Introduction

Indian multilingualism can be understood better in terms of heterogeneity. The Indian society has different social groups which are of varying shape and size, and perform different functions. This heterogeneity makes Indian society unique in itself. It can be seen at various levels such as geography, religion, caste (there are as many as 6000 castes in India), ethnicity, culture, languages, scripts, etc. Heterogeneity on account of language, which assumes significance for the present study, becomes evident from the census report.

In 1961 census 1652 mother tongues were reported which were grouped under various language groups. Linguistic heterogeneity is also marked by the presence of five language families in India. Findings based on recent research carried out by areal linguists and geneticists have further added one more language family. All these languages are further grouped under five different language families present in India. At presently the Indian Constitution enlists 22 languages as scheduled languages and 100 non-Scheduled languages. All the 22 Scheduled languages have been given the status of national languages. None of the countries in the world recognizes so many languages for official purposes in such a vast polity. Linguistic diversity can be seen in every society.

This is not the end of diversities present in India. Diversity of food habits, dressing, etc. is also there. All these diversities togetherly make India multilingual. So one can say India’s multilingualism is multi-tiered. It is omnipresent in the life of its citizen. The dynamics of the relationship of the languages present in India is so unique that it makes Indian multilingualism unique in itself. Despite the linguistic diversity, communication in India is conducted with felicity and ease. At present
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there are 3954 newspapers and periodicals in 35 languages, 146 speech varieties and 24 major languages used in radio networks, 13 languages used in cinema, 47 as media of instruction. Variation in language can be seen at all the stratification present in India. So in India multilingualism is an integral part and every one grows with it. Multilingualism is often associated with the elite, but in Indian multilingualism prevails even among the illiterates and this makes Indian multilingualism unique.

**Purpose of the Study:**

The present study aims at evaluating the language policy of India, with a view to exploring the role of language policy in the maintenance and sustenance of multilingualism in India. What is the nature of multilingualism in India? Does the language policy of India support multilingualism or monolingualism? If the aim of the language policy is to support multilingualism in India then how does it achieve its objectives? How is the multilingualism maintained in India? The study will look into the different aspects of Indian multilingualism arising due to high diversity of Indian societies. The purpose of this study is to provide a descriptive analysis of Indian multilingualism and to look into the nature of language planning and policy of India. It does not make any explicit attempt for providing a critical account of power dynamics and politics behind language planning and policy. Nor it makes an attempt towards describing different language movements and language riots that happened in the Indian history.


**Review of Literature:**

**Studies based upon Multilingualism and Language Policy**

In 1969, Baldev R. Nayar in his book *National Communication and Language Policy in India* explores considerable depth of the complex language problems in India. It is a kind of survey of language situation in India and it reviews most of the important legislation, reports, commission and policy statements on the question of language. It summarizes the current language situation of each state, the growth of Hindi and the significance of English in India.

In 1969, K. Ishwaran wrote ‘Multilingualism in India’. This article is a part of book *Studies in Multilingualism* by Nels Andreson. The article is wider in scope as it deals with the political and social problems in countries like India which characterize linguistic pluralism. It gives an overview of whole India in terms of demography, language, geography, etc and also describes the use of language in different fields like education.

The book *Language Conflict and National Development* by J. Das Gupta in 1970 analyzes language politics in India as a case study of a larger problem like political integration in culturally pluralistic new states. It is a thoughtful, analytical examination of the historical and contemporary conflicts over languages in India.
The book *Multilingualism in India* was written by Pattnayak in 1990. This book provides a stimulating study of the nature and structure of multilingualism in the Indian subcontinent. Pattnayak observes that India, with 1652 mother tongues, four major language families, written in ten major script systems and a host of minor ones represents different faces of multilingualism. With four thousand castes and communities and equal number of religious faiths and cults, its multilingualism matches its pluriculturalism. The articles in this book discuss sociology, psychology, pedagogy and demographic aspects of multilingualism. They bring out some of the salient problems of literacy in a multilingual world and give a language planning perspective. The volume ends with a discussion on language and social identity. In a multilingual country like India many languages are mutually supportive and complement one another. Identities are layered and larger identities encompass the smaller ones without absorbing them.

In 1993, G. Mansour in her book ‘*Multilingualism And Nation Building*’ provides some interesting interpretations of why and how linguistic diversities have taken current shape in West Africa. The book offers a definite view on how these nations might effectively solve some of their multilingual difficulties. Mansour has drawn a distinction between vertical and horizontal multilingualism. The term vertical suggests that many languages coexist within the same region but are used for different functional purposes. There is also description regarding the types of policy i.e. assimilationist and pluralistic.
By looking at the effect of language difference, rather than at theories of language, in 1994, John Edwards in his book *Multilingualism* examines the interaction of language with nationalism, politics, history, identity and education. He illustrates his arguments with a range of examples, from recent attempts to revive and preserve languages such as Irish and Basque, to the argument over French and English in Canada and the US 'English' campaign. He also examines the linguistic myopia of those who would seek to elevate one language over another. *Multilingualism* unpicks the complexity associated with a world of so many languages, and creates an overview which is multidisciplinary in focus. Its mixture of curious facts, wit and eloquence, will appeal to anyone who cares about the role of language in society.

The article ‘*Reconciling Linguistic Diversity: The History and the Future of Language Policy in India*’ by J. Baldridge (1996) gives a full description of language issues in India since ancient times. The focus of the article is on the history of language policy in India, which deals with the national language issue, the three language formula, etc and its future prospects. It gives a good linguistic overview of India, how foreign languages influenced Indian languages, language issues after independence like national language issues, movements against Hindi and issues behind the three language formula. It also deals with the linguistic situation of India i.e. monolingualism vs. multilingualism.

The paper *Historical and Theoretical Perspectives in Language Policy and Planning* by Thomas Ricento published in 2000 explores the evolution of language policy and planning (LPP) as an area of research
from the end of World War II to the present day. Based on analysis of the LPP literature, three types of factors are identified as having been instrumental in shaping the field. These factors—macro sociopolitical, epistemological, and strategic—individually and interactively have influenced the kinds of questions asked, methodologies adopted, and goals aspired to in LPP research. Research in LPP is divided into three historical phases: (1) decolonization, structuralism, and pragmatism; (2) the failure of modernization, critical sociolinguistics, and access; and (3) the new world order, postmodernism, and linguistic human rights. The article concludes with a discussion of current research trends and areas requiring further investigation.

In 2001, the book *Managing Multilingualism in India* by E. Annamalai offers a clear, eloquent account of various facets of multilingualism in India. It addresses the challenge of managing, maintaining and promoting multilingualism and also offers a wealth of information on topics ranging from acquisition of multilingualism in family, social and professional settings, multiple identities, educational policies and language modernization, to language conflict, minority-language maintenance and language mixing.

The article ‘*Multilingual Language Policies and the Continua of Biliteracy: An Ecological Approach*’ by Nancy H. Hornberger in 2001 discusses language policy with a multilingual perspective. Hornberger is of the opinion that one language–one nation ideology of language policy and national identity is no longer the only available one worldwide. Multilingual language policies, which recognizes ethnic and linguistic
pluralism as resources for nation-building, are increasingly in evidence. These policies, many of which envision implementation through bilingual intercultural education, opens up new worlds of possibility for oppressed indigenous and immigrant languages and their speakers, transforming former homogenizing and assimilationist policy discourses into discourses about diversity and emancipation. This article uses the metaphor of ecology of language to explore the ideologies underlying multilingual language policies, and the continua of biliteracy framework as ecological heuristic for situating the challenges faced in implementing them. Specifically, the paper considers community and classroom challenges inherent in implementing these new ideologies, as they are evident in two nations which introduced transformative policies in the early 1990s: post-apartheid South Africa’s new Constitution of 1993 and Bolivia’s National Education Reform of 1994. It concludes with implications for multilingual language policies in the United States and elsewhere.

The paper ‘Reflections on a Language Policy for Multilingualism’ by E. Annamalai in 2003 throws light on some important aspects of language policy designed for multilingual societies. This paper discusses how language policy for multilingualism must aim at maintaining a functional network of languages from which follows the maintenance of individual languages. The distribution of functions to languages should include both public and private domains. Given that the domains are not equal in power and status, the equilibrium that sustains the network is the principle that no language disadvantages the person speaking it. This principle must underlie a multilingual policy. The policy must recognize
the limitations and special interests orientation of the government as the prime agent of language policy and allow agency to communities and individuals to shape the policy through negotiation with the government to accommodate their language policy as exhibited in their language behavior. Annamalai believes that the community needs to be sensitized to see the negative consequences to the public good of adopting a language behavior dictated by the market forces. The conflict that arises between the language behavior preferred by the community to express solidarity and the one forced by the market to acquire power will be reduced if the government and the market are localized.

The book, *Language Policy*, by **Bernard Spolsky** in 2004 offers scholars and practitioners a provocative introduction to the controversies surrounding language politics and policymaking. This book also offers opportunities for rich dialogue around how society views, encourages or discourages various language practices. Spolsky has responded two major questions 1) How can language policy be recognized? and 2) How can language be managed? While *Language Policy* may lack some argumentative nuance, it serves as a useful resource for understanding the core issues within current language diversity debates.

The book *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method* by **Thomas Ricento** (2006) adds to the existing body of literature on LP. This volume is a thorough and timely overview of the field from a range of angles. The aim of the book, according to the editor, is “to position LP as an area of research within sociolinguistics and, more broadly, within the social sciences and humanities”. The volume features 19 articles
specially commissioned for this volume, written by leading experts in a variety of LP related fields ranging from the economics of language to critical discourse analysis. The book is divided into three parts covering theoretical perspectives, methodological perspectives and topical areas in LP.

The article 'Identity and Multilinguality: The Case of India' by R. K. Agnihotri (2007) gives the history of the language policy in India before and after the partition of India and Pakistan. Agnihotri clearly shows that language policy and national identity are mutually related and are often used for political ends. He takes the case of Hindi and Urdu in support of his arguments. According to him, the two languages were politicized and antagonized to serve the political end, and were thus projected as two separate identities, Hindu and Muslim, during the partition process. This had an unfavorable consequence of destroying the ethnic harmony. The dominance of Hindi contributed to the demise of Hindustani, a common language to Hindus and Muslims, generating resistance from other linguistic groups. He describes how English, the language of colonization, remained one of the official languages to counter the absolute power of Hindi.

The book Receptive Multilingualism: Linguistic Analyses, Language Policies and Didactic Concepts by D. Theje and L. Zeevaert (2007) contains results from research carried out at the Research Centre on Multilingualism at the University of Hamburg as well as contributions by various international scholars working in the field of receptive multilingualism. This volume reveals new perspectives from different
theoretical frameworks on linguistic analyses of receptive multilingualism in Europe. Case studies are presented from contemporary settings, along with analyses of historical examples, theoretical considerations and, finally, descriptions of didactical concepts established in order to transfer and disseminate receptive multilingual competence.

The book *Language Policy and Linguistic Minorities in India - An Appraisal of The Linguistic Rights of Minorities in India* by Thomas Benedikter published in 2009 is a useful exercise in explaining the complexity of issues facing India’s linguistic minority policies. The book provides an overview of India’s linguistic landscape. It goes on to examine the lacunae’s in India’s protection of linguistic rights of its minorities and indigenous peoples. As Benedikter elaborates, incomplete protection is accorded to minority languages under the 8th Schedule of the Indian Constitution. One of the primary targets of an incomplete protection is India’s tribal peoples, the Adivasis. The considerable gap in linguistic protection leads to failings in providing adequate coverage of minority languages in the media, educational institutions and establishments of public administration. As Benedikter exemplifies, India’s constitution only provides piecemeal recognition to some 22 languages at the expense of other 92 languages, without having established a transparent criterion for such a status. Furthermore, linguistic rights are not reflected through representation at a political level. Nor does recognition as a linguistic group provide entitlement to cultural or local autonomy. Such limitations represent severe impediments within India’s legal and constitutional framework.
The article ‘The Importance of Language Policies and Multilingualism for Cultural Diversity’ by Joseph Lo Bianco (2010) addresses the contribution of multilingualism to cultural diversity and the importance of explicit, comprehensive and public language planning to secure a stronger future for endangered indigenous and immigrant languages. It is critically important to develop language policies that ensure the access of minority populations to prestigious forms of national standard languages and literacy while supporting the intergenerational retention of minority languages, both indigenous and immigrant languages. An enhanced practice of intervention on behalf of multilingualism is discussed in sections devoted to the mechanisms and activity of language policy-making. Contemporary globalization is a challenge for language diversity but in some ways makes the intergenerational retention of diverse languages more feasible than under conditions of strict assimilation as practiced by linguistically defined nation-states. Also potentially supportive of multilingualism are the voice-based communication technologies that overcome the tyranny of distance and dispersal, and promise access to information, communication and solidarity for preliterate groups or those that have limited literacy. Efforts to appreciate and foster human differences require awareness of the importance of multilingualism. The endangered state of many of the world's languages and the now almost universal phenomenon of multiculturalism make the practice of language planning a central instrument for states, international agencies and non-governmental bodies.
The article ‘Patterns of Indian Multilingualism’ by B. Mallikarjun published in 2010 analyzes the census data to have a clear look of the picture on multilingualism prevailing in India. The census data can serve as a major source to understand Indian multilingualism and can also provide input to understanding various kinds of planning in the country. The paper concludes with remarks in favor of the rise in multilingualism in India after independence and credited education, media, etc for making the multilingual patterns more dynamic.

Studies based upon Language and Education:

The article ‘Researching the Linguistic Outcomes of Bilingual Programs’ by Andrew d Cohen published in 1982 attempts to focus on several types of linguistic analyses that the author had done since 1970 and thus reviews three linguistic studies from 1970s in light of approaches used in 1980s: (1) pretest-posttest analysis of spoken Spanish and English of Mexican American bilingual children; (2) assessment of Spanish grammar among Culver City Spanish Immersion pupils, and (3) effect of summer vacation on Spanish language retention among English speakers from the Culver City program.

The article ‘Language in Education: Minorities and Multilingualism in India’ by Kamal K. Sridhar published in 1996 provides background information on the linguistic profile of India. The paper also discusses the term “minorities” in the Indian context, and the protection offered to linguistic minorities in the Indian Constitution is examined. A discussion of language policy in Indian education follows in which the recommendations of the different education commissions are analyzed.
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The important issues covered include, the number of languages that are taught, the medium of instruction, and the educational policies regarding speakers of minority languages. The article also discusses different language movements and their impact on Indian education.

The article ‘Towards A New Multilingual Language Policy in Education in South Africa: Different Approaches to Meet Different Needs’ by Deirdre Martin published in 1997 discusses some of the issues involved in developing a multilingual language policy in education in South Africa. It looks upon the attitude of learners, parents and teachers towards the multilingual language policy, also the range of multilingual educational models operating in other countries. The paper argues that for a multilingual language policy in education developed at government level within national framework needs flexibility for schools and classrooms to implement the policy to meet the needs of the learners.

The article ‘Multilingual Education in Europe: Policy Developments’ by Jose Manuel Vez published in 2009 explores new dimensions of changes to policy and/or school practices that require modification or renovation of language education. The article also offers new perspectives on how multilingualism may be interpreted and utilised for the development of education policies in EU countries. It also explores certain questions like how successful a cohesive process for a multilingual Europe is it likely to be? In which way do new policy developments in language education affect curriculum decision-making, professionalism and our own sense of identity and intercultural options? Up to which point do ‘linguistic unity’ and ‘linguistic diversity’ have to
be taken into account as political and educational factors gearing towards European communicative integration? How can we avoid policy developments which treat multilingualism as an ‘either - or’ decision and run the risk of creating social exclusion either through cultural or linguistic exclusion? Is it possible in a multilingual Europe to develop a holistic language education policy inclusive of ‘Global English’ and linguistic diversity?

The document ‘Education in a Multilingual World’ published in 2003 by UNESCO aims to describe and clarify some of the key concepts and issues of language and education. It also presents in a simplified and synthetic form the many declarations and recommendations regarding language and education. They are generally known as UNESCO guidelines and principles. It also presents outcomes of discussions held in many international meetings and conferences on language policy and education. This paper also includes issues on mother tongue, minority-majority languages, language teaching, multilingualism and heterogeneity, etc.

Organization of the Thesis:

The first chapter tries to provide an overview of the social, cultural and linguistic scenario of India. It gives a detailed account of the language families present in India. It also gives a picture of how different races, caste, religion, region and other diversities present in the Indian society grooms the languages spoken by the people of India. It is this which make Indian multilingualism natural and unique in itself.
The second chapter provides a general outlook of what is multilingualism and how it has been defined differently by different scholars. It also talks about the views regarding multilingualism. Attitude towards multilingualism occupies two ends of the continuum. One end of the continuum reflects negative attitude while the other end shows positive attitude. Some consider it as a boon, as a resource and for some it is a nuisance. Based on different criteria multilingualism has been categorized into different types. The chapter also discusses the nature of multilingualism present in India before independence and after independence in the background of various historical studies and the census records.

The third chapter talks about the nature of planning and policy in India. First it discusses what is planning and policy and its types and how it influences policy making. Then it gives an overall picture of the kind of policy adoption in India and how it was influenced by the soviet policy and also explores the reasons that allowed the model to lose its ground in the Indian situation. Then it talks about the different policy formation regarding the usage and status of different languages like the language provisions provided in the Constitution, the status of Hindi in India, the Linguistic State Reorganization (LSR), the inclusion of languages in the Eighth Schedule, the Official Language Act, etc.

The fourth chapter gives an account of the education policy in India. Education has always been a major factor in promoting multilingualism. The chapter describes the kind of policy regarding education before independence, starting from the Macaulay’s minute to the present status
of education scenario in India. It also talks about other measures for promoting multilingualism via education like Mother tongue based multilingual education (MTME).

The **fifth chapter** is a statistical and attitudinal study regarding multilingualism and heterogeneity in India based on a pilot survey. The survey gives an approximation of the rate of multilingualism among university students and their views regarding the language policy of India. It also discusses in brief the problems regarding the implementation of language policies in India.

**Chapter six** summarizes the whole thesis and concludes with some findings and suggestions.