

Language Planning Agencies: The Case of Telugu

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Doctor of Philosophy
In
Applied Linguistics

By
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June, 2000

**To
My Mother**

For whatever I am,
I owe it to her

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, the work presented in this thesis has been carried out by me under the supervision of Dr. **B. R. Bapuji**, and Prof. **Udaya Narayana Singh**, Centre for Applied Linguistics and Translation Studies, School of Humanities, University of Hyderabad. I also declare that this work has not been submitted for a degree or diploma of any other university.



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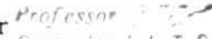
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A c k n o w l e d g e m e n t s

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Introduction

INTRODUCTION

Language planning has long been one of sociolinguistics' success stories. It was a domain of application in which new insights in the non-arbitrary relationship between languages and societies could be converted into implementable, practical problems of literacy, standardization of language, and the development of educational facilities. As a result of the World War II, the paradigms of 'development' and 'modernization' of newly (became) independent countries had called for the attention of many social scientists to translate their 'scientific' endeavors into 'political' decisions, which in turn, were supported and sponsored by the state agencies in one way or the other. As a matter of fact, the process of language planning and the agencies that carry out this process form a part of this scenario.

The present thesis deals with the Telugu language planning agencies. It is organized into eight chapters. The first chapter, titled 'Concept of Language Planning: Revisited', discusses the concept of language planning in general, the terminology used by different scholars to denote the process of language planning, typology of language planning activities, need for language planning, types of language planning etc. At the end of this chapter, an attempt is made to offer a general definition of language planning.

In the second chapter, language situation, planning and language planning agencies around the globe are briefly discussed. For convenience, the data are presented continent wise, and within a continent, the different countries are discussed in alphabetical order. The data for different language planning agencies around the globe, however, is primarily based on Rubin

(1979). In the chapter that follows, the language policies in India are discussed from a historical point of view. In this chapter, the language planning activities that are undertaken in different periods and their influence on the Indian society were discussed. The data in this chapter are presented under four sub-headings: **pre-colonial** period, colonial period, period of national movement, and the post-independent period.

Chapters from 4 to 8 are specifically devoted to the Telugu language planning agencies. In chapter 4, the role of rival elites as agents of Telugu language planning during the 19th and 20th centuries is discussed. In chapters 5-8, a detailed discussion is made about the Telugu language planning agencies. Chapter 5 deals with Translation Cell and Translation Directorate, which were established in 1964. Chapter 6 deals with the Andhra Pradesh Official Language Act of 1966 and the subsequent developments which resulted in the establishment of separate Official Language Cell in the Secretariat and Official Language Commission in 1974. Chapter 7 describes the role and functions of Telugu Academy and in Chapter 8, the Telugu University is depicted in detail. Chapters 5—8, the data are presented mainly in terms of the organizational setup of respective language planning agencies, duties, proclaimed objectives and achieved goals and their role in the modernizing and developing Telugu as official language of the Andhra Pradesh.

The final chapter includes observations made and conclusions drawn in this study.

Chapter 1

CONCEPT OF LANGUAGE PLANNING REVISITED

Though each and every language serves as an effective means of social communication in its own sense, all languages are not equal in terms of number of speakers and the functions they serve in any given society. This situation demands a systematic, organized, conscious, and continued planning of the language resources. In other words, it demands language planning.

The term 'language planning' is said to have been coined by Uriel Weinrich in 1957, while indicating the title of a seminar in Columbia University. However, Haugen used the term for the first time in literature in 1959 (Karam, 1974). As Oladejo (1993) rightly pointed out that, there is no country which does not have some kind of language planning or some organized effort aimed either preventing or solving already existing language related social problems. The areas in which language becomes a problem of nationalism includes general government administration, education, mass communication etc. The problem is, however, often resolved in favor of whichever language does the job well. This observation gives us the universality of language problem, and the intensity of language conflicts. Oladejo (1993: 91) recognizes two kinds of language conflicts: 1). Interference, where not only the abstract linguistic systems in contact create conflicts but also the attitudes and perceptions of their speakers often differ considerably; and 2). Language may create purely social conflict involving the ideological, social, political, and economic values which different speakers attach to their (respective) languages.

The conflicting ideologies would result in the changes in orientations towards language as well. Akinnaso (1989: 139), keeping in view the linguistic situation in Nigeria, maintains that there are two kinds of orientations towards language, especially in regard to the minority languages. They are: (a) '**language-as-resource**', which sees languages as potential resources for the nation; and (b) '**language-as-problem**', which puts forward the notion that the (minority) languages are problem for both the speakers of these languages as well as the nation as a whole. However, apart from these two orientations, the (minority) languages can also be seen as a right to which their speakers are entitled, which gives a third dimension to orientation as '**language-as-right**'.

The above mentioned orientations, however, hold good even to certain societies where **multilingualism** is a rule rather than an exception. In this kind of situation, the language administrators of newly independent states faced two-pronged theoretical assumptions. They have to widen the opportunities in educational institutions for the benefit of the local masses on one hand, and they were to stimulate the state's own language(s) in such way that their own **language(s)** could eventually replace the previous colonial language on the other. But in reality, this situation creates many practical problems. Using own language(s) as medium of instruction requires huge amounts of money and time to alter the then existing curriculum, training of teachers, producing new teaching materials etc. On the other side, using local language(s) for these purposes would result in disparities in society. Using a particular language for educational purposes, while deleting other languages for this purpose, might be interpreted as '**ethnic favoritism**', and would threaten the ideal of national unity.

To overcome this, the language administrators have to give, at least in **theory**, equal opportunities to all local languages. But in practice, it means that, all the teaching material to be created in all these (local) languages, and a number of teacher training programs has to be developed and implemented, which in turn, would require massive amounts of time and money. This is not possible in newly formed states and hence, almost all such states decided to use their respective (former) colonial language for these purposes, at least for a stipulated time. The case of India is a good example for this. The framers of the Constitution of India had realized the possible outcome of total replacement of English with Hindi, a widely spoken language in India. Hence, they decided to use English along with Hindi for 15 years. However, this deadline was extended further following few language movements in south India.

It is a fact that, language develops with the development of society in which it is being used to meet the needs of the changing society. However, the pace of the development of the language is slower, for various reasons, than that of the society. Hence, the human intervention, of various kinds, in language development becomes necessary. As far as the case of Indian languages is concerned, Annamalai (1998: 10) recognizes three kinds of (language) development: (1) developmental process moving from underdevelopment through **under-development**. The case of technologically primitive languages belongs to this kind; (2) process of revival of earlier development. For example, the development of modern Indian languages, which were for centuries used as the vehicles of creative literature. The present demand on them is to become a vehicle for modern science and technology, education and government; and (3) efforts at making a classical language,

like Sanskrit, a vehicle to serve the modern needs especially in public domain.

Language planning is typically directed towards uses of language in official or public functions rather than in casual everyday communication. The goal of (language) planning may be actual legislation to prescribe what language(s) may fill what functions (official, national integration, medium of instruction etc.), or other formulations of official policy. The language problems in a society are wide-ranged: they include the naming of national language, the selection of terminology forever changing advanced technology etc. In such situations, language planning makes best possible choices based on the analysis of available information, keeping the prior experiences in mind. A few of key factors of language planning are as follows:

- **Intervention:** The language planning intervenes the normal course of events to influence future language use and attempts to cause deliberate language change.
- **Goal-oriented:** A 'future orientation' is a central feature of language planning. Political, social, and economic concerns are most often responsible for decisions to undertake language planning, and the goals are typically seen as progress in these areas.
- **Systematic:** Language planning takes systematic approach to problems based on the past experiences. It requires a careful analysis of the existing situation and desired outcomes to design and coordinate a sequence of activities that will address the problem.
- **Institutionalization:** Though attention may be given to language problems at many levels, language planning refers primarily to institutionally organized efforts involving public

policy. **Many** individuals may play a role in language **plan-**ning, but the results will be effective only if those decisions were taken by the authority—the policy-makers.

Blommaert (1996: 206) opines that, "the scope of the term language **planning**' is often intuitively confined to a particular type of activities: consciously planned, politically inspired but rationally implemented forms of language treatment in a multilingual context in third world or emergent states". However, all language planning efforts in these new states invariably aimed at reducing sociolinguistic complexities to possible minimum. The two important assumptions that guide language planning efforts, as maintained by Blommaert (1996: 210-212), are: "efficiency assumption and integration assumption". The important features of the efficiency assumption ~~are—as~~ 'too many' languages hamper the smooth and efficient management of State business, especially in newly emerged states, it is appropriate to have a manageable number of languages for the purposes mentioned. The former colonial language of these newly emerged states becomes a clear choice to be treated as (one of) the official language(s) of such states. This is because it guarantees some degree of continuity in conducting the state affairs and it would save big amounts of money. On the other hand integration assumption advocates that, since language and culture goes hand in hand, and language is a prime marker of the '**nation**', **one** need to have a local language (or a small number of them) to symbolize the nation.

'Language **planning**' and 'policy analysis' have a long existence as state led activities, though not always under the same labels. However, "language planning is relatively young as a field of formal academic study, dating roughly from the 1960s". Another

interesting point to note is that, most of the literature and activities in the field of language planning are "concerned with language issues in countries, which are undergoing major social, economic, or political changes" (Wiley, 1996: 103). The language decisions that were taken, especially when the formal policies were absent, were strongly guided by the few interest groups like businessmen, writers etc. with '**stated** intention' of doing greater good to the users of language. However, it is not so in reality. As "language planning is not an isolated, de-contextualized exercise, nor it always intended to result in the greatest good for the greatest number". The reason behind this is, the language planning activity is been formulated by people "who have the power to do so are not necessarily people who would be nominated by disinterested observers. So, language planning can be in the service of few" (Edwards, 1993: 34-35).

The language planning in 1960s and 1970s was evolved in multilingual countries where the state infrastructure and the process of development were happening against a 'historical context of colonial **dominance**'. In many such countries, the colonial rule was viewed as a source of social inequality, and it restricted access to upward social mobility of its population. In the context of constructing new social order, many national level leaders of these countries felt that using their own language in the domains of education and administration would provide more opportunities for common man to participate in the process of national development. One should not forget, however, the fact that, in many countries, language has played a crucial role during the anti-colonial struggle. At that moment, native **language(s)** was/ were seen as a 'classical ingredient of **culture**'. Blommaert (1996: 201) highlights this by saying "the local **lan-**

guage(s), on the other hand, were constructed as part of the essence of the people and as a symbol of their strength...".

At about the same time, the 1965 UNESCO Conference on the Eradication of Illiteracy boosted the case of vernaculars in the lower levels of education. The UNESCO Conference stressed the point that, the mother tongue or vernacular should be used as the medium of instruction, at least in the primary level of schooling. As a result, many countries started using local languages as media of instruction in their schools, which, in turn, made possible the formulation of new educational policies with vernacular languages as their focal point.

By the second half of 1970s, the focus of the language planners was shifted to western societies as well. "Language planning became an issue which was relevant to all societies in which hidden (or denied) multilingualism was a feature". However, the language situation in Western countries is different from that of with the third-world-based tradition of language planning. In the newly independent third-world nations the "multilingualism is a problem, not because it would be an unworkable situation for administrative and educational practice, but because it is politically denied". By 1980s, particularly in the third-world, "the language planning experts reoriented their work away from the creation of policies and plans towards the implementation of experimental and mostly small-scale (non-governmental) projects, and towards assessments of past experiences and current situations" (Blommaert, 1996: 203). The socio-political changes in South Africa, for example, triggered, in 1990s, a new enthusiasm among the language scholars.

The 'policy making' is a complex activity in itself. Easton (1953: 130) notes that 'a **policy...consists** of a web of decisions and actions that **allocate...values**'. For Helco (1972: 85), 'a policy may usefully be considered as a course of action or inaction rather than specific decisions or actions'. Jenkins (1978: 15) sees policy as 'a set of interrelated **decisions...concerning** the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified **situation...**'. For Bicanic (1967: 46) the process of language planning has four stages, viz., preparation of the planning; decision making in the planning; execution of plans; and control of planning activity. Rubin and Jernudd (1971) believe that the (language) planner would benefit greatly from the 'linguistic input' while preparing and implementing the plan. However, "policy-makers without linguistic expertise may not be able to separate their attitudes (towards language use and domains) as speakers of a language from their decisions about that language". Rubin and Jernudd (1971) recognize four phases in the work of the language planner. They are:

1. Fact-finding, which involves the collection of actual information about the situation;
2. Planning, which include formulating goals, the means to achieve them, and the expected outcomes;
3. Implementation, where the **proposed** plan will be put into action; and
4. Evaluation of the plan, by which the planner will determine which kinds of decisions seem to be best of several alternatives.

Whatever the decisions were taken in different policy-making processes across the world, the elite played an important role in decision making process. The elite has taken most of the deci-

sions regarding the language planning, especially in developing countries. By 'elite' we mean "a group of professionals found amongst the ranks of ruling circles, ...intellectuals, political leaders, ...civil servants, ...leaders of the church, ...and other pressure groups" (Lerner and Gorden, 1969: 77). In this sense, the deliberate change, which is a goal of language planning activity, is, in other words, the manipulation of the elite. May be because of this, it was rightly pointed out that, "there is not only no 'interest-free language planning' but also no 'interest-free research' on language planning" (Singh and Srivastava, 1990).

For Haugen (1966: 51-52), "Planning is a human activity that arises from the need to find a solution to a problem. It can be completely informal and ad hoc, but it can also be organized and deliberate. It may be undertaken by private individuals or it may be official...If planning is well done, it will include such steps as fact-finding, the consideration of alternative plans of action, the making of decisions, and the implementation of these in specified ways". Peter Hall (1974: 4) defines planning as "an activity which is concerned with deliberately achieving some objective, and it proceeds by assembling actions into some orderly sequence" (as cited in Singh, 1992: 9). For Singh (1992: 11) the language planning "arise out of language problems and the responses of the governments, speech communities, and individuals to these (language) problems. He further characterizes the language planning based on the following kinds of problems:

1. Structural problems of language form and language function;
2. Problems arising out of contacts between two or more (speech) communities; and
3. Problems arising out of demographic pressures.

Haugen (1959) pointed out that, "language planning is called for wherever there are language problems... Language planning is the activity of preparing a normative grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogenous speech community". The language problems are of two types: problems within a language or among different languages. Among these, the second type of language problem occurs, primarily, in multilingual societies. When there is a problem between languages, it may lead to language conflicts.

Dua (1996: 2-6) highlights four kinds of language conflicts, which are associated with the allocation of language for different purposes, especially in the domains of education and mass communication. The following are the types of language conflicts:

- Language of Wider Communication (LWC) versus National language;
- National language versus Majority language;
- Majority language versus Minority language; and
- Majority language versus Majority language.

1. LWC Vs National Language: It is assumed that, the LWC plays a significant role in politico-geographic integration and thus fosters '**nationism**' on one hand and the National language, on the other hand, promotes '**nationalism**' by contributing to socio-cultural integration. This assumption is further supported by belief that the LWC is neutral and cuts across the **ethno-linguistic** barriers, and hence the LWC acts as a unifying force in building the political unit whereas the promotion of single national language is considered as a politically divisive force. However, in reality, LWC is 'neither neutral nor evenhandedly **disadvantageous**'. Because, the

LWC, more often than not, happens to be the language of colonial ruler and the social and political elite groups are educated through this and invariably have better access to that than others do have. The continual use of LWC gives undue advantage to this elite group over the other disadvantaged/less-fortunate groups, which in turn, sows the seeds of (language) conflict.

2. National Language Vs Majority Language: This kind of conflict tends to strengthen the position of LWC. The intensity of conflict between National Language and a Majority Language is dependent on three factors. (a) 'the rate at which the National Language assumes the functions of LWC; (b) the degree of use of the National Language for education and/ or broadcasting purposes 'leads to the emergence of new elites, whose interests conflict with those who are competent in the LWC or in the major languages'; and (c) 'the nature of the conflict between a National Language and the Major Languages depends on the number of major languages and their degree of standardization and development'.
3. Majority Language Vs Minority Language: This kind of conflict arises since the 'use of minority language is essential for the maintenance of cultural diversity' on one hand, and the use of National Language for cultural and social unity invariably means the suppression of the minority languages and their culture on the other.
4. Majority Language Vs Majority Language: This type of conflict is resulted when a developed majority language is chosen for the official purposes over other equally developed and standardized majority language.

Though language becomes a focal point in social, political, and economic struggles, when it is studied as a social phenomenon, language is often described in neutral, technical sounding terms as a "means of communication" for "social intercourse". However, Leibowitz (1974) maintains that "language is more aptly viewed as a means of social control". As an instrument of social control, language becomes a catalyst for language conflicts (as cited in Wiley, 1996: 104-105).

Language planning is "deliberate language change; that is, changes in the systems of language code or speaking or both that are planned by organizations that are established for such purposes or given mandate to fulfill such purposes" (Rubin and Jernudd, 1971: xvi). Rubin (1971: 221) defined language planning as a formal activity "where by goals are established, means are selected, and outcomes predicted...". Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971: 211) defined language planning as "...a political and administrative activity of solving language problems in society...the decision makers choose a satisfactory optimal course of action but within limits of given amounts of resources and only in order to reach the goals that have approved by the political authority".

Language planning, according to Fishman (1971), is "the organized pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level". For him language problem may concern with change in vocabulary, change in writing, spelling etc. Fishman (1973: 23-24) identifies four types of language planning problems, each associated with a particular type of language planning process. The types and processes associated with them are:

- (a) When the problem is code selection, i.e., choice among competing languages or language varieties for various national roles, language planners engage in official policy formation.
- (b) When the problem is regional or sociolinguistic variability for which stabilization is sought, planning decisions refer to codification or standardization. The two ways in arriving at a standard are elevating one variety among several competing varieties; and creating a composite of the main dialects.
- (c) When the problem is one of adding new functions for a code, as when a language begins to be used for given technological or scientific pursuits, the planning process refers to elaboration. This is mainly done through production and dissemination of new terms, especially by language planning agencies created for such purpose.
- (d) When the problem is one of functional differentiation among registers and determining matters of correctness and style, language planning refers to cultivation. Here, language planners have to prepare style manuals and promotes literary creativity.

As language serves more than one goal, the process of deciding upon a solution to a (language) problem brings in several vested interests to **achieve...political**, social, economic goals, and language will be used as means to achieve these aims. Rubin (1973: 6) recognizes the following typologies of (language) decisions based on:

- (a) The relationship between popular attitudes and actions toward the language problems,
- (b) The relationship between political goals and the language problem. Is the language problem a real one or is language just being used as a shield for other political goals?

- (c) Does the degree of politicization relate to the saliency of popular attitudes and actions toward particular language problems?

Tauli (1968: 27) defined language planning as "the methodological activity of regulating and improving existing languages or creating new common regional, national or international languages" (as cited in Rubin, 1973: 5). For Tauli (1974: 56), language planning theory is "a science which methodologically investigates the ends, principles, methods and tactics of language planning". Thorburn (1974: 513) defined language planning in terms of geographical areas in which particular language is in use in various domains. For him, language planning is a "conscious choice on a national level between alternative languages intended for defined geographical areas (language as means of communication among the inhabitants of a country and between the inhabitants of different countries) and media (press, television, radio etc.) as well as for a degree of dominance".

Language planning agencies in many countries, "under the influence of the purists..., regard concepts like hybridization, 'folk' multilingualism...as serious problems... Linguistic heterogeneity is thus projected as a serious constraint in developing national identity" (Khubchandani, 1983: 82). Perry (1985: 295) defines language reform as " primarily a socio-political, not a linguistic and cultural process, though its effects remain to color the speech and literature of succeeding generations. Language planning is practiced mainly not by linguists but by generals, politicians, social ideologues, and other amateurs" (as quoted in Dogancay-Akunta, 1995: 221-222).

For Cooper (1989: 45), "language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes". Srivastava (1990: 161-163) argues that, "language planning is aimed at deliberate (language) change; (linguistic) problem solving; making choice amongst (linguistic) alternatives; and future oriented".

The International Encyclopedia of Linguistics defines language planning as "a deliberate, systematic, and theory based attempt to solve the communication problems of a community by studying the various languages or dialects it uses, and developing a policy concerning their selection and use; also sometimes called 'language engineering' or '**language** treatment'" (Bright, 1992:310).

For Jahr (1992: 12-13), language planning involves "organized activity (private or official) which attempts to solve language problems within a given society, usually at the national level. Through language planning, attempts are made to direct, change, or preserve the linguistic norm or the social status (and communicative function) of a given written or spoken language or a variety of a language. Language planning is usually conducted according to a declared program or a defined set of criteria, and with a deliberate goal by officially appointed committees or bodies, by private organizations, or by prescriptive linguists working on behalf of official authorities. Its object is to establish norms (primarily written) which are validated by high social status; oral norms connected with these written standards follows".

Wiley (1996: 107-108) defines language planning as activity "generally seen as entailing the formation and implementation of a policy designed to prescribe, or influence, the language(s) and varieties of language that will be used and the purposes for which they will be used".

Though language planning, in general, refers to the deliberate efforts to alter language in one way or the other, different scholars used different terms for denoting language planning activity in different contexts. Springer (1956: 46) uses '**language engineering**' with reference to 'the efforts of graphization and standardization of the semi-standard **language**' in the former Soviet Union. Alisjahbana (1961) discusses 'language engineering' in Indonesia as 'purposeful attempts to influence the development of the **language**'. By this he means, 'the transfer of past experiences of codification of the language in the areas of spelling, vocabulary, grammar to the developing languages by deliberate and national planning'. Sibayan (1971: 1043) also uses 'language engineering' to refer to the 'efforts directed through schools, churches, radio, newspapers, and **officials**...to direct or influence language use'.

Gorman (1973: 73) used the term 'language allocation' for defining the 'process which involve authoritative decisions to maintain, to extend or to restrict the range in using particular language in particular **society**'. The term 'language **spread**' was used by Cooper (1989: 23) in the sense of 'an increase in the proportion of a communication **network**' that adopts a given language variety for a given 'communicative function'. Neustupny (1983) offers a 'correction **model**' to deal with the language problems in a society. For him, this model assumes that, the correction process gives importance to **communication**,

and provides (a) suitable framework for a theory which integrates language planning with grammatical linguistics; and (b) the concept of correction implies that the ultimate location of all language problems is in discourse.

The language planning activities involve choosing a language or language variety to be the official code of a nation and developing the chosen language to meet the demands of newly acquired position. There are two primary directions that language planning may take. The first involves choosing among languages or varieties of a language for selected purposes. The second is concerned with the development of a single language or a variety of a language. Kloss (1969: 81-83), a German linguist, made distinction between this kind of activities as language 'status' planning and language corpus' planning. For him, status planning refers to policy decisions concerning which language should be assigned or recognized for which purpose within a country or region as well as steps to implement such policy. Status planning is generally aimed at various issues like developing a language as a marker of national identity, i.e., developing a language for all or few academic, political, and economic purposes at national level. The status planning always includes elevating a language to a special status by which it takes over functions and areas of application where competing languages or language varieties played their role earlier. An agency or institution, which has power to do so, will assign the new status to a language or variety and promotes that language or variety by prescribing various measures.

Corpus planning include attempts to define or reform the standard language by changing or introducing new forms in spelling, pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, and reform in orthography

(writing system). The status planning, on the other hand, is linked with official recognition, authoritative attempts to extend or restrict language use in various domains. In addition to these two types of language planning, Cooper (1989) proposes '**language acquisition planning**', which was defined as "language policy-making (which) involves decisions concerning the teaching and use of language, and their careful formulation by those empowered to do so, for the guidance of others" (Cooper, 1989: 311-312).

The corpus planning efforts concentrate on developing a **language** or variety by expanding the domains in which it can be used. Corpus planning is also used to describe the policies intended to change the body of language itself, usually with the objective of developing the language. In language corpus planning, the shape of the language is changes by proposing spelling reforms, coining new technical terms using different methods, compiling dictionaries, standardizing script and grammar etc. According to Ferguson (1968: 31), there are three basic types of corpus planning. They are:

1. Graphization, which refers to activities which establish and/or refine the writing system of a language;
2. **Modernization**, which includes the expansion of the lexicon of the language by new words and expressions and development of new styles and forms to meet the demands of the modern world; and
3. Standardization, by which process one variety of language becomes widely accepted throughout the speech community as a supra dialectal form. This involves standardization of grammar, vocabulary etc. of a particular language variety,

and then, this language variety would be promoted over **other** varieties of that language.

For Bright (1992: 311), the "corpus planning deals with the norm selection and codification, as in the writing of grammars and the standardization of spelling"; whereas the "status planning deals with initial choice of language, including attitudes toward alternative languages and the political implications of various choices".

Ray (1968: 760) describes that the process of standardization can **be** divided **into** two **stages—creation** of a model for imitation; and promotion of this model over rival models. On the whole, the corpus planning is intended to:

- To give its language a terminology for scientific and technical purposes;
- To resolve normative or structural questions or correctness and stylistic levels; and
- To support an ideological cause by eliminating sexist, racist elements in the language (International Encyclopedia of Linguistics, Vol. 1: 84).

Belief in planning has its roots in the assumption that 'man is able to mold **not** only his individual behavior but also the patterns of society and **culture**'. However, the real **planning—the** determination of a particular course of action to achieve a specific **goal—is** only possible and effective within certain limitations. Since the language is one of the most widespread and most essential of all human activities, the planning in the field of language is very difficult if not impossible. Nobody should think of planning behavior of all the members of a nation (**Alis-jahbana**, 1971: 179).

Language, as the medium of instruction, plays an important role in implementing language policy in the sphere of educational programs, which in turn, helps the state to achieve goals of improvement and development in other socio-political domains such as unity and integrity of nation, economic development etc. Many scholars (Alisjahbana, 1971; Whiteley, 1971; Oladejo, 1993; Dua, 1996,) recognized education and mass communication are the common fields where language planning has greater impact. Stressing this point further, Noss (1984: 214) maintains that "language planners are seldom involved in policy formulation and implementation outside the educational context. This is because of the institutional affiliations of potential language planners, and partly because national policy makers are not convinced that **linguists...and sociolinguists** can give advice equivalent in value to the advice they get from economic **advisers...applied** scientists and other technologists" (as cited in Edwards, 1993: 35).

Irrespective of the domains in which the results of language planning are more prominent, the language policy, as a whole, refers to the decisions of a polity regarding the acceptable language for those who are to carry out the political, economic, legal, and social affairs of a nation or region of a nation. Language policy has two important stages: the first being formulating initial policy which designates one or more languages as the official or national choice and the second is planning for implementation of the policy which promotes the chosen language(s) to achieve the legitimate status.

As far as the goals of language policies/ language planning are concerned, on the surface level, one can identify two kinds of goals: language related; and politically and economically **moti-**

vated goals. In the former type, the "language issues appear to be the major focus as an end in themselves", whereas in the latter, the "language appears to be a means to an end". The language related goals encompass three types of language policies: 1. Language Shift policy; 2. Language Maintenance policy; and 3. Language Enrichment policy. The more explicit political goals of language planning "attempt to use language as a means to promote nation building" (Wiley, 1996: 122-124).

The types of language policy, to a large extent, are dependent on actual language situation within a nation. The factors, which play crucial role in determining the language policy, more or less, are results of socio-political change in a given nation. Based on such factors, Heath (1985: 2899) identifies three types of language policies. They are:

1. Shift of polities from imperial or colonial status—which primarily effects the indigenous population. In this type, the elite who assume political power imposes language policies 'in the name of the new national **identity**';
2. Shifts of national boundaries or degrees of nationalistic intensity. This type of language policy imposes new language choice on long established ethnic groups; and
3. Severe fluctuations of socioeconomic opportunities or religious conditions within nations. These kinds of language policies are result of "need for a language policy for those who **have...moved** from their former homeland".

Heath (1985: 2900-2902) further states that the first type of language policy takes place in the countries, which were under colonial rule. Heath recognizes at least five kinds of language

situations, which **makes** this kind of language policy possible. The stated language situations are:

- (a) There may be no linguistic majority; segments of population may speak a variety of languages, all or many of which are unrelated, and all without a literary tradition. Example: several West African nations, such as Cameroon and Nigeria. In this kind of language situation, more often than not, the colonial language is chosen as the official code.
- (b) There may be a single indigenous language which has no substantial literary tradition, but it is spoken by a majority of **the** population. Example: Latin American countries like Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. In these countries, former colonial language, though spoken by a minor group of population becomes official language.
- (c) There may be a variety of languages, some of which are related and for which a lingua franca has evolved which is intelligible to speakers of many of the indigenous languages. Example: Tanzania and Indonesia. In this type of language situations, the lingua franca usually becomes the official choice and the efforts will be made to popularize the chosen lingua franca.
- (d) There may be one or more languages with long standing literary and religious traditions, but these languages and traditions are in competition with each other, and a choice of one or the other alienates large segment of the national population. Moreover, the scripts in which languages are written may differ both from each other and from the Romanized **script** of the language(s) of the colonial powers. Example: Middle East countries and Indian sub-continent. In this type of language situations, one of the widespread indigenous

languages along with the colonial language gets the recognition as official codes.

- (e) There may be a wide variety of different languages, many of which are spoken by only a few hundred speakers; among these speakers a Western-language-based pidgin may have evolved which now contends with the colonial Western language as the primary medium of communication. Example: Papua New Guinea. In this kind of language situation, the Western language is used as the medium of instruction in order to '**modernize**' the indigenous population. However, the Western-language-based pidgin is used for few other purposes like as **the** language of business in the parliament, social gatherings etc.

For Edwards (1993: 25-26), the possible language policies, especially in post colonial settings, include:

- A. Elevation of a strong internal variety to national/ official status (Somali in Somalia);
- B. Promotion of some '**supra-ethnic**' variety which has neutral connotations but still to some extent '**indigenous**' (Swahili in Kenya);
- C. Promotion of a standardized version of a widely spoken but dialectically fragmented indigenous vernacular (Standard Malay in Brunei);
- D. Continuation of a colonial language of wider communication—**some** times with the possibility of '**localizing**' it (the emergence of different Englishes around world supports this); and
- E. Some combination of the above, which 'C' and 'D' types are more common.

Based on the above discussion we can conclude that, though the field of language planning is relatively young from the academic point of view, it plays a crucial role in society. It calls the attention, of the social planners in general and the linguists in particular, to solve a language problem. Here the scope of 'society' is as wider as a nation. The need for language planning is greater in such societies, where the multilingualism is a rule than an exception. Different scholars have defined language planning in different ways, keeping different societies in mind over the past few decades. For this purpose, they employed different terms to denote the language planning activity.

Whatever is the way how language planning has been defined, the language planning, as a whole, can be defined as "the conscious efforts made by person(s) or institution(s), generally under the auspices of the state, in selecting a language or language variety over the others and to develop the selected language or language variety to be a marker of social prestige, as a means to upward mobility, and as a tool for its speakers to meet the ever-changing needs, in terms of education, job opportunities, mass media, political participation etc.". However, the language planning in favor of one language should, by no means, deny the rights of the speakers of other language(s) or language varieties.

Chapter II

LANGUAGE SITUATION, PLANNING AND AGENCIES AROUND THE GLOBE: A BRIEF SURVEY

Language planning is a domain of application in which new insights between language and societies could be converted into implementable, practical programs. Like any other form of social planning, language planning is also has defined goals and prescribed means to achieve them in a stipulated time. However, language planning focuses upon the solutions to language problems.

The process of language planning is one of the most frequent areas of decision making in new nations. The definitions of language planning have ranged from an activity that includes the broadest kind of human problem solving or decision making to a more limited one specifying an activity that is restricted in domain and supported by some formal, in most of the cases a governmental, body.

Before beginning the actual planning, "a planner must have a certain amount of information about the situation (society) in which the plan to be affected, with views of both persons who will execute the plan and who will be the targets of the plan. It is important to take the difficulties, tendencies, existing social, cultural, political and economical parameters into consideration" (Rubin, 1971: 218). Another important thing that a language planner has to bear in mind is that though the problem to which the language planning addresses is essentially a linguistic or socio-linguistic one, the process of planning involves so-

cial, cultural, economic, educational, and political dynamics of a society.

It is for these reasons, Fishman's (1987) approach to language planning is sociological. For him, 'language planning remains the authoritative allocation of resources to the attainment of language status and language corpus goals, whether in connection with old functions that are aspired to, or in connection with new functions that need to be discharged more adequately'. Fishman subordinates corpus planning to status planning by saying 'status planning is the real engine of the language planning train. Only when status planning is seriously enforced does corpus planning really take root...the products of corpus planning...have no dynamic of their own'. Fishman constructs language planning around such issues as ethnic identity, 'nationalism' (a term of his own creation), and nationalism, functional equality, etc. For him 'language planning is primarily the means whereby less fortunate language communities organize their self-defense, as well as their inter-translatability-at-least-to-some-extent-and-in-some-functions vis-a-vis an international language'. The 'language planners are issue definers and consciousness raisers vis-a-vis the goal of ethno-cultural pluralism and ethno-cultural democracy'. But Fishman feels that 'basic issues impinging upon language planning not only go beyond language planning but also go beyond the social sciences themselves'.

Cooper (1989: 182) rightly points out that the students of language planning need to go beyond both discourse management and the social sciences, if the task is to explain that "language is fundamental institution of society. (therefore) To plan language is to plan society".

In the pages that follow, we offer a historical overview of language situation, planning and agencies in different countries of the world. As the data relating to different continents and countries are uneven and often sparse, we offer a very general account of language planning activities undertaken in different countries. We will also give a brief account of the history of each country wherever possible.

2. 1. Continent: AFRICA

2. 1.1. CAMEROON

The main sources of national income are agriculture, cocoa exports and industry. In 1961, after it became independent in 1960, the West and East Cameroons formed a federation. The President is the head of the state, assisted by federal ministers. The members of Cameroon National Federal Assembly, who are directly elected through universal suffrage for a period of five years, hold the legislative powers.

As soon as missionaries (mid-19th century) and colonial powers (from 1884) began to open schools in Cameroon, the language question became central. Mission schools used, though not always, the local language, the African/ Cameroonian languages, and this had led to problems of acceptance by the local population. This tendency, ultimately, led to the rejection of (any) African language for educational purposes and the population opted for the use of European languages in education (Robinson, 1994: 135).

The three main linguistic groups of Cameroon are 1) Bantu speaking population, whose main occupation is agriculture and

most of these population are permanent dwellers of south region; 2) Sudanic speaking people of north, who are migrants and temporary dwellers. These Sudanic people came from Niger basin during 11-19th centuries; and 3) The Bantu-speaking people of west. The Bantus came to Cameroon from Equatorial Africa during 19th century.

By the time Cameroon attained political independence (1960), the colonial rulers suppressed almost entirely the use of African languages in schools, and with the variance in emphasis and approaches, the three colonial powers, German, French, and British authorities encouraged the use of their respective languages in education.

In 1977, 'Project de Recherche Operationnelle pour l'Enseignement des Langues au Cameroun (PROPELCA)' was launched which included the Cameroonian languages as medium of education for the first three years of primary school. In 1981-82 the Project started with two experimental schools in different language areas, it was expanded to 53 schools by 1991-92 (Robinson, 1994: 135). Use of the Cameroonian language is meant a complete recasting of the school syllabus. The problems of implementing PROPELCA beyond experimental levels include lack of an established writing system and orthography (standard) for many languages, paucity of resources in terms of manpower, monetary and policy considerations etc.

Outside the formal school system, adult literacy classes take place in a large number of languages, mostly associated with local institutions and without any governmental financial support reflect the desire of various local organizations to promote basic

education which is culturally appropriate and linguistically accessible.

2. 1. 2. ETHIOPIA

Agriculture provides livelihood for almost 87% of the population. A large-scale economic activity is confined to public sector. The sovereignty was vested in the Emperor. As a result of military coup in 1974, the preparations for 'socialist republic' were started. At present, the Prime Minister has political power and is the first among equals. There are nearly 100 distinct languages in Ethiopia. These languages belong to 1) Semitic, 2) Cushitic, and 3) Nilotic language groups. Amharic is the national language of Ethiopia. The first state school was established in 1908, primarily for the promotion of foreign languages, with obligatory French, and optional English, Italian and Arabic. Amharic was not taught as a subject till 1919.

Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935 and occupied most of the country until 1941 due to which a form of Italian had developed with some features of a pidgin but with little dependence on indigenous languages for lexical or grammatical output. Most of the words and expressions were derived from the European languages, and importantly Italian.

From 1947-58, the medium of instruction in schools was English, with Amharic taught as a subject but in 1958 primary school syllabus switched to Amharic as a medium with English as a subject. However, English remained as the medium of instruction in secondary schools. The elementary school curriculum of 1963 explicitly stated that it was 'six years of study to be taught completely in Amharic with English taught as a foreign language as early in the program as possible' (Bloor and

Tamarta, 1996: 326). In secondary schools, since 1941 the medium of education has always been English, except in religious education, which is in Amharic. French was an optional subject, and no indigenous language other than Amharic was taught in school at any level.

In 1991, there was a change in power and Eritrea became an independent state. Language had always been an issue throughout the 'revolutionary' struggle and the traditional Ethiopian government's tendency to play down linguistic differences and ethnic groups gave way to nationalities. A policy decision issued on July 20, 1991, which accordingly became official in 1994, included Arabic as a major language on which the country was divided into nine regions. Amharic retained its official status as national language.

The new policy of 1994 decreed that 1) primary education will be in the medium of nationality language, 2) Amharic will be taught as a language of countrywide communication, 3) English will be the medium of secondary schools and higher education (Bloor and Tamarta, 1996: 328). The most striking feature of this policy is the upgrading of vernaculars at the cost of Amharic.

2. 1.2. 1. Language Planning Agencies

Biherawi Merha Lissan (National Academy of Languages): Established in 1973. Autonomous, but under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and Sports.

Goals: To modernize and standardize Ethiopian languages; to alphabetize unwritten languages; to do grammatical and sociolinguistic research. There are four committees: **1. Grammar;** **2. Syllabary;** **3. Lexicography;** and **4. Terminology.** The Academy

prepared: literacy material in two hitherto-unwritten languages, quarterly reports of achievement.

2. 1. 3. KENYA

Kenya is an independent republic within the Commonwealth of Nations. Nearly 98% of the Kenyans are Africans and form 70 different tribal groups, of various sizes, distinguished from each other by language and culture. The African people of Kenya may be divided into 1) Bantu speakers, 2) Nilotic speakers, and 3) **Cushitic** speakers.

The constitution of Kenya provides for a parliament consisting the President and unicameral National Assembly. The president is the head of the state. The members of the National Assembly are elected by universal adult suffrage. Agriculture is important part of the economy. Since independence, two programs developed agriculture in Kenya: 1) Africanization of land ownership, and 2) Encouragement of farm cooperatives.

In the colonial period both administrative and educational policy vacillated between Swahili and local languages. There exists a sharp divergence between the language varieties of the Kenyan coast and other country varieties. The important reasons for these **divergences** are: Kenya's literary tradition, especially in Swahili, never existed beyond the coastal area, and the absence of **Islamization** in Kenya. This provided an argument in favor of increased use of English.

The role played by Christian missionaries in spreading the local languages is worth mentioning. The missionaries produced orthographies, grammars and dictionaries along with a considerable amount of religious reading material. Even though, the

administrative convenience and linguistic diversity favored the use of Swahili, there was no popular support for the language. In Kenya, the colonial language, i.e., English was more widely used at lower levels also. This "situation favored the non-formulation of any policy that might inspire any one local language with a "national" image" (Whiteley, 1971: 150).

Though Kenya is also in a tri-focal linguistic situation like Tanzania, the contrast is the presence of a relatively small number of ethnic-linguistic groups. While overall linguistic diversity encouraged the use of Swahili as a language of administration, the size of several linguistic units encouraged the use of local languages. A factor, which caused the divergence, was that widespread use of Swahili in certain national institutions (like army, police, and railways). One more thing helped extensive use of Swahili is that, the presence of head quarters of East African Inter-Territorial Language (Swahili) Committee at Nairobi, which in turn helped to get well standardized reading materials in Swahili.

2. 1. 4. MOROCCO

Morocco has been an independent nation from 1953, and a constitutional monarchy from 1962. Moroccan population comprises of **Berber** speaking nomads (cattle breeders), and settled Arab speaking grain producers. The major difference between these two groups is linguistic than racial. Though the Berber is highly influenced by Arabic, it is preserved in mountain regions of Morocco. The Berber speaking population as a whole is divided into three dialect groups, 1) **Rifian**, 2) **Amazigh**, and 3) **Shleuh**. The European colonization brought Spanish and French to Morocco.

Mining of phosphate is the mainstay of Moroccan economy. The European minority (French) dominates the private sector of Moroccan economy. In 1970, the referendum replaced the bicameral legislature with the unicameral parliament. The members of the chamber are elected through universal, adult franchise.

As the Classical Arabic is still used as the medium of instruction and as the language of government, the Classical Arabic and French, which was introduced as the language of government and as the medium of instruction during the French rule (1912-1956), are learned at school. The functions of Moroccan Arabic are restricted as the mother tongue of majority of Moroccans (Ennaji, 1988: 9).

During the initial years of independence, Morocco had decided to make Classical Arabic national official language, because it was not only a codified and standard language but also represented the language of Koran. Further it had led to socio-cultural and political unity. Soon after the independence in 1956, the process of Arabization gained full momentum especially after the establishment of 'Institute of Arabization' in 1960, which was directly linked to "Arab League".

However, the **complete** and rapid Arabization was not the policy of the officials. Their prime goals were 1) national unity and identity, 2) efficiency and access to modern technology, 3) international communication. The step-by-step Arabization was aimed to achieve national unity and identity and French is kept as a second language to attain other two goals. Religious groups, which are mostly educated in Arabic, are strong supporters of Arabization. "On May 23, 1970, Oulemas (the religious heads of Islam) wrote a petition stating that the solution

to the complex problems of education was Arabization of education at all levels, and the Moroccanization of the teaching staff (Ennaji, 1988: 11-12).

2. 1.4. 1. Language Planning Agency

INSTITUT D'ETUDES ET DE RECHERCHES POUR L'ARABISATION (Institute of Arabization): Established in 1960 by the Ministry of Education at the University of Rabat. Funding: Government grants, gifts and donations.

Goal: to bring Arabic up to the level of the main languages of technology in all subject areas. It is organized in five sections: **administration**, linguistic research, linguistic applications, techniques of communication, and informatics.

2. 1. 5. NAMIBIA

As a geographically defined area, Namibia came into being during the last two decades of the 19th century. The composition of the population includes Europeans, Damara, Nama, Bushmen, Coloreds, Rehoboth Basters, Ovambo, Okavango etc. Approximately 67% of the white population speaks Afrikaans while German is the language of 23%, and the remaining 10% are English speaking. The non-white population is divided as Bantu and Khosian types. An interesting feature of the non-whites is that most of them have Bantu family of languages as their first language. The farming, fishing and mining are important sectors of the Namibian economy, and its dependence upon South Africa is virtually complete.

There are 18 indigenous languages and three 'foreign' languages in Namibia. Since 1920, English and Dutch (in 1925, Dutch was replaced by Afrikaans), the two official languages of governing South Africa, have also had official status in Namibia. During

the 20th century, three language plans have been imposed on Namibians, a) German as official language during the rule of Germany, b) Afrikaans and English as two official languages during South African rule, and c) after independence in 1990, English as official language of Namibia (Cluver, 1991: 43).

In 1842 the Rhenish Mission Society introduced the German language in missionary schools for indigenous people. However, after the establishment of the German protectorate in 1884 (until 1915) and the creation of German South West Africa, German became sole official language in Namibia. The German language was thereafter (from 1884) introduced as a subject of instruction in schools exclusively for white population. Despite numerous efforts by the German rulers to promote German language, Afrikaans remained the lingua franca in Namibia and German never developed into a common means of communication. German lost its official status after South Africa invaded Namibia in 1915. Dutch and later Afrikaans and English were used as the media of instruction in schools.

Afrikaans and English were introduced as the two official languages of Namibia in 1925. By 1936, due to massive immigration from South Africa, more than two thirds of the European population in Namibia consisted of Afrikaans-speaking South African nationals. After numerous attempts, in 1984 the position of German was "strengthened through its recognition as a semi-official language and German was introduced as the third official language of the local government" (Putz, 1992:306).

The failure of 'Afrikaans Plan' became obvious in 1981 when English replaced Afrikaans as language of instruction in the schools followed by University of Namibia. The important reason

for this is **that** many felt that Afrikaans has limited expressive power and therefore imprisons Namibians linguistically. The Afrikaans plan failed not because of inefficiency in the spread of the language, but because of associated policy of Apartheid did not permit the "widest possible participation among citizens in the political, social, cultural and economic domains of life" (Kashoki 1982: 282, as cited in Cluver, 1991: 47). However, due to politicizing of Afrikaans by the government of South Africa, it has been fully codified, and has a large and well-sophisticated system of term creation, standardization and dissemination.

Language was viewed, in Namibia, almost exclusively as an instrument of symbolic power policy in 1980s (Putz, 1992: 298). This is clearly demonstrated by the existence of the English medium United Nations Institute for Namibia (UNIN), founded in 1976 on one hand and on the other by establishment of Afrikaans-medium Academy (University of Namibia) in 1980.

Article 3 (Chapter 1) of the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia (1990) as set by South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) states that 'the official language will be English' and Constitution also permits the use of a language other than English for legislative, administrative and judicial purposes in areas or regions where such other language or languages are spoken by a substantial component of the population'.

Keeping Bamgbose's (1989: 28) three levels of fact finding in mind, the English Plan for Namibia (EPN) should be evaluated at different levels. They are a) socio-political level—to what degree will the plan (EPN) help promote national unity in Namibia; b) administrative level—to what extent will the plan enable the central government communicate with the more isolated villag-

ers; c) educational level— to what extent will it (English) actually be used as a medium of instruction and how it will affect the academic performance of school children; d) economic level— to what extent the plan will create equal opportunities and equal access to work; and e) legal level— to what extent minority language rights be protected.

2. 1. 6. NIGERIA

Nigeria is predominantly an agrarian country. Mining is another important economic activity. The constitution of 1946 provided for a central legislature, and three regional Houses of Assembly. The 1951 constitution gave unlimited powers to state. After army assumed power in January 1966, all the legislative powers of the constitution were suspended.

Today, Arabic, English, and French are three active exogenous languages in Nigeria, and the status of each of these languages is rooted in history. Arabic was the first to arrive in Nigeria in 9th century, but later lost its status to English. Arabic and Islam has made their way to northern territory of present day Nigeria as early as 9th century. And then ruling dynasty was converted into Islam in 11th century, and thereafter Islam (as well as Arabic) spread to other parts of Nigeria. "Due to the overwhelming influence British of colonial rule (from 1903); the loss of high status of Islamic rulers; and the introduction of Western education marked the beginning of the decline in the multifaceted use of Arabic in Nigeria" (Akinnaso & Isaac, 1990: 2).

The English was introduced to Nigeria as a trade language in 17th century, and graduated into a missionary language in 19th century. Later, under colonial auspices, it developed into the language of education, administration, mass communication,

and international relations, and today it is the nation's official language. Although French is taught only as a foreign language, it is an important diplomatic language and a major means of communication with neighboring Franchophone countries. In addition to these three languages, Portuguese had a limited role to play, especially in Benin and Lagos in the 15th century. The order of importance/ hierarchy of these exogenous languages is English, the official language of the government; Arabic, largely restricted to Quranic pedagogy and Islamic worship; and French, with fewest users and narrowest range of functions. But, however, where the English and Arabic are religiously loaded (connected to Christianity and Islam respectively), the French language is considered religiously neutral (Akinaso & Isaac, 1990: 3-4).

Soon after the merging of Northern and Southern protectorates to form present day Nigeria in 1914, the British government began to evolve a language policy that would gradually replace Arabic. And, when Nigeria became politically independent in 1960, English was named as the nation's official language. Hausa is the most widely speaking African language of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Alhaji **Abdullahi** Bayero (the Emir of Kano), during 1930s, encouraged Muslim youths to attend western-type schools so that they could serve as administrators in the northern territories. Later, through Northern Provinces Law School, he encouraged the training of Muslim youth to become the Quranic teachers. In 1947, the school became the School for Arabic Studies and came under the management of the colonial government. By 1954, the school had become a major institution providing untrained primary school teachers with instruction in Arabic and

Islamic studies. On attainment of independence in 1960, the school was established as a post-secondary course in Arabic and Islamic studies, and recently it became a university. (Akin-naso & Isaac, 1990: 7-8).

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In 1977, through the formulation of the Federal Republic of Nigeria National Policy on Education, the first deliberate attempt was made to address the language problem, which is the first (probably only) official document attempted to assign roles to languages in education system.

The 1977 National Policy on Education (NPE), considers the three major languages in Nigeria to be Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba.' Section 3:15 of NPE states "government will see to it that the medium of instruction in primary school is initially the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community, and at a later stage, English" (Oladejo, 1993: 93).

The language policy of Nigeria aims at accommodating **three** main interests, a) interest **of mother tongue and** culture, through the use of child's immediate community at the initial stages of primary education, b) to ensure national unity or at

least prevent national disintegration which could arise as a result of linguistic differences, and c) the policy aims at tapping into the modern world of science and technology through the retention of English.

Nigeria's language policy is explicitly stated in the 'Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria' in 1979. At the federal level, only English and three major Nigerian languages are recognized, while at the state level English and any number of approved state languages can be used. There is no place for Arabic, as far as the political administrations at both federal and state level are concerned.

The conventions guiding language choice in radio and television broadcasts and in the press are dictated by the nation's language policies. Arabic is marginalized in the scheme of things. At the federal level, it (Arabic) only features in external broadcasting. At the state level, the few radio and television stations broadcasting programs in Arabic are concentrated in the Muslim north. There is no exclusive Arabic using radio or television stations in Nigeria.

As far as learning one of the three indigenous languages as part of education curriculum is concerned, a general state of inertia prevailed until recently. Before the government suddenly decided to enforce the implementation of that part of language policy, it was believed that the reason for this inertia was that the available number of teachers of each indigenous language was insufficient for effective implementation of the policy. Without substantial increase in the number of teachers, government had decided to implement the policy on a full scale. Therefore, it is

obvious that, there are many more reasons than have often been assumed for state of inertia.

Simpson (1984: 29) proposes a three-tier multilingual model for Nigeria. The three stages are 1) a language for wider communication (English), 2) languages for national integration (Ibo, Hausa, and Yoruba), and 3) languages for communication at lower levels (regional languages). If we translate this model into an educational policy we would get a policy like... the local language is the medium of instruction in the primary school while English and a regional language are individual subjects. At secondary level, English would be the medium of instruction while the local and regional languages become one of the school subjects. However, at the university level, English would be the medium of instruction. The same applies to economic, legal and other possible spheres of life.

There are three options recommended to solve the problem in Nigeria, though none which can 'alone' provide the necessary solution. a) To dismantle the present policy and return to the pre -1977 situation in which English alone was officially recognized as the national language; b) to go ahead with the existing policy, despite the problems it faces, and risk its failure and whatever consequences it may bring; c) to formulate another policy in which a neutral 'indigenous ' language is officially recognized and promoted as the national language (Oladejo, 1991: 262).

If we look into pros and cons of these three options we can say that option (c) is more feasible and less problematic. The choice of language would be Nigerian-Pidgin English, which is neutral in terms of religious affiliation, most widely spoken indigenous

language, and is often used as a means of inter-ethnic communication.

Given the fact that, more often, the language of former colonial master is also the language of modern science and technology and the language of international communication, Oladejo (1991) suggests a trilingual education for Nigeria in the place of BLE. The three languages he suggests are 1) mother tongue, 2) Nigerian Pidgin English as a potential national language, and 3) English, for international communication, politics and diplomacy.

2. 1.6. 1. Language Planning Agencies

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING IGBO LANGUAGE AND CULTURE.

Established in 1949. Funded by private contributions by members.

Goals: to promote the language and the culture of the Igbo people, including... 1) demonstrating the capability if the Igbo language to serve as a language of communication and transaction at all levels of governmental, educational and commercial concerns. 2) Showing the desirability of encouraging the use of oral and written Igbo in daily affairs. 3) Removing any obstacle to the development of a standard Igbo capable of being understood everywhere in Igboland. 4) Encouraging the teaching and study of Igbo in schools, colleges and universities in Nigeria. 5) Bringing the Igbo language into popular everyday use to a wider body of people through publishing and encouraging writers in Igbo. 6) Organizing Igbo language and culture of the Igbo people in a favorable light.

KANURI LANGUAGE BOARD and KANURI RESEARCH UNIT

(Department of Languages and Linguistics, University of Maiduguri).

Establishment The Kanuri Language Board was founded in 1974 when the Center for the Study of Nigerian Languages of Bayero University College opened a state office in Maiduguri. In February 1977 the Center's office was shifted to University of Maiduguri, it became known as the Kanuri Research Unit within the Department of Languages and Linguistics. The Kanuri Language Board was set up by the Council of the Borno Local Government and has been recognized by the Ministry of Education. The Board is the policy making body and the Research Unit is responsible for all research, publication and teaching works.

Funding: The University of Maiduguri sponsors the projects of the Unit.

Goals: Preparation of materials in the Kanuri language for primary schools and teacher training; encouragement of potential authors to write Kanuri books; review and revision of existing materials; encouragement of Kanuri research.

2. 1. 7. SOUTH AFRICA

Manufacturing, agriculture, and fishing are important economic activities. The most important minerals are gold and diamonds. The constitution of South Africa is written, flexible and unitary. The members of bicameral parliament are directly elected by voting. Only whites and few colored people had right to vote. The non-white populations were systematically deprived of political participation.

In a broad sense we can differentiate the population of South Africa as 1) Whites/ Afrikaners (descendants of Dutch, French,

German, and English); 2) Non-whites (Bantu speaking native population); 3) Colored and 4) Asians. These four racial groups are divided into different linguistic and ethnic groups. Communication of Bantus with non-Bantu people is in Afrikaans or in English which happened to be two official languages of the Republic of South Africa.

The policy (according to the New Constitution) accords official recognition to 11 languages (which include English, Afrikaans and 9 other African languages, viz., Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Swati, Tsonga, Tsuwana, Venada, Xhosa, and Zulu).

According to New Constitution (Section 3), South Africa has chosen 11 languages to:

- Ensure and guarantee the freedom and human dignity of all South Africans under a new dispensation;
- Recognize the country's linguistic diversity; and
- Ensure that the process of democratization is extended to language related issues as well (Kamwangamalu, 1997: 239).

The important contents of Bantu Education Act (1953) were:

- To promote Afrikaans and to reduce the influence of English in black schools;
- To impose the use of both Afrikaans and English on equal basis as media of instruction in black schools; and
- To extend mother tongue education from 4th grade to 8th grade. (Kamwangamalu, 1997: 237-238).

Consequently, black school children had to have three instructional media: their mother tongue, Afrikaans, and English. The government's attempt to enforce Bantu Education Act led to not

only the end of Afrikaans as medium of instruction in black schools, but also of White rule over South Africa. The rejection of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in 1976 resulted in advancing the position of English not only over Afrikaans, but also over African languages. In other words, the black's hatred toward Afrikaans and the poor image of African languages paved **the** way for English to be identified by black South Africans as the language of advancement and democracy.

The language-planning debate in South Africa identified three basic positions. They are 1) the unification of Nguni and Sotho languages; 2) the suggestion **that** all the languages be developed as literary languages; and 3) the debate around the status and future of Afrikaans. And it is important to a debate to consider three main problems associated with selecting an official language in a multilingual country. They are a) the selection process is necessarily a discriminatory one and could lead to the decline and eventual death of the varieties that have not been selected; b) if an international language is selected as the official language and if it is not spread very efficiently in the country, it could also become a 'gate' blocking the social and economic advancement; and c) a single official language could generate a common loyalty but the chances seem equally strong that it could cause divisions in the nation that are the result of unequal access to opportunities to acquire the official language (Cluver, 1992: 109-110).

There **are** at least five language planning models identified for South Africa. They are 1) Government policy; 2) Van den Berghe's policy; 3) Prinsloo's policy; 4) Steyn's policy; and 5) Alexander's policy (Cluver, 1992: 114)

The government policy seems to have been determined by two factors, a) the need to establish and to maintain the Afrikaner as a separate cultural and linguistic groups, b) the need to establish and maintain the other ethno-linguistic groups in the country. As the Afrikaans was threatened by two international languages (Dutch and English), and also there were attempts to Anglicize Afrikaans, most of the language planning efforts around Afrikaans were aimed at establishing Afrikaans next to Dutch and protecting Afrikaans against English.

To reduce the influence of English on Black South Africans, it was proposed that both Afrikaans and English were to be used on equal basis as the medium of education in the schools for Blacks. An important implication of this policy was that Black school children ought expected to have a high competence in their mother tongue, Afrikaans, and English. But the proposed policy was a failure due to various reasons like inefficiency on the part of teachers especially in teaching Afrikaans and English; poor infrastructural facilities in the schools; English being used as medium of instruction in schools for Indians.

From a language planning view, this (failure of government's plan in reducing the influence of English) made the majority of Blacks to use English, apart from their mother tongue, as a lingua franca instead of Afrikaans. This made the Afrikaans speaking Whites to feel like minority.

Van den Berghe (1968:223) suggested "English should be recognized as the national language at the same time other four main languages should also have official recognition as regional languages... in any given area two languages (one is English) would be used in schools and in government offices."

The main implication of this policy is that everyone would become (at least) bilingual with English as a common language but with different second language. Afrikaans would be reduced to a regional language. However, serious disadvantage of this policy is that, it assumes that various language communities are geographically localized. The South Africa community has become so integrated that this type of division is impossible. This policy also gives speakers territorial language rights. In other words, it restricts a particular language use outside its legally identified territory.

The Prinsloo's policy is an example of Afrikaans-oriented approach. He proposes a) the present official languages should be spread more systematically among the population- particularly Afrikaans; b) important Black regional languages should be given recognition by using them in official transactions. He suggests that a third (Black) official language be recognized on a regional basis (Cluver, 1992: 121). To strengthen the position of Afrikaans, Prinsloo suggests that Afrikaans be spread more effectively among the Black population of South Africa.

One of the main drawbacks of Prinsloo's policy is, because there will be a large group of speakers whose language is not acknowledged in a given area, the policy could add to existing frustrations instead of reducing them. Another drawback is, schools have to offer education in three languages.

Steyn's language policy is in line with the one taken by language planners to minority rights. As Paulston (1987: 36) put it: "while moral decency dictates the language rights of minority groups, it does not necessarily follow that the state is under any obligation to economically support such rights nor does it follow that mi-

nority groups have a right to impose their language on the nation."

Alexander's policy (1989) is based on four assumptions. They are a) all languages spoken by the people of country have an equal right to exist and to flourish; b) the language policy should **facilitate** communication between the different language groups that comprise the population; c) everyone should know at least two languages well-- their own and English, but ideally they should also know a regionally important language; d) the concentration of mother tongue speakers of a particular language is the only factor that will be used to determine what language will have official status on a regional basis.

On the basis of afore mentioned assumption(s), Alexander formulates three language planning models for South Africa. They are 1) English as official language and all other languages have official status on a regional basis; 2) English, Standard Nguni and Sotho as official languages, with the languages understood by few people enjoying regional status; 3) Standard Nguni and standard Sotho as the only official languages.

2. 1.7. 1. Language Planning Agencies

VAKTAALBURO (Bureau of Technical Languages).

Established **in** 1950. Authorized by and funded through the Suid- Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns. Affiliated with the Terminological Section of the Department of National Education, and the Language Bureau of South African Railways. *Funding:* Subscriptions of members and grant-in-aid from municipalities.

Goals: Collection, creation, and distribution of Afrikaans and English terms; standardization of scientific and technical usage;

working out a theory of terminology and setting up guidelines for the production of technical dictionaries; editing of two technical and scientific journals.

The English Academy of South Africa

Established in 1961. Funded by subscriptions from members (individual corporate members) and municipal grants-in-aid.

Goals: to maintain and improve the standard of English used in South Africa, both written and spoken, by endeavoring to:

- a) Stimulate interest generally in the English language and its literature;
- b) Encourage the maintenance of good standards of English in schools and universities;
- c) Encourage improvement in the standard of English in journalism, commerce, advertising, and entertainment;
- d) Strive for the attainment of widespread literacy in English;
- e) Institute examination of proficiency in English;
- f) Cooperate with other cultural or educational organizations and foster cooperation between school and university teachers of English;
- g) Make awards in recognition of achievement in English writing, speech, and drama;
- h) Make available books and other publications in English, especially in the fields of science and education;
- i) Defend the rights of free speech and publication; and
- j) Oppose trends and policies inimical to a full and free education in English and a full and free use of English as an official language in the Republic of South Africa.

2. 1. 8. TANZANIA

Tanzania is primarily an agrarian country with about 90% of the population gaining their livelihood from land. The contribution

of manufacturing sector is also considerable. In terms of administration, the executive power lies with the President. The President and National Assembly constitute the parliament. Tanzania has universal suffrage at all levels.

In the pre-independent Tanzania, a large number of small ethnic groups, having different languages as their first language, became a problem for administrators. When the British set up administrative districts in 1957, an important characteristic feature of many such districts was linguistic with none of the language accounting for more than 50% of the population as the native/ first speakers of such language. This kind of linguistic distribution further led to the use of Swahili for administrative purposes. Another factor forced the use of Swahili was the absence of any large linguistic group that can compete with Swahili. One more important factor that was in favor of Swahili was Islamization. As Swahili was closely linked with Islam, and Moslems being traders in the region, Swahili was widespread. As 94% of the total population speaks Bantu languages, and as Swahili is also a Bantu language, it gained acceptance from the majority of the population.

Both Swahili and English are used in the United Republic of Tanzania for official purposes. More than 95% of the population speaks Bantu languages. The important Bantu languages are Kisukuma, Kinyamwezi, Kimakonde, Kihaya, Kichagga, Kigugo, Kiha, Kiche, Kinyakyusa, and Kiluguru. The main Indian languages spoken in Tanzania are Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu, and Konkani.

Further Swahili's use was fastened by the contributions of a policy implementation body known as East African Inter-

Territorial Language (Swahili) Committee [set up in 1930] which did a great deal towards developing and standardizing the language.

With the passage of time, English gained momentum by becoming the medium of education and overshadowed the importance of Swahili. Many a population, then, regarded English as the language of power and capable of making the local voice heard in the international arena whereas Swahili was treated as the language representing dependence and restricting to the local baraza only. Another factor, which brought opposition to Swahili, was churches. For the churches believed that the Christianization of the locals could be effectively done through the mother tongue. As Whiteley (1971: 146) observed: "In general, however, the tri-focal nature of language behavior was differentially stressed by the administration, education and missions. The administration demonstrated the usefulness of Swahili, education provided the incentives for learning English, and the missions emphasized the emotional associations of the mother tongue".

Pre Independence Period

During the **pre-independence** period, one of the major problems for administrators in Tanzania was that a large number of small ethnic-linguistic groups favored the use of Swahili for administrative purposes. Another factor favoring Swahili was the absence of any large states around which language loyalties might come together and form one whole. As TANU (a political party) founded in 1954, Swahili started to play a new and increasingly **important** role. TANU used Swahili as a means of political communication and started to stress Swahili's role in political unification of the country.

Post Independence Period

The United Republic of Tanzania adopted Swahili as the national language as "the language to used on national occasions and whenever the image of the nation is on display" (Whiteley, 1971: 151). The reallocation to Swahili has largely been at the cost of English, especially in the settings most likely to catch the public eye, in national assembly, in town councils, in party meetings etc. Though English remains the medium of instruction in post-primary education; and in the high court as the language of technical discourse, efforts have also been made to extend the use of Swahili in civil services.

Much use of Swahili can be obtained from the grounds that it is an African language, that it is the language of people, that it played a crucial role in the struggle for independence, and that it is shame to use the language of colonialists. In 1964 a position of Promoter of Swahili, was created in the Ministry of Community Development and National Culture. The task of the Promoter was to coordinate work of local Swahili societies, and to make it public at large the results of any relevant research work etc. In 1966 the inter Ministry Committee was set up with specific tasks of preparing list of technical terms for use within the civil service. In 1967 National Swahili Council was formed with the functions like promoting the development and usage of Swahili language, encouraging the achievement of high standards in Swahili etc.' (Whiteley, 1971: 151-152).

In Tanzania the range of linguistic possibilities for people of the upper classes is wider than that of lower classes. However, the majority of Tanzanians are at least bilingual in Kiswahili and ethnic community languages. Speakers of one of ethnic community languages not only accept Kiswahili as one of their lan-

guages but also consider themselves to be part of the larger Kiswahili-speaking community' (Mekacha, 1993: 316).

Although English is taught as a subject from primary school, it is the secondary school that marks the beginning of meaningful learning of English. Since the vast majority of secondary school leaving students work in a predominantly Kiswahili speaking environment, English has no communicative status in Tanzania.

In the period immediately following the achievement of political independence, language policy in Tanzania can be seen as the complete Swahilization of the medium of instruction/ education throughout the primary school.

2. 1.8. 1. Language Planning Agencies

Institute of Kiswahili Research

Established in 1964. Its predecessor was the Inter-territorial Language Committee (1930-1964). Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar forms part of the University of Dar-Es-Salaam. Has close links to the National Kiswahili Council of Tanzania, with a representative there. Funding: Government subsidy, occasional donor contributions, and sales of publications.

Goals: Research into Kiswahili and related languages **with** the objective of developing the language in all its aspects so that it can serve as a tool for social, educational, economic and political development. This development includes enabling the language to be used in all domains, and standardizing terminology. The Institute, with scientists in various fields and linguists, suggest standard labels (terms) and their definitions; then these labels are submitted to the National Swahili Council for approval.

BARAZA LA KISWAHILI LA TAIFA (The National Kiswahili Council)

Established in 1968 by the Government of Tanzania (by an Act of Parliament). Affiliated with the Institute of Kiswahili Research, the Department of Kiswahili- University of Dar-Es-Salaam, Union of Writers and Poets Tanzania (UKUTA), the Department of National Language, Ministry of Culture and Youth.

Funding: Government grants.

Goals: To promote the development and usage of Kiswahili throughout the United Republic; to cooperate with other bodies in the United Republic which are concerned with promoting Kiswahili, and to endeavor to coordinate their activities; to encourage the usage of Kiswahili in the conduct of official business and public life generally; to cooperate with the authorities concerned with establishing standard Swahili language and literature; to establish standard Swahili translation of technical terms; to publish a Swahili news letter or magazine.

2. 2. Continent: ASIA

2. 2. 1. BANGLADESH

Bengali literary history is divided into three periods a) old (800-1200 AD), b) middle (1201-1800 AD), and c) modern. The modern period begins with the establishment of the Fort William College in 1800 in Calcutta by English missionaries, to teach Bengali to English administration. Gradually by 1840s, English replaced Persian in education and administration. During the colonial rule, vernaculars were developed mostly along literary lines and had very limited use in the nation's education and administrative fields. Due to this, vernaculars did not develop as languages of modern thought and learning.

In 1957, a Bengali Academy was established in Dacca to "promote the culture and development of Bengali language and literature in East Pakistan". Based on the recommendations of the Commission on National Education, the Central Board for Development of Bengali (CDBD) was established in 1962 in Dacca. The prime aims of the Board are to develop Bengali language and literature; to remove deficiencies in Bengali, so that it could become the medium of instruction at a higher level; and to co-ordinate the work of other organizations.

2. 2. 1. 1. Language Planning Agency

BANGLA ACADEMY, Burdwan House, Dacca

Established by the Government of Bangladesh in 1972 as an amalgamation of the former Bengali Academy (1957) and the Central Board for the Development of Bengali (1962).

Goals: To develop and promote Bangla language, literature and culture in accordance with the national aspirations; to facilitate introduction of Bangla in all spheres of life in Bangladesh. Published Terminology books on various subjects, dialectal dictionary, standard Bangla dictionary etc.

2. 2. 2. BRUNEI

Brunei is a small British-protected Islamic Sultanate in South-east Asia. About 66% of the population is Malay, 23% Chinese, 5% Indian and 6% other indigenous people. Brunei is one of the largest oil producers in the British Commonwealth and it forms the backbone of Brunei's economy. Petroleum production accounts for more than 99% of the national income and agriculture and forestry accounts for less than 1%. The Constitution of Brunei (1959) provides for a Privy Council, a Council of Ministers, and a legislative council, whose members are elected by popular vote for a five-year term.

In 1972, the Education Commission in Brunei aimed to make Malay the main medium of instruction in primary and secondary schools, and to promote English. In 1984, just after complete independence the government no longer stipulated that Malay be the chief language of instruction. In 1985 bilingual education (Dwibhasa) was introduced, which should be fully implemented by 1993. The highlight of Dwibhasa is that English-as-medium-of-instruction is largely replacing Malay, **and** yet the enlargement of educational role of Malay is a constitutional requirement. The aim of 1984 Report is 'to instill solidarity among the people of nation by means of single education system' (Edwards, 1993: 30). What remains problematic here is the extension of this educational policy towards the promotion of a wider 'solidarity' by putting emphasis on two languages.

2. 2. 3. CHINA

By establishing first trading post in Canton in 1664, the English language made its entry to China. However, China people were unwilling to learn English language and Britishers regarded the Chinese language as beyond any possibility of learning, so they began to modify English to serve the needs of communication with Chinese, thus a lingua franca Chinese Pidgin English-emerged. Until the government of Qing dynasty established first foreign language school (Tong Wen Guan) in 1862, no formal study of English as a foreign language began in China.

As far as the indigenous languages of China are concerned, even though there were no 'formal' attempts to spread the use of Mandarin, an educated variant of Beijing dialect, it was in **use** as an oral communication medium by Chinese government officials from 15th century onwards. Only after 1911, the need for a

national language became more widely recognized and efforts were made to standardize and propagate a National Language.

As Mandarin being a widespread language, became an obvious choice to be the national language of China, standardization of pronunciation and the popularization of Mandarin became a focus of early language planning efforts in China. A step towards achieving these goals, the Committee for Unification of Pronunciation (CUP) was officially formed on February 15, 1913 as a subordinate committee of the Ministry of Education.

In 1916, a National Language Research Committee was setup with the aim of assisting the development of a standard national language. In 1919, Commercial Press in Shanghai published the first edition of Pronouncing Dictionary (PD) of the national language and approved by the Ministry of Education in 1920 (Yin and Baldauf, 1990: 281).

The basic classification of China is more of linguistic than ethnic. The Han Chinese constitutes 94% of the total population. The 53 minority groups, spreading over approximately 60% of the area constitutes only 6% of the population. The People's government takes care of guarding the all interests of the minorities. The major linguistic families of China are 1) Sino-Tibetan, 2) Altaic, 3) Indo-European, and 4) Austro-Asiatic. By 1970, it was estimated that more than 90% of the Chinese population can understand and use Mandarin.

The Constitution of 1975 declares China as "a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants". The National People's Congress (NPC), a unicameral body, under the leader-

ship of the Chinese Communist Party, is the highest organ of state power. The members of the NPC are elected through universal, adult franchise. However, there is no voting power/ right to the 'counter-revolutionaries and politically hostile elements'.

Prior to 1949, English was the medium of instruction in the Universities and schools run by missionaries. However, after 1949, as China pursued a pro-Russia foreign policy, the Russian language became most important and prestigious foreign language at all levels of education in China. And on the other hand, due to the disturbances on the diplomatic scenario with the USA, the English language was considered as the 'language of American imperialism' and no longer enjoyed any prestige.

Since 1949, the language policies of the People's Republic of China (PRC) include the simplification of characters, the promotion of a standardized national language, and creation of a phonemic alphabet. At the Conference on the Standardization of the Modern Chinese Spoken Language (1955), Putunghua (PTH) [which means: generally understood language] was clearly defined as the common speech of the Han-nationality with the Northern Speech as the basic dialect, and with Beijing speech as the standard pronunciation. In 1958, Pinyin (PN), a new phonemic alphabet, was approved both by state council and National People's Congress.

Due to an open **split** between China and Soviet Union in early 1960s, **the** importance of Russian in Chinese education has started declining. And almost at the same time, Chinas diplomatic relations with English speaking countries started to flourish and China had to train more English speaking personnel to meet the needs.

It is interesting to note that due to the ultra-leftist tendency, once English was repudiated as full of bourgeois views' and it was made illegal to turn to Voice of America (VoA) or the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). But after the English teaching resumed in early 1970s, the textbooks were full of political slogans and articles of political character. Therefore the people who graduated at that time were considered to be impotent.

In 1974, 1975 and 1978, the 'Central People's Broadcasting Station in Beijing' and the 'Committee on Language Reform' jointly sponsored a series of radio lectures on PN, thus the language reform campaign started again, after the Cultural Revolution, in PRC. In 1978, the Ministry of Education issued the 'strengthen Standard Language and PN Instruction Circular', which stressed that instruction in the standard language should be emphasized and the instruction should be implemented throughout the process of Chinese Language Instruction.

2. 2. 4. HONG KONG

About 99% of the population is Chinese, and they are represented by different linguistic groups. The Cantonese dialect is widespread and understood by majority of the population. During early 1950s, Hong Kong was changed from a trading to industrial economy. However, industry almost entirely depends on imports of raw materials. The garment and textile industry occupies an important role in economy. The governor, appointed by the British Crown, was the Queen's representative and head of the executive branch of the colony. None of the members of the legislative council are elected.

Based on the reason that 'being instructed in English would impose a great deal of burden on some pupils', the Mash and

Sampson report (1963) recommended an increase in the number of Chinese schools, where English is taught as a second language. In 1963 the Chinese University of Hong Kong was established to cater the needs of Chinese students at tertiary level of education (Lee, 1993: 207).

'The campaign for Chinese to be an official language' emerged in late 1960s and in 1974, the government announced 'official language act', giving Chinese and English equal status as the official languages of Hong Kong. In 1978, 'Chinese Language Joint Committee' announced to "strive for the use of the mother tongue as a medium of teaching in secondary schools and to elevate the social status of Chinese together with the improvement of the quality of Chinese-English education" (Lee, 1993: 208-209).

The Education Commission Report No. 1 (1984) recommended that school authorities should be encouraged to adopt Chinese as the medium of instruction.' It also suggest that (1) an additional teacher of Chinese should be provided, (2) provide additional resources to strengthen English teaching in Chinese schools, (3) compile handbooks/ teaching material with technical terms in both languages, (4) abolish the distinction between Anglo-Chinese schools and Chinese middle schools (Lee, 1993: 207). In 1986, EC Report No. 2 indicated that 'the majority of the pupils would benefit if Chinese were used as the medium of instruction in lower forms'; the EC Report No. 4 (1990) felt that the Chinese as the medium of instruction was undervalued and proposed that the majority of students (70%) would be educated in their mother tongue.

2. 2. 5. INDONESIA

Economically, Indonesia is basically an agrarian country. The private sector, since 1966, is playing an important role in economy. After the close of the struggle for independence, in 1949, the United States of Indonesia was established. The executive power lies with elected President. The People's Consultative Assembly is the highest authority in the state and consists of 920 elected representatives, representing all walks of life of Indonesian society.

Early Indonesian nationalists recognized the need for unity among the ideals and actions of various national movements to combat the Dutch government. Thus the Oath of the Indonesian Youth of October 28, 1928 called for one fatherland, one nation and one language. With this Oath, not only the goal of the Indonesian nationalist movement formulated but also the Malay lingua franca was chosen as the future national and official language of Indonesia.

During the Dutch colonial regime instruction was given entirely in Dutch. The reason for this situation is that there were neither enough competent teachers in Indonesia nor the necessary textbooks and reading materials. To overcome this drawback, a translation committee was created within the Balai Pustaka- the government publishing house- to translate Dutch textbooks into Indonesian (Alisjahbana, 1971: 181-182). In 1933, a literary and linguistic magazine "*Pudjangga Baru* (The New Writer)" was founded and served as a source of inspiration for those who committed to the goal.

Most of the Indonesian languages have Malayo-Polynesian base. The Austronesian language family is divided into 16 major groups

with the languages closely related though distinctively different. Bahasa Indonesia, the national language, evolved from a Malay dialect, which has, for a long time served as a *lingua franca*.

Though the Japanese view (to make Japanese as official language of Indonesia) on the language problem in Indonesia was quite different from that of Indonesian national movement, the WW-II forced the Japanese occupation forces to carry out the Indonesian national goals. Almost immediately, the Dutch language was forbidden. All legal pronouncements for Indonesia took place in the Indonesian language and Indonesian became the sole medium of instruction in the schools.

The First Congress of the Indonesian Language in Solo in 1938 can be considered as a planning conference. The Congress resolved that it was necessary to create a faculty of language and letters; to establish a standardized grammar and orthography; to write a comprehensive dictionary; and to create a modern terminology. Since there was no government, the policy-making body, behind the Congress, the decisions were not carried out fruitfully.

The terminology committee urged offices and institutions to send in a list of terms either in use by them or needed by them. In the language office, these terms were submitted to a meeting of a subsection on a special subject. The results of this meeting were sent on to a larger meeting on terminology. In this larger section's meeting, the representatives of other subsections had the opportunity to compare the terms with their own and to express their criticism. Later this list of terms was again discussed in the plenary session of the three sections (terminology, grammar, and daily words). The decision of the plenary session was

final. These terms then published in the official government gazette. The lists were also published by the language office and distributed to the public.

2. 2. 5. 1. Language Planning Agency

PUSAT PEMBINAAN DAN PENGEMBANGAN BAHASA (National Center for Language Development) The present organization was established in 1975. Predecessors were the Institute of Language and Culture (1950-54), affiliated with the University of Indonesia, Jakarta; the Directorate of Language and Culture (1954-70), division of the Directorate General of Culture, Jakarta; and National Language Institute (1970-75), Directorate General of Culture, Ministry of Education and Culture, Jakarta.

Funding: The Government of Indonesia and other sources, domestic and international.

Goals: development and implementation of Indonesian national language policy in relation to Indonesian, the vernaculars of Indonesia and foreign languages used or taught in the Indonesian school system.

2. 2. 6. ISRAEL

Israel (formed on May 15, 1948) is the first Jewish nation established in nearly 2000 years. Israel, in terms of economy, is primarily an agrarian state with, to a great extent, mechanized form of agriculture. Israel is a democratic republic with a parliamentary system of government. All of the 120 members of unicameral 'Knesset' are elected for a four-year term. The President, elected by the Knesset, is the head of the state. The proportional representation kind of elections is universal, direct, and is through secret balloting.

Hebrew and Arabic are the official languages of the state. Since Hebrew, like Arabic, employs vowel pattern for grammatical purpose, the full spelling helps a great deal in distinguishing the active and passive modes in many verbs and also in identifying the correct forms of nouns. As the full spelling never been employed constantly and majority of words in a text can be read in alternative and in different ways. It is a matter of chance that the writer becomes aware of the alternatives and takes precautions not to be confused. Thus, the full spelling became a source of irregularity in Hebrew spelling.

In schools grammatical spelling is viewed as an indispensable pre-requisite to correct grammar. "The young children learns to read and write pointed texts for three years and gradually shifts to un-vocalized scripts, spelled in such a way that, they could be pointed, i.e., of grammatical scripts. As the child goes on reading newspapers (s)he learns/ acquires ability to read full spelling but continues to write grammatical spelling" (Rabin, 1971: 98).

The problems of having dual spelling system are, 1) it calls for a need to learn two spellings and requires a shift in learning at one point or the other in a lifetime, 2) lack of regularity in spelling, 3) insufficient indication of vowels, which leads to false indication of words, mispronunciation of correctly identified words, 4) it causes and increases difficulties for a learner who is interested in learning Hebrew. (Rabin, 1971: 98-99). Keeping all these problems in view, there were a dozen proposals to reform the writing system. Some of proposals consist designing additional letters to represent vowels. Some have proposed to use few letters to indicate vowels. There were few proposals to adopt Roman script. The scientists preferred **Romanization** of Hebrew

script in order to avoid the **difficulties** in recognizing and transliterating scientific terms. All in all, the proposals for reforms can be divided into two categories, 1) Transliteration of traditional spelling by which new letters can be added to the script, 2) reforms representing the Israeli pronunciation.

In a society like Jewish Israel, where virtually the entire population knows and makes use of a shared language, "a monolingual policy towards immigrants is essentially a default option with minimum economic and ideological costs. Any departure from this policy is liable to raise ideological hackles. A pluralistic language policy is likely to be catering to some evident values or instrumental goals, is a matter of substance rather than procedure" (Glinert, 1995: 352).

In 1938, a special committee was appointed to make proposals for full spelling and for system of transliteration of foreign words into Hebrew. In 1940 the spelling proposal was submitted. "In Spring 1942, it has set up principles like, a) co-existence of two spellings, grammatical when pointed and full when un-pointed, b) the spellings must be based upon sources of the language and its recognized grammar, c) to be adapted to present-day educational and all practical needs, and d) to be acceptable to the public" (Rabin, 1971: 104-105).

The new committee of 1948 framed the rules of spelling which are slight modifications of 1941 **rules**. **As** the 1948 rules were published in the middle of the war of Independence, and the war was followed by years of economic and political difficulties and **when** the country was facing few other major problems, very few paid attention to a minor matter like spelling. By the time peo-

ple started to pay attention to spelling rules, the 1948 rules lost their novelty and had not gained public acceptance.

The Hebrew Language Academy was established in 1953 as "supreme institution for the science of the Hebrew language" for the purpose of "directing the development of the Hebrew language on the basis of research into the language in all its periods and branches" (Rabin, 1971: 102). Decision of the Academy relating to the issues of language, that have been published in the Gazette, are binding upon all organs of state and local governments.

As the Academy members failed to arrive at an agreed proposal, a number of members decided to ask the Assembly to confirm the 1948 spelling of the language council. On April 4, 1968, a double meeting of the plenum was held to decide the spelling question by voting. The final vote was taken in two stages, 1) whether to have two spellings- recognition of full spelling side by side with pointed grammatical spelling, 2) on the resolution to make 1948 spelling as the binding set of rules. In the voting, the supporters of 1948 spelling won, and thus 1948 spelling became the official policy of the Academy.

The mass immigration (in September 1989) appears to have been met with a radical softening of Israeli official and quasi-official monolingual policies and attitudes. This is clearly shown by the move to take a decision in July 1994 to permit state-funded English medium schooling. But this move was criticized. The criticism was that, the policy decisions were being taken on the personal initiatives of ministers or their advisors, using departmental budgets. Though State Radio and Television, officially responsible to the Minister of Education, the actions of the

Director General of Radio and Television appear to be a model case personal initiative and of a tactically easygoing approach to integration.

2. 2. 6. 1. Language Planning Agency

HA-AQADEMIA LA-LASHON HA-IVRIT (The Academy of the Hebrew Language). Established in 1953 as the official continuation of the Hebrew Language Council, which was established in 1890. Funding: The Israeli government (Ministry of Education and Culture), and some private sources, such as the World Zionist Organization and the Rothschild Fund.

Goals: to assemble and to carry out research on the Hebrew vocabulary of all periods; to carry out research on the structure of the Hebrew language, in accordance with its original script, its requirements and possibilities in all theoretical and practical fields, its vocabulary, grammar, script, spelling, and transliteration.

2. 2. 7. MALAYSIA

The Federation of Malaysia is the largest producer of Tin and rubber in the world. The agricultural sector, mining, forestry and fishing constitute an important part of Malaysian economy. Malaysia is a federal constitutional monarchy with non-political head of the state, which is elected among the rulers of 9 Malay states. The Federal Parliament is the supreme legislative body and the members of bicameral parliament are elected for a five-year term.

The economic exploitation of Malaysia, especially during the latter half of 19th century, led to heterogeneity of country. With the more exploitation of economic resources the more number of migrants flooded in. This situation led to the shortage of farm

workers on rubber plantations which forced the government to recruit laborers from South India, thus adding Tamil and Malayalam languages to then existing multilingual (Cantonese, Hokkien, Malay, Chinese etc.) Malaysia.

During the British rule in Malaysia, it was felt that the prosperity of Malaysia is depended on the exploitation of the resources and successful exploitation depended on having the work force (laborers, clerks, supervisors, managers etc.) who are bilingual. So, one can say that, "the development and bilingualism went hand in hand in colonial Malaysia" (Ozog, 1993: 62).

In Malaysia, Malay language is official but the position of English remains strong. The Malays see English as an obstacle to advancement of Malay language and due to access and competence in English, Chinese and others are unfairly benefiting. So as a natural outcome, Malays had to come out with 'Bahasa Malaysia' as national language in independent Malaysia (Edwards, 1993: 28).

By middle of 19th century, English had a very definite place in the linguistic make up of the colony. The English medium schools and the English newspapers were established and drastically increasing. English-known bilingualism was considered as the key to personal and social advancement in the colony.

To cater the needs of English medium education in Malaysia, two kinds of English medium schools were established: 1) Mission schools, over which the colonial government had no control, and 2) free schools, which were given some government assistance. With the establishment of free schools, the influence of government in education began in Malaysia. However, their aim

was to produce junior administrative officers to support the British administration. These schools were mainly attended by Chinese and Indian children. The Malays, because majority was Moslems and afraid of potential threat to their religion by Christian missions and as they lived in rural areas where there were no English medium schools, did not attend the English medium schools.

During the years of Malay's struggle for self-government, the two major obstacles on the road to independence were a) the Chinese and Indian people and their languages, and b) the place of English. Between 1945 and 1955, six reports were commissioned and they all called for some form of bilingual education in Malaysia. The Barnes Report saw Malay as the cornerstone of a unifying education system with all pupils leaving school as English and Malay bilinguals. The Chinese criticized this report and Fenn-Wu Report recommended for primary education in pupil's mother tongue and secondary education in English. The Razak Report (1956) promoted Malay as the national language and argued for gradual change to Malay as the main medium of instruction in primary schools (Ozog, 1993: 65).

The Education Act of 1961, which implemented many of the Razak Report provisions, while reaffirming the eventual use of Malay as the sole medium of instruction in secondary schools, allowed to continue the Chinese and Tamil primary schools. However, the Act called for the conversion of Chinese secondary schools if they wanted to receive financial assistance from the government. This provision angered the Chinese, who were calling for recognition of Chinese as national language, and slow implementation of Act angered the Malays, who saw it as one way of improving their socioeconomic status.

2. 2. 7. 1. Language Planning Agency

DEWAN BAHASA DAN PUSTAKA (Language and Literature Agency of Malaysia)

Established in 1956. Independent corporation and government agency under the Ministry of Education. A Board of Governors appointed by the Minister of Education controls it. *Funding:* Government annual allocation under the Five-year plan, and book sales.

Goals: (Act of Parliament, April 1959; Ordinance 1959, amendments 1972) to develop, enrich, and promote the national language; to promote literary talents, especially in the national language; to print, publish, or assist in the printing or publication of books, magazines, pamphlets and other forms of literature in the national language as well as in the other languages; to standardize the spelling and pronunciation, and to coin appropriate terminologies in the national language; to compile and publish a national language dictionary.

2. 2. 8. NORTH KOREA

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea was created in 1948 as a result of post World War II occupation. The means of production are socialized in North Korea and the priorities and the government sets emphases in economic development. After the World War II, the North Korea has changed from an agrarian to an industrial nation. The Supreme People's Assembly is the highest organ of state power. However, extra constitutional political body of the Korean Workers Party is the actual source of authority. All Koreans speak Korean language, which is related to Japanese language group and contains a huge number of Chinese loan words.

Korean orthography was a dual system utilizing both Korean letters and Chinese characters. But during the Japanese rule (during 1910-1945) Koreans, deprived of the right to have a language policy, gradually shifted to Japanese-Korean bilingualism.

The standard language regulation of 1936, established by Korean Language Society (*Chosene Hakho*) made the language of Seoul as the standard language, and this regulation was reformed by 1954 Orthography Law. With the rejection of *Hankul Matchwumpep Thonglan* (a plan for unifying Korean spelling), North Korea formulated 'Korean Orthography System' (*Cosene Chelcapep*) in **September** 1954 and published the 'Korean Prescription' (*Cosenmal Kyupemcip*) in July 1966.

Based on these two innovations, the periodization of language policy in North Korea is as follows: 1) Exclusive use of 'Korea Letters' (*Hankul*) period, 1945-1966, and 2) Cultural Language (*Mwunwhae*), 1966- present period. This periodization is based on '1964 dialogue—a language policy guide ordered in the form of a dialogue by Kim Il Sung' on January 3, 1964.

Orthographic reform ordered by 1964 dialogue was approved by '1966 dialogue'. In July 1966, the Orthography Law was announced. Eradication of illiteracy and the elimination of Chinese characters were the main tasks of language policy from 1945-1949.

Common Korean period (1954-1964) is characterized by the fact that the concept of standard language changed from 'standard language is the speech of the middle class in contemporary Seoul' to 'standard language is the modern language most commonly used by Koreans'. The Orthography Law 1954 has

abandoned 'Seoul' as a criterion of location and 'middle' as a criterion of social class.

In November 1946, Mass Mobilization for the Foundation of a Republic Movement was begun to eliminate all remnants of Japanese imperialism. The use of correct Korean was suggested as a political duty by the government. In North Korea, the eradication of illiteracy was an essential prerequisite to enable the government to spread its policies among the people.

After the liberation, so many Chinese characters were removed from textbooks. The abolition of Chinese characters, activated in 1948, called for the rearrangement of vocabulary system. The abandonment of Chinese characters was officially adopted on September 8, 1949 with the enactment of obligatory elementary education.

During the *Mwunhwa* period, (1964 to present), the claim is that language is a weapon for revolution and construction' has been emphasized as the basic view of language planning. It means language planning should take language as a means of political socialization. To combat the confusion resulted from the abandonment of Chinese characters, the 'Academic Term Decision Committee' was formed in February 1949 (Kumatani, 1990: 93).

2. 2. 9. PHILIPPINES

Philippines is basically an agrarian country. The economy is based on free enterprise. The 1973 constitution changed Philippines from Presidential government to a parliamentary form of government. The members of assembly are elected.

There are an estimated 70 languages and dialects in the Philippines. Traditionally these can be divided into 8 major groups. Tagalog, 2) Cebuno, 3) Ilocano, 4) Hiligaynon (Ilango), 5) Bicol, 6) Waray-Waray, 7) Pampango, and 8) Pangasinan. The Filipino is the widely spoken and national language. Both Filipino and English are being in use as media of instruction in the Philippines.

Manroe Survey Report (1925) claimed that there is little or no tendency toward building up a common language, but within few years Philippine Commonwealth has laid the foundations for the establishment of a native national language and the decision has been popularly accepted. "On July 04, 1946 a law was passed declaring the national language to be an official language" (Sibayan, 1971: 123).

In 1957, the Board of National Education—the policy determining body-- decided as a policy the use of the native languages as the medium of instruction in grades I and II in all public schools. A committee on curriculum proposed Filipino to be used as the medium of instruction. But the proposal to shift the medium of instruction did not receive very positively. With this as a background, the Language Study Center of the Philippine Normal College proposed that a language policy survey be undertaken as a basis for making decisions and as a baseline for evaluating the results of any change in language policy.

The use of vernaculars as media of instruction in the elementary school was tried in ILOILO during 1948-1954. By 1956-1957 the number of school divisions acquired permission to use vernaculars grew to 22. In June 1955, an Act of Congress created the Board of National Education. The Board is authorized to

formulate general education's objectives and policies, coordinate activities of all educational institutes etc.

2. 2. 9. 1. Language Planning Agencies

LUPON SA AGHAM (Science Committee)

Established by the UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines in 1964 as a committee of the Academy of the Filipino Language. Also recognized as a faculty organization in the Arana University Foundation.

Rinding: contributions by members.

Goal: to develop a consistent and interrelated scientific and technical terminology **in Filipino** using disyllabic word bases, affixes, combining forms and the characteristic morphology of the Tagalog language.

SURIAN NG WIKANG PAMBANSA (Institute of National Language)

This institute is one of the cultural agencies under the Department of Education and Culture.

Goals: development of the national language; adapting the national language for national development.

2. 2. 10. SINGAPORE

Agriculture and manufacturing plays an important role in economy. The economy of Singapore is of free-enterprise type. Singapore is a parliamentary democratic city-state based on the Westminster model. All members of the **unicameral** parliament are elected through compulsory, universal, adult suffrage. The President, the head of the state, has nominal powers.

Because of diversity in population settings of Singapore, four languages are recognized as official languages. They are: 1) Eng-

lish, 2) Mandarin, 3) Malay, and 4) Tamil. However, English is main medium of administration, commerce and industry.

Even though Mandarin Chinese is not the mother tongue for majority of the Chinese, it represents the largest ethnic community. A 'Speak Mandarin campaign' was launched in 1979 with sentimental appeal as a language associated with Chinese culture and traditions. Apart from this sentimental attachment, the Mandarin Chinese also have instrumental value in the form of a trade language (Kuo & Jernudd, 1993: 4).

However, in Singapore, the New Education System (NES) of 1979 classified students into three types based on their performance at different stages of schooling. The learning of language was emphasized in first three years of schooling, and then based on the performance, the students were placed in different categories like 1) Average or above average pupils would attend a 3-year normal bilingual course (N- course), 2) below-average pupil would attend a 5-year extended bilingual course (E- course), 3) the very-weak pupil would attend a 5-year monolingual course (M-course). At the secondary level, based on the primary school leaving examination results, the best pupil were placed in/ offered a 4-year special course (S- course) studying two languages at first language level. Average or above-average pupils were offered a 4-year express course (E- course) and those who just managed to pass were to take 5-year Normal course (N- course) (Lee, 1993: 214).

2. 2. 11. TURKEY

Agriculture, manufacturing, and mineral resources are important sectors of economy. Under the 1961 constitution of Turkey, the political authority is centered in the bicameral Grand Na-

tional Assembly (GNA). The President, elected by the GNA, is the head of the state. All the members of the parliament are elected by popular vote.

The vital conditions encouraged the reforms of 1928 were—desire of young Turk government leaders after 1908 that their policies should be more widely understood; and the influence of army officers and the changes affected under the pressure of military needs in WW-I. The Turkish, written in Latin script, is the mother tongue of over 90% of the population. The principal linguistic minorities are Kurdish, Arabic, Greek, Armenian, and Yiddish.

Ottoman Language Reform Till 1918

Although an interest in European Technical (especially military) vocabulary was apparent (by 1729-1742) the Ottomans began to realize that their language is insufficient to the task of keeping pace with European advances. As, in the 19th century, new administrative, legal, educational and military terms entered the Ottoman world, the future of Osmanlica¹ became a point of concern. These terms were translated with the analogy of earlier borrowings from Arabic or Persian, but were insufficient sources for expressing contemporary and popular ideas.

By 1860s, few political writers like Ziya Pasa and Namik Kemal had grasped the idea that Ottoman linguistic reform was a barrier to the political reform and hence they called for the simplification of language and the elimination of unnecessary borrowing from Arabic and Persian. By 1880-1900, Ottoman lexicography started to incorporate more natives' words, by eliminating

Arabo-Persian terms; modify spelling in the direction of greater phonetic logic. "In 1874, Suleyman Pasa wrote a grammar, *sarf-i-Turki*, in which he proposed that the national language be called Turkish and not Ottoman" (Gallagher, 1971: 162). This kind of moderate reform continued for 50 years, taking steps towards standardizing the language and reducing the gap between the written *Osmanlica* and spoken Turkic

Around 1908, a group of writers and journalists, known as *Genc Kalemler* (Young Pens), in Salonika formed as a unit under the leadership of Ziya Gok Alp pressed for continuing change of moderate nature and as well as wanted to eliminate all traces of Arabic and Persian. By the end of 1918, the 'Ottoman mandarin style' was completely faded. In place of it, a flexible, living language arose from the spoken language of educated classes of Istanbul and other cities. "In the hectic era of re-focusing the national purpose between 1918 and 1923, the multi-rooted *Osmanlica* was dying along with the multilingual empire whose tongue it had been for five centuries" (Gallagher, 1971: 163).

Language Reform Under the Republic

After the Republic was formed in 1923, changes of language reforms may be divided into two areas, 1) concerning script, and 2) vocabulary, including problems of new formations and borrowings. Substitution of the Latin alphabet for Arabic letters is one, which in itself would merit the name of language revolution. The move to the Latin alphabet seemed to some Turks to be a way of retaining ties with their linguistic brethren from Azerbaijan to Central Asia. This step (Latinization of script) was

¹ *Osmanlica*—the official written language of the Empire—was a synthetic amalgam of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, with grammatical and syntactical features of each of the component languages

considered as a logical part of the corpus of secularist measures taken in the first years of the Republic.

The new letters were first taught in November 1928; Arabic writing was abolished from the beginning of 1929; and Arabic and Persian were no longer taught as foreign languages from September 1929. In the first few years of the reform the Ministry of Education published Romanized versions of the large body of Ottoman and other Middle Eastern literature. "But in 1928 the change in the script marked the transformation of Turkey by cutting it off from the rest of Middle East and channeling its contacts towards the West" (Gallagher, 1971: 164-165).

Started in the late 18th century, Turkish Language Reform (TLR), by 1930s became a large-scale, government administered language planning activity. Language Reform (LR), as one of the goals of language planning, can be defined as the deliberate manipulation of language triggered by the need to facilitate language use as well as to serve the underlying political, socio-economical, cultural, and ideological tendencies of the community at that time. In the late 19th century, the lack of public education for the masses separated the two vernaculars (High and Low), which resulted in the emergence of a new wave of Turkish nationalism, thus marking the beginning of conscious language simplification attempts (Dogancay-Akunta, 1995: 224).

By the World War I, most writers (in Turkey) were making conscious efforts to use simpler Turkish that was free from Arabic and Persian influences. The earlier suggestion for the adoption of **the** Latin script was **formally** proposed during the first National Congress meeting in 1923. From 1924-1927 the issue of the script continued to be heatedly debated. "On June 26, 1928

a language **committee** was formed to prepare reports on grammar and the script and on November 3, 1928 the new Turkish alphabet based on Latin was officially accepted in the parliament" (Dogancay-Akunta, 1995: 228).

Though at **peripheral** level unsuitability of the Arabic script/ alphabet for Turkish phonology appears to be the reason for change in script, it is not so. The Latin script would fit better with the secularist ideology of the new Republic and would act as the first step toward cutting-off the new nation from Ottoman-Islamic past. Arabic writing was abolished at the beginning of 1929 and from September 1929, Arabic and Persian were no longer taught in schools as foreign languages.

In September 1932, a language convention was organized to discuss language planning. This would be the beginning of an arduous, mostly successful; though sometimes controversial process of language renovation; second and major step in Turkish language reform. It was felt that, status planning decisions like officializing Turkish and making it the medium of instruction; corpus planning like upgrading the vernacular in order for it to fulfill the newly allocated functions are necessary.

Turkish Language Association was formed in September 1932 to 'eliminate foreign influences from Turkish and create it as a powerful vehicle of modernization as well as the symbol of national **identity**'. The first step towards elevating the status of the Turkish vernacular to the status of national language is that recognizing/ officializing the Turkish used by the educated people of Istanbul. However, the main emphasis of Turkish language planning was on **corpus elevation**'—the purification and renovation of the **language**—through which the selected norm

would meet the communicative needs of the nation as well as aiding modernization.

Language planning processes that were undertaken by Turkish Language Association, according to Heyd, 1954 (as quoted in Dogancay-Akunta, 1995), includes the following steps:

- Collecting and publishing Turkish words from the everyday spoken language to replace Arabic and Persian borrowings;
- Researching old texts from the pre-Islamic Turkish era to find words that had fallen out of use;
- Compounding existing Turkish words to make up new ones;
- Extending **the** semantic coverage of existing words;
- Giving an abstract meaning to words that refer to concrete objects;
- Loan-translations;
- Turkicizing foreign words both phonetically and morphologically;
- Forming compounds through prefixes;
- Deriving new words via derivative suffixes;
- Creating neologisms similar in sound to their European counter parts;
- Creating words which sound similar to Turkish words; and
- Defining the rules of word formation in Turkish language.

In 1932, the Turkish Linguistic Society (*Türk Dil Kurumu*, TDK) was formed as an accompaniment to the Society for the Study of Turkish History. The three essential tasks of TDK were a) to collect Turkish words from the popular language and from old Turkish texts; b) to define the principles of word formation and to create words from Turkish roots; and c) to encourage the use of true Turkish words in place of foreign words in written lan-

guage through the use of mass media and party institutions, public suggestions were invited for alternatives to Arabic and Persian terms.

In 1935, Ottoman-Turkish glossary, known as Kilavuz, was prepared. It justified the retention of Arabic and Persian terms with "a number of words that are now used in our language and which until now were thought to have been taken from foreign languages had been originally passed from Turkish into those foreign languages" (Gallagher, 1971:166).

During 1935 and 1936, some linguists evolved the 'Sun Language Theory' in which they stated/ proposed that Turkish was the mother tongue of the world. During the years 1936-1941, the first comprehensive lists of Turkish terms in mathematics and the sciences were prepared and introduced into official textbooks in 1939 after tested by scholarly commissions. The WW-II boosted the language reform activism in Turkey, and various measures were designed to reinforce the reforms.

The nature of Turkification, proposed by TDK in 1942, brought strong and open criticism. The university faculty favored greater internationalization of scientific and learned terminology, to insure both accuracy of translation and to preserve ties between Turkey and the advanced countries, while TDK insisted on more national terminology.

By Democratic Party coming into power in 1950, the period since then has been marked by an increasingly intimate Turkish association with the affairs of the European and Atlantic worlds. In the line with the trend towards privatization, the TDK had its

semi-official status removed and lost its governmental subsidy; and lacks the authority to impose decisions.

Some political scientists argue that the acceptance or rejection of neologisms is governed more by political consideration than by any other concern. The situation in many cases is that language used by a person as an indication of her/ his political affiliations. In case of Turkey, the right wing and more religious sectors prefer traditional vocabulary. Left wing, modernists, and secularists use the reformed terms.

The success (whatever the degree it may be) of Turkish language reform can be accounted for on the basis of many inter-related factors like 1) linguistic reasons: the change of script was easy due to low literacy rate then, Latin letters fit better with the sounds of Turkish and the pressing need for popular education made the simplification of language imperative; 2) socio-political reasons: the Turkish people were ready to start afresh after the collapse of Ottoman Empire and War of Independence; 3) personal influences of national leaders; and 4) enthusiasm of Turkish Language Association members and active participation of the people, who were committed to language purification and modernization (Spearman and Turfan, 1979).

The language planning goal that can satisfy best the needs of Turkish is "lexical modernization" which was defined (by Nahir, 1984: 307) as "word creation or adaptation as a way to assist developed, standard languages that have borrowed concepts too fast for their natural development to accommodate". All activities involved in lexical modernization can be categorized into two types: 1) Lexical modernization as an activity and as a part of

language planning; and 2) Lexical modernization as a language planning function by itself.

Though lexical modernization does incorporate purification, in that words of foreign words will not be allowed to stay in the language in order to preserve the authenticity of the language. However, this will not be blindfolded purification. What is suggested is to find/ coin/ derive equivalents in native language as soon as they enter the language.

Many Turks still insist that there are several separate Turkish languages- **for** press, for official discourse and communication, for literature, in the speech of educated elite compared to that of peasants and villagers. The radio and television; the textbooks used by more than 80% of the school children; two year compulsory military service which has the tradition that army teaches and educates as well are vital factors in reinforcing the linguistic zeal.

The results of planned language change, in Turkey have been not only revolutionary in scope, but they have also paralleled the fundamental societal change. The direction of language planning has complemented the Turkish social modernization. The declared ideologies of the New Turkish Republic were identified as follows:

1. *Nationalism*: Language was seen as an integral part of national building, and was equated with the unification of the diverse people;
2. *Secularism*: reflected in the dispersion of Arabic and Persian loan words and grammar rules;

3. *Populism*: breaking down the barriers that separate the educated and privileged class from others by **bringing** the language of masses closer to the standard literary language;
4. *Republicanism*: aimed at establishing the Turkish vernacular as the new official language;
5. *Modernism*: to develop the Turkish language to serve the communicative needs of developing nation (Dogancay-Akunta, 1995).

2. 1. 11. 1. Language Planning Agency

TURKDİL KURUMU (Turkish Linguistic Society)

Independent agency funded by the legacy of Atatürk, founder and first President of the Turkish Republic.

Goal: the re-turkification of the Turkish language.

2. 3. Continent: AUSTRALIA

2. 3. 1. AUSTRALIA

Australia is highly industrialized country with manufacturing sector playing an important role. Agriculture and mineral resources are other important sectors of economy. Though private enterprise has a big role to play, government influences and regulates economic activity as a whole. On one hand, like Britain, Australia is a monarchy and on the other, like the USA, it is a federation. The Queen or King of Britain is the Queen or King of Australia, but governor-general and governors of states exercise their powers. The **members** of the bicameral parliament are elected by universal, adult suffrage. The voting is compulsory in Australia.

Pre-European Australia was multilingual, with about 260 Australian aboriginal languages and 500 dialects. European settlement from 1788 brought English speaking settlers to Australia. The gold rushes of 1850s brought Germans and Chinese as well. But Federal Immigration Act of 1901 restricted non-European migration to Australia. By the end of World War II, Australia became more or less monolingual, mono-cultural society with 90% of population having origin of/ in Britain.

Australian language policy and planning efforts which have occurred from mid 1970s follows national policy statements, which conceptualize language issue in terms of 1) English as a second language, 2) multiculturalism, 3) marketing of English to overseas students, 4) languages other than English, and 5) Asian languages. Till 1970s, knowing a language other than English was considered as a high status symbol. But as a result of high rate of migration and subsequent changes that occurred in Australian society, knowledge of a language other than English was associated with low status (Baldauf, 1993: 123).

As primary and secondary education is primarily the concern of the states in Australia, **language-in-education policy**' and planning has had to be a cooperative Federal-State initiative. Under this policy, the state of Queensland is moving to make Languages other than English available to all students in Grades 6-8 by 1994 and it is proposed that by 1996, all students in Grades 1-10 should have access to a Languages other than English.

2. 3. 2. NEW ZEALAND

Agriculture is mainstay of New Zealand's economy. Farming in New Zealand is highly centralized. Manufacturing is another

important sector of New Zealand's economy. Single chambered House of Representatives, whose members are elected by popular adult suffrage, hold the sovereign power. The cabinet, ultimate power holder, is responsible to people. The New Zealand, an independent member of common wealth, is technically sovereign from 1947.

From the time of the first mission school in 1816, the Maori people showed themselves to be both keen and able learners of English, while a number of early English settlers also became bilingual speakers of Maori and English. During the second half of the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century, English became the major language of everyday life (Peddie, 1991: 26).

New Zealand is predominantly an English speaking country. Only Greeks, Chinese, and Indians make determined efforts to keep their children bilingual. Many Maori (indigenous inhabitants of the country) are bilingual and their language Maori is an optional second language in many secondary schools.

Maori became limited to be a language of older generation and of remote traditional areas. Prohibition of Maori in schooling, at first demanded by some Maori as a way of achieving bilingualism, was later seen as a significant cause of language loss. From the 1930s, due to rapid urbanization of Maori people, English became/ formed part of the dominant ideology and education.

Since the early 1970s a number of developments have occurred which affected language policy. The most obvious changes have come about in the areas of Maori language, and it became a focal political issue in New Zealand. The number of Maori primary

schools rose dramatically. In secondary schools, the number of students learning Maori has jumped.

The *Kohanga Reos*, Maori pre-school language nests, typically provide an environment which affirms Maori culture and in which Maori is the only language spoken. As the number of children entering primary schools (with high level knowledge of Maori) is increasing, so is the pressure for schools, which will ensure that the Maori language skills are retained. This pressure resulted in the establishment of four Kura Kaupapa Maori (**total** Maori immersion schools) in 1987-88 (Peddie, 1991: 29). In universities as well, Maori is gaining ground to be an important area of study. All universities in New Zealand now offer courses in Maori, at postgraduate level.

Apart from the efforts of Maori people (as a community) to provide education in Maori for their children and also to strengthen their own culture, at government level, in 1987, the Maori Language Act was passed and a 'Maori Language Commission' had been established. This Act gives Maori official status with English in domains like courts and parliament. The purpose/ role of establishing language commission is to be involved in both promoting and preserving the Maori language.

The interests of the New Zealand Association of Language Teachers (NZALT) had an impact on languages in education. The NZALT was actively involved in submissions to a ministerial working party on second languages. The 'Curriculum Review Committee 1987', and the 'administering for Excellence: Effective Administration in Education, 1988' is important **break-throughs** in the development of curricula for schools of various levels/ types. The CRC 1987' recommended that 'Maori lan-

guage (be) available to every student who wishes to learn it or learn through it'. There are also recommendations aimed at 'a national policy on languages (be) developed, embracing Maori, English, and foreign languages.

The Department of Education 1988 in its guidelines issued to the schools identifies English as the 'common language of communication' and stresses that all students must be fluent and confident in English. All Maori students 'should have opportunities to learn their own language'. Other students 'should have some knowledge' of Maori. The home language of other students/ ethnic groups should be recognized and affirmed as...an aid to learning', and 'students should be encouraged to learn at least one language other than their home language' (Department of Education, 1988:10-11 as cited in Peddie, 1991:34).

2. 4. Continent: EUROPE

2. 4. 1. EUROPE

Language planning and language policies in the 20th century Europe largely reflected the nation-state monolingualism, with exceptions of Switzerland and, later Belgium. The European Economic Community's decision to treat all but two of the official national languages of the member states with equal status highlights the recognition of the importance of language as national marker (Mar-Molinero, 1994: 322).

The resurgence in ethnic awareness in Europe during 1960s has changed the focus of nationalism often to sub-state level. In case of European nationalism, language has been one of the markers of nationalism along with race, religion, traditions, cul-

tures **etc.** In **the** process of 'one-nation-one-language', many minority languages were oppressed, sometimes with overt political and judicial measures and sometimes through aggressive measures (Mar-Molinero, 1994: 322).

2. 4. 2. FRANCE

France is the largest agricultural producer in Europe. The state plays dominant role in managing the economy. The members of bicameral parliament are elected through universal, adult suffrage. The Article 89 of the France constitution guarantees the right of asking for referendum. Though many dialects are in use, French is the national language, spoken and taught everywhere across the country.

The question of national language acquired a very important place in the history of France as early as pre-revolution years. The leaders of the French revolution recognized the communicative efficacy of the national language. "Until WW II, 'policy of internal assimilation' prevailed through the functionaries. At the school level, through prefectural dicta, French enjoyed the status as the vehicle of success, regional language denigrated as an impediment. The advocates of regional languages spoke only in assimilationistic terms of their utility for access to French (Caldwell, 1994: 295). Here it is important to note that, while minority language speakers have been assimilating into the majority language, the minority language speakers have their identity, culture, and tradition at the stake.

Loi Dixonne, an organization, recommended regional primary teachers to use the relevant regional languages. The minority language was advocated for the sake of general conceptual development and educational progress. This democratization

would help reducing the home-school gap and the sense of inferiority.

Commission Haby (1964-1965) included a mandatory three hour comparison of French and the regional languages; 10 hours of history and 10 hours to regional civilization texts in French for primary level. But the Ministry of Education refused to publish the report (Caldwell, 1994: 297-298).

2. 4. 2. 1. Language Planning Agency

ASSOCIATION FRANCAISE DE NORMALISATION (AFNOR) (The French Standards Organization)

Established in 1926. Funded by government grants and income from sale of norms, certification and member's fees.

Goals: to centralize and coordinate, under the authority of the Commissioner for Standardization, all work and study in France concerning standardization; to represent France at international meetings on standardization; to assume responsibility for diffusion, information and propaganda for standardization.

2. 4. 3. GREENLAND

Since 1953, Greenland is a part of the Kingdom of Denmark. The important part of the Greenlandic society stem from Eskimo culture. Fishing (especially seal hunting) is important part of the economic activity of the population of Greenland. All the Greenlanders enjoy equal political rights with Danish citizens. Greenlanders elect two members to the Danish parliament, through popular, adult vote. Though a series of migrations made the Greenland a uniquely blended society, it retains a clear linguistic and cultural identity. The Eskimo is the pre-dominant spoken language of Greenland.

The Home Rule Act of 1979 instituted a bilingual language policy by stating that Greenlandic is the main language of Greenlandic society, and that a high level of proficiency in Danish will be generally required. The Statutory Instrument of the Parliament (No. 6 of October 16, 1979), regarding the primary school, stated that the educational language is Greenlandic, and that Danish may be the educational language if exceptional circumstances make it necessary' (Moller, 1988: 177). The purpose of the bilingual education policy is to preserve and further develop Greenlandic culture.

At present, the development of Greenlandic as a first language is of primary importance and Danish is important in the sense of the first foreign language. Towards visualizing this aim, the number of hours given to teaching Greenlandic is being increased. For the pupils with the Greenlandic language as their mother tongue, the subject of Danish may have to be introduced by the fourth grade. For other pupils special training in Greenlandic as a foreign language is given.

2. 4. 3. 1. Language Planning Agency

GRONIANDSK SPROG- OG RETSKRIVNINGSUDVALG (The Greenland language and spelling committee): Established in 1959; responsible to and authorized by the Greenland Government Council.

Goals: to develop the Greenlandic legal and administrative language; to approve the language of textbooks; to develop the Greenlandic vocabulary; to evaluate suggestions for language change; to provide word lists, primarily for legal and administrative use.

2. 4. 4. IRELAND

Though agriculture is the mainstay of the national economy, Ireland has rich mineral resources. In terms of administration, Ireland is a parliamentary democratic country with a written constitution. The President, head of the state, is directly elected through popular vote for a term of seven years. All the members of **bicameral parliament** are elected.

The Republic of Ireland, though considered to be an ancient nation, has a background of less than a century of independent political development. The constitution provides Irish as the national language and first official language, and English as the second official language of the nation.

Although English replaced the Irish language, Ireland never lost the feeling that it was Irish and different. The middle of the 19th century saw the rise of the Young Ireland movement and with it the propagation of distinctly Irish nationalism. Though Irish language had declined, literary field contributed to the maintenance and growth of the feeling that Ireland was a nation, distinct and different from England.

Though the process of Anglicization, at the cost of Irish language, was over by 1850, the language revival movement, strong enough to make an impact on the country, was not started till the end of the 19th century. To de-Anglicize the Ireland in terms of language, customs and manners, an organization called Gaelic League was formed in 1893. At earlier stages, the League tried to maintain Irish as a spoken language of Ireland only, and then it was extended to make Irish as the national language of Ireland and to spread **the** use of Irish.

Subsequently Gaelic League gained the support of persons from every political party, every religious and every social class. With this popular support the league had undertaken publications in Irish language. It is interesting to note "that a public protest had been staged in which the British Postmaster General had been forced to accept the mail addressed in Irish" (Macnamara, 1971: 68).

The teaching of Irish was introduced into all schools in 1922. The official policy of the new Irish government was that the Irish language will be taught or used as a medium of instruction in all primary schools. To implement this policy, the Free State made the provisions like: 1). Teachers under age 45 were to take summer courses; 2). Provision was made to recruit primary school teachers from the Irish speaking areas. In order to help Irish speakers to become teachers, the government established six preparatory colleges, exclusively through Irish medium in 1926. These colleges were discontinued by the Department of Education in early 1960s.

In 1941, 64% of grammar school students were taught exclusively in Irish and by 1951, it was only 54%. In 1944, out of a total of 377, there were 98 grammar schools in which Irish was the medium of instruction. In 1956, there were 87 out of 474; in 1966, 72 out of 585; in 1968, and 51 out of 596 schools. The reasons behind this decline include an acute shortage of textbooks and reference books in Irish and a changing attitude to the restoration of language.

In 1953, the translation office had produced the first version of a new simplified and standardized grammar. A revised version was published in 1958. The standardization of grammar was

confined to morphology and was guided by principles like... "1. To adopt no form or rule that is not well authenticated in the living speech, 2. To choose those forms that are most widely used, 3. To pay due attention to history and literature of Irish, 4. To seek regularity and simplicity" (Macnamara, 1971: 73).

The Constitution of Ireland states that the Irish is the national language and first official language. The English is recognized as second OL. But in reality the roles of two languages (Irish and English) were reversed. In 1958 the government setup a commission to examine progress and to advise the government on how the restoration of Irish might best effected.

2. 4. 4. 1. Language Planning Agencies

CONRADH NA GAEILGE (The Gaelic League): Established in 1893.

Funding: Government grant-in-aid; national collection, subscriptions, sale of publications, bookshop.

Goals: to restore the Irish language as communal language through out Ireland, and thus contribute to the freedom of Ireland; to campaign for a Bill Of Lingual Rights.

COMHDHAIL NAISIUNTA NA GAEILGE (Central Body of Voluntary Irish Language Organizations): Established in 1943.

Funding: Government subvention.

Goals: to act as the federal body of language promotion organizations; to coordinate activities of member bodies; to undertake special tasks beyond the capacity of individual organizations; to support activities and encourage cooperation between organizations and groups in furthering the Irish language; to represent and speak an behalf of the Irish language movement. It also examines and makes detailed proposals to the Government and

other official bodies concerning various aspects of language use or promotion; gives Irish-speaking courses for children and teachers; promotes Irish medium schools; spreads information amongst the general public.

BORD NA GAELGE (Irish Language Board): Established in 1975. Funds are from the *Roinn na Gaeltachta* (Department of the Gaeltacht), which has primary responsibility for implementing the popularization of the use of Irish, but the Board operates independently.

Goals: to develop and test measures designed to promote the use of Irish in ways acceptable to the public; to promote interest in and appreciation of the language; to improve general competence in Irish; to promote occasions and facilities which support the use of Irish.

2. 4. 5. ITALY

Agriculture is an important sector in terms of economy. Italy's economy is characterized by a small number of large private and publicly owned industrial groups. The public sector plays an important role. From 1946, Italy is a parliamentary democratic state, prior to which it was a monarchy. The members of the bicameral parliament are elected by popular vote. The two houses jointly elect **the** President.

Linguistically, Italy is fairly homogenous. Non-Italian speaking groups are a minority. At the movement of Unification of Italy in 1861, Italian became the national language and was used as the official language for written purposes. For speaking purposes, the dominant groups used French, Spanish or the urban dialects which were considered as more prestigious.

In 1880s and 1900s, the attention of Italian linguists toward the social and cultural relevance of dialects was in contrast with the ideas present in the literary-historical tradition of Italy, which considered Italian as the language of high culture and identified it with the concept of nation (Zuanelli, 1989: 92-93).

2. 4. 5. 1. Language Planning Agency

ACADEMIA DELIA CRUSCA: Established in 1582; suppressed in the late 18th century; reestablished by Napoleon in 1808; and became autonomous in 1811. Funded by the Ministero Beni Culturali.

Goals: **originally** to purify Tuscan, the literary language of the Italian Renaissance; now occupied with linguistic and literary studies and publications.

2. 4. 6. NORWAY

Norway is a highly industrial country, and forestry farming is another important source of national income. Norway is a constitutional hereditary monarchy. The King acts as the administrative head of the state. The 150 members of unicameral STORTING are elected through popular adult voting for every four years.

The Norwegian language belongs to the North Germanic branch of Germanic language group. Modern Norwegian has many dialects, but all of them are understood throughout the country. Till 1850, there was only one written language (Riksmål= Official Norwegian). The **Landsmal** (Country Norwegian) was created out of rural dialects.

Language planning in Norway started in early the 19th century when it got its independence from Denmark (after 400 years of

union). For reasons like nationalistic and romantic, Norwegians tried to replace Danish written standard with genuinely Norwegian idiom. Towards this, two programs were suggested. 1) A complete shift from Danish to, New Norse (NN), a new written **standard** and 2) program based on the spoken variety of the educated upper class.

The New Norse was created on the basis of old rural dialects. The supporters of this program believed that the spoken language of educated and upper class was highly influenced by the Danish. Advocates of second program claimed that one could use the language of educated and upper classes to 'Norwegianize' the Danish written standard gradually by language planning and thus reach a national Dano-Norwegian (DN) standard, step by step.

It is very interesting to note that, these proposed two programs had different social basis. It may not be out of place to mention here that, the language question has a social dimension as well as a **national** linguistic dimension. In case of Norway, the spoken language of the upper class and the educated class was **seen** as a reminder of the colonial culture and it was also believed that rural classes represent the true national culture as it had survived through Danish rule for 400 years.

When the first Norwegian parliamentary government was formed in 1884, parliament adopted NN as an officially recognized **national standard**. It may not be **out of** place to mention **that, at the time of** this resolution was passed (1885) the NN was **very** little in use and not able **to** compete with DN as a linguistic standard. In other words, the act of parliament thus "symbolized the national policy of the new political system as well as a

sociopolitical policy directed against the linguistic and cultural dominance of the upper class" (Jahr, 1989: 34).

As a result of gradual Norweginization of DN and modernization of NN, these two standards became similar in due course. However, even after extensive language reforms of 1907, 1917, 1938 and **1981**, **there** still exist two competing official Norwegian standards. The language planning policy of Norway can be divided into two periods, 1) before the reform of 1917, and 2) after the reform of 1917. In 1981, the parliament passed a new DN reform including it again in the written standard features, which had removed by the 1938 reform.

2. 4. 6. 1. Language Planning Agencies

DET NORSKE AKADEMI FOR SPROG OG LITTERATUR (Norwegian Academy for Language and Literature): Established in 1953 as an independent organization in protest against the official language policy of merging Riksmal with Nynorsk into a unified **samnorsk**. Now, the Norwegian Academy is represented by two **appointed** members in Norsk Sprakard to contribute towards changing the official language norm for schools and administration.

Funding: Private grants.

Goals: To promote the Norwegian Riksmal language and to establish the norm of that language through dictionaries, grammars, etc.

RADET FOR TEKNISK TERMINOLOGI: Established in 1956. An **independent** organization. Funded by **governmental, industrial,** and research sources.

Goal: to prepare multi-lingual glossaries in technical fields for use by industry, technical students, and translators.

NORSK SPRAKRAD (The Norwegian Language Council)

Established in 1972 by the Norwegian Parliament External Department under the Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs.

- Goals:*
- 1) To safeguard the cultural heritage that Norwegian literary and spoken language represent, encourage projects that can increase knowledge about Norwegian language in its different variants, and safeguard the individual citizen's rights concerning his use of the language.
 - 2) To keep informed about the development of Norwegian literary and spoken language and on regulation of our two languages (Bokmal and Nynorsk) and support tendencies which will bring the two languages closer together.
 - 3) To give advice to the authorities on linguistic questions, especially concerning language in school, in the Norwegian Broadcasting System and in Government service, express opinions about principles for the regulation of the written language and place names, and suggest legislation on linguistic questions.
 - 4) To give advice and guidance to the public.
 - 5) To encourage and participate in Scandinavian cooperation in linguistic matters.
 - 6) To ensure that the results of the Council's work are made known.

2. 4. 7. SOVIET UNION

Though agriculture is a very important aspect of Soviet Union's economy, **the Soviet Union** acquired more important place for its mineral resources and industrial production in the world economy. Industry and most service trades are owned and controlled by the state. Hence there is no private sector. According to official doctrine, **the** working class and the collective farm peasantry are two classes of Soviet Union. Another rapid growing

stratum in the society is intelligentsia. The Supreme Soviet is the highest organ of state power. All the members of the bicameral Supreme Soviet are elected.

In case of the Soviet Union, it is generally considered to be inaccurate to assign national-ethnic affiliations on the basis of mother tongue. On the whole, the people of Soviet Union spoke languages belonging to seven language families, among which Slavic group is predominant. The language families included: 1) Indo-European, 2) Caucasian, 3) Uralic, 4) Altaic, 5) Hamito-Semitic, 6) Sino-Tibetan, and 7) Eskimo-Aleut.

The languages of Baltic States may be divided into 1) languages of Finno-Urgic language family, and 2) languages of Indo-European language family. Gaining their independence after the WW I, the Baltic States were subjected to the provisions of versatile peace treaty, which attempted to guarantee language and cultural autonomy to minorities so as to avoid the ethnic and national conflicts. Thus, minorities in Baltic States had their own schools, cultural organizations, and other elements of cultural autonomy (Ozolins, 1994: 162-163).

As Kirkwood (1989) observes, in the Soviet Union, "Local languages were supported, and after Cultural Revolution, there was considerable corpus planning for many minority languages throughout the Soviet Union, with alphabetization often introduced for the first time; illiteracy was tackled primarily through **the** use of local languages and mother tongue instruction".

In 1959 the Union Republics and Autonomous Republics of the Soviet Union passed laws on education reforms, which among other things, gave parents the right to send their children to a

school where the language of their choice is used; more over parents who had decided to send their children to Russian schools were given 'the right to choose whether or not they wanted their children to be taught the indigenous language of their Republic as a subject' (Bilinsky 1962: 150). The result of these language provisions has been gradual shift to Russian as medium of instruction.

2. 4. 8. SPAIN and CATALONIA

Spain is largest coal mining and largest agricultural producer of Europe. The government's influence over the economy is very strong in Spain. Spain is officially designated as a Catholic, social and representative state. The Spanish system of representation is officially defined as an organic democracy operating through representatives of families, municipalities, trade unions, corporations and professional schools. All citizens over 21 years of age are entitled to vote in national referenda.

Pure Spanish or Castilian is the official language of the country and language of school, administration, judiciary and economic activities. The most widely spoken and deeply rooted non-Castilian language of Spain is Catalan. Other important non-Castilian languages are Gallego and Basque.

The Article 3 of the 1978 Spanish Constitution, both enshrines Castilian as the official language of the Spanish state and makes it an obligation that all Spaniards should know it, and guarantees the co-official status of the other Spanish languages 'within the territories where they are spoken'. Throughout the Spanish history, hegemony of Castilian was imposed, often through highly centralized and dictatorial regimes, over the pe-

ripheral areas despite very different cultures, languages and traditions (Mar-Molinero and Stevenson, 1991: 169).

The post-Franco 1978 Constitution attempted to recognize the range of non-Castilian languages spoken within Spanish State, offering for greater protection for their survival and promotion, and enshrining Spain's varied linguistic heritage. The aim and effect of the 1978 Constitution has been to help the linguistic minorities in Spain dramatically counter the imposed diglossia, which in turn led to a very degree of government-led language planning in minority language speaking areas, especially for Basque and Galician languages. However, the success of these languages is varied, with Catalan enjoying a higher position. This situation confirms the conflict view of relations between the periphery and Central State in terms of political and economic power (Mar-Molenero & Stevenson, 1991: 167- 168).

2. 4. 8. 1. Language Planning Agency

REALACADEMIA ESPANOLA (Royal Spanish Academy)

Established in 1713. The Royal Academy and the language academies in Latin America and the Philippines meet periodically to maintain the unity of the Spanish language, to organize the efficient collaboration of the dictionaries, and to propose resolutions on grammatical and lexicographical problems.

Goals: Purification, stabilization, and enhancement of the Spanish language; promotion of literary excellence; preserving the tradition of the Spanish language in Latin America.

2. 4. 8. 2. CATALONIA

The population of Catalonia speaks Catalan, a Romance language, which developed as a separate language from Latin during the 7th and 9th centuries. By the second half of the 15th

century, Catalan language had largely replaced Latin as 'the language of Chancellery'/ official language. However, as an indirect result to the Catalonia's move of the court to the center of Spain, 'the Catalan's use declined and this change was accompanied by a deliberate policy of introducing Spanish with an intention of gradually displacing the Catalan' (Strubell, 1996: 263).

During Franco's regime, the public use of the (Catalan) language in all institutional situations (school, press, radio, mass media, administration etc.) was abolished. However, after the death of Franco, there was a strong democratic movement calling for regional self-governments; again declaring Catalan as official language.

In the early post-Franco years, the policy was to ensure that all pupils learned both Spanish and Catalan as compulsory subjects, and that at least Catalan-speaking pupils would get their primary education through Catalan. The Social Council for the Catalan Language (SCCL), founded in 1991 has the aim of developing General Plan for Language Normalization (GPLN). The aims of the SCCL are tri-fold, a) to do a strategic analysis of Catalan society, b) retaining the observations which have general consensus, and c) to offer financial help to universities to develop, translate the books most widely used in Catalan. Each possible measure has four dimensions, 1) effectiveness, 2) economy, 3) simplicity, and 4) social acceptance. And the resulting plan had two pre-defined objectives, a) to ensure that Catalan, as Catalonia's own language, becomes normal language used by all institutions, b) the citizen's rights to choose which of the two official languages (Spanish and Catalan) they wish to use in their daily dealings is fully respected (Strubell, 1996: 271-272).

2. 4. 9. SWITZERLAND

Agriculture has been the main economic activity and the primary agricultural pursuit has been cattle rising. The Swiss Confederation's main body of laws rest upon the Federal Constitution of 1848. The legislative power lies with bicameral Federal Assembly. The sovereign power rests with people. The members of Assembly are elected by popular vote on the basis of popular representation.

Until 1798, the language of the confederation for government and administration was German. The French occupation had put an end to the role of German as the sole language of government. The government of the centralist Helvetic Republic was forced **to** publish all proclamations and legal documents in German, Italian and French.

In 1848, after the foundation of Switzerland in its present form, the status of German, French and Italian as national languages was written into the federal constitution. After 1938, with an amendment, Article 116 (1) reads... German, French, Italian and Romansch are the national languages of Switzerland; Article 116 (2) reads.... German, French and Italian are the official languages of the confederation (Andres, 1990: 22).

One of the distinctive features of Swiss Confederation is the variety of its languages. About two-thirds of the population speaks **German**, 20% speaks French, 10% each speaks Italian and Rhaeto-Romantic languages. However, all these languages are official languages of the Switzerland.

At the end of August 1989 a **committee**, set up **to** make suggestions for a revision of Article 116, advocated the elevation of

Romansch to the status of official language, or at least giving the Romansch speakers the right to use their own language in correspondence with federal agencies (Andres, 1990: 22).

In case of German speaking Swiss, they see their variant of German as a means of identification and separation from the **German** language community. In the case of French speakers, their affiliation with French language community is much stronger. A vested interest in continuing the French as the second language at school can be well translated itself into a political will to ensure that communication between the language groups is possible in one of the national languages.

As the role of English as a lingua franca becoming clear and learning English is a promising enterprise in terms of job opportunities etc., and the obstacles faced by a learner who wishes to learn German (because it is a linguistically, politically and socio-economically dominant), the minority language (in case of Swiss, French is a minority language) would clearly be down graded. As a result of dominance gained by English over French in the Western and Third World countries, learning French is in decline (in Swiss, learning French has meant, formerly, an integral part of education and as a means to gain access to world culture).

Also due to the number of speakers opting to learn English instead of other national languages of Swiss is becoming larger and also due to an actual decline of motivation to learn a second national language in both (German and French) language groups, the French is losing its ground in Swiss gradually. As far as the status of Italian language in Swiss is concerned, linguistically French and Italian are closer though there is no di-

rect geographical contact/ link with the French speaking areas, but in economic terms, the affiliation of Italian is with German speaking Swiss.

2. 4. 9. 1. Language Planning Agency

SOCIETA RETORUMANSCHA: Founded in three phases 1863, 1870 and 1885, the last was being the most important. Basically a private cultural organization to which belong Rhaeto-Romans from all over the world. It is a member of the Romansh League and of the Swiss Humanities Organization.

Funding: for the dictionary—National Foundation for Scientific Research, and the Graubunden Kanton; for the *annals*—Swiss Organization for the Arts.

Goals: promotion and development of the Romansh language and culture on a lexicographic basis.

2. 4. 10. WALES

Though Coal is a major raw material in Wales, it is industry, agriculture and manufacturing sectors, which provide major share in the national economy. In terms of administration, the Principality of Wales is governed from Whitehall, London. In politics, Wales has always had a strong inclination toward radicalism. There were few extremist movements with the aim of realization of political independence based upon cultural and linguistic differentiation.

Wales is one of the four countries that make the United Kingdom. Migrants of pre-Roman invasion brought the Celtic language to Wales. However, Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman penetrations from the English border dominated the ethnic and linguistic scenario of Wales.

Between 1890-1945, Welsh language was highlighted for the purpose of political future of an independent nation. 'Some of the movements, notably Welsh Language Society, have been prepared to use various methods of civil disobedience to further this need' (Encyclopedia Britanica, Vol. 19: 528). The campaign for recognition of the separate national character of Wales bears fruit in the domains of culture, education, religion, parliament etc.

At the turn of the 20th century, the Wales was captured by British and its influence and authority were used to formalize the Welsh language and culture through the creation of new educational structure from primary to university level, with a network of libraries, museums, and cultural expressions (Williams, 1994: 103).

As a result of cumulative social action, a change in the public's general evaluation of bilingualism (of Welsh and English) and the position of Welsh has been transformed in the post-war period. However, the implications of Anglicization, conceptualized as a 'barrier to the realization of the nation's full potential' (Williams, 1994: 101). In Wales, English has been interpreted as the language of progress, scholarship, equality, prosperity, mass entertainment and pleasure, and on the other hand, it was criticized as an expression of false consciousness where by state denied the Welsh language its full potential in Wales.

Non-violent protest and a communitarian reaction against state encroachment and Anglicization, enhanced the status and opportunity for using Welsh in a wide range of public domains- post offices, bilingual road signs, new Welsh language Act of

1967, Welsh medium television channel, Welsh medium education system, etc.

Welsh Language Act of 1967 received a practical implementation along with recognition of language. A number of developments were carried out in the forms of establishment of television, radio channels, film and other popular entertainment companies. Need for a revised Welsh Language Act was perceived as an urgent need of the hour (Williams, 1994: 105-106).

2. 4. 10. 1. Language Planning Agencies

CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH GYMRAEG (Welsh Language Society): Established in 1962. *Funding*: voluntary donations and fund-raising activities by members.

Goal: to secure the future of the Welsh language by means of non-violent action.

CYNGOR YR IAITH GYMRAEG (Council for the Welsh Language): Established in 1973 by the Secretary of State for Wales. Funded by the Welsh Office, which also provides its Secretariat.

Goals: To examine and keep under review social and other factors affecting the use and welfare of the Welsh Language and the relationship between these and the use of both languages in Wales; to promote understanding and cooperation between groups of people and public authorities in Wales regarding the use and encouragement of the Welsh language by giving guidance and making recommendations; to advise the Secretary of State on matters he may refer to it; to make recommendations to him on matters affecting the language and to report to him from time to time.

2. 5. Continent: NORTH AMERICA

2. 5. 1. CANADA (including QUEBEC)

Manufacturing and mining are important economic activities in Canada. Agriculture contributes a very small share. The private sector is predominant and only a small part is publicly owned. The US capital and market, to a great extent, dominates the Canadian economy. The preservation of both English and French languages is safeguarded by the constitution. The Federal legislative authority is vested in the bicameral parliament. The members of the House of Commons are elected through popular vote.

In Canada, for 59% of the population, English is the mother tongue while French accounts for 28%. Other important linguistic minorities are German (3%), Indian (1%), and Eskimo (1%).

The 1970 Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (RCBB) recommended that languages other than French and English, known as 'heritage languages', be offered as options in the school curriculum where there was sufficient demand (Cummins, 1984).

Those who felt immigrant communities should assimilate opposed the heritage language program, but there was strong support from the communities themselves. "In 1968, heritage language program was made mandatory if 25 or more parents requested it in a school district. Such requests generally reflected a desire to maintain the language inter-generationally and to promote its use outside the home, in school" (Robinson, 1994: 138).

After 'Anglo-conformity', official policy of multiculturalism, recognizing majority and minority cultures among population, was declared in 1971 in Canada. Partly as a result of this, the principle of responding to community requests for language instruction has become a feature of the Canadian social structure. Though missionary policy was driven by religious aims, it had wider educational **implications**. Since 1950-1970, there has been a movement towards the preservation of the distinct nature of the identity and culture of indigenous groups.

On a national level in 1989 the cultural enrichment program (CEP) supported 129000 students in 60 languages in community-operated heritage language supplementary schools. Owing to some financial drawbacks, in 1990 financial support for the CEP was withdrawn (Robinson, 1994: 134).

2. 5. 1. 1. Language Planning Agencies

Office de la Langue Francaise (1961): To promote French in Quebec as the language of business; To give Quebec the French culture; Correction and enrichment of language; Standardization of spoken and written French in Quebec.

Commissioner of Official Languages (1970)

Goals: To take all possible actions regulating the recognition of two official languages (English and French).

Terminology and Documentation Directorate, Translation Bureau, Quebec. Established in 1970 by the University of Montreal, in 1975 transferred to Secretary of State.

Goals: To collect and edit terms **multi-lingually** and to make them available for translators and users.

Policy and Evaluation Division (1973): Prepares and recommends the policies, guidelines to effective use of government official language policy.

Research, Planning and Development Directorate (1973):

Goals: To ensure effective implementation of official language policy; Promotes research; elaborate language standards; To provide scientific, technical and general information in support of the Official language.

2. 5. 1. 2. QUEBEC

Mining, production of electric power and forestry are important fields in the Quebec's economy. The British North American Act of 1867 defined Quebec as government through parliamentary democracy. The members of unicameral National Assembly are elected through adult, popular franchise.

During the first part of the 19th century, the causes for conflict between the two groups (French and English) increased with the rapid growth of the English-speaking population in Canada in general in Quebec in particular. After the Confederation of Canada created in 1867, French-Canadian nationalism became a feature of Quebec politics. The creation of Parti Quebecois in 1970 brought changes in Quebec nationalism and advocated for separation of Quebec from Canada on economic and social issues.

Section 1 of the Charter of French Language (CFL) makes French as the official language of Quebec. The 1867 Canadian constitution specifies both French and English shall be used in **Quebec's** National Assembly and in Quebec's courts of Justice (Section 133) (Maurias, 1991: 118). Prior to 1969, freedom of

choice of language of education used to be the rule but not mentioned in the constitution in Quebec. The Bill 63 (1969) granted parents formal right to choose the language of schooling for their children (Maurias, 1991: 122).

Soon after the Parti Quebecois came into power, it introduced Bill No. 101, which eliminated the 'freedom of choice' of parents in selecting English versus French schools for their children. However, in a later development of the introduction of the Bill 101, the Supreme Court of Canada invalidated a section of Bill 101, requiring 'French Only' commercial signboards. Even after this, the Parti Quebecois, which was been safeguarding the interests of French speaking community in Quebec, introduced the Bill 178 which maintained the prohibition of non-French commercial sign boards, thus beginning the so-called 18 months of ethnic crisis'. At this juncture, the United Nations' Human Rights Committee intervened and condemned the bill 178 as a violation of basic human rights, such as choice of freedom. Keeping the wide opposition in the mind, the parliament of Quebec, through its Bill 86 lifted the ban on non-French commercial signboards (O'Donnell, 1997: 164).

The effects of Bill 63 are detrimental to French. So in 1974, enactment of Bill 22 (Section 43) was motivated which required from children to pass language tests in order to be admitted to English schools (Maurias, 1991: 123). In Quebec, as far as the choice of language of education is concerned, reveals that freedom of choice in the matter of language of education paves the way to assimilation to **the** dominant language (the effects of CFL on **enrollment in** French schools have been apparent: from 1976-77 to 1987-88, the proportion **of immigrant** children enrolled in French schools rose from some 20% to more than

67%). In Quebec, new immigrants are not only required to take French as a subject, they also have to attend schools where the teaching medium is French (Maurias, 1991: 123).

After Parti Quebecois returns to power again, this time the party tried not to poke its nose into the language issue, so that 'linguistic peace' prevails. Here it may not be out of place to mention that, Quebec's Prime Minister declared that he will attempt to avoid the language debate' so he can concentrate on the economy of the province. This statement clearly indicates how the language situation in Quebec acquired an important role.

2. 5. 2. DOMINICA

Patios was brought to Dominica by slaves of French settlers in 1630s (may be in 1635, when the French colonies had been established). The economy is based primarily on agriculture. The members of bicameral parliament are democratically elected, according to the size of the population.

Due to the advent of British colonizers, English was introduced as official language in 1763, but the language barrier created by patios hampered its spread. But many young people nowadays acquire some variety of Dominican English Creole (DEC) as a first language. The origin of Cockoy (a DEC) can be traced back to slaves of the British planters who moved to Dominica after the British assumed control in 1763 (Christine, 1990: 65). The Spanish language has been predominant in Dominica. The racial categories are roughly associated with social and economic classes.

2. 5. 3. GUATEMALA

The national income is drawn principally from agriculture and cattle rising. The constitution defines the country as a sovereign democratic republic. The legislative power is delegated to a Congress of 55 elected representatives, and the executive power is with President and vice-president who are also elected through **popular** vote. The voting is compulsory for all literates and an optional for illiterates.

Prior to the arrival of Spanish in 1523, Guatemala was composed of many kingdoms, which were composed of several groups. The prolonged warfares between kingdoms furthered the social, cultural and linguistic differences among groups. After Spain conquered Guatemala in 1524, they instituted a series of policies to govern Indians, to extract their labor and to convert them to Catholicism. The magnitude of diversity of Mayan languages may be attributed to both geographic and historical circumstances. Though the official national language is Spanish, over 20 Indian speech varieties are also spoken in Guatemala.

During the colonial period, native society functioned through **medium** of the native languages; colonial society was in contrast defined by the use of Spanish. After independence in 1821, the government of newly formed Republic of Guatemala proclaimed Spanish as the medium of nationhood and as the vehicle for integrating the Indians into modern society.

The 'Decreto del Congreso Constituyente' of October 1824 has called for the extinction of the Indian languages due to the fact that they were so diverse, incomplete and imperfect' and '**insufficient for enlightening the people or perfecting the civilization**' (Richards, 1989: 97).

Following the World War II, leaders in government viewed Indians as the primary hindrance to national economical development and called for measures to integrate the Indians into mainstream society. Reflecting the constitutional mandate (Art. 110) the 'Ley organica de Educacion' of 1965 declared 'the attention to indigenous people with regard to their cultural needs and ...educational process will be considered of national interest'. The instructional method outlined in Castellanizacion Bilingue called for 1) learning oral Spanish, 2) learning of reading and writing mother tongue, 3) learning the letters and sounds of Spanish that do not occur in vernacular, 4) learning to read and write in Spanish.

In November 1949, the Instituto Indigenista Nacional (UN) called, through the First Linguistic Congress, for the purpose of confronting and resolving the alphabet issue, and establishing a single orthography for Mayan languages. The set of 58 orthographic symbols that emerged was officialized by government decree (**Richards**, 1989:104-105).

As a step toward fulfilling the Constitutional goals, the government in 1986 officialized the 'National Bilingual Education Program (PRONEBI 1985), and the government passed a new literacy law (No. 43 of 1986) that promotes the use of the indigenous languages for the literacy training of monolingual speakers. The philosophy of PRONEBI is to promote the development of the Indian child within the linguistic context of both indigenous and national societies. Though the constitution of 1985 declares Spanish, as the country's only official language, constitution itself recognizes the Mayan languages as constituting part of the "cultural patrimony of the nation (Art. 143) And advocates their use in the educational sphere... to standardize the Mayan lan-

guages and extend their use into other domains" (Richards, 1989: 93-94).

2. 5. 3. 1. Language Planning Agency

ACADEMIA DE LA LENGUA MAYA-QUICHE (Academy of the Maya-Quiche Language): Established in 1959 as a voluntary association. Authorized by government law in 1961.

Goals: to establish linguistic genealogy, in order to discover the origin of the people indigenous to America; to make an accurate translation of the Pop Wuj, for which it was necessary to create an appropriate writing system; to accurately reconstruct the kiche language using this writing system.

2. 5. 4. United States of America

In the case of USA, it is evident that, not only does language foster communication, but it also carries with it strong cultural associations for which it serves as focal point. Although they continually stress the communicative value of English as an official language, proponents of this cause are perhaps more strongly responding to the symbolic power of legislating English into official language status. However, "English First" and "US English" are concentrating more on issues of language as a tool of communication rather than a symbol" (Amorose, 1989: 268).

Since the 1960s, cultural pluralism in America has generally been considered as a national asset rather than a hindrance to national harmony. However, in reality, ethnicity, whether many Americans wish to acknowledge it or not, is a principal indicator of class membership, even a **euphemistic** system for describing class difference, in a society that lacks clear indicators of class (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963: 289-292).

On the state level, both 'US English', and 'English First' claim a major role in the success of California's Proposition 63, which declared English the official language of the state in 1986. Besides pressing for passage of official language amendments, US English in 1989 is also lobbying for state funded English language programs for adult non-native speakers, and lobbying against state funded bilingual education programs. On the Federal level, both organizations in 1987 and in 1988 lobbied for passage of a series of bills which proposed an amendment to the Constitution declaring English the national language of the US, but all of these died a slow death by inaction (Amorose, 1989: 267).

As far as political activities of 'US English' and 'English First' are concerned, these organizations would like to see disappearance of Spanish from official documents and services. Well intended or not these groups efforts toward language reform thus seem part of a larger campaign, the main objective of which seems to be to prevent the latest waves of immigrants from exerting cultural pressure on American society at large. The connection between 'the cultural concern of language' and campaign to make a language as official language' is/ can be equated to a distinction between language's function as a tool and as a symbol.

There is no valid reason behind the American's assumption that earlier waves of immigrants did indeed learn English, or even assimilate successfully'. As it was pointed out, even today 'sub group members may feel no need or desire to learn English, especially if they pursue opportunities for success within their non-mainstream language community (Conkin and Lourie, 1983: 102 as cited in Amoroso, 1989: 273-274).

On November 6, 1986 President Ronald Reagan signed the US Immigration and Reform Act (IRCA) of 1986 into law. The purpose of the Law is to halt the flow of illegal immigrants across the US border with Mexico and to enforce sanctions against US employees who hire illegal labor. Title II of IRCA specifies a two-step legalization program whereby those aliens who have resided illegally within the US since on or before January 01, 1982 may petition first for temporary and then for permanent legal residency. This legalization program is considered a less expensive alternative to deporting millions of illegal aliens. One requirement for legal residency (in US) is that aliens grant this privilege demonstrate knowledge of basic English, US History and Civics, or attempt to achieve such knowledge by attending at least 40 hours of instruction in an Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)-certified program (Huss, 1990: 142).

Knowledge of English is considered a sign of integrating into mainstream society. The English language is an important cultural symbol for this society, which legislators feel is threatened by a frowning Spanish-speaking minority. Because the goal of the education requirement is not to enable individuals to achieve functional competency in English, the result is a costly and ineffective language policy.

2. 5. 4. 1. Language Planning Agencies

U.S. Board of Geographic Names: Created in 1890 and established in its present form by Public Law in 1947. Federal inter-departmental body sharing responsibilities with Secretary of the Interior.

Funding: U.S. Geological Survey (staff assistance for domestic **names**), Defense Mapping agency (foreign **names**), plus assistance from other Federal agencies.

Goals: to establish and maintain uniform geographic-name usage throughout the Federal Government in cooperation with State and local governments and citizens (for domestic names) and with the United Nations and other governments.

U.S. Office of Education, Office of Bilingual Education: Established in 1969 by the U.S. Congress. **Affiliated** with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Funding: The Office of Bilingual Education receives an appropriation from Congress, which money is used to fund Title VII programs nationwide.

Goals: (from Public Law 93-380) Nationally assess the educational needs of children and other persons with limited English-speaking ability and the extent to which their needs are being met from Federal, State and local efforts; plan bilingual education program extensions, including cost estimates and assessment of personnel and training needed; report on and evaluate preceding bilingual education activities; describe bilingual program personnel, their functions, and information available at the regional offices of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

2. 6. Continent: SOUTH AMERICA

2. 6. 1. PERU

Peru is world's leading fishing country, the foremost producer of bismuth and sole producer of alpaca wool. Even though Peru has rich mineral resources, lack of facilities causes hindrances to the exploitation of mines. Since October 1968, the Peru is under the rule of revolutionary- government **with** suspended constitution. Prior to this, Peru was nominally democratic. The

President and the members of bicameral legislature were elected by popular vote.

The education reform 1970 of Peru viewed self-education, life long education, and non-formal education as mandatory components of the educational system. To meet them effectively, re-organization of educational system into a three-tier (initial, basic, and higher), bilingual education, and decentralization of school system were implemented.

The national bilingual education policy (*Politico National de Education Bilingue*, PNEB) of 1972 came into picture with principal objectives like a) consciousness raising aimed toward participation of the vernacular language communities, b) the creation of national culture, including pluralism, and c) the use of Spanish as the common language in Peru while maintaining respect for linguistic diversity and the revitalization of the various vernacular languages. However, there were few ambiguities in **PNEB** like 1) the call for revitalization of the vernaculars and for their communities to participate in structure change is in contrast with desire to achieve the use of Spanish as the common language, which implies incorporation of vernacular language speakers into Spanish-speaking mainstream, and 2) affirmation of cultural pluralism contrasts with the call for integration into a national culture. (Hornberger, 1987: 206)

There seems to be strict division of domains, functions and channels for Quechua and Spanish. Quechua is perceived as the language of the home and of informal, intimate and oral use, while Spanish is perceived as the language of the school and of formal, official and written use. The school, though physically located within the community, is not a part of the community.

Another factor involved in community resistance to the Bilingual Education Project (BLE), apart from a view that use of two languages in school might confuse pupil, was in community members' resistance to any project imposed from outside. They feel that though community wants help from the outside, but does not want the outsiders to 'set traps'.

The important societal factors working against Quechua language maintenance are, 1) the decreasing isolation of Quechua speakers, 2) the low status and powerlessness of Quechua speakers, 3) the low prestige and restricted use of Quechua language. If these factors are counterbalanced effectively, prospects for Quechua language maintenance will be bright.

As far as the failure of the Project in terms of specifications made by the policies are concerned, the Project was out of synchronization with national policy. As the Project moved more firmly from the transitional model of BLE to maintenance model, **the official** language policy in Peru moved **in** the opposite direction. The Project moved from 'language-as-problem' to 'language as right' orientation, while national policy moved away from 'language-as-resource' toward a view⁷ of 'language-as-right' and even of 'language-as-problem'.

For successful implementation of Quechua language, a) the introduction of Quechua language in the school would have to be at community member's request rather than imposed arbitrarily from outside; b) it would not have to be experimental (as community members will not accept their children to be subjects of experiments which were being carried out/ implemented by outsiders), but **universal**; and c) the primary reward systems of the

society would have to reinforce it in order for community members to seek it.

The inhabitants of Coastal Peru were speaking Sec, Quignam, Pescadora, but now these languages have disappeared. The dialects and numerous languages of Chunchu show the linguistic diversity and heritage of Peru.

By the Decree of Law 21156 of May 27, 1975, Quechua was made as an official language of Peru, coequal with Spanish. The Decree represented the 'language-as-resource' orientation. With this, attention was given to issues of preservation, development, and management of several varieties of Peruvian Quechua languages. The Decree called for the obligatory teaching of Quechua at all levels of education, beginning in 1976, and the use of Quechua in all court actions beginning in 1977.

The Constitution of Peru of 1979 states that, A) the State promotes study and knowledge of the aboriginal languages. It guarantees the right to receive primary education in their own tongue (Article 35); B) Spanish is the official language of the Republic. Quechua and Aymara are also in official use in the zones and the form, which the law establishes. The other aboriginal languages as well makeup the patrimony of the nation (Article 83) (as cited in Hornberger, 1989: 149). This move reveals the 'language-as-right' orientation. Quechua, Aymara and other languages are recognized, but no longer promoted through the schools or any other means.

Chapter III

LANGUAGE POLICIES IN INDIA: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

3. 1. **Pre-Colonial Period (Before the 18th century)**

Since the Vedic period, **Indian** education had been of a classical and spiritual learning rather than of a practical nature. The classical language like Sanskrit (Persian in case of Muslim learning) was used for the purpose of imparting education, which in turn, consists of literary, philosophical and religious texts. It is important to note that the learning among Hindus had been confined to higher classes and especially Brahmins. In the case of Muslims, the learning in *Madarsas* was less spiritual as compared to *Chatuspathis*—their Hindu counterparts—and were meant chiefly for the training the court officials. In the case of primary education, there were *Pathasalas* and *Maktabas* where the basic training in the 'three Rs' (reading, writing, and basic **arithmetic**) was given through vernaculars.

The earliest examples of generic Hindi are usually confined to various North Indian languages written in Devanagari script. About the 12th century AD, Muslim settlers in North India tried to adopt this Hindi for some of their commercial and social communications. During the Muslim rule in India, Persian and to some extent, Persianized Urdu enjoyed the status of official language. These languages were widely used for other purposes as well. The decline of Muslim rule in India and the advent of British rule were accompanied by a corresponding decline of Persianized Urdu. Deliberate moves towards Sanskritization of Hindi and Persianization of Urdu have resulted in accentuating the difference between Hindi and Urdu.

3. 2. Colonial Period (18th century onwards)

Prior to the advent of British colonists, there was no standardized form of education in India. The Britishers, especially the Christian Missionaries were the people who introduced proper form of education in India. It is to be noted that, however, the prime interest of the missionaries was to spread Christianity among natives. For **this** reason, they had to develop regional languages.

During the period between 1600 and 1765, the East India Company's main concern was in commercial relations with India, hence it did not take steps for the education of Indians. However, the missionaries used few Indians, at the East India Company's (hereafter Company) expense in the propagation of Christianity among natives. Though some historians consider this step of missionaries as a part of imparting education to Indians, it would be far from reality if we agree with them. Nonetheless, it is true that the missionaries had laid the foundation for education in India, but for the sake of the European and the Anglo-Indian children.

In those days, education was not regarded as a responsibility of the State even **in** England; and very naturally, the Company was not prepared to accept it **in** India. Secondly, the Company was influenced more by financial than by philanthropic motives and resisted all attempts to increase obligations having a tendency to cut down the dividends. Thirdly, the people of India themselves were most apathetic in the matter.

After 1765, when **the** Company became a political power in India, the **Company** wanted to educate sons **of influential** Indians for higher posts under government and thereby win the confi-

dence of the upper classes and consolidate its rule in India (Nurullah and Naik, 1985: 36). This made the Company to maintain strict religious neutrality, which in turn made the Company to keep the missionaries out of its territories as far as possible.

In North India open rivalries between Hindu elites and Muslim elites, during the late 19th century, found a political expression in the form of rivalry between Hindi and Urdu. During the first half of **the** 19th century, Persian language was in use for different purposes. By 1830s Urdu, predominantly Persianized, was substituted for Persian. The movements against Urdu first started in Bihar and later in the Bengal Presidency. Politically conscious Hindu intellectuals, mainly drawn from Bengal, urged people to impress upon the British administrators the necessity of a change in the choice of language. By 1837 English and Indian languages replaced Persian in the proceedings of the courts of law—English in the higher and vernaculars in the lower **courts. Because of** a series of public petitions and **memoranda**, the British administration convinced of the need for introducing Hindi as the language of administration. Consequently, Hindi was introduced **in** Bihar as the court language in 1881. From 1882 onward, the pro-Hindi movements stressed the need of teaching Hindi universally in all primary and secondary schools. In 1900, Hindi and Nagari script gained official recognition in Bihar state.

English language in India, when it was first introduced in earlier decades of the 19th century, was **primarily** associated **with** the evangelical zeal of the missionaries of various Christian denominations. By trying to maintain schools for the Indians, the Company furthered this process. The introduction of English as the medium of instruction was partially a result of some Indian

leaders who were eager to utilize English education in 'modernizing' their fellow citizens. Because of the multilingual nature of India and also due to the problems faced thereof by the British administration in governing India, they have decided to make English as language of administration in India. English was used at higher levels of administration, and the regional languages were in use at **lower** levels of **administration**.

In addition to these, the then Princely States used their own languages for official and court purposes. Due to this, English had subsequently acquired the role of a link language in India. It is interesting to note that both in education and in the courts of law, language became a marker of two separate levels of social interaction. The upper level reserved for English, and the lower level for the vernaculars. The reason due to which English acquired the role of socially prestigious language was that many social reformers and nationalist leaders of that time were associated English **with** 'modernization' and 'liberation'. These trends, **in** turn, made English the most important medium of **communication** in the national life cutting existing linguistic barriers. However, it may be note worthy that the use of English was limited to the urban, educated, upper class only. This limitation, in turn, made English in India as a language of elite communication rather than a medium of mass communication.

After British decided to spread education among Indians, the Charter Act of 1813 of East India Company was a big leap towards this direction. Though the Company undertook many schemes to spread the education in India, it did not object Missionaries '**for** disseminating Western education **in** India' (Reddy, 1994: 22). However, it may be noted **that** there was **no** state policy or planning to realize these objectives, and the processes

were marked by ad hoc measures. At the time of confusion, the question of medium of instruction raised intense controversies. One school of thought advocated the encouragement of oriental languages (like Sanskrit and Arabic), while another group wanted to promote the modern Indian languages for the purpose. Another group, the strongest among these groups, was in favor of **English** as the **medium of instruction**.

Among other things, the most important educational issues discussed in the Charter of 1813 were the following (Nurullah and Naik, 1985: 55):

- (a) Should missionaries be allowed to go to India and work in the territories of the Company for the education and proselytization of the Indian people?
- (b) Should the Company accept responsibility for the education of the Indian people? If it should, what should be the nature and scope of its educational activities?

On the second issue, the principal opposition to acceptance of responsibility came from the Directors. The Directors moved and carried through a resolution, stating that: "It shall be lawful for the Governor- General in Council to direct that out of any surplus...after defraying the **expenses**...a sum of not less than one Lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the science among the inhabitants of the British territories in India" (Sharp, 1920: 22).

The **principal implication** of (his was that the Company would create its own agency to spend this amount of a lakh of rupees

and try to educate the people of India in a 'secular' and 'conservative' fashion as opposed to the 'proselytizing' and 'revolutionary' proposals of the missionaries. The Charter of 1813, therefore, forms a turning point in the history of Indian education. With it, the agitation which Grant and Wilberforce carried on for nearly 20 years came to a successful conclusion; so that the education of the Indian people was definitely included within the duties of the Company; a comparatively large amount was annually secured for educational activities; and missionaries began to land in India in large numbers and establish English schools, thereby laying the foundation of the modern educational system (Nurullah and Naik, 1985: 57).

3. 2. 1. Official Experiment in Education (1813- 1853)

Regarding the *objects* of the educational policy, the controversies were not serious and referred mainly to the emphasis to be laid on different objectives of educational effort. One school of thought talked of the *duty* of England to educate its Indian subjects; another school emphasized the introduction and spread of western literature and science among the Indian people as of paramount importance; and a third school spoke mainly of the utilitarian objective of training Indians to hold subordinate positions in the Company's service.

Regarding the *agencies* to be utilized for organizing educational institutions, opinions differed considerably. Some favored encouragement of missionary enterprise. Others objected to this proposal on political grounds and on the principle of religious **neutrality**. A third **point** of view condemned the indigenous schools as inefficient and incapable of improvement and recommended the establishment of new schools, which should work under the direct control of the Company.

On the subject of the *methods* to be adopted to spread education among the people, opinion was divided between two schools of thought. One school believed that education always filters down to masses from the upper class. It, therefore, felt that the Company need only educate upper classes of the society and leave it to them to spread education among masses. This was the famous **Downward Filtration Theory** (Nurullah and Naik, 1985: 101). The other school felt that the Downward Filtration Theory would not work in India and recommended that the Company should make direct attempts to educate the masses.

As far as the educational controversies during the British rule in India are concerned, the controversies are not free from political bias. Whatever the British rule had achieved in the field of education, they over-rated their achievement and the shortcomings were the results of the uncontrollable situations. Whatever less the educational system during the British rule had achieved, it is a fact that it attracted more criticism than approval. The focal point of the criticism lies in the failure, on the part of British administration, to develop a uniform system of education throughout India. Another point of criticism is that, the proposed and practiced system of education could not make a natural and proper blend of the East and the West.

Though the Missionaries played a greater role in imparting education in India, they were not subjected to this criticism. The reason behind this may be the Missionaries, *ab ovo*, were interested in proselytization and the also Missionaries believed that Christianity and Western culture are inseparable. The third reason that could be attributed to the failure of British educational system is **that inadequate** aims formulated by the British administration. If the non-formulation of adequate aims was one

weakness of British educational administration, its harmful effect was further enhanced by adoption of certain wrong methods. Foremost of these was the neglect of the indigenous system of education, which resulted in its almost complete extinction by 1900. The adoption of the Downward Filtration Theory was a wrong method because it gave a temporary setback to mass education. The universal use of English as a medium of instruction, the emphasis on its teaching at the secondary and collegiate stages, the belief that English would become and continue to be the national language for the country as a whole, and the consequent neglect of modern Indian languages were other decisions which proved to be wrong subsequently (Nurullah and Naik, 1985: 411).

Unlike the traditional education system of India, in the new system of education introduced by the Britishers, the admissions were kept open for all castes until the indigenous schools recognized as special schools for upper castes. The first systematic educational survey in the Madras Presidency was conducted in February 1822 in which it was noted that every one out of 67 people were receiving education in the province (Government of Madras, 1822). Keeping the provision made under the Charter Act of 1813 in view, Thomas Munro proposed that the government should establish one school each for Hindus and Muslims in each collectorate. As the Tahsildari schools were open to all without any tuition fee, the system was greatly acknowledged by the poorer people but the system could not be able to attract the students from higher castes. In 1834, the College Board and the Committee of Public Instruction suggested some measures to improve the Munro's scheme. According to their dispatch, dated December 30, 1834, suggestions like increasing the number of schools, introducing new class books, establishment of a Board

to supervise the state of education etc. were made. It is important to note that most of the suggestions made in this dispatch were in favor of English education (Vittal Rao, 1979: 91)

As far as the question of *medium of instruction* is concerned, the opinion was divided among three schools. The first school advocated the **encouragement** of Sanskrit and Arabic studies and suggested that Western science and knowledge should be spread in India through these languages. The second school believed in encouraging education through the modern Indian languages. They argued that this was the only way in which Western knowledge could reach the people. The third school believed and advocated the spread of Western knowledge through the medium of English. It must be noted that all these controversies and schools of thought were found mostly among the European officials of the Company. Indian opinion was, at that time, almost non-existent. Nevertheless, the public opinion was rapidly growing in the favor of English education. The work of missionaries had greatly popularized English education. Secondly, Indian leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy were also urging their fellow citizens to study the language and literature of England and through it to acquire knowledge of the Western sciences. Thirdly, English was growing in political importance.

The non-official attempts of this period can be grouped under four principal heads: (a) the educational institutions conducted by the missionaries; (b) the educational institutions conducted by the officials of the Company in their individual capacity or by non-official **Englishmen** residing in India; (c) the educational institutions of the modern type conducted by Indians themselves; and (d) the indigenous educational institutions.

Three features regarding the educational work of the missionaries deserve special notice. Firstly, it must be remembered that education was never the *main* objective of the missionaries. They aimed at conversions and were obliged to take up educational work in order to meet the needs of the converted population. Secondly, since they had to work among the lowest classes of society who could not understand any language except their own, the missionaries studied the Indian languages, prepared dictionaries, wrote books on grammar, and translated the Bible into them. Thirdly, the missionaries did extremely valuable pioneer work in the field of the education for women. This was done through opening of day schools for Indian girls; establishment of Orphan Homes; and offering domestic instruction or *zenana* education in the families of the middle and higher classes (Nurullah and Naik, 1985: 115).

In the period prior to 1833, the elementary schools teaching through the modern Indian languages formed the bulk of missionary educational enterprise. However, between 1833 and 1853, the missionaries shifted the emphasis to secondary schools and colleges teaching through English. It was realized even then that the Indian pupils joined the missionary schools, not for the sake of religious instruction but to learn English with a view to securing employment under government. It would be correct to say that, in 1854, the largest part of educational enterprise in India (apart from indigenous schools) was provided by the missionaries but not by the Company.

Macaulay, the then President of the General Committee on Public Instruction, in his Minute dated February 2, 1835 argued in favor of **English** education against vernacular education. He felt that no native language had scientific and library information

and it was very difficult to translate the information into these languages from other languages. With this, the 'Anglicization of Education' was started in India. Macaulay supported English education in India with an intention of forming a class of Indians, who will act as interpreters between the government officials and the natives, who are Indian only in blood and color but **English** in tastes, **morals**, opinions and intellect. It is about during the same period that, the British government made the knowledge of English compulsory to enter the government services as employees. Another important happening in the history of education, which supported the English medium schools in India, is the Bentinck's resolution of 1835. Through his resolution dated March 7, 1835, William Bentinck stated that all government funds of education should henceforth be spent on English education alone (Sharp, 1920: 130-131). As a consequence of Macaulay's Minute and Bentinck's resolution, all the government Tahsildari schools were closed as they were offering education through vernacular media. Vakil and Natarajan (1966: 113-114) argue that by neglecting the oriental learning and choosing **English** as the medium of instruction in the place of Sanskrit, Persian and other vernaculars, Macaulay ignored the fact that English was not a native language and that high intellectual and spiritual values are present in classical learning.

Sir Henry Pottinger, through his letter dated June 6, 1851, proposed a new education system in Madras in which he proposed grants-in-aid system to promote and support the private agencies in the field of education. After the renewal of Charter Act of 1813, the Dispatch of 1854, also known as the 'Wood's Dispatch' was issued on July 19, 1854. The Wood's Dispatch was first deliberate effort of the government to **promote** and encourage the primary and higher education in the Madras Province.

Education was regarded as a 'sacred duty' of the government. Because of the Dispatch, a separate department for education was established under the control of Director of Public Instruction in 1855 in Madras Presidency (Vaikuntham, 1982: 12-19). Another turning point in the field of education in India was the constitution of a committee to examine the **scheme** of education in 1858. The director of this committee suggested that the medium of instruction in all schools must be vernacular and English language should be only a subject in the lower classes (Government of Madras, 1859: 22).

3. 2. 2. The Dispatch of 1854

The Company found that the principle of secularism enabled it to maintain its policy of religious neutrality, while the emphasis on the study of English language and literature enable it to obtain servants for the Government Departments where English was being used as the language of business.

The Wood's Dispatch, explains why the Company undertook the organization of education in India and the results that it expected there from. Among other things, the Company, through the Wood's Dispatch of 1854, felt that it was the *sacred duty* of the Company to educate Indians not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual Fitness but to raise the moral character as well. The Dispatch explained how it became necessary to use English as the medium of instruction: "owing to the want of translations or adaptations of European works in the vernacular languages of India".

The proposals of the Dispatch have two **important** features-- the rejection of the Downward Filtration Theory, and the inclusion of indigenous schools as the very foundation of a national sys-

tern of education. The immediate effects of the Dispatch were the creation of an Education Department in each province of British India and the establishment of universities at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. It gave an impetus to secondary education. It introduced the system of grants-in-aid.

It was very well **understood that** any **threat** to the status of **Persian** or Urdu as the language of administration would evoke a strong response from the Muslim elite. In North India, in 1864, a series of associations for the westernization of the Muslims and to promote their social, political, and linguistic interests were established by Syed Ahmad Khan. From the 1870s he took interest in the general problem of Muslim education and tried the establishment of a Muslim College in the North Western Provinces. Consequently, in 1875, the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College was founded in Aligarh, and later in 1921, it became the Muslim University of Aligarh.

There was, however, opposition to the activities of associations founded by Syed Ahmad Khan. This opposition was represented by **a** group of culturally traditional Muslim educators representing what is known as the Deoband School. The Deoband School, in opposition to the Aligarh Movement, which fought for the Muslim separatism, remained opposed to the policy of preaching loyalty to the British rulers of India. Such **a** policy brought the Deoband School closer to the Indian National Congress.

However, the demand for vernacular education reflects only one dimension of the interest taken **in** the development of Indian languages. Another dimension was that, many of the regional leaders were conscious of the need for popularizing one Indian language to serve as **a** link language for inter-regional commu-

nication. Because of this, demands were made to recognize various regional languages for this purpose. In Hindi area, "the most important organized movement devoted to the cause of the recognition of Hindi as a regional language emerged with the establishment of a language association, the Nagari Pracharani Sabha, at Benaras in 1893" (Das Gupta, 1970: 83).

Task of popularizing Hindi needed organizational efforts. The oldest organization advocating the cause of Hindi, the Nagari Pracharani Sabha of Benaras was formed in 1893. Initially, the declared purpose of the Sabha was to establish itself as an important center for the advancement of Hindi language and the Nagari script. However, it soon transformed into a leading organization for the protection of interests of the Hindi speakers, as opposed to the Urdu speakers. During the nationalist movement, Sabha advocated the case of Hindi as the national language.

3. 3. Period of Nationalist Movement (20th century onwards)

The entry of masses into the nationalist movement drew the attention of the nationalist leaders to the question of finding a language that could serve as the symbol of the nationalist movement. The beginning of the 20th century witnessed increasing expressions of communal tensions all over India. A strong group of Indian nationalist leaders with deep religious conviction felt that in order to expand the structure of popular support for the Indian nationalist movement, they must employ a language of politics that the majority of the Indian masses would understand. Consequently, three principal ties—religion, history, and language—common to both the educated and the illiterate people were emphasized. The constitution of the Indian

National Congress (hereafter INC) gave official recognition to Hindustani, an admixture of Hindi and Urdu, and made it as the language of the proceedings of the Congress. However, the incidents like the partition of Bengal in 1906; formation of both Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha in 1906; the Morley-Minto reform, which granted separate electorates for Muslims, set the stage for a complex conflict between leading Hindu political elite and the leading Muslim political elite.

In spite of the constant efforts by some of nationalist leaders to bring Hindi and Urdu closer to each other, neither the Hindi elite nor the Urdu elite seemed to be reconciled to this idea. Muslim leaders were determined to retain the separate identity of Urdu and to link it with Muslim cultural and political interests. In 1903, some supporters of Urdu established the Anjuman 'Taraqqi-i-Urdu'¹ as the focal point of a revived Urdu movement. However, in the initial stages, this association was considered to be a literary and academic association, later its leading members inclined to make the Anjuman a politically oriented language association serving the cause of the Aligarh movement.

The leaders of Nagari Pracharani Sabha², a voluntary organization dedicated its efforts to popularize Hindi, had identified

¹ The Anjuman Taraqqi. Urdu's parent organization, was established in 1903 and after the partition of India, it was split into two separate organizations. The reorganized Anjuman in India seeks to adopt all possible measures for promoting Urdu and to popularize its simple form, the Hindustani. Any one interested in the progress of Urdu is entitled to be a member of the Anjuman. Few members of 'the Anjuman', the governing body of organization are elected and few are nominated. The chief executive officer of the Anjuman is its general secretary. However, the president of the Anjuman exercises powerful authority. The Anjuman has branches in ten states of India. However, its main concentration is in Uttar Pradesh and its headquarters is in Aligarh.

² The structure of Sabha vests the highest power in an executive committee of 34 ordinary members led by a chairperson, two vice-chairpersons, one general secretary.

themselves too closely with the literary and political demands of the North Indian Hindi movement. In association with some other organizations, the Nagari Pracharani Sabha initiated the establishment of Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in 1910 in Allahabad. Though the Nagari Pracharani Sabha started as a literary society, gradually it developed as an association working for the literary and political promotion of Hindi written in Devanagari script. The leaders of the Hindi movement, especially in North India, concentrated their effort to create a standardized form of Hindi and to substitute it for the Persianized form of Urdu as administrative language. In terms of administrative opportunity and cultural symbolism, the Muslim elite perceived this effort as a threat to their status and culture.

Gandhi founded the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha³ of Madras in 1918. It concentrated its activities mainly in the South and from the very beginning it tried to dissociate the image of Hindi which it promoted from the regional interests of the Hindi areas. This organization consistently attempted to promote Hindi as the necessary second language in the non-Hindi areas. Though this organization was started with few centers, by 1963 it had extended its operation to 1352 centers against 73 centers in 1930.

and one or more departmental secretaries. The membership to this organization is limited to those adults who love Hindi language and Nagari script. The members of the executive council are elected for three years: one third each year.

The responsibility of management of widespread local associations belongs to an executive council composed of six office holders and seven members. All the operations of this organization are planned, supervised, controlled, and managed by the executive council. An interesting thing of this organization is that, it insists on an equal status for Hindi and regional languages, thereby dissociating Hindi from any regional pride, status, or power. The government of India has recognized this organization as an institution of national importance.

The Nationalist Movement in India, it is argued, was led by the political representatives of industrialists, landlords, traders etc. While the political representatives of the dominant section of the 'Indian' ruling class were leading the nationalist movement at the national level, political representatives of several other social classes **and groups** participated in the nationalist **movement** at the regional level. It is a well-known fact that the whole Nationalist Movement was more or less dominated by the Congress party leaders, who articulated such a language policy, which would entail their socio-political interests in general and their linguistic interests in particular. They selected and tried to propagate Hindustani as the sole official language of India. They used the slogan, 'common language', to appeal nationalist sentiments into Indians to fight against the British. However, to safeguard the economic interests of the ruling class the leaders of Nationalist Movement had included English in their proposed Three-Language Formula under the cover of the language of international diplomacy. As various kinds of political representatives articulated varied aspirations of the local population, "there developed a struggle for linguistic states as part of the nationalist movement through out the non-Hindi speech areas. The initial slogan for linguistic states was heard in Andhra during 1913-1915" (Bapuji, 1994: 59-60).

The revision of the Constitution of the INC in 1920 to provide for the reorganization of its provincial units on a linguistic basis fostered a sense of regional linguistic identity, and this step also laid the ground for the growth of regional consciousness in an increased magnitude.

Like all the newly emerging nation-states, India too needed a language policy because of its striking linguistic heterogeneity.

Gandhi in his address to the Belgaum session of INC in 1924 came out, for the first time, with a sort of Three-Language Formula (Bapuji, 1994: 58). In its rudimentary form, his three-language formula included (1) Regional Language (to be used by the provincial/ state government); (2) Hindustani (to be used in the Parliament; the final court of appeal and the Central Government **for official** purposes); and (3) English (to be used **for** international diplomacy).

Gandhi's proposal tried to accommodate the linguistic aspirations of various social classes and/ or groups that participated in the nationalist movement. The political representatives of the newly emerging ruling class proposed Hindustani as the language of the central government and Supreme Court. This is because its literary and intellectual stratum hails mainly from a vast linguistic area in which Hindi-Urdu has been vogue for the past several centuries as a result of Muslim rule (Prakash, 1973: 119). Concerning the place assigned to English in the **sphere** of international diplomacy, Bapuji (1993: 27 and 1994: 60) makes two observations. One: almost all the national level leaders and some of the local leaders of the nationalist movement were English educated. Two: The Great Britain, whose official language is English, was occupying the most dominant role in world politics and economy.

The Government of India Act of 1935 gave a significant extension to the range of self-government in India. After the Congress was elected to power in 1937 general elections with clear majority, the ministers of Congress were eager to introduce Hindi with the official help and their newly acquired political power.

Nehru declared in 1937 that Hindustani should be officially recognized as the all-India language. After 1942, Gandhi with Nehru and Rajendra Prasad established the 'Hindustani Prachar Sabha' for the spread of Hindustani. However, this organization did not succeed in winning the bases of support in North India but eminently successful in South India. The failure of efforts to popularize Hindustani in North India can largely be explained by the fact that the Hindi movement in this area was firmly controlled by Hindu orthodox leadership. For these Hindi leaders, Hindustani was a symbol of appeasement of the Muslim concern for Urdu.

The leaders of the Indian National Movement rarely drew a distinction between the categories of common language, national language, and official language. Most of the leaders used these categories interchangeably. For example, Gandhi used Hindustani-- an admixture of Hindi and Urdu-- as the 'common language', while Nehru referred it as the 'all-India language' and **for Rajagopalachari, it appeared** as 'national language'. With the assumption of the responsibility for formulating an official language, it became imperative to use such categories with a greater sense of caution. It was suggested that an 'official language' should imply an accepted language of administration as well as a means of communication between the government and the governed. The 'common language' should stand for a generally comprehensible code of communication used throughout the nation. The criterion of a 'national language' may lie in its being the natural speech of a major linguistic community for **which the members** of the group nurture a **primordial** affection (Das Gupta, 1970: 37-38).

The rapid progress of the Hindi movement alarmed the newly westernizing Muslim leadership and they characterized Hindi movement as a deliberate plan to injure Muslim interest. The Urdu Defense Association described Hindi's achievement of equal status with Urdu in official transactions as a threat to Muslim economic and cultural interests. The Association attempted **to** reverse the recognition, but in vain.

We, therefore, can see the language policy "as a process in which several events are linked in sequence. First, language demands expressed in organized form by associations, parties and movements may be considered as the impulses for policy. Secondly, these impulses are processed by the legislatures which treat them in the context of other competing demands emerging from the general political scene" (Das Gupta, 1976: 197). However, the process of policy formulation is not easy, as it seems to be. The nature of parliamentary government, in general, puts at least two hindrances in the way of processing. One is that the leading party has to seek the consensus of majority of the population and another is, the leading party has to take into consideration the feasibility of the proposed policy.

3. 3. 1. Debates in the Constituent Assembly Regarding Language (1946-1950)

The Constituent Assembly (hereafter Assembly) came into existence in December 1946, and the language question has drawn **the** attention of the Assembly from the very beginning. **The** Rules Committee of the Assembly, in the initial meetings, decided that either Hindustani or English should be used for recording the Assembly proceedings. When the decision to partition India was in the air, the orthodox Hindi leaders tried to dislodge Hindustani and to install Hindi in its place. As a result of

various political developments in India, both the Hindustani and the Hindi languages gained social, political and religious momentum of their own. The Hindi leaders accordingly made a strong move to drop all the references to Hindustani that were accepted in the early sessions of the Assembly. The term Hindustani "was opposed by the **majority** and the name **Hindi** was sponsored. Hindustani was not preferred on account of its association with a non-Indian alphabet as foreign and un-Indian" (Satyanarayana, 1977: 33-34). They demanded that Hindi alone, written in Devanagari script, be made the official language of India. In fact, their demand in first stage was that Hindi should be made the national language of India.

The partition of the country in August 1947 into India and Pakistan further complicated the language question and brought in its wake a complex set of new problems. The demand for Pakistan was based on the idea that the Hindus and Muslims cannot **and** should **not** live together. From the very beginning of its creation as a new state, Pakistan has been officially declared to be an Islamic state. In India, a minority of Hindu leaders thought that a similar solution could be reached if the state were declared a Hindu state. Nevertheless, majority of the leaders opposed it, and determined to practice their principle of composite nationalism (Das Gupta, 1970: 128-129).

In July 1947 session of the Assembly, the staunch supporters of Hindi tried to replace Hindustani with Hindi as the language of the Assembly. The Hindi bloc argued that the independence would become meaningless if Hindi was not used for the official business. Purushottam Das Tandon, one of the pro-Hindi bloc leaders, declared that "those who oppose Hindi as the national language and Nagari script as the single national script are still

following a policy of anti- national appeasement and are catering to communal aspirations" (as cited in Dinakar, 1995: 39).

When Congress passed a resolution stating that English would be the sole official language of the country for a period of ten **years**; there were heated arguments and counter-arguments in Congress. Yet they could not reach at any solution and the issue was handed over to the Drafting Committee of the Constitution. The Drafting Committee reported that English would be used for 15 years for official purposes and the President can provide for the use of Hindi in addition to English.

Gandhi (1948) regarded "the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was necessary if provincial languages were to grow to their full height". If a language was to be made the official language and as the medium of instruction for each of the Indian states, which in turn forms Indian Nation, the obvious pre-condition was **the** linguistic redistribution of the provinces. However, he stressed the need of a lingua franca to keep India as a unit and proposed, in his 'three-language-formula', "Hindustani to be the lingua franca, and national language of India". Gandhi refused to believe that Hindi and Urdu are two different languages. He argued that the function of Hindustani "was to make Indians (no matter what their provincial language is) realize their organic relationship with India". Hence, for Gandhi, "paramount consideration a linguistic redistribution of provinces should give an impetus to education and trade" (Gandhi, 1948: 378).

The leaders who were against Hindi formed the pro- English bloc. It is interesting to note that most of the leaders of this bloc were drawn from the non- Hindi-speaking area and especially

from the South India. This bloc argued that, giving undue advantage to Hindi means/ results in denying the non- Hindi speakers of certain privileges.

In support of the use of English in India, the opponents of Hindi suggested that, since India had accepted many foreign elements in **different aspects** of national **life**, it could also **accept** English. They further argued that, since Hindi is primarily a regional language, its official status is likely to favor the political, economic, social, cultural, and educational power of the Hindi elite. Many in South India view Hindi as the symbol of North Indian domination.

As a measure of compromise between Hindi-bloc and English-bloc, the Assembly has appointed Munshi- Ayyangar Committee. Munshi and Ayyangar, in Assembly, represented the pro-Hindi and pro- English blocs respectively. The Munshi- Ayyangar formula is considered as the basis for the language provisions of the Constitution of India. The main contents of the Munshi- Ayyangar formula were as follows (Dinakar, 1995):

1. Hindi with Nagari script and with international numerals would be the official language of the Union.
2. English is to be used for a period of 15 years, after the Constitution enacted, for all the official purposes of the Union. A law provided by the Parliament, however, can extend the use of English.
3. It is the duty of the Union government to promote and develop **the** Hindi language.
4. For the purposes of business in higher courts of appeal, to issue the authoritative texts of bills, ordinances etc. English should be used.

5. Listing of the living languages of India, excluding English and Sanskrit.
6. State governments were given a right to choose the language to be used in the state for official purposes. Either a regional language of the state or Hindi can be used for these purposes; however, the use of English requires the sanction of the legislature of the state concerned.
7. A Language Commission should be formed in 1955 and after five years, i.e., in 1960, and a survey to be conducted to know the progress of implementing Hindi.

In September 1949, this proposed formula was put before the Assembly for discussion. While introducing the formula, Ayyangar stated that "it (the formula) did not embody the ideas of his or his co-sponsors, but it was a compromise between opinions which were not easily reconcilable". For him, the two principles behind **this** formula were (1). Selection of one Indian language as the common language of the country. As Hindi is not sufficiently developed, English must continue. (2). The numerals should be those of all Indian forms. Either President or the Official Language Commission can recommend the use of Nagari numerals in addition to the international numerals (Dinakar, 1995: 45-46). The pro-Hindi group has submitted many amendments to the formula. They argued that, the states adopting Hindi, as their official language should be able to print the texts of bills and ordinances in Hindi instead of English.

For the Hindi leaders, mobilizing the solid bloc of votes in favor of Hindi became a complex situation. Their strategy was first to effectively inhibit the incipient support for the retention of English **for** all **practical** purposes. As **many** of **the** lenders of Hindi bloc were also the leaders of the Hindi Associations, they care-

fully organized public pressure campaigns to influence the Assembly's opinion on Hindi. During the crucial language debates in the Assembly in 1949, the Hindi bloc, despite personal and official influence of the leading Congress ministers, won by 78 against 77 votes cast for Hindustani. Given the almost equal strength in the Assembly, these blocs needed a measure of compromise if they cared **for** a viable **national** language policy. Ultimately as a measure of compromise, in the form of Munshi Ayyangar formula, Hindi written in Devanagari script was provided as the official language of the Union.

The formal provisions in the Constitution of India regarding the official language question set a formidable task for the Indian political authorities both at federal and state levels. As far as the mention of languages in the Constitution is concerned, the whole Part XVII of the Constitution of India (see Appendix-1) is devoted to language issue. The official language of the Union, as mentioned in the Constitution, is Hindi in Devanagari script and the numerals are used in international form. Hindi or English, **for** whose use a provision was made, is to be the language of communication between states and the Union and between one state and the other. The legislatures of the component states of the Indian Union were given the authority to adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the state, or Hindi, as the official language(s) of the state concerned. All bills, acts, rules and regulations passed by the Parliament should be in English. If any other languages are used for these purposes in state legislature, translations of all such acts and bills should be provided in English. The language of courts of law at the state and national level is to be English. However, with the consent of the President, states can make provisions to use Hindi or any other official state language(s) for the proceedings of High Courts.

At the Union level, implementation of Hindi is multi-layered. In the first stage, Hindi was to be used in addition to English for the purposes specified by the President by order. In the second stage, restrictions could be imposed on the use of English, and the Hindi could be introduced progressively. The constitution charged the Union with the duty to promote and spread of Hindi and to develop it so **that** it might serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of 'the composite culture of India'.

3. 4. Post Independence Period

In India, even from the late 19th century, there were many associations in operation with language related objectives. By the turn of the 20th century, due to various socio-political developments, the number of associations of this kind had increased considerably and were actively became a part of the language-policy formulation both at federal and state levels. However, their role is, primarily, in the implementation of language policies. Coming to the organizational structure and leadership part of **these** associations, almost all the leadership class of these associations is from high socio-economic background. Nonetheless, these language associations have democratically elected committres, which in turn, serve as the highest policy making units of the respective associations.

As far as the policy objectives of these organizations are concerned, the main objectives, in order of importance, are as follows: (1) Replacing English with Hindi as national language of India; (2) Issue of language use as the medium of instruction and administration; (3) Creating language resources in education like producing terminology, translations, textbooks etc.; (4) Promotion and development of regional languages for national unity; (5) Language needs of integration, especially making

Hindi as comprehensible as possible for other regions in India; and (6) Problems of administrative and judicial language resource creation and use (Das Gupta, 1970: 186-187). With regard to the style of participation, most of these associations seek to appeal to the educated and politically involved intelligentsia rather than to the general masses. However, organization of public meetings was the most frequently used means for mobilizing the popular support to the activities of these associations.

3. 4. 1. Urdu Movement

Muslim politics in North India has found Urdu to be a potent issue to mobilize their political resources in the Muslim community in independent India. The Muslim organizations which operate in the open political field perform the function of articulating Urdu interests in their own specialized way. One such organization, Jamaat-i-Islami, was noted for its political extremism based on communalism. Its communal identification serves as a liability to the Urdu movement than an asset. To keep the Urdu movement away from extremist groups, many political leaders established an organization called Muslim Majlis-i-Mushawarat, the Muslim Consultative Committee, in 1964 (Das Gupta, 1970: 212).

The Union government recommended several facilities for Urdu and suggested that Urdu should be encouraged. The specific proposals for extending facilities to the Urdu speech communities were the following:

1. **Facilities** should be **provided** for **instruction** and examination in the Urdu language at the primary stage to all children

whose mother tongue is declared by the parent or guardian to be Urdu.

2. Arrangements should be made for the training of teachers and for providing textbooks in Urdu.
3. Facilities for instruction in Urdu should also be provided in the secondary stage of education.
4. All **courts and** offices without the necessity of translation should accept documents in Urdu or transliteration in any other language or script, and petitions and representations in Urdu should also be accepted.
5. Important laws, rules, regulations, and notifications should be issued in the Urdu language also in areas where this language is prevalent and which may be specified for this purpose (as cited in Das Gupta, 1970: 145-146).

When we look at the evolution and participation of Hindi language planning agencies, we can find the following developments. The Hindi language associations emerged and developed during **the nationalist** movement. Many of their objectives like declaring Hindi as official language of India, declaring Hindi as state language of all Hindi-speaking states of Indian federation are fulfilled. However, in this process, after independence, **the** initiative **in** this regard was passed to the different governmental language planning agencies. This shift was resulted in setting up of own norms by 'bureaucratic' planning agencies and as a result, they are in a position to control the resources which are necessary for the development and promotion of Hindi. As these new language planning agencies were under the direct control of **relevant ministries** of the cabinet **at** federal level, the ultimate control of the pace of implementation is rested with them. It is **noteworthy** that, these **federal** level cabinet **ministries** will respond to the balance of national pressures than to particular

Hindi pressures arising from the Hindi states (Das Gupta, 1970: 191).

As a result of protests from the Hindi voluntary organizations/ associations, increasing pressure from pro-Hindi legislators, and inadequate preparation to the changeover, the national planners felt the **necessity of establishment of institutions** to gear up the work of implementing Hindi. Due to this felt need, the Central Hindi Directorate was created in 1960 under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, and in 1961, the Commission for Scientific and Technical Terminology¹ was also created. The Directorate initiates and controls programs for development and propagation of Hindi in such ways as translation of books, administrative manuals and documents; co-ordination of Hindi teaching and examination systems etc.

These language planning agencies (see Appendix-2 for details of various language planning agencies for the scheduled languages of India) are expected to carry out such functions as elaboration of language; preparation of educational materials for schools, language teaching and learning materials etc. It is interesting to note here that, the function of 'codification of language' has taken a backseat in determining the functions of language planning agencies. The possible reason for this may be the view held by the Indian language planners. It was viewed that, at least in the case of Indian language planning, production and use of huge number of lexical terms rather than systematic evaluation deserve the highest priority. This is what, in another context, Singh (1998) described as 'the wrong priority'. Another, equally interesting, point to note is that, "these organizations

¹ The Commission, ~~until it was merged with~~ the Directorate in 1972, devoted to the production and control of scientific and technical terminology.

derive their authorization from the government structure and are expected to operate like administrative departments rather than academies" (Das Gupta, 1976: 59).

In 1956, the Academy of Tamil Culture convened the Union Language Convention in Madras and passed a resolution that it would be "greatly unjust to make any other language to take place of English..." In the All-India Language Conference, on March 8, 1958, Rajagopalachari declared that "Hindi is as much foreign to the non-Hindi speaking people as English to the protagonists of Hindi." Therefore, the resolutions passed in this conference demanded "the continuance of English, as the Union language without any time limit, and no attempt should be made to give any particular regional language the position of the Union official language...." (as cited in Das Gupta, 1970: 192-193).

As far as the place of Hindi language in Indian society is concerned, technically, Hindi is both **the** official language of India and at the same time, a regional language. As for status, it has been said "Hindi falls short of the mark as a standard national language because it lacks sufficient prestige... mostly spoken by illiterate peasants....". The defenders of Hindi, however, argue that the "status of the official language is not an award for literary merit in a language." They point out that Hindi has been "adopted as the official language... of the Union.... not because it is better developed than other regional languages... It is chosen for performing the job of the official language medium on pan-Indian levels **because** it happens **to** be **understood and** spoken, amongst the regional languages, by the largest number of people___We are concerned merely with the prevalence of knowl-

edge of the language in relation to the appropriate sectors of activity..." (Das Gupta, 1970: 46-48).

The attempts to implement the language provisions provided by the Constitution have generated more intense language rivalry than unity. When the Constitution of India took **effect**, most of the non-Hindi leaders expected that "the development of Hindi as the official language would involve more persuasion than imposition." However, within a short time they realized that "the Hindi leaders were interpreting the constitutional provisions as justifications for an immediate imposition of Hindi" (Das Gupta, 1970: 188).

As compared to Hindi, English is spoken by a smaller percentage of the Indians. "Yet the fact remains that those who speak English constitute the elites of Indian society, and it is they who are responsible for running the government machinery, for operating the educational system, and for efficient management of the technological progress in the country" (Apte, 1976b: 148). Another factor, which made English to be continued as an official language, was the opposition to Hindi from South Indian states, especially from Tamilnadu.

In addition, the Constitution provided for a period of 15 years from the effective date of the constitution (i.e., from 1950), that English should continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union (Article 343, Clause 2 of the Constitution of India) (see Appendix-1).

As Hindi being both an official language of India at one level and a regional language at another, Hindi planning is a matter of common concern between federal government and the Hindi

states. In case of India in general and Hindi planning in particular, the federal ministries of Education; Home (Interior) and Law had undertaken the task of official language implementation and promotion and development of Hindi at various levels with varying degrees of involvement. The Central Hindi Directorate (hereafter CHD) and Commission for Scientific and Technical **Terminology** (hereafter CSTT), working under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, performed the most important functions for the promotion and development of Hindi.

The CHD was established with a wide range of responsibilities entrusted to it. During the initial years of the establishment, the CHD had functions like (1) preparation and publication of teaching materials; (2) promotion of Hindi through educational and other means; and (3) coordination of various Hindi related operations within the ministry of Education. Nevertheless, after the establishment of CSTT **in** 1965, these projects were transferred to it. The functions of CSTT included: (a) formulation of principles relating to coordination and evaluation of scientific and technical terminology as well as humanities and social sciences terminology; (b) preparation and approval of terminology and its incorporation in standard textbooks and dictionaries; and (c) coordination of work relating to terminology in various states in India.

3. 4. 2. Encouragement to Hindi

The Ministry of Education in 1952 originally started the Hindi Teaching Scheme and by 1955, it was transformed to the Home Ministry. This program was expanded **in** 1960. The Central Hindi Directorate (hereafter CHD) was established in 1960 as a part of Ministry of **Education** and **the** Standing **Commission** for Scientific and Technical Terminology was set up in 1961. The

Official Language (Legislative) Commission was also established in the year 1961 as a part of the Ministry of Law. In addition to promoting the use of Hindi language, these organizations have also been actively involved in the activities like development of language for educational purposes. Towards realizing this goal, these organizations have been undertaking activities like preparation of school and advanced level materials, organization of Hindi teaching programs for non-Hindi speaking population, publication of specialized periodicals etc. Majority of these institutions and their staff has been carrying out their work in more of an administrative manner than as an academic work. Most of the employees of these institutions lack the basic linguistic knowledge require for carrying out the language planning activities and/ or have the knowledge of other language planning agencies and their activities both in and out of India. The establishment of Central Institute for Indian Languages (CIIL) in 1969, it is claimed, is a step toward bridging the gap between basic linguistic research and developmental activities pertaining to Indian languages (Pattanayak, 1971: 4-5).

3. 4. 3. The University Education Commission (1948-1949)

As far as the medium of instruction at university level is concerned, English, with an exception of Osmania University, was the medium of instruction during the British rule. In Osmania, Urdu was the medium of instruction, but English was a compulsory subject for graduating students. It means, in other words, the regional languages were neglected at university level. Because of this "the graduating students were unable to speak or write their mother tongue fluently and correctly" (Nurullah and Naik, 1985: 258). The first serious thought, by the government in connection with the medium of instruction at university

level, was given in 1948 by appointing a 10-member University Education Commission, which was popularly known as Radhakrishnan Commission. This Commission submitted its report in August 1949.

The University Education Commission was expected to recommend the future requirements of the university education of country. Its main emphasis has been the medium of instruction at university level. The Commission suggested the following in connection to the medium of instruction:

1. An Indian language should replace English as the medium of instruction as early as possible.
2. Students of higher secondary and university levels should have the knowledge of regional language, federal language, and English.
3. Immediate action should be taken (by the governments) to improve and to develop the federal and regional languages. The state governments should take measures to introduce the teaching of federal language in all classes of higher secondary and university levels.
4. To promote cultural renaissance and social integration, a switchover to mother tongue education should be achieved in a five years time.
5. Higher education can be imparted through instrumentality of the regional languages with the option to use the federal language as the medium of instruction.

The Commission was in favor of adopting Hindi, in Devanagari script as the official language at the Union level and argued that "the universities must have an option to use the Federal language (i.e., Hindi) as the medium of instruction either for some

subjects or for all subjects" (as cited in Sharma, 1975: 55). The Commission recommended that, students from Hindi areas should learn another Indian language, and also proposed that English should continue to be taught, in view of its contribution to national unity and its importance as an instrument "to keep in touch with living stream of ever-growing knowledge, and as our principal means of maintaining contact with the outside world". The recommendations of the Commission were accepted by the Central Advisory Board on Education in 1950 and subsequently by the Central government.

As the subject of education is under the jurisdiction of the state governments, the recommendations of the Education Commission and the acceptance of the same by the Central government could not influence the state governments about the medium of instruction in state universities. By 1950, some universities had switched to Hindi as the medium of instruction, and some other **universities started** using regional languages for the purpose of imparting education at university level. Due to this there was a need felt by many educationalists, to maintain uniformity of standards of universities and it was also felt that the issue should be handled at national level. It may not be out of place to mention that, the Official Language Commission gave a thought to this issue and favored the switchover to Indian languages, in the place of English, as the medium of instruction. However, the Official Language Commission believed that, the use of English as the language of instruction for science and technology subjects was a necessity at higher levels of education. For other **subjects**, the Official **Lnnunge** Commission **supported** the study of English as a language of comprehension. "The Official Language **Commission** also advised that instruction in Hindi be continued at the university level for those studying through the

medium of a regional language" (Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1958: 78-81).

In 1955, the University Grants Commission (UGC) appointed a committee to look into the question of language instruction at the university level, and submitted its report in 1957. The committee had felt that "if the regional language was to become the medium of instruction, then English should continue to be taught by all universities, with special emphasis on securing an adequate knowledge of English as a second language" (as cited in Sharma, 1975: 58).

3. 4. 4. Hindi Sahitya Sammelan

After the Constitution became effective in 1950, the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan began a systematic campaign to identify the official Hindi with Sanskritized Hindi. At the same time, the pro-Hindustani groups tried to draw a distinction between regional Hindi and national Hindi. The ambiguity of the Hindi leaders concerning the scope and definition of Hindi in independent India is brought out clearly in their attitude toward Urdu. Gandhi insisted that the Sammelan was not primarily a literary society and that its main objective was to popularize the Hindustani form of Hindi as the national language. Nevertheless, the orthodox group of the Sammelan was concerned with the popularization of "pure Hindi".

The founders of the Sammelan had originally expected it to be a forum for writers and a center for training in Hindi. Through the training courses and examinations in Hindi, the Sammelan has reached a large audience. In the course of time, the organizational objectives of Sammelan were devoted to teaching Hindi and campaigning for Hindi as national language of India.

3. 4. 5. Debates in Lok Sabha during 1952 and 1960 Regarding Language

During initial years of the Indian Parliament (especially during 1952-1960), the primary concern of many MPs, who were representing non-Hindi speaking constituencies "was to make sure that the demands of their people for the creation of linguistic states were fulfilled" (Apte, 1976b: 214). From the parliamentary debates (until 1956), we can understand that MPs frequently concentrated their attention on the linguistic issues. During the first eight years of the Parliament, the main concern of the MPs, who were representing the Hindi-speaking region, was the constitutional goal of implementing Hindi as the sole official language of India by 1965. They kept the government busy with inquiries about the progressive use of Hindi. However, the MPs who were representing the minority linguistic groups continued to raise questions regarding the status, rights, and development of their languages, especially in the context of emerging linguistic states. By the time Congress government started reorganizing the states on linguistic basis in 1956, majority of the MPs seems to be satisfied with the outcome of the linguistic reorganization. During the 1960s, the focus of discussion was shifted to the question of official language.

During the first session of the Parliament in 1952, Tushar Chatterjee (a Communist MP from West Bengal) submitted a resolution stating that: "This House is of opinion that immediate steps should be taken to redistribute the states on linguistic basis and that boundaries of the existing states be readjusted accordingly" (Parliamentary Debates, July 7, 1952). Though the Congress government, in the first instance, was reluctant to undertake the linguistic reorganization of the states, Nehru (then Prime Minister) assured the House that necessary action for the

reorganization of states would be taken at the 'appropriate' time. Here, it is worth of a note that, the Dar Commission (1948) which was appointed by the Constituent Assembly to examine and report the feasibility of forming linguistic states in South India, "recommended the postponement of the creation of linguistic states" (Gopal, 1966: 73).

3. 4. 5. 1. Techniques for Drawing Attention to Linguistic Issues in the Parliament

Many Members of Parliament (MPs) used the following techniques to draw the attention of the House to the issues of linguistic concern. 1) Questions posed by the MPs and to be answered by the government during Question Hour of the Parliament; 2) Adjournment motions; 3) Debates on President's address; 4) Debates on Demands for Grants; and 5) Comments during speeches by MPs.

1. The important and popular technique is to submit a Starred Question -- a question that could be answered orally during the session-- having the advantage of asking the supplementary questions. Questions were also asked to evoke statements of policies and forces government to give factual information.

2. By giving a notice of an adjournment motion, many MPs occasionally draw the attention of the House to linguistic issues. However, this was done only when "there were major events such as riots, agitations, police-firings, or protests* concerning linguistic controversies" (Apte, 1976a: 223). Though such adjournment motions were rarely allowed by the Speaker, they served the function of symbolic protests by the MPs concerned.

3. The address delivered by the President represents the official position of the party in power on national and international events, outlined plans, review of progress made during previous years and so on. A motion was then made to express thanks to the President for his address to the joint session of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, followed by a debate on the policies of the government. During the debate, many MPs bring the linguistic issues into discussion and seek explanation/ clarification from the government.

4. The established/ general practice for the government was to place the demands for grants before the Parliament and the MPs would submit the cut-motions. At the end, the minister in-charge of the ministry concern replies to criticisms and comments of the MPs. When a cut-motion is submitted, the MPs are required to give reasons for such cuts. Many MPs take this opportunity to bring linguistic matters to the forefront.

5. A popular technique among the MPs was to comment on each other's linguistic competence, and offer their views. According to the provisions of the constitution, only English or Hindi could be used for speeches in the Parliament. However, with the permission of the Speaker, a member can use the language other than English or Hindi for speech making in the Parliament. Many Hindi-speaking MPs feels it is their duty to deliver their speeches in Hindi although they use English for commenting on the speeches of others.

Business in both the houses of the Indian Parliament is to be conducted in Hindi or English. However, with the permission of the Speaker/ Chairperson, a member may be allowed to address the house in her/his mother tongue. Similarly, business in the

state legislatures is to be conducted in either the official language(s) of the state concerned, or in Hindi or English. However, with the permission of the Speaker, a member who cannot adequately/ effectively express herself/himself in any of these languages may be permitted to speak in her/his mother tongue.

As far as the language use in the Legislatures is concerned, no member is forced to speak in Hindi in the Parliament. A legislation made it necessary for all acts, resolutions, orders, rules, notifications, official papers laid before the national legislature and other documents of importance to be issued bilingually using Hindi and English. The administrative instructions of July 1968 permit the officials to exercise a choice between Hindi and English for official correspondence. The instructions circulated by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, clearly say that there should be no restriction on the use of either languages and the employee, using any one of these two languages, himself 'should not ask to provide translations'.

3. 4. 6. States Re-organizing Commission of 1953 and the Development of Regional Languages

One of the major steps taken by the Congress government in post-independent India was the reorganization of the states on language basis. Though the actual process of reorganization of India into linguistic states started in 1953, "the principle of linguistic homogeneity and autonomy" can be traced back to the pre-independence period. In 1908, the INC began to argue for linguistic homogeneity be the basis of forming provincial units. In 1928, the Congress party again highlighted the importance of linguistic homogeneity. Accordingly, a commission was appointed in 1948 to look into the question of linguistic organization of provincial units. Though the commission had reacted

positively to the importance of the development of major regional languages, it did not stress the need to the desirable extent whereby linguistic states can be formed.

Following the death of Potti Sreeramulu in December 1952 and the subsequent riots in Andhra forced the Congress government to introduce the Bill for creation of Andhra Pradesh in August 1953. However, few MPs representing minority linguistic groups, who had 'nothing to gain and everything to lose' by the creation of linguistic states, opposed the creation of the Andhra Pradesh. Few other MPs criticized the government for taking the ad hoc decisions to postpone the problem for some more time. Replying the criticism, Nehru made an announcement that "a commission had been appointed to look into the question of reorganization of states and to make a report to Parliament no later than June 30, 1955" (Apte, 1976a: 218).

The Commission submitted its report in October 1955 and in December 1955, the same was placed before the House for taking the suggestions and views of MPs into consideration before framing the final bill. The MPs who were satisfied with the recommendations of the Commission tried to justify the report and did not oppose it. The discussion lasted for seven days. Another debate, which lasted for three days, took place in April 1956, when the Home Minister (Govind Ballabh Pant) submitted a motion "to send the report and the Bill to a select committee for final consideration" (Apte, 1976a: 220).

With the creation of linguistic states, various major regional languages developed considerably. With the freedom of choice regarding the official language of the states given by the Constitution, six states in Northern India (viz., Bihar, Haryana, Hi-

machal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh) have adopted Hindi as their official language. Six other states decided to use their respective major regional language as official languages (Telugu in Andhra Pradesh, Assamese in Assam, Marathi in Maharashtra, Punjabi in Punjab, Tamil in Tamilnadu, and Bengali in West Bengal). One state (Gujarat) decided to use both Gujarati (a major regional language) and Hindi as official languages. Orissa chosen to use English and Oriya (state's major regional language) as two official languages while Jammu and Kashmir opted for Urdu as official language though the majority of its population speaks Kashmiri. The interesting situation is that, three states (Kerala, Karnataka, and Nagaland) then opted for English as their official language. In the case of (then) Union Territories, five (Chandigarh; Dadra and Nagar Haveli; Goa, Daman and Diu; Laccadive and Minicoy Islands; and Manipur) use English as their official language. Two (Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and Delhi) use both English and Hindi, while Tripura uses Bengali, a major regional language. In the case of Pondicherry, English and French were chosen as official languages. Though the majority population of Pondicherry speaks Tamil, due to the colonial legacy of French rule, it opted for French (Apte, 1976b: 150-151).

Table showing Language situation at national level (India).

State/ Region	Speech Community to which the socio-politically dominant group belongs.	Speech Community whose majority members do not belong to the socio-politically-dominant group belongs.	Official/ Socially prestigious language of the State/ Region.
Andhra Pradesh	Telugu	Urdu, Koya, Savara, Lambadi, Gondi etc.	Telugu

Arunachal Pradesh	Nissi/ Dafia	Abor-Adi, Aka, Khamti, etc.	English
Assam	Assamese	Nepali, Bengali	Assamese
Bihar	Hindi	Maithili, Avadhi, Bhojpuri, Magahi	Hindi, Urdu
Gujarat	Gujarati, Hindi	Bhili	Gujarati
Haryana	Hindi	Haryanvi, Punjabi	Hindi
Himachal Pradesh	Hindi	Pahari	Hindi
Jammu & Kashmir	Kashmiri	Dogri, Ladhakhi	Urdu
Karnataka	Kannada	Tulu	Kannada
Kerala	Malayalam	Tulu	Malayalam
Madhya Pradesh	Hindi	Gondi, Chattis-gari	Hindi
Maharashtra	Marathi	Bhili, Carmbadi	Marathi
Manipur	Manipuri	Muthi, Rongmei	English
Meghalaya	Gergo/ Khasi	Mizos & Nagas	English
Mizoram	Mizo	Kuki, Angami	English
Nagaland	Ao, Konyak	Kuki	English
Orissa	Oriya	Kurukh, Gondi	Oriya
Punjab	Punjabi	Sindhi, Bagri	Punjabi
Rajasthan	Hindi	Marwari, Rajasthani, Bagri	Hindi
Sikkim	Nepali	Bhotia	English
Tamilnadu	Tamil	Urdu, Telugu	Tamil
Tripura	Tripuri	Mizo tribes	Bengali
Uttar Pradesh	Hindi	Garhwali, Pahari	Hindi
West Bengal	Bengali	Kurukh, Santali	Bengali

(Source for data: Brass, 1990)

The regional languages, which cover fairly specific areas of the country, involved in a conspicuous rivalry for recognition at various levels of political and social life. Another dimension of this language rivalry is that, the relationship between the regional languages to that of English. The framing of the Indian Constitution and politics of its implementation provided a new

framework for the organization of the old rivalry in new channels.

3. 4. 7. Official Language Commission

The Official Language (Legislative) Commission was set up to (i) prepare a standard legal terminology primarily in Hindi and secondarily, 'as far as possible', in all Indian languages; (ii) prepare authoritative texts in Hindi of all statutes, rules, orders etc. and (iii) to make arrangements for translation of Central enactments in the official language of the states.

The Official Language Commission of the Ministry of Law, and the Hindi Training Scheme of the Home Ministry performed specialized functions. However, these organizations are generally guided and coordinated by official language policies which were taken at Cabinet level, which in turn reflect a balance of interest among contending language groups. In India, an intensified need for language **planning**—a result of the politics of multilingual society, presence of parliamentary democratic framework, political support for organized **planning**—was the basic reason behind the creation of various Language Planning Agencies. The executive branch of the government formally created these language planning agencies, which are responsible for legislations.

It may be recalled that the language policy incorporated in the Constitution was ratified by the vested political interests of the members who were elected by an insignificant minority of the Indian population (Bapuji, 1994: 62). The "Official Language Commission" (OLC) was constituted mainly "for making recommendations in regard to the implementation" of Hindi as official language. The President issued orders on June 7, 1955 to estab-

lish the OLC. The terms of reference of the OLC to make recommendations were:

"It shall be the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President as to:

- (a) The progressive use of Hindi for the official purposes of the Union;
- (b) Restriction on the use of English for all or any of the official purposes of the Union;
- (c) The language to be used for all or any of the purposes mentioned in Article 348 of the Constitution;
- (d) The form of numerals to be used for any or more specified purposes of the Union; and
- (e) The preparation of a time-schedule according to which and the manner in which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language of the Union and as the language for communication between the Union and state governments and between one state government and another (as cited in Sharma, 1975: 39).

The terms of reference, according to some critics, are somewhat restricted. Important basic issues such as "the media of instruction in the educational system" and "the development of regional languages *pari passu* and harmoniously with the development of Hindi" are not included as terms of reference. The Government should have postponed its policy formulation until that time when a clear linguistic picture of India emerged. Nevertheless, neither the authors of the Constitution nor the Government considered it as its task to conduct a sociolinguistic survey (with the help of a commission) of the actual language situation throughout India and propose a reasonable and democratic language policy. On the contrary, it took for granted that the

speakers of all the languages of India are voluntarily choosing Hindi as the Official Language. Hence, the first term of reference laid down was "the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the union". The Official Language (Legislative) Commission was also established in the year 1961 as a part of the Ministry of Law.

When we examine the nature of the method of investigation followed by the OLC, it is evident that the Commission did not follow **socio-linguistic** method of investigation. After a period of 20 years after the OLC submitted its report, an NCERT publication admitted this shortcoming. It said: "... Since the sociolinguistic studies and researches have yet to start in India the social and linguistic components of the language problems of India have not been scientifically studied" (Chaturvedi & Mohale, 1976: 27). However, the NCERT study, in spite of this admission, praises the constitutional language policy as "quite liberal and democratic".

From the terms of reference for the OLC, we can easily find out that, the whole emphasis was laid on the promotion of Hindi for all official purposes and to restrict the use of English. The Commission had submitted its report to the President in 1956, and the same was put on the table of the Parliament in 1957. The Joint Committee of the Parliament on Official Language, in 1958, accepted the measures suggested by the OLC. The President issued an order on April 27, 1960 for implementing the recommendations of the OLC. The President's order, for the use of English, made few provisions like:

1. English shall continue to be the medium of examination for the recruitment through the Union Public Service Commis-

sion, but later, Hindi may be admitted as an alternative medium;

2. An authorized translation of the Parliamentary legislation in English should be provided in Hindi;
3. When the time comes for the changeover, the language of Supreme Court shall be Hindi;
4. As far as the High Courts, when the time comes, Hindi shall ordinarily be the language to pass judgments, decrees or orders in all the regions. (Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1960 as cited in Sharma, 1975: 40).

Based on the recommendation of the OLC, the Committee of Parliament on Official Language accepted that the central government should give financial assistance to voluntary organizations for the systematic organization and expansion of the work of propagation of Hindi (Report of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language, 1954). These recommendations, however, generated a strong rivalry among the different Hindi and Hindustani associations in securing funds from the central government (Das Gupta, 1970: 171).

3. 4. 8. Three Language Formula (1955-1961)

Satyanarayana (1977: 32) says that, the Belgaum Session of Congress, in 1924, proposes (1) Regional Language; (2) Hindustani; and (3) English to be three languages in the proposed Three-Language-Formula. As the field of education was out of the jurisdiction of the Official Language Commission, the developments in the field of education, as far as the language is concerned, were different from that of the decisions of the Official Language Commission. In January 1955, the All-India Council of Secondary Education recommended a Three-Language Formula' for the schools in secondary education. The Central Advi-

sory Board of Education accepted that recommendation. However, there were two versions of the proposed Three-Language Formula. "One version suggested (1) a mother tongue or regional language, or a composite course of both, or a composite course of either plus a classical language; (2) Hindi or English; and (3) a modern Indian or a modern European language other than the one already taken under (1) or (2)". The other version suggested "(1) a mother tongue or regional language, or a composite course of both, or a composite course of either plus a classical language; (2) English or a modern European language; and (3) Hindi for non-Hindi areas, and another modern Indian language for Hindi areas" (Government of India, Ministry of Education, 1960: 331).

Almost every state introduced and implemented this Three-Language Formula, of course, with its own modifications. However, these modifications were not expected, hence became a point of concern for the Chief Minister's Conference of August 10, 1961. The Conference, keeping the necessity of Hindi for inter-state communication when regional languages were becoming important in the field of education and the necessity of English for international communication and for scientific knowledge, accepted another version of three-language formula. The accepted Three-Language Formula includes "(1) the regional language and if the mother tongue is different, also the mother tongue; (2) Hindi for non-Hindi areas and another Indian language in Hindi areas; and (3) English or another European language" (Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1962: 90-93). However, this Three-Language Formula became a 'Tour-language formula' for the linguistic minorities because the accepted formula requires the study of a mother tongue; a regional language; Hindi; and English.

Whatever the policy adopted by the Union government regarding the medium of instruction, it has had nominal effect on the policies that were adopted by the state governments in this regard. However, the Union government, through high level discussions, tried to persuade the state governments to proceed in a desirable direction of fulfilling the Union government's policy decisions. Nonetheless, "some people still view English as a continuing link language of the university-educated elite in future and Hindi as possibly a link language of the masses" (Nayar, 1969: 175). However, by introducing Hindi as the medium of instruction at university level, it was expected, Hindi can replace English as the link language of university-educated elite in future.

3. 4. 9. Review Committee for the English in Indian Universities (1960)

This committee was appointed by the UGC under the leadership of Banerjee to look into the matters of teaching and learning of English at various levels of university education. The committee recommended the ways of efficient teaching of English as the medium of instruction. The Committee viewed English from two aspects, viz., teaching of language, and teaching of literature. The Committee paid more attention to the teaching of English as language. Even after the regional languages replaced English as the language of instruction, the Committee recommended, English should be continued as the journal language. The Committee felt the need of strengthening the standards of English taught at high school and at pre-university levels in order to have sufficient knowledge and vocabulary of English. The Committee also suggested making it compulsory on the part of every student to have a paper in English to obtain any Masters' Degree (Kumar, 1975: 38-39).

3. 4. 10. Official Language Act of 1963

As a part of stepping up of the national language policy implementation, a large scale of public expenditure was incurred towards the subsidies to the language associations and Hindi speaking intelligentsia. Paradoxically, none of these measures were able to bring Hindi closer to the 'unrivaled **role**' of the official language of India. These developments drew attention from non-Hindi political groups 'who demanded a legal guarantee that the 15-year deadline would not be followed' (Das Gupta, 1976: 203). They demanded the continued use of English for official transactions and consequently, the Official Languages Act of 1963 was passed. By an amendment in 1967, the use of English was indefinitely permitted along with Hindi.

As the government has not prepared a favorable ground for a positive switchover from English to Hindi as the official language of the Union, and due to the opposition from the Members of Parliament who were representing non-Hindi speaking areas mounted, a bill known as Official Language Bill was introduced in 1963 to eliminate the Constitutional directive which would remove English as the official language after 1965. This Bill strengthened the place of English, and provided that English should continue to be used in Parliament for all purposes. Because of this Bill, English acquired the status of "Associate" or "Additional" official language side by side with Hindi being treated as the "Official Language". However, Hindi became the official language of the nation on January 26, 1965, amid much opposition and anti-Hindi agitation. In addition, henceforth, both English and Hindi continued to be used as official languages. Nonetheless, making Hindi as official language has marked the beginning of gradual but steady introduction of Hindi for official purposes in India.

3. 4. 11. Anti-Hindi Agitation (Late 1960s—1980s)

The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam's struggle against 'Hindi imperialism' is unique in history. Perhaps it is the only political party, as it claims, that protects the Non-Hindi speaking people. But for the virulent and successive campaign of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam⁵ (hereafter DMK) against Hindi, the Non-Hindi speaking people would have been relegated to second -class citizens in India.

According to DMK, from time immemorial, Sanskrit, the mother of Hindi, made attempts to dominate other Indian languages. During the freedom struggle, backed by Congress party, Hindi imperialism raised its 'ugly head'. In 1938 when compulsory Hindi was introduced in schools in the Madras Presidency (now called as Tamilnadu), people from all sects—scholars, religious heads, and non-political leaders joined the agitation led by EV Ramaswamy Naicker, popularly known as 'Periyar'.

The supporters of DMK feel that, after independence, the Congress party tried to impose Hindi by subtle and back-door methods in the pretext of promoting it as a national language, common language, link language, administrative language, official language, etc. However, as a vigilant watchdog of Tamil, the DMK, under the leadership of Annadurai, popularly known as Anna, carried the struggle.

⁵ Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam is a regional political party of Tamilnadu, a south Indian state. The main agenda of this party is to uphold the dignity of Tamil language and culture. The text under this sub-heading is based on DMK's Election Manifesto. 1999 and the data were collected primarily through electronic media at "www.thedmk.org"

3. 4. 11. 1. Jawaharlal Nehru's Assurance and After

Though the Constitution of India came into effect from 26, January 1950, to defuse the tension and overcome the protests against Hindi, the framers of the Constitution incorporated the Article 343 to come into effect only after 15 years from the commencement of the Constitution. However, DMK organized conferences and demonstrations to mobilize the masses against the impending implementation of Article 343.

To appease the non-Hindi speaking people, on August 7, 1959, Jawaharlal Nehru gave an assurance on the floor of the Parliament that English shall continue until and as long as the non-Hindi speaking people desire it. He reassured this promise to the nation, in 1959 and in 1962, during India-China war. DMK claims that only the struggles and sacrifices of DMK were responsible for this historic achievement—a commitment from the Prime Minister himself, in the face of heavy odds against non-Hindi speaking people from the 'Hindi Chauvinists'.

Contrary to the assurance of Jawaharlal Nehru, in April 1963 Lal Bahadur Sastri's Government passed Official Languages Act making Hindi as the only official language from 1965 and allowing English to continue as an option. Stung by the dilution of Nehru's assurance and covert imposition of Hindi, DMK entered into direct action by picketing Government offices and burning relevant Part XVII of the Constitution of India.

In 1965, when the Central Government made Hindi as the only Official Language thousands of young men particularly students came forward to give up their 'life to Tamil and body to the soil'. Unable to visualize the dark days ahead, 15 volunteers commit-

ted self-immolation. The flame they raised engulfed entire South.

As Congress Party failed to protect the Tamil language, culture and self-respect and was a party to Hindi imposition, people rejected it outright and overwhelmingly voted DMK to power in the 1967 Assembly election and Anna became the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu.

Though the tenure of Annadurai as Chief Minister was very short, his achievements were far reaching.

- He restored the honor of Tamil speaking people by incorporating the name Tamilnadu on the map of India.
- By a historic legislation Anna boldly introduced two-language formula (Tamil and English) in schools and erased Hindi from the curriculum of Tamilnadu.

3. 4. 11. 2. Anti Hindi Agitation of 1984

When Rajiv Gandhi introduced the New Education Policy in 1984 by offering liberal funds to set up Navodaya Schools where Hindi would be compulsory language, DMK saw this as a trap and announced direct action—burning of relevant Part XVII of constitution of India on November 17, 1986.

The AIADMK Government of MG Ramachandran passed a resolution in the Assembly requesting the Center for the amendment of the relevant Part of the Constitution.

3. 4. 12. Census Reports and Language Situation

The recording of the mother tongue of individuals, from 1881 census, marked the systematic study of language situation in India. This was followed by the 'Linguistic Survey of India' by

George Grierson during 1903 and 1928. However, after the transfer of power from the British the first detailed tabulation of language data was produced in 1961. The 1961 census recognized 1652 mother tongues, including 103 foreign languages spoken in India. Though the difference between the number of speakers for each individual language differs drastically, about 87% of the population speaks either English or the languages specified in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution (Das Gupta, 1970: 32-33).

3. 4. 12. 1. 1961 Census

According to the 1961 census, less than 7% of the total population was considered to have the knowledge of another Indian language other than their mother tongue. The 1961 census also reveals that, English-- the language of colonial rulers of India-- was most widely known language, followed by Hindi. In India, in majority of the cases, Hindi, or for that matter any other regional language other than mother tongue, is acquired and used as a second language only when direct and oral communication is desirable in business or social transactions. Since the political boundaries of states in India and usage of concerned regional languages, in many cases, coincide, the use of any given language outside its heartland as the second language is very limited, and the case of Hindi is no exception for this. However, English, being the most widely used link language in the domains like public administration, higher education, international communication etc., enjoys the status of the second language of wider communication in India.

3. 4. 12. 2. 1991 Census

According to the 1991 census, there are 1516 'rationalized' mother tongues and 1796 unclassified mother tongues spoken

in India. After these mother tongues were subjected to thorough linguistic methods, in the final preparation of the mother tongue data, as per the 1991 census, there are a total of 114 languages spoken across India. A further classification of these languages divides these **languages** as languages included in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution of India (**Scheduled Languages**)-- comprising of 18 languages; and languages not included in the Eighth Schedule (**Non-Scheduled languages**)-- comprising 96 languages. Of the total population of India, 96.29% have one of the Scheduled languages as their mother tongue and the remaining 3.71% of the population is accounted for by other languages (Census of India 1991, Language, 1997: 8).

The major languages presently spoken in India belong to four language families, 1) **Indo-Aryan**; 2) **Dravidian**; 3) **Austro-Asiatic**; and 4) **Tibeto-Burmese**. Indo-Aryan language family accounts for 13 Scheduled Languages and 6 Non-Scheduled Languages, which include Assamese, Bengali, Bhili/ Bhilodi, Bishnupuriya, Dogri, Gujarati, Halabi, Hindi, Kashmiri, Khandeshi, Konkani, Lahnda, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Sindhi and Urdu. Despite the speech variations, each of the major language has a certain variety, which is recognized as 'standard' variety and is used for official communications. The Indo-Aryan language family is the biggest language family in India having more than 97 recognized mother tongues and accounting for 75.3% of the total population. Dravidian language family, which includes four Scheduled and 13 non-Scheduled languages (Coorgi/ Kodagu, Gondi, Jatapu, Kannada, Khond/ Kondh, Kisan, Kolami, Konda, Koya, Kui, Kurukh/ Oraon, Malayalam, Matto, Parji, Tamil, Telugu, and Tulu), accounts for 22.53% of the population and more than 28 mother tongues.

The Austro-Asiatic language family accounts for 14 languages and 1.13% of the population. Though the Tibeto-Burmese language family has the largest number of languages (62 out of 114), with only one Scheduled Language (Manipuri), accounts for less than 1% of the total population. There are 11 different scripts in India, which in turn, may be divided into four major categories, 1) Devanagari and its variations; 2) Scripts of Dravidian languages; 3) Perso-Arabic script used for Urdu, Sindhi and Kashmiri, and 4) Roman script used for English (Census of India, 1991, Language, 1997: 27).

India is a land of multiple peoples, cultures, and languages. According to official figure, there are 1683 mother-tongues and estimated 850 languages, belong to different language families are in daily use (Todd and Hancock, 1986 as cited in Grimes, 1996). The number of languages listed for India is 418, of these, 407 are living and 11 are extinct. All these languages are belong to four major language families. The Indo-Aryan languages accounts for 74.24% of the total languages of India, whereas Dravidian languages accounts for 23.86%; Astro-Asiatic languages accounts for 1.16% and Tibeto-Burman languages accounts for 0.62%. Of the total population of India, 72% of the population speaks languages belong to Indo-Aryan language family, 25% speaks Dravidian languages, and remaining 3% speaks other languages (Grimes, 1996). Out of these 418 languages, 18 languages are Scheduled languages in India. The following table gives the details of number of speakers for each of the Scheduled language.

Table showing the Scheduled Languages, language family, regions in which they are mainly spoken, and the number of speakers

Language	Language Family	State/ Region where it is mainly Spoken	Number of Speakers
Assamese	Indo-Aryan	Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Nagaland	1,30,79,696
Bengali	Indo-Aryan	West Bengal, Assam, Bihar, Tripura	6,95,95,738
Gujarati	Indo-Aryan	Gujarat, Maharashtra	40,67,3814
Hindi	Indo-Aryan	Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan	33,72,72,114
Kannada	Dravidian	Karnataka, Tamilnadu, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh	3,27,53,676
Kashmiri	Indo-Aryan	Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh	56,693
Konkani	Indo-Aryan	Karnataka, Goa, Maharashtra, Gujarat	17,60,607
Malayalam	Dravidian	Kerala, Karnataka, Tamilnadu, Maharashtra	3,03,37,176
Manipuri		Manipur, Assam, Tripura	12,70,216
Marathi	Indo-Aryan	Maharashtra, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat	6,24,81,681
Nepali	Indo-Aryan	West Bengal, Assam, Sikkim	20,76,645
Oriya	Indo-Aryan	Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh	2,80,61,313
Punjabi	Indo-Aryan	Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh	2,33,78,744
Sanskrit	Indo-Aryan	Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka	49,736
Sindhi	Indo-Aryan	Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh	21,22,848
Tamil	Dravidian	Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Maharashtra	5,30,06,368

Telugu	Dravidian	Andhra Pradesh, Tamil-nadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Orissa	6,60,17,615
Urdu	Indo-Aryan	Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka	4,34,06,932

Source: Based on Grimes, 1996 and Census of India, 1991.

In the field of education, many states have adopted the use of the state language as the medium of instruction at all levels. "Arguments have been made against using such languages at university level since it could deprive linguistic minorities of higher education unless they are also proficient in a major regional language. It is also claimed that such a step would limit the mobility of educated persons" (Apte, 1976b: 151-152). It has been advocated that English be retained as the medium of instruction in major universities and other all-India institutions of higher learning.

3. 4. 13. Education Commission of 1964-1966

Another important development in the field of education and particularly regarding the medium of education is that of appointing the Education Commission on July 14, 1964. The Education Commission, popularly known as Kothari Commission, proposed the following guidelines in relation to the medium of instruction:

1. Regional languages should be introduced in a phased manner as media of instruction at the university level.
2. Though, education at the **under-graduate** level given through the regional languages, measures should be taken to offer the post-graduate education through English medium.

3. Both the teachers and the students, at higher level of education, should be bilingual in the regional language and English.
4. The Hindi medium in non-Hindi areas and Urdu medium where there are reasonable numbers of students present should be permitted and encouraged.
5. Advance study centers should be established for the development of all modern Indian languages.
6. No language should be made compulsory at university level. The modern and classical Indian languages, however, should be made as elective subjects.

Though there is a considerable variation in choosing the official languages, all states, without any exception, paid due attention to the development of their respective major regional languages. The majority of the states have appointed special committees for developing legal, technical, administrative and legislative vocabularies. Translation of all acts, bills and laws passed by the state and central governments have been undertaken. The national investment plan, in 1960s, allocated Rs. One crore each for the development of the regional languages. The basic objective/ motive behind this was, to develop the regional languages so that they can be used as media of instruction at higher levels.

The Education Commission suggested a new language policy for school education and recommended another version of three-language formula. The recommended three-language formula includes "(1) mother tongue or regional language; (2) official language of the union (i.e., Hindi) or associated official language (i.e., English) as long as it had that status; and (3) any modern Indian or foreign language not covered in (1) or (2)" (NCERT,

1971: 192). Here, in this proposed three-language formula, a noteworthy point was that it did not impose on the linguistic minorities the study of a fourth language. Another important feature was, the compulsory study of Hindi in non-Hindi areas was removed. However, due to this, there was a lack of uniformity in teaching Hindi as a link language of the Union. Thus, this formula differed from the earlier formulae.

3. 4. 14. Report of the Commission of Linguistic Minorities 1968-1969

One major problem faced by the administration of India during the early years of independence was that of a common language for India. The locus of this matter has been the position of Hindi as an official language vis-a-vis English. English was used during the British for administrative and educational purposes and eventually became the language of elites, and is still continues to be one of the two official languages. Recognizing the fact that, only a common language could bridge the gap between the elite and the masses, many Indian leaders paid greater attention toward their own (regional) languages.

The Union and the State governments had to tackle the problem of linguistic minorities. The linguistic minorities can be divided into two major categories. 1) Linguistic minorities that speak one of the languages listed in the VIII Schedule. For example, Tamil speakers in Andhra Pradesh constitute a linguistic minority. However, Tamil is the state language of Tamilnadu. In such cases, it is possible to the (minority language) speakers to move to the states where their language is official one if they feel that they are being discriminated. 2) Other category consists of people who speak one of the many 'tribal' languages or those languages that are not mentioned in the constitution. Members of

these speech communities have no option other than learn the major regional language of their domicile, because no matter where they go, their languages will always be minority languages.

However, there are various safeguards outlined in the constitution of India for the linguistic minorities. Any citizen or group of citizen having a distinct language, script, and culture has the right to preserve the same. No citizen is to be discriminated against because of her/his language. Adequate facilities for instruction at the primary level of education in the mother tongue are to be provided by the states to various linguistic minorities within their jurisdiction. The specifications in respect of the use of minority languages are as follows:

1. At district level and below, where a linguistic minority constitutes 15-20% of population, important government notices, rules, and other publications are to be published in the minority languages also.
2. A) At district level, where 60% of the population use a language other than the official language of the state concerned, that (minority) language may be recognized as an additional official language for that district. Recognition for this purpose is to be given ordinarily to the major languages mentioned in the VIII Schedule to the Constitution of India.
2. B) At the State head quarters, a translation bureau may be set up where arrangements may be made for translation of the substance of important laws, rules, regulations etc. into minority languages for publication.
3. In correspondence with the public petitions and representations received in other languages are to be replied to, where-

ever possible, in the language of the petition representation (XI Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities, 1968-1969).

Article 347, further establishing the rights of the linguistic minorities, states that ".... the President, if satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a state desires the use of any language spoken by them, may direct, where a demand is made, the recognition of such a language for specified official purposes in the state" (Constitution of India).

Though different states have switched over to major regional languages as media of instruction, and inspite of Constitutional safeguards, "no adequate facilities have been provided by the state educational authorities for using languages of the linguistic minorities as the media of instruction even at the primary level" (Koul, 1983: 16). Khubchandani (1978) points out that, "only insignificant number of these minority languages are being taught as a subject or used as media of instruction in different states".

With the specifications made in the Constitution, the Commissionerate for Linguistic Minorities was created in 1957 with the primary function to take note of any or all complaints of linguistic minorities and to 'advise' the state governments on solutions to such problems. The other major responsibility of this office is that to see to it that proper steps are taken by the concerned authorities to safeguard the interests of linguistic minorities. The Commissioner, however, has no 'authority' to implement any decisions. Above all, none of the safeguards mentioned in the Constitution is ever implemented in favor of any tribal language in any state.

3. 4. 15. Congress Working Committee Resolutions of 1965

Another important political development of India, which in turn, proposed the continued use of English as co-official language was the Congress Working Committee resolutions of 1965. The Congress party, in February 1965, requested (the government) **that "no change be made in the status of English as the co-official language, unless the consent of all the states of the Union has been obtained"**. The Committee also made recommendations with regard to the other major Indian regional languages "be used for the government service examinations". Another meeting of the Congress Working Committee was held in June 1965, with all the Chief Ministers and the Union Ministers. In this meeting, it was proposed that the government should take speedy steps towards conducting the government service examinations in English, Hindi, and the major Indian regional languages. The Committee repeated its demands of "changing over to regional languages as official languages of the states concerned; the regional languages should, therefore, be made as the media of instruction up to the university level; the need for teaching of Hindi and English; and to prepare and execute a program for the development of all major Indian languages" (Sharma, 1975: 43-44).

3. 4. 16. Official Language (Amendment) Bill of 1967

In 1967, the then Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, in order to give statutory form to the assurances given by the earlier Prime Ministers to the non-Hindi states, placed the Official Language (Amendment) Bill on the table of the House. It is worth mentioning here the assurance given by Nehru in this regard. In his speech on August 7, 1959, Nehru assured the non-Hindi states that "firstly.... there must be no imposition (of Hindi as official

language)... for an indefinite period. . . . I would have English as an associate additional language, which can be used for official purposes. I would have English as an alternative language as long as the people require it and I would leave the decision not to the Hindi-knowing people but to the non-Hindi knowing people" (as cited in Sharma, 1975: 45).

The Official Language (Amendment) Bill, which was passed by the Parliament in 1968, provided for the continual use of English, in addition to Hindi, for all official purposes of the Union, and refrained from laying down any time limit for the displacement of English by Hindi. In addition to this, the Bill also called for the using English as the language of communication between the Union and non-Hindi states, and stated that English translations shall accompany the communications from a Hindi state to a non-Hindi state. The introduction and passing of the Bill, however, resulted in violent agitations in North India and in South India as well. In north, the indefinite use of English was opposed. In south, particularly in **Tamilnadu**, there was a demand that, all regional languages be made the official languages of the Union, and continuing English as the 'sole official language' of the Union in the meantime. The Madras Legislative Assembly even passed a resolution on January 23, 1968 to this effect (Sharma, 1975: 46).

3. 4. 17. National Policy of Education of 1986

The National Policy of Education of 1986 called for a rapid development of major Indian languages as media of instruction for the educational development. However, the National Policy of Education of 1986 guaranteed the minorities to safeguard their own languages and establish their own educational institutions.

3. 5. Need for the Country-wide Sociolinguistic Surveys

On the whole, it is amply clear that none of the commissions/conferences consisting of scholars, administrators, and educationalists ever thought of conducting countrywide sociolinguistic surveys before formulation an official language policy. There is every possibility of arriving at a better policy, which may minimize the linguistic hostilities and grievances. Of course there are sociopolitical prerequisites that are to be fulfilled in order to evolve a language policy, which will be acceptable to the entire population. The sociopolitical prerequisites, according to Bapuji (1994), include, inter alia, struggle against illiteracy and struggle for equal opportunities to all the members of all the speech communities in the spheres of education and employment.

Planning must include all the relevant data collected by means of extensive and varied sociolinguistic surveys. Language policy not based on relevant sociolinguistic surveys will not and can not resolve linguistic hostilities and grievances especially in a bilingual/ multilingual country.

It is needless to say that all these surveys must be conducted with the help of well-defined sociological concepts and field techniques so that a truly representative sample of the population can be studied. Bapuji (1994: 67) suggest the following surveys:

- 1. Language Choice Survey:** In order to propose a particular language for use in particular domains, a survey of the members of all speech communities must be made in regard to their language choice.

2. **Language Frequency Survey:** This survey enables us to gauge the frequency of the use of the language preferred for use in the concerned domains. This survey covers all the users of that language.
3. **Language Competence Survey:** This survey measures the communicative competence of the users of the language in terms of comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing.

3. 6. Language Planning Models with Reference to India

The multilingual situation, in general, may be generally classified as follows: (1) co-existence of a variety of closely related languages, with one of them serving the function of lingua franca (e.g., Indonesia); (2) existence of number of not closely related languages, with only one of these languages having a long literary tradition (e.g. Morocco); (3) variety of unrelated languages, none of which claims long literary tradition (e.g. tropical states of Africa); and (4) existence of variety of languages with substantial literary tradition for each language (e.g. India, Malaysia). As far as the political problems related to multilingualism are concerned, "in the first two types, multilingualism is not likely to pose major problems. In the latter two types, the lack of a single dominant language tends to generate language rivalry expressed in political forms" (Das Gupta, 1970: 20). In many of the multilingual states, the imposition of colonial language, wherever is applicable, as the dominant language often helped to keep language rivalries unexposed. However, after the (political) independence of hitherto dependent states/ colonies, the question of replacing the colonial language with indigenous languages raise the curtains of language rivalry with a political touch.

Though language loyalty has been considered as a primordial loyalty, when the dynamic development of language is taken into account, we can find that, language loyalty is depended on many factors, importantly the political. The political factors, which played an important role in development of national language in Europe, assumed a greater importance in the multilingual states of Asia and Africa after World War II. Another interesting thing, which made languages important in these (multilingual) societies, is that, language often served as one of the most important symbols of identification and distinction. Coming to the case of India, the choice of Hindi as the official language of post-independent India has started, freshly, the language rivalry between Hindi and non-Hindi speech areas. The language rivalry that is partly a result of this choice can be studied meaningfully, as Das Gupta (1970) did, within the broader structure of the group politics. Here again the dominant role occupied by the political and intellectual representatives of the ruling classes determined the role occupied by the language they use at various important socio-political levels.

Language reflects the culture of a social group and it is the tool for communication, education, regional, and national identity. In a multilingual country, like India, establishing a successful language policy poses problems. Dil (1968) proposed a language-model, which can serve as a language policy for a multilingual nation. The model is called "**The Plus-or-Minus Two-and-a-Half Language Model**". This model is a "theoretical framework in which three languages are involved; (a) the local language; (b) the language of Special Status; and (c) an International Language. The local language is the first language, whether written or unwritten of the individual. The language of Special Status could be any language, other than the first language, with some

special function in a social group. The International Language could be any foreign language with some broader and international functions. The term "**Half-Language**" refers to the functional control of a language, i.e., an individual having a comprehensive and speaking knowledge of the language" (Dil, 1968: 121 as cited in Sharma, 1975). According to this model, 'two languages are **required** the level of native or near native control, any one of the three languages.... might to be taken at the level of functional control'.

The problem with Dil's model, as Sharma (1975: 107) points out, is "which of the three languages the native speaker (of an unwritten language) will chose to be his 'full' language. All the three languages are (equally) important and seem essential". Another thing lacking in Dil's model is that the mention of a common link language. The common link language, if we accept Dil's model, would fall under the category of "Language of Special Status". Therefore, in India, the '**Language** of Special Status' in Dil's model would become 'Languages of Special Status' for the linguistic minorities (of India). Moreover, it is not necessary for every individual in India to attain native or near-native command of either the Language of Special Status or the international language. Only functional control of either or both is sufficient. What is important for a multilingual country (like India) is a common link language, which supposedly can bring about national integration.

Nevertheless, as Sharma observed, the language-model proposed by Dil can not be successfully implemented in India. Sharma argues that, if a speaker of an unwritten language goes to attend school, (s)he will have to choose language offered in the school as medium of instruction. So right at the beginning

of schooling, the chosen language becomes a Language of Special Status for the individual. Later, as a part of schooling (s)he has to study Hindi, a compulsory (second) language taught in the schools. Here, Hindi becomes a 'second' Language of Special Status. The students have to learn English, an international language, offered by many schools as a part of Three-Language Formula. However, Dil opines that "... a local language which is unwritten, is limited to a very small number of people who are **scattered...**and already in the process of giving up their language in favor of other (language) which offers them better chances of employment, upward social mobility etc. Under such circumstances, the (proposed) model accepts this other language as the local language of these people" (Dil, 1968: 122 as cited in Sharma, 1975: 105).

Keeping shortcomings of Dil's model, Government of India's language policy, and language situation of India in mind, Sharma (1975) proposes 'Coadunate Model' for India. In this model importance is given to the growth and development of both the Regional Languages and the Link Language. The languages involved in the model are: 1) mother tongue; 2) Link Language, Hindi or any one of the Regional Languages recognized by the Indian Constitution; and 3) Language of Special Interest. Sharma (1975: 108) further explains that, the model provides for the use of two languages in school. The two languages will be 1) mother tongue as the medium of instruction; and 2) a Link Language, taught on 'compulsory' basis. Sharma opines that the teaching of a link language will avoid political friction and also will help maintain the equal language load on students. The third language, the Language of Special Interest, in the proposed model, may be studied as an optional language, after the higher-secondary stage of schooling.

The choice of Link Language, according to Sharma (1975: 109) is based on the following criteria:

1. Number of speakers;
2. Its comprehensibility and usage among the elite and non-elite groups of other languages;
3. Its capacity to compete with other languages for dominance;
4. Attitudes of the people **towards** the language;
5. Literary tradition;
6. Its potential for rapid growth and development in accordance with modern trends;
7. The quality and number of publications, including books, journals, dictionaries etc.; and
8. Political and federal support.

Moreover, as far as the Language of Special Interest is concerned, it could be any foreign language, which may be of Special Interest to the students entering college and university education (Sharma, 1975: 110). In the case of linguistic minorities, Sharma did not offer any solution to reduce the language burden on students. The linguistic minorities have to make a choice between Hindi and the Regional Language medium until the State can provide facilities to establish institutions of higher education with minority languages as media of instruction.

Keeping the socio-economic factors of India in general in mind, Sharma feels that Hindi has a better chance of becoming the lingua franca of India than any other regional language. Hindi stands a good chance of becoming a lingua franca because; Hindi is either understood or used by more than 70% of the population. In most of the urban areas, either Hindi or the regional language is used for everyday communication, no matter the users are either elite or not. In the case of rural areas, the

regional language is largely the vehicle of communication. This situation, in one way implies that there is no need for a third language for any individual in India to put her/ his point across. In other words, there is no need of English in India to communicate with each other. Moreover, there is no enough motivation for an individual to learn English on a compulsory basis.

"The Coadunate Model would prove more successful", Sharma (1975: 117) claims, "if implemented in every state than on a national basis. In doing so, the Education Ministry (of the State concerned) and the Federal Government will be able to note the reactions and the results of the implementation in each State".

3. 7. Conclusion

To conclude, if we have a quick glance at the role of language in Indian politics, we can find the following developments.

When the Charter Act of 1833 was passed, the Company began considering the issue of providing educational facilities to Indians. After the Company decided to spread education among Indians, the hurdle they faced was the medium of instruction. Subsequently, on one hand, English was made the language of instruction, language of administration, thus becoming a *lingua franca*. On the other hand, English helped in bringing people from different parts of country together. Though English, in India, has acquired an important place in social, political, cultural, and educational domains, it never became the language of masses.

After independence, when the country took up the task of framing the Constitution, the issue of language occupied the fore-

front. During the debates in the Constituent Assembly, a consensus was emerged favoring Hindi as national language. The Articles 343 to 351 of the Constitution provided for: (a) the making of Hindi as national language; (b) continual use of English as official language for a period of 15 years from the day of the commencement of the Constitution; and (c) the promotion and **development** of regional languages.

The States Reorganization Commission was constituted to look into the matter of forming the administrative units based on language. The terms of reference for the States Reorganization Commission were: (I) preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India; (II) linguistic and cultural homogeneity; (III) financial and administrative considerations; and (IV) successful working of the plans of economic and cultural progress. Based on the recommendations of the States Reorganization Commission, which were submitted in September 1955, the Parliament passed the States Reorganization Bill in 1956, paving the way to form the states on linguistic basis.

As a part of realizing the provision of Article 344 (1), the President set the OLC in 1955, and the OLC submitted its report in August 1956. The Commission, inter alia, recommended the increasing use of Hindi for official purposes in the place of English. Though restrictions were imposed by the Commission on the use of English, the Commission advocated the teaching of English as a 'language of **comprehension**'. When the report of the OLC was made public on August 12, 1957, it attracted mixed reaction. The Hindi-speaking states welcomed it while the non-Hindi-speaking states opposed it.

A group of MPs from non-Hindi-speaking states submitted a memorandum to Nehru stating the replacement of English by Hindi in 1965 "would cause grave injury to the administrative machinery. They proposed that the changeover should be postponed until 1990" (Harrison, 1968: 105-114). Various non-Hindi-speaking states responded differently to the OLC report. On March 26, 1958, the West Bengal Assembly resolved to retain English and did not accept Hindi as official language. However, in 1961 the Assembly adopted Bengali in the place of English as official language. In Punjab, the State Assembly passed Official Language Bill in November 1960, providing for both Punjabi and Hindi as official languages in Punjabi and Hindi speaking areas in Punjab respectively. The Assam Legislature passed a Bill, which received the assent of the Governor on December 17, 1960, rejected both Hindi and English and declared Assamese as official language of the state (Gupta, 1972: 460-461). Keeping the outbreak of violence in non-Hindi-speaking states of the country, Nehru, the then Prime Minister, assured in the Parliament that English would remain as an alternative language 'as long as non-Hindi people require it'.

On April 27, 1963, the Union government adopted the Official Language Bill in Lok Sabha. The main provisions of the Bill were:

1. English might be continued to be used after January 25, 1965, (when according to the Constitutional provision it should have been replaced by Hindi) in addition to Hindi for all official purposes of the Union for which it was being used before that date, and for the transaction of business in the Parliament.

2. Where a State Legislature had prescribe any language other than Hindi for use in Acts of the legislature a Hindi as well as English translation might be published.
3. With the prior consent of the President, the Governor of a State might authorize, after 1965, the use of Hindi or of the official language of the State for judgments, orders, decrees of the State High Court, provided that an English translation was also issued (the Constitution required all High Court judgments to be in English).
4. The provision concerning the translation of State laws and High Court judgments into Hindi would not apply to Kashmir (as quoted in Gupta, 1972: 462).

As a part of fulfilling the Constitutional provisions Hindi became official language and replaced English in 1965. The Home Minister (Gulzari Lal Nanda) declared that all suitable steps would be taken for the development and propagation of Hindi. These two incidents provoked strong protests from the Southern States. In **Tamilnadu**, under the leadership of Dravida **Munnetra Kazhagam**, copies of Part XVII of the Constitution were burnt publicly and several members of DMK were arrested. In Andhra Pradesh, the legislature, on June 6, 1965, adopted a Bill providing for the continual use of English in legislature after January 25, 1965. On February 11, 1965, the students, in Calcutta, protested against the '**imposition**' of Hindi. These protests from various parts of non-Hindi-speaking areas led Lal Bahadur Sastri to re-affirm Nehru's assurance that English would continue as an alternative language '**as long as people require it**' (Nayar, 1969: 57). When the Bill to amend Official Language Act of 1963, in December 1967 was introduced, repeated assurances made by Nehru and **Sastri** were incorporated in it.

Chapter IV

RIVAL ELITES AS AGENTS OF TELUGU LANGUAGE PLANNING (19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES)

Linguists (Krishnamurti, 1979: 1) have identified, primarily, two styles in Telugu literature, namely, poetry and prose. The modern standard Telugu is based on the speech and writings of the Central coastal Andhra urban educated middle class dialect. It is the medium of expression in newspapers, fiction, formal writings and speech. However, from the historical point of view, there are two varieties (styles) in Telugu language: the *grandhika* (textual or literary) style of the traditionalists, and *vyavaharika* (colloquial) style of the modernists.

4. 1. Use of Telugu in Education

The publication of '*balavyakaranamu*' by Chinnaya Suri and '*praudhavyakaranamu*' by B. Sitaramacharyulu, both in 1815, for the poetic language had resulted in a great shift in attitudes among Telugu scholars about the style to be used in Telugu literature. This shift in attitudes resulted in the constitution of 'a bastion for the defense of the classical (Telugu) language'. Though the social history of Telugu area during the 19th century gives an indication that the 'vernacular had to function as a medium of education', Telugu language scholars 'did not think that spoken language could be a subject for teaching' (Krishnamurti, 1979: 4). This observation indicates that, the spoken variety was never considered as a tool for literary expression.

Though there is evidence of use of prose even from 16th century onwards, it never acquired its deserved position in respected literature'. Only after the exposure of Telugu to English education in the 19th century, prose became a popular form of litera-

ture (Krishnamurti, 1979: 3). As mentioned in the previous chapter, the 'Charter Act of 1813' paved the way to the Indian languages to be used in the field of education, and the Telugu, a south-Indian language is not an exception. With the creation of the 'Madras Schoolbook and Vernacular Society' in 1820, many school-level textbooks were produced. The 'educated colloquial variety with occasional mixture of classicisms in verbal and nominal inflection' was the style used in the preparation of these books.

Charles Philip Brown (1857: 33) rightly pointed out the differences between the style of Telugu that was used for literary purposes with that of the everyday spoken language. He made his point clearer when he observed that "native teachers would willingly reject common Telugu altogether and teach...the poetical dialect alone: which they themselves, however, cannot use in daily talking and writing" (as quoted in Krishnamurti, 1979: 5).

The socio-political conditions of the 19th century widened the gap between the two varieties of Telugu—the language of literature, and the language of the commoners. There are many reasons due to which the difference between these two styles was furthered. Grammars were written only for the classical language and any deviation from this was considered as wrong. The grammarians never considered the colloquial language/ variety to be an acceptable form of literary expression. Another reason was, the poetic variety was mainly used by the reputed scholars and it only received royal patronage and support. The Prose variety never enjoyed such privileges. The observation made by Appa Rao clearly indicates the fate of the spoken dialect during the last quarter of the 19th and the first quarter of the 20th centuries. Appa Rao (1909: 28) maintains that, "strange as it may

sound, Telugu prose owes its origin and development not to the patronage of kings or to the influence of foreign literatures, but to the exertions of a curious Englishman (Mackenzie?) who stimulated compilation of local histories in the vernacular".

A turning point in the field of education in the Madras Presidency was the formation of a committee to examine the scheme of education in 1858. This committee has suggested that the medium of instruction in all schools should be vernacular and the English language should be taught only as a subject in the lower classes. The Hunter Commission also favored vernacular education. The Hunter Commission (1882) suggested that "the teaching of English (to Indians) should not be at the cost of substitution of vernaculars by English" (Vaikuntham, 1982: 32).

However, Telugu language scholars of the 19th century argued that the spoken language could not be a subject for teaching. The schools, then, were using the poetic variety and the colloquial dialect was neglected. This is because the education of the masses was not part of tradition. Learning and literature were the monopoly of the Brahmins to whom the Sanskrit precedent was sacred and inviolable. The Telugu literature originated under Sanskrit influence. In the absence of mass education or democratic religious movements, the Telugu poets did not feel the need for prose (Appa Row, 1914: 66-67). The **champu**—a poetical work with a few prose passages in between, which was used in few of earlier works, was highly artificial and far removed from everyday speech (Venkateswara Rao, 1968: 26). Nonetheless, the British educational ideals necessitated the creation of modern prose in Telugu. It was the Christian Missionaries who made the first serious effort to develop Telugu as a popular literary medium.

4. 2. The Controversy

Though it was evident that, there exist a kind of difference between poetic variety and prose, the controversy between these styles never came to the surface till the beginning of the 20th century. At this point of time there was division and rivalry among the elites in the field of language education. The basis for the rivalry was mainly ideological. One section was trained in and more inclined to Sanskrit and Classical Telugu. They clinged to everything that is classical and traditional. The other section of elites had more exposure and inclination towards English and scientific study of language. The former were referred as 'Classicists' or Traditionalists' while the latter were referred as 'Modernists' or 'Reformists'. However, it may be noted that the members of the both the sections of the elite belonged to the same caste (mostly Brahmin) and the same class (educated, urban middle class). It may further be noted that rival elites in Kannada and Tamil belonged to different castes (Brahmins and non-Brahmins).

Kandukuri Veeresalingam, a well-known social reformer and the founder of modern Telugu literature, introduced, for the first time, the notion of '*sarala-grandhika*'—the simplified classical—style. This style is an admixture of grandhika and vyavaharika styles. He put forward and argued for this style to be used for literary purposes.

Gurajada Venkata Appa Rao (1886-1915) was an important participant in the *grandhika-vyavaharika* controversy in Telugu. Gidugu Venkata Ramamurti (1863-1940), a well-known historian and linguist, championed the cause of spoken variety in literary writings. In 1906 he began to study the gap between the literary variety and the colloquial variety of Telugu language. A

complete revolutionary reform to introduce the spoken Telugu into all writings was advocated by Gurajada Appa Rao and later Gidugu Venkata Ramamurti joined him. Gurajada Appa Rao wrote *kanyasulkam* (bride-money or payment for the bride), a social play, completely in colloquial style in 1897. Gurajada Appa Rao used a style closer to the spoken variety of Visakhapatnam district in this book. This attempt was considered to be the first 'ambitious' and 'conscious effort' to use the spoken language as a vehicle of artistic expression. In the preface to the second edition of *Kanyasulkam*, Appa Rao rightly pointed out that "...it is not arguments that will evolve a new literary dialect for Telugu. A great writer must write and make it..." (Appa Rao, 1909: 29).

The publication of Appa Rao's 'Kanyasulkam' triggered the debate on the styles in Telugu. In Preface to the first edition, he said: "If it is intended to make the Telugu literary dialect a great civilizing medium, it must be divested of its superfluous, obsolete and Sanskrit elements, and brought closer to the spoken dialect from which it must be thoroughly replenished". Mentioning about the dialectical differences in Telugu, he further added: "There is not much dialectical differences in Telugu generally spoken in the various parts of the Telugu country; so a new common literary dialect can be established with comparative ease if only able writers set about it in right earnest" (Appa Rao, 1897/ 1993: 31-32).

4. 3. Origin of the Controversy

Though two varieties existed in Telugu, it never led to the face-to-face confrontation about the styles on a public platform, especially in the field of education till 1911. Yeats was baffled by the fact that, the Telugu language taught in schools was com-

pletely different from the spoken language of either the educated or the uneducated. Srinivasa Iyengar advised Yeats to discuss this with Gurajada Appa Rao and Gidugu **Ramamurti**¹. "It was the enlightened discussions **among...four scholars—two non-Telugus and two Telugus**, Yeats, Srinivasa Iyengar, Appa Rao and **Ramamurti—and** the organized efforts that followed their coming together that started the real confrontation and controversy between the Classicists, on the one hand, and the Modernists, on the other" (Krishnamurti, 1979: 8).

As far as the field of education is concerned, in 1911, the Telugu composition and translation were made compulsory for the school final and at Intermediate levels. In accordance with this, Cetti Lakshminarasimham's '*griku mittulu*' (Greek Myths) and Vedam Venkatachalamayya's play '*vidhileka vaidyudu*' (both written using the modern style) were prescribed for non-detailed study for school-final classes. These two incidents resulted in flaring up the controversy of styles in Telugu. Gidugu Ramamurti traveled extensively all over the state and collected evidences in support of the colloquial language. In 1919, he started a journal 'Telugu' in which he published all his evidences against the use of literary style in writing. At the initiative of Gidugu Ramamurti, the '*Vartamana Vyavaharika Bhasha Pravartaka Sanghamu*' (meaning: contemporary colloquial language society) was formed in Rajahmundry to propagate the colloquial variety of Telugu language (Anjaneyulu, 1976: 104). In 1911, Srinivasa Iyengar published a sarcastic pamphlet 'Death

¹ JA Yeats was an **Englishman**, who was posted in 1906 as Inspector of Schools for the three Circar districts of Godavari. **Visakhapatnam**, and Ganjam; PT Srinivasa Iyengar was the then Principal of AVN College, **Visakhapatnam**; Gurajada Venkata Appa Rao was Epigraphist to the Maharaja of Vizianagaram; and Gidugu Venkata Ramamurti was History Professor in the Raja's College, **Parlakimidi**.

or Life: A Plea for Vernaculars', in which he attacked so-called language-purists of Telugu.

As a result of the prescription of two works that were written in modern style, as schoolbooks the classicists decided to fight this move of the educational officials. For this purpose, the classicists, under the leadership of Jayanti Ramayya, formed '*Andhra-Sahitya-Parisattu*' (Telugu Literary Academy) in 1911 in Kakinada. The classicists succeeded in their efforts when the government appointed two of the members of the Parisat on the textbook committee on the representation from the Parisat. The Parisat, on August 7, 1912, had submitted a representation to Sir Murray Hammick, the then Governor of Madras. In this, it was requested that, the government should allow a choice of styles in school-final examination (Radhakrishna, 1992: 90). Subsequently, the government allowed the freedom of choice of style, first school-wise and later pupil-wise, for study and examination.

4. 4. Arguments and Counter Arguments

Before going into further details, it may not be out of place to mention here the arguments of both the classicists and the modernists. The classicists argued that: 1) the Telugu literary dialect, which has grammatical sanction, has attained standardization and is uniform throughout the Telugu speaking areas for centuries, whereas for modern language variety, there is no tradition of literary usage, no uniformity, and no grammar; 2) even the 'educated modern speech', as it was referred by traditional grammarians as *grarnya* (vulgar), should be avoided in written form, for it is not fit for that purpose; and 3) the traditional literature will lose its posterity and also becomes intelligible for future generations if one discontinues the use of classi-

cal form of language. On the other hand, the modernists had put forward their arguments by saying: 1) the colloquial form of the language has also long history and tradition of being used in translations of epics, local records etc. and the literary language was **confined** to only for poetic purposes; 2) there is a clear and distinct demarcation between the '*vyavaharikd* (polite speech) and '*gramyd* (vulgar); and 3) the literary language is archaic and is not suitable as a medium of modern knowledge and education on larger scale. The modernists also pointed out that, even the ardent supporters of the literary variety uses only the **sista-vyavaharika**—a polite speech of the educated Telugu speakers, and finds no reason for not using it in modern **text-books** and literary forms (based on Krishnamurti, 1979: 11-12).

Encouraged by this initial victory, the traditionalists continued their offense against the *vyavaharika* movement. Numerous meetings were held all over the Telugu speaking region condemning the 'freedom of choice of style' given to the pupils in composition and translation by the government. Burra Seshagiri Rao argued that "all this advocacy of traditional and denunciation of current polite Telugu, misnamed '*gramya*' was carried on by these protagonists in the very style, grammar and diction to which they took exception" (as cited in Krishnamurti, 1979: 11). The modernists argued that "education could not and should not be restricted to a few who have the means of living without work, but that it is our duty to enable as many as possible to share its blessing. This could only be achieved by teaching them (masses) in their own **tongue...and not in an archaic style**". The modernists further suggested that "the study of the literary style could only be carried on with **benefit...and** it should not be indulged to such an extent that the scholar was shut off from the life and conditions of the present" (Radhakrishna, 1980: 30).

Vedam Venkataraya Sastri did not accept the view that the colloquial language of the educated classes should be introduced in place of the *grandhika* style, as the colloquial has no standard. He argued that "man on the street was free to use his own language but educational institutions should impart education only through a standard language. The spoken tongue needs no teacher and hence can not be standardized. He had showed how one word used in a good sense in one part of the state had a bad connotation in another part. He stuck to the position which he had all along occupied and showed no disposition to come to any common understanding with the Modern School" (Sastry, 1976: 44).

Jayanti Ramayya, another ardent supporter of the classical school maintained that the propaganda of the modernists was "ill-conceived, revolutionary, and contrary to the law of orderly development of languages" (Appa Row, 1914: 99). In his pamphlet, 'A Defense of Literary Telugu', he spoke of the popularity of the literary style in Telugu. He further opined that people did not want reform and that they were fond of literary style.

4. 5. Responses to the Controversy

The Secretary of the School-Final Board, on behalf of the government, had issued at least three orders to this effect in 1912-1913. In an order dated September 20, 1912, it was mentioned that 'the pupils in Telugu will be examined on the supposition that they write modern or classical Telugu...¹. In the letter dated October 29, 1912, however, the pupil's individual freedom in choosing styles was somewhat restricted. It was decided that, 'all pupils belonging to a school should be examined alike, ...either in classical Telugu alone or modern Telugu alone, not

in both'. Stressing this point further, another notice was issued on January 10, 1913, stating that 'all pupils will be required to mark their answer books (either) Modern or Classical and the answers will be valued accordingly'. However, this applies to the schools under the School-Final Board only. Nonetheless, this initial success of classicists geared up their offense against the modern Telugu movement. With the renewed effort, the classicists started pressurizing the government to take decision regarding the style to be used in intermediate examinations as well.

At this point, it is worth mentioning the efforts of the government to streamline the language variety to be used for Intermediate examinations as well. For the purpose of advising the government on the style to be used at the Intermediate level, the Madras University appointed a 10-member 'Composition Committee' to look into this matter in 1914 (Radhakrishna, 1992: 93). Both the classicists and modernists got equal representation—four each—with two neutral members in the Committee². G. Venkata Rangayya had submitted a list of textbooks for Intermediate classes. A sub-committee was formed amongst the members of the Committee³ to prepare lists of forms classifying them with distinction whether they are either archaic or current. The sub-committee had resolved that "the nominal, pronominal and verbal forms be classified as far as possible into archaic and current varieties and that current forms alone be

² Vedam Venkataraya Sastri, Jayanti Ramayya. KV Lakshmana Rao and G Venkata Rangayya represented the classicists; Gidugu Venkata Ramamurti, Gurajada Appa Rao. PT Srinivasa lycngar and Burra Scshagiri Rao were from the modernists and Prof. Rangachariar (Chairman of the Committee), and Thomson were two neutral members of the Committee (Krishnamurti, 1979: 12).

³ Jayanti Ramayya, KV Lakshmana Rao (from the classicist school) and GV Appa Rao (from the modernist school) were the members of this sub-committee.

allowed to be used in modern prose composition, current forms being determined from usage in literature as well as in the polite speech prevailing among the educated Telugu people" (Ramapati Rao, 1971: 85). This resolution was considered to be in favor of the modernists.

However, when preparing the lists, Ramayya and Lakshmana Rao deliberately misinterpreted the spirit of resolution and took only the classical forms into consideration. During about the same time, four⁴ more members from Rayalaseema, who happened to be ardent supporters of classical style, were included in the Committee. This inclusion was a result of pressure on the Madras University, brought by the pandits of the Ceded Districts, stating the representation of these districts in the Committee would make it possible for the Rayalaseema forms to be found their place in the lists. Due to this inclusion, the number of the classicists rose to eight (six?) as against the four modernists. As a result, the 'move to introduce standard modern forms in Telugu composition was lost'. Bearing these developments in mind, the Syndicate of the Madras University, on August 11, 1914, resolved not to recognize the modern language for university purposes. Numerous written appeals were sent to the 'government to withdraw the choice of styles earlier allowed at the school-final examination'. And subsequently, the government withdrew the freedom of choice vide its GO. No. 196, Educational, dated February 22, 1915 (Krishnamurti, 1979: 13-14). By this order, the curtains were brought down on the controversy of styles in Telugu and the problem ceased to be a topic of public discussion.

⁴ There seems to be some discrepancy regarding this number. Radhakrishna (1992: 94) mentioned the number to be 'two'.

However, the supporters of vyavaharika style too continued their relentless efforts. Srinivasa Iyengar "started a Telugu Teaching Reform Society among the aims and objects of which the cultivation of vernacular Telugu holds a prominent place, and Mr. Yeats, whose name will always **remembered...for** the introduction of rational methods of teaching into our schools, has lent weight to the movement by accepting the Presidentship of the society" (Appa Rao, 1909: 27). With the same objective, another literary association, Andhra Sahitya **Sanghamu** was established in 1907 in Vizianagaram. K. **Ramanujacharyulu** was the president and Gidugu Venkata **Ramamurti** was the vice-president.

Undaunted by the defeat in the Composition sub-Committee voting, the modernists continued their relentless battle for the cause. Appa Rao submitted the historic 'Minute of **Dissent**' to the Composition Sub-Committee on April 20, 1914. In this, Gurajada put forward the merits of modern Telugu as a literary instrument. He persuaded that the modern variety would be better option as the medium of instruction when compared to the literary variety. He insisted that, the modern variety scores advantage over the classical variety in the following areas:

1. **Intelligibility:** Intelligibility is best secured by the employment of modern Telugu in literature. Local variations in modern variety were slight, and even if they were considerable they could not prove a bar to intelligibility. Gurajada further maintained that local variations of words are not many and when they are introduced into literature they are more easily learnt than poetical forms.

2. Literary cultivation of modern Telugu necessitated a study of it, and the study of a refined living-vernacular has great cultural value.
3. The elementary schoolbooks were written in the literary variety at that time, and the teachers who required teaching those books were, as a class, ignorant of the literary variety. If schoolbooks were written in modern Telugu, vernacular education would improve in one bound.
4. A study of modern Telugu would prove the best training for a proper study of the language of poets. Gurajada elaborates this by adding that a scientific study of Telugu can begin only with the spoken vernacular and without such study, a study of the poetic diction would continue to be irrational and blind. Far from replacing the study of old literary Telugu, a study of modern Telugu would improve and strengthen it.
5. If books were written in modern Telugu, both the quality and quantity of literary production would improve. The difficulty of the literary style had discouraged literary composition in the vernacular on the part of intelligent graduates feared violating rules of grammar at every step. They could write correctly in modern Telugu without fear of violating an imaginary and impossible standard which was fatal to all spontaneity.
6. Modern Telugu was acquired naturally by the higher castes and it could be acquired by the natural or direct method by lower classes. It is so learnt in towns by domestic servants (Appa Row, 1914: 103-105).

In the journal '*Telugu*', Gurajada Appa Rao published myriad of articles to invoke interest in public in favor of modern variety. In the year 1919, Veeresalingam started '*Vartamana Vyavaharikandhra Bhashapravartaka Sanghamu*' in favor of the modern style. This shift in Veeresalingam's stand had become a disadvantage to the classicists. Jayanti Ganganna became Secretary to this organization. The *Andhra Sahitya Parisat*, on October 13, 1924, officially abandoned its hostility to vyavaharika style. This move, in a way, helped the modernists to concentrate all their efforts solely on spreading the modern style in creative literature. The '*AbhinavandhraKavipandita Sabha*', which was organized during March 10-12, 1913, has resolved that the modern colloquial style should be used as the medium of instruction. The modernists established *Navya Sahitya Parishattu* in 1936 and started publishing '*Pratibha*', in which they published articles in support of the vyavaharika style. Tapi Dharma Rao extended the usage of vyavaharika style to newspapers as well. Under his editorship, *Jayanti*—a Telugu daily which was started in 1937—used modern standard language alone for editorials and news reports (Radhakrishna, 1992: 97-98). Slowly with the passing of time, the modern variety gained currency and started to be used as the medium of literary expression as well.

4. 6. Decline of Literary Style and the Rise of Modern Style

It is absurd to say that the modernist school sought to replace literary Telugu by modern Telugu. Initially, the modernists suffered a failure since at that time there were no models which had been set up against the tradition of classical writing. When clear models of writing emerged from the 1930s onwards, the modernists succeeded without rejuvenating the movement. On the other hand, though the traditionalists won the first leg of the battle, their victory was short-lived. This was because the

style that the classicists advocated had "a restricted role to play in modern society and they themselves never used it as a vehicle of **communication...even** at the height of controversy" (Krishnamurti, 1979: 18).

Modern literature of great importance has been produced in standard Telugu only after the controversy was over. Through the spread of mass media, and education, the speakers of non-standard Telugu started making conscious efforts to imitate and acquire the standard Telugu because it became prestigious to use it in speech and writing. The traditionalists wanted to adhere to the literary style because they wanted to retain their position as the custodians of knowledge. The classicists failed to see that the role of language had changed and literature was not simply confined to a few educated in Sanskrit and Telugu classics.

With the formation of Andhra Pradesh the need arose to teach Telugu to the people whose mother tongue is not Telugu in addition to the pupil who has Telugu as mother tongue. Here, the problem was that, which variety should be used in textbooks. Bhadriraju Krishnamurti, a well-known linguist, argued that, 'as the main purpose behind teaching Telugu to **non-Telugu** people is to make them feel at ease while using Telugu for everyday purposes, the vyavaharika style should be used in textbooks', and he further said that 'no textbook should be printed using classical style' (as cited in Radhakrishna, 1992: 100). To resolve this problem, the Government of Andhra Pradesh had conducted a meeting in Tirupati in which many scholars from different walks of life participated and expressed their views. In this meeting, it was resolved that 'the **sarala-grandhika** style should be used in textbooks to be used where the first language

is Telugu and for those who use Telugu as second language..., *sista-vyavaharika* style should be used'. The Government of Andhra Pradesh, further, appointed a 'Style-Committee', under the chairmanship of Pingali Lakshmikantham, to look into the issue of styles and to draw a line of differentiation between 'bookish' variety and modern variety. The Committee submitted its report in 1966, in which they recommended that the *sista-vyavaharika* style should be treated as standard variety of Telugu language and should be used in textbooks.

The controversy between the styles once again occupied the center stage during the discussions of what style should be used in intermediate level textbooks prepared by the Telugu Academy⁵. The controversy this time, however, is short lived and it was resolved by the Telugu Academy to use *sista-vyavaharika* style, with few modifications (Radhakrishna, 1992: 100-101).

With the enactment of Andhra Pradesh Official Language Act, 1964, and the establishment of Telugu Academy, the modern Telugu became the medium of instruction at university level, for few subjects. Keeping this changing situation in mind, the Sri Venkateswara University, from 1969, allowed the use of *sista-vyavaharika* style to write Ph. D. theses under its jurisdiction. The Andhra Viswakala Parishattu (known as Andhra University) also started efforts in this direction in 1971 (Radhakrishna, 1992: 101). The Ministry of Education, Government of Andhra Pradesh had issued orders (vide GO Ms No. 384 of April 27, 1973) stating that 'only *vyavaharika* style should be used to teach Telugu as the second language'.

⁵ **Telugu Academy** is a state controlled language institute established in 1968. and is discussed in detail in chapter -7

From the above discussion we may conclude that:

- There was no tradition of vernacular education in Telugu until the British system of education came into the contact with the Telugu speaking areas.
- The vyavaharika style was propagated as the medium of instruction against the literary style, with the assumption that the literary style is not fit to be the medium of instruction on a large scale. However, the classicists argued that it could be used for poetry and prose alike. Nonetheless, they proved wrong at the end.
- At the beginning of the controversy between the styles, the modernists were handicapped in terms of standard creative or scientific work to substantiate their claim that, the modern variety is more appropriate to be used as the medium of education. It was only after the modernists lost their case in the Composition Committee, the literature was produced using modern variety in abundance.
- As the time passed and the situation changed, the modern variety gained wider currency over the literary style due to more than one reason. As of now it is the modern variety—though with few modification, as propagated by the modernists—is the style used.
- Above all, it may be noted that rival elites in the Telugu speech community acted as 'historical agents' in the language planning process. In other words, they played the role of language planning agencies.

Chapter V

TRANSLATION CELL and DIRECTORATE OF TRANSLATIONS

5. 1. Translation Cell (1964)

The Official language (Legislative) Commission 1961, appointed by the President of India was asked to arrange for the translation of Central Laws in the languages enumerated in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. In accordance with this provision, a Translation Cell (hereafter the Cell) has been functioning under the administrative control of the Law Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, since 1964 and attending to translation of State and Central laws. This Cell translates Bills, Ordinances, Acts (of both the central and state governments) from English to Telugu. This Cell is situated in the premises of the Andhra Pradesh State Secretariat.

The Cell, by 1976 "has translated 284 State Acts (4238 pages), and statutory forms running into 700 pages. The Cell also translated 121 Central Acts (about 2400 pages), and 53 Acts (about 184 pages), which were scrutinized and finalized by the Translation Committee of the Government of India. The Central Government has approved the Telugu translation of the Constitution of India (nearly 315 pages)" (Krishna Rao, 1976: 8-9). According to one of the Deputy Draftsmen, the Cell so far, till date, has translated 140 Central Acts (Procedural Acts) and all major State Acts have been translated from English to Telugu. The Cell is assisting the Government of Andhra Pradesh to introduce all

Bills in the Legislative Assembly simultaneously in English and Telugu from 1988¹.

5. 1. 1. Organizational Setup

As mentioned above, the Cell forms part and parcel of the Department of Law. As far as the organizational hierarchy of the Cell is concerned, the Additional Secretary (Translations) to the Government of Andhra Pradesh is the highest authority of the Cell. The Additional Secretary, apart from the routine administrative staff, is assisted by a Joint Secretary (Translations). There are two Deputy Draftsmen working under the Joint Secretary, who are, in turn, assisted by one Assistant Draftsman. The translators, eight in number, form the bottom rung of the organizational ladder.

It is interesting to note that, though there are promotions based on seniority and the vacancy, there are no inter departmental transfers in the Cell. In other words, if a translator joins the Cell, he or she may get promoted to higher position in the same Cell and retires from the Cell only. It means, for the translators, there is no horizontal/ spiral promotion but only vertical promotion. The basic minimum qualification to be recruited as a translator in the Cell is 'degree in Law'. Apart from this one has to qualify the 'Translation Test' conducted by the Andhra Pradesh Public Service Commission (APPSC). Without these two qualifications, it is not possible to be a translator in the Cell. As and when a higher post falls vacant, the senior will be promoted and the vacant post will be filled.

¹In one of the unrecorded, personal interviews with the researcher on May 22, 2000.

5. 1. 2. Nature and Procedure of the Work

As and when the requirement for the translation arises for any department, the concerned department sends the English version of the text to be translated to either the Additional Secretary or Joint Secretary with a request for translating the same in to Telugu. They then will allot the work amongst the translators working with the Cell. After translators finish the translation, it passes through all the hierarchical stages and the Additional Secretary finalizes the draft. After the draft is finalized, the administrative staff gets that draft fair-copied and will be sent to the concerned department.

The work coming from various departments will, mostly, consist of drafts of the GOs to be issued by the concerned department, Bills, Ordinances, Acts passed in the Legislative Assembly concerning that department etc. As in majority of the cases, the Bills and Ordinances are in English, and the government had stipulated that both the Telugu and English versions be published in the Gazette, the departments have to get the English version be translated into Telugu. Even though both the English and Telugu versions are to be published in the Gazette, it is sad to know the fact that only the English version is considered as 'authoritative text'. The Telugu text is considered only as an 'associated text'. This differentiation comes to surface when there is any discrepancy in the interpretation of the text concerned. In such cases, the English version of the text is 'deemed to be authoritative'. Another reason for this is that, the official business in the courts of law is carried out through English language only. Though the use of Telugu is allowed in the court proceedings, the verdicts, official correspondence etc, are done through English language. This situation must change in order to make Telugu as official language in all aspects. The government

should direct at least the lower courts to use Telugu for all its proceedings and official purposes. Only then, implementing Telugu as official language in all aspects would be complete.

As per the 'Authorized Translation (Central Laws) Act, 1973 (Act No. 50 of 1973)', the translations of Central Acts in various languages (except Hindi) specified in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution of India, when published in the Central Gazette under the authority of the President of India will be deemed to be authorized texts (in respect of Hindi and Act was passed in 1963 itself). The Act of 1973 will come into force only when a notification is issued by the Centre under Section 1 (2) of the Act. However, the notification has not so far been issued (Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1975: 22). As such even if the various states translate and print the Central Acts, they cannot be notified as authorized texts. Thus, the translations prepared in Andhra Pradesh also though few in number could not be published as authorized texts.

However, in the case of Central Acts, this is not the case. When the translation cell of any regional language finalized the text, the same will be published in the Central Government Gazette after it gets the President's consent. The regional language versions thus published in the Central Government Gazette will be treated as 'authoritative texts' in all means in accordance with the Authoritative Translations (Central Laws) Amendment Act, 1988.

As the translations done at this Cell are of mostly legal in nature, the translators take the help of Glossary of Administrative and Legal Terminology prepared by both the Legislative Assembly in 1961 and by the Telugu Academy and Glossary of the Law

Department prepared by the Official Language Commission. In addition to this, the translators also use a list of equivalents prepared by the senior translators earlier worked with the cell.

Owing to the limitation that the translation done here is mostly legal in nature, the translations here are not liberalized. The translators have to use some standard terms formulated by the Central Translation Bureau, New Delhi. The Translators are not allowed to use modernized and new coinages freely in their translations. If in any case, the translator could not find an equivalent word in Telugu while translating from English, he is advised to take a word from the *PrashAsan SabdAavaLi* that is nearest in meaning to the English words. 'PrashAsan SabdAavaLi' is a book of Hindi equivalents for English words. Actually, by principle when a text is being translated from one language (A) to the other language (B) and if there is no equivalent word nearest in meaning in the target language (B), the transliterated form and one should not use words from other language(s) (Language-C) (Krishnamurti, 2000: 187). However, this principle is not in use in the translations done by the Cell. Instead of transliterating, the translators are advised to use Hindi equivalents while translating from English to Telugu.

When this was brought to then the notice of a higher official in the Cell, it was revealed that, in accordance with the Article 351 of the Constitution they have to propagate the use of Hindi. Here, it may not be out place to go through the Article 351. The Article 351 reads as follows:

Directive for development of the Hindi language

It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the

composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.

Another reason, as opined by an official, behind this is, the important aims of the translations done in the Cell are: consistency, continuity, and accuracy. Keeping these things in mind the translators are using the terms from the '*PrashAsan Sab-dAavaLi*'. However, by using the words from "*PrashAsan Sab-dAavaLi*" instead of word which are in currency, the translations are creating confusion. For example, for English word 'constitution', the widely used and accepted equivalent in Telugu is '*rA-jyAngam*'. The equivalent for the same in '*PrashAsan Sab-dAavaLi*' is '*samvidhAn*'. In the translations done by the Cell, instead of using '*rA-jyAngam*' they are using '*samvidhAn*'. This kind of translation, instead of helping the government to use Telugu for official purposes, forcing the government to use Hindi words or the words that are borrowed from Hindi. Using the forms and glossaries that are prepared by the Central Government, keeping the development of Hindi in mind, is one of the limitations in which the Cell is working. To expedite implementation of Telugu as official language of Andhra Pradesh, the necessary steps should be taken to change this practice.

5. 2. Directorate of Translations (1964)

As it was **mentioned** earlier, the regional languages did not secure their rightful place **in** administration under the British rule. However, the situation was changed after India attained

political freedom in 1947. The use of regional languages gained momentum after it was decided by the various state governments to conduct the administration in the language of the people of the respective states. Article 345 of the Indian Constitution provides that "the Legislature of a State may by law adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that State". The redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis fostered the growth of regional languages in India. In accordance with this, the Government of Andhra Pradesh adopted Telugu as the official language of the state. Nonetheless, as Hindi and English were the languages that are used for all official purposes at the Union government on one hand, and the Government of Andhra Pradesh recognized few other languages as Secondary/ Associated official languages in selected districts of Andhra Pradesh on the other, the need for translations of Acts, Bills, Ordinances etc. became necessary.

For the purpose of general translation, there is a separate agency, namely, the Directorate of Translation. This agency attends, *inter alia*, to translations of Bills, Ordinances, Rules, Regulations, speeches, forms, Reports etc. When this Directorate was established in 1964, there was provision for translation from and into seven languages, viz., English, Hindi, Kannada, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu. However, at present this provision exists only for English, Hindi, Telugu and Urdu.

5. 2. 1. Organizational Setup

The Directorate of Translations (hereafter the Directorate) is under the administrative control of the Education Secretariat. As far as the organizational setup of the Directorate is concerned, the Director is the highest authority both in academic and ad-

ministrative matters. In the academic matters the Director is supported by a three-tier academic staff. On the top of this there are Deputy Directors. The number of the Deputy Directors differs for each language. For example, at present, there are three such deputy directors for Telugu wing, two for Urdu wing, and one for Hindi section. Below the rank of the Deputy Directors, there are Senior Translators followed by the Junior Translators. The number of both the senior translator and the junior translator also varies from one language to the other. At present, there are 20 translators for Telugu language, six for Urdu one for Hindi. The numbers mentioned above with regard to the translators include both the senior translators and junior translators. Apart from the academic staff, the Director is assisted by the administrative staff in conducting the business of the Directorate.

5. 2. 2. Nature and Procedure of the Work at the Directorate

As mentioned earlier, the Directorate is engaged in general translation of Bills, Ordinances, Rules etc. The Directorate is primarily engaged in translating the proceedings of everyday business of the Legislative Assembly of the Andhra Pradesh. The Directorate translates the questions posed in the Assembly and also the notices given under Rules 74 and 304 of Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly Conduct of Business Rules. Apart from the questions posed by the members in advance, the things of public importance which had happened in recent times also finds their place in the translations of the Directorate. When any question was raised in the Assembly regarding a particular matter, the Secretariat of the Legislative Assembly takes note of **that**. This **question**, then, **will** be sent to the concerned administrative wing in the State Secretariat. The concerned ad-

ministrative wing calls for the information on particular subjects through their own ways and means.

For example, a member of Assembly from any constituency wants to know the reasons behind not establishing a hospital or bad maintenance of an existing one in his constituency. To seek clarification from the ruling government, he puts a question notice and submits it's to the Speaker. After considering the importance of that question notice, the Speaker may call for the attention of the concerned minister (the Minister for Health and Family Welfare, in this case) and summons to give explanation on that point. After such summons was served, the Legislative Secretariat sends the notice to the concerned authorities in the State Secretariat. The officials at Secretariat require to get the detailed information to be furnished in all respects. For this purpose, they will call for the attention of concerned District Collector or the District Medical and Health Officer and asks for the full details and a report on the existing conditions of health facilities in the district.

Based on the information and facts thus collected, the officials at the State Secretariat drafts a report, generally in English language. Then the draft report will be sent to the concerned minister for approval. After getting approval by the minister, the officials write the final report and sends the same to the Directorate for translation into various languages. In majority of the cases, depending on the nature of the question posed, the officials may require the simultaneous translations in more than one language from the Directorate. In most of the cases, it will be done in Telugu and Urdu.

At the Directorate, based on the requirements of the translation to be done, the Director assigns the job of translation to different language wings through the Deputy Directors of those wings. Keeping the size, need and urgency of the work assigned, the Deputy Director distributes the work among translators working under him. The translators, after finishing the translation submits the work to the Deputy Director. Here, at this stage, the Deputy Director goes through the whole translation and makes necessary corrections, if any, in regard to the style and conformity among the work of different translators. Here, it is important to note that, every possible measure would be taken to keep the style used in the translations as near as possible to that of language variety used for everyday communication among the speakers of that language. After going through the translation from these aspects, the Deputy Director finalizes the draft of the translation.

The finalized draft of the translation then will be sent to the administrative staff of the Directorate to make the fair copy. The administrative wing of the Directorate prepares fair copy based on the requirements of the concerned department at State Secretariat. In most of the cases, as the concerned department at the Secretariat requires supplying the copies of the report amongst all the members of the Assembly, it asks for the stencil-cut version of the translation. In certain cases, the department at State Secretariat asks for the rough drafts of the translations also. Thus based on the requirements, the administrative staff of the Directorate prepares the copies and sends to the department concerned at the State Secretariat.

A note worthy point is **that the** basic minimum qualification for the translator at the Directorate is degree level education. In

addition to this, the subject into which he is doing translating must be at least the second language till the degree level. That is, if the translator is doing translations at the Directorate into Telugu, he should and must have Telugu as the second language during his study period. The same is the case with other translators working with Urdu and Hindi wings of the Directorate. For the purpose of translating, the translators will take the help of few other aids such as department-wise glossaries published by the Official Language Commission, standard dictionaries. The dictionaries used as aids are of both monolingual and bi-lingual. In the case of Telugu, the dictionaries used are English-English dictionary, English-Telugu dictionary, and Telugu-English dictionary. Other than these aids, the staff of the Directorate is not equipped with other types of translating tools such as manuals, style-sheets, etc. The whole process of translation, at the Directorate, as a whole is based on the instinct rather than the principles of translation. This becomes clear when we know the fact that, none of the translators working with the Directorate is having any kind of formal training in the scientific methods of translation.

In any case when the translators could not find suitable equivalent word while translating a text, without other thought, they will use the same word as used in the target language, in transliterated form. When asked one of the DD (Telugu) working with the Directorate about this, his answer was surprising. He said as the Directorate is striving to translate the reports into a language which is as near as possible to the language of everyday use, one feels no difference when one comes across few foreign words in the text. He also opined that, by this, the target language gets enriched **with** new terminologies and concepts and becomes modernized. Here one has to keep in mind the definite

albeit thin line differentiating the modernization of Telugu and Anglicization of Telugu.

On an average, every translator in the Directorate translates around 10-12 pages from the source language to the target language. The workload will be heavy on the translators during the Assembly session is on. At an average of 10 questions per day for 30-45 days of each of the Assembly session, the Directorate is entrusted to translate around 300-500 questions and answers per session. During this kind of busy workdays, the staff sometimes even works late into the night. When they are working under such pressure, it is natural to work at faster pace to complete the stipulated work. In this kind of situations one cannot find fault with the translators for using more number of foreign words in their translations.

In addition to this, the Directorate is also engaged in the translation of other administrative reports, booklets/leaflets issued by the government from time to time and the reports submitted to the government by various committees. Apart from this, the Directorate also translates the 'demand books' of various departments. For the translation of these kinds of materials, more often than not, Telugu and Urdu are used.

In the matters pertaining to correspondence between the government of Andhra Pradesh and other Hindi speaking states, the Directorate is entrusted with translation of correspondence, reports sent by other governments of Hindi speaking areas, the reports to be sent to them, into Hindi. For this purpose, there is a separate Hindi language wing in the Directorate.

As the Directorate directly deals with the government departments only, it does not have any kind of contacts with the public. And as the products of the Directorate are not aimed at the use of the public, the Directorate does not get any kind of direct responses from the public. On the other hand, as the translations done by the Directorate are being used only as tools/means to put forward the facts in connection to the question posed in the Assembly and are not used as ultimate authority, the users of the translations done by the Directorate do not find any reason to go into the details pertaining to the translation methods used by the Directorate while translating a text. Another reason for not paying much attention on the part of government officials and politicians over the quality of the translation is that, the Telugu text for that matter Urdu text also, was not considered as an 'authoritative text'. Due to these reasons, the quality of the translations suffers.

Chapter VI

ANDHRA PRADESH OFFICIAL LANGUAGE ACT, 1966

6. 1. General Administration (Official Language) Department, 1974

It is a well-known fact that the regional languages did not secure their rightful place in administration under foreign **rule**. After attaining independence, the regional languages acquired relatively significant status. One of the objectives behind the demand for linguistic states is to have administration and education in the language of the people. As a result of the movement for the formation of linguistic states, organized for over 50 years in the Telugu speaking areas of the composite Madras State and the Telangana area of the erstwhile Hyderabad State, was culminated in the formation of the Andhra State on October 1, 1953. Consequently, on the re-organization of States, Andhra Pradesh was formed on November 1, 1956 comprising the Telugu speaking areas.

The first signs of attempts for using regional languages for official purposes in administration in independent India can be traced even before the reorganization of states on linguistic basis. The Government of Composite Madras State and the erstwhile Hyderabad State made endeavors for implementation of Telugu as official language in Telugu speaking areas. An order was issued by the Madras Government in 1948 directing the use of Telugu, as an experimental measure, for official purposes in East Godavari district. Similarly, the erstwhile Hyderabad State issued orders in 1950 and 1951 directing that all correspondence in a district or taluk should be in the language of the district or taluk as far as possible (Krishna Rao, 1976: 3).

The formation of Andhra State highlighted the imperative need to accord suitable place for Telugu as the medium of administration. The resolution adopted by the Andhra Legislative Assembly on September 29, 1955 indicates the eagerness of the government to switchover to Telugu. The resolution reads: "This Assembly recommends to the Government to conduct the business of the Government as early as possible, in Telugu only, in so far as it is not inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution" (Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1975: 1). The formation of Andhra Pradesh as an integrated administrative unit comprising the contiguous Telugu-speaking areas further focussed the need for adopting Telugu as official language.

It has been the policy of the government to introduce Telugu at all levels to ensure smooth switchover. This needed proper and detailed study of all the related issues. The government appointed in 1959 P.C. James, IAS, as Special Officer to examine various aspects of the question of introducing Telugu for official purposes in the offices under the state government. He conducted an intensive study and suggested that, Telugu, to begin with, could be introduced in offices at taluk level and below in departments having constant touch with the public. He also suggested that mechanical and terminological aids might be secured to facilitate introduction of Telugu as medium of administration.

Realizing the need of a glossary to conduct the business of the Assembly in Telugu, the Assembly appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, to prepare a glossary of Legislative, Legal, and Administrative terms with Telugu equivalents for about 26,000 English terms. The glossary was published in 1961 by the Legislative Secretariat. The gov-

ernment published two books: (1) Sample Drafts of commonly used letters, **memos** etc. and their Telugu translations; and (2) Official language phrases and their Telugu equivalents in 1962, and distributed copies to all the offices for day-to-day use.

Right from the formation of Andhra Pradesh, Vavilala Gopalakrishnayya, a highly respected legislator, was endeavoring with a missionary zeal for bringing in legislation on official language. Vavilala Gopalakrishnayya introduced a non-official Bill for adopting Telugu as the Official Language of the State. When this came up for discussion in the Assembly, the then Chief Minister stated that the government was proposing to bring in a Bill for the same purpose. Accordingly, the Government introduced the Official Language Bill and the Legislative Assembly adopted the Bill on March 27, 1966 and the Council on April 1, 1966. Accordingly the 'Andhra Pradesh Official Language Act, 1966' was published in the *Andhra Pradesh Gazette* dated May 14, 1966 (see Appendix- 4). This Act declares that official language of the State of Andhra Pradesh shall be Telugu.

In accordance with the Section 3 of the Official Language Act, the State government issued several orders making it obligatory to use Telugu for specified official purposes at taluk level offices from time to time as detailed below:

Table. 1.

Department and level	Purposes for which Telugu should be used
1. Agriculture Department	
All offices under the Agriculture Department at Taluk level and below	Correspondence with the general public, village officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis, including replies to communications received in Telugu.

2. Animal Husbandry Department	
Offices under the Animal Husbandry Department at taluk level and below	Correspondence from veterinary institutions with the general public not involving the use of technical terminology
	Indents for stationery items other than for medicines and instruments
	Correspondence with Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis, Village Officers on disease outbreak reports and developmental schemes
	Replies to communication received in Telugu
3. Chief Engineer (Roads & Buildings)	
Offices of Section Officers (R&B) having jurisdiction over a taluk or part thereof	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
	Replies to communication received in Telugu
	Issue of tender notices, auction notices and temporary and permanent cash receipts
	Issue of chit tender notices for all works relating to the Buildings Wing
	Registration and enlistment of contractors and all correspondence with them
	Reservation of Inspection Bungalows and Traveler's' Bungalows
	Correspondence with contractors and Municipalities other than Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad
4. Commercial Taxes Department	
All offices under the Commercial Taxes Department at taluk level and below	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
	Correspondence with the Dealers', Merchants', and Exhibitors' Associations
	Replies to communications received in Telugu
5. Co-operative Department	
All offices under the Co-operative Department other than	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis

partment other than offices of the Registrar, Additional Registrars and the Joint Registrars of the Co-operative Department	Correspondence with the primary co-operative societies of all types
	Replies to communications received in Telugu
6. Education Department	
Offices at taluk level, Samithi level and below under the administrative control of Director, Public Instruction	Periodicals, Dairy, return of visits, compulsory returns, Educational statistics
	Teaching grant recommendation roll for aided schools
	Application forms for new schools, classes and correspondence thereon
	Replies to communications received in Telugu
	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
7. Excise and Prohibition Department	
Offices of the Prohibition, Station House Officers and Assistant Prohibition Officers (Andhra area)	Maintenance of 24 kinds of registers
	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
	Replies to communications received in Telugu
Offices of the Sub-Inspectors and Circle Inspectors of Excise (Telangana area)	Maintenance of 5 kinds of forms and registers
	Replies to communications received in Telugu
	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
8. Fisheries Department	
Offices of the Inspectors of Fisheries and offices subordinate to them	Fish auction notices and fishing right orders
	General correspondence with Fish- ermens' Co-operative Societies, and regarding intimation to fishermen
	Correspondence with the fishermen and boat hirers relating to maintenance of boats, logs, nylon nets etc.

	Correspondence relating to loans and recoveries, and general orders concerning the public or public interest
	Replies to communications received in Telugu
	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
9. Forest Department	
Offices under the Forest Department at taluk level and below	Sale notices issued by the Range Officers
	Permits and notices issued by the Range Officers to the contractors
	Writing of dairies by Forest Guards, Range Officers, and Range Assistants
	Bid lists, and conditions of sales laid down in notices
	Replies to communications received in Telugu
	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
10. Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Department	
Offices of the Inspectors, Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Department	Intimation regarding visits of the officers and VIPs for inspection, worship or otherwise
	Instructions regarding preparation and submission of statutory returns etc.
	Replies to communications received in Telugu
	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
11. Indian Medicine Department	
Government Dispensaries of the Indian Medicine Department	Instructions to patients regarding the use of medicines, diet etc. during the period of treatment
	Registers to be maintained in the dispensaries of Indian Medicine and Homeopathy in the State
	Correspondence to and from dispensaries
	Replies to communications received in Telugu

	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
12. Labor Department	
(a) Offices of the Welfare Organizers, Labor Welfare Centers	Correspondence with the workers attending the labor welfare centers
(b) Offices of the Assistant Inspectors of Labor	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
	Replies to communications received in Telugu
13. Municipal Administration Department	
Offices of the Municipalities except Office of the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad	Business within the municipal limits and correspondence with all offices at taluk level and below
	Replies to communications received in Telugu
	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
14. Panchayati Raj Department	
(a) Panchayat Samithi Offices	Agenda and notes for the Panchayat Samithi or Gram Panchayat meetings and Standing Committee meetings
(b) Gram Panchayat Offices	Minutes of the meetings of Panchayat Samithi or Gram Panchayat where the chief language is Telugu
	Inter-samithi correspondence and correspondence with Gram Panchayats inter se
	Reports written by village level workers
	Correspondence and circulars with elementary schools
	Correspondence with the general public, government offices at taluk level and below
	Dairies of village level workers
	Replies to communications received in Telugu
15. Police Department	
Offices of Sub-Inspectors and Circle Inspectors of Police	Beat books, petition inquiries, note-books, sentry relief books, general memo book

	Letters to witnesses and others, endorsements to parties, passport to men
	Village roaster, duty roster, work connected with petty cases, station case history
	Ex-convict check register, process register, history sheet
	Replies to communications received in Telugu
	FIR Index, target practice register
	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
16. Prisons Department	
Offices of Probation Officers and Sub-Jails	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
	Replies to communications received in Telugu
17. Public Works Department	
All Section Offices of PWD at taluk level and below	Tender and auction notices, chit tender notices for small works of Rs. 10, 000 and below
	Disposal by auction of surplus materials and unserviceable articles
	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, and Gram Panchayats
	Registration and enlistment of contractors and correspondence with them
	Reservation of Inspection Bungalows and Travelers' Bungalows
	Replies to communications received in Telugu
	Correspondence with municipalities (other than the Municipal Corporation, Hyderabad) and Panchayat Samithis
18. Public Libraries Department	
Offices of the Public Libraries Department at taluk level and be-	Correspondence between branch and village libraries and secretaries of local library authorities

at taluk level and below	Notice of inspection and report of inspection of village libraries
	Circulars to village libraries and Panchayats for remittance of Panchayat Cess
	Important circulars meant for public information
	Notice of auction of old newspapers
	Applications for grant-in-aid
	Periodical reports
	Replies to communications received in Telugu
	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
19. Registration and Stamps Department	
Sub-Registrar's Office	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
	Acceptance of documents
	Acceptance of patta transfer applications
	Correspondence with co-operative societies and land mortgage banks
	Passing of administrative orders in office order book and making entries in the Default Register
	Correspondence with the document writers
	Endorsements of petitions presented in connection with registration of documents, including protest petitions
	Replies to communications received in Telugu
20. Revenue Department	
Offices of the Tahsildars and other officers of the Revenue Department at taluk level and below	Endorsements and notices to village officers
	Endorsements and orders issued by the Tahsildars to the parties
	Grant of free pattas
	Recording of evidences during enquiries by the Revenue officials
	Correspondence between the Revenue Inspectors and the Sarpanches of the Gram Panchayats

	Correspondence by Tahsildars with Revenue Inspectors, Village Officers, and Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
	Acknowledgements of references
	Tender notices
	Tour programs of officers
	Publication of notices in villages calling for objections from the public for any proposal
	Issue of circular instructions to the village officers on their duties and responsibilities
	Writing of azmoish remarks by the Revenue Inspectors in the Village Adnagals (Pahani Patrak)
	Dairies and Reports drafted by the Revenue Inspectors
	Maintenance of village accounts at village level by the village officials
	Correspondence with the contractors
	Receipts given to public regarding money transactions
	Replies to communications received in Telugu
	Correspondence with the general public
	21. Treasuries and Accounts Department
Offices of the Sub-Treasuries at taluk level	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
	Replies to the communications received in Telugu
22. Warehousing Department	
Offices of the Ware Housemen at centers	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
	Specimen signature card, daily declaration of stock
	Inspection report, delivery orders
	Application form for deposit and withdrawal of goods
	Weight check memo
	Warehouse receipt
	Cash report

	Replies to communications received in Telugu
23. Weights and Measures Department	
Offices of the Weights and Measures Department at taluk level and below	Maintenance of specified registers
	Replies to communications received in Telugu
	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
24. Fire Services Department	
Divisional Fire Offices and offices subordinate thereto	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
	Replies to the communications received in Telugu
25. Port Department	
All offices under Port Department in the state except offices at Kakinada and Machilipatnam ports	Correspondence with the general public, Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
	Replies to the communications received in Telugu
26. Women's Welfare Department	
1. Offices of the Superintendents, Children Homes 2. Crèche-cum-pre-Basic classes and Balavihars	Correspondence with Village Officers, Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samithis
	Replies to the communications received in Telugu
	Correspondence with the general public
	Instructions by teachers and communications as between teachers and pupils

Source of data: Report of the Official Language Review Committee, 1971. Pp. 7-20.

To review the implementation of the orders issued under the Official Language Act and to suggest ways and means of improving it, the Government constituted in 1967 a Committee under the chairmanship of P.V. Narasimha Rao and Messrs. Vavilala Gopalakrishnayya, T. Nageswara Rao, T. Ranga Reddy, Sultan Sallahuddin Owaisi (all MLAs); A. Chengal Reddy, N. Somaya-

julu (MLCs); S. R. Rama Murthy, Secretary to Government, Department of Education; and Y. Sreenivasa Rao, Translator to **Government** were the members of the Review Committee (vide GO Ms No. 962, General Administration, dated November 10, 1967).

After reviewing the implementation of Telugu as official language in the various offices, the important things that were recommended by the Commission are as follows.

1. Introduction of Telugu as official language in district level/ state level offices;
2. Use of Telugu in Legislature for answering questions, call attention motions etc.;
3. Purchase and supply of Telugu typewriters and training of typists, scale of pay for Telugu typists, extension of scale of pay allowed to English steno-typists to Telugu steno-typists, proper maintenance and repairs of Telugu typewriters;
4. Linotype machine for Telugu language;
5. Training of non-Telugu-knowing staff in noting and drafting in Telugu;
6. Supply of publications like departmental glossaries;
7. Telugu be a medium for competitive examinations conducted by the APPSC for Groups I, II, and III;
8. Creation of a separate cell for official language in GAD;
9. Appointment of a Central Agency in the districts; and
10. Appointment of the Official Language Commission.

Based on the recommendations made by the Committee, the Government issued orders on March 5, 1974 creating a separate cell for Official Language in the General Administration Department and appointed a Special Officer for its supervision.

6. 1. 1. General Administration (Official Language)

Department

At present the Official Language cell is part of General Administration Department and is situated in the State Secretariat. The organizational setup of the department is as follows. The Secretary (Political) to the Government of Andhra Pradesh is highest in-charge authority as far as the affairs of the official language cell are concerned. He is assisted by a Deputy Secretary (Official Language) to the Government in conducting the business of the official language cell. Below the Deputy Secretary, there is one Assistant Secretary (official Language) to the Government. The official language cell is working under the supervision of these officials. For the administrative convenience, the whole of official language cell is divided into three sections. Now let us examine the duties and responsibilities of each of these sections in detail.

6. 1. 1. 1. General Administration (Official Language)

Section-1

This section has one Section Officer, one Assistant Section Officer and one Typist-cum-Assistant. The important duty of this section is taking policy decisions. Any policy decision taken by either the official language cell or the government comes under the purview of this section. The duties of this section include: corresponding with other language planning agencies, both inside and outside Andhra Pradesh, on behalf of the Government, appointment of Chairman and members of the Official Language Commission, convening the meeting of the Commission, organizing training classes for **non-Telugu** officials, conducting type writing and short hand courses in Telugu for the concerned employees etc.

6. 1. 1.2. General Administration (Official Language)

Section-2

This section has one Section Officer, two Assistant Section Officers and one Typist-cum-Assistant. The main duty of this section is to look after the implementation of Telugu as official language in Andhra Pradesh at Department level. In addition to the above mentioned staff, there are 4 Inspecting Officers working under the supervision of this section (actual number of such officers is 10). Though entire Andhra Pradesh is under its jurisdiction, due to financial constraints, the activities of this section, at present, are limited to the supervision of implementation of official language in the departments situated in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad only.

This section issues orders to the inspecting officers to go for specific department for inspection. The name of the department and date(s) of inspection are also will be decided by this section only. Once such job allocation for the inspecting officers is done, the same will be communicated to the concerned heads of the department in advance to make necessary arrangements for the inspection. After the inspecting officers complete the inspection, they will submit a report to the Deputy Secretary (Official Language) in prescribed pro-forma (see Appendix- 5). After the Deputy Secretary looked into such reports, he will then send those reports to this section for initiating further action. Then the section, with the prior consent of the Deputy Secretary, issues 'suggestions and instructions' to the concerned departments regarding the implementation of Telugu as official language in their department.

However, it is interesting to note that in majority of the cases, the Heads of various departments do not care to send the 'ac-

tion-taken-report' to the section. But, as a part of inspection, when the inspecting officers again visit that department, they review the development in implementing official language and action taken on their previous reports. The main and common reasons generally cited by the heads, as mentioned by one of the official of the section, are: lack of assistance in form of manuals, guidelines, lack of typewriters etc. Based on the reason cited, the section gives further instructions and suggestions to that department.

The section, for assisting and overcoming the difficulties in implementing official language policy, has published a considerable number of manuals, glossaries of terms used in different departments, sample drafts of commonly used letters in official correspondence etc. The section has published, first in 1965 and then in 1985, a book containing sample drafts of commonly used letters in official correspondence for the following departments. Agriculture, Co-operatives, Education, Fisheries, Forest, Indian Medicine and Homeopathy, Industries and Commerce, Information and Public Relations, Labor, Police, Public Works, Revenue, Social Welfare, Special Collector for Nagarjuna Sagar, Government Gardens, Treasuries and Accounts, Weights and Measures, and Zilla Parishad (Social Welfare). The following table gives the details of departmental glossaries published by the section.

Table. 2.

S. No	Name of the Department	Year of Publication
1	Legislature	1976
2	Marketing	1976
3	Roads and Buildings	1976

4	Ports	1977
5	Indian Medicine and Homeopathy	1977
6	Women and Child Welfare	1977
7	Registration and Stamps	1977
8	Town Planning	1977
9	Government Insurance	1978
10	Economics and Statistics	1978
11	Tourism	1982
12	Animal Husbandry	1982
13	Treasuries and Accounts	1983
14	Police	1983
15	Civil Supplies	1983
16	Fire Services	1983
17	Prisons	1983
18	Jagir Administration Office	1983
19	Fisheries	1984
20	Endowment	1984
21	Ground Water	1984
22	Employment and Training	1985
23	Forest	1986
24	Anti-Corruption Bureau	1986
25	Mechanical	1986
26	Factories (Industries)	1986
27	Sugarcane	1987
28	Printing, Stationery and Stores Purchase	1987
29	Municipal Administration	1988
30	Transport	1988
31	Excise	1990

Source of data: Records of GA (OL) Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh.

Based on the reports submitted by the inspecting officers from time to time about the rate and extent of the implementation of Telugu as official language in various departments, the section prepares a list of departments and the extent of using Telugu for official purposes. Based on such report for the year 1998-99, the following are the details of the departments and the extent of the use of Telugu for official purposes in those departments.

Table. 3.

Name(s) of the Department(s)	Extent of use
Roads and Buildings	More than 90%
Registration and Stamps; Directorate of Translations; Public Libraries	80—90%
Sugarcane; Bureau of Economics and Statistics; Homeopathic Medicine	70—80%
Electricity; Information and Public Relations; Animal Husbandry; Police	60—70%
Fire Services; Industries	50—60%
Sri Ram Sagar Project; Factories; Co-operative Societies	Below 10%

Source of data: Records of GA (OL) Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh.

When the staff of different departments in the Secretariat were asked about not using Telugu for official purposes in their respective departments, the majority of the employees mentioned that, the higher officials in their respective departments insist on using English for official correspondence and drafting purposes. The reason behind this is that, the majority of the higher-ranked officials are educated through English medium on the one hand, and they do not feel necessity of learning Telugu for official purposes on the other.

6. 1. 1.3. General Administration (Official Language)

Section-3

This section supervises the implementation of official language policy and use of Telugu for official purposes at the Secretariat level. This section has one Section Officer, one Assistant Section Officer, and one Typist-cum-Assistant. This section, among other things, directs all the departments in the Secretariat to use Telugu for inter-departmental communication, while issuing G.O.s etc. The necessary steps are being taken by this section to

see to it that Telugu is used for all official purposes at all levels of secretariat.

For effective implementation of Telugu as official language, some staff members in this section opined that, rules should be framed in such a way that all officers, irrespective of their cadre, has to use Telugu as official language for all purposes at all levels. All along this section has been a suggestive body, and hence, it cannot take any action against the personnel who are not using Telugu for official purposes. Hence, it was opined that, strict action should be taken against the officials who are not willing or nor cooperating in implementing Telugu as official language.

As a step towards encouraging the use of Telugu for official purposes, this section has so far made arrangements to have the leave applications, loan applications etc. in Telugu. The Heads of the concerned departments and the Director of Printing should take necessary action to provide all kinds of applications in Telugu. As part of encouraging use of Telugu for official purposes, the section had sent leave applications, loan application etc. to all departments. And it is also opined, by one of the official working with this section that, if someone is not using Telugu for applying leave, for example, leave should not be sanctioned to him. By such measures, it is hoped, we can, gradually, make them to use Telugu for official purposes.

Another important duty of this section, apart from supervising the implementation of official language at Secretariat level, is that supervising the implementation of official language at various departments of different levels in the state of Andhra Pradesh through the Offices of the District Collector. The Collec-

tor's Offices are directed by the government to send monthly progressive reports to this section regarding the progress achieved, problems in implementing official language in different offices under its control to this section. Based on the reports thus came from districts, the section, through the Deputy Secretary (O.L.), issues orders and suggestions for effective implementation of official language policy. However, whole of this process has been so far viewed as any other routine duty. To implement official language policy effectively at district level it was proposed to re-constitute 'Review Committees' at district **level**. The proposed committees will have 10 official and 10 non-official members and will look into the implementation of Telugu as official language at the district level. These proposals were sent to all the District Collector's offices and awaiting for the reports. One of the officials of the section maintained that by forming such committees, among other things, we could make the common people to take part in the implementation of official language policy effectively.

During the chiefministership of Jalagam Vengal Rao, the Government issued orders directing the use of Telugu in the government offices of all Departments at the taluk level and below with effect from March 24, 1974. The use of Telugu, however, was limited to the correspondence of non-statutory nature.

6. 2. Official Language Commission (1974)

Section 5 of the Official Language Act provides that the State Government shall at the expiration of five years from the commencement of the Act, by order, constitute a Commission on Official Language of the State, which shall consist of a Chairperson, **and four** members. Accordingly the Government issued orders (vide GO Ms No. 199, General Administration (Official Lan-

guage) Department, dated March 19, 1974) constituting the Official Language Commission. The members of the first Official Language Commission (hereafter Commission) are Vavilala Gopalakrishnayya (Chairperson); VP. Raghavachari (MLC), TN. Anasuyamma (MLC), N. Srinivasulu Reddy (MLA), T. Nageswara Rao are the members. The Special Officer in-charge of Official Language in the General Administration Department is the Secretary to the Commission.

The Commission is required to review the progress made in the use of Telugu language for official purposes of the State and to make recommendations to the Government as to:

1. The progressive use of the Telugu language for the official purposes of the State;
2. The restrictions on the use of English language for all or any of the official purposes of the State;
3. The matters specified below:
 - Training of sufficient number of Telugu typists for implementing the Official Language at the State and District levels progressively in the five years to come;
 - Procurement of sufficient number of Telugu typewriters for use in Government offices;
 - The translation of the statutes required for implementing the Official Language in the Courts of Law also;
 - Imparting training to non-Telugu knowing staff in noting and drafting in Telugu; and
 - The installation of lino-type machines in the Government Printing Press.

6. 2. 1. A Brief Review of the Work of the Commission

In the meeting which was held on March 25, 1974, it was resolved by the Commission that the Government be '*requested to initiate action*' in respect of the following items:

1. Orders issued by the Government under the Andhra Pradesh Official Language Act, 1966 have to be compiled, translated into Telugu and sent to the Commission;
2. Details regarding offices to which Telugu typewriters have been supplied, number of Typists trained in Telugu typewriting and the stations at which they are working have to be collected and sent to the Commission.

At the meeting held on March 28, 1974, the Commission resolved that the District Educational Officer and the District Public Relations Officer should be nominated as members of the concerned District Review Committee. In accordance with this recommendation, the government vide GO Ms No. 440, General Administration (Official Language-2) Department dated June 27, 1974 nominated the District Educational Officer as Member of the District Review Committee.

At the meeting held on April 23, 1974 the Commission adopted the following resolutions:

1. Telugu typewriters should be supplied directly to the Panchayat Samithis, which have trained Telugu typists. The cost of these machines may be deducted from the funds that will be allotted by the Government;
2. Necessary steps have to be taken to get Telugu typewriters manufactured by other firms besides Remington Rand of India Ltd.;
3. Steps have to be taken to give training in Telugu type writing not only to the English typists working in government offices

but also to those working in Municipalities and Panchayat Samithis;

4. Copies of booklets 1. "Sample Drafts of Commonly Used Letters, Memos etc., and their Telugu Translations", and 2. "Official English Phrases and their Telugu Equivalents" have to be supplied to all offices;
5. A glossary on the same lines as the one published by the Legislature Secretariat may be compiled by the Telugu Academy and published keeping in view the experience of the last 15 years; and
6. Special issues, pamphlets etc. that may be useful to the general public have to be published in Telugu.

In meeting held on June 28, 1974, the Commission adopted the following resolutions:

1. The matter relating to translations done in Law Department has to be discussed with the Secretary to the Government, Law Department;
2. To facilitate early introduction of Telugu as official language in law courts, translations of Acts, Codes etc., and Manuals of the departments have to be got ready;
3. Training shall be imparted to the non-Telugu knowing employees in noting and drafting in Telugu;
4. Telugu typewriters and Linotype machines have to be acquired;
5. A separate cell under the supervision of the Commission has to be created to undertake translation of Codes and Manuals;
6. In future Telugu translation of every enactment has to be published along with English;
7. A notification has to be issued by the Government giving importance to the use of Telugu on subordinate Law courts; and

8. The Managing Director of Andhra Pradesh Industrial Development has to be addressed regarding the feasibility of manufacturing Telugu typewriters.

The Commission held discussions on September 10, 1974 with Jalagam Vengal Rao, Chief Minister; MV Krishna Rao, Minister for Education and Official Language. Another meeting was held with them on January 10, 1975 and the following matter were discussed:

1. *Translations:*

- Publication of Telugu translation of Manuals, Codes, Standing Orders etc.,
- Issue of orders to Government Press for printing in Telugu of the forms used in various departments,
- Publication of Telugu translation of Orders and Notifications issued previously by various departments of the Government,
- Publication of Orders, Notices and Gazette Notifications to be issued by Government in future in Telugu simultaneously with English,
- Publication of departmental glossaries, and
- Appointment of necessary machinery to implement the above items in consultation with the Official Language Commission.

2. *Statutes:*

- Publication of authorized texts in Telugu of all Acts passed after the formation of Andhra Pradesh,
- Publication of authorized Telugu version of every Act passed by the Legislature hereafter,
- Translation into Telugu of forms and Notifications under various Acts and their publication,

- Telugu versions should be prepared immediately for Forms, Notifications etc., to be published hereafter,
 - Translation into Telugu of all statutes passed prior to the formation of Andhra Pradesh State and their authentication, and
 - Translation into Telugu of Central Acts and their authentication.
3. The Translation Committee, its functioning and its relationship with the Commission,
 4. Introduction of Telugu in subordinate courts particularly in matters relating to the Criminal Procedure Code,
 5. Use of Telugu in the Legislature: Questions and Answers, Motions and Resolutions, Statements, Bills etc., should be in Telugu,
 6. Strengthening the staff of the Official Language Commission in the Secretariat,
 7. Holding a meeting of Collectors and Heads of Departments,
 8. Commission to tour some of the states to study the implementation of Official Language in those states, and
 9. Appointment of a Language Officer in each district in addition to the existing District Review Committee for supervising the work relating to implementation of the Official Language.

The Government in GO Ms No. 670, General Administration (Official Language-1) Department, dated October 10, 1974 issued orders directing publication of important notifications and orders in official Gazette both in Telugu and English simultaneously.

The Commission resolved at the meeting held on May 25, 1975 to take up preparation of an administrative glossary. This work

commenced on June 2, 1975. The Commission has by August 1975, finalized Telugu equivalents for about 3000 English terms. Glossary of Legislature has been finalized and sent to the Legislature Secretariat for their final suggestions.

6. 2. 2. Progress of Implementation of Official Language

According to the Government orders, all correspondence of non-statutory nature in the offices at taluk level and below has to be carried out in Telugu only. Telugu has to be used for certain specified purposes in the departments of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Education, Endowments, and Panchayat Raj even at district level.

The following are some of the important reasons mentioned by the staff (in Andhra Pradesh) for non-implementation of Telugu in taluk level offices during the Commission's tours in districts (Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1975: 13):

1. Lack of practice to write in Telugu and difficulty to give up the habit of writing in English;
2. Non-striking of the correct Telugu equivalents for English words;
3. **Non-availability** of Rules and Regulations in Telugu which are often necessary for writing notes and drafts;
4. Lack of Telugu knowledge by some members of the staff;
5. Lack of Telugu knowledge by some Heads of offices in some places;
6. Correspondence with district offices, Heads of Departments and Government being in English;
7. Some superior Officers as well as the employees entertaining a feeling of inferiority to write **in** Telugu and failure of the staff to show preference for Telugu psychologically; and

8. Non-availability of typewriters or absence of a trained typist where there is a typewriter.

Lack of practice to write in Telugu: Those who had their education through English medium have been accustomed, from the beginning, to write in English only. They are not endeavoring to change that habit. English is a foreign language. Among the public the percentage of those who know English is very low. In our country, where the percentage of literacy is low, acquaintance with English is very much low. Language is a powerful instrument for a democratic government to come closer to the people. Either from the point of view of public interest or patriotism, it is imperative that maximum help and co-operation should be extended to the people by carrying on the administration in Telugu. Keeping this in view the Commission, during its visits to various offices, has been exhorting the employees to cultivate the habit of writing in Telugu.

Correct Telugu equivalents for some of the English words may not strike immediately while using Telugu for official purposes. In such cases, the words borrowed from other languages, which are in vogue locally, may be adopted. In majority of the cases, the words, which are in vogue among the general public could not find a place in either dictionaries or in administration. It is essential to collect those words and compile them in a book form. For this purpose, the Commission during its tours has **been** requesting the employees working in various offices to send the words which were locally used. It was felt by the Commission that, an Administrative Glossary is an essential requisite for running the administration effectively in Telugu. After Legislature Secretariat published a glossary of Parliamentary, Legal, and Administrative terms in 1964, a number of new

words came into use. Therefore, the need was felt to prepare a comprehensive glossary of administrative terms and it was proposed to prepare an Administrative Glossary comprising about 10, 000 words.

Non-Telugu knowing employees: There are some employees among the staff working in government offices in Andhra Pradesh whose mother tongue is not Telugu. Basic knowledge in Telugu language is essential for them to carry out the business in Telugu. Government employees whose mother tongue is not Telugu are required to pass Second Class Language Test in Telugu. Employees who attain the age of 45 years are exempted from the operation of this rule. Further, in the case of other employees, the government is extending the time limit prescribed for passing this test from time to time. Consequently, there is no obligation in effect to pass the test. Some employees who have developed a sort of indifference and get on until they attain the age of 45. Thus, there will be no obligation to them to learn Telugu. They cannot write drafts or letters in Telugu. Even among those who have passed the test, there are some employees whose capacity to write in Telugu is not satisfactory. Due to this reason, the use of Telugu for official purposes in few government offices is adversely affected. Hence the Commission felt it is desirable to post them in other sections, where much noting and drafting work is not involved.

It is the duty of government servants to conduct Government business in the language of the people, viz., Telugu and to follow the instructions of the Government in letter and spirit. Hence, they need not entertain any inferiority complex in using Telugu in their office files as well as in correspondence with the public and other offices. In fact, one must feel inferior to use English

contrary to the orders of the Government. The District Officers should endeavor to bring about psychological change in this regard among the employees.

There are few offices where the Telugu typewriter is available but could not be put to proper use. This appears to be due to the following reasons:

1. Failure to draft greater number of the communications to be typed in Telugu,
2. Transfer of a typist trained on Telugu typewriter on promotion or due to some other reasons or shifting her/ him to a post where there is no typing work or where there is no Telugu typewriter,
3. Officers giving more importance to English typing, and
4. Attending to Telugu typing work more as a formality by Telugu typists.

It was observed by the Commission that, this state of affairs prevails in a number of offices and is causing much hindrance to the implementation of official language. It was felt by the Commission that, it is not proper to transfer generally a person who is trained in Telugu typewriting from an office and thereby allow her/ his knowledge of Telugu typewriting go waste. In case the transfer is unavoidable, it is equally important to see that training imparted to her/ him is made use of in the office to which (s)he is transferred.

It is most essential to provide scope for voluntary effort and initiative to implement Telugu as official language. For employees who want to correspond in Telugu or to write notes, drafts, letters, orders, reports, judgments, and any other items in Telugu

must be given full opportunity to do so. This voluntary effort should be at all (taluk, district, and state) levels in the Government. It would be appropriate if the Government issue orders providing for the voluntary effort.

There was a stipulation that in the courts subordinate to the High Court, civil and criminal proceedings should be in English only. But, it has been removed to some extent by the revised Criminal Procedure Code. The Section 272 of the revised Code empowers the State Governments to specify the language to be used by the subordinate courts in matters coming under the Code. Therefore, it was recommended by the Commission that, the State Government should direct that Telugu be used as official language for matters coming under the Criminal Procedure Act. However, in GO Ms No. 4805, Home (Courts-B) Department, dated March 29, 1974, the government issued orders to the effect that English, Telugu, and other languages can be used as before as the languages of courts in matters coming under the Code. The Commission is of opinion that, this order should be amended and the government must issue instructions prescribing Telugu as the sole official language of the subordinate courts under the previously mentioned section. The use of Telugu in law courts necessitates having books like Civil Procedure Code, Criminal Procedure Code Indian Penal Code, Civil and Criminal Rules of Practice etc. in Telugu.

In this connection, the Commission felt that, the government have to issue orders to the effect that:

1. **The** complaints, counters, petitions, affidavits etc, should be in Telugu,
2. The Presiding Officers of Law Courts should record evidence in Telugu. If the said officers do not know Telugu, they may

record evidence in any other language, but get them recorded in Telugu by the clerk of the court. If the witness does not know Telugu, her/ his evidence may be recorded in the language in which (s)he gave evidence. But the officer has to record it in Telugu,

3. Advocates knowing Telugu should conduct arguments in Telugu, and
4. Judgements, orders, decree and other proceedings should be in Telugu (Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1975: 18).

For the purpose of implementing Telugu as the language of administration at all levels, the Commission proposed to train the typists working in various offices at different levels in Telugu. As a step towards this, the English typists working in government offices were trained in Telugu typewriting in each district headquarters. These training centers are being run in the Collectorate under the supervision of the District Collectors. This training was of four months duration. The English typists working in taluk level offices, Zilla Parishads, Panchayat Samithis, and Municipalities were trained. By August 1975, 11 batches underwent training in each district and the total number of candidates trained was 3157. At present, such training classes are being conducted by the General Administration (Official Language) Department, Section-1 in the Secretariat premises.

The Commission maintained that, the employees should be in a position to express their views in Telugu if the administration of **the** state to be carried on effectively in Telugu. It is essential that they are not only conversant with the administrative terminology but also possess adequate knowledge of Telugu. They should be able to write common letters, notes in files and drafts **for** replies. Those who studied through Telugu medium ever-

since the introduction of Telugu as a medium of instruction in our state may have experience. Nevertheless, those who studied through English medium and who are carrying on their work so far in English might feel it difficult to some extent to switchover to Telugu.

For the purpose of smooth switchover to Telugu as official language, the English knowing officials must be trained in using Telugu for all official purposes as far as possible. The training to be given to staff will be of two types in connection with the introduction of Telugu as official language in government offices.

- I. Imparting training to employees who know Telugu to acquire necessary proficiency to carry on office work in Telugu; and
- II. Imparting training in Telugu to those who do not know Telugu and for those, who in spite of knowing Telugu, might have forgotten it due to lack of habit.

The Commission argued that, for employees mentioned belonging to the first category mentioned above, short-time training may be given with the help of Glossary and the book of Sample Drafts already published by the government. To those belonging to the second category, training may be given to enable them to acquire necessary knowledge in Telugu in a short duration. The Commission opined that, the government may prepare a comprehensive scheme in this regard and get the above two types of training completed within a fixed time.

The major problem confronting, as opined by the Commission, in the implementation of Telugu as official language is whether the procurement of necessary equipment should precede the implementation or whether the equipment could be procured during the process of implementation. The Commission argued that, when the language is used for all official purposes with the public at all levels, demand for the necessary equipment will increase and with the increase of demand, efforts to acquire the equipment will be intensified and thereby the equipment becomes available. The efforts to implement Telugu as official language **will** progress with the availability of the equipment. With this hope, the Commission suggested to extend Telugu as official language to the district and to the state level, then it would be possible to obtain the necessary equipment.

For the effective implementation of Telugu as official language in the State of Andhra Pradesh at all levels, the Commission had made several recommendations through its Interim Report in 1975. Some of the recommendations are as follows:

1. The Commission has felt that, the orders issued under the Andhra Pradesh Official Language Act, 1966 are restricted to the use of Telugu as official language **for** correspondence of only non-statutory nature. The Commission has recommended that, these orders have to be revised removing the restriction and extending the use of Telugu for all official purposes. By

this the implementation of Telugu as sole official language of Andhra Pradesh would be realized to the maximum extent.

2. A Language Officer for each district may be appointed to review from time to time and also to supervise the progress of implementation of official language.
3. The Head of the office as well as persons holding key posts in each office, such as Head Clerk, Superintendent, Manager etc. should invariably be Telugu knowing persons.
4. The Special Officer (Official Language) in General Administration Department may be entrusted with work connected with the language and a Deputy Secretary may be appointed for attending to the work of implementation of the official language.
5. According to the resolution of the Government of India and adopted by the Parliament in 1968, the Union Public Service Commission has to conduct examinations in all the languages specified in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution of India. The state government may take up the matter with Government of India, to ensure that this resolution is implemented as early as possible.
6. Employees at all levels up to the Secretariat who propose to write communications, notes, drafts, letters, orders, reports, judgments, etc. in Telugu should be allowed to do so. Names of roads, streets, villages, towns, cities, destination of motor vehicles etc.

should be in Telugu. Signboards of all offices should be in Telugu.

7. In all Courts, Civil and Criminal, Subordinate to the High Court, Telugu should be introduced immediately as official language for all proceedings. The complaints, counters, petitions, affidavits etc. should be in Telugu. The Presiding Officers of Courts should record evidence in Telugu. In case the said officers or the parties concerned do not know Telugu, the Presiding Officers may record evidence in the language known to them but the clerks in the Courts should write it in Telugu. Advocates knowing Telugu may conduct arguments in Telugu. Judgments, orders, decrees, and other documents should be written in Telugu.
8. The scheme of imparting training in Telugu typewriting to English typists should be continued. Hereafter only Telugu typists should be appointed in government offices to the extent possible.
9. When a typist trained in Telugu is transferred from one office to another, steps should be taken to see to it that Telugu-typing work is not hampered. It may also be ensured that the training the typist underwent is made use of by the new office to which (s)he is transferred.
10. As demand for typists trained in Telugu shorthand would be more in future, the existing English stenographers may be given training in Telugu shorthand.
11. The state government may make efforts to see that the Central Government publishes the notification to

the effect that Authorized Translations (Central Laws) Act, 1973 into force. Central Acts so far translated into Telugu should be approved and published. The remaining Central Acts may be translated and published early.

12. A full-fledged Translation Committee may be appointed in the place of the existing Translation Committee/ Cell in the Law Department. In this Committee, there should be one full-time Chairman and two members, and two part-time members. The Committee should function in close liaison with the Official Language Commission.
13. It is necessary to prepare immediately authoritative Telugu texts for the State Acts. At present Telugu translations of Bills are being furnished at the time of their introduction in the legislature. Further, the Acts as passed by the Legislature are being translated and published in Telugu. The Telugu translations so far published should be notified as authoritative texts under Section 6 of the Andhra Pradesh Official Language Act, 1966. Similarly, all Telugu versions of Acts in future may also be published as authoritative texts. The government should notify under Section 3 (2) of the Official Language Act, 1966 that in future all Bills to be introduced in both the Houses of State Legislature, all Regulations and Ordinances to be issued by the State Governor, all Orders, Rules, Regulations, and bylaws to be issued by the State Government or other Authority of Officer of the State

Government should be only in Telugu. Their English version may accompany them.

14. Books necessary for introducing Telugu in Law Courts may be translated by the Translation Cell of the Law Department and published. To facilitate introduction of Telugu in Law Courts, a book containing model judgments may be prepared by the Law Department with the help of Judges. As there is no separate legal glossary in Telugu, steps may be taken to get it prepared by Translation Committee of the Law Department.
15. In connection with the introduction of Telugu as official language in government offices, arrangements may be made for the following types of training:
 - I. Training for the employees who know Telugu to acquire necessary proficiency to carry on their office work in Telugu; and
 - II. Training to acquire sufficient knowledge in Telugu for the employees who do not know Telugu and who might know Telugu but who might have forgotten due to lack of habit to use it.

6. 2. 3. SUGESSTIONS

In the orders that are being issued by the government, use of Telugu is not ordered for all items of work in various offices, but it is restricted to matters of non-statutory nature only. In view of the stipulation that Telugu should be used only for non-statutory purposes, its use in effect has been very much limited and even nominal. Telugu will attain its

proper status as Official Language only when it is used for statutory purposes also. Hence all the orders so far issued by the government under the Official Language Act, 1966 have to be amended removing the restriction limiting the use of Telugu only to non-statutory items and orders have to be issued immediately to the effect that Telugu should be used for all items of work.

Though indifferent in the past, now consequent upon the introduction of Telugu as official language and medium of instruction it is essential to strictly implement the rules and regulations requiring the government employees, who do not know Telugu, to pass the Second Class Language Test in Telugu. It has to be ensured that those who have already passed the test are engaged in writing notes and drafts in Telugu. Non-Telugu knowing employees should be given proper training and knowledge of Telugu should be imparted to them.

Chapter VII

TELUGU ACADEMY (1968)

(Andhra Pradesh State Institute of Telugu)

Owing to many socio-political changes in the Indian society, particularly after attaining political independence in general and after re-organizing the states on linguistic basis in particular, the Government of India began to think about introducing regional languages as media of instruction at collegiate and university levels. The Report of the Education Commission of 1964-1966 (popularly known as Kothari Commission) gave concrete shape to this proposal. The Government of India approved the main recommendations of the Education Commission's report and formulated a 'master plan' for the establishment of State Institutes of Regional Languages and communicated the same to all State Governments in July 1967.

Almost at the same time, various state governments also began to take up the issue of introducing their respective regional languages as a medium of expression for all administrative and educational purposes at all levels. With an intention of realizing the above goals and to implement the Union government's directive of establishing the State Institute of Regional Language, the Government of Andhra Pradesh started working out this plan. As a part of its plan, the Government of Andhra Pradesh appointed an expert committee in 1966 under the chairpersonship of J.P.L. Gwynn, then former Secretary to the Government, Department of Education, to suggest ways and means of 'enriching' and '**modernizing**' Telugu to make it the medium of instruction and the language of administration at higher levels. The committee, widely known, in administrative circles, as Gwynn Committee, submitted its report to the government of Andhra

Pradesh in April 1967 in which it recommended, *inter alia*, the establishment of a State Institute of Telugu for the purpose.

Based on the report of the Gwynn Committee and the scheme formulated by the Government of India, the Government of Andhra Pradesh had established the State Institute of Telugu in 1968 (vide GO Ms No. 1255—Education, dated June 12, 1968) and named it "Telugu Academy" (hereafter Academy). The Academy started functioning from August 6, 1968 with Hyderabad as its headquarters.

In order to run the administration of the Academy in a 'smooth and efficient manner', the institution was registered as an autonomous body under the Societies Registration Act of 1350 **Fasli**.

The declared select objectives in establishing the Academy are:

1. To promote the spread of the Telugu language and to develop it and secure its enrichment and modernization;
2. To co-ordinate with the Government of Andhra Pradesh in the easy switch over to Telugu as the official language for the purposes of administration;
3. To co-ordinate with the universities in the easy switch over to Telugu as the medium of instruction at all stages of higher education;
4. To promote the standardization of scientific, technical and administrative terms in Telugu;
5. To organize training classes and examinations for non-Telugu knowing employees of the government;
6. To undertake, organize, and facilitate study courses, conferences, lectures, seminars etc. for the benefit of college teachers;

7. To undertake and provide for the publication of books, periodicals, journals, and research papers in furtherance of the objects of the Academy;
8. To encourage and to provide for the translation of standard works on scientific and technical subjects from other languages to Telugu language; and
9. To subscribe or to co-operate with other institutions having objectives similar to those of the Academy.

The activities of the Academy can be divided into four broad categories: 1) Publishing; 2) Research; 3) Teaching; and 4) Seminars. The Academy has been engaged in the following activities during the past three decades of its existence:

- Publishes books in Telugu for higher education and also books of general and popular interest in the form of text-books, glossaries, dictionaries, translations, monographs, popular series readings, and reference books etc.,
- Conducts research in Telugu language and terminology development,
- Organizes Orientation Courses for teachers teaching through Telugu medium. Conducts Telugu learning classes to non-Telugu speakers and Training classes to officers to use Telugu as official language in administration,
- Conducts seminars and Workshops on Terminology, on modernization of Telugu language, book publishing, book marketing, on the growth of language and literature, on the aspects of learning, teaching and training, on **socio-linguistics etc.,**
- Publishes a monthly journal "**Telugu**" for the benefit of students, teachers, and researchers,

- Undertakes to organize exhibitions and sales promotion activities of books published in Telugu language,
- Collaborates with other state level and national level organizations in publishing books in Telugu and in conducting seminars and workshops, and in evolving a pan Indian terminology,
- Publishes the translations of books in Telugu which have won best-book awards at the National/ International and State levels,
- Accepts the original books and translations of writers which have been certified as worth publishing by the experts appointed by the Academy and also accepts to republish the best books already published by other publishers,
- Undertakes to extend such co-operation as may be needed and possible to non-Telugu speakers living within and outside the state of Andhra Pradesh to learn Telugu and to get to know best books in Telugu.

7. 1. Organizational Set-up and Functions

The Academy has, like any other major organization or institution, its Board of Governors, Standing Committees, Constitution, Bylaws, etc.

7. 1. 1. Board of Governors

The Board of Governors (hereafter Board) is made responsible for the management and administration of affairs of the Academy in accordance with the rules and bylaws framed there **under with** powers to make bylaws and also to amend, alter, **vary** or modify them, from time to time. The Board is, therefore, **the** highest policy-making body, as far as **the** affairs of the Academy are concerned. Government of Andhra Pradesh constitutes the

Board of the Academy. Every Board will be in office, generally, for a minimum of three years period. The existing Board was constituted in April 1993. The Minister for Higher Education, Government of Andhra Pradesh, is the *ex-officio* chairperson of the Board. The members of the Board include the Secretaries for Education, and Finance Departments of Government of Andhra Pradesh; Vice-chancellors of the (state) universities in the state of Andhra Pradesh; four non-official nominated members who are 'reputed' scholars; the Commissioners of Higher education and technical Education of Government of Andhra Pradesh; nominees of the Human Resources Department (Education), Government of India and the University Grants Commission; President of the Andhra Pradesh Academy of Sciences; Secretary of the Board of Intermediate Education, Government of Andhra Pradesh; Secretary of the Andhra Pradesh Official Language Commission. The Director of the Academy is the Member-Secretary of the Board.

7. 1.2. Standing Committee

There are two Standing Committees of the Board, viz., Standing Committee for Administrative Matters, and Standing Committee for Academic Matters.

7. 1. 2. 1. Standing Committee for Administrative Matters

The Principal Secretary to the Government of Andhra Pradesh, Department of Higher Education, is the Chairperson of this Committee. The other members of this committee are the Chairperson of the Standing Committee for Academic Matters; Commissioners for Higher Education, and Technical Education; Additional Secretary to the Department of Finance, Government of Andhra Pradesh; and the Director of the Academy is the Member-Secretary. This committee is empowered to prescribe the

qualifications of the administrative personnel, regulate the conditions of service staff, payment of remuneration etc., and also to regulate all financial matters inclusive of budget.

7. 1. 2. 2. Standing Committee for Academic Matters

The Vice Chancellor of the Telugu University is the Chairperson of this committee. The other members of this committee are: the chairperson of the Standing Committee for Administrative Matters; four non-official members nominated by the Government of Andhra Pradesh; and the Director of the Academy, who in turn, is the Member-Secretary. This committee is empowered to prescribe the qualifications of the academic personnel; to formulate and to approve the projects to be undertaken by the Academy etc.

The decisions taken by these two Standing Committees except when they are contrary to any general directions given by the Board have to be implemented by the Director after obtaining the approval of the chairperson of the Academy and have to be placed before the Board at its meeting for information.

7. 2. Vice-Chairpersons

The first Vice-chairperson is one of the Vice-chancellors of the (state) universities on rotation (at present the Vice-chancellor of the Dr. BR Ambedkar Open University is the First Vice-chairperson). The Second Vice-chairperson is the Secretary to the Government of Andhra Pradesh, Department of Higher Education. The Second Vice-chairperson has powers to function for and on behalf of the Chairperson of the Academy to the extent such powers are delegated to him.

7. 3. Staff Position

The total strength of the Academy is 160. Out of which 43 posts relate to Academic activities and 117 posts pertain to non-academic activities. The details of cadres pertaining to administrative staff are discussed in detail in the later sections.

7. 3. 1. Director

The chairperson, in consultation with the Government of Andhra Pradesh, appoints the Director of Academy. The Director is both administrative and academic head of the Academy. On the academic side, the Director is being assisted by three Deputy Directors and on the administrative side, he is assisted by four officers viz., Administrative Officer, Production Officer, Accounts Officer, and Sales and Stores Officer, besides necessary academic and ministerial staff and paraphernalia.

7. 4. Funding

The main sources of funding to the Academy include a 'revolving fund' of a sum of One crore rupees given by the Government of India as part of its policy to develop the regional languages. As it is a revolving fund, the Academy should spend the interest on **the** sum and the principal amount should not be spent. As Academy is a part and parcel of the Ministry of Higher Education, Government of Andhra Pradesh, the state government gives a grant of 12 lakhs per year. Apart from these sources, the major source of income to the Academy is through the sales of its publications. The publications of the Academy are being sold **on** 'no-loss-no-profit' basis. The annual budget turnover of the Academy is around 1.3 crores.

For producing university level terminology, the Academy is getting financial assistance from the Ministry of Human Resources Development, Government of India. The Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, generally, funds the Academy for publishing and printing books about language and culture. The budgetary allocation to the Academy will be done through the Department of Higher Education, Government of Andhra Pradesh. The salary and the building costs should be met through this. Surprisingly, the amount given by the Department of Higher Education is very minimal for the past few years.

7. 5. Departments

The Academy has the following three departments for the fulfillment of aims and objectives for which Academy was established. They are the Department of Research and Survey, the Department of Teaching and Training, and the Department of Publications. The coordinated work of these three departments, it is believed, promotes a smooth switch over to Telugu as medium of instruction and language of administration at all levels in the state of Andhra Pradesh. According to the objectives of the Academy, the three departments, viz., Research and Survey Department; Teaching and Training Department; and Publications Department, will be working accordingly at their individual departmental level.

Important tasks of the Research and Survey Department are Socio-Linguistic survey of Telugu in Andhra Pradesh; compilation of Telugu-English dictionary; compiling of school level dictionaries; making a comprehensive glossary of social sciences; preparation of Administrative and Legal bilingual glossary; and Telugu-Telugu monolingual dictionary etc. In all these undertakings, the main thrust is on language rather than literature.

The department of Teaching and Training has the tasks of teaching Telugu to the non-Telugu speaking employees in government departments; conducting orientation programs for lecturers and teachers (to teach Telugu efficiently to switch-over to Telugu medium instruction at various levels); preparation of course materials and other reference materials for above said teaching purposes. The Publication division of Academy has tasks like preparation and publication of textbooks for Telugu medium schools in all subjects from Intermediate to Post Graduate level (Till Class-X, preparing of the primers is the responsibility of the Directorate of School Education, Andhra Pradesh); preparation of subject glossaries (about 200 glossaries have so far been published); preparing definitional dictionaries (for defining the technical terms up to Degree and Post Graduate level for all subjects); publication of monographs and popular series books; and other reference materials, translations etc.

7. 5. 1. **The Department of Research and Survey**

The projects taken up unit are compilation of technical terms, **socio-linguistic** survey of Andhra Pradesh, the publication of bilingual dictionaries, besides the publication of periodical monthly journal and quarterly **supplementary** journals.

The first project provides the use of technical terms for the publication of textbooks and reading material, while the second project would facilitate the preparation of a comprehensive grammar for modern standard Telugu. The socio-linguistic survey undertaken by this department envisages the interpretation of linguistic variation in terms of social processes. It tries to determine what influencing factors are at play with linguistic variation in the process of standardization. It also determines the nature and extent of regional and social dialects in Telugu.

It also accounts for the factors influencing the process of standardization in the regional standards and establishes the inter-relationship between the local and regional standards at one end and the same between different regional standards. It will lead to deciding or setting up of certain 'norms' based on which modern education through the teaching of modern scientific knowledge could be imparted. The results of the study are published in two forms, i.e., in the shape of bulletins for each district in Telugu, and in the form of monographs in English for the benefit of linguists.

The bilingual dictionaries, which are slated for publication contains pronunciation (accentuation and syllabification), grammatical description, inflected forms, meanings, phrases and idioms, illustrative sentences, synonyms, antonyms, and usage. These three kinds of publications, according to the Academy, will cater to the needs of students, teachers, and other general public in a fast changing world of knowledge.

Building up registers (technical terms) in Indian languages is an up-hill task. Towards this activity, which is a gigantic one in nature, efforts were made to collect all the published material in Telugu pertaining to popular science and other subjects and to index the terms already in use. The Academy has thus compiled lists of technical terms for all the courses of study, which run into lakhs of words. The glossaries thus compiled were placed before the respective committees of writers and editors from time to time in each case. Glossaries of technical terms were first printed as separate books subject-wise for official use and were supplied to concerned writers and editors besides a host of evaluators drawn from colleges and universities. They are subjected to reviews and revisions and fresh compilation and revi-

sion work is still going on. These standardized glossaries are now being published as priced editions. The purpose of these projects is to equip the textbook writers and subject-teachers for teaching through Telugu up to the highest level of education.

Another important task of this department is to survey the districts of Andhra Pradesh in order to obtain regional and social dialects in Telugu in each district. Thereafter based on the information collected, material will be published in the form of bulletins in Telugu and in the form of monographs in English for grammatical purposes.

It is believed that research-oriented work is useful to the researchers and to linguists in the entire country. This type of project, it is claimed, has not been undertaken by any state in India. This department is currently working on a bilingual dictionary (Telugu-English) which consists of 40,000 words along the lines of Oxford Dictionary. This department has also brought out the Administrative and Legal Glossary for the use of several departments of the Government of Andhra Pradesh so as to enable them to switch over to Telugu as the official language for the purpose of administration. This department is also planning to bring out Telugu-English Administrative and Legal Glossary.

The staff earmarked for this department is as follows:

- Deputy Director (Research and Survey),
- Research Officer-- 2 posts (Telugu and Linguistics),
- Research Assistants-- 6 posts (2 Telugu, 4 subjects [3 Linguistics and one Law]), and
- Survey Assistants-- 3 posts (all for Linguistics).

The work-norms for the sanctioned staff attached to this department, cadre-wise are as follows.

7. 5. 1. 1. Deputy Director (Research and Survey)

Periodical assessment of the staff in the department; preparation of schemes and projects; preparation of annual budgetary requirements; conducting seminars, symposia or conferences pertaining to the department; chalking-out plan of action with regard to conducting the socio-linguistic survey (district-wise); bringing out dialect bulletins (in Telugu) and dialectal monographs (in English) (district-wise); compilation of bilingual dictionaries of Telugu-English, and English-Telugu; publication of glossary of Administrative and Legal terms (English-Telugu and Telugu-English); and preparation of comprehensive lists of glossaries in sciences and social sciences.

7. 5. 1. 2. Research Officers

Various projects undertaken by the Academy pertaining to Telugu language and literature includes compilation of bilingual dictionaries, *padakosas*, and subject dictionaries. For this purpose and in order to ensure to bring out qualitative publications the Research Officer (Telugu) is required to refer various publications already available and process the press copies of the Academy books for printing. The Research Officer (Telugu) will have to assist the Deputy Director in formulating schemes/ projects being undertaken by the Academy from time to time. The Research Officer (Telugu) is also required to proof read the printed form from language point of view in order to enable the departmental head to give final strike order.

The duties of Research Officer (Linguistics) are to provide research guidelines to Research Assistants and Survey Assistants

and supervise their work progress; to conduct pilot projects with the help of Research Assistants and Survey Assistants; to co-operate with Terminology Wing in the preparation of subject dictionaries; to draft the agenda items for the Committees and Board; to assist the concerned Deputy Director in discharging the duties pertaining to linguistic projects.

7. 5. 1. 3. Research Assistants

To correct all types of manuscripts from language point of view in accordance with the style sheet of Academy; compilation of bilingual dictionaries; *padakosas*; preparation of terminology are the main responsibilities of these Research Assistants. The duties of these Research Assistants includes: the correspondence with the universities and other educational institutions for obtaining syllabus in respect of various courses for bringing out publications in/ for different subjects; to get panel of writers and editors for the preparation of books; to convene the meetings of editors and writers; to correct the concerned manuscripts from subject point of view; to prepare press copies for the revised editions and reprints of the Academy books. To do linguistic analysis of collected material and its grammatical classification and to attend terminology work.

7. 5. 1. 4. Survey Assistants (Linguistics)

To undertake survey and obtain corpus material by applying linguistic survey methodology; transcription of collected basic material after selecting the relevant data from the corpus; card indexing and alphabetization work as per the needs of the nature of linguistic work; translation of texts or any other pertinent survey material.

The major project under the auspices of this department is the 'Socio-linguistic Survey of District Dialects of Andhra Pradesh'. To prepare a modern Telugu grammar, based on the district dialects and grammars is the end goal of this project/ survey. Apart from this, this department is also involved in compiling a bilingual dictionary (Telugu-English), and preparation of terminologies for science and technical subjects. This department has so far helped in publishing school level dictionaries for Biology, Chemistry, Languages, Mathematics, Physics, and Social Sciences. These dictionaries, the Academy hopes, will help in easy switchover to Telugu from English as the medium of instruction at school level. These dictionaries are also being used with the aim to help the Telugu-speaking students who are studying through English medium. While preparing these dictionaries, the Academy claims, due importance is given to different shades of meanings.

While preparing the school level textbooks, some 6-7 years back, the colloquial language was introduced as the writing style. Orientation classes were held for the teachers who were teaching languages in school. Importance was given to functionally oriented language teaching at various levels of education. It was also decided to follow scientific way in teaching, also in preparation of teaching materials. While preparing the textbooks, due attention was paid to language skills. All these objectives are introduced step by step with coordination of other departments.

One of the Deputy Directors of the Academy feels that aims and objectives of organization should be set first. Before introducing a skill or teaching technique, proper groundwork must be done. At present, the aim of the Academy, as viewed by one of its offi-

cial, is to introduce Telugu as the medium of instruction at university level in all state universities. However, limitations like lack of proper driving force to lead the future vision, insufficient and irregular budgetary allocations are hampering the endeavors of the Academy.

Attaining due permission for any proposal from this department has to pass through all the thresholds of any typical bureaucratic office. Any proposal, in general, starts its journey from the grassroots level. When any competent official of Academy desires to start any project, the first step towards its realization is collecting **the** relevant information for that. Based on the available information the need and relevance of the proposed study will be assessed. Then the proposal will be sent to the Director of the Academy for his initial approval. The Director sends the proposal to the Academic Standing Committee for approval. The Board of Governors scrutinizes all the proposals for projects. The Chairperson and the Vice-Chairperson will look into the project from the point of view of budgetary allocation. Then it will be sent back to the Director. Based on these, the Director makes her/ his decision. After the proposal gets the positive consent of the Director, relevant departments in and out of Academy will be consulted to get a clear picture as to how to go about it. At this stage only the needs and interests of various potential and possible users are taken into consideration. After taking suggestions from various associated sections, the final proposal for the project known as '**worksheet**' will be prepared. Then a commission or committee, as the case may be, for different subjects will be constituted and these committees will carry out the proposed plan and may achieve the desired '**outcome**'. This will be sent to the subject editor and the same process as

discussed above will be followed and final outcome of the project will be out in a printed form.

As there is much difference, as opined by a Deputy Director of the Academy, between theory and practice, and the inability to foresee all possible results problems, all the projects undertaken by the Academy have not been hundred percent success. The same Deputy Director also feels that, as no principle or stage is an ultimate one, there is always a room for betterment.

7. 5. 2. The Department of Teaching and Training

The major activities of this unit are teaching Telugu as second language to non-Telugu speakers, organizing orientation workshops to teachers of non-Telugu subjects at the college level, to impart training to administrative personnel for using Telugu as official language effectively, publication of Telugu-Telugu dictionary, and preparation and publication of teaching material for the use of teaching and training programs.

The task of this unit is to organize two types of courses in teaching Telugu as a second language to non-Telugu adults. The two courses are:

1. An Introductory Course of three months duration, which is open to persons and officials in the Government and other autonomous institutions in the state who have no knowledge of Telugu; and
2. An Advanced Course intended for those who have successfully completed the first course and for those who have comparable knowledge of Telugu.

To enable the state government and the Official Language Commission (*Adhikara Bhasha Sangham*) to implement Telugu

as official language, Academy is expected to extend academic expertise and co-operation by teaching Telugu to non-Telugu officials and by imparting training to Telugu knowing people to implement Telugu as official language in day to day administration in the government departments. This department is also planning to publish a Concise Telugu-Telugu Dictionary, which consists of 60,000 words for the use of Telugu literary world.

The staff earmarked for this department is as follows:

- Deputy Director (Teaching and Training),
- Research Officer-- 2 posts (Telugu- 2),
- Research Assistant-- 2 posts (Telugu- 2), and
- Survey Assistant-- 2 posts (Telugu- 2).

The working norms for the sanctioned staff attached to this department, cadre-wise are as follows.

7. 5. 2. 1. Deputy Director (Teaching and Training)

Periodical assessment of the staff in the department; preparation of schemes to the organization of orientation workshops for college lecturers for writing books in Telugu medium; conducting teaching classes for non-Telugu speakers (both Introductory and Advanced Courses); publication of Telugu-Telugu Dictionary; preparation of style sheet for Telugu language and so on.

7. 5. 2. 2. Research Officer

Various projects undertaken by the Academy pertain to Telugu language and literature includes compilation of bilingual dictionaries, *padakosas*, and subject dictionaries. For this purpose and in order to ensure to bring out qualitative publications the Research Officer (Telugu) is required to refer various publications already available and process the press copies of the

Academy books for printing. The Research Officer (Telugu) will have to assist the Deputy Director in formulating schemes/ projects being undertaken by the Academy from time to time. The Research Officer (Telugu) is also required to proof read the printed form from language point of view in order to enable the departmental head to give final approval.

7. 5. 2. 3. Research Assistant

To correct all types of manuscripts from language point of view in accordance with the style sheet of Academy; compiling bilingual dictionaries; *padakosas*; preparation of terminology are the duties of Research Assistant (Telugu) of Teaching and Training Department.

7. 5. 2. 4. Survey Assistant

To correct the manuscript from the language point of view in accordance with the Academy style sheet with the help of concerns subject expert before the draft fair copied.

7. 5. 2. 5. Courses offered by the Department of Teaching and Training

The Academy is offering two courses, introductory and advanced courses in Telugu, for the benefit of the non-Telugu officials in the Government of Andhra Pradesh offices and for those non-Telugu speakers who are interested in learning Telugu. These courses are held in a five-month period and have 48 classes each. The Telugu language course is basically designed to teach written Telugu to the non-Telugu speaking employees. In these courses the standard variety of the language in vogue is being used for the purpose of teaching.

In the first course, i.e., introductory course, basics of Telugu language are taught. All the classes in this course are grammar

oriented. After the completion of this course, it is believed that, the trainees are able to understand, read, and write Telugu. The second level course, i.e., Advanced Course is offered to those who had completed the introductory course. This is mainly meant for the officials in the government offices, who are working in the state of Andhra Pradesh. In this course, advanced forms of noting, filing, corresponding, letter writing are taught. After the completion of this course, it is hoped, the trainees can talk fluently in Telugu.

The intended goal of these courses is to assist the government to implement Telugu as official language at all levels of administration. But it appears that the desired goals are not being achieved. Initially all officers in the government departments used to attend, but later only those who are really interested in learning Telugu are attending.

For the convenience of the officials who are attending the classes, the Academy used to conduct its classes from 6-8 in the evening. But as the attendance of the state government officials became thin and due to other reasons, the timings are now changed to 3-5 in the evening. The classes will be on every other day. In these courses, for assessment of the progress, internal and final tests will be conducted. Here it is note worthy to mention that, all the officer-cadre employees, who are **non-Telugu** speakers, working in the government offices at all levels have to attain a recommended level of proficiency in Telugu. The only exemption to this is that, those employees who had completed 40 years of age need not meet this proficiency level. The language proficiency test is being conducted by the **APPSC**. For the employees who had taken the Academy courses are also exempted from this language test.

The Academy usually offers this course once in year. Earlier, when the course was introduced, 40-50 '**students**' used to attend the classes. However, among the government officials, only 50% are taking the final test. For the purpose of these courses the Academy has developed one reader each per course and one glossary of idioms and phrases. It is stated that so far 35 introductory courses and 27 advanced courses have been conducted by the Academy. After completion of each course passing-out certificates and marks sheets will be given to those who had completed the course successfully.

Apart from the government officials, these courses are open for other non-Telugu speakers who are interested in learning Telugu. For this purpose, the minimum educational qualification is Class-X. As an initial step towards starting the course, the Academy issues a notification, generally, in the month of August. The medium of instruction of these courses, however, is English. These courses are being offered as a part of the objective of spreading Telugu and hence are offered on tuition-free basis. For taking the final examination, 75% of the course attendance is made compulsory. In general the state government employees will get the work permission from their respective institutions/ departments to attend these classes. The staff members of the Academy are the course instructors. Apart from these two courses, the Academy is also taking the probationary classes for non-Telugu speaking IAS-cadre officers who are to work in the state of Andhra Pradesh.

The department, as a practice, gets the projects sanctioned in the following way. In the first place a proposal will be sent to the Academic Standing Committee by the Deputy Director of the department. And after it gets the approval of the Standing

Committee, it will be sent to get the consent, in terms of financial implications, of the Administrative Standing Committee as well. Based on the recommendations of both of the Standing Committees, the Board of Governors also nods positively for the proposal and thus proposal materializes. Though the Deputy Director of the department concerned proposes the project, the power allocation of personnel to the proposed project/ scheme lies with the Director of the Academy.

Telugu-Telugu (Collegiate) Dictionary with almost 60,000 entries is in the composing stage and will be published soon. To introduce Telugu literature to common reader the Academy is publishing *Vikasa Grandhamalika* series and monograph series on various subjects like story, novel, popular literature, modern literature etc. The department has finished the work of *Sahityakosam* in two volumes and the work of the third volume is in progress. The work that is pending with this department is completion of *Parisodhana Samhitha*. The reason for this is lack of staff/ personnel. The reason for the lack of staff could be attributed to the absence of appointments for a long time and the majority of the staff working with the Academy is working here on deputation basis. For these reasons the work is suffering at Academy.

The motive behind the work of this department is to assist the process of implementation of Telugu as medium of instruction at all levels. As there is no proper infrastructure (in terms of staff, material etc.), the Telugu medium schools/ colleges are affected. The major part of the fault lies with the government policy decisions. The government is not able to provide any incentives to the students who are opting for Telugu medium education. It is proposed by one of the officials at the Academy that

to promote the use of Telugu language, Telugu medium education must be made compulsory to get a job in the state (including **private** and public sectors). Keeping the importance of English in today's world, English should be made as a supporting language. And more importantly, the government should undertake strict implementation of the official language policy. The Academy, according to the officials of the Academy, has succeeded in implementing Telugu as medium of instruction at various levels of education. But textbooks in the field of science, technology, and social sciences at the post-Graduate level are yet to be brought out.

7. 5. 3. The Publication Department

The work in this unit involve indexing, compiling, coining, adopting and standardizing all available terminology in a given subject; correcting the manuscript in context and language, proof reading at various stages besides conducting meetings of editors and writers, organizing discussions of technical nature, evaluating the work done, revising the material periodically and participating in the seminars and orientation workshops at the Academy and at various other centers.

The activities of this unit consist of bringing out publications, which include **Intermediate** textbooks (including reprints), degree level reading material (including reprints), reference material (glossaries, subject dictionaries, monographs, and popular series). The subjects covered are Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology, Commerce, Economics, Political Science, Public Administration, Psychology, Home Science, Sociology, Geography, Geology, History etc.

The staff earmarked for this department is as follows.

- Deputy Director (Publications),
- Research Officer___5 posts (subjects like Physical Sciences, Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Commerce, and Terminology).
- Research assistant___9 posts (1 Telugu, 8 subjects___Mathematics and Statistics, Public Administration/ Political Science/ Commerce/ Economics/ Philosophy/ Psychology, Physics, Chemistry, Botany/ Zoology, Sociology/ Social Work/ History, Home Sciences, Geology/ Education), and
- Publication Assistant___8 posts (1 Telugu, 7 subjects___ Public Administration/ Political Science, Sociology/ History/ Social Work, Commerce/ Economics, Physics/ Chemistry, Mathematics/ Statistics, Home Science/ Geology, Botany/ Zoology).

The Deputy Director is the in-charge of this department. This unit enlists work from outsiders also on part-time basis depending on the exigencies of work. This department brings out publications pertaining to various classes and courses: Intermediate, Degree level, B. Ed., Post-Graduate, Vocational, Teaching and Training, and Polytechnic. Reference material like translations of standard works in English, Monographs, Popular Series, Subject Dictionaries, Glossaries etc. is also published by this unit.

7. 5. 3. 1. Deputy Director (Publications)

The duties of the Deputy Director include: Periodical assessment of the staff in the department, preparation of schemes and projects, preparation of annual budgetary requirements, conducting seminars, symposia or conferences, timely publication of books, obtaining syllabus in respect of various courses for higher education, commissioning writers, editors, translators

and scrutinizers, revision of books published by the Academy earlier, and publication of reprints.

7. 5. 3. 2. Research Officers

To arrange to get syllabus from different institutions, to convene the meetings of book production committees, to correspond with the universities, State Council for Education, etc., to draft the agenda items for the Committees and Board, random scrutiny of the manuscript after certification of concerned subject expert in order to ensure that the manuscript is in accordance with the syllabus, random scrutiny of the printed proofs, fixation of diagrams, pictures etc. at appropriate places after the certification from the concerned subject experts, timely action to bring out reprints and revised editions, review of printing of books and reprints, to attend to the terminology work in consultation with subject experts and Terminology Wing in Academy, to supervise the functions of the Production Wing and concerned subject experts, getting the relevant publication work done by the Production Wing and the allotted Research Assistants/ Publication Assistants in the absence of any expert. To update and prepare all the subject glossaries and dictionaries with the help of subject experts, linguists and others; to standardize terminology in Telugu by conducting surveys, seminars and workshops etc.; to attend concerned terminological meetings and seminars conducted by other institutions; to participate in the meetings of editors and writers of different subjects in so far as terminological work is concerned; to attend to any other work related to terminology; to prepare subject definitional dictionaries with the help of subject experts and others; to draft the agenda items for the Committees and Board.

7. 5. 3. 3. Research Assistants

To correspond with the universities and other institutions for obtaining syllabus in respect of various courses for bringing out publications in different subjects; to get panel of writers and editors for the preparation of books; to convene the meetings of editors and writers; to correct the concerned manuscripts from subject point of view; to prepare press copies for the revised editions and reprints of the Academy publications. To correct all types of manuscripts from language point of view in accordance with the style sheet of Academy; compilation of dictionaries, *padakosas*, preparation of terminology.

7. 5. 3. 4. Publication Assistants

To correct the manuscript from the language point of view in accordance with the style sheet of the Academy with the help of concerned subject experts before the draft is fair copied. To correspond with the universities and other institutions for obtaining syllabus in respect of various courses for bringing out publications in different subjects; to get panel of writers and editors for the preparation of books; to convene the meetings of editors, and writers; to correct the concerned manuscripts from the subject point of view; to prepare press copies for the revised editions and reprints of Academy publications.

This department undertakes the publication of Intermediate, Degree, Post Graduate (PG), B. Ed., and TTC books. The Academy has undertaken the task of preparing the textbooks for the Intermediate. For this purpose, in the first place, expert committees of different subjects were set up. Based on the recommendations of each committee, a technical glossary is prepared. After this, based on the syllabus (approved by the Board of Intermediate Education, Andhra Pradesh), a team of teachers/ sub-

ject experts is constituted. These experts include not only the Intermediate teachers but also university level professors. This subject committee comprises of 3-4 subject experts and one subject editor.

The process of preparation of subject textbooks is a multi-layered task. In the first place, the subject writer gathers information for writing the book according to the syllabus. The first draft of this will be going to the editor for the initial correction. At this stage, the editor will go through the manuscript and suggests/ recommends changes that are necessary. Then, again the subject writer carries out these suggestions and sends the fair copy to the editor. The editor, after looking into it, sends the same to the concerned subject expert. From the subject expert, the copy goes to the language experts at the Academy. Here, at the Academy, the language experts will correct the draft in terms of variety, standard, and uniformity in language. These corrections will be in accordance with the Academy approved style-sheet (see Appendix-5). Then the copy goes to the subject expert at Academy. (S)he will suggest the changes, if any. The book in its final form of manuscript will then be ready for composing at press. After getting the book printed at Academy's own press, or some other press which is recognized by the Academy for that purpose, the book is ready for sale through various centers of the Academy across the state. The process is almost same for all the subjects. The number of copies to be published, both for original and reprints, shall be decided by the Stores and Sales Officer of the Academy.

A noteworthy feature of the Academy is that, in the initial years, the Academy had conducted the orientation workshops for the writers at six places all over the state. Each workshop was of 7-

10 days duration. During these workshops, the views of the students and teachers were taken into consideration while the first set of the textbooks is prepared. After few years of introducing Telugu as the medium of education at Intermediate level, the Academy has stopped these orientation programs for teachers. After completing the task of publishing the textbooks for Intermediate level, the Academy has under taken the publication of degree level books. During the initial years only nominal remuneration was given to the subject writers for preparing the textbooks. The task of preparing books in Telugu medium at that time was considered as a voluntary job and also as an act of enriching the Telugu language, according to a senior official in the Academy.

The Academy and the Board of Intermediate Education, Government of Andhra Pradesh being under the chairpersonship of same ministry, there exists a kind of mutual understanding between these two institutions. Though Telugu is being in use as the medium of instruction even at the university level, the Academy has undertaken the job of publishing the PG level books for selected subjects only. After the establishment of Telugu University in 1985, the responsibility of publishing PG level textbooks was shifted to the Telugu University. Due to failure of Telugu University in meeting the demand in publishing/ preparing and supplying the textbooks for PG students, the Academy had forced itself to undertake the responsibility of publishing PG level textbooks for selected subjects. When the proposal of publishing the PG level textbooks was not positively met by the government and the UGC, and for the reasons like financial constraints on the part of the Academy, in terms of budget allocation, publication costs etc. the Academy delayed, initially the process of preparing and publishing the PG level textbooks.

Public Administration, Political Science, Economics, and History were the four subjects introduced at PG level on experiment basis. After that the range was widened to include Sociology, Mathematics etc. A few science subjects, like Botany, were also included. But science books published in Telugu have not been attracting the students.

The Academy also publishes few translations from other languages. However, most of the translations were of the subjects only. In recent years, the Academy is encouraging the original works rather than translations. As a result of this, the translation works were reduced to a minimum. Apart from the translations, the Academy also publishes Monograph series on Arts subjects.

To develop the interest in Telugu among the writers and other interested persons, the Academy held writing competitions on variety of subjects and the best essays were published in "Telugu", its monthly journal. In addition to this, financial support was given to scholars who were working on Telugu language outside the territory of the state of Andhra Pradesh. But, at present, Academy is not extending this facility.

Apart from the subject books for general use, the academy also published books for competitive examinations like (EAMCET) for some period. Some readings (*Vyasavalulu*) on varied subjects were published to express abstract ideas and science and technological terminology in Telugu. Preparation of District Dialects of Andhra Pradesh, graded vocabulary for high school level subjects, compilation of subject dictionaries in Telugu were other important works that were undertaken by the Academy.

7. 6. Administrative Wing

Though the Administrative Wing is a part of the Academy, and the staff earmarked for this wing has respective specified duties, they are administrative rather than academic in nature. As we are looking at the Academy from a language planning point of view, we are not discussing here the duties of this wing in detail. However, it may not be out of place to mention that, though majority of the activities of the personnel of the Academy is of corpus language planning in nature, the duties of the personnel of the administrative Wing largely falls under the category of language status planning activities. The Administrative Wing of the Academy consists of eight sections. They are 1) Administration, 2) Accounts, 3) Printing, 4) Production, 5) Stores, 6) Sales, 7) Inspection, and 8) Library. Individual officers are in charge of these sections.

During the year 1988 the centralized set up of the sales of Academy publications was decentralized by establishing Regional Centers (Seven) spread over in the state of Andhra Pradesh. These regional centers were commissioned at Anantapur, Hyderabad, **Karimnagar**, Tirupati, Vijayawada, **Vishakhapatnam**, and Warangal. Subsequently a sub-centre was also commissioned at Guntur.

7. 7. Some **Observations on Telugu Academy**

The following table gives us an understanding of what the Academy had done all these years since its inception in 1968. The table shows the status of various activities undertaken by the Academy as on August 1, 1999.

Table. 1.

	Published	Under Progress
Publication Department		
Intermediate level Textbooks	159	—
Degree level Textbooks	459	81
Post-Graduate level Textbooks	58	134
Monographs	125	14
Translations	79	18
Readings	5	—
Popular Series	47	8
Subject Dictionaries	24	
Books for Professional Courses	21	--
Glossaries	19	
Books for Vocational Courses	11	--
EAMCET	10	--
Research and Survey Department		
Dictionaries	6	1
Books on Telugu Dialects	12	
Monographs	6	4
Gondi, Koya Primers	4	6
Other Books	6	--
Major Projects Undertaken:		
Socio-Linguistic Survey of Andhra Pradesh		
Syntactic Study of——languages		
Dictionary of Commercial——		
<i>Sabdasagaram</i>		
Study of Gondi and Koya Languages		
Monthly Journal "Telugu"		
Teaching and Training Department		
Teaching Telugu to Non-Telugu speakers—Introductory		8
Teaching Telugu to Non-Telugu speakers—Advanced		5
Major Projects Undertaken:		
Glossary of Administrative and Legal Terms (English-Telugu)		
Vocabulary of Potential Study		
Books Published:		
<i>Sahitya Padakosam</i>		
Telugu Research Digest		
<i>Padakosam</i>		
<i>Kavya Lokam</i>		
<i>Sanskrita Vyakarana Padakosam</i>		

On the whole, till March 1998, the Academy had published as many as 1466 books, out of which 315 are of Intermediate, 661 are for Degree courses, 78 PG level books, and 412 books are of other categories.

The following table gives the details of the subjects, level, and the number of books published by the Telugu Academy. In the column that shows the number of books at Degree level books, it may be noted that, in few subjects, like Botany, Commerce, etc., the number includes the Post-Graduate level books also. The number of reference books includes the translations, Mono-graph series, Popular series, and the readings.

Table. 2.

Subject	Level and Number of Books		
	Intermedi- ate	Degree	Refer- ence
Anthropology	--	3	2
Botany	4	27	16
Chemistry	2	9	5
Civics	2	--	--
Commerce	4	58	10
Dictionaries	—	--	8
EAMCET	--	--	10
Economics	2	14	12
Education (TTC)	--	18	10
General Biology	2	—	--
Geography	3	6	2
Geology-	4	10	8
Glossaries	—	--	5
Glossaries (Technical Terms)	--	--	15
History	4	33	24
Home Science	1	17	1
Indian Heritage and Culture	—	3	1
Language (Intermediate level)	15	--	—
Law	--	--	1

Library Science	—	6	3
Logic	2	--	--
Mathematics	10	43	13
Medicine	—	—	4
Modern Telugu Teaching	--	--	5
Others	--	—	8
Philosophy	--	7	7
Physics	4	18	16
Political Science		14	14
Psychology	2	5	5
Public Administration	2	9	9
Sanitary Inspector Course	--	1	--
Social Work	--	6	5
Socio-Linguistic Survey	—	--	21
Sociology	2	9	12
Statistics	2	27	10
Telugu	--	7	27
Theatre Arts	2	--	—
Vocational Course	9	--	--
Zoology	2	19	4

Source of data: List of Publications of Telugu Academy, 1997.

The Telugu Academy is the only Language Institute which is still actively engaged in modernization of a regional language. When the Telugu Academy proposed to conduct a wide socio-linguistic survey of all dialects of Andhra Pradesh, the staff proposed for that was 12, but by the time when the project actually started, the number of personnel was limited to five. Even these staff members were, more often than not, utilized for other purposes like preparation of books, proofreading etc.

When the *Sahitya Academy* ceased to exist and after it was merged into the Telugu University in 1985, compiling *Vritti Padakosas*, the government of Andhra Pradesh did not give permission to Telugu Academy for carrying that uncompleted

work. According to Budaraju Radhakrishna¹, the government dissolved the Sahitya Academy to satisfy one person. As Radhakrishna observed, No proper support was given to the personnel at Telugu Academy by the government. Another thing is that the Telugu Academy was not utilizing the potential of its personnel. The government personnel or the persons in power are static, lethargic, indifferent, and were not willing to take responsibility and to be answerable. Hence there was no intellectual growth on the part of government personnel in all departments, and the Telugu Academy is no exception.

The following table shows the list of Directors of the Academy along with the details of the educational qualification, date of joining, and the department they previously worked.

Table. 3.

Name	Ed. Qual	From	Previous
PSR Appa Rao	MA Ph D	29-6-1968	
K. Veerabhadra Rao	MA Ph D	2-7-1974	Dy. Director, T.A.
N. Venkata Swamy	MA M. Ed	5-8-1975	Edcn. Dept.
G. Manohar Rao	MA M. Ed	17-11-1980	Edcn Dept.
G. Gopalakrishna	MA M. Ed	19-5-1982	Edcn Dept.
T. Venka Reddy	M.Sc, M.Ed	6-9-1983	School Edcn.
V. Kondala Rao	M.Com	11-8-1985	Eden Dept.
K. Bhaktavatsala Rao	M.Sc, Ph D	1-8-1990	Eden Dept.
NV Subba Reddy	MA M. Ed	1-1-1991	Edcn Dept.
K. Hemalatha	B.Sc (Hons)	1-8-1992	Eden Dept.
A. Hymavathi	MA	1-12-1992	Edcn Dept.
Ch. Narsi Reddy	M.Sc, B.Ed	17-3-1993	Edcn Dep.

¹ In one of the un-recorded personal conversation with the researcher on January 28, 2000 It may be noted here that, Budaraju Radhakrishna had worked with the Telugu Academy and retired as one of its Deputy Directors

Deevi Subba Rao	MA M. Ed	7-3-1994	Add. Dir, Education. Dep.
B. Viziabharathi	MA Ph D	1-8-1998	Dy. Director, T.A.
A. Manjulatha	MA PhD	1-12-1999	Dy. Director, T.A.

It may be noted that, as the above table shows, majority of the Directors appointed was from the Education Department. There were no Director, who worked earlier with the Academy. Anyhow, those who served as Directors, and who worked earlier with the Academy, were in the office on part-time basis or in other words they are Directors-In-Charge only.

One of the staff members working with the Academy has opined that, the Academy, being a part of the Ministry of Higher Education, Government of Andhra Pradesh, the Directors were appointed by the government itself. More often than not, the Directors who were appointed are either on temporary basis or on deputation. This part time nature of the Director, who, in turn, is the administrative and academic head of the Academy, resulted in not taking enough interest in the activities of the Academy. In the past, due importance was never given to the right personnel, i.e., to linguists, in the academic affairs of the Academy. The Office of the Director of the Academy has become a 'political asylum'. Lack of proper personnel is main drawback in the functioning of the Academy.

The present researcher, as a part of collecting data relating to the assessment of the quality, usefulness, need for improvement of the Academy books, visited few junior and degree colleges where the Academy books are in use. As a part of this, the re-

searcher had visited MNR Junior College, a privately organized educational institution. This college is situated at Ramachandrapuram, near BHEL, Hyderabad. This college offers both English and Telugu media education up to Intermediate level and is recognized by the Government of Andhra Pradesh. At Intermediate level, both Sciences and Arts subjects are being offered. When the researcher visited this college, the teachers and the students from both subject groups offered their comments.

The majority of the teachers refer Academy books when they prepare notes for teaching Telugu medium students. They feel that the books are good and except for few spelling mistakes here and there, otherwise the books and the style of language used in the Academy books are good. As the college is being run by a private body, they are more interested in their results, hence, in many cases the teachers themselves refer many other books (other than Academy books) and give detailed notes on the topics in the syllabus.

Many students also use some privately published books for examination purposes, as these books are written from the examination point of view. Especially in Sciences, apart from getting good marks, both the teachers and students are interested in getting good rank in EAMCET. Hence, the teachers are using the Academy books for preparing the general notes and are using other books for preparing students for the examinations. The main drawback in the Academy books, according to both the students and teachers, is that these books are not sufficient to prepare a student to answer the short and very-short questions. The private publications ('Vikram' in the case of Sciences and 'Jayabharathi' in the case of Arts), are giving as many as 700-

1000 bit questions for each chapter where as the Academy books are giving a mere 10-15 such questions.

The language style, especially in Arts books, is not simple and hence becoming incomprehensible to the students. It may be noted that though the Academy claims that the style it uses in its books is of standard variety, it uses semi-colloquial or semi-Textual (*sista-vyavaharika*) style. The Academy books (of Arts) are not detailed and those books are not available in required quantities in the market. This, in a way, is leading students to go for the private publications.

As far as the Degree Colleges, where the medium or one of the media of instruction is Telugu, most of these colleges were affiliated to the Osmania University. Here, it is important to note that Osmania University has the system of year-wise examinations. Though there is a need for a minimum of 75% of attendance to appear for the examinations, paying a sum of Rs. 100/-, as attendance fee, will give exemption from adhering to this rule.

The colleges where both English and Telugu are used as media of instruction are mainly under private management. **Here, in** these colleges, teachers are preparing notes, for their teaching purposes, based on the English medium books. In the class they dictate notes and the students will follow that for their examination purposes. The main complaint of the teachers regarding the Academy books is that, they are not detailed in subject. Many of the topics, which appear regularly in the examinations are not dealt in detail in the Academy books. Apart from this, in few subjects like Statistics, the terminology used is different **from** the everyday language and hence is incomprehensible to

both the students and the teachers. In the privately run colleges, the end result, i.e., pass rate, is important hence they are going for the books that best suit their needs.

In the government colleges, most of the time teachers refer Academy books while teaching in the class. But as the examination pattern is year-wise and the Academy books are not easily available in the market, the students, here also, go for the guides, which in turn, are being published by private agencies. Those students, who are interested, especially in science subjects, go for tuitions privately. The majority of the teachers with an average experience of 10 years are not particular about the style and presentation of the Academy books. However, the teachers who teach language subjects (like Telugu, Hindi, English etc.) follow textbooks while teaching in the class.

The Academy, in its 32 years of existence has produced **1446** books, which include the reprints as well, in various subjects at various levels. This amounts to an average of more than 45 books per year. The actual number of staff earmarked for the Publication Department is 22. According to the information furnished by the Academy personnel, there are about 25-30 vacant posts among three academic departments of the Academy. This means that there are only 10-15 employees for this department. In other words, every staff member is producing three books per year. At the same time it is interesting to note that one of the main objective of the Academy is to evolve a standard style of Telugu language being spoken in various dialects in different geographical regions. This project, however, has not been completed during the past 30 years since it started. Till now, **only** 20 districts have been completed. If we reduce this into small figures, there are 23 districts in the state of Andhra Pradesh,

and the average number of personnel involved in the socio-linguistic project is six (however, the actual number of staff earmarked for this department is 12). That means, in the possible 180 years (6 personnel X 30 years) of 'potential' research the Academy could not complete the project².

The reasons for this are many. If we look in to the details of this, we can find that the Government of Andhra Pradesh has, in principle, agreed to meet the expenditure incurred by the Academy towards payment of salaries to its employees. Nonetheless, it has never happened in reality. With the limited financial support that it gets from the government (annual grant of eight lakh rupees for the past few years), the Academy is forced to rely on its own sources of finance. The major source of income to the Academy is through the sales of its publications. As a 'survival measure', every member of the academic wing, irrespective of department and position, is engaged in the process of textbook production. This involvement, on the other hand, has resulted in neglecting the socio-linguistic project. Only after completing the former task, the staff of the Department of Research and Survey could make themselves available to the project. This has made the socio-linguistic survey as 'an unending task' of the Academy.

From the academic year 1999-2000, the Academy started producing textbooks for intermediate level in English medium as well. This has been done, as it was told to the researcher by one of the personnel of the Academy, as a result of a request made by the Board of Intermediate Education, Andhra Pradesh. This is, ironically, claimed by the Academy as an achievement. In an

² This sounds exaggerated. What we intend to focus here is that less work has been accomplished compared to the time and resources has been spent

un-recorded personal interview with a staff member of the Academy, it was revealed that the staff members of the academic wing themselves decide what should be their next project. But, in reality, this is not the case. Owing to the limited support that it gets from the government, the Academy has to rely on its own sources of income. This situation of 'looking for alternative sources of income' is 'compelling' them to involve themselves in the textbook preparation. This situation without any doubt leads us to conclude that, the Academy is merely a "book-production center".

As a result of the in-completion of the **socio-linguistic** survey, which was intended to help in evolving the standard variety of Telugu, the Academy could not come up with the so-called 'standard variety of Telugu'. It may be recalled here that, in one of the personal, unrecorded interviews with one of the teachers involved in teaching intermediate students, the style of the Academy books is incomprehensible. This is because the style in which the books had been written is close neither to the everyday language nor to the so-called standard language in vogue.

When asked to respond to this observation, one of the personnel involved with the socio-linguistic survey at the Academy claimed that the books are being written in the 'standard language' only. When asked about the need and relevance of the Survey, the answer was to evolve standard language agreeable and comprehensible to the 'majority' of the 'Telugu speakers' of Andhra Pradesh. By the fact that the survey is incomplete, we can safely conclude that the Academy has not come up with any 'standard variety' till now. Then how can the style adopted by the Academy in

the textbook writing could be the 'standard variety'? To this question, there was no answer from the Academy.

Chapter VIII

TELUGU UNIVERSITY (1985)

The Telugu University was established on December 2, 1985, by an Act which was enacted in the Legislative Assembly of state of Andhra Pradesh. The Act, which is **known** as Telugu University Act, 1985 was enacted on October 24, 1985 (Act No. 27 of 1985). The Telugu University was, later, named as Potti Sreeramulu Telugu University on October 17, 1996 vide Andhra Pradesh Government Gazette No. 49. The Potti Sreeramulu Telugu University (hereafter TU) was established to provide for a teaching and affiliating University in the State of Andhra Pradesh for the promotion and advancement of Telugu language, literature, and culture.

The main objects of the University are—

- (1) To function as a high-level research centre in Telugu language, Literature, and Culture, by facilitating and regulating advanced study and research in areas like fine arts, architecture, archaeology, language, literature, linguistics, sciences, etc.
- (2) To translate books from other languages into Telugu and to compile and publish words, expressions, colloquial terms, used by Telugu speaking people, and
- (3) To develop Telugu as a language of modern knowledge and medium of instruction.

According to the Schedule of the University Act, the following are the proposed schools and departments:

School of Language Development

- (i) Department of Lexicography;
- (ii) Department of Linguistics;

- (iii) Department of Language Planning and Modernization

School of Literature

- (i) Department of Classical Literature;
- (ii) Department of Modern Literature;
- (iii) Department of Devotional and Lyrical Poetry;
- (iv) Department of Folk-songs and Folklore

School of Fine Arts

- (i) Department of Music;
- (ii) Department of Dance;
- (iii) Department of Theatre Arts;
- (iv) Department of Folk Arts;
- (v) Department of Planning and Sculpture;
- (vi) Department of Instruments

School of History, Culture, and Archaeology

- (i) Department of History and Culture of Telugu speaking people;
- (ii) Department of Epigraphy and Written Records;
- (iii) Department of Archaeology and Architecture;
- (iv) Department of Local History

School of Sanskrit and Philosophy

- (i) Department of Sanskrit Language and Literature;
- (ii) Department of Philosophy

School of Social Sciences and other Sciences

- (i) Department of Social Sciences;
- (ii) Department of Humanities;
- (iii) Department of Journalism and Communications;
- (iv) Department of Science;
- (v) Department of Medical and Engineering Education

Centres

- (i) International Telugu Centre;
- (ii) Centre for Translation;
- (iii) Centre for Textbook Preparation;

- (iv) Centre for Comparative Studies;
- (v) Centre for Preparation of Telugu Encyclopedia

In order to have an understanding of the TU from language planning point of view, now let us examine the activities of various schools and centres of the TU which are involved in the language planning activities in one way or the other. If we have a bird's eye view of the activities of the TU from language planning point of view, we can find that majority of the proposed/ expected activities are related to Telugu language corpus planning. The schools and centres which can be classified as language planning agencies are: 1. Centre for Encyclopedia; 2. Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi; 3. International Telugu Centre; 4. School of Language Development; and 5. Publication Division. Now let us examine in detail about the activities of different agencies which are working under the TU.

8. 1. CENTRE FOR ENCLYCLOPAEDIA (1947)

Komaraju Venkata Laxmanarau Vijnana Sarvasva Kendram

After India has attained political independence, political and cultural elite of various regional languages made efforts to develop and modernize their respective languages to disseminate modern knowledge system through their own language. For this purpose the need of translations, preparation of glossaries, and textbooks was felt. At about the same time, Avinashalingam Chettiyar, the then Education Minister of the Madras Presidency, announced that 'the government will provide a matching-grant of not more than one lakh rupees for a period of five years to the institutions who would like to prepare encyclopedia either in Tamil or in Telugu language' (Sreenivasacharyulu, 1995: 269). Chettiyar himself had taken the initiative and established

'**Tamila VazharchiKazhgam** to prepare **kalaikkazhangiyam** (Encyclopedia in Tamil language) in 10 volumes. For the preparation of encyclopedia in Telugu, Chettiar himself has initiated a meeting on October 15, 1947 at Madras and in that meeting '**Telugu** Bhasha **Samithi** (hereafter **Samithi**) was established with Bezawada Gopala Reddy as its Chairman¹. After the reorganization of states, the Samithi was shifted to Hyderabad. The Samithi was established in 1947 at Madras University. When the Samithi was established, the Madras University had provided a rent-free accommodation, library facilities, and other facilities to the Samithi. Few of the declared objectives of the Samithi are as follows:

1. To publish an encyclopedia and other books to bring the world of knowledge' to common man;
2. To undertake developmental activities to bring out useful literature in Telugu;
3. To give prizes for authors to promote useful writings in Telugu; and
4. Organize meetings, seminars, symposia etc. to develop scientific knowledge among common people.

With these objectives in mind, the Samithi had started working towards achieving these goals. For writing encyclopedia in Telugu, a planning commission had been appointed with Avinashlingam Chettiyar as its chairman². After many discussions, the

¹ **Bezawada** Gopala Reddy, the then Revenue Minister of the Madras State was the President, and Moturi Satyanarayana and G. **Narasimha** Rao were the founder Secretaries. Other members of the Samithi are: RB **Ramakrishnam** Raju. Maganti **Bapineedu**, Parvathaneni **Brahmayya**, BN Reddy. HV **Seetharama** Reddy. **Maddi** Sudrashnam. Gadicharla Harisarvothama Rao. and V **Emberumanar** Chetti.

² The other members of this committee are: Arcot Lakshmana **Swami** Mudaliyar (the then Vice Chancellor of Madras University); **Manidipudi** Venkata **Rangayya**; Vissa Appa Rao; Gidugu Venkata **Seethapahy**; Maganti **Bapineedu**; Mallampally **Somasckhara** Sharma; and **Vasantharao** Venkata Rao.

commission had decided to bring out subject wise encyclopedia in Telugu language with one or more volumes devoted to a topic. The Commission, initially, had decided to bring out ten volumes of encyclopedia, but after many other prolonged discussions among sub-committees, it was then decided to increase the number of volumes to 12. However, when it came to actual preparation, the number of volumes had been bulged to 16³. The Samithi from 1954 to 1979 could publish 14 volumes and the 15th volume on Medicines, was incomplete. Consequently, of this incomplete work, the Samithi never find it necessary to publish the 16th volume, Atlas and Index. The following table gives the details of published volumes of the Samithi.

Table. 1.

Subject	Year	Editorial Board
History and Politics	1954	G. Harisarvothama Rao, GV Seethapahy; P Ramamurthy; MV Rangayya
Physics and Chemistry	1955	G. Harisarvothama Rao; V Venkata Rao; V Viswanatha Sharma
Telugu Culture- I	1959	M Somasekhara Sharma; NV Ramanaiah; MV Rangayya; Moturi Satyanarayana
Telugu Culture- II	1962	M Somasekhara Sharma; NV Ramanaiah; MV Rangayya; M Satyanarayana
Economics, Commerce, and Geography	1962	Vemuri Venkata Ramanatham; Khandavalli Subrahmanya Shastri; Rachkonda Ramadasu; Tekumalla Rama Rao
World Literature	1962	Divakarla Venkatavadhani

³The 16 volumes are as follows: 1) History and Politics; 2) Physics and Chemistry. 3) Telugu Culture- I. 4) Telugu Culture- II; 5) Economics. Commerce and Geography; 6) World Literature; 7) Philosophies and Religions; 8) Agriculture. **Veterinary Science**, and **Forestry**; 9) Mathematics and Astronomy; 10) Social Sciences; 11) Legal and Administrative disciplines; 12) Engineering and Technology; 13) Life Sciences; 14) Fine Arts; 15) **Medicines**, and 16) Index and Atlas.

Philosophies and Religions	1903	Kotha Sachidananda Murthy
Agriculture, Veterinary Science and Forestry	1965	MVB Narasinga Rao; M Bapineedu; G Pandu Rangan; VS Prakasha Rao
Mathematics and Geography	1965	A Narasinga Rao; V Thiruvengalacharya
Social Sciences	1965	C Jayadev; B Kuppuswamy; K Umamaheswara Rao
Legal and Administrative disciplines	1968	GCV Subba Rao; V Bala Subrahmanyam
Engineering and Technology	1970	KL Rao; VVL Rao; NN Narayana Rao
Life Sciences	1979	D Venkateswarlu; A Narasimha Rao; J Venkateswarlu; RV Seshayya
Fine Arts	1979	CV Rajamannar; P Sambamurthy; R Subrahmanyam; S Sanjeevadev

Source: Srinivasacharyulu (1995), Pp. 275-277.

In 1986, the Samithi was merged into the Telugu University to form a Centre for Encyclopaedia and later it was named as *Kommaraju Venkata Laxmanarau Vijnana Sarvasva Kendram*. This Centre is exclusively concerned with the preparation and publication of a multi-volume, subject wise encyclopaedia in Telugu. In a way this forms an important aspect of the Telugu to disseminate modern knowledge to university students as well as to general public. The Centre had decided to prepare and publish 38 volumes of encyclopaedia in Telugu, covering a wide variety of subjects in the broad areas of Pure Sciences, Applied Sciences, Technology, Social Sciences and Humanities. The following table gives the details of the proposed volumes:

1. A Committee of experts will meet as many times as necessary (usually four to five times) to determine the scope of each volume and advises on the selection of suitable personnel and suggests the sources of reference material for preparation of the concerned volume.
2. The panel of Editors and writers will be sent to the Vice Chancellor for his consideration and approval.
3. An Editorial Committee is constituted to draw a blue print of the volume, to guide the preparation and finally to approve the press copy.
4. A Compiling Editor is appointed to correspond with the possible contributors, to co-ordinate the work with them and to prepare a draft copy of the proposed volume. The Compiling Editor will be an expert in the subject matter with which the volume is concerned. If necessary, he will be provided with an Assistant Compiler.
5. The Compiling Editor will allocate articles to the contributors or writers. He will also take care of the contents, depth, and length of the article. After he receives the articles from the contributors or writers he will edit the article and finalizes the text.
6. An **Artist-cum-Photographer** will also collect necessary pictorial material such as photographs, maps, and illustrations. He will assist the Editorial Board in finalising the layout of the pages for printing.
7. A **language expert** is associated with each of the volumes to finalize the text.
8. After the Compiling Editor approves and Finalizes the text, the Editorial Board approves the text and it will be ready for the printing.

For every contributor to encyclopaedia, the Centre gives remuneration of Rs. 100/- per page in print. Earlier the remuneration was Rs. 50/-. After the press copy is ready in all means, that will be sent to the Publication Division of the university for printing and sales. Earlier the Centre used to decide the number of copies to be published, but now the decision regarding the number of copies is being taken by the Vice Chancellor. The university sells the encyclopaedia at subsidized **rates**⁴.

Since its inception in 1986 the Encyclopaedia Centre has been involved in preparing the encyclopaedias in Telugu. So far, the Centre has published three volumes out of proposed 38 volumes. The completed volumes are:

1. **Lalitha Kalalu** (Fine Arts): Actually the Samithi prepared this volume and before it was published, the Samithi was merged with the Telugu University. After the merger, the Encyclopaedia Centre had published this volume.
2. **Religions and Philosophies**: This volume had earlier published by the Samithi and the Encyclopaedia Centre has thoroughly revised and updated this. This volume was published in 1992.
3. Viswa **Sahithi** (Languages and Literatures of the World): **K. Veerabhadra Rao** and **DVK Raghavacharya** edited this volume. This is an independent work of the Encyclopaedia Centre of the Telugu University and was published in 1994.
4. **The History and Culture of Andhras**: An attempt was made in this volume to present a comprehensive account of the history and culture of the Andhras. This volume was published in 1995 in English. **MV Shastri** and **M. Nagabhushna Sharma** were Editors for this volume.

⁴ The university sells encyclopedias for Rs. 100/- per copy. The university, thus, bears a subsidy of almost Rs. 200/- per copy.

5. Bharatha Bharathi (Languages and Literatures of India): Ch. Radhakrishna Sharma and I. Panduranga Rao edited this volume. This volume is also an independent work of the Centre. The final copy was prepared and the volume is yet to be released formally.

The following is the work in progress at the KVL Vijnana Sarvasva Kendram, TU as on February 9, 2000. A volume on *Bhoutika Shastram* (Physics) has been completed so far as the compiling part is concerned and the editing work is in progress. Press copy of half of this volume has been finalized. Remaining work is expected to be completed in a couple of months. The volume on *Rasayana Shastram* (Chemistry) was also in the final phase of editing. Almost 40% of the press copy was prepared and finalized. Almost 500 pages of another volume *Jyotishya Shastram* (Astrology) were completed. Compiling and editing of this volume were undertaken simultaneously and the work is in progress. The entire script work of the volume *Ayurveda Shastram* (Medicine) was prepared. After the language editing the script will be sent for printing. This will take a few months.

The Centre is proposed to bring out the following nine volumes in near future. The volumes are: 1) Literary Criticism; 2) Land and People of Andhra Pradesh; 3) History of Telugu Language and Literature; 4) Fine Arts—Music; 5) Fine Arts—Dance; 6) Fine Arts—Sculpture and Painting; 7) Tribal and Folklore; 8) Natika Vijnana Sarvasvam; and 9) History and the Culture of the Andhras (Companion Volume).

It is also proposed to bring out the third volume of *Telugu Samskriti* (Telugu Culture). Actually, the Samithi planned the project of bringing out three volumes of Telugu Samskriti. As a part of

continuing the unfinished job of the **Samithi** because of its merger with the Centre, the Centre is planning to bring out this volume. This volume, as it was aimed, consists of details regarding the geography, flora and fauna, education, natural resources, industries and other major fields of the present day Andhra Pradesh. The scheme of this volume has already been approved and the work too has been assigned to various experts in their respective fields to contribute their articles for this volume.

The work of a volume titled *Nataka Vijnana Sarvasvam* (Encyclopaedia on Theatre Arts) is under progress. A draft copy of *Sahitya Darsanam* (Literary Criticism), which deals with the theories of Literary Criticism of the East and the West, has been prepared and was sent to the editors for their suggestions.

Apart from preparing and publishing encyclopaedias, the Centre is also planning to extend its services to the active teaching and research. The Centre proposes to offer a one-year PG Diploma in Techno-Scientific Translation. The course is already designed and has been approved by the Academic Senate of the University in December 1993. The course material has to be prepared. The Centre also proposes to supervise research scholars who work in the area of encyclopaedia in particular and in any other areas as per specializations of the faculty of the Centre in general.

Producing and publishing mere three volumes of encyclopaedia in 14 years of time is not a great achievement. The reasons for this slow pace in producing and publishing, as it was attributed by one of the personnel of the Centre, is that, the Centre has to work within the limitations of the rules laid by the university.

Due to this, the Centre could not produce encyclopaedias at desired pace. Another drawback is the Centre is not getting any response from the users of their product. This makes us believe that the product is not reaching readers properly. Though the copies of encyclopaedias are being sent for reviewing by both the local and national level press, publicity for the encyclopaedias is lacking. To improve this situation, the state government should take initiative. The state government should take proper steps to make it sure that the copies of encyclopaedias must find a place in all the educational institutions and in all the public libraries run by the government. Apart from this, the Boards of School Education and Intermediate Education, and all the universities should recognize these encyclopaedias as 'reference books' for all levels of education. By this, the encyclopaedias will find their suitable place and will be available to the users/ readers. In addition to this, the Centre for Encyclopaedia must make its own arrangements to get opinions and comments from the readers and based on them the Centre must ensure improvement of the forth coming volumes.

8. 2. Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi (1957)

The Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi (the State Academy of Letters) was constituted by the Government of Andhra Pradesh in 1957 to promote literature in the state. The Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi (hereafter Sahitya Akademi) was mainly concerned with the publication of books—both research oriented and for popular use; and encouraging individual writers to publish their works by providing financial assistance. Another important activity that was undertaken by the Sahitya Akademi has been selecting best books published in Telugu from different genres of literature each year and honoring the writers. "The dif-

ferent genres that were considered for choosing best works include: poetry; novel; short story; drama; and literary criticism" (Nagabhushana **Sarma** and Veerabhadra Sastry, 1995: 318). However, after the Sahitya Akademi was merged with the Telugu University in 1985, the activities hitherto undertaken by the Sahitya Akademi are being carried out by the Telugu University. At present, the publication of various dictionaries has been undertaken by the Publication Division, and honoring the writers every year is being done through the 'Extension Service Centre' of the Telugu University.

Though majority of the publications of the Sahitya Akademi were confined to compilation of different dictionaries, however, it had published books on Telugu inscriptions up to 1100 AD as well. Among the dictionaries that were produced by the Sahitya Akademi, the dialect dictionaries of occupational **terms—*mandalika vrittipadakosas***—are worth mentioning here. The Sahitya Akademi has proposed to bring out a series of dictionaries of terms used in native occupations like agriculture, weaving, carpentry, smithy, fishing etc. based on a sample field survey of the whole state of Andhra Pradesh. "The ultimate purpose (of preparing such dictionaries) is to facilitate the preparation of a standard Telugu dictionary on historical principles" (Krishnamurti, 1962: 5). This project was started with the initiative of Bh. Krishnamurti to "survey and record the expressions used by the country-folk", which in turn, "be of considerable interest and benefit to the linguist, the lexicographer, and the sociolinguist, and the institutes of higher learning devoted to the encouragement of regional languages" (Krishnamurti, 1962: 99). It may be noted that this project started at a time when newly formed linguistic states paid considerable attention to the development of their regional languages.

The proposed scheme of preparing dialect dictionaries of occupational vocabularies was approved by the Executive Committee of the Sahitya Akademi in June 1958. Since the agriculture constitutes the main occupation of the (Telugu speaking) region, it was decided that a survey of the vocabulary used in farming be undertaken first in preparing the series. The work of data collection was started on October 28, 1958 and completed towards the end of February 1959.

To compile each of these dictionaries, separate Editorial Boards were formed. The editorial board for each dictionary consisted of the Editor; Sub-Editor and compiler wherever necessary. To supervise the overall compilation of these dictionaries, a separate 'Committee of Editors, the Telugu Dialect Dictionaries' was formed with Krishnamurti as its chairman, and the editors of different volumes were the members of this committee. The following table gives the details of each of the dictionary.

Table. 3.

Name of the occupation	Editor	Assistant Editor/ Compiler	Year
Agriculture	Bh. Krishnamurti	T. Donappa	1962
Handloom	Bh. Krishnamurti	P. Dakshina Murthy	1971
Fisheries	T. Donappa	...	1991
Vaastu	B. Radhakrishna	...	1968
Pottery	G. Narayanaswami Reddy	G. Nagayya	1976

One of the major contributions of the compilation of these dictionaries was to the field of Telugu lexicography. This project, however, was the first systematic attempt in Telugu dialectology. The field experiences and observations, during the tenure of this project made it possible to draw the dialect boundaries within

the Telugu speaking area. Another important purpose which this project served was: formulation of principles of standardization of the vocabulary and terminology of different occupations (Krishnamurti, 1962: 128).

8. 3. International Telugu Centre (1976)

In 1975 the first World Telugu Meet was held in Hyderabad. In that meeting, many Telugu speaking people across the globe had participated and expressed their views and intentions to continue speaking their language and upholding their culture. The need for an organization to cater the educational and cultural needs of Telugu speaking population who are residing outside the state of Andhra Pradesh and India was felt at this meeting. To realize that, in 1976, International Telugu Institute was established in Hyderabad. After the establishment of Telugu University in 1986, the International Telugu Institute was merged with Telugu University and is a part of that ever since. After the merger, the name has been changed to International Telugu Centre (hereafter ITC). Some of the declared aims and objectives of the ITC are as follows:

1. To strengthen the educational and cultural relations between Telugu speakers of Andhra Pradesh and those residing outside Andhra Pradesh and India;
2. To undertake and conduct research to cater the (linguistic/ educational and cultural) needs of Telugu people outside Andhra Pradesh;
3. To publish books and magazines about the life-style and culture of Telugu people;
4. To popularize teaching and learning Telugu language outside Andhra Pradesh and to publish primers for this purpose; and

5. To render financial support for establishing libraries for Telugu people in other states.

In some of the foreign countries like Mauritius, South Africa, Malaysia etc. and in few other states of India, Telugus are in considerable number. Some of these people still speak Telugu at their home and some do not. Where the Telugu people are in considerable number, the respective state governments are offering Telugu as a second language in schools. In such schools, the syllabus for Telugu is made by the authorities over there and the teaching materials required for this purpose are being developed by the teachers themselves. While preparing primers and readers for this purpose, the teachers, who are involved in this, were following, more often than not, the 'textual style' of Telugu. The reasons for using this style are many. This style is different from that of the variety they use at their homes. This is more evident in the case of Telugu people who had settled in foreign countries like Mauritius and Malaysia some generations back. To make these people familiar with the modern Telugu and to write primers and readers for teaching purposes, the ITC supplies needy material like books (mostly primary level books), readers, audio and video cassettes. In this matter the ITC is working, more or less, as a 'service centre'.

The TU obtains books, primers that were sent to different associations from '*Balala Academy*'. This academy also provides stories, rhymes, patriotic songs etc. in the form of audio cassettes. During the tenure of NT Rama Rao's chiefministership, the Government of Andhra Pradesh had undertaken the task of preparing video cassettes in 1989 to teach Telugu. This was done with the help of Bapu Ramana. Initially the lessons were prepared in 21 cassettes and later they were abridged to fit into a set of 14

cassettes. These lessons were mainly aimed to teach Telugu to children who are residing outside Andhra Pradesh. It is believed that, after completion of this course, a child acquires proficiency in conversational abilities in Telugu language.

In addition to these cassettes, few other cassettes also were prepared by the State Council for Educational Research and Training, Andhra Pradesh for intermediate level students. The Southern Regional Language Centre at CIIL Mysore also helps the TU by providing both audio and video lessons. As the acquisition of these kinds of cassettes from other agencies is a painstaking and time consuming activity, to overcome this, the ITC is planning to start an institution of its own to undertake the preparation of these materials. This was proposed under IX plan and the proposals were sent for clearance. It is hoped that during the 2000-2001 academic year the ITC would be in a position to start producing audio material on its own. The ITC is also having plans to provide teaching material in the form of audio and video cassettes for the Certificate Course being offered by the ITC.

Apart from helping out the Telugu teachers in **non-Telugu** speaking areas, the ITC is also involved in conducting 'short-term orientation courses' for teachers who teach Telugu outside Andhra Pradesh. These teachers will be using the '**textual**' variety of Telugu while teaching and are not aware of the present day modern Telugu. The main aim of this course is to introduce present day standard language to the teachers and users of Telugu outside Andhra Pradesh. This course is of 3-week duration. For every course ITC invites around 40 teachers for participating. In this course, the main thrust will be on teaching method-

ology. Language experts from TU and other universities will be the tutors for this course.

For the benefit of those who cannot attend the above said course personally, the ITC is offering a 'Certificate Course in Modern Telugu' through correspondence mode. This course is of 10-month duration and it starts, usually, in the month of June every year. This course was initially started by the International Telugu Institute, but was stopped in between for various reasons. After the ITC has established itself firmly, it has started this course again in 1995-96 academic year. The average number of the students who are taking this course is 10. Though the Board of Studies of the TU decides the syllabus for this course, the ITC prepares study material for this purpose. At the successful completion of the course, a certificate will be issued by the TU.

The CIIL at Mysore has a Southern Regional Languages Centre (SRLC) which offers courses in the southern regional languages. The learners of these languages at this centre have to go for a 'language environment tour' for 15 days. During this tour, the learner has to be in the native language speaking environment to have the first hand experience about the language they are learning. As a part of exchange of expertise program, the ITC undertakes the responsibility of Telugu learners by providing lectures and demonstration classes at Hyderabad.

As a part of fulfilling its aims, the ITC conducts Workshops on Textbooks. Usually the teachers, in schools where Telugu medium is offered, translate the study material for themselves for teaching the class. These translations at individual level, without proper training in translation methods, leads to inconsis-

tency of the language they are teaching. To minimize the risk of this inconsistency, the ITC organizes workshops on textbooks. For this workshop, the ITC invites the core subject (Mathematics, Natural Sciences, and Social Sciences) teachers to attend. During this workshop, the senior teachers, among the invitees, are asked to translate the lessons and the resource persons from NCERT and SCERT will evaluate these translations and help them for betterment. For each workshop a different region/state will be selected. The main aim of this type of workshops is to train teachers to make themselves able to translate their textbooks. For publishing these translated books, the ITC partially gives financial assistance. This expenditure is met from the ITC's grant allocated for such purpose.

As a step towards widening the range of ITC's activities, the ITC is planning to offer the Teacher Training Courses (TTC) to the teachers who are working in non-Telugu speaking states. Though conducting courses like TTC is under the purview of the Directorate of School Education, the ITC as part of its program came forward to offer its services. This course will be in correspondence mode. The proposal for the same has been sent to the Directorate of School Education and is under active consideration.

To introduce Telugu literature to the non-resident Telugu people, the ITC is planning to offer BA course in Special Telugu through correspondence mode of education. The syllabus for this has been prepared and the course is likely to commence shortly.

Though the staff members of the ITC were not involved in regular teaching and research, based on the availability and rele-

vance of the subject, the staff of the ITC were allotted to guide the research work of scholars from other departments of the university. In addition to this, the ITC, through the TU and various agencies like American Institute of Indian Studies, provides affiliation and guidance to the foreign students.

As a part of helping various associations in spreading and maintaining Telugu culture, the ITC helps these associations in more than one way. One of such way is sending cultural troupes to those places. The ITC recognizes various cultural troupes in Andhra Pradesh belonging to different forms of art. Based on the requirement of associations outside Andhra Pradesh, the ITC selects the troupe and sends it to different places. All the expenses of such these troupes are met by the ITC. For this kind of purpose, the ITC has earmarked an amount of one lakh rupees each year. If more than one association asks for the same kind of troupe, the ITC decides what troupe to be sent where.

In addition to the non-plan expenditure, the ITC has an amount of Rs. 10 lakhs for planned expenditure. The costs of preparation of material to be sent to various associations, charges towards acquisition of material from different other agencies/ institutions etc. will be met from this fund. Depending on the availability of funds, the activities of the ITC etc. the budgetary allocation fluctuates. For example, during 1995-96 and in subsequent years, a mere amount of Rs. 4 lakhs was allocated to the ITC. However, it was felt that, the allocation of funds **majorly** depends on the understanding of the allocation authorities about the activities undertaken by the ITC in general.

8. 4. School of Language Development

The School of Language Development (hereafter SLD) was established as a part of the Telugu University to undertake specialized activities of research and teaching with special reference to modernization and development of Telugu language. For these purposes the SLD has two departments, namely, Department of Language planning and Modernization and the Department of Lexicography. It is worthy of a note that, initially, at the time of establishment of the Telugu University, it was proposed that there should be another department, the Department of Linguistics, in addition to the existing two departments. However, for the reasons unknown, the proposed department never had been realized. Though these two existing departments have their own staff earmarked separately, all the activities of them are carried out under the auspices of the SLD. By principle, the Dean of the SLD heads both the academic and administrative schedules of the SLD with the help of Heads of the two departments. At present, the School of Language Development is situated in the Public Garden campus of Telugu University.

The Department of Language Planning and Modernization has a total number of six teaching faculty, of which one is Professor, two are Readers and other three are Lecturers. The Department of Lexicography has a total number of nine teachers, of which two are Readers, and others are Lecturers. The Professor from the Department of Language Planning and Modernization is the Dean of the SLD. However, as the Professor is on leave, at present, the SLD is being headed by one of the senior Readers of the Department of Lexicography. Likewise, the Department of Language Planning and Modernization is also being under the head-ship of a senior Reader of the department.

The SLD was established, for the academic activities of research and teaching in Linguistics, particularly applied areas like lexicography, translation, **socio-linguistics**, dialectology, language acquisition, mother tongue education etc. The school offers higher education and research facilities to the interested scholars. Though, there are two departments associated with the SLD, no department offers courses individually. All the activities are carried out through the SLD. Only for the administrative convenience, the two departments are separate. However, the Department of Lexicography is also expected to produce dictionaries and engage in other lexicographic activities apart from teaching and research in linguistics in general. Hence, it would be difficult to discuss the activities of each department separately.

The SLD started its activities in 1987 with M.Phil. (Linguistics) and Ph.D. (Linguistics) courses. From the 1988-89 academic year the SLD expanded its activities by offering MA course in Linguistics. Nonetheless the SLD discontinued offering MA program from 1995-96 academic year. In lieu of the discontinued MA program, the SLD started offering a Post Graduate Diploma in Linguistics and Telugu Language Teaching through correspondence mode from the academic year 1996-97. The following table shows the number of scholars enrolled for different courses in the SLD from 1991-92.

Table. 4.

Academic Session	Courses			
	MA	M. Phil.	Ph.D	PG Diploma
1991-1992	22	10	3	*
1992-1993	22	15	3	▲
1993-1994	23	12	7	
1994-1995	23	11	2	*

1995-1996	24	10	—	*
1996-1997	*	9	9	
1997-1998		11	3	
1998-1999	*	12	2	6
1999-2000	*	10	2	2
Total		90	31	

Source: Head, Department of Language Planning and Modernization, School of Language Development, TU. *Course has not been offered.

Though the SLD has started functioning from 1987-88 academic year, the number of scholars enrolled for each course in different years is not available with the SLD. However, the Dean of the School mentioned that from 1987-88 to 1990-91, the average number of M. Phil and Ph.D. scholars enrolled was four each per year.

Though the Table-1 gives us an impression that, the students who were opting the MA program has been good enough for any university to continue the teaching program, the reality is different. It was disclosed by the Dean of the SLD that, "due to poor attendance only the university had to discontinue offering MA program" (in an unrecorded interview with the researcher on May 8, 2000). If we go into the details, we find the following. The TU, like many of the universities in the state of Andhra Pradesh, is following year-wise system of examination pattern. As TU is maintaining residential hostels for its students, 75% of minimum attendance is necessary for students to appear in the final examinations. However, those who could not able to attend 75% of the classes for variety of reasons, can be permitted to take final examinations after paying an amount of Rs. 50/- as attendance fee.

Moreover, some students reported that, many of the students who opted the MA (Applied Linguistics) program are more inter-

ested in other competitive examinations than attending the classes regularly. They are of the opinion that, no job is guaranteed by completing the MA (AL) program. On the other hand, the faculty **members'** response is different. They feel that, when a PG level course in a particular field of study is being offered, it is not unfair to expect the students to have a minimum level of knowledge in that field of study. As the subject linguistics as such is not being offered by any of the universities in the state at graduate level, whoever joins the MA program in Linguistics is completely new to the subject. Hence it will be difficult for both the teacher to teach and the students to understand the course syllabus. These difficulties resulted in the poor attendance of the course. This, in turn, resulted in discontinuance of MA (AL) program by the university.

Like any other MA programs of the university, the MA (AL) course, which was offered by the SLD was also a two-year full-term course. There were a total of eight papers for the whole course—four each year. Though the name of the course is MA in Applied Linguistics, equal importance was given to both the theoretical and applied parts of linguistics. Out of eight papers, four papers were theoretical and four were of applied in nature. The theoretical papers were offered in the first year and the applied linguistics papers were offered in the second year. All these eight papers were compulsory papers and no other optional papers were offered. However, when the course was first introduced, it was proposed to have ten papers—five each per year—for the course. In the very first year of the course, five papers were offered to the students. But, due to the reasons like non-availability of textbooks of the courses, non-interest on the part of students etc. the SLD had to content with the four papers each for two years. The papers that were offered in the MA

program include Syntax, Lexicography, Translation, Language Acquisition, Historical Linguistics, Socio-Linguistics, Phonetics etc.

As the TU itself has research in concerned areas as one of its prime objects, the SLD is endowed with responsibility of teaching linguistics and conducting research on various aspects of Telugu language, especially in the area of Applied Linguistics. The research areas of the faculty members of the SLD are as varied that they range from core linguistics to recent trends in applied linguistic like Computational Linguistics. To be precise, the research areas of the faculty members include Language Acquisition, Lexicography, Telugu Linguistics and Literature, **Dra-vidian** Phonology, Psycholinguistics, Socio-linguistics, Language in Encyclopedia, Computational Linguistics etc.

As a part of the academic activities of the SLD, apart from active teaching and research, it conducted seminars, workshops and refresher courses. The following table shows the details of such activities.

Table. 5.

Title	Year	Collabora- tion
Workshop on Linguistic Periodi- zation and Classification of Te- lugu	1988	
National Workshop on Lexicog- raphy	1990	
International Summer Institute on Functional Linguistics	July- Au- gust 1991	CIEFL, Hyderabad

UGC Refresher Course on Telugu Language and Literature	November, 1991	—
UGC Refresher Course on Telugu Language and Literature	February, 1992	---
International Summer Institute in Phonetics and Phonology	July, 1992	CIEFL, Hyderabad
National Seminar on Lexical Semantics	December, 1992	—
National Workshop on Common Vocabulary in Indian Languages	February-March, 1993	CIIL, Mysore
<i>Telugu: BhashasastraDruk-padalalu</i> (National Seminar on Telugu Linguistics)	March, 1994	—
National Workshop-cum-Seminar on Lexical Typology	1994	CIIL, Mysore
National Seminar on Socio-Linguistics of Address and Reference in Telugu and other Indian Languages	March, 1995	—
National Workshop on Technical Terms in Telugu	March, 1995	—
National Seminar on <i>Nighantu NirmaNam: Sutraalu, Paddhatulu</i>	1995	—
National Workshop-cum-Seminar on Language Planning for Administration	February, 1996	CIIL, Mysore
National Seminar on Language, Culture, and Lexicography	1996	CIIL, Mysore
Seminar on Special Dictionaries and Problems in Compilation	March, 2000	...

If we go into the details of the research work undertaken by the faculty members of the SLD, we can find the following features. So far, in its existence of 12 years, the faculty of the SLD had produced more than 15 M. Phil, scholars and two Ph.D. scholars. The details of broad research topics of these scholars are as follows:

Table. 6.

Area	Number	Degree
Structure of Telugu	1	M. Phil
Language Planning and Translation	3	M. Phil
Socio-Linguistics	2	M. Phil
Lexicography and related areas	4	M. Phil
Translation of Drama	1	Ph.D.
Language Acquisition	2	M. Phil
Newspaper Language	2	M. Phil
Telugu Literature	1	Ph.D.

At present, more than 30 M. Phil scholars and 15 Ph.D. scholars are carrying out research under the auspices of the SLD in different areas of research. The following table gives the details of the scholars and the broad areas of their research who are presently working with the SLD.

Table. 7.

Area of Research	M. Phil.	Ph. D.
Language Teaching and Learning	9	2
Telugu Grammar	1	1
Biographies	—	2
Modernization and Structure of Telugu	7	2
Socio-Linguistics and Ethno-linguistics	10	2
Newspaper Language-Telugu	1	2
Language in Education	1	--
Language Planning	2	—
Translation	1	--

The above table gives us an understanding that the research areas like **socio-linguistics**, language teaching and learning, and

modernization of language are attracting more number of scholars to pursue their research in these areas.

Though the data provided by the faculty members makes us believe that, the overall average number of students working with each faculty member is three, it is not true in every case. It is noteworthy that, out of a total of 15 faculty members, about 60% of the faculty members are actively involved in research supervision activities apart from their other teaching and research activities. As the SLD, at present, has no regular teaching program and the SLD is a research centre, it is a matter of concern that the remaining 40% of the faculty members are not involved in active research supervision activities. The main reason for the non-involvement of few of faculty members in such activities is that, though these members are now considered as the faculty of this school, it was not so when they joined the SLD. All these members were joined the SLD as Project Assistants in different projects undertaken by the SLD from time to time. After the completion of their respective projects, based on the educational qualifications and duration of service of the individuals, the government promoted them to the Junior Lecturer's grade. Again after few more years of regular service, they were promoted to the Assistant Professor (University Lecturer) grade in the university. However, it is proposed and decided by the SLD to allot research scholars to these faculty members also from the 2000-2001 academic year, based on the qualification and on the intake of scholar into the SLD.

In accordance with the one of the TU's main objectives, namely, to compile and publish Telugu words, expressions, colloquial terms, mutual borrowings, words peculiar to industries and other occupations which are used by Telugu speaking people,

the Department of Lexicography, under the auspices the School of Language Development, as a first attempt in this direction has taken up project of preparing a dictionary of Telugu Newspaper Language. It was published by the Telugu University, as "*Patrika Bhasha Nighantuvu* (Dictionary of Telugu Newspaper Language) [in Telugu]" in 1995. The project was started in June 1987 and was completed in April 1994.

The following are the circumstances that led to this project. The project for the compilation of a dictionary of Telugu Newspaper Language was initiated by the then Dean, School of Language Development, in June 1987. The staff of the Department of Lexicography was assigned the job of collection of material. After an academician from Annamalai University joined the Department of Lexicography as its Head in March 1988, "he took up the work of theoretical planning of the dictionary along with other duties like training the staff in lexicographic theory and methods, survey and evaluation of Telugu dictionaries, identification of gaps in the Telugu lexicographic situation" etc. Apart from this, he "was also responsible for the preparation of the structure and format of the entries in the dictionary". By the end of 1989 the collection of material was completed. This was followed by the selection of entries and writing of definitions. The definitions were written by the editorial board members (Bala Subramanian, et al, 1995: v). The following table gives the details of the members of the editorial board and duration of their services.

Table. 8.

Name	Associated as	Period	Duration
Bala Subramanian	Editor	March 1988-April 1991	37 months

Kama Rao, K	Editor	September 1987- April 1994	79 months
Vadla Subrahmanyam	Editor	June 1987- August 1991 and November 1993-April 1994	55 months
Ramanai ah, MV	Editor	Sept 1987- April 1994	79 months
Raghu Rama Raju, D	Asst. Editor	April 1989- October 1992	42 months
Ramanjaneyulu, K	Asst. Editor	April 1989- April 1994	60 months
Reddy Shyamala	Asst. Editor	April 1989- May 1994	61 months
Ramanjani Kumari	Asst. Editor	June 1987- July 1990	37 months
Usha Devi, A		June 1987- Dec 1989	30 months
Puranam S. Sharma**	Tech. Consult	Two terms X 3 months	6 months
Total			486 months

Source: Bala Subramanian, et al, (1995: xvi). **A veteran magazine journalist.

In 1990, a sample fascicle of 200 entries was printed and circulated among the scholars, journalists and others for their suggestions and comments which were taken note of in the further editorial work. After the revision, final editing and proofreading the press copy was made on computer and the other entries were arranged in alphabetic order (Bala Subramanian, et al, 1995: vi).

For the purpose of data for their dictionary, the Telugu newspapers like Andhra Prabha, Andhra Bhoomi, Andhra Jyothi, Andhra Patrika, Ecnadu, Udayam, Praja Shakthi, and Vishalandhra were selected using restrictive principles. This dictionary is a special dictionary and is concerned with a specific category of words, viz., those words that are used in the general language of day-to-day communication. Each entry of this dictionary has

the structure like 1) The headword, 2) Grammatical category of the headword or the part of speech to which the headword belongs to 3) roman transliteration of the head word for the convenience of "non-Telugu user of the dictionary", 4) definition of the head word in Telugu, 5) the synonym, or words with similar meaning, if any 6) context in which the head was used, and the 7) name of the news paper with date from which the head word was taken. (Bala Subramanian, *et al*, 1995: iii-v).

The dictionary was published by the Telugu University in 1995 with more than 4000 entries spread over 406 pages of dictionary in 2000 copies, and is priced at Rs. 75/-. The editors were modest enough to accept the limitations of the dictionary by saying "the editors do not claim exhaustiveness in the coverage of the vocabulary of Newspaper Telugu" and further acknowledges the fact that "the newspaper vocabulary is expanding in a faster pace to cope with the demands of modern society". To keep with the pace at which the newspaper vocabulary is expanding its horizons, the editors, as a part of their future plan, "plan to continue the collection of material and revise the dictionary periodically" (Bala Subramanian, *et al*, 1995: vi). However, none of the six members, who are still working in the department is involved in such activity now and even after the four years of its first publication, the dictionary has not been revised.

For the purpose of highlighting the necessity of a dictionary like newspaper language dictionary, the editors say: "Educated readers with considerable English background and appreciable knowledge in Telugu can understand the new coinages based on the context. But the readers of average or minimum educational background find it difficult to understand the new words and the concepts denoted by them". Another difficulty for the aver-

age reader in understanding these concepts is that they did not use dictionaries and more over these words would not find a place in such common dictionaries. Therefore compilation of specific dictionaries like newspaper language dictionary becomes a necessity (Bala Subramanian, et al, 1995: iii). It is clear from the above statement of editors that the dictionary is specially aimed at assisting a commoner who only have a minimum knowledge in Telugu and is not exposed to English **language**—in understanding new words and concepts which are being used by the newspapers. It is interesting to note that this statement is in clear contradiction with the statement that follows: "...Roman transliteration of the head **word**...**help** the **non-Telugu** user of the dictionary" (Bala Subramanian, et al, 1995: v). One cannot understand how a dictionary which is aimed at audience with minimum knowledge in Telugu would also, at the same time, be useful for the non-Telugu users.

With the help of Table 5 and by going through the dictionary, we can infer that, for compiling a dictionary with about 4000 words, it took about seven years for about seven people. We find disproportion between the amount of intellectual labor and the end product. Facts such as number of actual working days/ hours, participation in teaching and other activities do not justify the disproportion.

As far as the research projects are concerned, we can differentiate the research projects undertaken by the faculty members as (a) Department level projects and (b) Individual projects. Owing to this differentiation it is necessary here to discuss these things on the basis of departments.

Apart from compiling of the Telugu newspaper language dictionary, other projects that have been undertaken by the faculty members of the Department of Lexicography, both at individual and departmental level, were

1. **AnukaraNapada nighantuvu** (A Dictionary of metaphoric words in Telugu), which was started in 1991 and completed in 1994. Though it was claimed by the concerned faculty member that, the TU has accepted to publish the project report, it was not mentioned by the Publication Division of the TU in its list of forthcoming publications.
2. **SambandhiPadakOsam** (a Thesaurus in Telugu), is a collaborative project at Departmental level and is being sponsored by the TU. This project was started in January 2000. Three faculty members of the department are associated with this project. The project is expected to be completed by the end of 2000. It is also hoped that the TU will publish this thesaurus once it is completed.
3. **The Doublets in Telugu—A Dictionary**, is a minor project sponsored by the TU. The project was started in 1993 and is expected to be completed in 2000.
4. **Telugu—Kannada Common Vocabulary**, a minor project sponsored by the TU. The project was started in 1999 and is still in progress.
5. **English—Telugu Electronic Dictionary**, a TU sponsored project started in 1999 and is expected to be completed by the end of 2000.
6. **CharmakAra PadAlu—SEkaraNa—BhAsha Parisilana** (a dialectal occupational dictionary of Cobblers of Nalgonda district), a TU sponsored minor project started in January 2000. The duration of the project is one year. As of now, target respondents were identified using different field methods and collection of data is in progress. Due to the limitations in

terms of time and nature of work, it was decided to limit the data collection to only one district of Andhra Pradesh, i.e., Nalgonda. By carrying out this project, it is hoped that, the terms used by the cobblers, which were till now are in a register form, will become known to the general public in a wider domains and gains popularity.

7. **Telugu—Tamil Common Vocabulary**, was started in 1989 and completed in 1993. The report of the project is yet to be published.
8. **Lexical Doublets in Telugu—Tamil**, was started in 1995 and completed in the year 1997. However, the report of the project has not so far been published.
9. **Acquisition of Vocabulary and Meaning: A Case study of Telugu**, is a major project sponsored by the University Grants Commission (UGC). The project has been under progress since 1995. Though the report of this project has not been published, it is said that this is in the final stages of submission.
10. **BhAshA sAstra PadakOsam** (a Dictionary of Linguistics) is a collaborative project sponsored by the TU, started in 2000 and is expected to be completed in 2001.
11. **A Study of Words, Word Combinations and Kannada Influence on Rayalaseema Literature (Stories)**, a minor project sponsored by the UGC. The project was started in February 2000 and is expected to be completed by the end of December 2000.
12. **Popular Telugu Dictionaries and their Target Users—an Analysis**, an UGC sponsored minor project, was started in 2000. It is hoped to be completed in the year 2001.
13. **Samstha Kriya, bhAshA sAstra PadakOsam**, a collaborative project sponsored by the TU. The project was started

in the initial months of 2000. This project is expected to be completed in the year 2001.

14. **Agricultural Terms with special reference to Tamil**, a one-year minor project sponsored by the UGC, started in February 2000.

As a part of the School of Language Development, the Department of Language Planning and Modernization has undertaken the following projects till now.

1. **Language in Education**, a UGC sponsored major project, was started in 1995. At present, the project is in its final stages. The report drafting, it is said, is in progress.
2. **A Study of Shape Similarity Method in Teaching Telugu Script for Class-I** (An approach to the Theory of Symbols). It is a minor project sponsored by the AP Primary Education Project, under the auspices of the Government of Andhra Pradesh. This project was started in 1995 and was completed in 1996. Though the project was completed, the report was not published either by the Government of Andhra Pradesh or by the individual researcher.
3. A UGC sponsored minor project, **Telugu as Third Language in Haryana**, was started in 1996 and is in its final stages of completion now.
4. An ethno-linguistic project, titled **Influence of Telugu on Banjara**, a TU sponsored minor project was started in 1997.
5. **Coinage of Business Terms in Telugu Newspapers**, a minor project sponsored by the UGC, started in the year 2000.
6. A department level minor project, titled **Language in Administration—With Special Reference to TU Administration**, was started in the year 1999. It is a collaborative project undertaken by two faculty members of the department.

The funding body for this project is TU. The project is expected to be completed by 2001.

7. A major project Socio **Linguistics of Variation in Telugu**, is being sponsored by the UGC, started in the year 1999 and is expected to be completed by 2002.
8. English Telugu **Electronic Dictionary for Machine Translation**, a collaborative project, jointly sponsored by the TU and the Anusarak, University of Hyderabad. The project was started in 1999 and is to be completed by the end of the year 2000.

If we observe the above list of the projects where the faculty members of the SLD are associated, three things will become clear. (1) barring one or two projects, all other projects are fully or in part are connected with the Telugu language in one way or the other; (2) the majority of the projects is sponsored by the TU; and (3) the majority of the projects are concerned with the Telugu language corpus planning. By these observations, we can safely conclude that the main aim of both the TU and UGC sponsored projects is development of Telugu language in more than one way. We can also observe that the SLD is slowly but steadily aiming to thrive as a premier research institution by concentrating all its efforts towards this goal.

8. 5. Publication Division

In accordance with the declared aims and objectives of the TU, the Publication Division, as a rule, striving to publish books that are important from point of view of Telugu language and literature. The publications of this division include dictionaries, *MAandalika Vritti PadakOsAs* (dialect dictionaries), encyclopaedias, translations, books of general interest etc. Apart from these, the reference books are also being published for the sub-

jects offered by the university in particular and by other university in general. The main thrust of these publications is literature, history, culture and social aspects of Telugu language as such. The Publication Division, besides Telugu books, also publishes translation of books in other languages like English, Hindi, Tamil, and Urdu.

The sales of the books published by the TU are done through the sales counters situated at the University's headquarters at Hyderabad and a branch office located at its Rajahmundry campus. By participating in national and state level book-exhibitions, the university gains publicity for its publications and develops its sales. So far, the university had participated in book-exhibitions organized at different places of the country like Bangalore, Bhilai, Delhi, Hyderabad, Vijayawada, and Vishakhapatnam. Apart from participating in book-exhibitions, the University on its own organizes book-exhibitions and sales at its headquarters in Hyderabad. In addition to this, the University organizes book-release functions for majority of its publications. This kind of functions also help university in popularising their publications. The interested booksellers from all-over the state buy the university publications. Apart from these, efforts are also being made to organize book-exhibitions in other states and **in district headquarters** of the state. The following table gives us the extent of income to the university through the sales of its publications.

Table. 9.

S. No	Year	Income (in Rs.)
1	1995-96	7,46,510-00
2	1996-97	5,71,997-00
3	1997-98	6,25,666-00

Source: Progress Report of **Publication Division**

8. 5. 1. The Printing Process

There is an Advisory Board to the Publication Division. The members of this board include professors of different subjects, scholars, heads of different institutions etc. Based on the requirements of different departments within the university like Encyclopaedia Centre, International Telugu Centre, etc., and on the advise of the board, the Vice Chancellor, the Registrar, and the Director of the Publication Division takes the final decision with regard to the nature and necessity of the books to be published. Based on the need and relevance of the book, the Vice Chancellor alone decides the number of copies to be published. In general practice, every publication will get a minimum of one thousand copies per edition. However, depending on the demand of particular publication, the university makes arrangements for reprints, which range between 500 and 1000 copies.

Though the publication of literature is one of the three-pronged objectives in the establishment of Telugu University, it is surprising to note that the university could not able to procure a press of its own even after 15 years of its existence. All of the printing work of the university publications will be done through private presses. In accordance with the guidelines laid by the university, the publication division approves and approaches private presses for printing work. There are about 45 such presses. The rates for printing will be decided, after taking various factors into consideration, by the university and the work orders will be sent to these presses. Based on the response from these presses, the work permit will be given to the press, which meets the majority of the conditions laid by the university.

To maintain the quality and continuity, the Telugu University itself procures the newsprint for its publications. The university

buys the paper from the government approved agents/ stationery dealers. In the initial years when the university was established, the government used to provide paper to the University on subsidized rates. But, for the past ten years the university has been paying the full cost of the paper. However, efforts are being made from the university administration to revive earlier practice. The paper thus purchased will be supplied to the publishers concerned.

While arranging for the writers for books, the university, it was told, will take every possible step to ensure the quality of its content. The writers, in general, will be experts in their respective fields. Based on the name and fame of the author, quality of the content, the university pays remuneration to the authors. The remuneration for authors ranges from Rs. 5,000/- to Rs. 10,000/- per volume. Apart from this remuneration, no royalty will be paid to the authors in case of reprints. As the authors are being paid a handsome amount for the work rendered in preparing book, they will not have any kind of rights over their product. The copyright for every publication of the Publication Division lies with the university. Apart from publishing books on its own, the Telugu University also extends financial assistance to individual authors for publishing books on Telugu language, culture, and literature. The university has reserved an annual grant of five lakh rupees for this purpose.

The students, teachers, and scholars constitute the **majority** of the users of Telugu University publications. Along with subject specialized books, the university also publishes books under 'popular series' for general public. The university gets the feed back on the quality and popularity of the publications through

many ways. Letters from readers, correspondence from the dealers, reviews on the books, news media are few among them.

The university offers concessions to various sections of users of its publications. The students of TU will get 50% rebate/ concession of the notified cost of the publication. In addition to the students, other parties who are eligible to get concession on purchasing of university publications are of three categories. The first category consists of booksellers. Depending on the number of copies purchased the rate of concession varies. For purchasing 1-49 copies a publication, they get 25% of rebate. The more the number of copies purchased more the rebate. For copies 50 to 99, 30% rebate; and 33.3 % for more than 100 copies. The other category is government institutions like schools, colleges, universities etc. These institutions get 15% rebate irrespective of the number of copies. The third category is individuals. The individuals get concession on the amount for which they purchased. If the amount is less than Rs. 500/-, they get 10% concession; and 15% if the amount is more than that. Apart from this kind of concessions, the university bears the transport/ parcel charges for delivering the books. By looking at this concession structure, we should not think that the university is offering its services on subsidized rates. The amount spent on this kind of concession is also charged. The university fixes the price of any publication by including these concessions. One personnel working with the Publication Division stated that, while deciding the price of a publication, 50% of actual cost is added to the selling price. For example, if a book cost the University Rs. 100/- per copy, the selling price would be Rs. 150/- per copy. Thus the university reimburses the amount spent in the form of concessions/ rebates.

The following table gives the details of publication of the university.

Table. 10.

S. No	Type/ Subject of Publication	Number
1	Dictionaries	6
2	Special Glossaries	3
3	Dialectal Occupational Terms	5
4	Encyclopaedias	3
5	Relating to Literature	37
6	Essays, Research	30
7	Translations	3
8	Biographies	7
9	Fine Arts	10
10	Primers	1
11	General Books	13
12	Magazines and Special Issues	9
13	In Tamil	2
14	In Hindi	11
15	In Urdu	4
16	Translation of Ambedkar's Works	12*
In English		
17	Literature	11
18	General	4
19	History and Culture	6
20	Monographs	25

Source: TU Publication List, 1999.

*10 volumes completed, and 2 in progress.

Conclusions

OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The main focus of our study in this dissertation has been the nature, structure, and functions of language planning agencies with special reference to Telugu. In the course of study, we have revisited the concept of language planning since the introduction of the term 'language planning' in 1957. It has been observed that, language planning is perceived as the choosing a language or language variety among the existing alternatives and to develop and modernize that language by using various state apparatuses to meet the ever changing linguistic needs of a society.

We have made a brief survey of language situation, planning, and agencies around the globe in order to have a global picture of the language planning activities by various agencies. In this survey we found that language planning agencies have a very significant role in multilingual countries in general and the so-called developing and or under-developed countries in particular. We have also observed that, in Europe where, in most of the cases, the political boundaries are confined with the linguistic boundaries, the efforts on the part of linguistic minorities are aimed at acquiring the linguistic identity. Whereas in the developing and under-developed countries, the language planning efforts are mainly concentrated on 'language-as-source' for the betterment of its speakers in terms of education, job opportunities, political participation etc.

It is truism that the past history always exerts its influence on the present as well as the future history of an individual, an institution, or a country. This fact of life prompted us to take a historical overview of the language policies in India and how

they have been carried out by various language-related apparatuses of the state machinery beginning from the pre-colonial period to the post-independent era. It has been observed that the languages of the ruling elite of the respective periods dominated the language scene and the language planning activities revolved around those languages. Even in the post-independent era, it has been observed that Hindi-speaking section of the ruling elite shaped the language policies, owing to their dominant economic and political position at the national level in the spheres of politics and economy. However, at the regional level, the elite of the majority languages tried to establish the dominance of their languages without paying necessary attention to the minority languages, more particularly to the tribal languages.

In our study of the history of Telugu language planning agencies, we have observed that elites in the field of language and literature played a crucial role as agents of language planning. It has been observed that the publication of *Balavyakaranamu* and *Praudhavyakaranamu* in 1815 by Chinnaya Suri and B. Sitaramacharyulu respectively is the first attempt at codification of Telugu. The history of language status planning witnessed a controversy of styles in the beginning of the 20th century. We have observed that elites belonging to rival intellectual approaches namely, Classicism Vs Modernism participated in this controversy and the then colonial state acted as an ostensible mediator. We have noted that rival elites in the Telugu speech community acted as 'historical agents' in the language planning process. In other words, they played the role of language planning agencies.

In our study we have noted that Telugu Bhasha Samithi (October 1947) [subsequently named as Encyclopedia Centre] is the first language corpus planning agency that came into existence in the post-independent period. We have observed that, this agency played a very useful role in modernizing the Telugu language by means of preparing encyclopedias in different disciplines.

The mid-1960s and late-1960s witnessed formation of Translation Cell and Translation Directorate (1964), enactment of Andhra Pradesh Official Language Act (1966), and establishment of Telugu Academy (1968) as language planning agencies. While the first and last of these agencies contributed to language corpus planning, the second mentioned agency contributed to both language status planning as well as language corpus planning activities. We have observed that the Official Language Commission, owing to its lack of statutory powers, remained simply as a recommendatory body.

One of the major language planning agencies that contributed considerably to the corpus planning of Telugu in the field of pre-university and university education is Telugu Academy. However, it has been observed that due to lack of proper orientation, funds, and relevant personnel, the Telugu Academy could not accomplish the tasks that were assigned to it.

One may observe that, establishment of International Telugu Institute (1976) [subsequently named as International Telugu Center) was aimed at assigning some status to Telugu and to undertake relevant corpus planning activities outside the state of Andhra Pradesh and India among the Telugu speakers. How-

ever, it has been observed there is no feedback in response to its activities.

Telugu University is the latest idea to create a multi-faceted agency to develop Telugu language in terms of dictionary making, modernization, and other forms of language development. Apart from its constituent parts like International Telugu Institute, Telugu Bhasha Samithi (which merged into it), the Telugu University has not made any substantial contribution to realize its language planning related goals. Nonetheless, the 'Newspaper Language Dictionary' compiled by the Department of Lexicography of Telugu University is an exception.

The role played and the functions performed by the Telugu language planning agencies are to be taken forward with serious concern and commitment on the part of the state and non-state agencies and individuals. However, in the context of obsession for English language, especially as the language of the so-called information technology, has become a threat to the existence, let alone the development of Telugu language. It is high time that Telugu speaking population raise its voice for the implementation of Telugu at all levels and in all domains within their speech area. But this is an 'Utopia' in the context of wide spread illiteracy and deeper socio-economic divisions among the population.

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Appendices

Appendix- 1

Part XVII of the Constitution of India

Official Language

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343. Official language of the Union.

(1). The official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script.

The form of numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Union shall be international form of Indian numerals.

(2) Notwithstanding anything in clause (1), for a period of fifteen years from the commencement of this Constitution, the English language shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before such commencement:

Provided that the President may, during the said period, by order authorize the use of the Hindi language in addition to the English language and of the Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals for any of the official purposes of the Union.

(3) Notwithstanding anything in this article, Parliament may by law provide for the use, after the said period of fifteen years, of-

(a) the English language, or

(b) the Devanagari form of numerals,

for such purposes as may be specified in the law.

344. Commission and Committee of Parliament on official language.

(1) The President shall, at the expiration of five years from the commencement of this Constitution and thereafter at the expiration of ten **years** from such commencement, by order constitute a Commission which shall consist of a Chairman and such other members representing the different languages specified in the Eighth Schedule as the President may appoint, and the order shall define the procedure to be followed by the Commission.

(2) It shall be the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President as to-

- (a) the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union;
- (b) restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union;
- (c) the language to be used for all or any of the purposes mentioned in article 348 ;
- (d) the form of numerals to be used for any one or more specified purposes of the Union;
- (e) any other matter referred to the Commission by the President as regards the official language of the Union and the language **for** communication between the Union and a State or between one State and another and their use.

(3) In making their recommendations under clause (2), **the** Commission shall have **due** regard to the industrial, cultural **and** scientific advancement of India, and the just claims and the interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services.

(4) There shall be constituted a Committee consisting of thirty members, of whom twenty shall be members of the House of the People and ten shall be members of the Council of States to be elected respectively by the members of the House of the People and the members of the Council of States in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote.

(5) It shall be the duty of the Committee to examine the recommendations of the Commission constituted under clause (1) and to report to the President their opinion thereon.

(6) Notwithstanding anything in article 343 , the President may, after consideration of the report referred to in clause (5), issue directions in accordance with the whole or any part of that report.

345. Official language or languages of a State.

Subject to the provisions of article 346 and article 347 , the Legislature of a State may by law adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that State :

Provided that, until the Legislature of the State otherwise provides by law, the English language shall continue to be used for those official purposes within the State for which it was being used immediately before the commencement of this Constitution.

346. Official language for communication between one State and another or between a State and the Union.

The language for the time being authorized for use in the Union for official purposes shall be the official language for communication between one State and another State and between a State and the Union:

Provided that if two or more States agree that the Hindi language should be the official language for communication between such States, that language may be used for such communication.

347. Special provision relating to language spoken by a section of the population of State.

On a demand being made in that behalf the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognized by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognized throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify.

348. Language to be used in the supreme Court and in the High Courts and for Acts, Bills, etc.

(1) Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this Part, until Parliament by law otherwise provides-

(a) all proceedings in the Supreme Court and in every High Court,

(b) the authoritative texts -

- (i) of all Bills to be introduced or amendments thereto to be moved in either House of Parliament or in the House or either House of the Legislature of a State,
- (ii) of all Acts passed by Parliament or the Legislature of a State and of all Ordinances promulgated by the President or the Governor of a State, and
- (iii) of all orders, rules, regulations and byelaws issued under this Constitution or under any law made by Parliament or the Legislature of a State.

shall be in the English language.

(2) Notwithstanding anything in sub-clause (a) of clause (1), the Governor of a State may, with the previous consent of the President, authorize the use of the Hindi language, or any other language used for any official purposes of the State, in proceedings in the High Court having its principal seat in that State :

Provided that nothing in this clause shall apply to any judgment, decree or order passed or made by such High Court.

(3) Notwithstanding anything in sub-clause (b) of clause (1), where the Legislature of a State has prescribed any language other than the English language for use in Bills introduced in, or Acts passed by, the Legislature of the State or in Ordinances promulgated by the Governor of the State or in any order, rule, regulation or byelaw referred to in paragraph (iii) of that sub-clause, a translation of the same in the English language published under the authority of the Governor of the State in the Official Gazette of that State shall be deemed to be the authoritative text thereof in the English language under this article.

349. Special procedure for enactment of certain laws relating to language.

During the period of fifteen years from the commencement of this Constitution, no Bill or amendment making provision for the language to be used for any of the purposes mentioned in clause (1) of article 348 shall be introduced or moved in either House of Parliament without the previous sanction of the President, and the President shall not give his sanction to the introduction of any such Bill or the moving of any such amendment except after he has taken into consideration the recommendations of the Commission constituted under clause (1) of article 344 and the report of the Committee constituted under clause (4) of that article.

350. Language to be used in representations for redress of grievances.

Every person shall be entitled to submit a representation for the redress of any grievance to any officer or authority of the Union or a State in any of the languages used in the Union or in the State, as the case may be.

350A. Facilities for instruction in mother tongue at primary stage.

It shall be the endeavor of every State and of every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother-tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups; and the President may issue such directions to any State as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities.

350B. Special Officer for linguistic minorities.

(1) There shall be a Special Officer for linguistic minorities to be appointed by the President.

(2) It shall be the duty of the Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for linguistic minorities under this Constitution and report to the President upon those matters at such intervals as the President may direct, and the President shall cause all such reports to be laid before each House of Parliament, and sent to the Government of the States **concerned.**]

351. Directive for development of the Hindi language.

It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.

Appendix- 2

The following table briefly describes the activities of various language institutions, which were established to develop and modernize various national languages.

Name of the LPA(s)	Year and Place	Funding Agency	Major Goals
Assamese			
Assam Academy for Cultural Relations	1960, Guwahati	Private donations	Conducts courses in Assamese; Publishes books
The Asom Sahitya Sabha (The Assam Literary Association)	1917, Guwahati	Endowments, private donations, state and Central government grants	Publishes books; All round improvement of Assamese
North-Eastern Language Society (The Institute of N-E Languages)	1980, Guwahati	Private donations	To encourage and facilitate the researchers in the development of N-E languages
Bengali			
Bangiya Sahitya Academy	1893, Calcutta	Central government	To improve Bengali language and literature; Publishes books

		grants and private donations	
Nikhil Bharat Bangla Sathitya Sammelan	1922, New Delhi	Private donations	To promote and foster the growth of Bengali language and literature
Nikhil Bharat Banglabhasha Prasar Samity	1938, Calcutta	Private donations	To propagate Bengali among non-Bengalis
Nikhil Vanga Sanskrita Sebi Samiti	1971, Calcutta	State government and private donations	To propagate Sanskrit and Bengali education
Bangla Sahitya Academy	1973, Calcutta	Private donations	To advance and develop the Bengali language and literature
West Bengal Institute of Linguistics	1978, Calcutta	State government and private donations	To promote scientific research in linguistics through Bengali and other languages
Academy for Documentation and Research on Children's Literature	Calcutta	Central government grants and private donations	To encourage research; to organize training courses for authors
Gujarati			
The Forbes Gujarati Sabha	1865, Bombay	State government and private donations	To collect old Gujarati manuscripts; to publish translations in Gujarati from other languages
Gujarati Sahitya	1905,	State government	To propagate Gujarati language and

Parishad	Ahmedabad	and private donations	literature
Shree Premanand Sahitya Sabha	1916, Baroda	Endowments, membership fees	To encourage research in Ancient and Modern Gujarati literature; to publish books
Hindi			
Nagari Pracharini Sabha	1893, Varanasi	Central and State governments and private donations	To publish and maximize the knowledge of Hindi in India and abroad
The Hindi Sahitya Samiti	1912, Bharatpur, Rajasthan	State Government of Rajasthan	To develop Hindi language and literature, and Devanagari script
Shri Madhya Bharat Hindi Sahitya Samiti	1915, Indore		To propagate Hindi and strive for making Hindi as National Language
Hindustani Academy	1927, Allahabad	State Government of Uttar Pradesh	To develop Hindi language and literature and preservation of its different styles
Karnatak Hindi Prachar Samithi (Mysore Riyasat Hindi Prachara Samithi)	1939, Bangalore	Central government grants and private donations	To promote Hindi language throughout the state of Karnataka
Bharatiya Vidya Mandir Shodh Pratisthan	1948, Bikaner	State government and public donations	To re-organize education through the media of Hindi, Rajasthani
Madhya Pradesh	1954, Gwalior	State Government	To propagate Hindi; To conduct teaching

Hindi Sahitya Sammelan		of Madhya Pradesh	classes in Hindi
Central Hindi Directorate	1960, New Delhi	Central Government	To promote and popularize the use of Hindi as official language
Kendriya Hindi Sansthan (Central Institute of Hindi)	1961, Agra	Central government	To train Hindi teachers; To provide facilities for learning Hindi
Akhil Bharatiya Hindi Samstha Sangh	1964, New Delhi	Central government autonomous body	To propagate and to development of Hindi as specified in the Constitution
Department of Languages and Cultures, Himachal Pradesh	1968, Shimla	State Government of Himachal Pradesh	To encourage and popularize the use of Hindi in the State of Himachal Pradesh
Uttar Pradesh Granth Akademi	1969, Lucknow	State Government of Uttar Pradesh	To publish textbooks in Hindi to propagate Hindi language
Kannada			
Kartanataka Vidyavardaka Sangha	1890, Dharwar	State government and public donations	Conducts literary and cultural activities
Kannada Sahitya Parishat	1915, Bangalore	Grants from central & state governments	To publish reference works in Kannada like dictionaries, encyclopedias
Kannada Adhyayana Peetha (Institute of	1950, Dharwar	Karnatak University,	To study and conduct research in the field of Kannada language and literature

Kannada Studies)		Dharwar	
Kannada Adhyayana Kendra (Centre of Kannada Studies)	1965, Bangalore	State government and UGC	To promote research work on language, literature and culture in Kannada
Kannada Adhyayana Samstha (Institute of Kannada Studies)	1967, Mysore	University of Mysore and Government of Karnataka	To work for all-round development of Kannada language and literature
NDK Institute of Languages	1975, Bangalore	Self-supporting	Conducts courses and develops teaching materials in Kannada and other languages
Kannada Mathu Samskruti Nirdeshalaya (Directorate of Kannada and Culture)	1977, Bangalore	State government of Karnataka	Conducts training classes to officials to enable them to use Kannada for official purposes
Belagavi Jille Kannada Barahagarara Balaga (The Belgaum District Kannada Writers' Association)	1983, Belgaum	Private donations	To publish books in Kannada arts and literature
Kannada Research Institute	Dharwad	Karnatak University,	Conducts research in language, literature and culture

		Dharwad	
Kashmiri			
Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages	1958, Srinagar	State government of J&K and central government	To promote study and research in the fields of language, literature and fine arts
Malayalam			
Kerala Sahitya Academy	1956, Trichur	State government and endowments	To develop Malayalam language and advancement of its literature
The State Institute of Languages, Kerala	1968, Trivendrum	State and central governments	To develop Malayalam to a high degree of functional efficiency
The State Institute of Encyclopaediac Publications	1976, Trivendrum	State government of Kerala	To prepare and publish general and subject encyclopedias in Malayalam
Manipuri			
Manipuri Sahitya Parishad	1935, Imphal	State government and private donations	To develop Manipuri literature and to undertake research in Manipuri language
The Assam Manipuri Sahitya Parishad	1970, Cachar	Donations	To propagate and protect Manipuri language, literature and culture to establish Manipuri as medium of instruction from Primary to Higher-Secondary level
Marathi			
Maharashtra	1906, Pune	State government	To work for the betterment, development,

Sahitya Parishad		and private donations	and enrichment of Marathi language
Maharashtra Sahitya Sabha	1915, Indore	Private donations	To propagate, preserve and progress the Marathi language and literature
Marathi Sahitya Parishad, A.P.	1938, Hyderabad	State government, private donations and endowments	To promote, study and research in Marathi
Vidarbha Sahitya Sangh	1945, Nagpur	Private donations	To carry out literary, cultural and educational activities
Bhasha Sanchalanalaya (Directorate of Language)	1960, Bombay	State Government of Maharashtra	To implement the official language policy of the state government
Oriya			
Utkal Sahitya Samaj	1903, Cuttack	Private donations	To propagate Oriya language and literature and to make Oriya as official language of the state of Orissa
Jnanamandal Foundation	1954, Cuttack	State and central governments	To diffuse knowledge through publishing encyclopedias in Oriya language
Punjabi			
Punjabi Sahit Sabha (Punjabi Literary)	1943, Delhi	State Government of Punjab	To promote Punjabi and few other Indian languages through press

Organization)			
Language Department, Punjab Government	1950, Patiala	State Government of Punjab	To enrich Punjabi language and literature by publishing dictionaries and encyclopedias in Punjabi language
School of Punjabi Studies, Punjab University	1980, Chandigarh	Punjab University	To undertake and promote advance research in Punjabi language and literature
Sanskrit			
Mumbadevi Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya	1939		To teach Sanskrit and to manage Sanskrit colleges
Sanskrit Bhasha Pracharani Sabha	1950, Nagpur	State government of Maharashtra and Central Government	To propagate, popularize and encourage Sanskrit language learning and study
Sanskrit Academy	1954, Osmania University, Hyderabad	State Government of A.P. and Osmania University	To promote Sanskrit learning
Shri Dwarakadhish Sanskrit Academy and Indological Research Institute	1960, Dwaraka	Central and state governments	To promote the Sanskrit and impart education through Sanskrit medium
Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit	1964, Pune	UGC and State Government of	To enrich the distinguished tradition of Sanskrit studies and research

		Maharashtra	
Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha	1972, Tirupati	Central Government and TTD	To impart instruction in higher Sanskrit; To acquire and preserve rare Sanskrit manuscripts
Tamil			
The Tamil Academy	1974, Madras	State and Central Governments and private donations	To undertake projects like preparation and publication of Tamil encyclopedias
Tamil Development Department	1956, Madras	State Government of Tamilnadu	To implement Tamil as official language in all state government offices
International Institute of Tamil Studies	1970, Madras	State Government of Tamilnadu and endowments	To undertake and promote advance research in Tamil
Sindhi			
Sindhu Samaj	1959, Lucknow	Private donations	To promote Sindhi language and literature; To preserve and spread Sindhi culture
Telugu			
Andhra Saraswatha Parishat	1943, Hyderabad	State Government of Andhra Pradesh	To spread literacy and language among masses
Telugu Bhasha Samithi	1947, Madras	Government of Madras and private donations	Publication of subject-wise encyclopedia in Telugu; To promote Telugu language, literature and culture
Andhra Pradesh	1957,	State Government	To promote research in Telugu language,

Sahitya Academy	Hyderabad	of Andhra Pradesh	literature and folklore; To prepare an authentic grammar and dictionary for modern Telugu
Viswa Sahiti	1960, Secunderabad	Government aids and Public donations	To propagate the richness of Telugu to others through translations
Telugu Academy	1968, Hyderabad	State and central governments	To promote the spread of Telugu language and to develop it and secure its enrichment and modernization; To coordinate the government in easy switch-over to Telugu as official language
Urdu			
Anjuman-I-Islam Urdu Research Institute	1947, Bombay	Partly State Government of Maharashtra	To propagate Urdu at higher levels of education
Abul Kalam Azad Oriental Research Institute	1960, Hyderabad		Conducts research and provides guidance for the scholars working in culture and languages like Urdu, Persian, Telugu, Hindi etc
Bureau for Promotion of Urdu (M. o E & Culture)	1969, New Delhi	Central government	To advise the government on propagation of Urdu

Source: Based on Sharada (1988)

Appendix- 3

Andhra Pradesh Official Language Act (Act No. 9 of 1966)

An Act to provide, for the adoption of the Telugu language as the language to be used for the official purposes of the State of Andhra Pradesh and for the transaction of business in the State Legislature, for the use of nay other language also for any of the aforesaid purposes, and for matters connected therewith.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Andhra Pradesh in the Seventeenth Year of Republic of India as follows:

Short title and extent:

1. (1) This Act may be called as the Andhra Pradesh Official Language Act, 1966.
- (2) It extends to the whole of the State of Andhra Pradesh.

Telugu to be the official language of the State:

2. The official language of the State of Andhra Pradesh shall be Telugu.

Government's power to notify the official purposes for which Telugu to be used:

3. (1) The State Government may, from time to time, by notification in the *Andhra Pradesh Gazette*, direct that the Telugu language shall be used for such purposes of the State **and** from such dates as may be specified in the notification.
- (2) The language to be used__
 - (i) (a) In all Bills to be introduced or amendments thereto to be moved, in either House of the

Legislature of the State and in all Acts passed by the Legislature of the State.

(b) In all Ordinances promulgated by the Governor of the State under Article 213 of the Constitution and in all the Regulations made by her/ him under paragraph 5 of the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution of India.

- (ii) In all orders, rules, regulations, and bylaws issued by the State Government or other authority or office of the State Government under the Constitution or under any law made by Parliament or the Legislature of the State;

Shall be Telugu Language on and from such date as the State Government may, by notification in the *Andhra Pradesh Gazette*, specify:

Provided that the State Government may specify different dates in respect of different items in clauses (i) and (ii) of this sub-section.

Continuance of English language for certain official purposes of the State and for use in the Legislature:

4. Until the State Government otherwise direct by notification under section 3-

- (i) The English language shall continue to be used for those official purposes within the State for which it was being used immediately before the commencement of this Act; and
- (ii) The English language may continue to be used for the transaction of the business in the Legislature of the State.

Commission on Official Language:

5. (1) The State Government shall, at the expiration of five years from the commencement of this Act, by order constitute a Commission on official language of the State which shall consist of a Chairman, and four other members to be appointed by the State Government and the order shall define the procedure to be followed by the Commission.
- (2) It shall be the duty of the Commission to review the progress made in the use of the Telugu language for the official purposes of the state and to make recommendations to the State Government as to:
 - (a) The progressive use of the Telugu language for the official purposes of the State;
 - (b) Restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the State;
 - (c) Any other matter referred to the Commission by the State Government as to the use of the Telugu language.
- (3) The Commission shall submit a report with its recommendations on the matters referred to in sub-section (2) to the State Government, who shall cause the report to be laid before each House of the State Legislature.
- (4) The State Government may, after consideration of the recommendations in the report so made by the Commission, issue directions in accordance with the whole or any part of that report.

Authorized Telugu translation of Central and State Acts etc.:

6. (1) A translation in the Telugu language published under the authority of the Governor in the *Andhra Pradesh Gazette* on and after the date specified by notification__

(i) In respect of clause (i) of sub-section (2) of section 3, of any Central Act or of any Ordinance promulgated by the President, with respect to any of the matters enumerated in List III of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution, or any State Act or of any Regulation made by the Governor, or of any other law in force in the State; or

(iii) In respect of clause (ii) of sub-section (2) of section 3, of any order, rule, regulation or bylaw issued by the State Government or other authority or officer of the State Government under the Constitution or under any Central Act, or any State Act or any other law in force in the State,

Shall be deemed to be authoritative text thereof in the Telugu language.

(2) Where the State Government have issued a notification under clause (i) (a) of sub-section (2) of section 3 specifying a date from which the Telugu language shall be used in all Bills introduced in, and amendments thereto to be moved in, and Acts passed by the State Legislature, the authoritative text in the Telugu language of all such Bills which amend Acts which are in English, to be introduced or amendments thereto to be moved, in either House of the State Legislature shall be accompanied by a translation of the same in the English language.

Special provision relating to the use of Urdu or any other language or languages in addition to the Telugu language, in certain areas of the State for purposes and for such periods as may be specified notification:

7. The State Government may, from time to time, by notification in the *Andhra Pradesh Gazette*, direct the use of Urdu or any other language or languages in addition to the Telugu language, in the interests of persons speaking such language or languages, in such areas and for such official purposes of the State and for such periods, as may be specified in the notification.

Power to make rules:

8. (1) The State Government may, by notification in the *Andhra Pradesh Gazette*, make rules for carrying out all or any of the purposes of this Act.
- (2) Every notification issued or rule made under this Act shall, immediately after it is issued or made, be laid before each House of the State Legislature if it is in session, and if not in session, in the session immediately following, for a total period of fourteen days which may be comprised of the session in which it is so laid or the session, immediately following, both Houses agree in making any modification in the notification or rule, or in the annulment of the notification or rule, the notification or rule shall thereafter have effect only in such modified form or shall stand annulled, as the case may be, so however that any such modification or annulment shall be without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under that notification or rule.

Repeal of Andhra Pradesh Act, 16 of 1964.

9. The Andhra Pradesh State Legislature (Continuance of the English Language) Act, 1964, is hereby repealed.

ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ ప్రభుత్వం
ప్రధాన సచివాలయ అధికారి గౌరవ శాఖ

- తనో అధికారి నివేదిక నెంబరు :
- తనిఫ్ చేసిన తేదీ :
- 1 శ్రీ తనిఫ్ చేసిన కార్యాలయం పేరు :
- 2 శ్రీ కార్యాలయం ప్రధానాధికారి పేరు :
- 3 శ్రీ అశ్రీ కార్యాలయం పేరు తెలివే బోర్డు :
- అశ్రీ వివిధ విభాగాలను తెలివే బోర్డులు :
- ఇశ్రీ వివిధ విభాగాల అధికారుల పేర్లు, వారి
వారి హోదా తెలివే బోర్డులు :
- ఈశ్రీ రిజిస్టరు నంబరులు :
- 4 శ్రీ దిగువ పేర్లను అంశాలు తెలుగులో వాడుతున్నారా ?
- అశ్రీ ఖైదీలు :
- అశ్రీ షుక్తిగత రిజిస్ట్రేషన్లు :
- ఇశ్రీ జాబ్ కార్డులు :
- ఈశ్రీ జేతాలు, ప్రయోగ తదితర బీల్లులు :
- ఉశ్రీ అకౌంట్లకు సంబంధించిన రిజిస్ట్రేషన్లు :
- ఉశ్రీ ప్రజలకు పంపే లేఖలు :
- ఎశ్రీ ప్రకటనలు, బిల్లులు, అప్లులు, అడ్వైస్లు
మొదలగు నిబంధితులకు పంపే లేఖలు :
- ఏశ్రీ కార్యాలయ ఉత్తర్వులు :
- ఐశ్రీ సచివాలయంకు పంపే లేఖలు :
- ఒశ్రీ క్రింది స్థాయికి పంపే లేఖలు,
ఉత్తర్వులు మొదలగునవి :
- ఓశ్రీ నోటరు పబ్లిక్ :
- 5 శ్రీ ఏసాలలో వచ్చే జాబుల మీద అధికారులు
తెలుగులో ఎండుకుంటున్నారా ?
- తెలుగులో సంతకాలు వెడుతున్నారా ? :
- 6 శ్రీ అశ్రీ మంజూరైన క్లివింగ్, సెన్స్ పదవులు ఎన్ని? క్లివింగ్ సెన్స్
- అశ్రీ ఆ పదవులలో వని చేయుచున్న వారెవరు :
- ఇశ్రీ వరీల్ తెలుగు క్లివింగ్/పాఠశాలకు
అర్హులైన వారి పేర్లు వారెవరు? :
- ఈశ్రీ గౌరవ డిన్ పదవులలో తెలుగు
అర్హులైన వారి పేర్లు
నియమించుకున్న వారెవరు? :

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- 7 శ్రీ ఎన్నిమేట/కేసులు/అగ్రిమెంటు/ :
 టెండర్లు/కవరింగు లేఖలు :
 శ్రీ ఇంజనీరింగు శాఖకు మాత్రమే శ్రీ
- 8 శ్రీ తెలుగు అనులు పరిధి నుండి మీ శాఖలో :
 ఏమైనా స్థానాలు నివహింపబడినవి? :
- 9 శ్రీ క్రింది స్థాయి అధికారుల నుండి ఇంగ్లీషులో :
 నచ్చే ప్రతిపాదనలను తీసుకు వస్తున్నారా? :
- 10 శ్రీ టెంపురెటర్లు ఎన్ని ఉన్నారు? :
 ఆ ఇంగ్లీషు టెంపురెటర్లు ఆదేశాలకు మించి :
 ఎన్ని ఉన్నారు? :
 ఆ తెలుగు టెంపురెటర్లు చాలినన్ని లేకపోతే :
 తీసుకున్న చర్యలు : :
- 11 శ్రీ నెలనారి ప్రగతి సమాఖ్య పట్టికలు అధికారి :
 భాషా శాఖకు వస్తున్నారా? :
- 12 శ్రీ మీ కార్యాలయంలో క్రింద మాసంలో మొత్తం :
 ఉత్తర ప్రత్యుత్తరాలు మొదలగునవి ఎన్ని :
 ఆ వాటిలో తెలుగులో జారీ చేసినవి ఎన్ని? :
 ఆ ఇంగ్లీషులో జారీ చేసిన లేఖలు ఎన్ని? :
 ఇ తెలుగులో జారీ చేసిన వాటి శాతం? :
- 13 శ్రీ మీ శాఖలో తెలుగు ఫారాలు/రిజిష్టర్లు :
 వాడుతున్నారా? :
 ఆ ఇంగ్లీషు ఫారాలు/రిజిష్టర్లు తెలుగులో :
 అనువదించుటకు తీసుకున్న చర్య లేమి? :
- 14 శ్రీ కార్యాలయములో తెలుగు పూర్తి వాడకంలో :
 ఉన్న ఇబ్బందులు ఏమి? :
- 15 శ్రీ తనలో అధికారి చేసిన సూచనలు :

Appendix- 5

Telugu Academy Style-Sheet

Principles of Language and Mode of Speech (1984)

(Translated from a Telugu booklet of Telugu Academy)

In 1968, Telugu Academy formulated some principles of language and mode of speech and till now they are in practice. However, there is a necessity to amend or develop those principles as the needs demand now. Therefore, in 1982, a Seminar was conducted in which many linguists and professors from various fields participated. As per their suggestions and advise the Telugu Academy framed some new principles which must be followed in each publication of the Academy. Here are the basic principles suggested in the seminar.

Basic Principles:

1. Language and style must be closer to the customary language (habitual language).
2. Prior importance must be given to certainty in defining *sabda swarupa* (form of sound) and *ardha vivechana* (examining the meaning).
3. We agree with different forms and kinds, nevertheless, in case of scientific terms, universal form is compulsory.
4. Passive construction is useful only when we give more preference to subject than the object.
5. Relative construction can be used only when it is not possible with any other syntactical method to remove the ambiguity.
6. Use 'long 'e' (*etvam*) to indicate the sound of 'swha' as in 'bank' etc.

7. Put an *anuswara* under the letter *PA* to indicate the 'f' sound of English, Hindi, and Urdu languages.
8. Do not use *anuswara* and consonant sound of the letter (*pollu*) at the beginning of a line or sentence.
9. Recognize the difference in the pronunciation of '*ksa*' and '*ksha*' as in 'rickshaw' and '*pakshi*'.
10. When you write borrowed words from English write them as a vowel ending words in Telugu (its exception being the names of places and persons).
11. When it is not possible to follow the pronunciation of English dictionaries in translating the script of nouns and scientific terms which were borrowed from English, use the customary language which is used by educated Telugu people. In such cases, take Indian English as standard.
12. Write in habituated script only. No need to go for the pronunciation in original language. For example: pronounce 'judge' as 'judgi' in Telugu but not as 'juz' as in English pronunciation.
13. Do not use the old (textual) form as '*krotta*', '*gradda*', '*vratha*' etc. Instead use '*kotta*' (new), '*gadda*' (eagle), '*ratha*' (writing).
14. In the end of a sentence and in front of *pratyayas*, use *anuswara* in place of *MU*. For example: use '*vacchaam*' and not '*vacchaamu*'.
15. There is a provision to write verb in plural form though the subject is in singular form in the case of giving respect to the subject (as in case of persons).
16. Recognize the difference in meaning in singular and plural forms. For example: *kandi* in singular form is an adjective and in plural form (*kandulu*) is a noun.
17. There are only one or two words in Telugu that end with long vowel. So while translating words that end with long

vowels, we can shorten the vowel in Telugu. For example: *meestri* instead of *meestree* and *chapraasi* instead of *chapraasee*.

18. We can use person's name and place names as common names by adding plural forms to them. For example: *endaru gandheelu puttinaa himsaatatvam poodu*, and *enni dilleelu* (Delhis) *unnaa, mana deeshampedda palletuuree*.
19. We can use the plural forms of some foreign words in Telugu as they are in the original (source) language. For example: use '*salesmen*' but not *salesmanlu*.
20. The second case of noun will be constant if the object in a sentence is human and is optional when the object is inanimate. For example: *vaadu prajalanu piidisthunnaadu* or *vaadu eenugekkaadu/ eenugunekkaadu*.
21. We can make the meaning much clear by changing the word order in a sentence instead of using the case markers (*vibhakthi pratyayaalu*) of the nouns.
22. Add 'O' to the numbers to get objective forms. Do not use '*eva*'. For example: use '*rendo*' instead of '*rendava*'.
23. Do not prolong the adjectives by using the forms like '*atuvanti*' and '*tatuvanti*' etc. For example: use '*vacche*' and not forms like '*vacchetatuvanti*'.
24. Try NOT to use Sanskrit words like *krameNa*, *eethaavaathaa*, and old Telugu forms like *pidapa* or *mariyu* as far as possible.
25. When writing the compound words of foreign origin, do not follow the same word order. In other words, do not translate 'word to word'. For example: for 'ex-central minister', use '*keendra maajee manthri*' and NOT '*maajee keendra manthri*'.
26. Do not Sanskritize the Telugu mode of speech. For example: '*the cold touch of poverty*' should be translated as

durbhara daaridryam' and not as *daaridrya sheethala sparsha'*.

27. We can create verbs in Telugu by adding *cheyu'* to the English nouns and by using '*inchi*' in place of '*aanaa*' to the Hindi or Urdu verbal forms. For example: bowl *cheeyu/* bowling *cheeyu, pilaainchu.*
28. It is natural in Telugu language to make pronounal forms by adding pronouns to the verbal forms. With these pronounal forms, we can differentiate the persons in verb. However, it is not possible to differentiate the tenses. For example: *vacchee-vaadu, vachee-vaadini.*
29. Telugu sentences are of two types: without verbs and with verbs. There is no rule in Telugu to have a verb in the sentence. For example: *adi chettu* (without verb), ***aame vacchindi*** (with verb).
30. Write small sentences as far as possible. Do not prolong the sentences with incomplete verbal forms. Use Telugu words as far as possible. Do not use long compound words.