

Metamorphosis of ‘Hindi’ in Modern India – A Study of Census of India

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Introduction

‘Hindi’ in British India was one of the ‘provincial languages ‘and Hindustani a ‘lingua franca’. On Oct 20, 1917 Mahatma Gandhi in his Presidential address at the Second Gujarat Educational Conference, Broach had said that ‘... Hindi alone can become the national language’; the makers of the Constitution of India named it as the ‘Official language’ of the Union and also included it in the Eighth Schedule, thus making it one of the scheduled languages. When official status was granted to Hindi, only the state of Rajasthan had some tradition of using Hindi for a few official purposes. Now it is recognised as the ‘official language’ by more than 14 states. The *Official Language Resolution, 1968* resolved for growth or development of Hindi to take place ‘... in the interest of the educational and cultural advancement of the county...’. All these language policy actions have created linguistic hierarchy among Indian languages with Hindi at the top. Thus, Hindi is a politically, statistically and functionally very powerful language. All these actions have highly increased the functional value of Hindi. It is a highly empowered language. Hindi is fortunate to have this status which none of the other Indian languages has in Independent India.

Modern India is a multilingual nation. Hindi is fast disseminating as the *lingua franca* of it. It knits different mother tongue speakers together as a most important political constituency. This changed position of one of the dialects into the status of a dominant language now subsumes other dialects and even languages under its umbrella. It became a part of the well-known *Three Language Formula* in school education being implemented in all except two states and union territories. These are the landmarks in the history of growth of Hindi language. Needless to say, for decades Hindi movies have made and are making a significant contribution in popularising Hindi. The post-economic liberalisation opened up mass media for liberal growth; maximum television channels have broadened their reach. In addition to these, now the internet and other media are also becoming major contributors for the promotion of Hindi.

Information sources

Two major sources of information on the linguistic composition of the country are the *Linguistic Survey of India* by George Abraham Grierson (and his connections) 1901 and the *decennial Census of India* since 1881 to 2011. In the post-independence India the language reports of the Census of India 1961 *Vol I Part II-C(ii) Language Tables* and Census of India 1971 *Language Handbook on Mother tongues in Census* by R.C. Nigam, Linguist and later

Assistant Registrar General and his team in the Office of the Registrar General, India contributed more reliable information on languages of India along with their distribution across the nation. They are the foundations for language information. The censuses that followed 1961 continue to build upon the same platform and provide data.

What is Hindi?

The *Linguistic Survey of India* has played a very important role in the life of Hindi and in the life of India. While recording the names of languages, dialects, mother tongues etc., Grierson says that "... dialect names have been taken from the indigenous nomenclature, nearly all the language-names have had to be invented by Europeans. Some of them, such as 'Bengali,' 'Assamese,' and the like, are founded on words which have received English citizenship, and are not real Indian words at all; while others, like 'Hindustani,' Bihari, and so forth, are based on already existing Indian names of countries or nationalities" (Grierson 1901). When we come to the name of the language Hindi, Grierson writes that it is "... popularly applied to all the various Aryan languages spoken between the Punjab on the west and the river Mahaananda on the east; and between the Himalayas on the north and the river Narbada on the south." (Grierson: 1901 Vol VI page 3).

The 1911 Census of India considers 'Hindi' as 'a comprehensive word which includes at least three distinct languages, Western Hindi, Eastern Hindi and Bihari'. Hindustani which was a major component of Hindi and part of the Constitution of India played an important role in the movement for the independence of India as a link language. The first census after independence of India was conducted in 1951. It recorded 782 languages and dialects. The 1961 census was held after the reorganisation of the States of the country on linguistic lines. It recorded 1652 mother tongues in India. This records the linguistic diversity of India. The Census 1971 Language Handbook of India at page 275 says that Hindi is "...that form of standard speech which is known as Khari Boli or Standard Hindi and is written in Devanagari script and which although serves as a native speech of only a small section of literate urban society is cultivated in current literature area, and is employed in all media of instruction, information and mass contacts. This speech is understood to be originally based on a dialect spoken around Delhi and some of the Western districts of Uttar Pradesh. Linguistically Hindi language area encompasses two broad dialect group areas named as Western Hindi area and Eastern Hindi area, with a number of linguistic characteristics distinguishing broadly each of the two areas." We notice the change in the perception of the Scheduled Language-Hindi. With a change in the status, the definition of the language too changes.

Here, we may recall that the Statistical Hand Book (as interpreted by the Radhakrishnan Commission) presented to the Constituent Assembly (which debated various provisions that govern the country including the issue of language in 1947), showed that Hindi had four parts: Eastern Hindi: 7,867,103 persons with Awadhi, Maithili, Magadhi, Bhojpuri; Western Hindi: 71,354,504 persons with Urdu, Braj Bhasha; Bihari : 27,926,502 persons, and Rajasthani: 13,897,508 persons. It may thus be observed here that Urdu was considered a part of Hindi. The report also had observed that "*Hindi is the language of minority, although a large minority. Unfortunately, it does not possess any advantages - literary or historical, over the other modern Indian languages.*"

Forgotten Hindustani

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Metamorphosis of 'Hindi' in Modern India

The *Linguistic Survey of India* speaks movingly about Hindustani as an important dialect and a 'lingua franca of the greater part of India, spoken and understood over the whole of the Indian Peninsula'. At that time, 'Literary Hindustani, was used by both Hindus educated in Hindu tradition and Musalmans educated in Musalman system of education. The Hindus used Nagari script and Musalmans used Persian script to write the same language. This Hindustani included local vernacular, Literary Hindustani (including Urdu and Hindi) and Dakhini.

The 1971 Census Language Handbook on page 90 recognises that “*According to LSI/ Hindustani was primarily the language of Northern Doab and was also Lingua Franca of India capable of being written both in Persian and Nagari characters and without purism, avoiding alike the excessive use of either Persian or Sanskrit words. Currently also Hindustani is understood to be a form of Hindi/Urdu which avoids Sanskrit or Perso Arabic purisms.*” The total population of Hindustani recorded is 122011. In Uttar Pradesh 1,00,530 and in Mysore (present Karnataka) 12,330 were mother tongue speakers. Since 17th Century itself Hindoostani was known in England as Lingua franca of India. Unfortunately, the same has vanished from the linguistic demography of India in the records and publications of the 1991 Census onwards.

Growth of Hindi

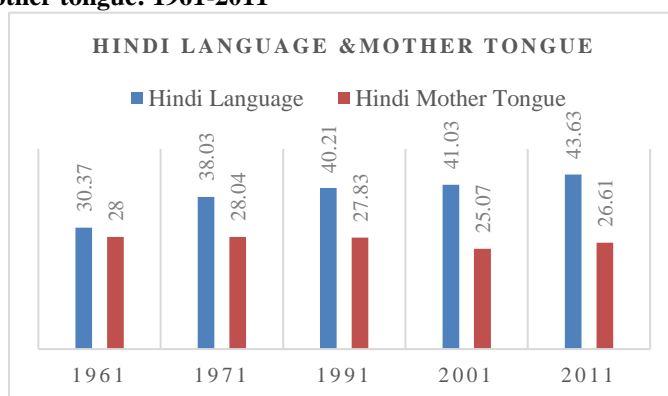
When we use the words *scheduled language* and *non-scheduled language*, we have to remember the percentage of speakers of these groups of languages in the country. Hindi is one of the 22 Scheduled languages.

Census Year	Scheduled languages	Other Languages
2001	96.56	3.44
2011	96.71	3.29

The table – 1, provides the details of percentage of speakers of Hindi mother tongue and Hindi language from 1961 to 2011. Between 1961 and 2011 the percentage of Hindi language speakers in India has increased from 30.37 to 43.63, a jump by 13.26 percent. Here, Hindi language is inclusive of Hindi mother tongue. This is the highest growth among all the Indian languages. During the same period population of Hindi mother tongue speakers has gone down from 28.00% to 26.61%, that is by 1.39%. Thus, we can notice that the number of speakers of Hindi as mother tongue is dropping from decade to decade and number of speakers of Hindi language is growing. Percentage of population of other mother tongues in the umbrella language Hindi is also increasing. In 1961, Hindi-a composite language had 97 different mother tongues (including Hindi mother tongue) under its umbrella. Many of them were spoken by a meagre number of people. The number of mother tongues in Hindi language too has changed from decade to decade. They were 48⁺ in 1991, 49⁺ in 2001 and 56⁺ in 2011.

Table - 1
Percentage of Speakers of Hindi Language and
Hindi Mother tongue: 1961-2011

Year	Hindi Language	Hindi Mother tongue
1961	30.37	28.00
1971	38.03	28.04
1991	40.21	27.83
2001	41.03	25.07
2011	43.63	26.61



Now the number of mother tongues in composite Hindi has reduced but numbers of mother tongues with a larger number of speakers are added under Hindi umbrella. B.P. Mahapatra in *Language Planning and Census in India* records that

‘The genetic classification of Hindi mother tongues in 1961 which resulted in projecting the percentage of Hindi speakers in India at 30.39 percent of the total population incredibly fell to 29.65 percent in 1971 following the same genetic classificatory scheme of 1961...’

This immediately raised the question, what is wrong with Hindi? And ultimately the language tables based on the linguistic classification scheme of 1961 were subjected to a critical review. The government took an active role in reclassification of the mother tongues, and this took nearly seven years to reach a decision. In the foreword to the Language Tables, Shri R.B. Chari, then the registrar general, says, “There has been a change this time in the grouping of languages/mother tongues”.

In consequence, exactly fifty mother tongues with speaker strength above 10,000 were freshly classified under Hindi to project the number of Hindi at 38.04 percent of the total population. These mother tongues are: Bagri-Rajasthani, Banjari, Bhadrawahi, Bharmauri/Gaddi, Bhojpuri, Chambeali, Curahi, Dhundari, Garhwali, Gojri, Harauri, Hindustani, Jaipuri, Jaunsari, Kangri, Khairari, Khortha/Khotta, Kulvi, Kumau, Kurmal Thar, Lamani/Lambadi, Madhesi, Magadhi/Magahi, Maithili, Malvi, Mandeali, Marwari, Mewari, Mewati, Nagpuria, Nimadi, Pahari, Panchpargania, Rajasthani, Sadan/Sadri, Sirmauuri, and thirteen more undisclosed ones. It is quite apparent from this list that the linguistic classification of 1961 was thrown overboard in favour of a classification that we may call ‘functional.’

As an academic exercise, if we exclude the number of speakers of the mother tongues listed by Mahapatra, from the 2011 census the percentage of Hindi language speakers in India in 2011 will get reduced to 31.75 percent from the present record of 43.63 percent. In such a case the following shall be the strength of Hindi in India.

Table - 2
Percentage of speakers of Hindi Language and Hindi Mother tongue: 1961 and 2011

Year	Hindi Language	Hindi Mother tongue
1961	30.37	28.00
2011	31.75	26.61
Difference	+1.38	-1.39

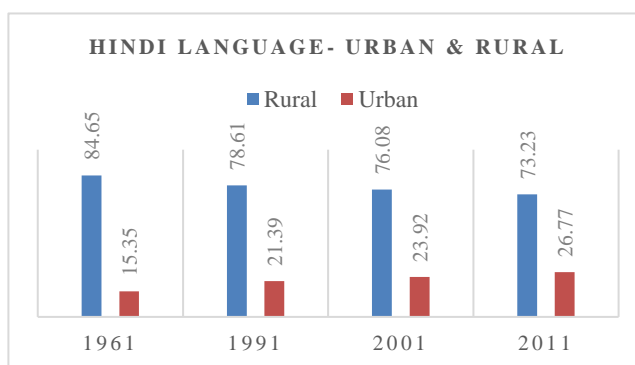
Urban and Rural Distribution

There is a shift taking place in the demographic distribution of Hindi language and Hindi mother tongue speakers in the urban and rural spaces in the past few decades. The following two separate tables for language and mother tongue illustrate the point.

Table-3

Hindi Language: 1961- 2011
Percentage of its distribution in Urban and Rural areas

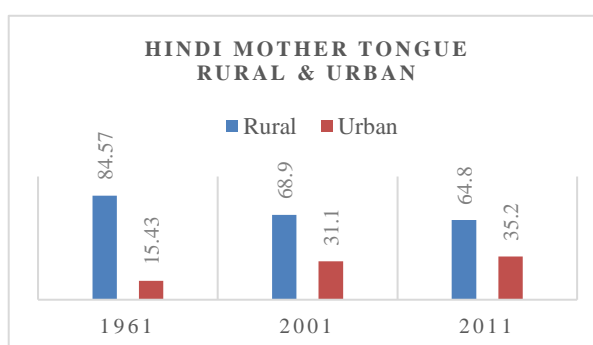
Year	Rural	Urban
1961	84.65	15.35
1991	78.61	21.39
2001	76.08	23.92
2011	73.23	26.77



This table illustrates that the Hindi language speakers are moving towards urban areas from rural areas. From decade to decade their strength in rural areas is on the decrease and is increasing in the urban areas.

Table – 4
Hindi mother tongue: 1961- 2011
Percentage of distribution in Urban and Rural areas

Year	Rural	Urban
1961	84.57	15.43
2001	68.90	31.10
2011	64.80	35.20



This table speaks about the movement taking place in the Hindi mother tongue speaking population. They are moving from rural areas towards urban areas. This is more than the movement of the Hindi language speakers.

Distribution in States and UTs

The 2011 Census provides the figures indicating the distribution of languages in different states and union territories. Among the Indian languages only Bengali, Gujarati, Tamil, Hindi and Urdu are present in all parts of India. But Hindi stands first with comparably better population than others in its spread across the country. It is having a pan Indian presence.

Since we are trying to understand the presence of Hindi in India, it has to be looked at from two angles. The first one is the percentage of distribution of Hindi language speakers in different states and UTs. The other one is the proportion of Hindi speakers in each of the states and UTs. Since the details from previous census are also available, we are able to discuss the changes that have taken place from decade to decade in both angles. The table – 5 illustrates the percentage of Hindi language Speakers in the states and UTs in descending order of number of speakers in 2011 census. For the convenience of understanding linguistic demography of Hindi all the 35 states and UTs are grouped in to five groups depending upon the percentage of speakers in each them. The first group has 4 states.

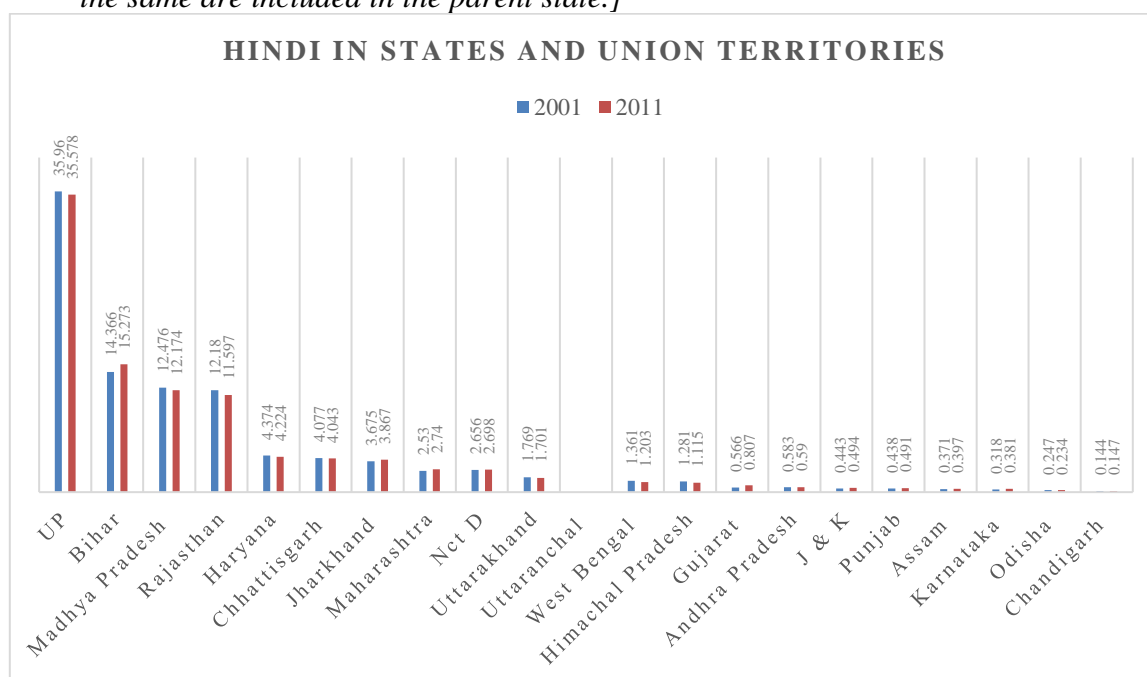
Table - 5
Percentage of Hindi Language Speakers in the States and Union Territories
(in descending order of percentage of speakers in 2011 census)

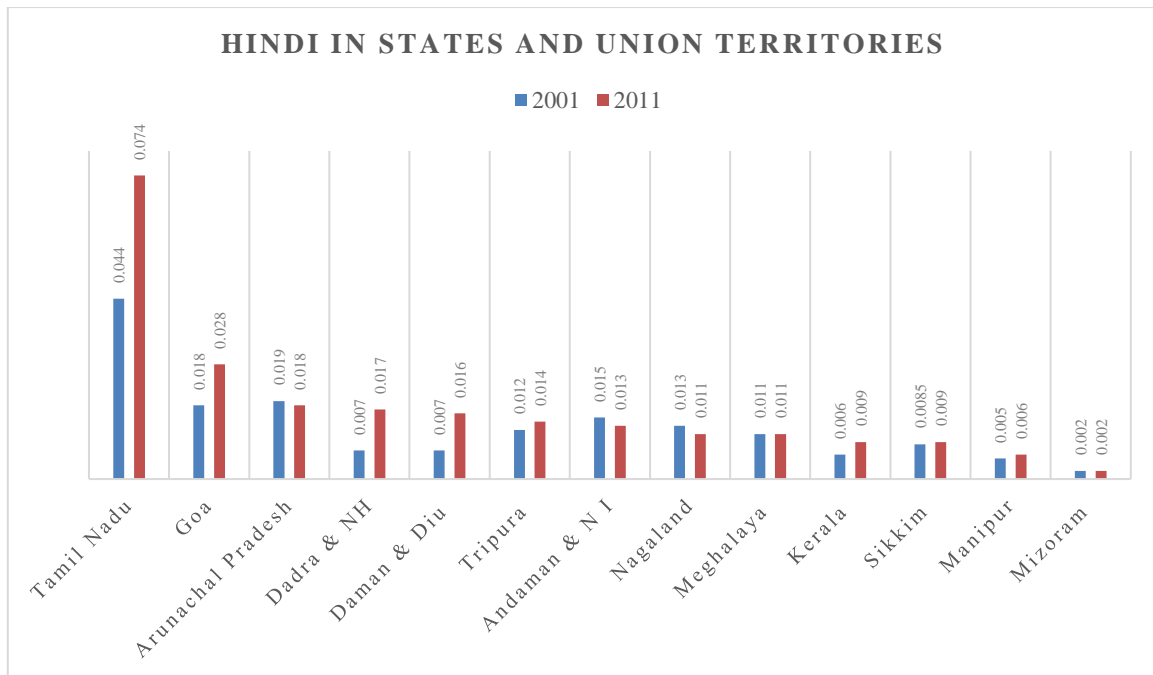
Sl No	State UT	1981	1991	2001	2011
I					
1	UP	37.68	37.16	35.960	35.578
2	Bihar	20.97	20.70	14.366	15.273
3	Madhya Pradesh	16.56	16.78	12.476	12.174
4	Rajasthan	11.35	11.68	12.180	11.597
II					
5	Haryana	4.34	4.44	4.374	4.224
6	Chhattisgarh	####	####	4.077	4.043
7	Jharkhand	####	####	3.675	3.867
8	Maharashtra	1.63	1.82	2.530	2.740
9	Nct D	1.79	2.28	2.656	2.698
10	Uttarakhand	####	####	1.769	1.701
11	West Bengal	1.37	1.32	1.361	1.203
12	Himachal Pradesh	1.43	1.36	1.281	1.115
III					
13	Gujarat	0.28	0.36	0.566	0.807
14	Andhra Pradesh	0.53	0.54	0.583	0.590
15	J & K	0.39	****	0.443	0.494
16	Punjab	0.96	0.43	0.438	0.491
17	Assam	****	0.03	0.371	0.397
18	Karnataka	0.26	0.26	0.318	0.381
19	Odisha	0.23	0.22	0.247	0.234
20	Chandigarh	0.09	0.11	0.144	0.147
IV					
21	Tamil Nadu	****	0.47	0.044	0.074
22	Goa	0.009	0.01	0.018	0.028
23	Arunachal Pradesh	0.01	0.01	0.019	0.018
24	Dadra & NH	0.007	0.002	0.007	0.017

25	Daman & Diu	****	0.001	0.007	0.016
26	Tripura	0.012	0.01	0.012	0.014
27	Andaman & N I	0.01	0.01	0.015	0.013
28	Nagaland	0.012	0.012	0.013	0.011
29	Meghalaya	0.01	0.011	0.011	0.011
V					
30	Kerala	0.006	0.006	0.006	0.009
31	Sikkim	0.006	0.005	0.0085	0.009
32	Manipur	0.005	0.007	0.005	0.006
33	Mizoram	0.003	0.002	0.002	0.002
34	Lakshadweep	5.29	0.00006	N	N
35	Pondicherry	0.00005	0.0007	N	N

*[*This statement excludes Assam as no census was taken there due to disturbed conditions prevailing at the time of census. Also excludes language figures of Tamil Nadu as the entire records of Tamil Nadu state have been lost due to flood. Full figures for Kashmir are not available, since the 1991 census was not conducted in Jammu and Kashmir due to disturbed conditions.*

#Uttarakhand, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh states are later creations. The figures for the same are included in the parent state.]





This table indicates that in 2011 Uttar Pradesh has maximum number of Hindi speakers [35.588%] and Lakshadweep and Pondicherry have negligible number of them. Among 35 states and UTs in the first group of 4 states have more than 10% Hindi speakers: In addition to UP, Bihar [15.237%], Madhya Pradesh [12.174%] and Rajasthan [11.597%] belong to this group. It is to be noticed that their percentage is decreasing in Uttar Pradesh [35.960% < 35.578%], Rajasthan [11.597 %< 12.180%] and Madhya Pradesh [12.137% < 12.476%] It is increasing in Bihar [14.366%>15.273%].

The second group has 8 states with more than 1.00% of Hindi speakers. They are: Haryana [4.224%], Chhattisgarh [4.043%], Jharkhand [3.867%], Maharashtra [2.174%], NCT Delhi [2.698%], Uttarakhand [1.701%], West Bengal [1.203%] and Himachal Pradesh [1.115%]. In this group also the number of Hindi speakers is reducing in West Bengal [1.203% < 1.361%], Himachal Pradesh [1.115 %< 1.281%]. In case of other states in this group the number of speakers of Hindi is increasing.

The third group has 8 states: This is the one where Hindi speakers are less than 1.00% but more than 0.01%. The states are: Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, J & K, Punjab, Assam, Karnataka, Odisha and Chandigarh. An interesting fact is that in case of all the states in this group only in Odisha number of speakers of Hindi is decreasing [0.234% <0.247%]. It is increasing in all other 7 states.

The fourth group has 9 states and UTs. All these have more than 0.011% and less than 0.009% of Hindi speakers. The fifth group has rest of the states and UTs. Further details of Hindi speakers in this group and their increase / decrease could be clearly deciphered from the table – 5.

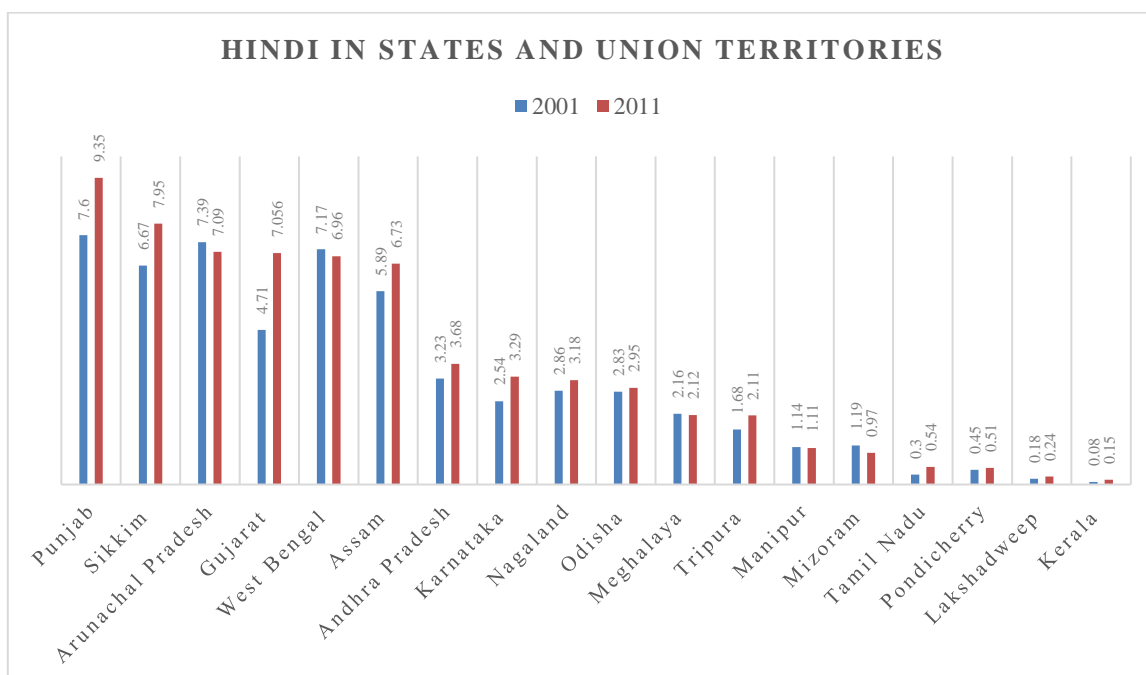
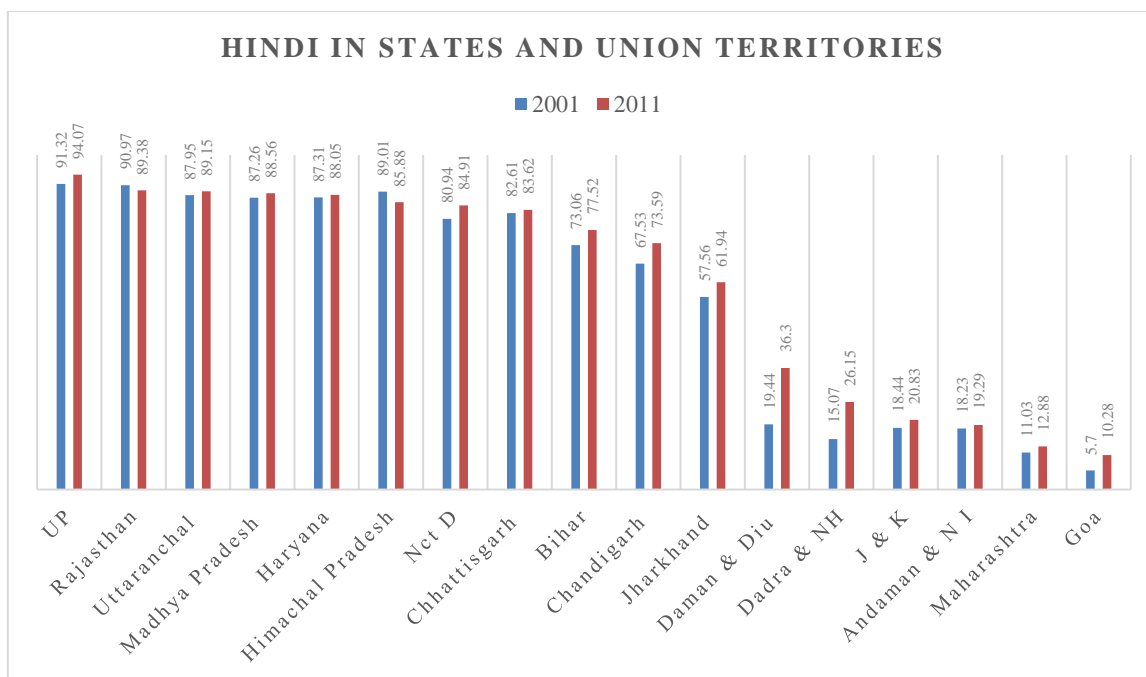
Table – 6 provides the details of percentage of Hindi speakers in the states and UTs. This illustrates the density of Hindi speakers in each geographical territory. This percentage is to the total population of the State or UT in the descending order of percentage of speakers

in 2011 census. The state of Uttar Pradesh has highest proportion of Hindi speakers than any other language speakers in it. Whereas Kerala state has least number of Hindi speakers.

In 11 states they are above 50% of the total population of the state. Here, the states and UTs are grouped into four groups depending upon the density of speakers of Hindi in them. They are states and UTs with high density, moderate density, low density and poor density. This table reflects the details of this classification.

Table – 6
Hindi speakers in the States and Union Territories
(Percentage to the total population of the State or UT in the descending order of percentage of speakers in 2011 census)

	State UT	1991	2001	2011
I	High density			
1	UP	90.11	91.32	94.07
2	Rajasthan	89.56	90.97	89.38
3	Uttarakhand	####	87.95	89.15
4	Madhya Pradesh	85.55	87.26	88.56
5	Haryana	91.00	87.31	88.05
6	Himachal Pradesh	88.87	89.01	85.88
7	Nct D	81.64	80.94	84.91
8	Chhattisgarh	####	82.61	83.62
9	Bihar	80.86	73.06	77.52
10	Chandigarh	61.07	67.53	73.59
11	Jharkhand	####	57.56	61.94
II	Moderate density			
12	Daman & Diu	3.59	19.44	36.30
13	Dadra & NH	5.05	15.07	26.15
14	J & K	17.32	18.44	20.83
15	Andaman & N I	17.62	18.23	19.29
16	Maharashtra	7.81	11.03	12.88
17	Goa	3.17	5.70	10.28
III	Poor density			
18	Punjab	7.29	7.60	9.35
19	Sikkim	4.87	6.67	7.95
20	Arunachal Pradesh	7.31	7.39	7.09
21	Gujarat	2.94	4.71	7.056
22	West Bengal	6.58	7.17	6.96
23	Assam	4.62	5.89	6.73
24	Andhra Pradesh	2.77	3.23	3.68
25	Karnataka	1.97	2.54	3.29
26	Nagaland	3.36	2.86	3.18
27	Odisha	2.40	2.83	2.95
28	Meghalaya	2.19	2.16	2.12
29	Tripura	1.66	1.68	2.11
30	Manipur	1.31	1.14	1.11
IV	Very poor density			
31	Mizoram	1.28	1.19	0.97
32	Tamil Nadu	N	0.30	0.54
33	Pondicherry	N	0.45	0.51
34	Lakshadweep	N	0.18	0.24
35	Kerala	N	0.08	0.15



In this case also in 28 states and UTs the proportion of population speaking Hindi is increasing. But their proportion is decreasing 7 states. Two are high density states. They are: Rajasthan [89.38% < 90.97%], Himachal Pradesh [85.88 % < 89.01%]. Four are poor density states: Arunachal Pradesh [7.09% < 7.39%], West Bengal [6.96% < 7.17%], Meghalaya [2.12% < 2.16%], Manipur [1.11% < 1.14%] and Mizoram [0.97% < 1.19%] belongs to a very poor density state.

Spread of Hindi

Multilingualism in India is on increase from decade to decade. Statistics about bilingualism and trilingualism indicates the extent of penetration of a language into the

communicative territory of speakers of another language/s. From the beginning penetration of Hindi among other language speakers is highly uneven. High linguistic diversity is one of the reasons. In addition to this there are cultural, political and social reasons for the unevenness.

The following table illustrates the degree of Indian multilingualism and also penetration of Hindi into the communicative domain of other languages. It acts as a link between Hindi and another mother tongue speaker. Bi and Tri – statistics are one kind of indices of language contact and power of Hindi. In 1991 for the first time trilingualism details were made available. Bilingualism in the country is on the increase. The same is not true of trilingualism. Now, it is on the decrease. It seems to be not so sustainable like bilingualism.

Table - 7
Indian Multilingualism (in percentage) at a glance

Year	National Bilingualism	National Trilingualism	Hindi speakers knowing a second language	Hindi speakers knowing a third language
1961	09.70	***	5.113	***
1971	13.04	***	***	***
1981	13.34	***	04.76	***
1991	19.44	7.26	11.01	2.98
2001	24.79	8.51	11.25	2.13
2011	26.01	7.10	11.540	To be worked out

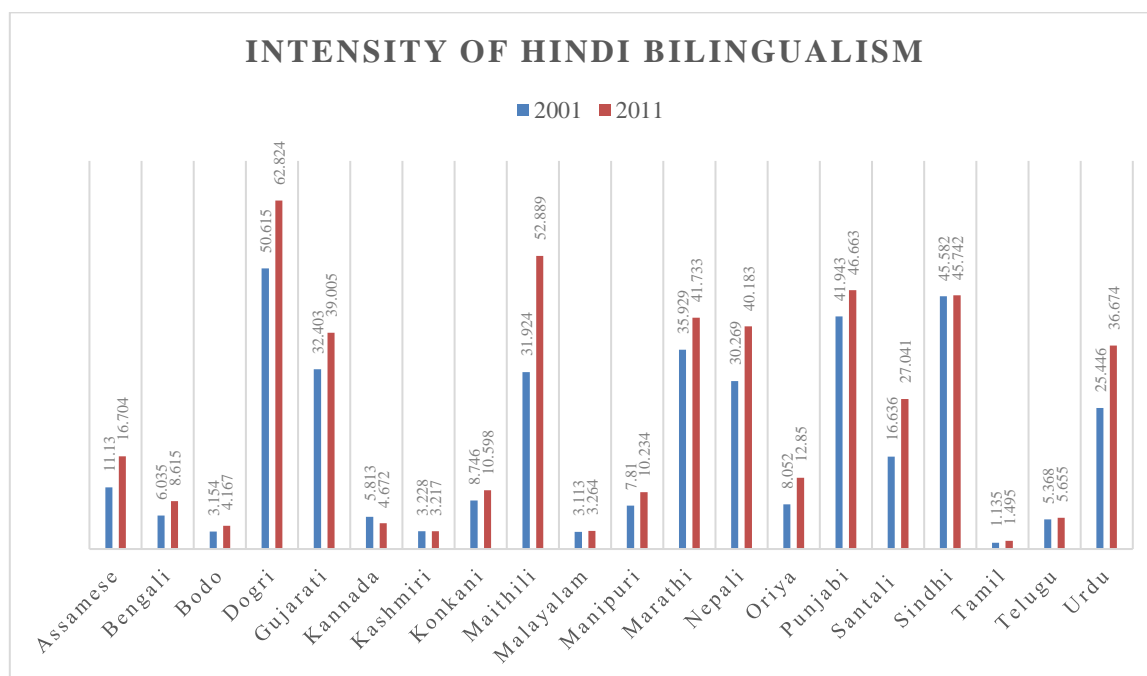
In case of Hindi there are two dimensions of multilingualism- Hindi speakers being bilingual and trilingual in other languages, and other language speakers being bilingual and trilingual in Hindi. The speakers of Hindi were least bilingual 11.01% and least trilingual 2.98% in any other language in 1991. Their bilingual and trilingual profile of Hindi, thus, is far below the national average of 19.44% and 7.26%. However, one finds an increase of bilingualism among Hindi speakers from decade to decade from 1981, from 4.76% >to 11.01% in 1991 > 11.25% in 2001 and >11.540% in 2011.

The table-8 on the intensity of bilingualism illustrates the spread of Hindi among the speakers of scheduled languages from decade to decade as first subsidiary language. Hindi has spread very widely among the Dogri speakers with 62.82% and spread least among Tamil speakers with 1.495% of them declaring Hindi as their first subsidiary language in 2011. Only in case of Kannada [4.672 % < 5.813%] and Kashmiri [3.217 % < 3.228] speakers there is a decrease in the percentage of Hindi bilinguals from 2001 to 2011. The table is self-explanatory about the intensity of Hindi bilingualism.

Table - 8
Intensity of Hindi Bilingualism
Speakers of Scheduled Languages knowing Hindi as a second language
(in descending order of percentage of speakers in 2011 census)

	Language	1961*	1991	2001	2011
I	High				
1	Dogri	4.523	***	50.615	62.824
2	Maithili	2.703	***	31.924	52.889
3	Punjabi	7.352	30.75	41.943	46.663
4	Sindhi	22.397	40.74	45.582	45.742
5	Marathi	6.157	23.79	35.929	41.733
6	Nepali	11.568	23.25	30.269	40.183
II	Moderate				
7	Gujarati	3.849	22.13	32.403	39.005
8	Urdu	4.377	16.60	25.446	36.674
9	Santali	7.312	***	16.636	27.041
10	Assamese	2.209	8.82	11.13	16.704
11	Oriya	1.616	4.56	8.052	12.850
12	Konkani	2.664	8.58	8.746	10.598
13	Manipuri	2.959	10.02	7.810	10.234
14	Bengali	1.821	3.99	6.035	8.615
15	Telugu	0.871	3.28	5.368	5.655
III	Low				
16	Kannada	1.024	3.89	5.813	4.672
17	Bodo	N	***	3.154	4.167
18	Malayalam	0.474	2.69	3.113	3.264
19	Kashmiri	0.784	*	3.228	3.217
20	Tamil	0.323	0.70	1.135	1.495

[In 1961, it is the percentage of persons speaking Hindi in addition to their mother tongue.
*** they were not scheduled languages at that time]



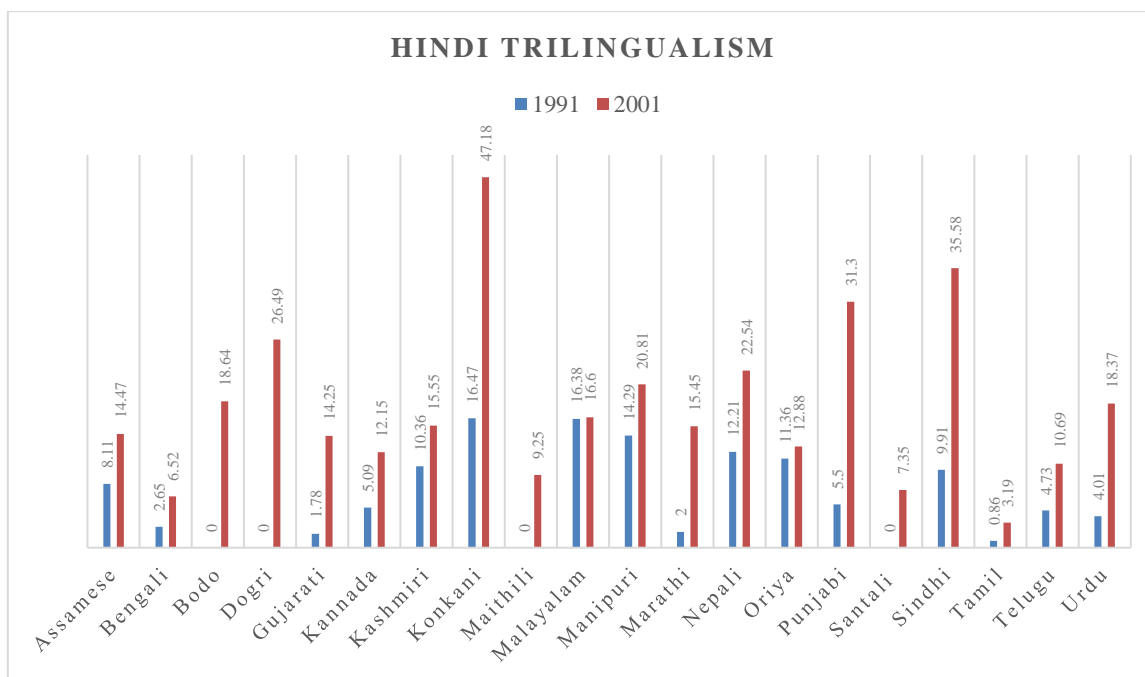
The table-9 illustrates the spread of Hindi among the speakers of scheduled languages from decade to decade as second subsidiary language. Hindi has spread very widely among

the Konkani speakers with 47.18% and spread least among Tamil speakers with 3.19% of them declaring Hindi as their second subsidiary language in 2001. There is no decrease of Hindi trilingualism between 1991 and 2001 among any of these language speakers. One thing stands out in general about Hindi bilingualism and trilingualism is that trilingualism is spreading fast among the speakers of scheduled languages. This table is self-explanatory about the spread of Hindi trilingualism.

Table – 9
Intensity of Hindi trilingualism
Speakers of Scheduled Languages knowing Hindi as a third language: 1991-2001
(in descending order of percentage of speakers in 2001 census)

	Language	1991	2001
I	High		
1	Konkani	16.47	47.18
2	Sindhi	9.91	35.58
3	Punjabi	5.50	31.30
4	Dogri	***	26.49
5	Nepali	12.21	22.54
6	Manipuri	14.29	20.81
II	Moderate		
7	Bodo	***	18.64
8	Urdu	4.01	18.37
9	Malayalam	16.38	16.60
10	Kashmiri	10.36	15.55
11	Marathi	2.00	15.45
12	Assamese	8.11	14.47
13	Gujarati	1.78	14.25
14	Oriya	11.36	12.88
15	Kannada	5.09	12.15
16	Telugu	4.73	10.69
III	Low		
17	Maithili	***	9.25
18	Santali	***	7.35
19	Bengali	2.65	6.52
20	Tamil	0.86	3.19

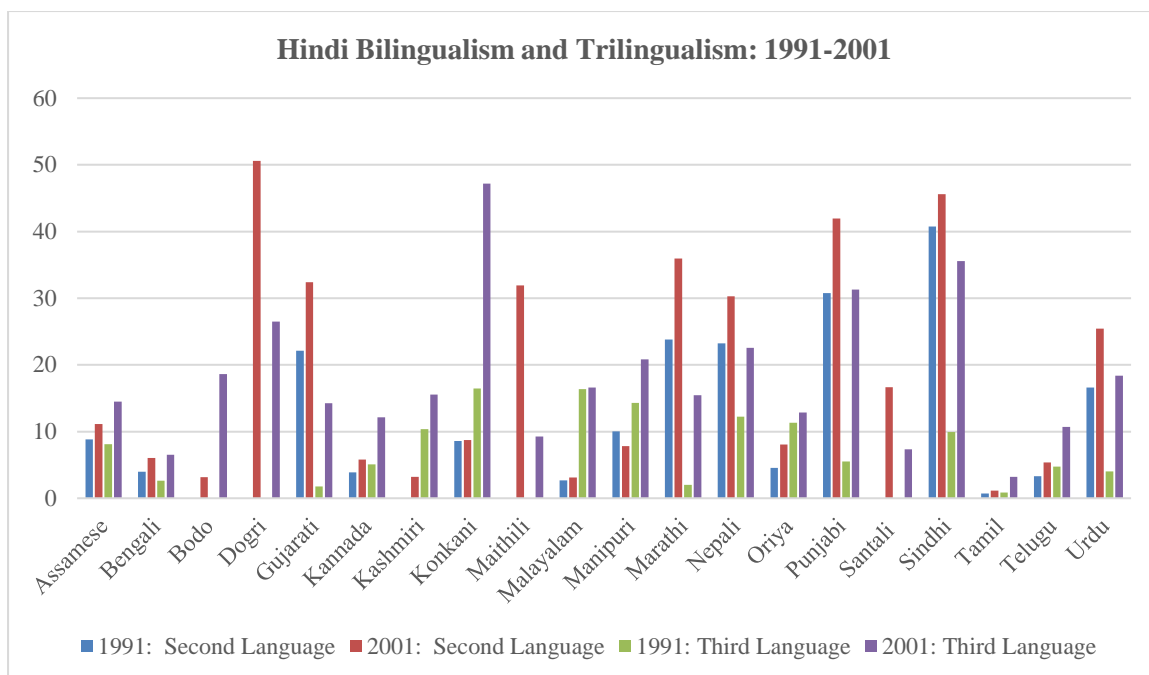
(*They were not scheduled languages in 1991)



The table-10 gives a combined picture of spread of Hindi as a second and third language among the speakers of scheduled languages in 1991 and 2001. This table really establishes the quantum of combined spread of Hindi and its speed of progress from decade to decade. When the same for 2011 are worked out, it may give moving picture of spread of Hindi in India.

Table – 10
Intensity of Hindi bilingualism and trilingualism
Percentage of Scheduled Language speakers knowing Hindi
 (as second and third language: 1991-2001, a combined statement)

	Year Language	1991	2001	1991	2001
		Second Language	Second Language	Third Language	Third Language
1.	Assamese	8.82	11.13	8.11	14.47
2.	Bengali	3.99	6.035	2.65	6.52
3.	Bodo	***	3.154	***	18.64
4.	Dogri	***	50.615	***	26.49
5.	Gujarati	22.13	32.403	1.78	14.25
6.	Kannada	3.89	5.813	5.09	12.15
7.	Kashmiri	*	3.228	10.36	15.55
8.	Konkani	8.58	8.746	16.47	47.18
9.	Maithili	***	31.924	***	9.25
10.	Malayalam	2.69	3.113	16.38	16.60
11.	Manipuri	10.02	7.810	14.29	20.81
12.	Marathi	23.79	35.929	2.00	15.45
13.	Nepali	23.25	30.269	12.21	22.54
14.	Oriya	4.56	8.052	11.336	12.88
15.	Punjabi	30.75	41.943	5.50	31.30
16.	Santali	***	16.636	***	7.35
17.	Sindhi	40.74	45.582	9.91	35.58
18.	Tamil	0.70	1.135	0.86	3.19
19.	Telugu	3.28	5.368	4.73	10.69
20.	Urdu	16.60	25.446	4.01	18.37



So far, we focused on the spread of Hindi among the speakers of the scheduled languages. Now we can look at its spread among some of the nonscheduled languages as a sample case in table -10(a) and 10(b). In this group of languages Hindi is spreading fast from 1961 to 2011. But currently it is on the reduction trend in case of Korwa [46.322% < 55.239%] and Lushai/Mizo [3.251% < 4.317%].

Table – 10 (a)
Intensity of Hindi bilingualism
Percentage of some Non-scheduled Language Speakers knowing Hindi
as a second language 1961-2011

	Language	1961*	2001	2011
1	Bhili/Bilodi	3.535	19.762	32.941
2	English	21.820	46.485	48.919
3	Gondi	23.053	31.500	44.754
4	Halbi	2.583	31.906	48.363
5	Ho	6.826	24.932	34.532
6	Kharia	17.470	42.257	46.811
7	Khasi	2.163	3.034	3.774
8	Korku	49.682	63.111	72.743
9	Korwa	45.192	55.239	46.322
10	Kurukh/Oran	28.303	53.763	67.639
11	Lushai/Mizo	3.001	4.317	3.251
12	Malto	8.642	10.856	33.506
13	Munda	7.557	15.519	17.876
14	Mundari	13.327	40.721	53.923

[In 1961, it is the percentage of persons speaking Hindi in addition to their mother tongue.]

In the table -10(b) we have another sample list of some of the non-scheduled languages. In this group of languages also Hindi is spreading fast from 2001 to 2011. But currently it is on the reduction trend in case of Ao [4.424 % < 5.310%], Khandeshi [3.251 % < 3.941%], Lahanda [55.183 % < 55.281%] and Tibetan [22.42 % < 41.839%]

Table – 10 (b)
Intensity of Hindi bilingualism
Percentage of some Non-scheduled Language Speakers knowing
Hindi as a second language 2001-2011

	Language	2001	2011
1	Adi	34.140	48.574
2	Ao	5.310	4.424
3	Bhotia	20.298	31.957
4	Garo	3.502	5.332
5	Karbi/ Mikir	2.104	2.969
6	Khandeshi	3.941	3.893
7	Kinnori	74.922	79.154
8	Ladakhi	10.789	28.063
9	Lahuli	74.856	86.400
10	Lahanda	55.281	55.183
11	Mishmi	41.431	55.208
12	Monpa	49.846	60.118
13	Nicobaise	58.004	61.603
14	Nissi/Dafla	31.118	49.887
15	Paite	2.539	3.238
16	Sangtam	2.360	3.268
17	Tangkhul	2.885	3.596
18	Tibetan	41.839	22.42
19	Tulu	3.565	4.549

Spread of Other Languages

The picture will not be complete without looking into the spread of other languages among Hindi speakers. In 1961- 5.113 % of Hindi mother tongue speakers had reported as they know a subsidiary language. The table – 11 gives the details of the languages known to Hindi speakers as second languages.

Table - 11
Percentage of speakers of Hindi being bilingual in
other languages 1961- 2011

	Languages	1961	2001	2011
1	Assamese	0.169	0.124	0.173
2	Arbi	0.006	0.041	0.040
3	Bengali	0.296	0.496	0.548
4	Bhili /Bhilodi	0.011	0.008	0.013
5	Dogri	*	0.013	0.018
6	English	2.484	7.67	6.060
7	Gujarati	0.036	0.240	0.360
8	Gondi	0.029	0.018	0.017
9	Kannada	0.024	0.186	0.212
10	Kashmiri	*	0.018	0.019
11	Konkani	*	0.003	0.006
12	Kurukh /Oraon	0.013	0.012	0.020
13	Maithili	0.008	0.062	0.108
14	Malayalam	*	0.003	0.005
15	Marathi	0.256	0.934	1.145

16	Mundari	0.008	0.012	0.008
17	Nepali	0.006	0.034	0.027
18	Oriya	0.029	0.129	0.129
19	Punjabi	0.311	0.330	0.407
20	Sanskrit	0.103	0.278	0.188
21	Santali	0.015	0.008	0.014
22	Sindhi	*	0.019	0.026
23	Tamil	0.014	0.019	0.030
24	Telugu	0.027	0.361	0.371
25	Urdu	0.586	0.897	1.458

[In the case of 1961, it is the percentage of persons speaking Hindi in addition to their mother tongue.]

The picture of Hindi speakers being bilingual in other languages is not so glowing but it is gloomy. The first and foremost choice of them is English. It is nothing but natural in the Indian context. Here the functionality of the second language is counted more than any other factor. Their bilingualism in English has grown from 2.484% in 1961 to 7.67% in 2001. But it is reduced to 6.060% in 2011.

Hindi speakers seem to see that there is not much need for them to learn/know another language since those languages have very less functional value for them.

Modern Hindi

Historically, Hindi was not an official language or a language of administration of any dynasty unlike some other Indian languages like Kannada, Tamil, etc. The officially identified *Hindi* of today as we already saw is an umbrella term/form to cover a '*composite speech form*' created out of different but possibly mutually intelligible mother tongues, including functionally compatible mother tongues. It is a super ordinate term subsuming a bunch of subordinate mother tongues/ dialects. The common core of linguistic features that exist between different mother tongues grouped under the language Hindi and the areal features seem to be helping smooth communication and unhindered interaction among speakers of these mother tongues. Hindi as a form of language started to knit India-a multilingual nation since a century as part of the process of struggle for independence and more forcefully since independence and constitutional provisions. First it integrated submerging different mother tongue/dialect/language identities as an umbrella language; secondly, penetrated into the sphere of other Indo Aryan language speaking areas due to linguistic affinity, geographic contiguity; thirdly into the territory of speakers of other language families due to their passive smoking of it through the bombardment of mass media. It is integrating Indians communicatively. In due course of time may also integrate socially and culturally.

Today, we are hearing and witnessing the products of post-independence linguistic activities. Modern Hindi is this form of language which has evolved into almost acceptable form in India after her independence and is in use in different domains. Three distinctive forms of it have evolved and they perform three different kinds of functions. The first one is used in formal contexts as standard Hindi both in spoken and written forms; the second one is the official or administrative Hindi which is used in a limited but important domain of administration but it hardly has any colloquial variety but strictly confined to single domain of administration, nobody's mother tongue; third one is '*fouji Hindi*'. The Hindi used in the

defense services. It is the best example of development of Hindi as a very successful tool for communication among the speakers belonging to various mother tongues groups and different official hierarchies. This Hindi of armed forces could be named as '*fouji Hindi*'. It demonstrates the strength of official Hindi '*prashaasanik Hindi*' and '*lingua franca Hindi*'; the fourth most popular form of Hindi is *lingua-franca Hindi* used in non-formal contexts across the country in spoken form only, with the shade of the regional language where it is used. This form is more akin to Mahatma Gandhi's notion of Hindustani, also now popularly known as *bazaar Hindi*. This kind of Hindi is used across different language speakers for intra-group communication in the country.

Hindustani - that Mahatma Gandhi wrote on Feb 1,1942 in Harijan "... what is Hindustani? a scientific blend of Hindi and Urdu. There is no such written blend extant. But it is the common speech of the unlettered millions of Hindus and Musalmans ...". Article 351 of the Constitution of India in its 'Directive for development of the Hindi language' states that 'it shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of 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 specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.

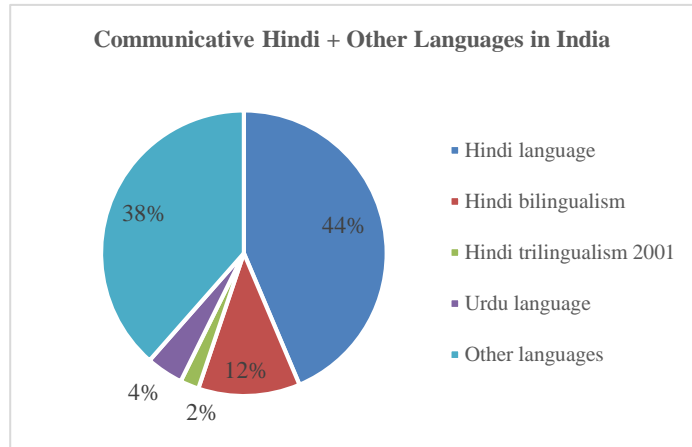
The process of evolving of a *lingua franca Hindi* is taking place without the intervention of language planners and language planning but by users of Hindi the speakers of different mother tongues in India. Due to mobility, communication network and expansion of modern technologies, modern Hindi has become a language of masses to a large extent. Hindustani of British India which had Hindi and Urdu as main components has gone out of linguistic demography of the nation and Indian census.

English has a coinage 'Englishes'- 'a term for emerging localized or indigenized varieties of English ...it is a *lingua franca* used in business trade...etc. On this analogy, in modern India if we use the term 'Hindustanees' it may not be in-appropriate. The Hindustani of independent India is developing fast than expected as an amalgam of elements of different Indian mother tongues with Hindi. Each such Hindustani has its own different linguistic texture. They are developing to get into decennial census in the form of substantial numbers. Modern Hindi that this paper discusses includes all kinds of Hindis in India.

In spite of linguistic heterogeneity of the country if we take communicability of Hindi in India as a criterion, we have to consider Urdu and Hindi as mutually intelligible speech forms for centuries together. They have a common core of phonology, syntax and a major vocabulary share. They are separated by two script forms since a century or so and by two religions. There were times when the religion was not in picture as a separator. Technological developments of today have made script a minor issue due to easy convertibility of a language from one script to another script. Hence, I am inclined to take Urdu and Hindi together as one entity for communicative purposes. When we add the statistics of Urdu speakers to Hindi along with the statistics of Hindi bilingualism and trilingualism, Hindi has a reach of 61.49% of the population of India.

Communicative Hindi

Hindi +	%
Hindi language	43.63
+Hindi bilingualism	11.54
+Hindi trilingualism 2001	2.13
+Urdu language	4.19
Other languages	38.51



For the last 70 years, ‘Indians are passive smokers of Hindi.’ This 61.49% of people knowing ‘communicative Hindi’ could be a conservative estimate.

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