

# Indian Bilingualism and English

## An Analysis of the 1961 Census Data

The Indian Census authorities classified 1019 mother tongues (MTs) reported by 439 million people (1961) into nearly 200 languages.<sup>1</sup> Among them scores of small groups, each consisting of a few thousand people, still use their MTs in everyday life in various multilingual pockets. Bilingualism serves as the communication bridge between various speech groups. Three patterns of contact languages (CLs) are noticed among the Indian bilinguals (or multilinguals) for inter-group communication :

1. Local languages (ten major ones) predominant in their respective regions.
2. Hindustani, identified as Hindi or Urdu<sup>2</sup> (hereafter, referred as Hindi-Urdu) mostly for oral and informal communication throughout the country, with varying degrees of intensity in different regions.
3. English, to a great extent, for formal and written communication throughout the country, with varying degrees of intensity in different regions.

India presents a most interesting laboratory of 'grassroot' multilingualism, despite the high percentage of illiteracy, and the absence of any systematic language teaching programmes. The 1961 Census bilingualism returns, however, record only 43.5 million (9.7% of the entire population) claiming subsidiary languages. The census returns give a rather conservative account of bilingualism among the Indian population, due to a number of socio-psychological factors.<sup>3</sup> Percentages of different CL claims are as follows : Hindi-Urdu 26.8 (Hindi 22.1, Urdu 4.7), English 25.7, Tamil 8.7, Kannada 8.5, Telugu 7.3, Marathi 6.5, Bengali 4.6, Assamese 3.9, Oriya 2.6, Gujarati 1.3, Punjabi 1.1, Malayalam 0.5, Sanskrit 0.5 and Kashmiri 0.1. It will be noticed that Hindi-Urdu and English, taken together cover more than half of the entire bilingual

population, 25.5% of the bilinguals claim four Southern languages (Tamil, Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam) and over 11 % claim three Eastern languages (Bengali, Assamese and Oriya).

For a better understanding of bilingualism patterns language areas are grouped together into *four* major linguistic regions which show many parallels in their overall communication environments in spite of widespread linguistic heterogeneity within each region (Khubchandani, 1969 c):.

1. The North-Central, covering 45.7% population, of the country, dominated by two Indo-Aryan—Hindi-Urdu and Punjabi, and one Dardic language—Kashmiri.
2. The West, covering 13.9% population, dominated by two Indo-Aryan languages—Marathi and Gujarati.
3. The East, covering 15.2% population, dominated by three Indo-Aryan languages—Bengali, Oriya, and Assamese, along with many Tibeto-Chinese and Austric (Munda and Mon Khmer) languages.
4. The South, covering 25.2% population, dominated by four Dravidian languages—Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, and Malayalam.

The education system of the country and patterns of inter-group communication in multi-lingual regions facilitate the use of more than one CLs ;

1. Hindi-Urdu native speakers residing in their home region (about 32 of the country's population) have somewhat restricted pattern of inter-group communication. They get generally exposed to only *one* prominent CL : English.
2. A large majority of the non-Hindi/Urdu speaking groups residing in their respective home regions (over 46% of the country's population) gets exposed to *two* CLs : English and Hindi-Urdu.
3. A majority of those belonging to various minority speech groups and those staying outside their home regions (comprising over 22% of the population) are potentially exposed to *three* CLs : English, Hindi-Urdu, and a regional language (when it is different from Hindi).

#### Claims of **English**

According to the 1961 Census, 10.9 million persons claimed English as their first subsidiary language. English bilingualism is unevenly spread over different States. The bulk of English bilinguals is from Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Tamil Nadu. Region wise they are distributed as follows : the North-Central region 40%, the South 29%, the East 19%, and the West 12%.

Besides, English is the native language of a significant minority of 224,000 speakers spread throughout the country with main concentrations in Southern States, Maharashtra and West Bengal. English CL speakers are approximately 50 times more than English MT speakers in the country. This testifies to the very important position English enjoys in the present-day Indian set-up. The English-knowing section, though numerically very small, still commands

control over the scene, due to its relative affluence, superiority in skills, and the fact that the language has a pan-Indian and international base.

English is claimed as the primary CL by 25 persons per 1000 population. Hindi is claimed by 30 persons per 1000 among the non-Hindi speaking population, and the ratio of Urdu claimants is 5 per 1000.<sup>4</sup> Ratio of other regional language claimants among those who are not the native speakers of respective languages are : as a CL Tamil and Kannada each is claimed by 9, Telugu by 8, Marathi by 7, Bengali by 5, Assamese by 4, Oriya by 3, Gujarati by 1.4, Punjabi by 1, Sanskrit, Malayalam and Kashmir! each by less than one per 1000 population.

The ratio of English-knowing population varies from one State to another. Details of English MT and CL speakers in 15 linguistic States and Delhi<sup>7</sup> are given below :

**Table 1: English-knowing Population**

State (in millions)	Total population	MT speakers (in thousands)	CL speaker (in thousands)	Total speakers	Ratio per 1,000
North-Central					
Delhi	2.7	4.0	415	419	158
Punjab <sup>6</sup>	20.3	1.4	733	734	36
Uttar Prade&h	73.7	23.0	1,802	1,825	25
West					
Bihar	49.5	8.0	754	762	16
Madhya Pradesh	32.5	6.0	390	296	12
Rajasthan	20.2	1.3	248	249	12
Jammu & Kashmir	3.6	0.2	17	17	5
West					
Maharashtra	39.6	60.0	963	1,023	26
Gujarat	20.6	2.1	285	287	14
East					
West Bengal	34.9	39.0	1,460	1,499	43
Assam	0.119	2.0	288	290	24
Orissa	17.5	0.7	235	236	14
South					
Kerala	16.3	7.0	678	682	47
Tamil Nadu	33.7	34.0	1,215	1,249	37
Andhra Pradesh	36.0	14.0	882	896	25
Mysore	23.6	18.0	390	408	17
Maharashtra					
Bombay	3.2	49.0	563	612	147
Sangli				12	10

It is notable that Delhi, with 89% urban population, claims 158 per 1000 knowing English. Among the States, the English-knowing population varies between 43 and 5 per 1000. West Bengal (43), Kerala (41), Tamil Nadu (37) and Punjab (36) top the list. Maharashtra, Aadhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Assam remain close to the all-India average of 25. Mysore (17), Bihar (16), Gujarat and Orissa (14 each), Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh (12 each) and Jamriu & Kashmir (5) rank below the all-India average.

### Three-Language **Pattern**

The 1961 subsidiary language returns highlight a three-language pattern in the country. Both close rivals, Hindi-Urdu and English, share 53% of the total bilingualism claims, and the rest is shared by ten regional languages and a few minor languages. Region wise distribution of these claims is as follows :

Table 2 : Per cent distribution of Bilinguals according to Contact Language

Region	Bilinguals as per cent of total population	Per cent distribution			
		English	Hindi-Urdu	Regional languages	Other languages
India	9.7	26	27	45 (ten Igs.)	2
North-Central	5.0	37	52	4 (Punjabi)	7
West	12.4	17	42	36 (Marathi, Gujarati)	5
East	10.3	28	14	57 (Bengali, Assamese, Oriya)	1
South	13.5	22	7	69 (Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam)	2

In the North-Central region, bilinguals have a rather restricted choice, as most speakers in the region claim pan-Indian Hindi-Urdu as their MT. Hence bilingualism is least recorded in that region and many literate bilinguals there have preference for English. Bilinguals in other regions have a choice. The West shows preference for Hindi-Urdu. The East and the South, on the other hand, register the highest preference for regional languages ; English comes next and Hindi-Urdu is the least favoured choice.

Percentages of English claimants to the total bilingual population in different States are as follows :

**Table 3 : Share of English among Bilinguals**

State	Bilinguals to total population %	English claimants among total bilinguals %
<b>I. Restricted Choice States</b>		
Delhi	24.1	65
Punjab	10.0	36
Madhya Pradesh	8.2	15
Bihar	7.3	22
Uttar Pradesh	4.4	55
Rajasthan	2.5	49
<b>II. Wider Choice States</b>		
Mysore	22.0	9
Assam	21.3	11
Tamil Nadu	15.6	23
Maharashtra	15.1	16
Andhra Pradesh	10.9	22
Jammu and Kashmir	10.3	5
Orissa	8.7	15
West Bengal	8.5	49
Gujarat	6.4	21
Kerala	5.7	71

The range of variation in the record of bilingualism in different States, depending mostly on the degree of heterogeneity of contact environments, extends from 2.5 per cent to 24.1 per cent. Percentages of English claimants varies from 5 per cent to as much as 71 per cent ; Kerala claims the highest and Jammu and Kashmir, the lowest proportion.

The incidence of English and Hindi-Urdu bilingualism is more prominent in urban areas than in the rural. In urban areas one notices both the languages'being frequently used in communication among those who do not speak them natively. A sample study of two districts in Maharashtra (Table 1) provides a vivid contrast between the bilingual claims of urban and rural populations. The Bombay district comprises 100% urban population, whereas the Sangli district has only 18% urban population. Ratios of different CL claimants per 1000 of the non-native language population in these districts are as follows :

Bombay : Hindi-Urdu 202 (195 + 7), English 137..  
Marathi 61 and Gujarati 97.

Songli: Marathi 530, Kannada 32, Hindi-Urdu 27,  
and English 10.

In the Bombay district, Hindi-Urdu and English occupy more prominent position as CLs than the regional Marathi, whereas in the Sangli district, Marathi is claimed by more than half of the non-Marathi population, and Kannada, a neighbouring Southern language, is recorded as the most prominent CL among the Marathi population.

### Literacy

In almost all States, English occupies a significant position in the school curriculum. The Union Government also endorses the so-called 'three-language formula'. According to this formula, a student, on completion of his/her secondary education, is expected to have acquired sufficient command over three languages, mother tongue and two non-native languages-Hindi as an official medium and a link language for the majority of people for inter-State communication, and English as an associate medium and a link language for higher education and for intellectual and international communication.

We find a remarkable correlation between the ratios of English-knowing population and literate population in different States. States with higher ratios of literacy are usually matched by higher ratios of English-knowing population.

**Table 4 : Ratios per one thousand population**

State	Literates	English claimants
<b>I. Restricted Choice States</b>		
Delhi	527	158
Punjab	242	36
Bihar	184	16
Uttar Pradesh	176	25
Madhya Pradesh	171	12
Rajasthan	152	12
<b>I. Wider Choice States</b>		
Kerala	468	41
Tamil Nadu	314	37
Gujarat	305	14
Maharashtra	298	26
West Bengal	293	43
Assam	274	24
Mysore	254	17
Orissa	217	14
Andhra Pradesh	212	25
Jammu & Kashmir	110	5

Restricted choice States show higher ratios of literate population claiming English than the States with a wider choice. In Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, we get somewhat lower ratios of English claimants though they still are higher than those registered in the wider choice States, primarily due to the growing tendency among many Bihari, Rajasthani and Chhatisgarhi speakers of asserting their MT as different from the Hindi-Urdu amalgam and identifying Hindi or Urdu as their CL.<sup>7</sup> West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh show ratios of English claimants higher in relation to the literacy achieved in these States, possibly due to less inclination of the literate population to identify themselves with Hindi-Urdu or neighbouring regional languages. Gujarat presents the reverse case from West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. It has a lower ratio of English claimants in proportion to literacy, presumably due to more homogeneous surroundings (91% of the total population belongs to Gujarati MT group). The lower ratio of English claimants in Kerala is also due to unilingual surroundings, where 95% of the population speaks the regional language—Malayalam.

### Language Attitudes

We have seen that bilingualism patterns vary from one State to the other. Several MT groups in the same State also differ widely in the incidence and the pattern of bilingualism. There are many ecological and socio-economic factors which determine the incidence of bilingualism in a community, e.g., size of the MT group, contact environments (heterogeneity, urbanity, etc.), schooling opportunities, economic position, occupational conditions (Wemreichtu, 1957). Apart from such practical demands of the situation, a CL is often acquired because of the privileged status accorded or prestige attached to it, or because of other pressures of social identification.

In heterogeneous environments, many groups in different States show a tendency to acquire more than one CLs. The Indian Census tabulates only the *first* subsidiary claims of bilingual speakers though the enumerator is instructed to record upto *two* subsidiary languages without any prescribed order (Mitra, 1964, p. 437). Hence, the returns of these speakers must be regarded critically. Very often these claims are influenced by social pressure on an individual to associate with a particular group equivalent to one's educational and economic standing, or conditioned by one's affiliations in the language controversy, rather than by the degree of *proficiency* or the intensity of *use* of the declared CL.

The incidence of English bilingualism among 14 major MT groups, comprising roughly 87% of the total population, are given in Table 5 and claims of main CLs among these MT groups are shown in Table 6.

The fact that English-predominating bilingual groups (more than half bilinguals among *Ml*, *B*, *H*, and *Tm* speech groups claiming English) report less incidence of total bilingualism (not exceeding 51 to 87 per 1000) has a great bearing on the language polemics in the country. This interesting phenomenon is explained by distinct contact environments. The Sindhi immigrant group, because of its small size and wide spread mostly in urban surroundings, throughout the country reports the highest incidence of bilingualism (359) and also the highest ratio claiming English (89), though only 25% of the Sindhi bilinguals claim English. Similarly, Punjabi MT group shows quite a high ratio of English claimants (41), due to greater mobility and concentration in urban areas on the part of displaced persons with Punjabi MT, after the partition of the country.

**Table 5 : English Bilingualism among Major Speech Groups**

MT group	Total speakers (in millions)	Total bilinguals (in thousands)	Bilinguals ratio (per 1000)	English claimants' ratio (per 1000)
Sindhi ( <i>S</i> )	0.98	351	359	89
Bengali ( <i>B</i> )	33.8	2,923	87	46
Malayalam ( <i>Ml</i> )	17.0	1,209	71	45
Punjabi ( <i>P</i> )	9.9	1,398	142	41
Tamil ( <i>Tin</i> )	30.5	2,471	80	41
Telugu ( <i>Tg</i> )	31.6	5,285	141	27
Hindi ( <i>H</i> )	123.0	6,281	51	27
Assamese ( <i>A</i> )	6.8	610	91	23
Gujarati ( <i>G</i> )	20.1	1,471	73	21
Urdu ( <i>U</i> )	23.2	5,152	221	19
Kannada ( <i>Kn</i> )	17.3	2,498	144	19
Marathi ( <i>Mr</i> )	32.8	3,431	115	16
Oriya ( <i>Or</i> )	15.6	898	58	13
Kashmiri ( <i>Ksh</i> )	1.9	205	107	4

Table 6 : Percentages of Contact Language Claims

MT group	English	Urdu	Hindi	Other major languages
<i>Ml</i>	63	7	—	<i>Tm</i> 14
<i>B</i>	53	21	2	<i>A</i> 19 or 2
<i>H</i>	53	—	13	<i>P</i> 7
<i>TM</i>	51	4	2	<i>Tg</i> 24, <i>Kn</i> 12, <i>Ml</i> 6
<i>G</i>	29	63	5	<i>Mr</i> 10
<i>P</i>	29	52	17	—
<i>A</i>	26	25	—	<i>B</i> 39
<i>S</i>	25	62	2	<i>G</i> 7, <i>Mr</i> 2
<i>Or</i>	23	30	—	<i>B</i> 14, <i>A</i> 19
<i>Tg</i>	16	6	6	<i>Tm</i> 44, <i>Kn</i> 22
<i>Mr</i>	15	59	2	<i>Kn</i> 14
<i>Kn</i>	13	7	3	<i>Tg</i> 31, <i>Tm</i> 23, <i>Mr</i> 16
<i>U</i>	9	20	—	<i>Tg</i> 20, <i>Kn</i> 16
<i>Ksh</i>	4	7	77	<i>Dogri</i> 3

Negligible,

## **Types of Bilingualism**

Several MT groups show significant contrast in CL claims depending on ecological characteristics of their MT. Three types of environments are distinguished by differential impact on CL claims :

- (1) Mother tongue being the predominant language in the region : Here a speech group functions in relatively more homogeneous surroundings and its CL claims reveal the characteristics of **intra-group** bilingualism.
- (2) Mother tongue being the predominant language of the territorially contiguous region : Here CL claims of minority speakers show the prevalence of **inter-group territorial** bilingualism.
- (3) Mother tongue being the predominant language of a non-neighbouring region or having no separate region of its own, as in the case of Sindhi and English MT groups : CL claims of such sporadic minorities, mostly settled in urban areas, show the characteristics of **inter-group migrant** bilingualism.

### **Intra-group Bilingualism**

Out of 13 regional MT groups, six groups-*Iwi, Tg, Ml, B, Or* and *//*-claim English as the most prominent CL in their home states. Four groups- *Mr, G, P, and U*,<sup>3</sup> claim Hindi, while the Kashmiri group claims Urdu as prominent CL. Notable exception is the claim of English as CL by Urdu speakers of Delhi. *A, Kn*, MT groups claim neighbouring Bengali and Telugu respectively as prominent CLs in their home states (Assam and Mysore); these states have relatively more heterogeneous population (Assam has 43% minority language population and Mysore 35%).

### **Inter-group Territorial Bilingualism**

Almost all minority speech groups residing in neighbouring states having contiguous borders with their home states show preference for the language of the respective 'settled' region for inter-group contact. Hindi and Urdu MT speakers in Jammu and Kashmir claim English as the prominent CL. The regional language-Kashmiri, has very little functional value as CL; hence Hindi and Urdu speakers reveal the characteristics of *Intra-group* bilingualism as in their home region. Similarly, Kashmiri MT speakers in Punjab and Gujarati MT speakers in Maharashtra claim Urdu and Hindi respectively, instead of Punjabi or Marathi. Malayalam MT speakers in the neighbouring Mysore state show preference for Telugu, a territorially contiguous speech group, as the most prominent CL though the state language is Kannada.

### **Inter-group Migrant Bilingualism**

MT group in non-neighbouring states (or total speakers of a MT beyond the home and neighbouring states) form small proportion of the total speakers of the respective MT usually not exceeding one per cent and are concentrated in urban areas. Notable exceptions to this are Urdu and Punjabi; such migrants in non-neighbouring states form as much as 11 per cent in the case of Urdu and 4 per cent in the case of Punjabi.

The CL claims of these migrants in non-neighbouring states are divided among English, Hindi and the respective regional languages, depending on contact environments and occupational background of individuals. Different MT groups can be divided into four sections showing varying patterns of CL preferences :

- (i) Seven MT groups claim preference for either English or Hindi in different states : *A* and *MI* (English in 10 states each), *B* (8 states), *Kn* (7), *Ksh* (6), *Tm* (5) and *P* (3).
- (ii) Four MT groups claim preference for Hindi, English or regional languages in different states : *G* and *Tg* (English in 3 states each), *Or* and *Mr* (2 states each).
- (iii) *H* MT speakers claim preference for regional languages in 3 states and English in one state (Kerala).
- (iv) *U* MT speakers claim preference for regional languages in three Southern states and Hindi in one state (Assam). They do not claim English as a prominent CL in any state.

A summary of bilingualism profiles of 13 major regional groups plus Sindhi and English MT speakers is presented in Table 7.

The profile summary shows that English figures prominently as (1) an *infra-group* CL among speech groups residing in their home states, and as (2) an *inter-group* CL among sporadic groups in non-neighbouring states. No speech group claims preference for English in neighbouring states, except Hindi and Urdu MT speakers in Jammu and Kashmir (which, being part of the *HUP* region, shows characteristics of *intra-group* bilingualism).

Malayalam and Bengali MT groups claim preference for English in both types of bilingualism (1 and 2), claiming English both in home states and in the majority of non-neighbouring states. Tamil, Telugu, Oriya and Hindi MT groups claim preference for English in respective home states only but in the majority of non-neighbouring states the non-Hindi MT groups claim preference for Hindi, and the Hindi MT group shows preference for the respective regional languages. Kannada and Assamese MT groups show preference for English in the majority of non-neighbouring states only, though in their home states they show preference for a neighbouring regional language.

Marathi, Gujarati, Punjabi, and Kashmiri MT groups claim preference for English in non-neighbouring states, but they show overwhelming preference for Hindi (or Urdu) in both types of bilingualism (1 and 2). Urdu MT group claims preference for English in only Delhi and Jammu and Kashmir. It shows no preference for English in any non-neighbouring state. Sindhi and English MT groups also claim preference for Hindi in the majority of states.

Press

The extent to which these languages have functional value for wider communication can also be ascertained through the position of the press in different languages.

In the realm of the press, English still commands the most prominent position among the 15 main languages. English and 14 constitutionally recognized languages (excluding Kashmiri)

**Table 7 : Bilingualism Profiles : 1961**

MT groups	Intra-group bilingualism (in home states)		Inter-group territorial bilingualism (in neighbouring states)		Inter-group migrant bilingualism (in non- neighbouring states) <sup>9</sup>	
	MT speakers	Prominent % CLs	MT speakers %	Prominent CLs	MT speakers %	Prominent CLs (in no. of states)
<i>Tm</i>	93	English	6	<i>Tg, Kn, Ml</i>	1	<i>E(5), H(7)</i>
<i>Tg</i>	92	English	7	<i>Tm, Kn, Mr, Or</i> <i>H</i>	0.6	<i>E(3), H(5), A(1) Ml</i> <i>(1)</i>
<i>Kn</i>	89	Telugu	11	<i>Tm, Tg, Ml, Mr</i>	0.1	<i>E(7), H(3)</i>
<i>Ml</i>	94	English	5	<i>Tm, Tg</i>	1	<i>E(10), H(2)</i>
<i>B</i>	89	English	10	<i>Or, A, H</i>	1	<i>E(8), H(4)</i>
<i>Or</i>	92	English	7	<i>B, F, Tg</i>	1	<i>E(2), H(5)</i>
<i>A</i>	99.7	Bengali	0.2	<i>B</i>	0.1	<i>E(10), H(3)</i>
<i>Mr</i>	91	Hindi	8	<i>G, H, Tg, Kn</i>	0.5	<i>E(2), H(6) \ Tm, Kn</i> <i>(1 each)</i>
<i>G</i> <i>Ksh</i>	92.99	Hindi Urdu	7.0.7	<i>H U</i>	1.0.3	<i>E(3), H(7), Kn(1)</i> <i>E(6). H(7)</i>
<i>P</i>	83	Hindi	13	<i>H</i>	4	<i>E(3), H(7)</i>
<i>H</i>	97	English	2	<i>G, Mr, Or, B,</i> <i>Tg E (in J.K.)</i>	0.6	<i>E(1), A, Tm, Kn (1</i> <i>each)</i>
<i>U</i>	58	Hindi, Eng (in J.K.)	31	Same as <i>HMT</i> group	11	<i>E(1), Tm, Kn, Ml (1</i> <i>each) (No English)</i>
<i>S</i>	—	—	—	—	100	<i>E(5), H(9), G(1)</i>
<i>E</i>	—	—	—	—	100	<i>H(13), Tm(2)</i>

treated as the main press languages. Besides there are more than 30 other minor languages used in the press, to a limited extent, in different parts of the country. The Daily reading habits of a large number of literate bilinguals still seem to be English-oriented. English claims the largest circulation of all papers (*i.e.* newspapers and periodicals) and the largest number of periodicals (other than daily and tri- and bi- weekly newspapers) and the second number of newspapers in the country-According to the 11th Annual Report on the Press (covering the year 1966), the English press accounts for 24% of the total number of papers and 26% of the circulation in the country. A close rival to English in this field is Hindi. The share of the Hindi press in the total number and circulation is 25% and 19% respectively. Hence, almost half of the press activity in India is conducted through English and Hindi. The share of the other main press languages (.comprising 10 regional languages and Urdu and Sindhi) is as follows :

**Table 8.' Language-wise per cent Distribution of Press in India: 1966**

Language	No. of papers	Circulation
Hindi	25	19
English	24	26
Urdu	10	4
Gujarati	7	7
Bengali	7	6
Marathi	6	6
Tamil	5	13
Telugu	4	5
Malayalam	4	8
Kannada	3	3
Punjabi	2	1
Oriya	1	0.6
Sindhi	1	0.5
Assamese	0.4	0.3
Other languages	0.6	0.6
	100	100
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The English, Hindi and Urdu press is spread throughout the country. The four metropolitan areas with more than 400 total papers each (newspapers and periodicals in all languages) publish 68% of all the English papers in the country: Delhi (446), Bombay (360), Calcutta (269), Madras (179); whereas only 17% of the Hindi papers are published from these cities: Delhi (202), Bombay (44), Calcutta (72), Madras (5).

Ten per cent of the Hindi papers (with 21% of the circulation) and 23% of the Urdu papers (with 27% of the circulation) are published from outside the *HUP* region. Papers in other Indian languages are usually concentrated in their respective regions.

**Table 9 : State-wise Distribution of Press in India : 1966**

(in percentages)

State	English		Hindi		Prominent regional languages		
	No.	Circulation	No.	Circulation	Language	No.	Circulation
Delhi	49	45	22.0	40	<i>U</i>	16	11
Maharashtra	30	46	6.0	12	<i>Mr</i>	34	28
Tamil Nadu	30	20	1.0	...	<i>Tm</i>	54	64
W. Bengal	26	27	8.0	8	<i>B</i>	51	51
Bihar	19	20	54.0	65	<i>U</i>	16	12
Mysore	18	20	0.2		<i>Kn</i>	61	64
Assam	16	21	4.0		<i>A</i>	31	53
Orissa	14	5	2.0		<i>Or</i>	71	93
Punjab	8	8	11.0	10	<i>U</i>	37	34
					<i>P</i>	31	44
A.P.	12	16			<i>Tg</i>	57	72
Haryana	10	55	46.0	22	<i>U</i>	32	17
Kerala	10	3	0.5		<i>Ml</i>	65	89
U.P.	9	10	66.6	75	<i>U</i>	13	82
J.K.	6	...	2.0		<i>U</i>	83	...
M.P.	5	4	83.0	86	<i>U</i>	5	...
Gujarat	5	3	1.0		<i>G</i>	84	97
Rajasthan	4	4	75.0	80			...

...Negligible

Many English and Hindi newspapers and periodicals published from metropolitan areas have circulation spread over a wide region covering many states.

A glimpse of English and Hindi readership patterns can be had from the content classification of periodicals :

**Table 10 : Content Classification of Periodicals : 1966**

Nature of periodicals	English		Hindi	
	No.	Circulation (in thousands)	No.	Circulation (in thousands)
News and Current Affairs	310	1,451	897	1,237
Literature and Culture	101	334	278	645
Medicine and Health	150	434	37	70
Commerce and Industry	271	452	30	42
Finance and Economics	43	59	5	10
Law and Administration	121	164	16	23
Agriculture	67	114	26	92
Science	68	65	6	26
Engineering and Technology	128	163	1	...

English information media are the most organized in the country and they are supported by relatively more affluent bilinguals. Many Indian language papers rely, to a great extent, on English information agencies for more broad based coverage and authentic and detailed accounts. Hence the impact of English press on the national scene is out of all proportion to its circulation.

The present study supports the contention that the *de facto* functional importance of English and Hindi—Urdu in India exceeds mere communication necessity.

#### References

1. All figures in this study, unless specified otherwise, are from A. Mitra (1964), Census of India, 1961.
2. Hindi and Urdu are two standardized forms of the same dialect—Khan Boli—sharply divided on the issue of script (Devanagari and Perso-Arabic) and literacy trends (Khubchandani. 1969a).
3. One of the main characteristics which a layman generally associates with the knowledge of a CL is the ability to write that language in its prevalent script. Hence the extent to which many CLs are spoken or merely understood is not fully covered through the Census returns. But these returns, no doubt, present a valuable picture of the attitudes of speakers and their trends of social identification at a particular juncture of time (for details, Khubchandani, 1971b, 1972a).

4. The ratio of a CL is obtained on the basis of 1961 bilingualism returns :

$$= \frac{\text{Subsidiary language claimants of Jg. A}}{\text{Total population—MT speakers of Jg. A}} \times 1000$$

5. Union Territories other than Delhi are not taken into account in this study, as their CL patterns are, to a great extent, similar to neighbouring States.
6. Since 1966, the Punjab, a bilingual state, has been divided into two unilingual Punjabi and Hindi states: Punjab and Haryana.
7. The North-Central region, also labelled as 'Broad Hindustani' or 'Hup (Hindi-Urdu-Punjabi)' region, is regarded as a 'Fluid Zone', due to fluctuating returns of regional MTs. MT claims in this region reveal various characteristics of social identification : religious affiliations, allegiance to 'tradition', etc. A large number of people belonging to different speech groups consider themselves to be part of Hindi or Urdu 'tradition' and treat their MTs as substandard varieties of Hindi or Urdu (Khubchandani, 1971a),
8. Urdu speakers are spread throughout the country and do not form majority in any State. 58% of them belong to the HUP region, where the Hindi-Urdu amalgam predominates. Most of the Urdu bilinguals in this region, claim Hindi (in Devanagari script) as their first subsidiary language.
9. Excluding Orissa, as the breakdown of bilingualism patterns in the state is not available.