4. The case of Gujarati

"It would be good economy to set apart a class of students whose business would be to learn the best of what is to be learnt in the different languages of the world and give the translations in the vernaculars."

M.K. Gandhi

The ferment that prevails in the area of English translation in India today has been described in the previous chapters, which while emphasising historical, social and economic perspectives on Indian Literature in English Translation, underscore the extra-literary contexts of what are considered purely "literary" productions. Most discussions so far have revolved around Indian literature translated into English, as a whole, not its constituent parts. ILET is a composite of texts from many languages in India which have found their way into English. The interrelationships among the languages that have contributed to this body of texts is far from equal, and translation into English is one more yardstick of gauging that inequality. Clearly some language-literatures form a larger part of the translation pie than some others. While this has not hitherto seemed to be a very significant matter generally speaking, the claims of and prestige attendant on ILET today, create and perpetuate a hierarchy among Indian languages. The contact of a regional text with the English language transforms the nature of its reception, and also
contributes to forming certain perceptions about the language and literature of which it is a part. Considering the possibilities of dissemination that attach to literatures in English, translation in English has begun to play a very important role in 'promoting' regional texts. Languages have begun to jostle and rub shoulders with each other to occupy the space of English translation, and with this, the 'politics' and internal dynamics of translation come into play. For a better understanding of this phenomenon we need to look at the case of each individual language-literature and the processes that dis/allow its possibilities in English. Since it is not possible for a study of this nature to encompass all the official Indian languages, I have restricted my study to the case of Gujarati. With this, we move from the macro-factors involved in ILET as a whole to micro-factors involved in Gujarati in English translation in particular.

As one moves from a broad picture to an individual language-literature, local configurations enter the picture. Translation into English necessarily presumes a set of resources such as a large number of persons who are bilingual and who see the need for such translation, the availability of agencies that can commission or publish translations, and a market for literary works. Translation from an Indian language into English is inextricably linked to levels of competence in English. Given the history of English in India and its relationship with urban cosmopolitanism, literary activities such as translation and writing in English need to be situated within the larger colonial and postcolonial contexts and within the context of the British educational system introduced into India in the nineteenth century. The 'system' as such was not a homogeneous one, its implementation and reception differed from state to state and language to language. Devy
notes that "the divide in the impact can be seen not only in the obvious terms of 'main centres' and 'hinterlands', but also in terms of individual bhasha cultures." For instance, in Bengal there was considerable Indian support for the new educational system, whereas in Maharashtra the most favoured tendency was to imbibe a Western education through the mother tongue. The emotional, economic and intellectual stakes that each linguistic community had in its relationship with English education also differed from one place to another. These regional variations have determined literary production in English in the years that followed, and in some ways they continue to do so today. For instance, by the time Gujaratis started writing in or translating into English, Bengali had already had two generations who had used English for creative and polemic purposes. Thus local configurations play a very important role in determining the activity of translation. In addition to the inequality among languages resulting from historical circumstances, there are also non-quantifiable, but pervasive perceptions about the "richness" of some languages (as opposed to other "not-so-rich" languages). All these contribute to inequality. Such perceptions hamper the 'marketability' of some languages and lead to unwillingness among publishers and individuals to undertake translation from those languages. Thus a set of contexts operates at 'local' as well as 'national' levels which, in turn act upon the 'global possibilities' of literary works in translation.

It is true that texts come into English in many haphazard and uncoordinated ways. It is not easy or even desirable to perceive patterns in the dissemination of texts through

* See K Satchidanandan, personal interview, 27 December 1997 included in Appendix 2
another language all the time. However, it is equally ungainsayable that in recent years translation has become an extremely focussed and self-conscious activity. Choices made about languages and texts now draw attention to the activity and make one reflect on the criteria that govern these choices. Gujarati, as the following section indicates, is not a natural choice for publishers and translators. Gujarati intellectuals today express deep concern at the fact that not even five canonical authors from Gujarat are known in the rest of the country; neither the public channels of publishing, such as the Sahitya Akademi, nor private publishers have been interested in publishing Gujarati works. At the same time it is equally true that there has been little actual effort from Gujarat to make Gujarati works known. An engagement with these issues takes us into the dynamics and 'politics' of the representation of Gujarati literature in English. This chapter is not a lament about the lack of 'representation' that Gujarati has had, nor is it a charge against any specific institutions or individuals. Very recent developments in Gujarat regarding translation indicate that the lacuna will be filled. The purpose of this case study is to point out the backgrounds and contexts of translation, which are usually not discussed or even noticed. As translation in English becomes more and more important, and that premise lies at the heart of the entire study, it becomes important to understand how the 'body' of ILET comes to be formed. The example of Gujarati may shed some light on the issue and indicate possible ways of considering other individual languages.

Section I outlines the position of Gujarati within the linguistic framework of India. Section II attempts to (1) provide an account of the tradition of translation in Gujarat, including translation into Gujarati and from Gujarati into English and a market analysis.
of works translated from Gujarati into English; (2) take account of 'local' and 'outside' responses to translation from Gujarati into English; (3) glance at some of the other languages as points of comparisons with Gujarati. Since the production of translation as a literary activity is related to the social, cultural and economic life of the state and the people, Section III offers an account of Gujarat in colonial times: the social and economic scenario in Gujarat and how that determined its responses to English rule and language. Section IV situates Gujarat in India immediately after independence to show how Gujarat's language policy in independent India has affected the levels of English. Section V is an overview of Gujarat today as it struggles to catch up with globalising trends and responds to the power and dissemination that attach to English.

I

Linguistic Framework

It is a cliché to begin any discussion of Indian languages by reiterating the polylingual nature of the country. The role of translation in India gains importance from this polylingualism. However, one needs to remember and re-state that this much-celebrated polylingualism has never been mirrored completely in any systematic effort at translation. The official and commercial discourse of translation in India, from one Indian language into another, or from an Indian language into English, is concerned only with the 'written' and 'recognised' languages. This naturally eliminates a huge range of languages that are considered dialects. For instance, Hindi has official patronage, but Bhojpuri does not figure in any translation scheme because it is a dialect of Hindi, and
therefore 'inferior'. Languages seen as 'corrupt' forms (such as Sambhalpuri is of Oriya) remain equally unattended to. Konkani struggled for a long time before it acquired 'recognition.' One of the ways in which some languages gain precedence over others is through a consensus regarding their "rich" literary traditions. Sumi Krishna asserts that "the belief in the superiority of languages with rich literatures is subtly misplaced. While literature is an important factor in the development of a language, the misconception creeps in when by literature we mean only that which is written."³ Thus the eighteen odd languages included in the Union today -- Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani (instituted by the Constitution Act, 1992); Malayalam, Manipuri (ins. by the Constitution Act, 1992), Marathi, Nepali (ins. by the Constitution Act, 1992) Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu -- are fraught with internal hierarchies and competing perceptions. Languages like Hindi and Manipuri, for instance, represent two ends of the linguistic spectrum. The funneling of resources towards education systems, distribution networks and readerships made available to Hindi are not available to Manipuri or Nepali. Languages like Gujarati, Marathi, Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu fall somewhere between the two extremes of the linguistic spectrum.⁴ The case of English is altogether unique since it has emerged as a major adversary to all these languages. These inequalities get reflected in the activity of translation and consequent 'representation.' For instance, compared to Manipuri and Nepali, Tamil and Malayalam have had more translations for the reason that the former two languages entered the 'official' roster of languages much more recently. The cases of unevenness are many.
The Sahitya Akademi has attempted to correct these inequalities. The work of the Sahitya Akademi goes beyond the languages of the Union to include tribal and oral languages also. The Government of India Resolution dated 15 December 1952, which set forth the Constitution of the Sahitya Akademi, provided for representation on the Akademi of the languages enumerated in the Constitution of India. The General Council laid down the language policy of the Akademi: "The Akademi will be concerned not only with the languages mentioned in the Indian Constitution but also with other Indian languages, as well as with literary productions in English by Indian nationals." On these grounds the Sahitya Akademi’s list of languages also includes Maithili, Dogri and more recently Garo and Khasi. Commercial publishers are not accountable for a democratic representation of Indian Literature; hence their choices are confined to the 'major' languages that have a 'market.' The slant of commercial translation activity towards languages like Bengali, Urdu, Kannada and Malayalam is indicative of the 'marketability' of these literatures. The hard fact that a text translated from Dogri, for instance, into any Indian language or English is a marketing risk is sad but undeniable. At this point, one recent development needs to be mentioned. Katha, in its latest volume of short stories, published a tribal story that had been recorded through the efforts of the Bhasha Centre in Baroda. The Centre aims at the preservation and documentation of tribal languages in Gujarat and Maharashtra. This isolated but happy instance hints at some new relationships that can be forged between marginal tongues and English translation. It is not within the scope of this thesis to go further into the 'politics' of language. At the same time, it is important to de-romanticise the celebration of translation as 'representing' the diversity of India, and to take note of the inequalities that exist in the very act of considering languages.
Coming once again to the question of Gujarati, it passes the test of being a 'major' language by the criteria of the Eighth Schedule as well as the Sahitya Akademi. It is the language of the majority in the state of Gujarat and it also fulfills the following criterion laid down by the Sahitya Akademi:

1. Whether structurally a language is an independent language or is part of a system of a given language
2. Whether it has had a continuous literary tradition and history for at least the last three centuries
3. Whether a sufficiently large number of people use it today as a vehicle of literary and cultural expression
4. Whether it is recognized by the State concerned and/or by some Universities as a medium of instruction and/or as a separate subject of study
5. The number of people using the speech, the current literature that is being produced in it (fiction, essays, other literatures, journals, etc.) may also be considered

Modern Gujarati as spoken and used in literature today is derived from Sanskrit through the intermediate stages of Saurseni Prakrit and Gaurjar Apabrahmsa. Like all the major languages of Northern and Central India, Gujarati belongs to the Indo-Aryan family of languages. During the rule of the Gurjars, (probably a Shaka tribe which entered India in the fifth century A.D and conquered West Rajasthan and most of present-day North Gujarat by the end of the sixth century), the land came to be known as Gurjarata or...
Guijar Desha. The term 'Gujarat' had emerged by the tenth century. The first known work written in Gujarati is Hemachandra's *Prakrita Vyakarana* in the eleventh century. The first printed book was completed in the year 1815, after the arrival of printing in Gujarat in 1812. The first Gujarati newspaper *Mumbai Samachar*, started in 1822 and is the oldest surviving newspaper in the country.

The period of Old Gujarati, beginning from the 12th century, has many long narrative poems by Jain saint poets. The medieval period (1450-1850) is a long stretch comprising several historic changes in Gujarati literature. A plethora of poetic forms invented by Narsinh, Akho, Dayaram and Premanand make this period an extremely fertile one. Akha's *chhappas* (terse stanzaic form) are satiric in nature, mocking the blind and polytheistic practices of his time. Mira's love poems also fall into this period, so do Gangasati's songs. Some translation of these Gujarati 'bhakti' poets has been undertaken by different religious trusts, and, more recently, by the Sahitya Akademi. On the whole, the intellectual/radical and literary quality of some of the early poets has been overshadowed by the label of 'devotional poetry.' Audiences outside Gujarat hardly get a flavour (for there has been no equivalent in Gujarati to A K. Ramanujan's translations of the *vacanas* or Dilip Chitre's rendering of Tukaram) of the wit and intellect in some of the poetry of this period.

Narmad and Dalpatram in the nineteenth century begin the 'modern' phase of Gujarati literature. The first Gujarati novel, Nandakisor Mehta's *Karan Ghelo* (1866), and the first social novel, Mahipatram's *Sasu vahu ni ladai* (1866), also belong to this phase. An interlocking of reformist tendencies and Western genres is the predominant feature of the
work of poets exposed to University education in this age. The modern period of Gujarati
is extremely complex and indicative of Gujarat's relationship with colonisation. The Age
of Reformism (*Sudharak Yug*) beginning at the end of the nineteenth century culminates
with Gujarati's best-known literary creation, *Saraswati Chandra*. None of the major
authors of this period, including Govardhanram Tripathi (the author of *Saraswati
Chandra*), is available in English translation.

In the twentieth century, Gujarati literature has been dominated by Gandhi's presence for
at least four to five decades. Most of the majority of known authors in Gujarat, upto the
nineteen-seventies remain, --- in acceptance or rejection ----- influenced by Gandhi.
Jhaverchand Meghani, K.M.Munshi, Anantra Rawal, Ishwarbhai Petlikar, Umashankar
Joshi, Dhoomketu, Sundaram and a host of writers belong to the Gandhian phase of
Gujarati literature. Compared to the previous period, some of these authors are at least
better known, if not read outside Gujarat. Once again, the number of works available in
translation is painfully small. The breakaway from Gandhian thought and the old
Sanskritic school of Gujarati literature marks the beginning of another very significant
phase of Gujarati literature. Suresh Joshi stands as a colossus here. This year Joshi was
made available, perhaps for the first, in English. Among the established practitioners of
Gujarati literature of the contemporary period are Harindra Dave, Chinu Modi, Prabodh
Parikh, Rajendra Shah, Niranjan Bhagat, Labhshanker Thaker, Suresh Dalal and many
others. In recent times new energies have emerged from the margins of Gujarati
literature, mainly from among women and dalits. While some of the women writers such
as Kundanika Kapadia, Varsha Adalaja and Saroop Dhroov have made their way into
books and anthologies, Dalit writing from Gujarat has not had the kind of visibility that Arjun Dangle's English compilation (*Poisoned Bread*, Orient Longman) has given to Marathi Dalit writing. Finally, two Gujarati literary figures have been recipients of the Jnanpith award -- Umashankar Joshi and Pannalal Patel.

II

Translation in Gujarat

This section offers an account of translation activity in Gujarat. Although translation from Gujarati into English is of more relevance here, some mention of translations into Gujarati also needs to be made since this latter has had a long and continuous tradition. Translation from Indian as well as European languages has been an integral part of the literary and cultural life of Gujarat. Literary styles in Gujarati literature owe a great deal to translations made available in Gujarati. The difference between what has gone out of Gujarat into other languages (including English) and what has come into the Gujarati language from outside sources is very great. Surveys undertaken by research students conclude that approximately 1000 works from Indian and some European languages exist in Gujarati translation. In contrast, very little from Gujarati literature has made inroads into other languages, particularly English, perhaps because English poses its own set of problems and has its own dynamics. The impetus to translate into Gujarati has come from mainly from two sources -- the establishment of the Gujarat Vernacular Society and Gandhi's emphasis upon translating into the vernaculars. The Gujarat Vernacular Society, the oldest organisation of its kind in the state, was established in 1845. A.K.Forbes, with
the help of the poet Dalpatram, established this organisation to preserve old Gujarati manuscripts and thereby provided a publishing forum for works written in Gujarati. Forbes, who worked for the East India Company and was sent to Ahmedabad as an assistant judge, developed great interest in the history and culture of Gujarat, but found the language unpolished and underdeveloped. Through the activities of the Society, he placed high premium upon translation because that was one of the ways in which the language could be enriched. Forbes remarks:

When we contribute to a Christian Mission we acknowledge the call. When we try to lift up the language of the province from its present ignoble condition and encourage the more gifted fancies among those to whom it is vernacular, to enlarge, refine and regulate it by manifold application, that it may become a filter to convey from mind to mind and from generation both the beautiful and the true, then too we acknowledge the same call to benefit those among whom for the present we are sojourners.  

The relationship between Dalpatram and A.K. Forbes and, through it, the role of the Vernacular Society form a different kind of 'colonial transaction.' The Society, now called the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, is still very active in publishing original works and translation. While it is not within the purview of this study to go into its role in detail, it may be noted that a concerted effort to 'enrich' and 'refine' the Gujarati language, found it necessary first to bring translations into Gujarati. On the other hand, whenever a language or a culture has been perceived as being rich and dominant, and a repository of ideas, aesthetics and poetics, there has been a rush to translate from it into other 'receptor' languages and cultures. Kapil Kapoor makes an apt comment: "There is in each act of translation, an attitude towards the source language and a certain assessment of the target
language — it is a recognition of the intellectual strength of the source and of a vacuum or gap in the target language/culture. In the nineteenth century, English texts played the role of 'nurturing,' and the 'native' target texts gained 'sustenance.' (A reverse exercise is taking place today, but the implications are not exactly the converse. The nuances of this exchange will be dealt with later.) The relationship between the English source texts and the Gujarati target texts, was one of reverence and quiet submission on the part of Gujarati. Similar overtones exist even in the Gujarati-Bengali relationship. It has been justly referred to as a "one-way traffic" and many have noted that there has been regular translation from Bengali and Assamese into Gujarati, but that the reverse hasn’t been happening.

Gujarat has for the longest time accepted the 'donor' status of other languages, especially Sanskrit, English and Bengali. There is a different self-reflexivity about Gujarati literature today that makes the Gujarati literati evaluate translation differently. Academics and practising poets feel that the major authors in Gujarati stand as counterparts to the major authors in any Indian language. If the latter are known and read through their availability in other languages as well as English, why not Gujarati authors of equal repute? The question is difficult to answer and this chapter is not an answer, but an attempt to show the multifarious links that might surround one specific case of an Indian language in English translation.

Coming back to translation activity in Gujarat, another impetus to translate into Gujarati came from Gandhi's views on translation. "I consider English as a language for
international trade and commerce and therefore, it is necessary that a few people learn it and I would like to encourage those to be well-versed [in English] and expect them to translate the masterpieces of English into the vernaculars. " (translation mine) Gandhi's words form the cornerstone of translation activity in Gujarat. Translation for Gandhi was a process that countered the insularity of cultures, it allowed, to use his own metaphor, the blowing of all winds freely into the house without letting the house get blown away. Furthermore, translation into the mother tongue helped in restricting the direct use and dominance of the English language. Interestingly Gandhi's own works were translated by Mahadev Desai very early on. In a fine reversal of events, Gandhi himself translated the Song Celestial, Edwin Arnold's translation of the Geeta, into Gujarati so that "every illiterate woman and child in Gujarat should read it. "12 Mahadev Desai, who wished Gandhi's work to reach a Western audience translated the translation back into the source language, that is English, which itself had been a target language for Edwin Arnold!

Compared to translation into Gujarati, the output from Gujarati into English has been meagre. Deepak Mehta notes "Compared to other Indian languages very few Gujarati books have been translated into English and those few are not very good either For a community that shows great openness in translating from other literatures into Gujarati, the lack of interest in representing its literature through English and making it known nationally and internationally is puzzling."13 (translation mine) A research study of English writings in Gujarat in the pre-independence era lists ten works translated from Gujarati into English These include literary and non-literary works, adaptations and free
translations. Of the ten odd works in English translation, translation "proper" begins only with Mahadev Desai's translations of Gandhi's works in the second and third decades of the twentieth century. Most of the translated works remain unread and unnoticed. They have interested only bibliographers and researchers. A select bibliography of works translated from Gujarati into English in the twentieth century, is provided at the end of this chapter.

Here I wish to emphasise the publishing contexts of some of these works and 'explain' their lack of success in generating readerships. The different impact upon the quality and circulation of works in public and private publishing channels has been discussed in an earlier chapter. Keeping that larger background in mind, the specific case of Gujarati is presented below.

Gujarat has very few institutions that are engaged in publishing English-language literary works. An exception is the Navjivan Press with its history dating back to Mahatma Gandhi's period in Ahmedabad. Committed to his ideology of knowledge, it has for many years published socio-political writings with a Gandhian slant. It published the translation of Gandhi's autobiography mentioned above. The Press publishes the writings (in the original and in translation) of all those associated with Gandhi's work. Save for this one exception, Gujarat must have had to depend upon either small and non-expensive efforts or upon outside agencies for publishing works in English. The Gujarat Sahitya Akademi is the only state run agency that has English translations falling under its purview. Its project to publish translation in English has long remained an abortive one. After the
publication of Sneharashmi’s translation of his own poems in the eighties, there has been nothing.

Planned translation is mainly institutional and is essential to fulfil some constitutional and other obligations. Planned translation by agencies such as the regional and central Sahitya Akademi and the National Book Trust is undertaken for integrational purposes and is unconcerned with the demands of society. Of Gujarati works translated and works published in this manner by the Sahitya Akademi are Jhaverchand Meghani’s Mansai na Deeva (Earthen Lamps, 1979) and Pannalal Patel’s Manvini Bhavai (Endurance: A Droll Saga, 1995). Kundanika Kapadia’s Saat Paglan Aakash maan (Seven Steps in the Sky, 1994) was first published by the Sahitya Akademi, its rights were subsequently bought by Penguin India. This work and the conditions of its publication are a slightly unusual instance of transaction between public and private units in the industry of translation. Presumably it happened in response to the interest in Indian women’s texts today. All three works mentioned above were translated under the Sahitya Akademi’s scheme of translating award-winning books into as many languages as possible. However, the two works by Jhaverchand Meghani and Pannalal Patel remain somewhat unread and unknown for want of distribution and marketing. It must also be said that of the thirty odd Gujarati literary works which have received the Akademi’s awards, from 1955 to the present, less than five have been translated. This shows the discrepancy between the Akademi’s expressed policy and its actual implementation. It is also a comment upon the non/availability of translators from Gujarat.
Unplanned translation takes place in many different ways. Individuals or small presses publish works out of genuine interest and do not always strive to distribute them in the market. The works then remain little known and serve little purpose. C.C. Mehta's play *Aag-gaadi* (*Iron Road*, 1970) or Chandrakant Topiwala's *Contemporary Gujarati Poetry*, 1972 belong to this category. Titles of this nature are added to the list of works translated into English, but make little difference as far as readerships are concerned. Then there are commercial and market-sensitive efforts to publish translations. In this area too Gujarati has fared very badly. Translations of short stories published by Vikas and Jaico were early efforts at 'trade publishing' in the sixties and seventies when the market for English books had not been created. These translations remain unnoticed and languish perhaps in the old records of the publishers concerned. In the current phase of trade publishing, no translation from Gujarati has figured in the lists of Rupa-Harpercollins, Ravi Dayal, Kali for Women, Oxford University Press, Seagull and Picador India. Macmillan's list of *Modern Indian Novels in Translation* has so far three works from Gujarati; this is the only positive development as far as translation from Gujarati into English is concerned. The Macmillan list, discussed in general earlier on, is both planned as well as market-sensitive.

One may safely conclude from the foregoing discussion that Gujarati works in English translation are few and poorly marketed because of their publishing contexts. There has not been any dissemination of these works so far, and in the current phase of focussed and careful translation, they seem to have little place. On the other hand, the recent
publications by Macmillan and one by Penguin India are participatory gestures from Gujarat and indicative of more involvement in the future.

It is interesting to view the situation of Gujarati vis-à-vis some of the other major languages in India. The first translation from Malayalam into English, W.Dumergue's rendering of Indulekha, was published in 1890. The tradition of translation from Malayalam since then has been in a sense unbroken. Despite the absence of a market, this tradition has made the works of Basheer, M.T.Vasudevan Nair, Narayan Menon available to non-Malayali readers in India and abroad. Bengali had well-known translators such Michael Madhusudan Dutt and R.C.Dutt who had formed a corpus, however small, of works translated into English. By the time Rabindranath Tagore appeared on the Bengali literary scene, there was already a tradition of translating into English. As far as Tamil is concerned, G.U.Pope and others in the nineteenth century had initiated translation by showing interest in the 'wisdom literature' of Tamil. In the present century Ramanujan's translations in the seventies from the Sangam literature have contributed significantly to the knowledge of Tamil literature within and outside India. The case of Kannada has already been mentioned. A wide range of Kannada authors are available in English translation -- Bendre, Gokak, Karanth, Adiga, Ananthamurthy, Karnad, Kambar, Anupama Niranjana, Purnachandra Tejaswi and many others. A band of translators from Kannada has been translating and contributing to this body of literature, for example, Ramchandra Sharma, Girish Karnad, A.K.Ramanujan, Tejaswini Niranjana. Marathi too has had some well-known translators such as Dilip Chitre, Gauri Deshpande, Shanta Gokhale and Priya Adarkar. It would be naïve to look for precise equivalence in
translated works among all languages. Beyond a point, these comparisons are misleading because of the internal specificities that need to be taken into account. For instance, a fair amount of Assamese poetry has been translated into English. Poets translate each other's work. However, these endeavours, remarks Anjum Hassan, are usually the result of personal interest and rarely recognised as viable or commercial enterprise. According to Hassan, other genres remain more or less untouched because there is never enough of a market, and for languages like Khasi there is no market. In some cases, the number of works translated into English may not be very large, but a combination of well-known authors, translators and high-profile publishing makes them visible. Extra-literary factors often ensure the circulation and institutionalization of specific texts. Ananthamurthy's Samskara was widely discussed and prescribed as a text by universities in India and abroad because Ramanujan translated it and Oxford University Press published it, and Ramanujan's presence in America undoubtedly aided the process of its dissemination. A similar institutionalisation took place with Gopinath Mohanty's Paraja translated by Bikram Das. As the editor at Oxford University Press indicated, the book figured, through the help of a teacher of Oriya origin, in the syllabus at Cornell University. This ensured readership as well as sales. It has also evoked interest in Oriya among staff and students at Cornell. These stray instances are indicative of apparently accidental circumstances that give prominence to some texts and languages. Gujarati's position vis-à-vis other languages of equal status remains poor in all these respects.

In the last few years, it has become a matter of concern for practitioners and critics of Gujarati literature that some of this literature should reach audiences outside Gujarat.
This includes translation into other Indian languages as well as English, but translation into English is a more pressing concern. Attempts at English translation have been meagre and half-hearted and neither translators within Gujarat nor any outside agencies of translation have shown any interest in making Gujarati works widely known. The perception that Gujarati literature has not been positively received and that its texts are inaccessible is gaining ground in Gujarat. To quote from the introduction of a recent anthology of Modern Gujarati Poetry:

"The sheer quantity of poetry written in Gujarati, published and read, is astonishingly large. Little or none of it has crossed linguistic boundaries and been made available in English translation. The result has been a serious underestimation of the literary output in Gujarati by non-native speakers." ¹⁶

It may be worth questioning whether this 'underestimation' is the cause or the effect of translation. In my interviews with academics, poets and office-bearers concerned with Gujarati literature, it emerged that there was little disagreement about the meagre quantity of Gujarati translated into English, especially when compared with languages like Kannada, Tamil, Malayalam or Bengali.¹ However, there were differences of opinion when it came to explaining this dearth of translation. For instance, Bholabhai Patel, (a well-known essayist, translator and a representative of Gujarat at the Sahitya Akademi) notes that there has been apathy towards Gujarati Literature. Those who know Gujarati, he adds, know little English and those competent in English are indifferent to Gujarati literature.¹⁷ Ramlal Parikh, the vice-chancellor of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth. on the

¹ Interviews with Bholabhai Patel, Yashwant Shukla and Ramlal Parikh were held in Gujarati. The translations are mine.
other hand, feels that Gujarat has not developed a "science of translation. It has focussed upon transcreation or adaptations." At the same time, he maintains that the Gujarati diaspora in Western countries has become self-aware about the Gujarati culture and literature, and will play an important role in the future. If Bholabhai Patel thinks that there has been apathy on the part of Gujaratis, Yashwant Shukla (a well-known critic and eminent man of letters) feels that it does not "become" the locals of Gujarat to translate themselves. The demand for translation has to come from outside agencies. Shukla feels that "things like these have to flower on their own. Systems have to evolve for translation and then individuals will do it." Patel's point of view differs from this and he draws attention to the parallel growth of Kannada and Gujarati up to the beginning of this century. Kannada literature is known within and outside India through the availability of a wide range of authors. This is because Kannada generated a group of English teachers who also wrote in their mother tongues, and this helped them maintain a literary relationship with both languages. K. Satchidnandan, the secretary of the Sahitya Akademi, Delhi voices the same point of view by saying that in Kerala, English teachers have maintained an organic relationship with their mother-tongue and that has helped the cause of translation. This means that English teachers constitute a large segment of translators' communities everywhere. It also implies that inadequate dialogue between departments of English and Indian literature undermines possibilities of translation. One of the ways in which some languages found their way into English earlier than others is through the assertion of literary communities. Satchidanandan remarks that "certain languages which have been assertive and successfully propagated their literatures and somehow captured the attention." The lack of effort on the part of the Gujaratis to
propagate Gujarati work outside Gujarat may be termed "apathy," or it may also been as modesty and self-effacement.

A common premise running through all the arguments made by those in Gujarat and those outside about Gujarat's lack of 'representation' is that Gujarat does not have many bilingual persons who have a simultaneous and equal command over Gujarati and English. The authorities at the Sahitya Akademi and Katha admitted having had difficulty in finding good translators from Gujarat. Parikh noted that "Gujaratis being in business needed the local language and not English Therefore, they have not had a very deep interaction with English. As for professionals, they carried their careers abroad, so the state is not left with many people with a mastery in both languages." Patel attributes the lack of bilinguals largely to Gujarat's language policy which systematically undermined English and created two generations after independence with poor levels of competence in English. Shukla tends to believe that the impact of the language policy on this matter is not a crucial factor. However, compared to some other states, Gujarat did not have close contact with the British. It is clear that there has obviously not been a concerted effort to make Gujarati literature known outside Gujarat. According to G N Devy, the Gujaratis are, by and large, indifferent to translation. Gujarat has never been dominated emotionally by the West. Translation into English then is the product of a much more complex set of circumstances than is generally acknowledged. The following section explores the socio-historical conditions for translation in Gujarati in the colonial and postcolonial contexts.
Socio-historical background

This section sketches in background relevant for Gujarat in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This rough socio-historical account of Gujarat is offered because I subscribe to the view that literature is produced and consumed in a material world which is, in turn, shaped by a complex mix of economic, political, social, cultural and intellectual forces. In other words, the concrete materiality of literary products needs to be stressed. This is not merely saying that literature is a *reflection* of the historical forces shaping society but rather that it is part and parcel of society-formation. I take up first a broad picture of colonial Gujarat.

Gujarat’s first contact with the British took place as early as 1613 when the British opened their first trade centre in Surat. This was later shifted to Bombay. In the following years with the decline of the central Mughal authority Gujarat was plagued by gradual cultural decay and a number of small princely states emerged. Recurrent raids by the Marathas to extract revenue compounded the feeling of insecurity. In 1803, the East India Company acquired possession of the leading city of Broach; and the Company's victory at the Battle of Kirkee in 1818 stabilised English rule in Gujarat. After a long period of political unrest and chaos, Gujarat once again felt a sense of security and peace. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, Gujarat was completely under colonial rule and that status remained 'unchallenged' till the end of the First World War in 1918. Gujarat also remained relatively indifferent to the First War of Independence in 1857.
outlining these events in such broad strokes falsifies the mixed quality of Gujarat's response to colonialism. Colonialism was not challenged militantly and politically till Gandhi appeared on the scene. However, in the areas of economics and commerce, moral and social issues, and more importantly, English education, Gujarati intellectuals and poets displayed an interesting range of responses. Among early responses to colonialism, Gujarat's first modern poet, Narmad, read an essay in Surat on the value of forming co-operatives and associations. Dalpatram in the same year, that is 1851, read a poem on the invasion of mechanised industry through the West and exhorted people to adopt industrialisation.

The same practical and business-like approach governed Gujarat's attitude to education. In 1835, with the passing of Macaulay's famous Educational Minute, educational policies for all the states had to be shaped. States were free to accept or to modify the new educational system, and some did modify much to the chagrin of the English government. Mountstart Elphinstone, then governor of Bombay (Gujarat in the pre-independence era figured in the Northern Presidency), followed a policy of non-interference in this matter, and native schools teaching through Marathi and Gujarati were left alone. In Ahmedabad and Surat too, the efforts of schools teaching English received a lukewarm response. When the authorities of the Bohras' College at Surat were asked to arrange for English teaching at government expense, they politely declined the offer, saying, "within the College no other study is permitted, but what is contained in the books of religion."22 In another instance, a petition to establish an English school in Ahmedabad was made. Interestingly enough, the petitioners were all Marathi-speaking
persons and professed to speak on behalf of the inhabitants of Ahmedabad. The Bombay Native Education Society, which also catered to the educational needs of schools of indigenous learning were gradually replaced by schools based on the western model, in Gujarat and Maharashtra. A continuous increase in the number of vernacular schools and pupils attending them, testified to the fact that the Western type of education through the vernacular evoked a very positive response from the people. The controversy between the Anglicists and Classicists in Bengal found a resolution in education through the mother tongue in the bilingual state of Maharashtra.

Considering the fact that the Gujarati intellectual's response to English literature was very enthusiastic, this restricted use of English is puzzling. For instance, after the consolidation of Bombay University in 1857, the first two generations of Gujarati writers -- Narmad, Navalram, Ramanbhai Neelkanth, Manibhai, Govardhanram Tripathi and Anandshankar -- were all beneficiaries of English education, and drunk with the nectar of English poetry. Narsimhrao's Kusummala (1887) conceived along the lines of Palgrave's Golden Treasury represented the domination of the Romantic style of poetry for many years. The tradition of writing English prefaces was evident in the first political novel of Gujarat, Karan Ghelo or The last Rajput King; the first social novel, Sasuvahu ni Ladai, the travelogue Hind one Britannia, and much later Govardhanram's Saraswati Chandra indicate the use and acceptance of English. At the same time, most of the writing in English was closely intertwined with agendas of reformism, and was hardly ever a literary exercise for its own sake. For instance, Mahipatram wrote an English preface to his novel and 'explained' his choice: "Believing that an appeal, through the
English Language to such of my enlightened countrymen as can understand it, on the
crying social evils exposed in this book, will be more effective for their removal, and for
rousing the sympathy of the educators and civilisers of this country.\textsuperscript{23} Writing prefaces
in English, Gujarati novels and travelogues clearly mapped out the boundaries of English
and the mother tongue.

We now turn to Gujarat's economic situation and awareness in the nineteenth century
Gujarat had, very early on, woken up to the fact of economic exploitation under colonial
rule. The Gujarat Vernacular Society published translations of economic treatises written
in other languages and Gujarati writers like Navalram and Hargovindas discussed the
theme of economic exploitation under colonial rule from 1870 onwards. Kantawala
openly spoke of \textit{swadeshi} and \textit{swadesh prem}. The fact is that Gujarat had a self-sufficient
economy that required little intervention through a Western type of education. The
predominance of trade and of the mercantile class and the existence of about 200 feudal
states in the region did not call for a high economic investment in English-related jobs.
Secondly, the enterprising nature of the Gujaratis made people evolve their own means of
economic progress. The market for cotton-trade and the cotton and other ancillary
industries that burgeoned towards the close of the nineteenth century comprise another
framework for assessing the relative insignificance of English. The response of the city of
Ahmedabad to the commercial challenge of British rule is especially revealing. Its
textiles competed very well with European rivals in the international market, and with the
exception of a handful rich \textit{seths} who took to Anglicised ways for a brief period at the
end of the nineteenth century; the city showed little desire to emulate the West.
According to Sunil Khilnani, Ahmedabad industrialised itself under its own steam, through its own language without noticeable British investment, and with little disturbance to its existing cultural habits. Thus a peculiar brand of nationalism, to be defined not in terms of patriotism but a civic society, enabled Gujarat to face challenges from the West in a unique manner, and prepared the ground for Gandhi.

Gandhi's presence in Gujarat in the first four or five decades of the twentieth century reinforced the need for a self-sufficient economy and education. The ideological commitments of institutions like the Gujarat Vidyapeeth and the Navjeevan Press reflect a longstanding native tradition that has not easily allowed the foundations to be shaken. Concrete testimonies of this lie in schools, universities, gram vidyapeeths and the entrenched tradition of co-operatives. Gandhi's influence in matters of culture and education are of very direct concern to us here since they have shaped Gujarat's language policy to a large degree. Other factors contributing to this phenomenon are related to Gujarat's political intervention in matters of education, its identity as a state separate from Maharashtra, and the legacies of its relationship with British rule. The culmination of all this was a strong resistance to English in post-independence India. It has finally led to the "great debate" about the English language.
Language Policy

After the 1920s, the Mahatma was a governing force in all social reform and educational issues. His impact upon education is of very direct relevance because of the fact that, along with many other unconscious legacies of the colonial rule, it determined the location of English in postcolonial Gujarat. He announced in the Young India of 1928: “Among the many evils of foreign rule this blighting imposition of a foreign medium upon the youth of the country will be counted by history as one of the greatest.” Gandhi believed that education through English was “unnecessarily expensive,” and that it “prevented the growth of our vernaculars.” He also believed that for the first seven years of schooling, it was very burdensome for a child to be learning through a foreign medium; the medium of instruction in those years should therefore be only the mother-tongue. These views of Gandhi regarding English language and education found unquestioning support among a huge section of Gujaratis, some of whom were policy makers in matters of education. The placement of English in Gujarat since then has been fraught with severe differences and conflicts.

After independence, the question of the language for administration and education had to be resolved at both the national and state levels. Education was a subject on the state list and the debate about the medium of instruction in primary, secondary schools and in higher education took on a different hue and shade in every state. When India became independent, and the medium of instruction in schools and universities had to be decided
at the state level, the stand taken by many in Gujarat proceeded from the Gandhian philosophy of education. Maganbhai Desai, the Registrar of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth, interpreted the Centre's desire to retain English as "vested interests which continue to dominate us even today." He stated the following tenets for education in an independent nation-state:

1. English should have no place whatsoever in the curriculum of the first seven years (i.e. from standard first to standard seventh.) From the fifth standard the study of the national language should begin.

2. From standards 8th to 11th, i.e. during the four years of High School, English should be introduced. It need not be compulsory. Those not taking up English may take up, besides the mother tongue, any one of the Indian languages. The more we live in Swaraj the more we feel the need of knowing Indian languages other than our mother tongues.

There was, by and large, agreement all over the country that primary and secondary education had to be re-grouped as seven years of primary and four years of secondary education. Earlier on it was four years of primary and seven years of secondary. A contentious issue in Gujarat was the "proper place" of English in the curriculum. This apparently small matter assumed huge proportions as letters and articles proclaiming the ideological implications of each stand were discussed in public. It was a long drawn out debate -- from about 1945 to the early 1970s -- its intensity reminiscent of the controversy between the Classicists and Anglicists in the nineteenth century India. The two divergent groups, which we shall, for convenience's sake, call the "Gujarati lobby"
and the "English lobby," stood for introducing English from standard VIII and from standard V, respectively. It is crucial to note that there was no conflict between the two groups as far as the basic medium of instruction was concerned. (The Gujarati Press, in a facetious vein, referred to the two groups as Thakore Panch and Thakore Aath because the champions on the two sides bore the names of Thakorebhai Desai and Thakorebhai Thakor, respectively.) Even a staunch supporter from the "English lobby," Niranjan Bhagat maintains that it is "sinful" to think of education in a language other than the mother tongue. However, Bhagat has strong differences with what he calls, the "pseudo-Gandhians" regarding the position of English in the curriculum. In addition to introducing English from the fifth standard, his group also advocated making it a compulsory subject thereafter. The "Gujarati lobby," on the other hand, said that English should be made optional in secondary schools. This was because many students performed poorly at the Matriculation examination owing to their inability to deal with English. Since many members of the Gujarati lobby occupied key positions in the University and its affiliated institutions, the language policy conceived by them, though hotly contested, came into force. This controversy also needs to be seen in the light of Gujarat's formation as a separate state. Before 1960 Gujarat was a part of the Bombay Presidency and the new state, formed on the basis of language, obviously needed to privilege its language to reinforce its identity. Consequently there was a stronger drive to switch over to Gujarati at all levels.

The debate regarding English at the school level continued unabated as the years went by. The supporters of English increased, to some extent, because the issue of the "official
language" remained undecided even at the national level. Yet another development is related to the Gujarat University. Kakasaheb Kalelkar stated the question "When can we call this university the Gujarat University?" and gave the answer. "When the medium of its instruction and examinations is Gujarati." On 13th September 1960, it was announced in the Vidhan Sabha (the state Legislative Assembly) that the Government desired to amend the relevant statute of the University, by which from November 1960, the medium of instruction in the Gujarat University would be Gujarati only. With this, colleges affiliated to Gujarat University could not teach English and the examinations were to be held in the regional language. A non-Gujarati resident of Ahmedabad, Mr Mudholkar secured from the Gujarat High Court a decision that the Legislative Assembly had no authority to determine any medium of instruction for Universities since this was within the University's own jurisdiction.

As things stand now, English in local and municipal schools is taught from the fifth standard as an optional subject. It is compulsory in standards VIII and IX. Again in standard X, it is optional, and the fear of failing the Board examination makes many students drop English because it is optional. Those who do not offer English in the tenth standard naturally avoid it in the twelfth. As a result most metropolitan and mofussil undergraduate colleges affiliated to Gujarat University have students with very little (as little as two years) English. They are referred to as "B Stream" students, and the syllabus prescribed for them is different from the syllabus for those who have studied English in the tenth and twelfth standards. Thus a systematic undermining of English at various levels, a consequence of Gujarat's language policy, has led to very low levels of English.
According to a research study, the evolution of an education system in a given region is often influenced by the socio-cultural background of the community which is its clientele, whose aspirations and limitations it caters to. Gujarat's long history of a business culture and a value system dominated by a commercial outlook seem to have undermined the goals of education. A Gujarati with his keen business acumen takes a cost-benefit approach to education; the "making of the mind" counts for little on the whole. The study, which was carried out by T.Rangrajan with a view to finding out why students from Gujarat do not apply for or are not successful at all-India competitive examinations, says this about the state:

1. Gujarat has a long tradition and cultural life that never came into direct contact with the British. It had a large number of native states, and only Ahmedabad and Kheda were under British rule. Englishness did not permeate deeply into the lives of the people.

2. A whole urban and petty bourgeoisie emerged as a result of the British system of education in other parts of India. That never happened in Gujarat. Traditionally there was no professional class. There were only mill owners and businessmen. They did not require the British education for furthering their economic prospects nor did they need public services. The educated Gujaratis that did take up professional careers opted for business-connected courses.
Gujarat Today

While the factors outlined above have led to a situation in which Gujarat compares unfavourably with other states in the matter of competence in English, we need also to take account of other factors which point in a different direction, thanks to the far-sightedness of a few families or individuals. Gujarat has marginalised itself educationally from the national mainstream through its language policy. But the fact is that it is the location of some of the most prestigious educational centres in the whole country. The Indian Institute of Management, the National Institute of Design, the BM Institute of Mental Health, the Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology, and most recently, the National Institute of Fashion Technology --- are all premier educational institutes, entry to which is highly competitive on a national scale. We need to ask three questions:

(1) How did these extremely modern institutions come into existence here, given the non-Western bias of the state?

(2) What relationship have they with society at large in the state?

(3) Can they act as vehicles of English carrying the language into, and out of Gujarat (an important consideration for translation projects in Gujarat)?

A handful of wealthy industrialists in Ahmedabad, most notably the Lalbhai and Sarabhai families, were very conscious of the importance of education. The Sarabhai as a family were unusual for Gujarat inasmuch as they combined a great admiration for Western
education with nationalist sympathies (rather like the Nehrus). The sons were all educated either at Oxford or Cambridge and on their return to India, set up institutes to bring the best from abroad to Ahmedabad! Vikram Sarabhai, a scientist, set up the Physical Research Laboratory, the Indian Institute of Management, the Ahmedabad Textile Industry's Research Association and the Community Science Centre. His brother set up the National Institute of Design and the BM Institute of Mental Health. These institutes which attracted students, scientists, research scholars from all parts of the country, created a culture which was distinctly non-Gujarati and used the medium of English.

However, the irony is that few Gujaratis have been able to gain entry into these institutions and the reason for this must be attributed, at least partly, to their poor levels of English. The institutes thus stand as islands of excellence, cut off from the surrounding flow of the city, participating hardly at all in its cultural life and housing largely non-Gujaratis. However, one may infer that there has been, over a period of 30-40 years, a trickle-down cultural effect from these places into society at large. At the very least, their presence and prestige have served as reminders of an inheritance thrown away and now to be recovered and that English is indispensable for the operation of recovery.

The third question was related to the role these institutes may play in disseminating a cosmopolitan culture in the state. As awareness of the globalizing process gets underway, one finds that increasingly, students from the city's colleges are attempting to enter these places at least as trainees. A place like the National Institute of Design, which takes in
about 30-40 students from all over India every year, promotes a very modernist culture, into which a fraction of Gujarat's students may be absorbed. Cultural events like the garba organised by and for institutes like the NID or CEPT bring hordes of local people onto the campus and give them a taste of something different. Research institutes like the PRL and the Institute of Plasma Research have taken to Open House Days during which the public is allowed access to the premises and given information regarding the work done there. From these events (of fairly recent origin) one may infer that interactions between elitist institutes and the general public is steadily increasing. The implication for English is that such sustained exposure, may lead to an increased demand for English language skills which may enable the locals to compete favourably for entry into the prestigious educational and research institutes in their midst.

We have noted above that the trajectory of educational and research institutes in Ahmedabad has very gradually had an effect on the people's consciousness in the state. It needs to be emphasised that, like elite centres anywhere in the country, these institutions run entirely in English. This has served as one contributory factor to offset the negative attitude towards and neglect of English. Furthermore, the hold of the makers of the old language policy has begun to wear off with time, and the new classes forming in post-colonial Gujarat have not inherited the baggage of antipathy towards English. The close ties that Gujarat had had with English in the time of Nanalal, Kant and Govardhanram snapped after the third decade of the twentieth century when Gujarat was wholly involved in the Freedom Movement. The language policy which rested on a rejection of colonialism was responsible for at least two generations who used hardly any English for
purposes of communication A literary relationship with the English language that might have fostered writing in English or translating into it was out of the question. * However, trends in Gujarat today seem to express a desire for a re-alliance with the English language. This is likely to have a tremendous impact upon translation Before we turn to translation itself, let us first read the signs of our time.

Gujarat in the last decade, especially after India's drive towards 'liberalization' and an 'open economy' is a changed place. Although my observations apply to large cities like Ahmedabad and Surat, the change is likely to have percolated to smaller towns as well. First of all, there is a re-shaping and re-definition of Gujarat's attitudes to English. There are signs of an English-reading public today -- as testified to by at least three new bookshops, and the establishment of the newspaper The Asian Age. The emergence of a middle class which can spend money on books and send its children to English medium schools has changed the face of the reading public in Ahmedabad. Earlier, the reading of English books was confined to a very small section of teachers and intellectual who constituted the only clientele of old shops such as Sastu Kitab Ghar and the New Order Book Company. The activity of reading in English was relatively low-profile and English

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* D F Karaka's weekly comic column "Arre Bha, shun chhe?" in Current all through the 50s and 60s showed two Gujaratis in Gandhi caps, exchanging views in very broken English ----- and every column had "Boycott British Language" as a closing rubric. This was clearly a sarcastic allusion to the Boycott British Goods campaign started by Gandhi.
did not form a part of all private and public spaces. On the other hand, the opening of a large bookstore like Crossword today is a clear sign of change in readership patterns in Gujarat. Although some part of its clientele today consists of non-Gujarati professionals, a very large proportion of sales is accounted for by middle-class Gujaratis buying English books for their children. Gaurav Shah (owner, Crossword) asserts that children's books in English sell the most. For a new middle class anxious to give its children a competitive edge in a global future, English is seen to be indispensable.

If these are manifestations of the 'presence' of English, there are also attempts to make it available to all sections. Various sociological and economic changes have created a need for English in the state. The shift from the tradition of "family businesses" to salaried jobs and professions is one reason for this new demand for English. This shift obviously does not apply to all classes and Gujarat is still a "business-oriented" state; however, interaction even in business, is not confined to the state alone. More and more people do business with other states, and abroad as well through exports. Thus opportunities for using English have proliferated in a state that did not, for a long time, feel that English was required for economic advancement. Also, huge numbers of people from the weaker sections, i.e., castes and classes which have never had the privilege of education, are now being educated. The democratisation of education creates a desire to use this education by entering professions. There has also been a concurrent movement from villages to cities, reinforcing the need to know English. For a very long time, jobs as operators and receptionists in good companies were the prerogative of non-Gujaratis, since they always had better English. Increasingly local people are competing for these jobs with outsiders.
In such a situation English becomes a crucial means of climbing the occupational ladder. Another impetus for learning English comes from the desire to go abroad. The Gujarati community is perhaps the largest constituency among South Asian immigrants in the United States. English now becomes absolutely essential, and since the schools do not impart intensive learning, other avenues are sought and found. English coaching classes which 'supplement' English outside school hours and prepare those going abroad with communication skills in English, abound today in the state. The mushrooming of English speaking classes can be seen not only in big cities like Ahmedabad and Surat, but also in the 'mofussil' parts of Gujarat. Thus market demand and the norms of professionalism have made the middle class Gujarati aware of the 'importance' of English.

Coming back to the migrant population, its impact is felt in several ways. The monetary remittances of this constituency change the economy of the home state (a fact not peculiar to Gujarat alone), and influence the cultural make-up of family members living in the home state. At the same time, it also constitutes an important market to which the resident Gujaratis supply products, especially 'cultural' products. Manifestations of this take the form of certain kinds of print and visual media (literature and mythology through books and video cassettes) made available to the NRIs in English in response to their nostalgia for 'home.' For instance, there is an industry concerned with translating Gujarati songs and stories into English for non-resident children who obtain access to 'Gujarati culture' through English and whose parents wish to provide them with some sense of 'roots.' The 'poor' distribution and 'negligible' sales of Meghani's book *Earthen Lamps* was mentioned in an earlier section. According to the owner of a local bookshop,
the book was somewhat more successful with the emigrant Gujaratis who wanted their children and friends to read the great classic. For those with no Gujarati, this was possible only through an English translation.

Apart from the literary and educational shifts just outlined, Gujarat has also emerged as the one of the most urbanized states in the country, second only to Maharashtra. Although its standards of education may not compare with those of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka or Maharashtra, it has emerged as a very important centre in India's newly liberalised and open economy and attracted investors from outside the state and the country. It is the location of some of the leading petrochemical and pharmaceutical industries on the subcontinent. With so many changes, a new consumerist middle class has come into being. This class is not deeply involved with the civic life of the state but it responds to the global demands of individual progress through education and aggressive drive. As Gujarat catches up with the new capitalistic ethos of India today and seeks to take its place in the global market, it readjusts its position regarding English.

It is clear from the foregoing that English is gaining in importance for reasons both commercial and non-materialistic. One aspect of the state's multi-pronged effort to take the lead is the desire and need to project the richness of its cultural heritage. Harish Khare aptly comments: "The choice before the state is to find an optimum mix of its national heritage, the globalizing instincts of its international connections (the overseas Gujaratis), and its regional pride." The dance festivals in Modhera, and the development of the Rani-Vav at Patan are visible signs of this thrust. At a less noticeable level, centres
devoted to Gujarati literature are steadily focusing on translation activity. The Gujarat Sahitya Akademi has recently revived its defunct translation programme. The Gujarat Sahitya Parishad has embarked on an ambitious translation project through which the best of old, medieval, and modern Gujarati literature will be made available in English translation. The first Sahitya Akademi (Western Zone) Translation Workshop was held in Ahmedabad in 1996 in which Gujarati poems were translated into the Indian languages of the Western zone and into English. In a period of five short years the repercussions of economic, social and cultural change have made themselves felt. Translation activity is one of those repercussions. Translation in these new circumstances has chances of not just survival, but desirability too. If translation 'promotes' a regional text (thereby addressing the need for regional pride), it also joins hands with the project of 'Indian Literature' (symptomatic of the need for 'pan-Indian' images) and simultaneously it makes homegrown products available in a language that everybody, including the overseas Gujaratis, understands.
NOTES


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184

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