

INDIAN ENGLISH
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The purpose of this paper is to investigate current Indian English, in its various forms, as spoken on the Indian sub-continent, with a particular focus on its phonology and phonetics. To understand this, we give a brief background of the history of English in India.

Demographics

India is one of the fastest-growing economies. Its population is approximately 17 percent of the global population (Population watch, 2007) and is the seventh largest country in land area according to the Government of India, 2005. The country is administered through a federal form of government with 28 states and 7 union territories. These largely correspond to linguistic boundaries. There are 216 languages with more than 10,000 native speakers in India. The largest of these is Hindi with some 337 million (the second largest being Bengali with some 207 million). Twenty-two languages are recognized as official languages. In India, there are 1,652 languages and dialects in total (A complete list of languages is in Appendix 1.)

According to the 2010 United States Census, the Asian Indian population in the United States grew from almost 1,678,765 in 2000 (0.6% of U.S. population) to 2,843,391 in 2010 (0.9% of U.S. population), a growth rate of 69%, one of the fastest growing ethnic groups in the United States. Today, Indians comprise about 1.4 million people in the UK (not including those of mixed Indian and other ancestry), making them the single largest visible ethnic minority population in the country. They make up the largest subgroup of British Asians, and are one of the largest Indian communities in the Indian diaspora.

History

English businessmen first came to India in 1612 as the English East India Company in pursuit of the spice trade. British rule in India extended from 1757 to 1947 (Banerjee, A and Iyer, L, 2002). Probably the biggest legacy of the British to India was the English language. According to the 2001 census of India, 220,000 individuals claimed English as their *first* language; 125 million claimed it as a *second* language. Those claiming English as a first language were largely concentrated in Maharashtra, a state extending from the central west coast of the country to almost two thirds of the way across the continent (See Appendix II). English is still used as an official language of India along with Hindi. Individual states can declare their own official language/s and also the language they will use for interstate communication. English is an option and Nagaland and Mizoram in the northeast have cited English as their official language (Sailaja, P., 2002). English newspapers have the second largest circulation after those in Hindi. English, is therefore familiar at some level to most of the people of India, with the greatest familiarity in the

cities and less in rural areas.

How is English used?

English is used for business, education, administration and law. The Indian Constitution states that all rules and regulation, bylaws etc. are to be in English. Science and Medicine follow the western pattern and are written in English. Among those people with a college education, much of communication is in English. Oddly, even in small towns and villages the names of shops are in English, such as “Morriji Fabrics”, (Sailaja, P. page 6.) and most advertising is carried out in English. Dasgupta (1993) considers that there is diglossia in India with English as an “auntie tongue” that is used for formal registers, while an Indian language is used for personal and emotional conversations. In television, English is used for news and political programs; television serials are in Indian Languages. Written literature is predominantly in English.

What is Indian English?

Given the widespread use of English in India and the length of time it has been used, it has, of course, like Australian English and American English, developed its own dialect or dialects. Like other large areas it has its own English dialects influenced by regional Indian languages and language drift. Some writers, such as Dasgupta (1993), argue that there is no such thing as Indian English; there is *Indian’s English* or *Indian Englishes*. Academics prefer to use the term “English in India.” It is also sometimes referred to as *Inglish* or *Indlish*. For the purpose of simplicity we will use the term Indian English (IE).

English speakers in India are aware of the benefits of speaking English and wish to speak it well, and intelligibly, with either a British, or, more recently, an American accent. There are, of course, different levels of competence from shopkeepers who have a basic vocabulary to college-educated people or government officials who are truly bilingual and can switch easily from one to the other and may even claim English as their first language.

Because of the long history of language contact, as is usual, Indian vocabulary has seeped into English. Anyone who lives in a *bungalow*, sleeps in *pajamas* and enjoys a good cup of *cha* is using borrowed terms. In England the country’s favorite food is *curry*, having taken over from the traditional ‘fish and chips.’

Phonetics and Phonology

Consonants

/r/

IE shows large regional variation due to the effects of different first languages. There is, however, a standard Indian English pronunciation (SIEP) still marked by pan-Indian features. It is non-rhotic, a feature derived from *Received Pronunciation* or Queen’s English as spoken in the UK. So the /r/ is silent in words such as *bird*, *car*, *park*, *hurt*, *higher*, etc. This is made use of in a furniture advertisement ‘*So fa, so good*’, (Sailaja, 2002.) However, /r/ is pronounced in word-final contexts where the following word begins with a vowel such as *The car is mine*. In IE the /r/ sound may be realized as a

frictionless alveolar approximant or as an alveolar tap.

/v/ and /w/ or the labio-dental approximant /v/

Indian speakers often show no contrast between the /v/ and /w/ sounds. To produce a standard /v/ sound the top teeth make contact with the lower lip and air is blown between the articulators to cause turbulence. The /w/ sound is made by rounding the lips and bringing them together and then moving them apart, without actually making contact. To make the labiodental /v/ the top teeth come close to the bottom lip but do not actually touch before moving away again. This sound is used in some Indian languages and is, therefore used for both /v/ and /w/.

The th dental fricative sounds

The *th* sounds, unvoiced /θ/ and the voiced /ð/, take considerable training for Indian English speakers to master. The voiceless version is sometimes pronounced in SIEP but the voiced version is almost always absent. The voiceless /θ/ is mostly replaced by an unaspirated voiceless dental stop /t̪/, which is present in Indian languages. Indian languages, except Tamil, have aspirated and unaspirated plosives, so those fricatives written as *th* are often aspirated. Tamil speakers instead use an unaspirated voiceless dental stop /t̪/. The voiced dental stop /d̪/ is used for the voiced *th* in words such as *these*, *those* and *weather*.

/t/ /d/ /t̪/ and /d̪/

It is usually thought that IE speakers retroflex all alveolar stops as in words such as *tight*, *tin*, *den* and *dinner*. (Retroflex sounds are made by curling back the tongue tip and making contact with the hard palate further back than the alveolar ridge.) However, SIEP does have alveolar sounds. While the voiceless /t/ sound *may* be retroflexed the voiced /d/ is almost invariably retroflexed /d̪/ depending on the experience of the speaker.

Variation related to local languages spoken

Some speakers of Gujarati or Marathi may replace the /f/ sound with /p^h/. The /ʒ/ sound is not present in Indian languages but many speakers do use it. However, Kashmiri speakers replace it with /dʒ/. Speakers of Bengali, Oriya and Assamese have difficulty with /f/ and /v/ and replace them with /b^h/. The /s/ vs. /ʃ/ distinction is difficult for Hindi speakers from place such as Bihar; they tend to use one or the other in all contexts. The alveolar nasal /n/ is replaced by the retroflexed version by southern Indian speakers.

Aspiration in English occurs only with the plosives /p^h/, /t^h/ and /k^h/ in initial position in a stressed syllable and is not contrastive. Aspiration is contrastive in all Indian languages except Tamil. In SIEP aspiration is not always predictable and is related to spelling; words with an *h* after an initial consonant are likely to be

aspirated, whether the consonant is voiced or voiceless. So the words *ghost* and *why* are likely to show aspiration of the initial consonant. The distinction between dark and light /l/ (examples are the sounds in *milk* versus *leaf*) is mostly absent in SIEP with the light /l/ being used all the time.

In the south of India the /l/ sound is likely to be replaced with the retroflex /ɭ/ but it is not used in SIEP. Tamil and Malayam have a rule of voicing a plosive when it is between vowels or when it follows a nasal. So the word *simply* will be pronounced *simbly* by these speakers.

Finally, in Dravidian languages (See Appendix II.) The glides /j/ and /w/ are optional in word initial position, depending on whether the first vowel is fronted. So the phrase *earned leave* may be pronounced *yearned leave*. If the first vowel is a back vowel, initial /w/ is optional, potentially turning *only* to *wonly*.

Vowels

The two central vowels /ə/ and /ʌ/ are not usually distinguished in SIEP. In some dialects the back vowel /ɑ/ is replaced by the fronted vowel /a/. There are six diphthongs in SIEP: /ɪə/ as in *beer*, /ʊə/ as in *poor*, /eə/ as in *fair*, /aɪ/ as in *night*, /ɔɪ/ as in *soil*, and /aʊ/ as in *howl*. The diphthongs /eɪ/ and /oʊ/, as in *pale* and *hole* respectively, that are used in British RP, in non-standard IE are often replaced by long versions of the monothongs /e:/ and /o:/. The RP back /ɔ/ is rarely used except by news announcers. In non-standard IE, except for the diphthongs /ɔi/ as in *boy* and /aʊ/ as in *cow*, all other diphthongs are converted to a long vowel plus /r/, so *poor* is /pʊr/, *beer* is /bɪr/, *tour* is /tʊr/, *pear* is /pɛr/.

Morpho-phonology

In RP or American English (AE), when the plural marker on nouns follows an alveolar palatal fricative or affricate, it is pronounced as /əz/ or /ɪz/ as in the words *fridges* or *kisses*. In IE the plural marker is realized as /s/ or /ɛs/ with the final sibilant devoiced almost invariably. In similar fashion the past tense marker is always /d/ or /ɛd/ depending on the preceding word:

stayed	/ste:d/
stained	/ste:nd/
climbed	/klaɪmbd/
posted	/pɔ:stɛd/ (In RP this would be /pɔʊstɪd/
trapped	/træpd/ *

* In RP when the final consonant is voiceless as in the word *trapped* (in which, however, the final consonant is spelled as a *d*) the final consonant is voiceless, in IE it is voiced.

The vowels in all other suffixes are not reduced but are given a full vowel:

reckless /rɛklɛs/

Consonant Clusters

Since Indian languages do not use consonant clusters, consonant cluster reduction is a common feature. This is common in SIEP as well as locally dialectal English.

acts /æks/

In most dialects there is no syllabic consonant in words such as *bottle*. Instead an intrusive schwa is inserted. However, high frequency words such as *film* are usually pronounced /film/ in SIEP but may be produced as /fɪləm/ in IE. In the Hindi-Punjabi areas vowel insertion is common as in /səkul/ for school.

Lexical Stress

Lexical stress in SIEP and IE is somewhat complex. Stress placement tends to depend on the weight of the syllable. A syllable is light if it contains just one short vowel. The number of consonants preceding the vowel has no effect, so a CV syllable with a short vowel is light; a heavy syllable contains a long vowel or a vowel with a consonant, V:C or VCC. An extra heavy syllable is one in which there is either a long vowel followed by a consonant (V:C) or a short vowel followed by at least two consonants (VCC or VCCC). Garesh (2004) gives a simple explanation of stress as follows:

1. Stress falls on the first syllable of a bi-syllabic word unless the second syllable is extra heavy, so 'taboo, 'mistake.
2. In tri-syllabic words the stress is also on the first syllable unless the second syllable is heavy, in which case this syllable is stressed, so mo'desty, char'acter.

However, there is considerable individual variation with many speakers ignoring these rules.

Also, some speakers of SIEP place the stress where it is placed in RP, e.g. *mis'ake* and *terr'ific*, presumably having learned this pattern on a word-by-word basis. One oddity of IE is a tendency to stress the initial pronoun in a sentence such as:

'She is coming by train. (Here the stress is not contrastive with an alternative pronoun such as *he*)

There is also a tendency in IE but not SIEP to stress more words in a sentence and not reduce function words. (This is a trait emerging in AE newscasters, who perhaps do this to sound different, e.g., *This 'is CNN.*)

Conclusion

English and the many languages of India have been in contact for three centuries with many cross-language borrowings and influence on IE pronunciation. Indeed, many Indians claim English as a first language. Even those people who speak no English are exposed to the written form of the language on storefronts, television and newspapers. The SIEP of the educated city dwellers is used across the country with some common phonetic features from RP but others that are uniquely Indian. The IE used in rural areas and by less educated people is influenced more by the phonetic and phonological features of the local language. Exactly how much pronunciation of English varies across such a large land mass is still a matter for further research.

REFERENCES

Authors' note

Most of the content of this paper is taken from Pingali Sailaja's *Dialects of English*, referenced in full below. This book first engaged us in the topic of Indian English. We are deeply grateful to the author for the detailed knowledge and breadth of topics covered as well as the extremely readable style. Much of this paper we borrowed from this author for which we apologize but to whom we own fully our indebtedness.

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Sailaja, Pingali (2009). *Dialects of English*. Indian English. Edinburgh University Press, Ltd., 22 George Square, Edinburgh. ISBN 978 0 7486 2595 6.

APPENDIX 1

Major Indian Languages

This data was extracted from the Ethnologue database.

Now linked by India WWW Virtual Library.

Created on Jul 16, 1995. Last updated on Jul 04, 2000.

Here is a list of those Indian languages spoken by more than a million people.

ASSAMESE

14,604,000 in India (1994 IMA); a few in Bangladesh (1991 D. Barrett SB). Assam, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh. Also in Bhutan. State language of Assam. Bengali script.

AWADHI

20,000,000 in India (1951 census); 540,000 in Nepal (1993 Johnstone); 20,316,950 in all countries. Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Kanpur, Delhi. Awadhi is the standard for literature. There is considerable epic literature. "Kosali" is a name used for the Eastern Hindi group. Caribbean Hindi is related to Awadhi.

BAGRI

1,721,000 in India (1994 IMA); 200,000 in Pakistan (1993); 1,921,000 in all countries. Punjab, Rajasthan, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh. Nomadic between Pakistan and India.

BENGLALI

67,200,000 in India (1994 IMA); 100,000,000 in Bangladesh (1994 UBS); 70,000 in United Arab Emirates (1986); 600 in Singapore; 189,000,000 in all countries (1995 WA). West Bengal and neighboring states. State language of West Bengal. Bengali script.

BHILI

1,600,000 (1986 MARC); 5,624,000 including languages in the Bhil group (1994 IMA). Kotwali 12,688 (1994 IMA). Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Jammu, Kashmir, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tripura; mountainous areas. Connecting link between Gujarati and Rajasthani. 'Bhil' is an ethnic designation.

BHOJPURI

23,375,000 in India (1994 IMA); 1,370,000 in Nepal (1993); 25,000,000 in all countries. Bihar Purnea area, Assam, Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal. The cover term "Bihari" is used for Bhojpuri, Maithili, and Magahi. Kaithi script.

CHHATTISGARHI

10,985,000 including 10,910,000 Chattisgarhi (1994 IMA), 75,156 Laria (1994 IMA). Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, and possibly in Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, and Tripura. Devanagari script. Used in newspapers, radio, TV. Speakers use Hindi or Oriya as second languages.

DECCAN

10,709,800 (1990). Central Maharashtra, Deccan Plateau. Distinct from Deccan (Dakhini, Mirgan) dialect of Urdu.

DOGRI-KANGRI

2,095,280, including 2,005,000 Dogri (1994 IMA), 90,279 Kangri (1994 IMA). The home area is in the outer hills and strip of plain in Jammu and Kashmir between the Ravi and Chenab Rivers. Central states from north to south; West Bengal, Chandigarh, Himachal Pradesh (Kangra and Hamirpur districts). Urdu (middle aged and older), Hindi (school, shops, cities), and Punjabi (shops) are spoken as additional languages for certain purposes. Radio programs.

GARHWALI

2,081,756 (1994 IMA). Kashmir, Uttar Pradesh.

GUJARATI

43,312,000 in India (1994 IMA); 140,000 in United Kingdom (1979 Wagner and Dayton); 6,203 in Fiji; 9,600 in Zimbabwe (1973); 12,000 in Zambia (1985); 147,000 in Uganda (1986); 5,000 in Malawi (1993); 50,000 in Kenya (1995); 800 in Singapore (1985); 44,000,000 in all countries. Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh. Also in Bangladesh, South Africa, Pakistan, Reunion. State language of Gujarat. Gujarati script.

HARYANVI

13,000,000 or 85% of Haryan population of 16,000,000 (1992 SIL), including 102,348 Haryanvi proper (1994 IMA); 154,340 Mewati (1994 IMA). Haryana, Punjab, Karnataka, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh. "Bangru" now used for speakers in Jind area. "Khadar" is used by speakers in Jind to refer to the speech of Rohtak and Sonapat. "Bagdi" is the variety used around Fatehabad and Sirsa, and south of Bhiwani (distinct from the Wagdi language in southern Rajasthan). Intelligibility among dialects is good, but not intelligible with Hindi, the closest language. Speakers of all ages. Hindi is used as second language; some bilingual ability in all social groups for education and contact with non-Haryanvi speakers.

HINDI

180,000,000 in India (1991 UBS); 346,513,000 or nearly 50% including second language users in India (1994 IMA); 346,000 in Bangladesh (1993); 26,253 in USA (1970 census); 685,170 in Mauritius; 890,292 in South Africa; 232,760 in Yemen; 147,000 in Uganda; 5,000 in Singapore; 2,900 in Nepal; 11,200 in New Zealand (1987); 24,500 in Germany (1984 Time); 182,000,000 in all countries or more. 418,000,000 including second language users (1995 WA). Throughout northern India. Also in Kenya, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom. Hindi, Hindustani, Urdu could be considered co-dialects, but have important sociolinguistic differences. Hindi uses the Devanagari writing system, and formal vocabulary is borrowed from Sanskrit, de-Persianized, de-Arabicized. Literary Hindi, or Hindi-Urdu, has four varieties: Hindi (High Hindi, Nagari Hindi, Literary Hindi, Standard Hindi); Urdu; Dakhini; Rekhta. State language of Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh. Languages and dialects in the Western Hindi group are Hindustani, Bangaru, Braj Bhasha, Kanauji, Bundeli.

HO

1,026,000 in India (1994 IMA); 444,000 in Singhbhum, Devanagari script area; 203,000 in Orissa, Oriya script area (1990 UBS). Mainly in Singhbhum District of Bihar, and Mayurbhanj and Koenjhar districts of Orissa. Also in West Bengal and Bangladesh. Language use is vigorous in home and community in most areas. Oriya, Santali, and Hindi are used in limited domains. Grammar, dictionary. "Kherwari"

(Khanwar, Kharar, Kharoali, Kharwari) is a group name for Ho, Mundari, and Santhali, which are closely related languages, and some other smaller languages or dialects. Distinct from Ho (Hani) of Myanmar, China, Vietnam, Laos.

KANAUJI

6,000,000 (1977 Voegelin and Voegelin). Uttar Pradesh.

KANNADA

33,663,000 (1994 IMA); 44,000,000 including second language users (1995 WA). Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra. State language of Karnataka. Kannada script; similar to Telugu script.

KASHMIRI

4,161,000 in India (1994 IMA); 105,000 in Pakistan (1993); 115,000 in United Kingdom (1991); 4,381,000 in all countries. Jammu and Kashmir (52.29% of the population), Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Kashmir Valley. Literature can be traced to the 1400's, and poetry is important. Persian-based script. Not used in primary education. Urdu and English are used as second languages.

KHANDESI

2,246,105 including 742,111 Ahirani (1994 IMA), 1,503,994 Khandesi (1994 IMA). Maharashtra, Gujarat.

KONKANI

2,056,841 in all countries (1994 IMA). North and central coastal strip of Maharashtra, Karnataka, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Kerala.

KONKANI (GOANESE)

2,000,000 in all countries (1977 Voegelin and Voegelin); 3,900 in Kenya (1987). Southern coastal strip of Maharashtra, primarily in the districts of Ratnagari and Goa; also Karnataka and Kerala. Also in United Arab Emirates. Daldi and Chitapavani are transitional dialects between Goanese and Standard Konkani.

KUMAONI

2,013,000 in India (1994 IMA). Assam, Bihar, Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Kumaon; Maharashtra, Nagaland. Also in Nepal.

KURUX

1,747,000 in India (1994 IMA); 2,000,000 in all countries (1995 WA). Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, Tripura, West Bengal, Orissa. Also in Bangladesh. Related to Malto. Distinct from Nepali Kurux.

LAMANI

1,961,000 (1994 IMA), plus 769,120 Banjari. Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Orissa, West Bengal. "Gormati" is self name. Each of the three dialects needs a different script: Maharashtra uses Devanagari script, Karnatak uses Kannada script, Andhra Pradesh uses Telugu script.

MAGAH

10,821,000 (1994 IMA). Southern districts of Bihar, eastern Patna district, northern Chotanagpur district, and Malda district of West Bengal. Also used as a religious language.

MAITHILI

22,000,000 in India including Dahati (1981); 2,260,000 in Nepal (1993); 24,260,000 in all countries. Bihar, Delhi, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, West Bengal. There is a Maithili Academy. Dictionary.

MALAYALAM

33,667,000 in India (1994 IMA); 300,000 in United Arab Emirates (1986); 37,000 in Malaysia; 10,000 in Singapore (1987); 313 in Fiji; 34,014,000 in all countries. Kerala, Laccadive Islands, and neighboring states. Also in United Kingdom, Bahrain, Qatar. State language of Kerala. Malayalam script.

MALVI

1,050,000 (1994 IMA). Northwest Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Gujarat. Considered the standard dialect of south-eastern Rajasthani.

MARATHI

64,783,000 (1994 IMA). Maharashtra and adjacent states. The dialect situation throughout the greater Marathi speaking area is complex. Dialects bordering other major language areas share many features with those languages. See separate entries for dialects or closely related languages: Konkani, Goanese, Deccan, Varhadi, Nagpuri, Ikrani, Gowlan. State language of Maharashtra. Devanagari script.

MARWARI

12,104,000 Marwari, Rajasthani, and Mewari (1994 IMA). Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Delhi, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, throughout India. The standard form of Rajasthani. 23 dialects. Different from Marwari of Pakistan, and from Mewati, dialect of Haryanvi. Devanagari script.

MEITHEI

1,252,000, including 1,181,000 Meithei in India (1994 IMA), 71,414 Bishnupuriya (1994 IMA); 92,800 in Bangladesh; 6,000 in Myanmar (1931); 1,351,000 in all countries. Assam, Manipur, Kankan; Nagaland, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal. 7 clans (Ningthonia, Luwang, Angom, Moirang, Khabanaganba, Chonglei). They had an earlier script called "Meithei Mayek".

MUNDARI

1,467,515 in India (1994 IMA), including 973,000 Mundari, 494,515 Munda; 5,700 in Nepal (1993); 1,473,000 or more in all countries. Assam, mainly in southern and western parts of Ranchi district in Bihar. Also in Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Tripura, West Bengal, Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Also in Bangladesh. Closely related to Ho and Santali, but a separate language.

NEPALI

6,000,000 in India (1984 Far Eastern Economic Review); 300,000 in Bhutan (1973 Dorji); 9,900,800 in Nepal (1993); 16,200,000 in all countries. West Bengal, Darjeeling area, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh.

NIMADI

1,295,000 (1994 IMA). Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra.

ORIYA

30,158,000 in India (1994 IMA); 13,299 in Bangladesh (1961 census); 31,000,000 in all countries. Orissa, Bihar, West Bengal, Assam, Andhra Pradesh. Some of the larger dialects have many subdialects. State language of Orissa. Oriya script.

PUNJABI

25,690,000 in India (1994 IMA); 43,000 in Malaysia (1993); 10,000 in Kenya (1995); 9,677 in Bangladesh (1961 census); 1,167 in Fiji; 25,700,000 in all countries. Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, Rajasthan, Jammu and Kashmir. Also in United Arab Emirates, Singapore, United Kingdom. Gurmukhi script.

SADRI

1,861,965 including 1,315,710 Sadani (1994 IMA), 546,255 Nagpuria (1994 IMA); 200,000 in Bangladesh (1993); 2,062,000. Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Orissa, Andaman Islands, Nagaland. Hindi, Oriya, and Bengali are used as official languages. Dictionary. Language of wider communication among tribal groups. Devanagari script.

SANTHALI

5,675,000 in India (1994 IMA); 100,000 in Bangladesh (1983 UBS); 40,000 in Nepal (1985); 5,800,000 in all countries. Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Tripura, West Bengal. Also in Bhutan. Closely related to Ho and Mundari, but a separate language.

SINDHI

2,678,000 in India (1986 MARC); 16,992,000 in Pakistan (1993); 5,000 in Singapore (1993); 19,675,000 in all countries. Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh. Also in Afghanistan. Arabic and Gurmukhi scripts used.

TAMIL

58,597,000 in India (1994 IMA); 3,000,000 in Sri Lanka (1993); 250,000 in South Africa; 274,218 in Malaysia (1970 census); 191,200 in Singapore (1980); 35,000 in Germany; 7,000 in Netherlands; 22,000 in Mauritius (1993); 6,663 in Fiji; 62,000,000 or more in all countries first language speakers; 69,000,000 including second language users (1995 WA). Tamil Nadu and neighboring states. Also in Bahrain, Qatar, Reunion, Thailand, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom. State language of Tamil Nadu. Tamil script.

TELUGU

66,318,000 in India (1994 IMA); 30,000 in Malaysia (1993); 2,008 in Fiji; 300 in Singapore (1970); 73,000,000 in all countries (1995 WA). Andhra Pradesh and neighboring states. Also in Bahrain, United Arab Emirates. State language of Andhra Pradesh. Telugu script.

TULU

1,856,000 (1994 IMA). Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Meghalaya.

URDU

45,773,000 in India (1994 IMA); 8,000,000 in Pakistan (1988); 3,562 in Fiji; 170,000 in South Africa; 30,000 in Oman; 20,000 in Bahrain; 19,950 in Qatar; 16,800 in Germany; 54,000,000 or more in all countries. Jammu and Kashmir and by Muslims in many parts of India. Also in Afghanistan, USA. "Dakhini" is freer of Persian and Arabic loans than Urdu. Both are written in Arabic script. "Rekhta" is a form of Urdu used in poetry. State language and medium of instruction in government schools in Jammu and Kashmir.

APPENDIX 11

Dravidian languages (ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITTANICCA)

This is a family of some 70 languages spoken primarily in South Asia. The Dravidian languages are spoken by more than 215 million people in India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka.

The Dravidian languages are divided into South, South-Central, Central, and North groups; these groups are further organized into 24 subgroups. The four major literary languages—Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, and Kannada—are recognized by the constitution of India. See the map below for distribution.

For more information see: *The Dravidian Languages*, Bhadriraju Krishnamurti, 2003, Cambridge University Press, ISBN 0 521 77111 0 hardback

