

LANGUAGE IN INDIA

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A SURVEY OF LANGUAGE PREFERENCES IN EDUCATION IN INDIA

Omkar N. Koul, Ph.D.

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by

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April 27,2001

Omkar N. Koul
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A SURVEY OF LANGUAGE PREFERENCES IN EDUCATION IN INDIA

Introduction

Language in Education policy is directly related to the linguistic situation of a particular region, state or a country. The number of dominant language or languages prevalent in a particular society determines its monolingual, bi- or multilingual character. It is a fact that a majority of countries are defacto multilingual countries as a number of languages are spoken natively within their boundaries. There are over 5000 languages spread over less than 200 independent countries of the world.

The number of languages does vary from country to country. The linguistic character of a particular country determines the issues of language rights, language empowerment, language promotion, language policy and language planning. It is directly related to the use of language or languages in education at different levels. It is obvious that monolingual and bi-/multilingual countries differ in their approaches in language policy in education. In a dominant monolingual approach, the dominant language is assigned prominent role in education and the mother tongues of the linguistic minorities are ignored. The linguistic minorities have to adopt the dominant language for their meaningful survival at different levels.

In a multilingual approach, all the languages spoken in the region, state or country is given equal importance as far as their use in different domains is concerned. This approach promotes the development of all the languages and encourages their use in education.

Language policy of the country ensures the teaching of the mother tongues at the elementary level and their use as media of instruction in the early school education. Children may learn other language or languages at the higher levels of their education.

The multilingualism is fast developing as a world – wide phenomenon with the opening up of free economy, trade and globalisation. The result being that in the English dominated monolingual countries like the USA, England and Australia, the use of languages of the linguistic minorities including the languages of the migrants are increasingly used in education at the primary level. The voluntary/non governmental organisations are helping the migrant communities in the preservation and maintenance of these languages. There is a growth of language based ethnic schools and cultural centres. Multilingual countries face various problems in the formation and implementation of their language policies in education.

Multilingualism in India

The multilingual and multicultural character of India with high rate of illiteracy (of 33%) poses a large number of problems for the use of languages in education. Grierson identified 179 languages and 544 dialects in his Linguistic Survey of India conducted during 1888 and 1927. The 1951 census lists 845 languages including dialects, 60 of which were spoken by more than 10,000 speakers each. The 1961 census lists 1652 mother tongues corresponding to 193 classified languages. The classified languages belong to four families of languages: Austric (20), Dravidian (20), Indo-Aryan (54), Tibeto-Burmese (98) and one of doubtful affiliation. In the 1971, 1981 and 1991 Census, distribution of household population is presented along with the Schedule VIII languages and other major languages. It is important to note that the percentage of speakers of 18 languages included in the Schedule VIII of the Constitution is about 96% out of the total household population.

The multilingual, multicultural and multiethnic characteristics of India, varying socio-economic strata of people, complex communication patterns were well recognised during pre-independence period. The Constitution of India devotes 9 articles (Art 343-351) to the issues related to language policy of the Central and State governments. While Hindi in the Devanagiri script is recognised as the official language of the Central government along with English as the associate official language (initially for a period of 15 years up to 1965, however continues to be used by the Official Language Act passed in 1963 and amended later in 1967).

The state Governments have a choice to adopt any language or languages listed in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution as the official language in their state. Whereas all the States made a choice in favour of their regional or dominant native language as the official language, Jammu and Kashmir government chose Urdu – a non-native language of the state; some states in the Northeast decided in favour of English. The Constitution protects the right of the linguistic minorities in each state for preservation of their linguistic and cultural identity.

The government of India adopted a Three-Language Formula in 1968. Under the Formula a child is supposed to learn three languages: mother tongue, Hindi and English. In case the mother tongue is Hindi the child will learn another modern Indian language preferable a South Indian language. The Formula is not however followed strictly in letter and spirit. For instance, Tamil Nadu teaches two languages: Tamil and English; Hindi speaking states teach Sanskrit (a classical language) in place of modern Indian language. Usually three languages are used in the school education. However, the stages of introducing these languages vary from State to State and one schooling system to another.

In some schools two languages are introduced in the first primary itself and the third language is introduced at the sixth grade, in others the second language is introduced at the third standard and the third at the sixth standard. For teaching of tribal/minor languages as the mother tongues in schools, the Bilingual Transfer Model proposed by the Central Institute of Indian Languages is followed in some States.

According to this Model, the mother tongue of the child is taught as a subject and is also used as the medium of instruction in the initial three years of primary education, and the State's official language is introduced at the third primary level as a subject followed by other two languages at the sixth grade. The child has to learn four languages.

Language Preferences in Education

Language has primarily two roles in education. It is studied as a subject, and is used as medium of instruction. The choice of language as a subject of study and also the choice of language as a medium of instruction has a direct influence on the language in education policy of the country and is determined by various socio-economic and political factors. The choice of language in education is also related to language empowerment and the values of status and prestige. It is generally observed that lately conscious efforts are made to make a proper choice of the language keeping in view various factors, which determine the choice at different levels.

The so-called globalisation and increasing educational technology is also responsible for making a careful choice. It is important to study the language preferences in education from different points of view. One has to determine the reasons of making the choice, the aims and objectives of language education and medium of instruction by eliciting the views of the students, parents, potential employers, teachers, educationists etc. This would definitely help in evolving a clear-cut language in education policy by the government at various levels and strengthening the teaching and learning of languages at different levels. No detailed survey has been conducted so far to find out the language preferences in education in India.

Keeping in view the dominant multilingual situation in India and the education policy of the country it is a gigantic task to conduct a detailed survey covering different areas. That kind of survey will involve a lot of manpower, time and funds. Therefore a project was devised to have a sample survey with representative sample of data from different parts of the country. The choice of the sample was determined keeping in view certain diverse situations and language issues which determine preferences. The current report is based on the sample survey conducted on the subject. We have tried to make it as representative as possible within the time frame and resources available.

The sample

Keeping in view the multilingual situation it was very difficult to decide the sample for the survey. India has witnessed a large number of language movements (and language riots too) lately. In certain situations it is not possible to distinguish between language and politics. The issues related to the language rights, language empowerment language identity and language loyalty is discussed at different levels. The issues are directly related to the use of languages in education. We have tried to select representative sample keeping in view certain language-related issues, and situations. We have tried to take a sample from different parts of India. We have collected data from Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Delhi, Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab,

Maharashtra, West Bengal, and Orissa. Besides taking the sample from a select prominent languages which are listed in the VII Schedule of the Constitution of India (Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, Hindi, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Bengali and Oriya), we have also taken the sample from Dogri – a non-scheduled language, and Kolami a tribal language belonging to Dravidian language family spoken in Maharashtra.

It was decided to have a sample size of about 50 students each of different mother tongue groups, 30 parents each speaking the concerned mother tongue, and 20 employers of different categories situated in the areas where the data from students and parents is collected. Special care was taken in selecting the sample so that it is as varied as possible representing various socio-economic groups of respondents.

The Methodology

The methodology used is of diverse nature. In this kind of survey it is important to collect data from different sources. The main sources are students who study different languages at different levels and have a choice to learn all their school subjects in a selected medium. In the early childhood education, the choice in selecting the school subjects and the medium of instruction is of course exercised by the parents (or guardians). The students may exercise their choice at an advanced stage of schooling. Parents' choice is determined by the socio-economic factors, language attitudes and their own worldview, or experience. An important economic aspect, which determines the choice of the students as well as parents, revolves around the economic avenues and employment opportunities open to the students after their schooling. It is, therefore, essential to elicit the data from the potential employers regarding the use of languages in their organisations.

Thus data was obtained from students, parents and employers. Three types of questionnaires were devised and administered (1) for obtaining information from students at different levels, (2) for obtaining information from parents, and (2) for obtaining information from employers of various categories. We have also interviewed some educationists, teachers and opinion leaders and obtained their views on various issues related to the survey. We have also referred to available resources on the subject.

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The Data

Three types of questionnaires were administered to the informants for eliciting data. The data are presented language group wise from students, parents and employers. The questionnaires are given as an appendix to this report.

Questionnaire 1

The questionnaire 1 meant for students sought information regarding the name and address (optional), state, class or standard, age-group, mother tongue and other

languages known, languages studied at different levels, medium of instruction used at different levels, their language proficiency, the language they like the best and the one they like the least, languages used/preferred in reading newspapers, listening to radio, watching TV programmes and films, languages used for reading for pleasure and languages used for obtaining technical and professional information, and finally what kind of job/profession they would like to take up after completing their schooling/education. This questionnaire was administered to the students of Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, Hindi, Kashmiri, Dogri, Punjabi, Oriya, Bengali, Marathi and Kolami mother tongue groups. The data obtained from administering the questionnaire is presented language group wise. The information about names and addresses, classes they study in and age groups is not collated. As special efforts have been made in selecting students from various categories of classes and age groups and respondents belonging to both sexes, this information is not considered relevant for the present report.

1. Tamil

Tamil is a Dravidian language primarily spoken in Tamil Nadu in India. The data from the mother tongue speakers in Tamil was collected from Chennai - the capital city of Tamil Nadu. Chennai being a cosmopolitan town is inhabited by the communities who speak other Indian languages like Hindi, Urdu Malayalam, Telugu , Kannada etc. Tamil is well known for having two varieties: spoken and written. The mother tongue speakers of Tamil reported to know other languages as follows:

English	Hindi	Malyalam	Sanskrit
100	20%	5%	5%

Languages studied at different levels are:

	Primary	Middle	High/Hr. Sec	College
Tamil	80%	80%	80%	80%
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	-	20%	-	-
Sanskrit	-	10%	-	-

Medium of Instruction

Tamil	50%	50%	50%	25%
English	50%	50%	50%	75%

Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Tamil	100%	100%	100%	100%

English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	20%	20%	-	-
Malyalam	20%	20%	-	-
Telugu	10%	10%		
Sanskrit	-	-	10%	10%

It shows that all the respondents are at least bilinguals. Some of them are familiar with other languages as well. 20% have studied Hindi and 10% Sanskrit in their school education. Though they have not reported their proficiency at all the language skills. Similarly Malayalam and Telugu has been acquired as a result of language contact or on making personal efforts. These have not been the school subjects.

The language attitude

The language attitude is tested by asking the respondents to state which language they like the best and which the least. In response to this question, there have been very interesting responses. Most of them (about 90%) have stated that they like Tamil because it is their mother tongue. Some have praised it for being 'fully developed' language, which has very rich classical and modern literature. One respondent has mentioned " I like it for its infinite enormous unexplored riches in terms of expression and thought" One person has given the reason as " it is inseparable and most precious part of my life". Other person has stated that he considers it best because it is an efficient and successful medium of instruction in science and technological subjects. Almost all the respondents have avoided mentioning the language which they like the least.

Language used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least two languages are used/preferred by the respondents in these domains. The response is given below:

	Tamil	English	Hindi
Newspapers	80%	100%	-
Radio	100%	50%	-
TV	100%	50%	20%
Films	100%	50%	20%

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/professional information

In response to the question regarding the language in which they read for pleasure, the response has been primarily in favour of the mother tongue. 80% read in Tamil and 20% in English for pleasure. The response is quite reverse for the language they read in for obtaining technical/professional information. 80% say that they read in English and 20% said they read in Tamil.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Government	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
40%	30%	20%	10%

2. Kannada

Kannada is primarily spoken in the state of Karnataka. It has a large number of dialectical variations. The standard variety is used in literature. It is this variety which is used in education, mass media, administration and other formal domains. The data from the native speakers was collected from Mysore in Karnataka. The mother tongue speakers of Kannada reported to know other languages as follows:

English	Hindi	Tamil	Sanskrit
80%	40%	20%	5%

Languages studied at different levels

	Primary	Middle	High/Hr. Sec	College
Kannada	80%	80%	80%	50%
Hindi	40%	60%	60%	-
English	100%	100%	100%	100%

Medium of Instruction

Kannada	60%	60%	60%	30%
English	40%	40%	40%	70%

Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Kannada	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	60%	60%	40%	40%
Tamil	50%	50%	-	-

It shows that all the respondents are at least bilinguals in Kannada and English. Some of them are familiar with other languages as well. 60% have studied Hindi in their school and have reported their proficiency in all the language skills. It appears Tamil has been acquired as a result of language contact or on making personal efforts.

Language Attitude

The language attitude is tested by asking the respondents to state which language they like the best and which the least. In response to this question, there have been very interesting responses. Most of them (about 90%) have stated that they like Kannada because it is their mother tongue. Other reasons given are its simplicity in comparison to other languages, its capability of being a medium of science and technology, its rich literature etc. Most of the respondents have avoided mentioning the language which they like the least.

Language used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least two languages are used/preferred by the respondents in these domains. The response is given below:

	Kannada	English	Hindi
Newspapers	90%	100%	-
Radio	100%	50%	40%
TV	100%	50%	60%
Films	100%	50%	80%

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/professional information

The respondents were asked to indicate the language in which they read for pleasure. The response has been primarily in favour of the mother tongue. 80% read in Kannada and 20% in English for pleasure. The response is quite reverse for the language they read in for obtaining technical/professional information. 90% say that they read in English and 10% said they read in Kannada.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Government	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
50%	30%	10%	10%

3. Telugu

Telugu is a Dravidian language primarily spoken in Andhra Pradesh. The data from the native speakers of Telugu was collected from Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh. The mother tongue speakers of Telugu reported to know other languages as follows:

English	Hindi/Urdu	Tamil	Sanskrit
100	60%	50%	10%

Languages studied at different levels

	Primary	Middle	High/Hr. Sec	College
Telugu	80%	100%	80%	40%
English	50%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	-	60%	60%	-

Medium of Instruction

Telugu	60%	60%	60%	20%
English	40%	40%	40%	80%

Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Telugu	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	80%	80%	60%	60%
Urdu	80%	80%	5%	5%
Tamil	40%	40%	-	-
Sanskrit	-	-	10%	10%

It shows that all the respondents are trilinguals in Telugu, English and Hindi/Urdu . Some of them are familiar with other languages like Tamil and Sanskrit. Though none of them has studied Tamil as a subject in school, they speak it in the language contact situation. 10% of them have studied Sanskrit in their school and can read and write in this language.

Language Attitude

There were different responses for the question of which language they like the best and which the least. 80% state that they like Telugu as it is their mother tongue; they get education through it; it is used as medium of instruction for different subjects; it has a very rich literature etc. 20% respondents consider English the best as it is the vehicle of modern knowledge; it provides jobs in multinational companies; it is widespread and spoken as an international language. Most of them have avoided replying the second part of the question to state which language they like the least.

Language used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least two languages are used/preferred by the respondents in this domain. The response is given below:

	Telugu	English	Hindi	Tamil
Newspapers	80%	100%	5%	-
Radio	100%	50%	50%	40%
TV	100%	20%	50%	40%
Films	100%	52%	50%	20%

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/professional information

In response to the question respondents were asked to indicate the language in which they read for deriving pleasure. The response has been primarily in favour of the mother tongue. 80% read in Telugu and 20% in English for pleasure. The response was reverse for the language they read in for obtaining technical/professional information. 80% say that they read in English and 20% said they read in Telugu.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Government	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
40%	20%	30%	10%

4. Hindi

Hindi is an Indo-Aryan language primarily spoken in seven Indian states namely Bihar, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi. The data from the mother tongue speakers of Hindi was collected from Delhi. The mother tongue speakers of Hindi have reported to know other languages as follows:

English	Urdu	Punjabi	Sanskrit
100%	40%	20%	10%

Languages studied at different levels

	Primary	Middle	High/Hr. Sec	College
Hindi	100%	100%	100%	50%
English	50%	100%	100%	100%
Sanskrit		20%	20%	-

Medium of Instruction

Hindi	60%	60%	60%	20%
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English	40%	40%	40%	80%
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Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Hindi	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Urdu	80%	80%	10%	10%
Punjabi	30%	30%	-	-
Sanskrit	-	-	10%	10%

It shows that all the respondents are bilinguals in Hindi and English . Some of them are familiar with Punjabi and Sanskrit as well. Though none of them has studied Punjabi as a subject in school and have acquired its oral skills from the environment in the language contact situation. 80% of the respondents claim that they understand and speak Urdu, only 10% can read and write it. By knowing Urdu would mean their familiarity with vocabulary in speech. 10% of them have studied Sanskrit in their schools.

Language Attitude

There were different responses in reply to the question of which language they like the best and which one the least. 80% state that they like Hindi as the best as it is their mother tongue; it has been the language of their education; it has a rich literature etc. 20% respondents consider English the best as it is used widely in information technology; it helps to get jobs; it is an international language etc. Most of them have avoided replying the second part of the question to state which language they like the least.

Language used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least two languages are used/preferred by the respondents in these domains. The response is given below:

	Hindi	English	Punjabi
Newspapers	50%	80%	-
Radio	100%	30%	10%
TV	100%	20%	10%
Films	100%	20%	-

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/professional information

The respondents were asked to indicate the language in which they read for deriving pleasure. The response has been primarily in favour of Hindi. 80% read in Hindi and 20% in English for pleasure. The response was reverse for the language they read in for obtaining technical/professional information. 90% say that they read in English and 10% said they read in Hindi.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Government	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
30%	20%	40%	10%

5. Punjabi

Punjabi is an Indo-Aryan language spoken primarily in the State of Punjab in India. The data for the present survey was collected from Patiala. The mother tongue speakers of Punjabi reported to know other languages as follows:

English	Hindi	Urdu	Sanskrit
100	80%	20%	10%

Languages studied at different levels

	Primary	Middle	High/Hr. Sec	College
Punjabi	60%	60%	50%	30%
English	40%	100%	100%	50%
Hindi	60%	60%	40%	-

Medium of Instruction

Punjabi	60%	60%	60%	25%
English	40%	40%	40%	75%

Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Punjabi	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	100%	100%	100%	80%
Urdu	25%	25%	5%	5%

Sanskrit 5% - 5% 5%

It shows that all the respondents are at least trilinguals in Punjabi, English and Hindi. Some of them are familiar with Urdu and Sanskrit as well. The respondents can understand and speak Urdu but not many of them can read and write it. Similarly a very low percentage of respondents can understand, read and write Sanskrit, which they have studied in school at some stage.

Language Attitude

In response to the question as which language they like the best and which one the least, most of the respondents have said that they like Punjabi as the best for various reasons: it is their mother tongue, it is capable of being able to communicate new ideas, it has very rich literature, its folk literature and songs etc. About 10% respondents have responded to the second half of the question which languages they like least. One has mentioned Hindi without giving any reason, and one has mentioned English for its 'complicated' spellings. One said 'I don't want to distinguish between languages. All are equally good.'

Languages used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least two languages are used/preferred by the respondents in these domains. The response is given as follows:

	Punjabi	English	Hindi	Urdu
Newspapers	80%	100%	20%	-
Radio	100%	25%	20%	10%
TV	80%	20%	80%	20%
Films	80%	20%	80%	10%

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/professional information

The respondents were asked to indicate the language in which they read for pleasure. The response has been primarily in favour of the mother tongue. 60% read in Punjabi and 20% in English and 20% in Hindi for pleasure. The response is quite different for the language they read in for obtaining technical/professional information. 90% say that they read in English and 10% say they read in Punjabi.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Government	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
50%	20%	20%	10%

6. Kashmiri

Kashmiri is an Indo-Aryan language spoken primarily in the Kashmir valley of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The data from the mother tongue speakers in Kashmiri has been collected from Jammu and Udhampur. The informants are migrants from the Kashmir valley who have settled in Jammu and neighbouring areas since 1990. Kashmiri though listed in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution of India as a major Indian language is not used in administration, and has very limited roles in education and mass media. It is taught as an optional subject in some select schools at the Higher Secondary level, as a subject in a few colleges in the valley of Kashmir, and is taught as a subject at the University of Kashmir since last two decades. There are no facilities for teaching this language as a subject either in schools or in colleges in the Jammu province where the migrant community from the valley has temporarily settled. The mother tongue speakers of Kashmiri reported to know other languages as follows:

	English	Hindi	Urdu	Dogri	Sanskrit
	100	60%	80%	5%	5%

Languages studied at different levels

	Primary	Middle	High/Hr. Sec	College
Urdu.	80%	80%	80%	50%
Hindi	20%	20%	20%	-
English	25%	100%	100%	100%
Sanskrit	-	10%	10%	-

Medium of Instruction

Urdu	80%	80%	80%	-
Eng.	20%	20%	20%	100%

Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Kashmiri	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Urdu	100%	100%	80%	80%
Hindi	100%	100%	100%	100%
Dogri	20%	20%	5%	5%
Sanskrit	-	-	10%	10%

It shows that all the respondents are trilinguals in Kashmiri, English and Hindi/Urdu. Some of them are familiar with additional languages as well. The respondents have not studied Dogri in school and have acquired it in the environment where they are settled now. 10% have studied Sanskrit in their school but only 5% say that they can read and write it.

Language Attitude

In response to the question which language they like the best and which one the least. There have been various responses. About 30% have said that they like Kashmiri as it is their mother tongue, it is the part of their culture, and has rich literature. About 20% have said that they like Hindi as the best as it is the 'national' language; it is spoken throughout the country etc. It is amazing to note that 50% respondents consider English as the best for the reasons of being a language of 'wider' communication; language of the information technology; language of modern ideas etc. Almost all the respondents have avoided replying the second part of the question as which language they like least.

Languages used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least two languages are used/preferred by the respondents in these domains. The response is given below:

	Kashmiri	English	Urdu	Hindi	
Newspapers	-	100%	20%	20%	-
Radio	50%	20%	80%	80%	-
TV	-	100%	50%	20%	
Films	-	100%	50%	20%	

It is to be noted that no daily newspapers are published in Kashmiri either from the valley or from Jammu. A couple of weekly newspapers published in the valley are not easily available in Jammu. Radio and TV programmes in Kashmiri are broadcast primarily from Radio Kashmir, Srinagar and Srinagar Doordarshan respectively, which are not relayed from Jammu. Recently started Kashir channel by Doordarshan telecasts Kashmiri programmes is available on cable and is not accessed by Kashmiri migrants who probably cannot afford cable connections. Therefore, there is a very low response for listening to Radio and TV programmes in Kashmiri. An early survey (Koul and Schmidt 1983) devoted to language use and language preferences in Kashmir showed a tremendous response to the preference for Radio and TV programmes in Kashmiri. It should be true in the Kashmir valley even now.

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/professional information

In response to the question respondents were asked to indicate the language in which they read for pleasure and for obtaining the technical and professional information. 10% read

in lashmiri,30% in Urdu, 40% in Hindi and 20% in English for pleasure. 10% read in Urdu,20% in Hindi and 70% read in English for obtaining technical and professional information.

Kashmiri has a rich literary tradition in poetry, but the prose writings including fiction and popular writings developed only after the independence of the country. Since Kashmiri has a limited role in education, the development of these genres particularly fiction has not been adequate. The mother tongue speakers do not have a choice to read in their mother tongue for pleasure. Instead they read in the languages they have studied in school/college. There is a wide preference for reading in English for obtaining technical and professional information. The role of other languages in this domain is very insignificant.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Government	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
50%	30%	20%	-

7. Dogri

Dogri is primarily spoken in the Jammu province of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. It has various variations. Dogri spoken in the Jammu City is considered to be the standard variety. This variety is used in education, mass media and in literary compositions. Dogri is also taught as a subject at the university level and in a few colleges as a subject and as optional languages in some schools in the Jammu region at the higher secondary level. The literary activities in the language have increased after independence. This language is recognised by the Sahitya Akademi as one of the 22 languages for the annual awards but is not listed in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution yet. There is a continuous demand for its listing in the Schedule. Data for this survey has been collected from Jammu and Udhampur towns of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The mother tongue speakers of Dogri reported to know other languages as follows:

English	Hindi	Urdu	Punjabi	Sanskrit
80%	80%	20%	10%	10%

Dogri is structurally very close to Punjabi. A significant difference between the two is that it is written in the Devanagiri script whereas Punjabi is written in Gurumukhi. There are a few differences at the phonological and morphological levels too.

Languages studied at different levels

	Primary	Middle	High/Hr. Sec	College/University
Dogri	-	-	-	25%
Hindi.	80%	80%	80%	80%

Urdu	-	20%	20%	-
English	50%	100%	100%	100%

Medium of Instruction

Hindi	50%	50%	50%	-
English	50%	50%	50%	100%

Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Dogri	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	100%	100%	100%	100%
Urdu	80%	80%	20%	20%
Punjabi	100%	80%	10%	10%
Sanskrit	-	-	10%	10%

It shows that all the respondents are at least trilinguals in Dogri, Hindi and English. Quite a few are at ease with spoken Punjabi but only a limited number of informants can read and write Punjabi in Gurumukhi.. Hindi and Urdu are structurally very close languages and are primarily different in using two different scripts in written form. As there has always been an option in choosing between Hindi and Urdu as medium of instruction in the Jammu province, most of the informants have opted for Hindi in Devanagiri script. Very few informants have studied Urdu as a school subject. As 10% informants have studied Sanskrit in their schools they can read and write in the language.

Language Attitude

There were different responses for the question as which language they like the best and which one the least. About 30% have said that they like Dogri as the best as it is their mother tongue; part of their rich culture etc. 30% consider Hindi as the best as it is spoken throughout the country; it is the 'national' language. About 40% consider English as the best for the reasons being 'widely' spoken; medium of scientific and technological knowledge etc. Most of them have avoided responding to the second half of the question related to the language, which they like least.

Languages used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least three languages are used/preferred by the respondents in these domains. The response is given below:

	Dogri	English	Hindi	Punjabi
Newspapers	-	80%	20%	-
Radio	100%	20%	60%	50%
TV	100%	20%	80%	40%
Films	-	20%	80%	60%

There are no daily newspapers published in Dogri.

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/professional information

In response to the question respondents were asked to indicate the language in which they read for deriving pleasure. 60% respondents have said that they read in their mother tongue i.e. Dogri, 20% read in Hindi and 20% read in English for pleasure. The response is quite different for the languages they read in for obtaining technical/professional information. 80% say that they read in English and 20% said they read in Hindi and Urdu languages.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Government	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
50%	20%	20%	10%

8. Oriya

Oriya is primarily spoken in Orissa. It has several dialects. The data from the Oriya mother tongue speakers was collected from Bhubaneswar and Cuttack in Orissa. Other languages spoken in the region are Bengali and Hindi. The mother tongue speakers of Oriya reported to know other languages as follows:

English	Hindi	Bengali	Sanskrit
80%	80%	20%	10%

Languages studied at different levels:

	Primary	Middle	High/Hr. Sec	College
Oriya	100%	100%	100%	40%
English	50%	100%	100%	50%
Hindi	20%	50%	50%	-

Medium of Instruction:

Oriya	50%	50%	50%	80%
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English 50% 50% 50% 20%

Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Oriya	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	80%	80%	80%	80%
Bengali	40%	40%	40%	40%
Sanskrit	-	-	10%	10%

It shows that all the respondents are at least trilinguals in Oriya, English and Hindi. A significant number of respondents are familiar with Bengali as well which is primarily spoken in the neighbouring state of West Bengal. There are good number of Bengali mother tongue speakers settled in Orissa particularly in Cuttack and Bhubaneswar. The Oriya mother tongue speakers have acquired this language as a result of language contact. There is a good response for learning of Hindi as a part of the implementation of Three-Language Formula. 10% Oriya mother tongue speakers have studied Sanskrit as well and can read and write in the language.

Language Attitude

In reply to the question about listing the language they like the best and the one they like the least, there are different responses. About 40 % have said that they like Oriya because it is their mother tongue. About 50% of the respondents consider English best for the reasons of being ‘more useful than any other language’; being widely used in information technology and science etc. 10% respondents have not responded to this question. In response to the second half of the question there are some emotional responses such as ‘Bengali, because I cannot speak it’; ‘Sanskrit, because it is of no use to me’; Hindi because it is unnecessarily patronised by government’ etc. Most of the respondents have avoided answering this part of the question.

Language used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least three languages are used/preferred by the respondents in mass media. The response is given below:

	Oriya	English	Hindi
Newspapers	80%	100%	20%
Radio	100%	20%	40%
TV	100%	20%	60%

Films 100% 20% 80%

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/professional information

In response to the question respondents were asked to indicate the language in which they read for deriving pleasure, the response has been primarily in favour of the mother tongue. 80% read in Oriya and 20% in English and Hindi for pleasure. The response is quite reverse for the language they read in for obtaining technical/professional information. 80% say that they read in English and 20% say they read in Oriya and other languages.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Government	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
50%	20%	20%	10%

9. Bengali

Bengali is primarily spoken in the state of West Bengal in India. The data from the Bengali mother tongue speakers was collected from Kolkata – the capital city of the state. There are certain dialectical variations in Bengali spoken in Kolkata and other areas. The standard variety of the speech is used in literary works. It is this variety which is used in education, mass media and administration. The mother tongue speakers of Bengali reported to know other languages as follows:

English	Hindi	Sanskrit	Oriya	Assamese
100	80%	5%	10%	5%

Languages studied at different levels

	Primary	Middle	High/Hr. Sec	College
Bengali	100%	100%	80%	50%
English	50%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	-	60%	60%	-

Medium of Instruction

Bengali	50%	50%	50%	25%
English	50%	50%	50%	75%

Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Bengali	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	100%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	100%	100%	60%	60%
Oriya	60%	20%	5%	5%
Assamese	50%	20%	10%	10%
Sanskrit	-	-	10%	5%

It shows that all the respondents are at least trilinguals in Bengali, English and Hindi. Some of them are familiar with Oriya, Assamese and Sanskrit as well. 10% have studied Sanskrit in their schools. They can read and write it. Quite a significant number of Bengali mother tongue speakers have acquired the language skills in Oriya and Assamese as close cognate languages.

Language Attitude

There are various responses to the question related to which language they like the best and which one the least. 70% of the respondents say Bengali is the best language for various reasons. The main reasons stated are: it is their mother tongue; its rich literature; its films; its folk literature; its capability of becoming vehicle of modern ideas and science. Almost all have avoided responding to the second part of the question.

Languages used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least two languages are used/preferred by the respondents in this domain. The response is given below:

	Bengali	English	Hindi
Newspapers	100%	100%	10%
Radio	100%	50%	50%
TV	100%	50%	50%
Films	100%	50%	50%

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/professional information

In response to the question respondents were asked to indicate the language in which they read for pleasure. The response has been primarily in favour of the mother tongue. 90% read in Bengali and 10% in English for pleasure. The response is quite reverse for the

language they read in for obtaining technical/professional information. 70% say that they read in English and 30% say they read in Bengali.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Government	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
60%	10%	25%	5%

10. Marathi

Marathi is primarily spoken in the state of Maharashtra. The data from Marathi mother tongue speakers has been collected from Nagpur. Besides speaking Marathi as their mother tongue the respondents have reported to know the other languages as follows:

English	Hindi	Sanskrit
80%	80%	5%

Languages studied at different levels

	Primary	Middle	High/Hr. Sec	College
Marathi	100%	100%	100%	50%
English	50%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	-	60%	60%	50%

Medium of Instruction

Marathi	60%	60%	60%	50%
English	40%	40%	40%	50%

Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Marathi	100%	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	100%	90%	90%	80%
English	80%	80%	80%	80%

It shows that all the respondents are bilinguals in Marathi and English. Most of them are familiar with Hindi as well, as 60% have studied Hindi in their school. Marathi and Hindi are both written in Devanagiri script. It is therefore easier for any literate Marathi speaker to read and write in Hindi as well. Hindi is also getting prominence in the business

communication in Nagpur. It is widely used by Marathi speakers in communicating with Hindi and other language speakers.

Language Attitude

There have been various responses to the question which language they like the best and which one the least. About 80% respondents have said that they like Marathi as it is their mother tongue; it is easy to learn; it is easy to express in this language etc. 20% respondents consider English the best for the reasons of its being a ‘universal’ language; its use in information technology, its usefulness in securing suitable jobs etc. In response to the other part of the question about 10% have said that they don’t like English because it is ‘dominating’ everywhere; it is difficult to learn etc. All others have avoided in naming a language, which they do not like.

Language used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least two languages are used/preferred by the respondents in this domain. The response is given below:

	Marathi	Hindi	English
Newspapers	80%	50%	50%
Radio	80%	50%	-
TV	80%	60%	10%
Films	60%	80%	10%

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/professional information

In response to the question respondents were asked to indicate the languages in which they read for pleasure. The response has been primarily in favour of the mother tongue. 80% read in Marathi, 10 % read in Hindi and 10% in English for pleasure. The response is quite different for the languages they read in for obtaining technical/professional information. 80% say that they read in English and 20% said they read in Marathi.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Government	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
30%	40%	10%	20%

11. Kolami

Kolami is a Dravidian tribal language spoken in Yavatimal in Maharashtra.

It is not used in education and no instructional materials have been prepared in this language. Kolami speakers are bilinguals in Kolami and Marathi. The mother tongue speakers of Kolami reported to know other languages as follows:

English	Hindi	Marathi
80%	90%	90%

Languages studied at different levels

	Primary	Middle	High/Hr. Sec	College
Marathi.	100%	100%	100%	20%
English	-	50%	50%	-
Hindi	-	50%	50%	-

Medium of Instruction

Marathi	100%	100%	100%	20%
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Language proficiency

The respondents have reported their proficiency in the language skills of different languages as follows:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Kolami	100%	100%	-	-
Marathi	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	50%	50%	50%	50%
Hindi	60%	60%	50%	50%

It shows that all the respondents are bilinguals in Kolami and Marathi. About 50% of them have acquired language skills in Hindi and English as well as they have studied them as subjects in schools. Though Kolami is a Dravidian language more close to Telugu, no respondent has mentioned that he is proficient in any other Dravidian language. It appears that they are isolated from other Dravidian language speakers and do not have an opportunity to communicate with them.

Language Attitude

There have been different kinds of answers in response to the question, which language they like the best and which the least. It is interesting to note that almost all the respondents have said that they like Marathi as the best for various reasons of its being easy to learn; it provides them basic education; it is studied from the childhood; it is like 'second' mother tongue we converse in etc. Most of them consider English as least preferred language for the reasons of its being difficult to learn; it is 'complicated' in

pronunciation and grammar; it is of no immediate use to them etc. As their mother tongue Kolami does not have any role in education and administration, they consider Marathi as their primary language, which they acquire from their childhood in the Marathi speaking environment.

Language used/preferred in Mass media

The respondents were asked to list the languages in which they read newspapers, listen to radio programmes, and watch TV programmes and films. According to the response at least two languages are used/preferred by the respondents in these domains. The response is given below:

	Marathi	English	Hindi
Newspapers	50%	5%	20%
Radio	50%	-	50%
TV	60%	-	20%
Films	50%	-	20%

Reading for pleasure and for obtaining technical/professional information

In response to the question respondents were asked to indicate the language in which they read for deriving pleasure. The response has been primarily in favour of Marathi. 90% read in Marathi and 10% in Hindi and English for pleasure. The response is quite different for the language they read in for obtaining technical/professional information. 50% say that they read in Marathi and 50% in English.

Job preferences

In response to the question regarding the job they would like to take up, the choice is varied:

Government	Public Sector	MNC/Industry	Business
70%	20%	10%	-

Questionnaire 2

The questionnaire administered to parents sought information on their name and address (optional), state, sex, their mother tongue, other languages known, place of birth, place of work, educational qualifications, profession, which language or languages they use at their place of work, which languages have their children studied or are studying at various levels, which language is used by them as medium of instruction at different levels, which language parents use at home for talking to their children, what kind of job would they like their children to take up, which language would they like the children study for securing a suitable job, and finally which language would they like their children to use as medium of instruction in Higher education for obtaining a suitable job. The data obtained from the questionnaires are presented state and language wise.

1. Tamil

The questionnaire was administered to 30 Tamil mother tongue speaking parents in Chennai. Besides knowing Tamil, 80% of the respondents know English, 20% know Hindi and 10% know Malayalam. 70% of them are postgraduates, 20% graduates and 10% have studied up to High School. 60% of them have government jobs, 30% work in public sector and 20% have technical/professional and private jobs. The respondents use Tamil (60%) and English (40%) in their places of work in oral and written communication.

Languages their children have studied at different levels are as follows:

	Primary	Middle	High/Higher Sec.	College
Tamil	80%	80%	80%	80%
English	80%	100%	100%	

Languages used as medium of instruction are

Tamil	50%	50%	50%	70%
English	50%	50%	50%	30%

The respondents use Tamil (80%) and English (20%) in communicating with their children at home. The parents report the following job preference for their children:

Govt.	MNC	Public Sector	Technical
40%	30%	20%	10%

The parents state that proficiency in both Tamil and English languages is required for securing a good job. Their preference is for the use of English (80%) as compared to Tamil(20%) as medium of instruction in higher education for securing a suitable job.

2. Kannada

The questionnaire was administered to 30 Kannada mother tongue speaking parents at Mysore in Karanataka.. Besides knowing Kannada, 80% of the respondents know English, 30% know Hindi and 20% know Tamil. 60% of them are postgraduates, 30% graduates and 10% have studied up to High School. 50% of them have government jobs, 20% work in Public sector and 30% have technical/professional and private jobs. The respondents use Kannada (70%), Hindi (10%) and English (20%) in their places of work in oral and written communication.

Languages their children have studied at different levels are as follows:

	Primary	Middle	High/Higher Sec.	College
Kannada	50%	80%	80%	50%
Hindi	20%	60%	60%	-
English	50%	100%	100%	50%

Languages used as media of instruction are:

Kannada	50%	50%	50%	50%
English	50%	50%	50%	50%

The respondents use Kannada (90%) and English (10%) in communicating with their children at home. The parents provide the following job preference for their children:

Govt.	MNC	Public Sector	Technical
60%	20%	10%	10%

The parents state that proficiency in Kannada, Hindi and English are required for securing a good job. Their preference is for the use of English (90%) as compared to Kannada (10%) as medium of instruction in higher education for securing a suitable job.

3. Telugu

The questionnaire was administered to 30 Telugu-speaking parents in Hyderabad. Besides knowing Telugu, 80% of the respondents know English, 30% know Hindi/Urdu and 10% know Tamil. 30% of them are postgraduates, 40% graduates and 30% have studied up to High School. 40% of them have government jobs, 30% work in Public sector and 30% have technical/professional and private jobs. The respondents use Telugu (40%), Hindi (20%) and English (40%) in their places of work in oral and written communication.

Languages their children have studied at different levels are as follows:

	Primary	Middle	High/Higher Sec.	College
Telugu	70%	70%	70%	40%
Hindi	20%	100%	100%	-
English	60%	100%	100%	50%

Languages used as media of instruction are as follows:

Telugu	40%	40%	40%	40%
English	60%	60%	60%	30%

The respondents use Telugu (80%) and English (20%) in communicating with their children at home. The parents provide the following job preference for their children:

Govt.	MNC	Public Sector	Technical
20%	50%	20%	10%

The parents state that proficiency in Telugu, Hindi and English is required for securing a good job. Their preference is for the use of English as the sole medium of instruction in higher education for securing a suitable job.

4. Hindi

The questionnaire was administered to 30 Hindi mother tongue speaking parents in Delhi. Besides knowing Hindi, 80% of the respondents know English, 10% know Urdu and 10% know Punjabi. 30% of them are postgraduates, 40% graduates and 30% have studied up to High School or have some technical qualifications. 40% of them have government jobs, 30% work in Public sector and 30% have technical/professional and private jobs. The respondents use Hindi (80%) and English (20%) in their places of work in oral and written communication.

Languages their children have studied at different levels are as follows:

	Primary	Middle	High/Higher Sec.	College
Hindi	80%	80%	80%	30%
English	60%	100%	100%	50%

Languages used as media of instruction are as follows:

Hindi	60%	60%	60%	40%
English	40%	40%	40%	60%

The respondents use Hindi (80%) and English (20%) in communicating with their children at home. The parents provide the following job preference for their children:

Govt.	MNC	Public Sector	Technical
30%	40%	20%	10%

The parents state that proficiency in Hindi and English is required for securing a good job. Their preference is for the use of English as the sole medium of instruction in higher education for securing a suitable job.

5. Punjabi

The questionnaire was administered to 30 Punjabi mother tongue speaking parents at Patiala in Punjab. Besides knowing Punjabi, 80% of the respondents know English, 80% know Hindi and 20% know Urdu. 60% of them are postgraduates, 30% graduates and 10% have studied up to High School. 50% of them have government jobs, 40% work in Public sector and 10% have technical/professional and private jobs. The respondents use Punjabi (70%) and English (30%) in their places of work in oral and written communication.

Languages their children have studied at different levels are as follows:

	Primary	Middle	High/Higher Sec.	College
Punjabi	90%	100%	100%	20%
English	30%	100%	100%	40%

Languages used as medium of instruction are as follows:

Punjabi	40%	40%	40%	50%
English	60%	60%	60%	50%

The respondents use Punjabi (80%) and English (20%) in communicating with their children at home. The parents provide the following job preference for their children:

Govt.	MNC	Public Sector	Technical
30%	40%	20%	10%

The parents state that proficiency in Punjabi, Hindi and English are required for securing a good job. Their preference is for the use of English (90%) as compared to Punjabi (10%) as medium of instruction in higher education for securing a suitable job.

6. Kashmiri

The questionnaire was administered to 30 parents whose mother tongue is Kashmiri at Jammu and Udhampur towns in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Besides speaking Kashmiri as the mother tongue, 80% of them know English, 100% Hindi and/or Urdu, 10% Sanskrit and 10% other languages like Sanskrit/Persian/Punjabi/Dogri. All of them are educated: post-graduates (30%), graduates (60%) and 10% matriculates or of some lower technical qualifications. They use Kashmiri (20%), Hindi/Urdu (40%) and English (40%) at their places of work in oral and written communication.

Their children have studied or are studying the following languages at school and college:

	Primary	Middle	High./Higher Sec.	College
Hindi	40%	40%	40%	20%
Urdu	60%	60%	60%	10%
English	20%	100%	100%	100%

The media of instruction is as follows:

Hindi/Urdu	50%	50%	50%	20%
English	50%	50%	50%	80%

Languages they speak at home with children are : Kashmiri (70%), Hindi/Urdu (20%), and English (10%). Parents have the following job preferences for their children:

Govt	MNC	Public Sector	Business
50%	20%	20%	10%

According to the opinion of the parents proficiency in English and Hindi/Urdu is required for obtaining a suitable job. They say that the preferred medium of instruction in higher education should be English for getting a suitable job.

7. Dogri

The data was collected from 30 parents who speak Dogri as their mother tongue from Jammu and Udhampur towns in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. All the informants were educated: post-graduates (40%), graduates (50%) and 10% were undergraduates and with lower technical qualifications. Besides speaking Dogri as their mother tongue they reported the knowledge of other languages: English (80%), Hindi (80%), and Urdu (10%). 40% of them are working in government, 30% in public sector, 20% in private organisations and 10% are engaged in their own business. They use Dogri (20%), Hindi/Urdu (40%), and English (40%) in their oral and written communication at the places of their work.

Languages their children study or have studied are as follows:

	Primary	Middle	High/Higher Sec	College
Hindi	70%	70%	70%	20%
Urdu	30%	30%	30%	10%
English	20%	100%	100%	60%

Their media of instruction at different levels has been the following:

Hindi	50%	50%	50%	-
Urdu	30%	30%	30%	-
English	20%	20%	20%	100%

Languages they speak with the children at home are: Dogri (80%), Hindi/Urdu (10%) and English(10%).

They prefer the following types of jobs to be taken up by their children:

Govt	Public sectors	MNC	Business
40%	30%	20%	10%

They consider adequate knowledge of Hindi /Urdu and English necessary for obtaining a suitable job. They also prefer the use of English as the medium of instruction for higher education to ensure suitable job for their children.

8. Oriya

The questionnaire was administered to 30 Oriya mother tongue speaking parents at Bhubaneswar and Cuttack in Orissa.. Besides knowing Oriya, 60% of the respondents know English, 30% know Hindi and 10% know Bengali. 40% of them are postgraduates, 30% graduates and 20% have studied up to High School. 40% of them have government

jobs, 30% work in Public sector and 30% have technical/professional and private jobs. The respondents use Oriya (70%), Hindi (10%) and English (20%) in their places of work in oral and written communication.

Languages their children have studied at different levels are as follows:

	Primary	Middle	High/Higher Sec.	College
Oriya	80%	80%	80%	40%
Hindi	-	60%	60%	-
English	50%	100%	100%	50%

Languages used as media of instruction are as follows:

Oriya	50%	50%	50%	50%
English	50%	50%	50%	50%

The respondents use Oriya (90%) and English (10%) in communicating with their children at home. The parents provide the following job preference for their children:

Govt.	MNC	Public Sector	Technical
50%	20%	20%	10%

The parents state that proficiency in Oriya and English are required for securing a good job. Their preference is for the use of English as the sole medium of instruction in higher education for securing a suitable job.

9. Bengali

The questionnaire was administered to 30 Bengali speaking parents at Kolkata in West Bengal. Besides knowing Bengali, 80% of the respondents know English, 50% know Hindi, 10% know Assamese and 10% know Oriya. 50% of them are postgraduates, 40% graduates and 10% have studied up to High School. 60% of them have government jobs, 20% work in Public sector and 20% have technical/professional and private jobs. The respondents use Bengali (80%), and English (20%) in their places of work in oral and written communication.

Languages their children have studied at different levels are as follows:

	Primary	Middle	High/Higher Sec.	College
Bengali	50%	100%	100%	50%
Hindi	-	80%	60%	-
English	50%	100%	100%	50%

Languages used as medium of instruction are as follows:

Bengali	40%	40%	40%	30%
English	60%	60%	60%	70%

The respondents use Bengali (90%) and English (10%) in communicating with their children at home. The parents provide the following job preference for their children:

Govt.	MNC	Public Sector	Technical
50%	30%	10%	10%

The parents state that proficiency in Bengali and English are required for securing a good job. Their preference is for the use of English (90%) as compared to Bengali(10%) as medium of instruction in higher education for securing a suitable job.

10. Marathi

The questionnaire was administered to 30 Marathi mother tongue speaking parents in Nagpur in Maharashtra. Besides knowing Marathi, 70% of the respondents know English, 70% know Hindi and 10% know other languages. 40% of them are postgraduates, 40% graduates and 20% have studied up to High School. 40% of them have government jobs, 30% work in Public sector and 30% have technical/professional and private jobs. The respondents use Marathi (40%), Hindi (20%), and English (40%) in their places of work in oral and written communication.

Languages their children have studied at different levels are as follows:

	Primary	Middle	High/Higher Sec.	College
Marathi	90%	100%	100%	50%
Hindi	10%	100%	100%	-
English	80%	100%	100%	50%

Languages used as medium of instruction are

Marathi	50%	50%	50%	70%
English	50%	50%	50%	30%

The respondents use Marathi (90%) and English (10%) in communicating with their children at home. The parents provide the following job preference for their children:

Govt.	MNC	Public Sector	Technical
20%	30%	40%	10%

The parents state that proficiency in Marathi, Hindi and English are required for securing a good job. Their preference is for the use of English (90%) as compared to Marathi(10%) as medium of instruction in higher education for securing a suitable job.

11. Kolami

The questionnaire was administered to 30 Kolami speaking parents in Yevatimal in Maharashtra. Besides knowing Kolami, all of the respondents know Marathi, 50% know Hindi and 10% know English. 10% of them are graduates and 30% have studied up to High School and 60% of them are illiterates. 20% of them have government jobs, 60% work as labourers in agriculture and construction works, and 20% are engaged in some technical and semi-technical jobs. The respondents use Kolami (60%), Marathi (30%) and English (10%) in their places of work.

Languages their children have studied at different levels are as follows:

Primary	Middle	High/Higher Sec.	
Marathi	100%	100%	100%
Hindi	-	80%	40%
English	-	20%	20%

All of them have studied and are studying through Marathi as the sole medium of instruction. The respondents use Kolami (90%) and Marathi (10%) in communicating with their children at home. 90% parents want them to take up government jobs and only 10% of them to take up jobs in public and private sectors. The parents state that proficiency in Marathi, Hindi and English are required for securing a good job. Their preference is for the use of English (60%) as compared to Marathi (40%) as medium of instruction in higher education for securing a suitable job.

Questionnaire 3

The questionnaire 3 meant for obtaining information from potential employers from different sectors was administered to the medium and higher level organisations. It was administered to 20 employers in each language group area. The organisations included central and state governments, public sectors, multinational organisations, hotels, private business offices etc.

The questionnaire sought information on the name and addresses (optional), state, kind of organisation, character of organisation (local, national or international), where it is situated, what kind of language skills are required in working in their organisations at different levels, which language or languages are primarily used in oral communication, which languages are primarily used in written communication, which language would they like their employees to be proficient in, proficiency in which language or languages is preferred at different levels (involving providing services/public dealings, maintenance of records/stores, clerical/secretarial assistance, administration, technical/production work) and finally do they follow an official language policy in their organisation.

The questionnaires were administered at the places where the data for questionnaires 1 and 2 were obtained. The organisations from where the data was collected fall under the categories of central government, state government, public

sectors, multinational companies and business organisations. All the organisations have offices or branch offices at the places where from the data has been collected.

Besides the minimum educational qualifications required for the jobs, the state government offices follow their respective language policies in the recruitment of the staff and in their day to day work. Of course, certain states are more rigid than others. Usually, it is primarily the concerned state official language, which is used in the office work. The knowledge of other languages also is required in certain cases. Tamil Nadu follows the official language policy very strictly. Most of the work is done in Tamil . The correspondence with the other states, central government offices and other organisations or individuals located outside the state is done in English. Thus proficiency is required in both Tamil and English. Tamil is largely used in oral and written communication within the state. It is therefore necessary to have oral and written skills in Tamil and English.

According to the official language policy of Karnataka, all the work in the government offices is done in Kannada . English is used in correspondence with other states or central government organisations located outside the state of Karnataka. Proficiency in Kannada is required at all levels.

Telugu is the official language in Andhra Pradesh. Most of the work is supposed to be done in this language. The state has also recognised Urdu as the second official language in its Telengana region. The state does not, however, follow its official language policy strictly. English finds its place in the work even at the district administration. Proficiency in Telugu is required for the jobs at the lower level. In the higher category of jobs in Secretariat, English continues to be used in both oral and written communication along with Telugu.

Hindi is the official language in Delhi. It has also recognised Urdu and Punjabi for education and certain other official domains. The administration does not follow the official language policy strictly. About 50% work at the administration both at the lower and higher levels continue to be done in English unhesitatingly.

Punjabi is the official language in Punjab. It is extensively used in the lower level administration. The offices at the District level of administration follow the official language policy very strictly. However, in the higher levels of administration English continues to be used to some extent.

The Jammu and Kashmir State government is very flexible in its official language policy. Urdu is the official language of the state and it used only in the lower levels of administration along with English. English is widely used in the mid and higher levels of administration. Neither Kashmiri nor Dogri the languages spoken dominantly in the Kashmir valley and in Jammu area respectively have a place in the official language policy and are not used in administration. They have very limited roles in education and mass media too.

Bengali is the official language of West Bengal. It is used widely in lower levels of administration and is used along with English in the higher levels of administration. The official language policy is not followed strictly in the state.

Oriya is the official language of Orissa. It is largely used in the administration at the District and lower levels in administration. About 20% work in the state secretariat and other higher government offices still continues to be done in English.

Marathi is the official language of Maharashtra. According to the official language policy it is supposed to be used at all levels in administration. It is largely used in the District and lower levels of administration. English continues to be used in the higher levels of administration. Thus most of the state governments are not following their official language policies strictly. English continues to have a significant role in administration.

There is a well-defined official language policy of the central government. All the central government offices located in the Hindi speaking states (Bihar, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Delhi) have to use Hindi at all levels in administration. In the Region B (Jammu and Kashmir, Gujarat, Punjab, Maharashtra and Union Territories of Chandigarh, Andaman-Nicobar Islands) they are supposed to use Hindi along with English wherever required, and in all other states they are supposed to use only English. The central government officers and staff are supposed to acquire certain level of proficiency in the administrative use of Hindi. In practice the official language policy is not followed strictly. The recruitment to different types of posts is made as per the educational eligibility, which includes language proficiency too. All the central government organisations have stated that they follow the official language policy in work.

The public sector organisations of the State and central governments follow the language policies of the respective governments. However, in such organisations there is more flexibility of work and the government policies are not followed strictly. In the multinational and business organisations the knowledge of oral skills in local languages and all the basic skills in English are required. Most of the work is done in English.

The data obtained from the employers of non-governmental organisations lay stress on the oral communication skills in the local languages where the office or its unit is situated. They find its primary role in the areas of providing services and public dealings and in some kind of technical and production work. Besides the language proficiency in the local languages at least in oral communication, they value the adequate language skills both in oral and written communication in English.

III

Observations

In this section we will point out the major findings of the survey conducted using three questionnaires and try to find out the reasons for the results reported.

Major Findings

The major findings of the survey are as follows:

1. There is a general preference for the study of mother tongue as well as English as a subject in early school education i.e. primary and middle classes. The children whose mother tongue is not taught in the schools (for example, Kolami in Maharashtra, Kashmiri and Dogri in the state of Jammu and Kashmir) opt for the state official language as a subject of study. In the non-Hindi speaking states which follow the Three-language formula, Hindi is taught in addition to the state official language as

well as English. Whereas the Public/ private schools introduce English as a subject from the very beginning, it is introduced as a subject at the third or sixth standard in other schools.

2. The preference for the use of English as a medium of instruction increases with the level of education. Both local languages (mostly the state official language) as well as English are preferred as the media of instruction in most of the states (though the percentages vary) in the early school education. There is a wide preference for the use of English as the medium of instruction in the secondary education and the higher education. Maharashtra appears to be the only state where both Marathi and English are equally preferred as the medium of instruction in higher education.
3. The mother tongue is preferred as the primary language for the communication at home. It is only where the mother tongues do not have roles in education, and administration, parents prefer to use the school language (state official language and /or English) for talking to the children at home.
4. Appropriate to a multilingual situation, the language proficiency of the respondents reveals proficiency in more than one language (though the percentages of the proficiency vary) in all the states. Most of the respondents have listed their mother tongues/state official languages higher in proficiency. Sometimes, the proficiency of languages is not linked to the language taught/learnt at school. Some languages are learnt as a result of language contact.
5. The language attitude of the respondents appears to be directly related to their emotions. Most of the respondents like their mother tongues as 'the best'. Sometimes, the language of preference is linked to its use in the society. The Kolami speakers consider the state official language (Marathi) as the best. Similarly; a few Dogri and Kashmiri mother tongue speakers place English and/or the state official language at the higher level of their preference than their mother tongues. Though the language is an emotional issue in different states, most of the respondents avoid naming a particular language or languages they like the least. It is probably on the basis of the lack of immediate utility or difficulty levels some languages are named as the least preferred ones (like Sanskrit).
6. Mostly local languages are preferred for reading newspapers, listening to radio, and watching television and films. Hindi and English media films appear to be second and third choices. Of course, where adequate number of television programmes and films are not available in the mother tongues of the respondents the choice of other language media is imminent.
7. The respondents mostly prefer to read for pleasure in their mother tongues (local languages). They read in other languages too if adequate reading materials are not available in these languages. In contrast to the reading for pleasure, most of them read in English for obtaining their professional and technical information.
8. Currently, there are wide options for the choice of jobs available. The respondents still prefer to take up jobs in government or public sector (perhaps, for the reason of security). It is only in the cosmopolitan towns there is more preference for taking up jobs in multinational organisations (for the reasons of higher salary) than in other sectors.

Reasons

The findings on language preferences clearly show the network relationship among the languages in the context of multilingualism. This relationship is not hierarchical. Each language is assigned a definite role by its speakers. Since the roles are not given higher or lower values in terms of the attitudes, the relationship is not hierarchical. The role relationships are mostly utility-based where both practical needs and emotional needs are combined to act together. The utility-based orientation acts as a valid reason in influencing language preferences. The main reasons underlying the language preferences are directly related to the prevailing education system and the roles assigned to English vis-à-vis other languages in India.

Education System

Let us have a look at the education system prevalent in the country. Education has always been an important issue in India and has generated a lot of discussions and debates. The government has appointed various commissions and committees to look into various issues related to education. After a long debate throughout the country, the government of India came up with New Education Policy in 1986 which has also undergone some modifications later. Education scenario is to be viewed at two levels: school and college with special reference to the use of language in education.

There are five types of schools: government schools, Central and Sainik schools, Navodaya schools, public schools, and private schools. All the government schools established by the state governments all over India use the regional or state official languages as the media of instruction. In certain cases especially in Mizoram, Nagaland and Meghalaya where English continues to be used as the main official language in administration, English is used as the medium of instruction in government schools too.

The Central and Sainik schools too use English as the medium of instruction, though there is a choice for the use of Hindi as well. The English medium Central and Sainik schools have been established by government of India to cater to the needs of the central government employees and army personnel who are transferable from one place to another so that their children can pursue their studies using the same textbooks, curriculum and the medium of instruction.

Following the recommendations of the New Education Policy (1986) the government of India has established Navodaya schools as model schools of learning for rural students. These schools are expected to tap the talented rural students and equalise the opportunities of quality education between the rural and urban students. These schools too use English as medium of instruction. In practice, these schools are also responsible in extending the English as medium of instruction in rural areas. Viswanathan (1992) describes these schools as ‘the government’s capitulation to pressures from the rural rich, who have become fully conscious of the value of English education.’

The public schools simply continue the colonial tradition in Indian education. English is the medium of instruction. The government of India has recognised their autonomous status in the design of their curriculum, staff pattern supporting it under the plea that these schools promote national rather than regional synthesis of culture and serve all India needs. Under the articles 19 and 30 of the Constitution of India, the linguistic minorities have constitutional right to establish and administer the educational

institutions of their own choice. The public schools cater to the needs of the children of the elite class who can afford the expenses. Following the model of public schools there is a mushroom growth of the English medium private schools all over the country to cater to the growing needs and aspirations of the rising middle class who are deprived the opportunities of the expensive public schools or are denied access to the government run English medium Central and Sainik schools. As pointed out by Dua (1996:569) the public school system, both directly and indirectly, has served as a model in expanding English medium education as well as in legitimizing it.

English has a wide preference in education at the college level too. The higher education in India presents a complex situation. There are all India level top-ranking institutions of agriculture, science, technology, management, medicine etc. There are some central universities too. They are supposed to provide models of excellence. There are numerous regional and state level institutions, which offer various subjects of study. It has been observed that most of the students who have studied in the public schools or Central schools are able to compete for admission to the all India level top institutions. Those who study through other English medium schools get admission in the regional institutions of higher learning. The same is true for selections to all India top central civil services. Though there is an option for the use of prominent regional languages as medium, but English medium gets higher preference for some other reasons. An important reason being the availability of instructional materials in these languages.

There have been recommendations for and against the change of medium of instruction in the all India type institutions. Education Commission Report (1964-66) is in favour of the continuation of English as the medium of instruction and not to switchover to Hindi for the time being. According to it a changeover to Hindi may be considered in due course 'depending firstly on the effective development of Hindi as a medium of instruction at this level and secondly on the condition that the chances of students from non-Hindi areas should not be adversely affected and that the proposal should have the support of the non Hindi states.' However the National Education Policy does not specify any such condition. It says, ' All India institutions (those which admit students from all regions of the country) should use Hindi and English as media of instruction, having regard to the needs of students. Admission to these institutions should be so planned that students educated through any Indian languages are not at any disadvantage,' (quoted in Dua 1996: 572).

Considering the prevailing situation in the country, it is unlikely that the shift can take place soon. The situation is likely to prevail in the years to come keeping in view of the expansion of education, dominance of English educated elite and intellectuals, spread of English and its use in fast growing information technology.

Role of English

The data obtained from the questionnaires 1 and 2 amply show that the role of English in education is very significant in both school and college education. There is a preference for the study of English as a subject and its use as medium of instruction at different levels of education. The data obtained by administering the questionnaire 3 to the employers also confirms that there is a wide preference for oral and written communication skills in English in multinational companies, and private business

establishments at different levels. English is also preferred in the governmental organisations and public sectors too and is assigned certain functional roles.

It is not out of place to consider the role of English in the expansion of education in India and language conflicts between English and other Indian languages. English came to India with the British. It was selected by the British primarily for their own administrative convenience, and for bringing India in the fold of the contemporary world of knowledge of science and technology required for its development. Keeping in view the diversity of languages in India, it was decided by the rulers to use English for imparting knowledge of European science, technology and literature. Thomas B. Macaulay felt that English should be the language in which the educated people in India would communicate with one another and with the British and through which they would acquire modern knowledge. The idea of using English as the medium of instruction was supported by eminent Indian intellectuals like Raja Ram Mohan Roy at that time. As a result of this the British government provided funds for education imparted through English only. Use of English in education marked the beginning of the British system of education, which had its own structure and discipline. The legacy of this colonial system still continues in India especially in the domain of public schools.

After independence, the issues related to education and the role of English in it continued to be debated. Some kind of nationalist feelings were expressed against English. There was even a demand to abolish the public school system. The Constitutional provision for the replacement of English by Hindi as the official language within stipulated time frame of 15 years (article 343) was projected as the conflict between English and Hindi as language of power. This provision triggered agitation against Hindi in some non Hindi-speaking areas in India, which ultimately provided a lease to the continuation of English as an associate official language of the Union for indefinite period of time. This has strengthened English further. The VIII schedule of the Constitution of India does not include English. This has not hampered the increasing use of English in education and its roles in other domains. As English has important roles in different domains, it looks absurd why it cannot find place in the VIII schedule. The Supreme Court in its judgment in the Bombay Education Society case has ruled as early as in 1954 that English was as much as Indian language as any other.

Keeping in view the needs of the current education system, increasing knowledge in the areas of science, technology and other fields, it is important to have an efficient medium for acquiring it. In comparison to the world's other languages, English has gained an advantageous position. It is not only cultivated by the English mother tongue speakers but by others too. Fishman (1982:15) rightly remarks 'the spread of English has reached such an order of magnitude that it is now significantly fostered by the non – English mother tongue worlds, rather than being predominantly dependent on resources, efforts or personnel of the English mother tongue world.' It is more so now after the evolution of information society where immediate information is highly valued.

As the data obtained from the survey indicate that English is widely being used as the subject of study and as medium of instruction at different levels of school and higher education in India, there is, however, a need to improve the language teaching methods and to adapt the contents to suit the local environment. Keeping in view the needs of the students the so-called 'nationalist' feelings against English have faded away. Some states (Maharashtra, Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir etc.) have decided to introduce English as a

subject in government schools right from the primary classes. Maharashtra government appointed a committee in 1993 to identify the needs of the students in Maharashtra and have prepared need based textbooks, which are suitable for the students in Maharashtra..(RV Dhongde - personal communication). This should as a model for other states to follow. There is a need to improve the language teaching methods.

India has by and large realised the importance of English in education. Its role and function in education have undergone significant changes lately. English is no more viewed as a language of convenience used by the British for administration, but as a vehicle for acquiring modern scientific and technological knowledge crucial for the economic development. No matter how many attempts are made to arouse sentiments against the English language by projecting it as an alien language for political reasons, its importance in education cannot be ignored. It is the market force which reign supreme. English is accepted throughout the country as the only medium for their access to modern knowledge and will continue to be so in the years to come.

Conclusion

The present survey conducted in different parts of India by administering questionnaires and by interviewing teachers, educationists and opinion leaders on the language preferences in education indicate several things.

All the states are using their state official languages adequately in education. It is taught as a subject compulsorily in the state run schools and an additional subject in some English medium private schools too. The states have prepared materials following the models for the preparation of textbooks developed at the national level. The textbook boards and other agencies are engaged in the preparation of textbooks, the state teacher training institutes conduct training programmes for the in-service teachers in the use of textbooks and modern language teaching methods. There is a scope for its improvement.

Teaching of English as a subject is on a continuous increase throughout the country. Previously, it was taught from the sixth grade onwards in the government schools, it is now introduced earlier. Some states now teach it as a subject from the first grade onwards. There is a mushroom growth of English medium private schools. They are catering to the needs of the rising middle class, which has understood the importance of English in education. There is a scope for the preparation of need based textbooks in English which are suitable to the local environment. The textbooks have to lay more emphasis for the development of basic language skills. There is a strong need for imparting training to the English language teachers in the use of textbooks, supplementary materials and modern language teaching methods including the multimedia. Similarly, in the higher education advanced skills need to be imparted which are relevant to the needs of students.

The language in education policies adopted by the states need a serious revision. Sometimes, the policies dictated by politicians are not clear and suffer from indecision in crucial matters. The states have to be realistic and consider the needs of the people and their aspirations. It is the market forces, which lead the students and parents in taking the decisions on all matters of education including the use of education in education. In the name of devising policies, people cannot be fed on the empty slogans of nationalism by

politicians. Their socio-economic interests are to be protected. Education has a crucial role in it.

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