7.1 Implications for Language Planning

Ferguson (1977; 9) explains that "all languages change in the course of time, and all speech communities change through time in respect to the functional allocations of the varieties of language in them". Ferguson's explanation can be extended to a diglossic bilingual situation where the functional allocations of two or more languages may change in course of time. Ferguson (1977) further points out that the users of language in all speech communities evaluate the forms of language(s) they use, i.e., they regard some forms or some languages better. Most of the changes that take place in the allocation of language functions in speech communities are apparently by unconscious process. "Most of the change is, however, related to the users' evaluations, and in some instances conscious, deliberate attempts, to affect the course of language change, either to foster innovation or to preserve the existing state, contribute to the processes of change, sometimes crucially" (Ferguson 1977; 9). When a deliberate attempt is made to change the function or course of a language, we call it language planning.

In a multilingual country like India, therefore, language planning would require affecting the functions of different languages and language planning in such a situation is inconceivable without reference to a social
context. Sadanand (1983; 274) aptly points out "The first or preparatory stage in this process would be identification of the status of a particular language or variety of a language enjoys in a community in terms of the nature of its function in that community and the emotive value attached to it". The next stage is decision-making regarding the goal(s) to be set for and the roles to be played by each language/language variety. A particular language might need to be spread and its use encouraged among a certain community or it may need to be equipped for the role it is expected to play in a setting and thus elaborated in form.

7.1.1 Policy and Implementation of Official Language

The Constitution of India envisaged the replacement of English by Hindi as the official language of the union government and as the link language between the union and the states and between one state and another. The country needed and wanted to retain Hindi as the only national language to assert itself as a nation. The states were given the discretion and authority to adopt any one or more languages in use in the state, or Hindi, as the official language or languages of the state concerned. It was decided to introduce Hindi as the official language of the union in a phased manner. In the first stage, Hindi was to be used in addition to English for purposes specified by the President by order. In the second stage, restrictions were to be imposed on the use of English. An Official Language Commission was established to investigate the areas where Hindi would replace English.

The recommendations of the Commission were submitted in 1956 and were accepted by the Committee of Parliament on Official Language in 1958.
It was decided that English would continue as the subsidiary official language only. As per the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee, the President of India issued an order on April 27, 1960 which included the following provisions: a) English shall continue to be the medium of examination for the recruitments through the U.P.S.C., but later, Hindi may be admitted as an alternate medium, b) an authorized translation of parliamentary legislation in English should be provided in Hindi, c) when the time comes for the changeover, the language of the Supreme Court shall be Hindi and d) as for the language of the high courts, when the time for the changeover comes, Hindi shall ordinarily be the language of judgements, decrees and orders in all regions. Thus, it was made very clear that the development of Hindi was an important concern of the government.

The Ministry of Education was given the actual task of implementing the union government's policy on Hindi. In 1950, the Ministry assigned the job of preparing 350,000 new terms in Hindi to a Board of Scientific Terminology. Once the role of Hindi and other Indian languages was identified, it was essential to prepare technical glossaries, standard dictionaries, encyclopaedias, text books etc. to facilitate the use of the official language and to standardize the code. Sadanand (1983; 276) mentions "It is the implementation or execution of the plan that is most important for a planning programme as it provides the planner with feed back as to the acceptibility and use of a language. This aspect of planning completes the cycle of the language planning process and starts it as the same time".
7.2 Language in Education

As India decided to adopt Hindi as the official language of the union and a link language for inter-state communication and 14 of the major Indian languages as the official languages of the states, the Official Language Commission in 1955 'identified' the language problem of India. According to the Commission "The enfranchisement of the regional languages in their appropriate fields and the forging of a common medium of expression for all the relevant purposes, official and non-official, with reference to all aspects of pan Indian intercourse constitute the language problem of India" (Official Language Commission 1955 and 1975; 54). As English could not be the language of the masses, the Commission decided to have Hindi for pan-Indian purposes. Therefore, the Commission recommended that Hindi should be compulsorily taught at the secondary school stage all over the country. The Commission recommended a change of the existing medium of instruction in a phased manner. It was considered that a changeover from English to Hindi would reduce the gap between the educated classes and the rest of the community. This changeover of medium could not necessarily be uniform in all universities and for all courses of study. For example, the humanities can be more appropriately taught in the regional language. In some universities it may be preferable to continue the English medium. The importance of English to acquire scientific knowledge was stressed by the Official Language Commission.
The Indian Education Commission (1964-66) headed by Prof. D.S. Kothari, Chairman U.G.C., recommended that English could not serve as the link language for the majority of the people in India. It was Hindi that could and should take this place in due course. As it was the official language of the union and the link language of the people, all measures should be adopted to spread it in the non-Hindi areas. The success of the programme would largely depend on the extent to which it is voluntarily accepted by the people of these areas. The Commission also proposed a three language formula. As per this formula, in classes I-IV, the study of only one language should be compulsory. It would naturally be the mother tongue. From classes V-VII, the study of two languages should be compulsory. The second language may be either the official language of the union (Hindi) or the associate official language of the union (English) so long as it would be recognised. From classes VIII-X, the study of three languages should be obligatory and one of the three languages should be the official language or the associate language of the union whichever was not taken up in classes V-VII.

It is theoretically possible to teach two or three languages in schools and retain English in higher education but as Sadanand (1983; 280) points out "the implementation of a programme that includes the elaboration of 15 languages involves practical difficulties such as the availability of manpower and resources and psychological problems such as reconciling the national need and the individual's need". For example, the Secondary Education Commission (1953) observed that there was a serious dearth of properly qualified teachers for both Hindi and English. The standards
accepted were lower than required. In the final paragraph of its report
the Commission highlights the problem:

"In regard to some of the vocational courses taken in the
diversified scheme of studies at High School or Higher Secondary
stage, it may be necessary that English should be continued. It
has been represented that at present neither the regional languages
nor the federal languages can step into the breach and supply the
necessary literature in the particular subject of study for the
higher stages of learning. Among the reasons stated were; the
greater paucity of standard books in the languages concerned; at
present several of the languages are still in the process of
developing a literature suited to the exposition of modern
scientific thought... The necessity, therefore, of reading in
English or in some foreign language many of the books now
produced in higher ranges of learning can not be disputed;
moreover English is at present the medium of instruction in
many universities and will be the language used by the centre
and certain states for some years to come. It is felt that
until books written in the regional languages replace books now
available in a foreign language, it is inevitable that students will
need to have a good knowledge of English to study the subjects in
the books available in that language".

Shortage of good teachers and suitable text books, translation
facilities etc. reflects only one kind of problem in the field of education.
Sadanand (1983; 282) mentions "The need for a particular language other
than the mother tongue contributes largely to the motivation to learn it
that is the greater the need, the higher the motivation". The introduction
of the three language formula in most of states without ascertaining
the needs of the learners in each state had undesired results. One of the
three languages taught in school was only a formality. In many cases
only 25% marks were the pass marks. This situation might have been
avoided if more time had been devoted to an identification of the need
for each language, the people who need it and at what stage.
7.3 Language Use and Language Attitudes

Language planning should be directly related to the needs and attitudes of people in a state/country. It was discovered in chapter 3 that the majority of the respondents across all the mother tongue groups had reported excellent proficiency in all the four skills of English. A large majority of the respondents also reported a high/excellent command of the four skills of Hindi. Both the Punjabi-MT and Hindi-MT respondents indicated some proficiency in Punjabi. The use of the other Indian languages was only restricted to the other-MT group. The results of chapter 4 confirmed that there is relatively more use of English in the domains of education, place of work and government than the other domains. There is relatively greater use of the MT in the domains of home, shopping, neighbourhood and public place. The English-MT bilinguals in Chandigarh use a mixture of English-Hindi, English-Punjabi or even English-another Indian language. Domain, role-relationship and topic have a significant effect on reported language used, though the effect of topics on the language used is not so great or wide as the effect of interlocutors. The higher educational qualifications of an interlocutor result in the higher use of English within a domain. The respondents' age, education, occupation, mother tongue, sex and exposure to English affect the use of English for spoken communication. Relatively higher use of English is associated with the younger age group, the higher education group, the higher occupational group, the other-MT group, the female sex and the high exposure to English. The results of chapter 5 confirm that newspapers, magazines and novels in English are preferred by the respondents to newspapers, magazines and
novels in Hindi, Punjabi or other Indian languages. English is also the dominant language for written communication.

The results of chapter 6 indicated that the respondents have positive attitudes towards 'the use of English for impersonal use'. They have positive attitudes to 'English as an official language of the Union of India', 'English for international communication and 'the use of English for Science and Technology'. They have uncertain attitudes to 'the use of English to study the culture of English speaking people' and 'English to be the official language of each state/union territory'. They have also got positive attitudes to 'the use of English for communication between people from different states'. The respondents have positive attitudes to 'the use of English to get on well socially', 'the knowledge of English to do well at work' and 'the knowledge of English to appear a better educated person'. Therefore, English for personal use is rated positively by the respondents. The positive attitudes of the respondents towards 'English for personal use' are the result of the present status of English as a world language and a prestigious language in India. The respondents have indicated negative attitudes to 'the use of English at home', 'the use of English at a public place' and have indicated neutral attitudes to 'the use of English in one's locality', 'the use of English with friends' and 'the use of English with colleagues'. They have positive attitudes to 'the use of the MT at home', 'the use of the MT at public place' and 'the use of the MT in one's locality' and have neutral attitudes to 'the use of the MT with friends' and 'the use of Hindi with friends'. It seems that the respondents have rejected the use
of English for spoken communication in most of the informal domains. However, the respondents have rated positively the use of English for education both at school and college. On the other hand, they have shown negative attitudes to the use of the MT both at school and college.

It is not wise to assume that the prestige of English in Chandigarh has a direct influence on language use, language learning and language competence as "A major weakness of language attitude tests is that it is not easy to demonstrate what the implications of language attitudes are in the sociolinguistic environment" (Schmied 1985; 263). Schmied (1985) presents the following figure 7.1, which systematizes the main factors involved in the language use, language learning and language competence.

![Figure 7.1](image-url)
It seems that figure 7.1 reflects the use and learning of English in Chandigarh. This figure shows that the relative prestige of English develops from absolute prestige as a result of the interference of language policy. The influence of absolute prestige on the whole sociolinguistic situation is limited and only relative prestige affects language use or motivation for language learning. Language learning seems to be more dependent on other factors such as language policy and the use of English in different professions. Language competence is only indirectly related to relative prestige via language use and language learning.

The above system and the discussion of the respondents' language use and language attitudes suggest as to how the problem causing greatest concern regarding the standards of English in India could be approached that is, how the standard of English in the country can be improved, at least among the highly educated (like the respondents in this study) for whom it is very important to use English in a formal context and to have a high competenc in English. Khubchandani (1978) mentions that English is a significant contact language among urban elites in India and occurs prominently in nine states. It has third position in Punjab. Similarly, English seems to have third position after Hindi and Punjabi in Chandigarh and the motivation to learn English among the residents of Chandigarh seems to be fairly high. The results of chapter 4 have shown that English has an important place in education, government and place of work. As English is not the MT of a large majority of Indians, there is a need for the adoption of English as one of the Indian languages to be taught from K.G./ class I in government, private and public schools.
The positive value of English in India and in Chandigarh should be recognised in the language policies of the government; this way 'diluting' of absolute prestige can be reduced, thus improving relative prestige. One possible way of achieving this would be to maintain the 'associate official language' position of English in the future and adopt it as one of the Indian languages. Officially, English should not be seen as a rival to Hindi, but rather as complementing it in a wider sphere of communication.

The best way to improve the relative prestige of English in India would be to differentiate between British and American and a national (or Indian) form of English. Kachru (1981) points out that the distinctive uses of English in America and the resultant nativization in American sociocultural and linguistic contexts contributed to the Americanness of American English. Thus American English, in some respects, is different from British English. The same argument can be extended to Indian English. Indian English has certain features, which make it distinct from the native varieties of English. Verma (1973;7) observes that Indian English is a highly structured system and "it differs from other dialects in rule-governed way". Kachru (1965 and 1966) has presented a detailed analysis of the idiosyncratic vocabulary items of Indian English. Bakshi (1985) has shown that complex sentences are significantly more frequent in British English than in Indian English and complex noun phrases are significantly more frequent in Indian English than in British English.
Verma (1975) referring to some of the syntactic deviations in Indian English explains:

"It might seem tempting to dismiss these patterns as nothing than accumulation of errors or foreignisms, but the plain fact is that such patterns have become so well established in Indian English that they get passed on from one generation to the next. They have assumed such stability and continuity that they can be seen more like dialectal innovations than ephemeral foreignisms. These sentences are all part of the grammar of a great many educated speakers of English; this variety does not prevent effective communication".

What we need to foresee is the sociolinguistic function of English as a national associate language rather than its linguistic function of a world wide language. What strategy will be followed depends not on the decision of a sociolinguist but on that of the politicians. However, if the standard of English is to be improved, a new public attitude towards English must emerge and this can be achieved by making English a compulsory language right from class I in all schools.