CHAPTER III

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION
OF
LINGUISTIC MINORITIES

PART A

INDO-ARYAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES

Central group

1. Urdu
2. Hindi
3. Punjabi
4. Rajasthani
5. Gujarati

The above language groups have been classified by Grierson as the Central group of Indo-Aryan languages (LSI, I, I, 404) and have been mentioned to be closely related to each other. The following account reveals the facts regarding their significance as linguistic minorities in various parts of the country and the probable causes of the patterns of distribution.
Map C
It would be a paradox to consider Urdu as a minority language group because it ranks sixth among the majority languages of India as judged by the total number of speakers. A majority of them occupy the states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar where they are surpassed in number by those of Hindi. In all other parts of our country, they have a diffused pattern of distribution and are not concentrated in any particular region to form a majority language group. As a result, Urdu has got no home state and therefore, is a minority everywhere in the country.

Urdu is the first minority language in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra as well as Andhra Pradesh and ranks second in Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal and Rajasthan. The following table shows the statewise proportion of Urdu population to the respective state populations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>% of Urdu speakers to state population</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Bihar</td>
<td>9</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The present pattern of distribution of the Urdu speaking population has resulted from the infiltration and spread of Arabs, Turks and Persians in our country because the very formation of Urdu as a language reveals a grand assimilation of the languages of these groups with Sanskrit (Nagendra, p.28). Therefore, it is necessary to look into the history of North as well as of South India, where these three, namely, Arabic, Turki and Persian elements were introduced at different times. Arabs entered South India in seventh century. Since then, the West coast of India carried on a considerable commerce with Arabia and Persia (Kennedy, I, p.152). Thus,

<table>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>3. Maharashtra</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Karnataka</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. West Bengal</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Rajasthan</td>
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<td>9. Gujarat</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Tamilnadu</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Orissa</td>
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the basic purpose of Arab and Persian immigrants of our country was that of trade. In those days, the Hindu-Muslim relations were good, both in South and in North India (Deshpande, I, p. 81). Though the first Turk invaders like Mahmud Gazni (1000-1026 A.D.) and Mahmud Ghori (1175 A.D.) had plundering as their main object, the later Turks i.e. Babur and his successors entered the country with an idea of permanently settling here. Babur founded his empire in India in 1526 A.D. and ruled over the region extending from south-western part of the present state of Jammu and Kashmir on the west to the north-western portion of the present Bihar state thus covering the whole of what is now the state of Punjab and Uttar Pradesh (Map 2). With him entered thousands of Chagatai Turks and Persians who later dispersed in the various administrative divisions of the empire (Shrivastava, p. 39). Babur was succeeded by his son Humayun, who lost the whole empire to Sher Shah by 1540 and again restored a part of it in 1555 A.D. covering the present states of Punjab and Haryana (Map 2). In the mean time, during 1540-50, most of the part of North India including Babur's empire was conquered by Sher Shah, an Afgan ruler, who extended the limits of his empire to cover the northern half of our country.
THE SPREAD OF MUGHAL EMPIRE
(1526 A.D.-1603 A.D.)

The region conquered by Babar during 1526-1530 A.D.
The recovered part of the former dominion lost by Humayun 1555-56
The empire of Sher shaha suri - an Afgan ruler 1540-45

Source: Ashirbadilal Srivastava - 'History of the mughul empire'

Map 2
After the death of Sher Shah, the conditions changed in favour of Humayun enabling him to regain his lost dominion. During Akbar's reign (1542-1603), the remaining parts were brought under Mughul rule. By this time, the mughuls had fairly established themselves in India. Like other immigrants of the country, they settled permanently and penetrated deep in every part of it. Till Jahangir's time (1605-1627 A.D.), they had confined themselves mainly to northern and central India. Since 1605, there started a slow process of filtration in South India, where already four Muslim states were existing. The historical background of these independent states will be dealt with while discussing the distribution of Urdu minority in South India.

**Assimilation of Persian and Indian cultures**

The mughuls, who were either Turks or Persians thus occupied first the western regions of Uttar Pradesh and the regions of present states of Punjab and Haryana. They assimilated themselves with the local population which had Hindi as their form of speech. Turki was the vernacular of mughuls and Persian was adopted by them as the court language. In course of time, a mixed dialect developed in the soldiers' caravan of Mughul empire. Arabic, Persian
and Turki were mixed with the local dialects of Punjabi and the Hariani dialect of Hindi. This speech originated in the Red fort (Delhi) built by Shahjahan. Red fort was called 'Urdu-e-Mualla', meaning the royal market of the soldiers' caravan. The speech of that 'Urdu bazar' was called 'Jaban-e-urdu-e-Mualla' i.e. the language of the royal market of the soldiers' caravan. By the middle of the 18th century, the Turki word 'Urdu' was adopted as the short form of the name to indicate the mixed language. Many times, Urdu was called by the names 'Hindi' or 'Rekhta' (a mixed dialect) or 'Hindostani'. By 1850 A.D., the name 'Urdu' was retained and others were used only occasionally. Even then, it was not considered to be different from Hindi. It was only in the latter half of the nineteenth century, these two were declared as two different forms of speech by the then government, Urdu to be associated with Muslims and Hindi with Hindus in consistency with the 'Divide and rule' policy. Otherwise even today, they would have been considered one and the same. They have descended from a mixture of Shauræni, an ancient Indian vernacular on one side and Persian, Turki and Arabic on the other. Grammatically, there is no difference between these two languages. The only difference is that, in Hindi, one finds frequent use of difficult 'Tatsama' words from
Sanskrit, whereas in Urdu, the words from Turki, Arabic and Persian occur more frequently. But in their essence, they are the two different styles of 'Khadi Boli', which is an 'Apabhramsha' of Shaurseni (Nagendra, pp. 22-28). The following figure would make it clear that Hindi and Urdu have one and the same origin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local vernaculars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaurseni, Paishachi, Vrachad etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khadi Boli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Arabic, Turki and Persian words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Sanskrit words</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Urdu          Hindi

Grierson has also mentioned that Literary Hindostani (Urdu) was spoken in 1901 only as a second language in addition to the various vernaculars. Hindus contributed to the development of Urdu along with Muslims. But at the same time, he distinguishes Hindi and Urdu from each other on the basis of Sanskrit and
Persian influence. Such a distinction is all right for micro-linguistic studies but he has separated Urdu population by associating the language with educated Muslims. Thus, he was indirectly responsible, though to a small extent, for encouraging separatist spirit among both groups, namely, Hindus and Muslims. If one studies the specimens of Urdu given by Grierson in the ninth volume of his work (Part I, pp. 116-162), one finds the Persian words, which were used as the basis for distinguishing Urdu from Hindi (ISI, IX, I, pp. 44-45), have fused themselves in the latter language and at present, there is practically no difference at all in these two languages except that of script. The order of sentence, which has been mentioned by him as different in these two languages also does not make much difference in their present forms. This assimilation of Urdu and Hindi has been described in greater details in the fifth chapter.

In spite of all these facts, Urdu has established itself as a distinct language group and as the first significant linguistic minority of India. As it developed first in Uttar Pradesh, at present this state has the largest number of Urdu speakers and may be, therefore, considered its home state for all practical purposes. About one-third of the total 23 million
Intercensal changes in Urdu minority

1) Uttar Pradesh and
2) Bihar

1) Maharashtra and
2) Andhra Pradesh

States having more than 1 million speakers of Urdu

--- Estimated change
2.37 Percentage change in each decade
N.A Not Available

GRAPH NO. 3
speakers of Urdu in our country reside in Uttar Pradesh and it is so dominant as a minority language that it accounts for 90% of the minority population of the state (Graph 2a). In the state as a whole, there has been enormous increase in Urdu population from four million in 1911 to eight million in 1961 and 9.2 m. in 1971. During 1951-61, the increase was more than 80% (Graph 3). Except in Rampur and Aligarh, the number of Urdu speakers increased in every district of the state since 1911, while in these two districts, it fell down till 1951 and again increased during 1951-61 (Graph 4) (Census of India, 1961, I, II-C (ii), pp. 136-9).

It is revealed in the map showing proportion of Urdu population to that of every district of Uttar Pradesh (Map 3) that Urdu is dominant everywhere in the state with the exception of northernmost districts, where it forms less than 1% of the total population. Therefore, the northern limit of Urdu dominance as a minority can be shown by a line following the eastern boundary of Dehradun district running eastwards following the northern boundaries of Bijnor and Nainital districts (Map 3). Towards south of this line, the proportion falls down from 43% (1971 - 42%) in Bijnor district to 2% in Mirzapur. On the basis of this proportion of Urdu population, the region of its
Intercenal changes in Urdu minority —
Delhi and western districts of Uttar Pradesh

GRAPH NO. 4

Estimated change
N.A. - Not Available
Urdu dominance may be divided into 3 east-west zones:

1. The northern region - West plain.
2. The central region.
3. The southern districts.

The northern region has the largest part of Urdu minority of Uttar Pradesh. The southern limit of this region appears as a line joining Delhi with Lucknow and running eastwards to follow the southern boundary of the district of Azamgarh in the eastern part of the state (Map 3). In this region, Urdu population accounts for more than 10% and less than 45% of the respective district populations. The district of Dehradun in the extreme north-west, Lakhimpur (Kheri) in the middle and Gorakhpur in the extreme east are exceptional to this, because they have less than 10% of their total population speaking Urdu. According to 1971 Census, the former two have 10% of district population with Urdu as mother-tongue. Among the districts having largest number of Urdu speakers, Moradabad ranks at the top with 33% of the total population enumerated as Urdu. By 1971, the number increased from 0.65 million (1961) to 0.75 million. But on account of increase in the proportion of other language groups, the percentage of Urdu has decreased by 2%. Though Urdu developed as an independant form of speech in Delhi, at present it ranks second to Punjabi.
minority and accounts for 6% of the population of the capital. During 1951-61, Delhi experienced a sharp fall in Urdu population, which might have shifted towards north and north east. This is apparent from what follows:
The districts of the West plain recorded sharp increase during this period (Graph 4). According to the 1961 Census, the total strength of Urdu increases towards Saharanpur in the north and Moradabad and Bijnor districts to the northeast. Meerut, located immediately to the north of Delhi has 17% (16% - 1971) of its district population speaking Urdu. The proportion rises to 18% (1971 - 20%) in Muzaffarnagar and to 28% (1971 - 26%) in Saharanpur. Similarly it rises to 33% in Moradabad and Bijnor districts. Towards the east of Moradabad, though the total strength of Urdu falls down from 0.6 to 0.3 million (1971 - 0.7 to 0.4 million) in Rampur district, it forms 43% (1971 - 42%) of the total population. The number of Urdu speakers in all these districts has increased during 1961-71, in spite of the fall in proportion on account of rise in that of other languages. As viewed from Map 3, the region extending from Saharanpur in the northwest to Bareilly (22%) in the east may be considered as the present core region of Urdu population. All these districts are already having large number of Urdu speakers since 1911 and witnessed further increase
during 1951-61 (Graph 4).

The total number as well as the proportion of Urdu speakers decreases to the south of Meerut and Lucknow (17%) and ranges between 10% to 5% (Map 3). This central zone covers most of the Doab region of Ganges and Jamuna and has been one of the most thickly populated regions of India for many centuries. As a result, the Urdu population which has developed from Mughuls who entered in the sixteenth century might have had lesser chances of immigrating and settling in large numbers in this part of the country. Even then, their number is not less at present. The proportion seems to be less because of larger Hindi population. In the Doab region of Ganges and Gomati, where Lucknow is situated, one finds larger number of Urdu speakers than in that of Ganga and Jamuna. Lucknow region stands out as another significant core region from where the Urdu population has spread in various directions. There have been only slight variations in the proportion of Urdu speakers in this region during 1961-71. But in most of the areas, the districtwise percentages are almost same.

The southern districts of Uttar Pradesh, including Mathura, Mainpuri and Etah in the south-west, the region extending from Jhansi to Allhabad
district, Mirzapur in the south-eastern corner and Ballia in the extreme east have all less than 5% of their total population speaking Urdu.

The most characteristic feature of the distribution pattern of Urdu minority in Uttar Pradesh is that its boundaries are very sharply marked. The number does not decrease gradually away from this state but abruptly falls down immediately beyond its borders, especially to the north and south. (Ref: Map 'C')

Though the proportion is lowered down southwards inside the state, on the whole, this state stands out on the map as the most prominent block of Urdu concentration. The pattern of distribution is compact.

A similar type of distribution is found in the state of Bihar, which is almost a continuation of the spread of Urdu population in Uttar Pradesh. The proportion is highest in the northern districts ranging between 6% (1971 - 5%) in Saran and 31% in Purnea (1971 - 28%). As seen from the differences in the proportions in 1961 and 1971, it may be stated that a slow movement or natural change has taken place in Urdu population in this region during this period of ten years. The proportion of speakers of Urdu has
increased from 9% to 10% in the district of Muzaffarpur and from 7% to 9% in Saharsha, while it has come down by one or two percent in other northern districts of the state. There has been no significant change in the proportion of Urdu speakers in other districts of Bihar during this period. According to the historical information, the Mughuls occupied Bihar as their own territory first in the sixteenth century and then slowly penetrated in the state of Bengal during the seventeenth. In the twentieth century, Urdu population increased rapidly in this state. The increase during 1951-61 has been calculated to 57% i.e. from 2.6 million to 4 million. This sharp increase was due to the separation of Urdu from Hindi (Census, 1961, I, II-C (ii), p. 8). At present (1971), the proportion of Urdu speakers ranges between 3% to 11% in the various districts of the state excluding Purnea which has the largest concentration (more than a million) in Bihar. Besides the historical reasons, the economic opportunities offered by the mining areas of Raniganj, Jharia, Barakar and industrial regions in and around Jamshedpur and Bokaro have attracted large numbers of Urdu speakers especially during the last twenty years.

Towards the east of Bihar i.e. in the state of Assam, Urdu population has penetrated in very
small numbers now concentrated in the district of Lakhim-pur. One-half of the Urdu population in Assam is found in this district. The 10,000 number of speakers of this language in the state sharply contrasts to the millions in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Assam was never under the direct rule of Mughuls at any time and this probably explains why it has received only a few thousands of Urdu speakers.

The Urdu population has penetrated in the state of Bengal along the eastern railway and the national highway, both crossing the Damodar valley to reach the largest metropolitan centre of India, namely, Calcutta. The region around Calcutta-Hawrah and the district of Twenty-four Parganas together have absorbed more than half of the Urdu immigrants in the state. A large number of speakers are found in Burdhaman district and the industrial area around Durgapur. As compared to the southern part of the state, Urdu speakers are less numerous in the central district of Baharampur (Mursheda-bad) but in the northern portion i.e. in the district of West Dinajpur, they have migrated in large numbers from the neighbouring districts of Purnea and Santal Parganas in Bihar. According to 1911 Census, the state of West Bengal had only 1,000 speakers of Urdu, while in 1961, the number increased to 0.8 million.
It is a surprising fact that though the present states of Punjab and Hariana were under Mughul rule for more than two centuries, at present one finds that they together have only a quarter of a million of Urdu speakers, more than two-third of whom are concentrated in Gurgaon district located immediately to the south of Delhi. Here, they form about 14% (1971-10%) of the district population. The relative insignificance of Urdu minority in other parts of this state is due to the fact that Urdu, as a language, is more akin to Hindi than Punjabi. The district of Ambala located in the northern part of Hariana and Sangarur district of Punjab together absorb almost rest of the Urdu population in these two states. In these two districts, the speakers of Urdu account for about 2% of the total population and there has been no significant change in their proportion during 1961-71. During 1911-21, the then state of Punjab recorded about one million more speakers of Urdu. The intercensal change was about +280% in 1921 (Census, 1961, I, II-C (ii), p. xxi), but in 1961, the total number was reduced even less than what it was in 1911. This decrease was either due to migration of the population from the border state of Punjab to the interior parts of the country during the period preceding and succeeding the independence,
or due to many persons reporting Hindi as their mother-tongue. One finds that the number of Hindi speakers considerably increased from 1.6 million in 1921 (which was not much more than Urdu population enumerated in that year) to 11 millions in 1961, when Urdu was reduced to less than one-fourth of what it was in 1911.

In the state of Rajasthan, Urdu speakers are more numerous in Mewar i.e. in the area lying to the east of Aravali mountains than in Marwar. Rajasthan has received about half a million speakers of this language constituting about 3% of the state's population. During 1951-61, their number increased considerably. This has been explained as the result of immigration from Pakistan during this period (Nigam, Census of India, 1961, I, II-C (ii), p. xiii). By 1971, the Urdu population in this state increased by 0.15 million. Most of the Urdu people have spread in the valley of Banas and represent rather a diffused pattern of distribution in contrast to the compact pattern of distribution in the adjoining region of Uttar Pradesh. Jaipur has the largest concentration. The districts bordering the dominant block of Urdu population in U.P. have a relatively smaller number in spite of their proximity to that state, for example, the district of Bharatpur, which is located to the south of Agra, the
then capital area of Mughuls, has 17,000 speakers of Urdu in contrast to 120,000 in Agra. The probable reason is that in the eighteenth century, Jats had established their kingdom in this region independent of Mughuls and had always resisted them from entering the territory (Srivastava, p. 588). Rajaputs never surrendered completely to the Mughals and their country also did not have attractive conditions, especially that of climate, for Mughals. In spite of all these facts, at present, Urdu is the leading minority of Rajasthan (1971). In Mewar region, Urdu people have concentrated in large numbers in the districts of Jaipur (5 %), Kota (6 %) and Nagaur (5 %). The increase by one per cent as compared to the 1961 proportions, which are 4 % in case of Jaipur and 5 % for Kota show that a large number of Urdu speakers are migrating towards the state of Rajasthan. Beyond Aravalis, they are found in the district of Jodhpur, where they form 4 % of the total population.

In the central parts of India, that is, in Madhya Pradesh, Urdu speakers are numerous in the region of Malwa plateau (Map C), covering the western half of the state. In this region, the districts of Bhopal (13 %, 1971- 14 %), Khandwa (8 %, 1971- 10 %), Indore (13 %, 1971- 8 %) and Ujjain (6 %, 1971- 7 %) have most significant concentrations. On the contrary,
Urdu population is almost absent in the northern part of the state including Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand plateau regions. Since 1728, Bundelkhand was in possession of Marathas (Srivastava, p. 459), which would have discouraged Mughuls to migrate to this region. In the eastern half of the state, Jabalpur and Durg-Bhilai industrial area have attracted large number of Urdu speakers.

Urdu is the second significant minority group of Orissa, where it stands next to Telugu. It constitutes about 1% of the state population and there has been only a slight change in the proportion over various decades. At present, half of the state's Urdu population clusters around Cuttack and the rest is found mainly in the coastal districts of Balasore and Puri. They have immigrated in the coastal region along the south eastern railway connecting Cuttack with Calcutta.

The Urdu population in Gujarat is concentrated in the valleys of Sabarmati and Mahi. To the west of 72° E. longitude (Map C), they are found in Rajkot, Amreli and Junagadh talukas. In the eastern part of the state, the speakers of Urdu are mainly found in Ahmedabad taluka (13%), talukas of Kheda (13%) and Baroda (9%) and also in the ports of Surat and Broach. Though they have been immigrating in these parts of the
Gujarat since long, the immigration during 1951-61 was maximum and had been partly from Pakistan and repatriation from Africa (Nigam, p. ix). The cotton mills in Ahmedabad might have attracted many Urdu migrants.

Grierson has classified Urdu as Standard and Dakhini. The Urdu of Delhi and Lucknow has been defined as the standard literary form of that language and that spoken and used as a literary medium by Musalmans of South India is classed as Dakhini (LSI, IX, I, p. 1).

Urdu was carried to the south by Mughuls but with lesser Persian influence, its form was changed from the standard dialect. The Arabic element, which is found in Urdu language, was introduced in South India as early as in sixth century. It has been already mentioned that the West coast of India carried on a considerable commerce with the ports of Arabia and with the Persian gulf region and in this way, many Arabs and Persians found their way to India (Kennedy, p. 150-152).

During fourteenth century, i.e. even before Babur established his kingdom in North India (1526), a Delhi Muhammedan, named Hussain founded a dynasty known as Bahmini in the north-western part of Deccan. This was a Shia kingdom as against the Sunni kingdom of North India.
The nobles and soldiers of this kingdom were largely of Arabian and Persian gulf origin. During the fifteenth century, this kingdom was split into five small kingdoms of which the Adilshahi of Bijapur, the Nizamshahi of Ahmednagar and the Kutbshahi of Golkunda lasted for about three centuries, while the other two - that of Bidar and Berar - were short-lived (Kennedy, p. 150-152). During the earlier decades of the twentieth century (1901-31), as revealed in migration studies, a large number of people migrated from Uttar Pradesh to the then state of Bombay, which might have included the Urdu population. Their movement was purely economic, the migrants coming chiefly as mill workers (Zachariah, I, p. 199).

The present differences in the geographical distribution of Urdu people in North India and in South India have their roots in these historical facts. During the sixteenth to eighteenth century, North India was uniformly under the Mughul rule, whereas South India was divided in three kingdoms. As a result, the present pattern of Urdu distribution is rather compact in North India, while in South India it is diffused over the entire peninsula, except in former Golkonda (present Hyderabad and neighbouring districts) where it is rather compact (Map C). But in general, Urdu is the most dominant
minority in every part of this region. The statewise description will reveal the pattern more clearly.

Maharashtra has the largest number of Urdu speakers, which was enumerated to 2.7 million in 1961 and 3.7 million in 1971, among all South Indian states. It has been followed by Andhra Pradesh (2.5 million) and Karnataka with a little more than two millions (Map C). The proportion decreases southwards. Tamilnadu has about 0.6 million and the number is reduced to some thousands in the state of Kerala.

Urdu stands very prominently in every part of Maharashtra. Except Bhandara and Chanda districts and the talukas of Sangli and Kolhapur districts, lying on the Karnataka border and those of Dhulia and Thana districts close to Gujarat border, every taluka of the state has Urdu as its first significant minority ranging between 1% and 24% of respective taluka populations. In the border districts and talukas, the short-distance migrants from the neighbouring states dominate the linguistic minorities but the deep penetration and wide spread of Urdu people in every part, including urban and rural areas, is a remarkable feature as regards its distribution in this state. The proportion of Urdu population
Maharashtra

Percentage of Urdu Speakers to Taluka Population

Map 4
is high in the districts of Aurangabad division, mainly in those regions which formerly belonged to Hyderabad state. The speakers have penetrated from southeast forming a wedge between the north-eastern and western portions of the state. The most significant fact about their distribution in the state of Maharashtra is that, they have concentrated in very large numbers in few talukas and particularly in some towns (Map 4). They dominate the talukas of Malegaon (24 %), Aurangabad (23%), Nanded (20%) and Bhivandi (22%) lying respectively in Nasik, Aurangabad, Nanded and Thana districts. Majority of the population of Malegaon town speak Urdu and have the proportion as high as 64%. Similarly, 54% of the people of Bhivandi town have Urdu as their mother-tongue. The Urdu population of Aurangabad city accounts for 38% of the population and that of Nanded for about 36%. Their total strength in these towns ranges between 30,000 in Nanded and about 80,000 in Malegaon. During eighteenth century, the Mughul government established many workshops for large scale manufacture of fine cotton, woollen fabrics, carpets and tapestry (Srivastava, p. 578). At present, Bhivandi is known all over the country for silk cloth manufacture and Malegaon has developed large scale handloom and powerloom manufacture of fabrics. In the latter town, this business has been monopolized by Urdu
speaking population for a long period and about 80% of them have engaged themselves in this occupation for many generations (Ansari). Besides these four dominant areas, Urdu population is concentrated in equally large numbers in the talukas of Nagpur, Pune, Amravati, Akola, Miraj (Sangli district) and Jalana (Aurangabad district) though their proportion is less than 20% on account of larger Marathi population. Similarly, in the state capital of Bombay, their total strength is as high as 0.4 million forming about 10% (1971-0.6 million, 11%) of the total population of Greater Bombay. Here it stands next to Gujarati among the minority language groups. Almost in every district, Urdu population has increased during 1961-71. This may be accounted as natural increase as it is normal. There are two exceptions, where the change is not normal. In the district of Aurangabad, the proportion has decreased from 14% in 1961 to 9% in 1971. On the other hand, in its adjoining district, namely, Parbhani, it has increased surprisingly from 10% to 18% during the same period.

Towards the south-west of Aurangabad, the proportion of Urdu speakers falls down to 4% in Pune and to 3% in Satara, as the former had been the core of Marathi language and the capital of Maratha empire and the latter was the seat of Shahu, a Maratha ruler and so had
been relatively free from muslim influence as compared to other parts of the state.

The distribution pattern in Andhra Pradesh has more or less a concentric form. Hyderabad district is the core of Urdu population, where their total strength is little more than half a million forming about 26% of the district population. It decreases towards Vishakhapatnam district in the east and Adilabad district in the north. The districts of Nalgonda and Krishna have 5% of their population speaking Urdu as their mother-tongue. In the eastern districts of the state, namely, in Srikakulam, Godavari districts and Vishakhapatnam, Urdu is spoken by less than 3% of the population. In the region lying to the north of Hyderabad, the speakers of this language account for nearly 5% of the respective district populations. The coastal districts of Nellore (7%) and Guntur (8%) have relatively larger proportion of Urdu people as compared to other coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh. Southwards, they are found in large numbers in the districts of Mehbubnagar (9%), Kurnool (14%), Cuddapah (12%) and Chittor (8%). In general, Urdu people have spread more widely to the south in this state. They have concentrated in large numbers in
the valleys of Krishna and Tungabhadra. They have also settled equally in large proportion in the valley of Pennar river crossing the districts of Cuddapah and Nellore. In Maharashtra, Urdu population has concentrated in large number in few talukas and had widely diffused over the entire state while in Andhra Pradesh, a greater number of talukas have larger proportion of Urdu speakers than in Maharashtra e.g. the talukas of Guntur, Kurnool, Medak and Anantapur have larger Urdu population than the taluka of Malegaon, which has the highest proportion in Maharashtra state. There are many significant concentrations of Urdu population, found especially to the south of Hyderabad.

The Urdu population of Karnataka is highly concentrated in three regions, namely, Gulbarga-Bijapur in the north, Dharwar in the west and Bangalore district in the far south. The first region belonged to the former Adilshahi state of Bijapur. The kingdom of Bijapur was founded by Yusuf Adil Shah in 1489 A.D. His successors ruled till 1672 over the territory extending from the river Nira in the north to river Tungabhadra in the south and from Arabian sea in the west to Bhima river in the east (C. Hayavadana Rao, II, IV, p. 242).

The present districts of Gulbarga, Bijapur and Dharwar extend over this region and therefore have largest
number of Urdu speakers in the state. In the state as a whole, the total strength of Urdu population increased from two millions in 1961 to 2.6 million in 1971, forming 9% of the state population. Their proportion in Gulbarga (17%) and Bijapur (11%) has not changed during this period while in Dharwar district, it was reduced from 13% to 12% in spite of the increase in number. In the district of Bidar (18%, 1971–19%), the proportion is fairly high though total Urdu population is relatively less as compared to above-mentioned districts. Except the southern districts, viz. South Kanara, Coorg and Mandya, speakers of Urdu form more than 5% of population in each district of Karnataka state. In fact, the Gulbarga-Bijapur region is the probable source of migration stream of Urdu migrants who have penetrated north-westwards along Bhima river valley to the taluka of Solapur in Maharashtra, which has largest Urdu population among the regions of that state bordering Andhra Pradesh. Towards west, the migrants have followed Krishna valley to reach Miraj taluka of Sangli district (Maharashtra), which has one of the significant concentrations of Urdu speakers (Map C).

Urdu is the second minority (2%) of the state of Tamilnadu (Madras). One-third of the Urdu
speakers of this state have concentrated in the district of North Arcot (6 %) and in and around the city of Madras and Coimbatore. They have penetrated southwards along the communication links between Madras and Madurai and have also migrated as far south as Tirunelveli district, though in small numbers. They form minimum 1 % of the population in every district except those lying in the southern part of the state.

In the state of Kerala, Urdu people are confined to the coastal areas and are found in very small numbers. The following discussion about the other linguistic minorities should not be compared with the above description regarding Urdu minority because the Urdu population is a different class by itself, as it has been already explained that it has no home region and is a minority everywhere in the country.

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Map D

- Represents 1,000 speakers
- Represents 10,000 speakers
- Represents 50,000 speakers

H.P. Himachal Pradesh
Hindi

Of all languages, Hindi—the national language—has the greatest number of speakers in India, forming about 30% of the entire population (Fig. 1).

It is spoken by the majority of people in a region which has an area of one million sq. km. Thus the home region of this language covers about one-third of the total geographical area of our country (Map 5). Hindi is a majority language in the states of Uttar Pradesh (where it forms 85% of the total population), Hariana (80%) and Madhya Pradesh (78%). It is spoken by less than half of the state population of Bihar (44%) but Bihari has a still lesser proportion (35%) than Hindi. Similarly, in the state of Himachal Pradesh, Hindi is spoken by 11% of the population but no other language group has larger proportion than this language and therefore, it has been considered as majority language. These five states together form the home region of Hindi and have recognized it as their state language (1961). In 1971 Census, Rajasthani has been enumerated under 'Hindi' and now the latter forms the
The home region of HINDI covers about one third of the total geographical area of INDIA

Map 5
majority (91%) of the state's population. With the inclusion of Rajasthan among the home states of Hindi, the proportion of this language as a majority language has increased to 34% of the entire population and an area of 0.3 million sq. km. has been added to its extensive home region.

The above discussion explains that as a majority language, Hindi is spoken by a larger proportion of the entire Indian population and has spread over a wider part of the country than any other language. Therefore, though Hindi - as a minority language it stands next to Urdu numerically, it is by no means less significant than Urdu. Its total strength (133.5 million) is many times larger than that of Urdu (23.3 million) and because the home region of Hindi by itself covers more than one-third of the total area of the country, it is considered a minority only in the remaining two-third portion, whereas Urdu is a minority everywhere in India. Therefore, among the language groups having home states, Hindi ranks first as a minority language. There is hardly any region in the country where Hindi is not represented, except in a few districts of Jammu and Kashmir, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil-
Nadu. The following table shows the statewise proportion of Hindi minority

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>% of Hindi speakers to state population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Punjab</td>
<td>19.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. West Bengal</td>
<td>5.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Assam</td>
<td>4.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Maharashtra</td>
<td>2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Orissa</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hindi is spoken by about 1% of the state population of Gujarat. In the state of Jammu and Kashmir, the proportion decreases to one speaker in every 200 persons. It is progressively lowered down in the Dravidian realm to 1 in every 250 in Andhra Pradesh and 1 in 300 in the state of Karnataka. One finds 1 Hindi speaker in 1,000 persons in Tamil Nadu and in 2,500 in the state of Kerala.

Hindi is bordered by Gujarati, Marathi and Telugu areas on the south. Oriya and Bengali lie to its east and Punjabi and Kashmiri to the north. If the respective distribution of these language groups in the Hindi block and that of Hindi in these various
regions is compared, it is found that Hindi is more
dominant in every state bordering the Hindi area with
the sole exception of Marathi. The total number of
Marathi immigrants in Madhya Pradesh surpasses that of
Hindi in Maharashtra. However, if the areal spread and
the extent of penetration is considered, Hindi scores
over Marathi, for Marathi is confined to some talukas
of border districts of Madhya Pradesh, whereas Hindi
minority is widely distributed over the entire northern
half of Maharashtra and is also not insignificant in
the southern half of the state.

There has been some amount of
complication in the statistics regarding Hindi popula-
tion in Rajasthan. According to the final language
tables, about 33.32% of Rajasthan's population speaks
Hindi as their mother-tongue, whereas according to the
totals obtained from various district census handbooks
of Rajasthan, the proportion is about 3%. In 1961,
Rajasthani accounted for 55% of Rajasthan's population,
while in 1971 Census, it has not been enumerated separate-
ly. Now Hindi forms 91% of the state's population and
includes the speakers of Rajasthani. According to the
statistics collected from various District Census Hand-
books, Hindi population was confined to six districts.
As it has been shown in Map D, in 1961 Census, Hindi population was enumerated separately in border districts of northern parts of Rajasthan. They were not counted under 'Hindi' in all other 18 districts and even in the state's capital, Jaipur. The districts of Ganganagar (28%), Jhunjhunu (22%) and Bharatpur (11%) bordering Hariana and Uttar Pradesh had largest proportion of Hindi population in Rajasthan. In 1971, however, every district of this state had more than 90% of its population speaking Hindi.

The Hindi population of Himachal Pradesh forms only 11% of the state population and therefore, is almost a minority. The speakers of this language are concentrated mainly in the districts of Sirmur (40%) and Bilaspur (25%) and are found in comparatively smaller number in Mandi and Mahasu districts.

Punjab has received about one-third of the total eleven million speakers of Hindi residing outside their home region, firstly because Hariana, now a separate state having Hindi as its state language, formerly belonged to the state of Punjab and these two thus together formed one administrative division enabling
Intercensal changes in Hindi minority
1911-1961

Large scale immigration of Hindi speaking population into the various districts of Punjab state

GRAPH NO. 5
the migrants to move from one part of it to the other rather easily; secondly, at present, Punjab has been bordered by Hindi speaking areas on all sides except a very small portion shared with the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The immigration of people from Uttar Pradesh to Punjab increased during 1901-11, the major attraction being the construction of irrigation canals in Punjab, the major portion of which was completed by 1921 (Zaehariah, I, p. 199). Since 1921, there has been tremendous immigration of Hindi speakers in Punjab; especially during 1921-61, one finds a sharp rise in their number (Graph 6). Zaehariah has explained that during 1901-31, a westward movement of people towards the Bhakra-Nangal project was found to be very remarkable. During the following decades, a large proportion of people from North India migrated to the industrial areas of Punjab. Among them, the people from Uttar Pradesh were most dominant (Zaehariah, I, p. 218). The district of Sangarur and Hoshiyarpur, both bordering Haryana have a little more than 0.6 million speakers of Hindi each. This figure is for 1961, when Hindi formed 53% of the district population of Hoshiyarpur and 45% in Sangarur. The dominant Hindi areas have been transferred to the neighbouring
Intercensal changes in Hindi minority
1911-1961

MILLION SPEAKERS

10

0

1911 21 31 41 51 61

Punjab

West Bengal

Maharashtra

Estimated change

Change in each decade

Not Available

GRAPH NO. 6
Hindi speaking area in the state of Himachal Pradesh and Haryana. In 1971, Hindi population formed 31% in the former district and 10% in the latter. A considerable amount of change has taken place during this period in all other districts of Punjab. It is revealed in Graph 6 that till 1961, the districts of present Punjab state received a very large proportion of Hindi population while a comparison between 1961-71 figures shows that a large number of Hindi speakers have migrated from Punjab to Haryana and the proportion has, therefore, gone down in the former state as revealed in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts of Punjab</th>
<th>% of Hindi minority</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Gurdaspur</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Amritsar</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Firozpur</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ludhiana</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Jullundar</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Kapurthala</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Hoshiarpur</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Patiala</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Sangrur</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Bhatinda</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The most remarkable feature of the spread of Hindi minority in present Punjab state is that Ravenstein's law of migration, 'the number of migrants decreases with increasing distance from the home region' is not applicable because the western districts of the state have larger Hindi population than many others located near the home region of Hindi. This is due to urban influence in the interior parts of the state. The districts of Ferozepur, Amritsar and Jullundar have large number of Hindi speakers than the districts of Ludhiana and Bhatinda, located nearer to Haryana border. The former three are at a greater distance from the Hindi region and their geographical areas are smaller than the latter two districts. The north-eastern region (Hoshyarpur and Ropar districts) of Punjab have received a larger Hindi immigrants than its neighbouring areas in the state of Himachal Pradesh though it is included in the home regions of Hindi. This is again due to urban influence in Punjab. Since 1911, Punjab had largest proportion of Hindi minorities in the country and even now (1971), 20% of the state's population speaks Hindi as their mother-tongue thus making it the most leading receiver of Hindi minority, in spite of the reduction in total Hindi population.
The state of West Bengal had received the second largest number of Hindi population, which was about 2 millions in 1961 and increased to 2.7 millions by 1971 thus surpassing that of Punjab by about 40,000 speakers. But on account of larger Bengali population in Bengal as compared to that of Punjabi in Punjab, the proportion is about 6% in case of the former while 20% in the latter. Since 1931, the metropolitan region of Calcutta, the district of Twenty-four Parganas located to its south and Burdwan to the west received a large number of Hindi immigrants and at present this region has half of the immigrated Hindi population of West Bengal. The districts of Howrah and Hooghly also have received a large number of Hindi speakers since 1911 (Census, 1961, I, II-C (ii), p. cviii). Three-fifth of the total immigrant Hindi population of this state is confined to the industrial and commercial region around Calcutta. About half a million (1971-0.7 million) Hindi speakers reside in Calcutta. West Bengal, like Punjab, gained a large number of people from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar during 1901-61. This movement was due to the economic opportunities offered by the industrial and commercial activities in South Bengal. The proportion of Hindi migrants increases away from Bihar border towards Hawrah-Calcutta region.
The minority population has penetrated through Asansol-Calcutta communication links. The region lying to the north-east of these links have attracted a larger number of Hindi speakers than the region which is located to the southwest (Map D). The distribution in other areas of the state does not have any uniform pattern.

**Hindi minority in Punjab and West Bengal: A Comparison**

Though according to 1971 Census, West Bengal has a little more Hindi population than the state of Punjab, till 1961, Punjab had received a greater part of Hindi population than the state of West Bengal. The districts of Punjab lying near the international boundary between India and Pakistan have a larger number of Hindi speakers than the border districts of West Bengal located near the border between India and Bangla Desh. This is probably due to the following facts: The physical setting of Punjab and West Bengal is such that the former is a plain region irrigated by Beas and Sutlej, whereas the latter has the repulsive effects of floods. Secondly, Punjab is less densely populated and hence has a better absorbing capacity than West Bengal, which is already crowded.
Besides these, Hindi as a language is more akin to Punjabi than Bengali, because Punjabi and Hindi belong to the Central group of Indo-Aryan languages, while Bengali is a member of the outer circle (Map 1). Hindi is the most dominant minority in every district of Punjab in spite of the fact that the total Hindi population has decreased during 1961-71, whereas in the state of West Bengal, it is dominant in the region around Calcutta. Their proportion is relatively smaller in the south-western parts of Bengal, while in Punjab, they form more than 10% of the district population.

Hindi is spoken by a little more than one million (1971 - two and a half million) persons as their mother-tongue in Maharashtra. It is the second significant minority of the state, standing next to Urdu.

If the intercensal changes in the total strength of these two linguistic minorities, namely, Hindi and Urdu, in Maharashtra are compared with each other, it is evident that Hindi population decreased since 1911 in each decade except during 1951-1961 being the only period of normal increase, while Urdu population had considerably increased during 1921-1931 and 1931-1951. This sharp rise in Urdu population
was more than average rate of population growth during this period (Nigam, I, II-C (ii), p. xi). The adjoining graph shows the comparative intercensal changes in the population of these two minorities. The increase in the total population of Urdu was due to the fact that many persons who reported Hindi as their mother-tongue in 1911 and 1921 entered Urdu instead in 1931 and afterwards. Urdu was not enumerated separately but with Hindi till 1951 in the districts of Bombay and Poona divisions. In spite of separation of Urdu from Hindi in 1951-61, the proportion of Hindi speakers increased invariably in every district except in Kolhapur and Satara. The industrial area of Greater Bombay alone has one-fourth of the total Hindi minority population in Maharashtra. The total strength has increased during 1961-71 from 0.3 million to 0.6 million forming 10 % of the population of Bombay. It may be noted that Hindi
minority doubled itself during the period of sixty years (1901-1961) by way of increase in their total number from 0.15 million to 0.3 million. During the next ten years, it was again doubled. Therefore, it may be stated that the proportion of Hindi minority in Bombay industrial area is increasing not by arithmetic ratio but by trigonometric ratio. During 1901-31, as Zachariah puts it, a steady movement of people from Uttar Pradesh to Bombay was observed, the movement being purely economic. The migrants came chiefly as mill workers and for the business of supplying milk (Zachariah, I, p. 199). At present also, milk supply is a specialized business of Hindi speaking people in Bombay. In many areas of this state, Urdu and Hindi have so much intermingled, mainly in their spoken forms that it is very difficult to distinguish them from each other.

Hindi minority is most dominant in the north-eastern part of Maharashtra. Their proportion decreases with the increasing distance from Home region, however, in general, they are represented in every part of the state. The taluka of Gondia in Bhandara district located in the north-eastern corner of the state (Map D) has 29% of its population speaking Hindi. This high proportion is due to its location along the
national highway connecting Nagpur with the Durg-Bhilai industrial region of Madhya Pradesh. Secondly, the district of Bhandara formerly belonged to the state of Berar. The second major concentration of Hindi population is found in Nagpur taluka, where Hindi is spoken by 14 per cent of the total population. The proportion of Hindi speakers gradually decreases along the northern borders of the state westwards from 16% in Bhandara district to 2% in Dhule, though all these districts lie on the Madhya Pradesh border. The physiographic conditions probably account for this fact. The Vindhya and Satpuda ranges form barriers to migration of Hindi population on large scale from the border districts of Madhya Pradesh. As a result, they have penetrated through the communication links connecting Raipur (Madhya Pradesh) to Dhule (Maharashtra) and also along the links between the northern district places of the latter state to the centres of Hindi population over North India. Along Bombay-Agra National highway, their proportion increases towards the south-west of Nasik. It also increases to the south of Jalgaon district from 3% to 6% in Aurangabad and again falls down to 3% in Pune district. During 1961-71, slight change has taken place in the districtwise proportions of Hindi speakers.
It is either one or less than one per cent in the remaining districts of Maharashtra. A small number of Hindi speakers are found in the districts of Kolaba and Ratnagiri lying to the west of the Ghats.

The proportion of Hindi population in the state of Gujarat shows abnormal increase during 1911-31 and heavy decrease since then (Nigam, Census of India, 1961, I, II-C (ii), p. ix). According to 1961 Census, Gujarat had received about two lakhs of Hindi migrants, while by 1971, their number increased to 0.4 million. Half of the Hindi population in this state have clustered around Ahmedabad forming 8% of the taluka population. They are also found in large numbers in Baroda (3%) and Surat (2%) talukas. Like all other linguistic minorities of Gujarat, Hindi is confined to Sabarmati and Mahi valley areas. The immigration stream of this minority follows the western railway line.

Nine-tenth of the Hindi immigrants in Jammu and Kashmir have concentrated in the district of Jammu, where they form 3% of the total population.

Hindi is the second minority of the state of Assam forming 4% (1971-5%) of the state's
total population. The district of Cachar (10 %, 1971-11 %) has the largest proportion among the districts having large number of Hindi speakers, the other being Lakimpur (7 %, 1971-9 %), Darrang (6 %) and Kamrup (3 %). Like all other minorities, the economic activities in the tea growing districts of Assam have attracted Hindi minorities. In the state of Orissa, they have concentrated in the industrial region of Rourkela and also at Cuttack. Here, they permeate along the roads penetrating into Orissa from the bordering Hindi speaking regions. Hyderabad has the biggest concentration of Hindi speakers in Andhra Pradesh and except Khammam, all districts of this state have less than 5,000 speakers of Hindi. Bangalore is the only major centre of Hindi population in Karnataka. They are also found, though in small numbers, in Gulbarga, Raichur and Mysore. About 20,000 speakers of Hindi reside in the city of Madras in Tamilnadu. In all other districts of this state and in the whole of Kerala, Hindi is almost insignificant.

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Hindi 90

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Nigam, R.C. Manager of publications, Civil lines, Delhi.

Controller of publications Delhi.
Punjabi ranks twelfth in the number of speakers among the fourteen languages of India (1961) and forms only 2.49% of the entire population of the country. But as a minority language group, it is significant in two respects: Out of its 11 million speakers as many as three and a half million are found outside Punjab. This figure brings Punjabi to the sixth rank in the list of minority language groups arranged in a descending order of absolute number of speakers (Table 1) and if the comparative percentages inside and outside the home states (Graph 1) are taken into consideration, it stands first with 32% of its speakers residing outside the state of Punjab.

Though the home state of Punjabi is located at a remote corner of India, it is widely distributed almost over the entire country. It is represented in every state with substantially large number of speakers, the maximum being found in Haryana and the minimum in the state of Kerala (only 1,000, concentrated at Ernakulam). The following table shows
the statewise proportion of Punjabis:

Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>% of Punjabis in the state population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Hariana</td>
<td>8.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Jammu and Kashmir</td>
<td>3.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Rajasthan</td>
<td>1.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>1.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Maharashtra</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the 1961 Census, Punjab had only 166 persons per sq. km. i.e. the density of population was much less than that of many other states of India and only a little more than average density for the country as a whole (135 persons per sq. km.). Therefore, the capability of land was quite high. In spite of these facts, the Punjabi population that immigrated from West Punjab of Pakistan during 1931-1951 i.e. during the period preceding and succeeding the partition in 1947, preferred penetrating deeper into various parts of the country rather than crowding in Punjab. Thus unstable political situation in the
border regions would have been foremost factor which forced Punjabis to emigrate to distant places.

At present, Haryana has the greatest number of Punjabis as a minority language group (0.8 million) forming 8% of the state population as this state was a part of former Punjab state. The proportion of Punjabis is highest in the district of Hissar (12%, 1971-15%). In 1961, Ambala had the largest proportion of Punjabis, having a total of 0.4 million but by 1971, the population decreased to 0.1 million and at present, this district has 14% of its people speaking Punjabi. The district of Karnal now has the second largest (13%, 1971-14%) number of Punjabi speakers in the state of Haryana.

During 1911-61, Ambala received a very large number of Punjabi immigrants (Graph 8), while Karnal lost a large proportion. The loss was maximum in the southernmost district of Mahendragarh, which lost about 165,000 Punjabis during this period and now only some three thousand of them reside in this part of the state. On the other hand, Karnal has gained a considerable number since 1931 and is at present the significant receiver of Punjabi minorities in Haryana.
The districts which have gained Punjabi immigrants.

The losing areas

Haryana -
Intercensal changes in Punjabi minority

The districts which have gained Punjabi immigrants.
The state of Jammu and Kashmir had a million speakers of Punjabi as per 1961 Census (Vol. I, Part II-C (ii), p. 8), while according to 1971 Census, their number was only 160,000. In 1961, they formed 27% of the total population, whereas in 1971, the proportion was only 3%. There has been considerable amount of change in the proportion of Punjabis in various districts of Jammu and Kashmir which becomes clear from the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>% of Punjabis in district population:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Jammu</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kathua</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Udhampur</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Poonch</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Doda</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is very difficult to explain this state of affairs. The transfer of areas where Punjabi is dominant to Punjab state is not possible as the southern borders of the first two districts meet those of West Pakistan and not of Punjab. The movement of population on the scale as this is also not feasible.
During the period of fifty years i.e. 1911-61, Kashmir received about half a million of Punjabis and thus in 1961, the total number increased to about a million. Almost half of them were to be found in the district of Jammu and the rest in Kathua, Udhampur, Poonch and Doda. In 1971, Jammu again had half of the total 0.15 million Punjabis in the state, while their proportion was considerably reduced in all other districts.

The state of Rajasthan has about 0.4 million (1971- 0.47 million) speakers of Punjabis who account for 2% of the state's population. More than half of them are found in the district of Ganganagar (28%, 1971- 25%) bordering Punjab. (In the state as a whole, Punjabi ranks third among the minority language groups next to Hindi and Bhili) The talukas of Karanpur (54%) in this district has majority of its population having Punjabi as their mother-tongue. The other talukas, namely, Anupgarh (42%), Raisinghnagar (38%), Ganganagar (34%) and Hanumanagar (28%) also have a very high proportion of Punjabis, which is almost equal to Hindi (1961) and even more in some cases. The Punjabi minority also forms a fairly high proportion in Padampur (41%) and Suratgarh (15%) talukas. Ganganagar is the only district
lying on Punjab borders and has witnessed developments in immigration and therefore has the largest proportion of short-distance migrants of Punjabi already accustomed to take good advantage of irrigated agriculture in the state of Rajasthan. In the districts of Alwar (3 %) and Bharatpur (2 %; 1971-1 %), most of the Punjabis are concentrated around urban places but Punjabi is dominated by Hindi everywhere in these areas (1961). The immigrants in these two districts might have penetrated in this part of Rajasthan either through Hariana, which belonged to the former state of Punjab or through Uttar Pradesh because the flow of migrants can be clearly marked out in that direction (Map B). Jaipur, Ajmer, Bikaner and Jodhpur have the deeper penetrations of Punjabis in Rajasthan.

Himachal Pradesh, as a union territory, had about 85,000 Punjabis. If the figures for the districts of Simla and Kangara, formerly included in Punjab and now forming part of present state of Himachal Pradesh, are included in this total, the state had about one lakh Punjabis forming 4 % (1971-5 %) of the population. More than half of them reside in the district of Bilaspur (18 %; 1971-35 %). The district of Camba had about 16 % of its population
speaking Punjabi but by 1971, the proportion went down considerably to 3%. Probably the villages with dominant Punjabi population have been transferred to the district of Gurdaspur in Punjab. At present, Simla (1971 - 9%) and Sirmaur (4%) districts have significant concentrations of Punjabis. There have been fluctuations since 1911 in the total strength of Punjabi population in the state of Himachal Pradesh.

Uttar Pradesh has received a little more than 0.4 million (1971 - 0.5 million) speakers of Punjabi. The long distance migrants in this state have penetrated along two lines and thus have formed two streams of migration (Map E). The first stream follows the Chandigarh-Varanasi railway line via Delhi and the other along that which connects Chandigarh with Lucknow. The districts of Dehradun (1971 - 7%), Saharanpur (1%), Muzaffarnagar, Meerut (3%), Kanpur (2%) and Allahabad have significant concentration of Punjabis in the first stream of migration. They are fairly spread over the region extending from Dehradun to the capital city of Delhi, while in other regions, they cluster around urban centres. They are found in large numbers at the urban centres of Bijnor (1%) and Moradabad lying along the second stream of migration. The
region lying to the north-east of this line also has major concentrations of Punjabi population in the districts of Nainital (1971 - 12%), Pilibhit and Lakhimpur (Kheri 2%). Nainital has the largest proportion of Punjabi minority in Uttar Pradesh. The speakers of this language are also found in considerable numbers in the districts of Lucknow (1971 - 2%), Mathura (3%), Agra (1%) and Jhansi. It is remarkable that Punjabis form 12% (1971-13%) of the total population of Delhi and stand first among the linguistic minorities in the national capital. The immigration of Punjabis on large scale has been favoured by the absence of physiographic obstructions and by good communication, more job opportunities and by relatively stable conditions of life in Uttar Pradesh.

Beyond the neighbouring states, Punjabis are found in large proportion in the state of Madhya Pradesh, where they have concentrated at Jabalpur (1971 - 1%), Gwalior (2%), Bhopal (1%), Indore (2%) and in Durg-Bhilai (1%) industrial area. In rest of the country, they are found either at army headquarters or in industrial and commercial regions for example, in the state of Maharashtra, they have settled in Bombay (1%) and the army headquarters
of Poona (1 %) and Nasik. A line drawn from Poona through Nanded to Calcutta fixes the southern limit of Punjabi migration but a few urban centres further south, like Hyderabad, Mehabubnagar in Andhra Pradesh and Bangalore in the state of Karnataka have smaller concentrations of Punjabis outside the above-mentioned limit. In the state of Bengal, they have clustered around Calcutta and in Bihar, around Ranchi. About half a million (1971) Punjabis are found in Calcutta, Twenty-four Parganas and Burdwan districts of West Bengal. Ahmedabad has about 7,000 (1971 - 10,510) Punjabis and thus has their largest concentration in Gujarat. A few thousands of them reside in Ottacmand in Tamil Nadu and Ernakulam in the state of Kerala.

References:


Map F

- Gojri
- RAJASTHANI
- Marwari
- Lambhani

Legend:
- Home state
- Represents 1,000 speakers
- Represents 10,000 speakers
- Represents 50,000 speakers

Notes:
- Includes all dialects and sub-varieties in India.
Rajasthani was enumerated to be the mother-tongue of about fifteen million people in our country in the Census of 1961. In 1971, however, it has been included in Hindi and therefore, no data are available regarding the speakers of this language. The following discussion has been based upon the data for 1961.

A little more than eleven million speakers of various dialects of Rajasthani reside in the home region of this language, namely, Rajasthan. The remaining four millions, who form about 24 per cent (Graph 1) of the total strength of Rajasthani have emigrated from the home state to the remote corners of the country. Two-fifth of them have migrated to short distances in the neighbouring state of Madhya Pradesh, where they form about 5% of the total population. The speakers of Marwari, Banjari and Lambhani dialects of this language have spread far and wide. In the northernmost state of Jammu and Kashmir, the speakers of Gojri dialect of Rajasthani form 6% of the population. A large proportion
tion has penetrated southwards as far as Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, where they form a little more than 1% of the state population (Map F).

Besides Hindi, Rajasthani has the largest number (73) of dialects among the Indian languages. The Marwari speakers are most significant of all dialect groups because they have permeated very deep in all parts of our country, excluding the extreme northern and southern parts. The speakers of other dialects are known as tribals.

The state of Madhya Pradesh has 1.6 million speakers of various dialects of Rajasthani. Here, the Malvi dialect is spoken by about one million persons (Map F). Nimadi accounts for another half million and the rest include the speakers of Marwari, Banjari, Mewari and Standard Rajasthani. Marwaris have migrated to the urban centres of Bhopal, Indore, Gwalior and others, whereas the other groups are confined to the western border region of Madhya Pradesh.

Maharashtra has about 0.6 million Rajasthani population. Marwaris account for the two-third of them. Maharashtra is the receiver of largest
number of Marwari speakers among all states of India. Almost all of the Marwaris are engaged in retail trade and are found even in remote villages of this state. Among the other dialect groups of Rajasthani, Banjari is spoken by almost the same number as that of Marwari but are recognized as tribals. The Banjari community is supposed to be still largely nomadic although several sections of them have more or less settled ways of life (Census of India, 1961, I, II-C (ii), p. ccxix). They are widely scattered over the northern half of the state (Map F). Lamani, another name for Banjari, and the Standard dialect of Rajasthani are also spoken by a large number of people in Maharashtra. All these together form 2% of the state's population.

Andhra Pradesh has received Rajasthani migrants almost in equal proportion as by Maharashtra but a majority of them speak Lambhani and only a few are Marwaris and speakers of Standard Rajasthani. Lambhani has been described as a tribal language connected with Sanskrit (Mysore Gazetteer, 1930, I, p. 252). The speakers of this dialect have settled mainly in northern parts of the state and are also numerous in south. Marwaris and speakers of the Standard dialect of Rajasthani are confined to cities.
The 0.3 million Lambhani and Marwari immigrants in Karnataka account for 1% of the state population. Lambhani is spoken chiefly in the districts of Shimoga and Chitradurga. These people are said to have originally come with the armies of Marathas in their invasions of this part of the state in the seventeenth century (Mysore Gazetteer, 1920, I, p. 252). Marwari is spoken by about 16,000 persons in this state.

In spite of the close linguistic affinities of Gujarati and Rajasthani and geographical proximity of Gujarat to Rajasthan, the former state has received a smaller number of Rajasthanis as compared to Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. The immigrants are mainly Marwaris and speakers of standard Rajasthani. It is quite possible that the speakers of other dialects might have adopted Gujarati as their mother-tongue, for it would have been very easy for them to switch over to that language on account of its similarity with Rajasthani. The Gojri dialect of Rajasthani is spoken by about 20,000 persons in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Among the remote areas, the commercial areas around Calcutta and the centres of trade and commerce in the state of Bihar have attracted a large number of long
distance migrants of Marwari and standard Rajasthani and a few of them have also penetrated in the most remote state of Assam. The state of Punjab has about 30,000 and all of them speak the Mewati dialect of Rajasthani.

References:


Eight per cent of the total Gujarati population resides outside its home state (Graph 1) while as much as 5% is found in the adjoining states of Maharashtra, where it is spoken by about 3% of the total population and Madhya Pradesh, where it forms 0.40 per cent (0.35% - 1971) of the state population.

Gujarati is the third significant minority of Maharashtra and is the mother-tongue of more than one million people in this state. During 1911-61, their number increased considerably from 0.3 million to 1.1 million (Graph 9). Prior to the Reorganization of States (1956), the present states of Maharashtra and Gujarat formed one single state of Bombay and thus were parts of one administrative division with the majority of Marathi as well as Gujarati language groups. Gujaratis have been engaging themselves in trade and commerce of Bombay since long and these former ties explain why their proportion is very high in this region. The proximity to the home state also accounts for this
Graph - 9

Intercesal increase in Gujarati population. 1911-61

Percentage change in each decade

Maharashtra

Million speakers

1.1

1.0

0.9

0.8

0.7

0.6

0.5

0.4

0.3

0.2

0.1

0

1911 21 31 41 51 61

N.A.
fact but the former administrative linkages are more significant. At present, Gujarati is known as the most important trading community in Bombay area, where it forms about 20\% (1971 - 18\%) of the total population. Here, Gujarati is spoken by about 0.8 million (1971 - 1 million) people. Their proportion to the total population is almost half of the majority language, namely, Marathi, which forms 43\%. Northwards, towards Gujarat border, the proportion of Gujaratis to taluka population increases rapidly, especially along the west coast, though the total number falls down, away from Bombay- Thana industrial region. In the district of Thana, they account for 4\% of the population, two-thirds of whom are concentrated in Dahanu Taluka (14\%). They are also found in large numbers in the talukas of Kalyan (4\%) and Thana (5\%). The towns of Dahanu and Malyan lying on the Gujarat borders have the proportion of Gujaratis as high as 42\% in the former and 54\% in the latter, though their total strength is about some thousands. The penetration of Gujarati immigrants in Maharashtra along the western railway forms this stream of migration from north to south (Map G).

The Gujaratis also form another migration stream eastward along Surat-Bhusawal railway
line. The district of Dhule (4%; 1971 - 3%) has the largest number of them along this stream and the proportion falls down eastwards. The concentration of Gujaratis in this district is significant in that, besides Bombay industrial region, no other part of Maharashtra has got a larger Gujarati population than this area, where they form more or less 4% of the district population. They have migrated up the Tapi valley and their proportion increases towards the town of Shahada. The talukas bordering Gujarat, namely, Akkalkuwa and Nawapur respectively have 9% and 5% of their population speaking Gujarati, while in the rural taluka of Dhadgaon, they form 2% of the population. The proportion increases to 14% in Shahada. Marathi is also a minority language in all these areas as these are the regions of Bhili dominance. The percentage of Gujarati is successively reduced eastwards to 1% each in the districts of Jalgaon, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal and Nagpur. In all these areas, Gujaratis are engaged in wholesale trade.

The cities of Poona, Nasik, Solapur, Sangli and Kolhapur, which are located outside these two streams of migration (Map G), also have significant concentrations of Gujarati population. They are also found thinly spread over almost all other parts of the state.
Madhya Pradesh has the second largest number of Gujaratis but they are not as significant here as in Maharashtra though it is also a neighbouring state of Gujarat. In this state, Gujaratis are naturally more numerous in the western part of the state than in the eastern. To the east of 77°E. longitude, they are found in large numbers in the industrial region of Durg-Bhilai and Raipur. Jabalpur has about ten thousand speakers of Gujaratis. Indore, West Nimar and East Nimar, lying to the west of 77°E. longitude, each has more than 10,000 speakers forming 2% of the population in the Nimars and 1% (1971) in Indore and other border districts of Madhya Pradesh. The industrial development and the development of trade and commerce in Maharashtra explains why it has absorbed greater number of Gujaratis than Madhya Pradesh. Maharashtra received more Gujarati immigrants than Madhya Pradesh, especially after 1951. Till then, Madhya Pradesh had larger Gujarati population than Maharashtra.

The conditions are less attractive to the Gujarati emigrants in the northern state of Rajasthan, where one speaker of Gujarati is found in 500 persons. The Gujaratis have migrated in this part of the country along the national highway connecting Banaskantha in Gujarat with the state capital, Jaipur,
Gujaratis have also migrated to places situated at very great distances from their home state. The cities of Calcutta, Delhi, Jamshedpur, Madras, Hyderabad and Bangalore have their significant concentrations, either because of their industries or trade and commerce. Calcutta, the biggest metropolitan region of our country stands out as the farthest and biggest concentration of Gujaratis which is at a distance of 1,350 km. from Gujarat and has about 30,000 Gujaratis. If the criterion of total number of speakers of a particular language group at farthest place from the home state is applied to all linguistic minorities of India, Gujarati stands first on account of its large concentration in Calcutta.

The southern states of our country have also attracted a large number of Gujaratis, mainly traders. According to the final language tables for 1961 (I, II-C (ii), p. 10), the state of Tamilnadu had about 160,000 speakers of Gujarati, half of whom were residing in the district of Madurai. In 1971, there were about 0.2 million Gujaratis in Tamilnadu. Their number has increased in Madurai and now they form 2% of the district population. In the state of Andhra Pradesh, they have clustered around Hyderabad and in Karnataka,
around Bangalore. Uttar Pradesh has also attracted a few Gujaratis but they are not to be found in the states of Assam, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir, as these areas offer lesser opportunities in commerce and trade to these migrants who are specialized in that.

References:


PART II

INDO-ARYAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES

OUTER CIRCLE

A. Southern group

1. Marathi

B. Eastern group

1. Bengali
2. Oriya
3. Assamese

Introduction:

Marathi is the only member of the southern group of Indo-Aryan family of languages and it belongs to their outer circle alongwith Bengali, Oriya and Assamese of the eastern group. The distribution of these language groups as minorities is discussed here.
The Marathi minority occupies parts of Karnataka state (5%; 1971 - 4%), southern portions of Madhya Pradesh (4%; 1971 - 2%), Andhra Pradesh (1%) and Gujarat (1%).

The geographical distribution of Marathi population outside their proper tract, namely, Maharashtra, has resulted from the past outmigration of Marathas especially in South India and Madhya Pradesh.

This movement started early in ninth century. Marathas were expanding their kingdom. In these early times, they ruled over a great part of present Telangana and Karnataka (Singh, pp. 9-11). Under the reign of Adilshaha of Bijapur and Nizamshah of Ahmednagar, Marathas held high posts in administration and army and were given jahagirs outside their home region. They were also engaging themselves in extending their rule as independent chiefs. By seventeenth century, they brought under their command, the extensive territory from Tanjore in the south to Gwalior in the north.
(Singh, p. 12). After the fall of Mughul empire in 1707, they conquered many parts of present Madhya Pradesh and Orissa (Roberts, p. 60). They forged ahead in Madras (Tamilnadu) state in 1740. Thus, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the southern limit of their dominion extended up to the northern borders of the then Mysore state. On the north, various Maratha rulers ruled over various parts. Shindes held sway from north-western Malwa to the area west of Jamuna, whereas Holkars ruled the southern part of Malwa. Gujarat and Kathiawar were included in Gaekwad's princely state of Baroda. Bhosales ruled over the region extending from Nagpur to the sea-shores of Orissa (Singh, p. 16).

The present pattern of distribution of Marathi minority coincides with all these areas which were under the Maratha rule. If a boundary is drawn in general, to include places having more than 5,000 speakers of Marathi in a district outside the state of Maharashtra, it would run due north from the gulf of Cambay so as to include eastern parts of Gujarat within the area and crossing the central parts of Madhya Pradesh. The 24°N. parallel forms the limit of such an area. From Sagar (Madhya Pradesh), the line would run south-
wards towards Bilaspur so as to include Sagar, Jabalpur, and Bilaspur. Skirting Bilaspur, it would run due southwards to include the district of Bastar. It would run in the same direction towards centres of Marathi population in the state of Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu. The southern limit of Marathi penetration in South India would be delimited by a line running eastwards from Cannanore district in Kerala to Tanjore in Tamilnadu (Map H).

Ravenstein's first law of migration, 'Majority of migrants move only a short distance', (Bogue, p. 755) holds good in case of Marathi outmigrants like that of other language groups of India. However, a large number of them have penetrated deep in the state of Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh. In spite of the fact that Marathi belongs to the Indo-Aryan family of languages, it has penetrated deeper in South India into Dravidian realm, whereas northwards, it is found mainly in the border districts of Madhya Pradesh. It is significant only at Gwalior beyond 24°N. parallel of latitude while the southward penetration extends as far as 9°N. latitude. The ranges of Vindhyas and Sap-pudas must have hindered the northern extension of
Marathi to a considerable extent. Many of those who migrated northwards adopted Hindi quite easily as their mother-tongue on account of its close affinity to Marathi and got merged into the Hindi speaking population.

The southern penetration is also the result of Maratha expeditions. Karnataka, at present, has the largest number of Marathi migrants. The credit of carrying Marathi population to Karnataka goes to Shahaji Bhosale, father of Shivaji.
Thousands of Brahmins, Kanatriyas and artisans migrated to Bangalore, Kolar, Balapur and other parts of Karnataka during 1640-1680, when Bangalore was under the rule of Sadas (Sardesai, p.54). The short distance migrants might have emigrated to this state during 1931-51 because the number of Marathi minorities shows sharp increase during this period (Graph 10). In some of the taluks located near the borders of Maharashtra, Marathi forms a sizeable percentage of the total population. At 14% (1971-22%) of the district population of Belgaum has Marathi as mother-tongue. Here, Kannada forms 66% of the total population. In the taluka of Belgaum, the proportion of Marathi increases to 30%, whereas that of the state language falls down to 24%. This has given rise to border dispute between the two states which is still remaining unsolved. The Chikodi taluka of the same district also has a very high percentage (36%) of Marathi population, where Kannada is spoken by a little larger number forming 40%. The ratio of Marathi to Kannada is still higher in the district of Bidar than in Belgaon. In the district of Bidar, one Marathi speaker is found per two Kannadigas i.e. the ratio is 1:2, while in Belgaum, it is 2:5 (or 1:2.5). The total Marathi population, however, is lesser than in Belgaum.
Their proportion is high in the talukas of Aurad (34%), Bhalki (36%) and Humanabad (15%) in this district. Next to Belgaum and Bidar, the district of North Kanara has the largest number of Marathi speakers, who form 11% of the population. Along the coast of Karnataka, the speakers of Marathi have penetrated southwards as far as South Kannara (2%). They are also found in the district of Shimoga. The Marathi migrants of South Karnataka are mainly Konkanis and are mostly coolies and day labourers on the coffee estates and gardens of this area (Mysore Gazetteer, 1920, p. 252-253). The reasons why the other interior portions of the state including Bangalore have received large numbers of Marathi have already been explained.

In the state of Andhra Pradesh, Marathi is the dominant minority in the border districts, namely Adilabad (13%) and Nizamabad (3%). The speakers have penetrated to Hyderabad, Warangal, Kurnool and Mehubnagar districts, the last being the deepest concentration of this minority in Andhra Pradesh. The significance of Marathi as a minority in the capital city of Hyderabad is obviously the result of the whole of Marathwada division of Maharashtra having belonged to
the former state of Hyderabad until its breakage in 1956. Since then, the urban development of Hyderabad and its direct communication linkages to Nagpur and Osmanabad in Maharashtra have encouraged many more Marathi persons to emigrate into the city of Hyderabad.

The Marathi minorities in Tamilnadu have mainly concentrated in the state capital, Madras and in the districts of Salem, Tanjore and North Arcot. The former state of Tanjore was ruled by the Maratha prince named Surfoji. Many of the Marathi speakers of this area who have been staying there for a number of generations either speak Marathi of olden times with the admixture of Tamil or a few have adopted Tamil itself.

An interesting fact has been observed regarding the Marathi minority in the state of Kerala. Here, almost all of them are found in the district of Cannanore. It is very remarkable that of the 15,000 Marathi speakers in this district, only a tenth are in the urban area while all the rest are dispersed over its rural parts. Of these, Kasargad taluka alone has 11,000 persons. These are probably Konkanis who have penetrated along the coast of Karnataka into the South Kanara district of that state. A small
number of them are also found in the port of Cochin.

**Spread of Marathi minority to the North**

It has been already mentioned that some parts of present state of Madhya Pradesh lying immediately to the north of Satpuda formerly belonged to the dominion of Peshwas. At present, among these border regions, Balaghat has the greatest proportion of Marathi population, almost all of whom are concentrated in the taluka of Balaghat (30% ; 1971- 25%) and Waraseoni (45%). The district of Chindwara has the second largest number of Marathi speakers, concentrated mainly in the taluka of Chindwara (5%) and Amarwara (48%). In the district as a whole, Marathi forms 16% of the total population (1971). The speakers have migrated in large numbers to the district of Betul (22%). Besides the historical reasons, the communication links developed during the present century encouraged Marathi emigration along Nagpur-Indore national highway and Nagpur-Bhopal railway crossing the district of Betul. The same is true regarding migration of Marathi population to Khandwa (E. Nimar 15%) and Indore (1971- 7%) districts located in the western part of Madhya Pradesh. The Indore-Dewas and Gwalior are comprised of the former princely
states of Holkars and Shindes respectively. Marathi emigrants migrated to these regions in large numbers during their reign. They are relatively less numerous in Bhopal, which belonged to the muslim Nabab. Along the national highway connecting Nagpur with Varanasi, the Marathi population has penetrated northwards through the district of Seoni to Jabalpur. The urban and industrial area of Durg and Bilai also has another significant concentration of Marathi minorities in Madhya Pradesh. Eastwards, about 6,000 speakers of Marathi are found in the district of Bastar. The eastward penetration is lesser as compared to the northward spread in this state due to the fact that Chanda district of Maharashtra and Bastar of Madhya Pradesh together form a thickly forested area inhabited by tribals. These forests are almost inaccessible and do not encourage free movement of people across them. Besides this, both these regions hardly have better opportunities to attract migrants from the interior parts of Maharashtra. Though Marathi is less significant in this part of Madhya Pradesh, the Nagpuri and Halbi dialect of this language are widely spoken.

If the distribution of Marathi and Gujarati minorities in Gujarat and Maharashtra respective:
are studied comparatively, the two minorities appear to form a stream and a counter stream of migration along Bombay-Surat railway line. The second stream, that of Gujaratis is more dominant than that of Marathi, obviously because Bombay industrial area offers more job opportunities than the regions of Surat and Ahmedabad. A few thousands of Marathi speakers are found in the rural district of Dangs. Marathi population has confined itself to the valleys of Sabarmati and Mahi like all other linguistic minorities of Gujarat and is not found to the west of 73°E. longitude (Map H).

A small number of Marathi speakers have migrated to the states of Rajasthan, Assam, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. They are not found in the remote states of Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Nagaland and the areas of former union territories of Mizoram, Manipur and Tripura.

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Manaktala and Sons Pvt. Ltd.
Churchgate, Bombay 1.
Map I

BENGALI

WEST BENGAL
Bengali is the leading language of the eastern group of Indo-Aryan languages. Next to Urdu and Hindi, it is the most widespread minority of India. A large number of Bengalis immigrated into West Bengal from Bangla Desh (former East Pakistan) during 1931-51 and 1951-61 (Nigam, p. xi). The political conditions were similar to that in Punjab during the same period. The political instability and pressure of population forced many Bengalis to penetrate deeper into the various parts of the country. They are engaged in business, administration and educational fields.

Bengali is the most dominant minority in the state of Assam, where it forms 17% (1971-19 %) of the entire population. Bengali population has been immigrating in this part of the country, since 1911, the year in which there were one million speakers already living in Assam. During 1911-61, their total strength
increased from one million to two and during 1961-71, one more million were added thus making the present population about three millions. Bengalis have penetrated through Brahmaputra valley along the communication links connecting the north-eastern parts of West Bengal to the tea growing districts of Kamrup, Darrang, Lakhimpur, Sibsagar and Nowgong. The district of Cachar alone has absorbed nearly half of the total Bengali immigrants. Bengali is spoken by more than one million persons in this district and thus forms majority (79% 1971-78%) of the total population. In the valley of Brahmaputra, the districts of Nowgong (17%; 1971-19%), Kamrup (10%; 1971-12%) and Goalpara (11%; 1971-15%) have high proportion of Bengali population, which gradually decreases eastwards towards Lakhimpur (8%; 1971-9%). The linguistic affinities between Bengali and Assamese and the better opportunities offered by economic activities in the tea estates of Assam have been the 'Pull factors' favouring large scale immigration of Bengali population into the state of Assam, where they form the first significant minority group in every part of the state. On the other hand, increasing pressure of population has been an important negative factor at the home state of Bengalis.
Intercensal changes in Bengali minority

States having more than 1 million speakers of Bengali

-—— Estimated change
*22.02 Percentage change in each decade
N.A. Not Available

Graph 11
The state of Bihar has received the second largest number of Bengali minorities, exceeding a million (Graph 11). Unlike Assam, Bihar is a thickly populated region. As a result, Bengalis form 3% of the total state population which would appear very much less as compared to Assam, where the proportion is 19%.

In fact, the total strength of Bengalis in Bihar is just the half (1971 - two-third) of what it is in that state.

There have been fluctuations in the total Bengali population in Bihar since 1911. According to 1961 Census, the district of Singhbhum (21% ; 1971- 27%) has received the largest number of Bengali immigrants migrating to short distances. The job opportunities offered by the Singhbhum-Raurkela industrial region have attracted the large number of Bengalis. It has absorbed almost one-third of the Bengali population in this state (Map I).

Along the border region between West Bengal and Bihar, Bengalis have immigrated in large numbers to the districts of Santal Parganas (13% ; 1971 - 17%), Purba (5%; 1971 - 6%), Dhanbad (12% ; 1971 - 22%). They have penetrated farther in Ranchi and Patna, where they account of or 1% of the district population. They
are found in almost all parts of the state however thinly it may be. Bengali stands next to Urdu as the second significant minority in Bihar. 

Southwards, Bengalis have migrated to the district of Balsore (2 %; 1971 - 4 %) lying on the border between West Bengal and Orissa. Bengali is the second significant minority in this district and ranks next to Urdu. Further south, Cuttack district has greater Bengali population than Balsore (1971) but lesser proportion (2 %) on account of its larger total population, which is almost double of that of Balsore. Eastwards, Bengalis are found in great numbers in Mayurbhanj district (2 %; 1971 - 3 %) and in the mining region of Keonjhar (1 %; 1971 - 3 %). They have also settled in smaller numbers in the coastal district of Puri (1 %). 

Bengalis have migrated to the Durg industrial area, Jabalpur and Surgujia in Madhya Pradesh. In Uttar Pradesh, they are found in large numbers in Varanasi, Kanpur, Allahabad, Lucknow and have penetrated as far north as the district of Nainital. Delhi has about 30,000 Bengalis. In the state of Maharashtra, almost half of the Bengali population is found in the in the industrial area of Bombay.
Oriya is the second member of the eastern group of Indo-Aryan languages (Map 1). A little more than one million of its speakers reside outside their home state. A quarter of them are to be found in the neighbouring state of Madhya Pradesh and form one per cent of the total state population. They have also migrated to West Bengal in large numbers but the proportion appears to be small (0.60 %) on account of considerably large population of the state. They form a little less than one per cent of the population in the states of Bihar and Assam and in Andhra Pradesh, one in 200 persons is the ratio of Oriya speakers. Except in West Bengal, the Oriya minority is confined to small pockets forming significant concentrations.

In the state of Madhya Pradesh, Oriya population is mainly concentrated in Raipur (1971-8 %) district and also in Rajgarh (9 %), Durg (1 %), Bastar (8 %), Bilaspur (8 %) and Surgujia (1 %).
The Oriya minorities in West Bengal show rather a diffused pattern of distribution. They stand as the third significant minority in the industrial region of Calcutta-Howrah and Hooghly. A large number of them are also found in Medinipur and Burdwan. They have penetrated deep in northern portions of the state and have reached the northernmost district of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling. Here, they work as unskilled labourers in tea growing areas. In the district of Jalpaiguri, they surpass Urdu population and stand next to Hindi as the second significant minority group.

In Assam, Oriya forms the third significant minority in the districts of Lakhimpur (4% ; 1971-2%), Darrang (3% ; 1971-2%), Sibsagar (2% ; 1971-1%), and Cachar (1%).

The Oriya minority of Bihar is confined to Singhbhum district where it forms about 13% of the total population. This district alone has absorbed nine-tenth of the Oriya immigrants of the state. During 1901-31, Zachariah explains it,'Singhbhum was said to be the destination of people from Cuttack and Sambalpur in Orissa contributing to the
drift towards the mining area (Zachariah, I, p. 216). In the Chaibasa division of this district, the proportion of Oriya is as high as 21%, whereas it gradually decreases to 13% in Seraikela and to 8% in Dalbhum division. A small number of Oriya speakers have migrated to Ranchi, Hazaribagh and Dhanbad districts.

Southwards, Oriya population has moved over only short distances as compared to the north and is confined to the districts of Srikakulam (3%; 1971-5%) and Vishakhapatnam (2%; 1971-3%) in Andhra Pradesh. It may be noted in this connection that Srikakulam was the taluka of Chicacole of Ganjam district in the former province of Bihar and Orissa and Vishakhapatnam was a part of the much larger district of Vizagapatam of Madras Presidency, which included the Oriya speaking areas. These former administrative linkages explain the present Oriya element.

Reference:

Assamese are less significant as a minority language group in the rest of India outside the home state than all of the major language groups with the exception of Kashmiri. It has got a lesser number of speakers and even inside its home state, it barely forms majority (57%) of the total population. Outside Assam, Assamese are found only in the state of West Bengal, where one speaker is found in 5,000 persons. In this state, there are a little more than eight thousand Assamese mainly found in the districts of Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar, Darjeeling, Burdwan and Howrah. They are nearly absent elsewhere in India.

This insignificance of Assamese minority is probably due to the fact that its parent language, namely, Bengali is more aggressive and dominates it even in a few Assamese tracts. Besides this linguistic influence, economic factors also count for this small scale emigration of Assamese. Assam provides ample job opportunities to unskilled and semi-skilled labourers in the tea estates. As a result, the speakers of Assamese do not have to migrate outside their home
region in search of occupation. Lee's theory of migration which states that less progressive groups move only over short distance or do not move at all would probably hold good in this case. It is also quite probable that many Assamese might have adopted Bengali as their mother-tongue on account of its closeness to their original language as it has been mentioned in case of Rajasthani speakers in the state of Gujarat.
Kashmiri is the only member of the Dardic family of languages in India. Judged by the number of speakers, Kashmiris form the smallest proportion among the language groups of our country. It is also less significant as a minority. Only one per cent of its total speakers stay outside Kashmir. Of the 18,000 Kashmiris residing outside the home region, one-half are confined to the major urban centres of Punjab, namely, Amritsar and Gurdaspur and in Simla and Kangra of Himachal Pradesh and the capital city of Ambala in Haryana. Delhi has about 3,000 Kashmiris, where one speaker of this language is found in ten thousand persons. A little more than 1,000 Kashmiris are scattered over the state of Uttar Pradesh and the rest are found in the significant urban centres of the country.

The location of Kashmir at the remote corner of the country, a small number of speakers accustomed to cold climate of the home state and lesser affinities of their language with other language groups explain why Kashmiri is insignificant as a minority.
Introduction:

Telugu is the most dominant minority language group among the languages of Dravidian family, if judged by their total strength as minorities. Telugu is followed by Kannada and Tamil. Malayalam minority group is small in total population but has spread widely over the remote areas from its home state. The patterns of geographical distribution of these minorities have been discussed in the following pages.
Map K
Telugu is the most significant as a minority group among the Dravidian languages. It is more significant in the states neighbouring Andhra Pradesh than in remote parts of the country. It is the leading minority of both Tamilnadu and Karnataka state, where it forms respectively 10% (1971 - 9%) and 9% (1971-8%) of the state population. It is relatively less dominant in the state of Kerala (0.26% ; 1971-0.21%) because this area and Andhra are separated by other linguistic areas. Outside the Dravidian realm, Telugu stands as the leading minority in the state of Orissa (2%), whereas it ranks fifth in Maharashtra with the same proportion. Though all these, excluding Kerala, are neighbouring states of Andhra Pradesh, the greater penetration of Telugu element in Tamilnadu and Karnataka, belonging to the Dravidian family contrasts sharply with their small proportion in the Indo-Aryan neighbours.

'Telugu is the most important subsidiary language spoken in Tamilnadu. Excepting the coastal belt south of Chingleput district, which is
relatively free from Telugu dominance, elsewhere it forms an appreciable element in the population. This Telugu penetration in Tamilnadu came in with the southern spread of the Vijaynagar kingdom as a wedge between the Kanarese of the Mysore plateau and the Tamils of the plains below. The Telugu element seems to have always a preference for a higher ground as the lowlying areas had already been occupied and also a preference for black cotton soils' (Ramamurthy, p. 285). It has been noted that more hardworking Kamma and Reddy cultivators have been able to establish themselves successfully in the black cotton soils of Tamilnadu as Tamil cultivators by their neglect of black soil areas by not weeding the Hariyali grass have been ruined.

During 1911-51, the total Telugu population in Tamilnadu increased from 2.8 million to 3.4 million (Graph 12), whereas their proportion showed a slight decrease during the following decade. At present, Coimbatore district is having 20% (1971-19%) of its population speaking Telugu, which is the highest in the state. Ravenstein's law of migration fails here in the sense that the proportion of Telugu population increases south-westwards towards Coimbatore and also
towards Madurai in spite of longer distance from the borders of Andhra Pradesh. In Chingleput, they form 14% (1971-12%) of the district population. Further westwards, though their number increases, the proportion is lowered down to 11% (1971-10%) in North Arcot district, where Urdu exceeds Telugu minority.

The Telugu element increases to 15% in Salem and to 20% in Coimbatore. In 1971, however, the northern half of former Salem district, which is now a separate district of Dharampuri has 18% of its population speaking Telugu, while the proportion has decreased to 10% in Salem. A similar increase is found towards Madurai though on a smaller scale. Southwards from Chingleput, one finds greater Telugu population in Tiruchirapalli and still greater in Madurai. The proportion is reduced to 15% per cent in Madurai on account of larger district population. It is as high as 8% in the district of Ramnathpuram. Tanjore appears on the map as a unique district where Telugu is very poorly represented. That is probably because this area is very densely populated for remote times with better opportunities of settlement and therefore, with little scope for outside elements. But here it may be noted that the famous Telugu
Telugu

composer and Saint Tyagaraja was born in Tanjore and his songs are most popular among the musicians of Tamilnadu.

In general, Telugu dominates every part of Tamilnadu as Urdu dominates Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

The short distance migrants of Telugu form the major part of Telugu minority group in Karnataka, in contrast to their deeper penetration on large scale in every region of Tamilnadu. Telugu is more dominant in the southern half of Karnataka state than in the northern portion. Bangalore and Kolar have attracted very large numbers of Telugu immigrants. In the mining district of Kolar, Telugus are in majority forming 53% (1971-55%) of the district population. They work as the unskilled and semi-skilled labour in Kolar goldfields. Their proportion is sizeable in the neighbouring district of Tumkur (12%; 1971-11%) and Chitradurga (14%; 1971-13%). It is also high (16% - 1971; 61 -17%) in the district of Bangalore. In the southern district of Mysore, Telugu speakers form 6% (1971-3%) of the population. Northwards from Tumkur, their proportion slightly decreases to 10% (1971-9%)
in the district of Raichur. However, in the taluka of Raichur, on account of its border location, Telugu speakers form 38% of the population. Similarly, in the border taluka of Bellary, 16% of the population speaks Telugu as their mother-tongue. Northwards, Urdu dominance is felt more and Telugu becomes less significant. Even then, in areas located very close to Andhra Pradesh like talukas of Sedam (41%) and Yadgir (21%) in Gulbarga district have high proportion of Telugu population. The border talukas of Chitradurg district, namely Callakere (35% - 1971), Molakalmuru (34%) and Jagalur (17%) have a large number of them.

In the state of Maharashtra, Telugu is dominant in Chanda district (8%; 1971-7%), especially in Sironcha taluka, where it forms one-third of the total population. In Nanded district (6%; 1971-5%), taluka of Kinwat, which is located near Andhra border, the Telugu element is as high as 12%. The speakers of Telugu are also numerous in Yeotmal district and in Sholapur taluka (21%). A little more than one and a half lakh of Telugu migrants are in Bombay-Thana industrial area. In general, Telugu minority shows a rather diffused pattern of distribution in Maharashtra.
as compared to that in Orissa, where nine-tenth of them are confined to bordering districts of Ganjam (14% ; 1971 - 13%) and Koraput (9% ; 1971 - 6%). It may be noted that Ganjam was the northernmost district of former Madras Presidency. In West Bengal, Calcutta and Medinipur have major concentrations of Telugu population. In Madhya Pradesh, they are found in Durg-Bhilai industrial region and in Bilaspur. A few of them have also migrated to the remote district of Lakhimpur in Assam.

References:

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Census of India (1961)

Census of India (1971)
Map L

KANNADA

Home state
- Represents 1,000 speakers
- Represents 10,000 speakers
- Represents 50,000 speakers

Home state
- Represents 1,000 speakers
- Represents 10,000 speakers
- Represents 50,000 speakers
Kannada minority is also confined mainly to the states neighbouring Karnataka. It is the second significant minority in Tamilnadu, where it forms 2.5% (1971 - 3%) of the state population. They are dominant in the districts of Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra bordering Karnataka.

The state of Tamilnadu has received about a million speakers of Kannada, half of whom are confined to Coimbatore (9%; 1971-8%) and Salem (6%; 1971-5%). Their proportion is fairly high in the districts of Madurai (5%; 1971-4%) and Nilgiris (9%; 1971-32%). It may be noted here that Kannada speakers have spread more in the region lying to the south of river Kaveri than to its north. In almost all other districts of Tamilnadu, Kannada minority forms about 1% of the respective populations. Towards far south, the speakers of this language become less numerous. Since 1911, Tamilnadu has received an increasing number of Kannada minorities but their proportion has increased mainly in Coimbatore, Salem, Madurai, Nilgiris
North Arcot i.e. in the districts bordering Karnataka, whereas it has come down in rest of the areas in the state (Census of India, 1961, I, II-C (ii), pp. 85-86).

Some of the border talukas of Andhra Pradesh may be mentioned as receivers of large scale Kannada minorities. In the Narayankhed taluka of Medak district, Kannada forms a fairly high proportion (17%) in the population. Medak taluka has 8% of its people speaking Kannada as their mother-tongue. Kannadigas have settled in Makthan taluka of Mehbubnagar in equally large numbers forming 8% of the population. The districts of Anantapur (10%), Kurnool (5%), Mehbubnagar (2%) and Nizamabad (2%) have absorbed almost all Kannada minorities in Andhra Pradesh. The speakers of this language are also found in large numbers in the district of Hyderabad. Since 1931, Andhra Pradesh has been experiencing a decrease in Kannada population decade after decade till 1961, while during 1961-71, their total strength has increased slightly by about fifty thousands.

As compared to Andhra, which had 0.4 million speakers of Kannada in 1971, Maharashtra has attracted a larger number of that language group,
whose total strength was about 0.6 million till 1961 and
has increased to 0.8 million by 1971. More than two-
thirds of them are confined to the border districts,
namely sholapur (11 %), Kolhapur (8 %) 1971- 5 %) and
Sangli (9 % ; 1971- 8 %). They have migrated in large
numbers to Greater Bombay and to the districts of
Osmanabad (3 %), Pune, and Nanded (1 %), chiefly to the
urban areas. Along the border zone between Karnataka
and Maharashtra, they form highest proportion in the
taluka of Jath (34 %), Hatkangle (14 %), Miraj (12 %),
Gadhinglaj (25 %) and Shirol (25 %) in the districts of
Sangli and Kolhapur. The proportion is reduced to 11 %
in Sholapur district on account of its larger total
population.

Four-fifths of the Kannada immigrants
in Kerala are found in the single district of Cannanore
bordering Karnataka. A few of them are found in Kosikode
and Palghat. Beyond these four neighbouring states of
Karnataka, Kannada population is found in very small
numbers elsewhere in the country.

Reference:

II-C (ii) - Language tables.
It is generally believed that among the South Indian language groups, Tamil is most widely distributed over various parts of the country. This is mainly due to the fact that the speakers of this language have migrated to major urban centres of our country. Besides this, many times, any south Indian is considered to be Tamil, especially in Maharashtra. Of the total Tamil population of our country, 2.6 million reside outside Tamilnadu in various parts of India. Most of them are confined to the neighbouring states of Karnataka (4% ; 1971-3%), Andhra Pradesh (1%) and Kerala (3%).

Zachariah has mentioned that a considerable westward movement of population from Madras to Mysore and Travancore (Kerala) was observed during 1901-31. This stream of migration mainly included Tamil workers moving towards the plantations in these areas (Zachariah, I, p. 209). At present, Tamil is foremost as a minority language in the state of Karnataka, which has received a little less one million speakers of this language. They penetrate north-westwards as far as
than one million speakers of this language. They penetrate north-westwards as far as Belgaum. The districts bordering Tamilnadu, namely, Bangalore (16%) Kolar (11% ; 1971-9%) and Mysore (4%) have high proportion of Tamil population. They have penetrated in large numbers to the districts of Shimoga and Coorg in the interior parts of the state. Northwards, they are found in Tumkur, Chitradurga and Dharwar. A few of them have settled in Bellary, which was a district of the former Madras presidency.

In Andhra Pradesh, Tamil is confined to the southern talukas of the bordering district of Chittoor, which was a part of the undivided North Arcot district of the Madras presidency. In this district, it has been noted that the Tamil villages cluster along river valleys and the more favoured area and avoid higher slopes. The Telugus, who came later, naturally had to settle on somewhat higher slopes which alone were available (Ramamurthy, oral information). On the eastern coast of Andhra, Tamils have penetrated along the Madras-Calcutta railway line as a stream of migration. In this part, they are concentrated in the districts of Nellore.
and Guntur. A large number of Tamil immigrants are in Hyderabad, Nalgonda and Amantpur districts of Andhra Pradesh.

The small state of Kerala is having a fifth of the Tamils living outside Tamilnadu in the country. Of the half a million Tamils in Kerala, 60% are found in the district of Kottayam (10% 1971-8%) and Palghat (9%; 1971-10%). The Palghat gap, on an average 25 kilometres wide, is the only marked major break in the whole of the western ghats and has thus provided easy communication facilitating people of either side. The taluka of Palghat located in the gap has about 15% of its population speaking Tamil. It may be noted here that Palghat born persons, enriched by the contacts of the two cultures have faced better in all walks of life playing an important role in the administration and economic spheres of the country as a whole. (Subrahmanyam, p. 57).

Beyond the three neighbouring states, Tamils are found in important urban centres of India. In Maharashtra, they are found in large numbers in Poona and Bombay. The cities of Jabalpur and Raipur
in Madhya Pradesh, Ahmedabad in Gujarat, Calcutta-Medinapur and Kharagpur in West Bengal have also attracted Tamils in considerable numbers. Tamils prefer salaried occupations or regular wages as officers, clerks and coolies and are therefore found in administrative offices, business houses and educational institutes in urban areas and at the plantations in Kerala and Mysore as workers. Zachariah mentions it as follows: 'Travancore Cochin received migrants only from Madras. The tea and rubber estates in these areas were a source of employment to many Tamilians from Madras who were specially skilled in plantation work. (Zachariah, I, p. 209). In the national capital, Tamils are found in quite a large number forming 1% of the total population.

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A little less than one million Malayalis are found outside Kerala, three-fourths of them being confined to the adjoining states of Tamilnadu and Karnataka forming 1% of their respective populations.

The districts of South Kanara (10%) and Coorg (16%) lying on the border have attracted largest numbers of Malayalis in Karnataka. In 1971, their proportion has increased respectively to 15% and 18% in these two districts indicating more immigration of Malayali population. Malayalam is the leading minority of this part of Karnataka. It is relatively less significant in Bangalore as compared to other minority groups. A large number of Malayalis are found in western districts of Chikmagalur, Shimoga and Hassan, the chief attraction being the job opportunities in plantation areas.

One-fourth of the Malayalis in Tamilnadu are in the small district of Kanyakumari, where they form 13% (1971-12%) of the total population.
They form large proportion in the talukas of Vilavancode (22%) and Kalkulam (14%) obviously because they were parts of former Travancore state. The district of Nilgiris (16%; 1971-19%) also has a significant number of Malayalis, where they find employment as labourers in the plantations especially in the western taluka of Gudalur. Through Palghat gap, a large number of Malayalis have penetrated into Coimbatore (2%; 1971-3%), Madurai and Tiruchirapalli to the east. In the union territory of Pondicherry, they form about 6% of the total population. A great amount of similarity between Tamil and Malayalam and the former administrative connections explain the spread of each of them in other territory.

Very characteristic of people of rugged terrain, Malayalis are noted for their simple living and capacity to work hard, in which they may even be compared with Japanese. This explains how they have been able to establish themselves in very remote areas from their original homes. The cities of Hyderabad, Bombay, Poona, Ahmedabad and Calcutta have their clusters. A small number of them are found in Sundargarh in Orissa and Singhbhum in Bihar.
A study of the map of Malayalam (Map N) shows that the Malayalees are found in western districts of Malnad of Karnataka, Nilgiris and rainy eastern parts of Tamilnadu. In general, they appear to avoid the drier parts of the country such as plateau region of Maharashtra and similar areas of Karnataka. Such a distinction suggests a preference for the rainier areas and avoidance of drier parts.