anger.

### **The three language formula**

Whatever difficulties, objections or resistance that we have faced in implementing the 3-language formula, that is the best for the vast sub continent of India. We have to have the will and the mindset to implement the policy in all its sincerity. The three language formula, till a more viable alternative emerges, is the most suitable and rational to the situation and times obtaining in our country. It would be pedantic to elaborate on the formula.

In today's context Hindi is no longer confined to any region or any particular community or strata of people of India. Indeed the shape of the language continues to change in every state and region but the main language remains the same. Gradually Hindi is fast coming up to the level of English, and the day is not far when it may replace it. The majority of people and the intelligentsia are now keen on learning Hindi - the statistics of the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Samiti are a pointer in this direction. Decidedly, Hindi is getting more and more amalgamated in the fabric of the country.

Jawaharlal Nehru's memorable speech on the ramparts of the Red Fort on 15 August 1947 was heard in English but today if any other Prime Minister were to speak the same oration in Hindi it would be rather unimaginable.

### **SMS in Hindi**

Further in this Communications era when email and sms rule the day it is a point worthy of mention that Hindi has started to play a major role. It will not suffice to say that we are too old to learn the sms or that the technology is for the younger folk only. If we have to live in this world it is obligatory for every individual to learn the appropriate technology lest you find yourselves incommunicable with even your children, which you will nevertheless, socially. (That is hardly any reason not to learn the technology) Half understood and half communicated messages may lead to bigger problems for which a solution may not be forthcoming. Email and sms utilize the smallest words to convey the largest meanings; even icons and smileys are used to relay the emotions.

## **Microsoft Hindi**

Realizing the importance of Hindi even the Microsoft has come out with a software package Microsoft Hindi, and the IIT Chennai has been doing commendable work in the preparation and development of software in the promotion of Indian languages including Hindi, even before Microsoft got into the act. Realizing that existing software for languages would hardly suffice the needs of multilingual India, each with its peculiarities of orthography and semantics, IIT Chennai has developed software that performs very effective processing on the text and thus caters to applications in linguistics, lexical analysis and related matters. The software is especially attractive for bilingual applications involving an Indian language and English.

Harry Potter does not need a footnote to its popularity, insomuch that at any of its latest releases the greatest security is provided to the bookstores. This is unprecedented in the whole history of world literature. The fact that it has been translated in many languages of the world, including Chinese, and Bangla (in a different avatar) speaks of its appeal. Hindi is yet to cash in on this appeal though CDs for Harry Potter are available in Hindi.

We Indians are bilingual, if not multilingual by birth (?) and upbringing because of the circumstances. Therefore code mixing and code switching are very common in our use of language(s). Bilingualism is a normal and natural state of behaviour in India.

## **Incentives for Hindi**

The Government of India and the state governments are providing many incentives for the promotion and development of Hindi. This is by way of financial assistance to organizations and cash incentives to non-Hindi speakers of the language, for purchase of books in Hindi and doing the work in Hindi. Language does not grow by legislation but these fringe benefits help. Similar schemes are offered by the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore and all its regional centres, and the Central Hindi Directorate, Agra which has recently opened its regional centre at Bhubaneswar. These National Institutes also run specialized courses in Hindi. However, much work has still to be done to bring Hindi to the required level. Specially, we will have to develop material and expertise to teach Hindi as a third language.

Recently there was a case where a cheque was refused payment for it was signed in Sanskrit. After a legal tussle, the matter was decided in favour of the language, with a compensation (a lottery!), with strictures to the Bank not to dishonour such languages. What is important is that it was not a comment on the banking system, more important was its policy against the official languages act.

## **Hindi in M.P.**

Being a resident of erstwhile Madhya Pradesh I have every reason to feel proud of it, considering its linguistic and geographical diversity within the country. Sad was the day when it was truncated into M.P. and Chhatisgarh for various reasons. Verrier Elwin did

noteworthy work researching the life styles and languages of the Gonds and the Baigas. Prehistoric geography takes its origin from Gondwanaland. And Jabalpur, with its entry point with rocks. Coming as they do, as strangely as the Nandis on the Mysore road, leaves one awestruck until you realize that Jabal is a Persian word for rocks from where Gibraltar, the Great Rock takes its name. Khalal-il-Gibral was the moor to whom the rock-state initially belonged. It may also be of interest to point out that the first plays of Kalidasa were performed in open air surroundings, resembling a theatre, at a place known as Surguja. Archaeologists have recently chanced upon this find.

### **Habib Tanvir - the language ambassador**

Be that as it may Habib Tanvir is a great favourite, be it MP or Chhatisgarh., considering the world is his stage. The show theme of the Surajkand Fair (2005) was Chhatisgarh. And Habib Tanvir is the epitome of it. We will consider him only from the language point of view, Hindi, its dialects and varieties and Habib's play on them.

Habib Tanvir has always lived in the present time, now, this moment. He remembers nary a second of his 65 years. Young at 65, he cherished with love the background and the manner in which he infused rejuvenating blood into the New Theatre, which has altered the way of thinking of the Chhatisgarh people in the villages, their thoughts and their life styles. Echoed in Habib Tanvir's presentations the language of Chhatisgarh has been an inalienable part of his theatre. The film made on him, his village and his theatre does not disturb him in any way, in fact he is proud of it and claims it gives a positive message about him and his people who have given him of their boundless love. *Gaon ka naon theatre, mor naon Habib.*

Some of his dramas have been translated into English such as *Hirma ki amar kahani*. It took Habib more than two years for the effort because Habib knows nothing below perfection. Chhatisgarh will remain alive, its language and arts will continue to grow till the sola-topi clad, pipe-smoking intellectual Habib roams its environs. Habib has been associated with the theatre for all his life; theatre and drama are the most comprehensive and clearest depiction of language and literature. As in life, so in writing and theatre, Habib Tanvir is an intellectual of the highest order. Who else could have given such a beautiful rendering of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*? Begin with the title *Kamdev ka apna ritu ka sapna*. Can you beat that? Habib Tanvir was hurt when his drama *Ponga Pandit* led to much uncalled for destruction and damage. More so because the rampage started without anyone having read it, just by word of mouth. *Charandas Chor*, and *Agra Bazaar* led to no such violence. If language is for goodwill, it is also for damage, especially when there is difficulty in its comprehension. Everyone has a right to language, but before striking the first stone, make an attempt to read, to understand the writing. And Teejan Bai. More of both of these stars later, perhaps.

The image of English being associated with the well heeled and educated has to be erased. Trained in Hindi and yet unable to take a dictation in that language. While this is true of many languages the most prominent are those of English and Hindi, on which the media has had its greatest impact. It also influenced other Indian languages. Common to

hear, red *mein* stop, *chalo* its time for *khana*, *chup nahi* to I will throw you out, have become the lingua franca, I do not call them as the lingua fracas. Such type of the English mixed Indian language is gaining currency by the day.

Some fillip is provided to such a use by the political masters who tend to use it from the platforms, and as is well known political and economic patronage go a long way in promoting a language. They are the ones who are providing strength to the language. Concurrently English is also gaining in strength, albeit with a different pronunciation, different vocabulary, different grammar; what keeps us united in English is our penchant for correctness in written English. Many students who are unable to talk in English, write excellent English.

Hindi has forged special links with other languages on a continually expanding basis. And so in this context perhaps the three language formula needs to be redefined, refocused “English for international communication and Hindi for intranational communication where Hindi can suitably taken its place as a link language”. We must remember that Tamilnadu and other southern states were not against Hindi at any time, what they wanted was time, and if possible a greater linkage between all parts of the country through the diversity of languages they have to offer.

In this diversified atmosphere no one language is sufficient for any country, or even any state. In this connection the English language comes foremost to our minds. It is not necessary that an English knowing person is a well read intellectual. Any person can be literate and an intellectual through other languages, in this context, Indian languages. All languages in India should be taught with the same enthusiasm and resources available and reserved for English. The language-learning atmosphere particularly in Indian language classes should be such that students should on their own want to learn their own language, and in addition, show a reasonable curiosity towards other languages and interest in their literature.

It would be a truism to say that Indian languages are being paid only lip service in our country, where languages provoke riots. In this scenario the mother tongue is the greatest sufferer. Neither does the teacher teach, nor do the students learn or want to learn. Unfortunate is the condition when the presumption that ability to talk in colloquial language is taken as an indication of fluency and mastery in the language, especially mother tongue.

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