Language Planning and Policy in India Post NEP 2020

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Abstract

This paper scrutinizes the implications of NEP 2020 on the teaching and learning of languages. NEP allows states to choose three languages for students, with at least two being native to India. A noteworthy departure from previous norms is the exclusion of Hindi and English from the three-language formula. The initial attempt to make Hindi compulsory faced resistance and was subsequently omitted. English might be excluded due to a sentiment viewing it as a tool of linguistic imperialism and a threat to cultural unity.

While Hindi is not compulsory, the government allocates significant funds for its promotion. Various initiatives like celebrating Hindi Diwas, awards, scholarships, and institutional directives encourage its use. The exclusion of English may have limited impact given its global importance and repertoire of knowledge. English is even perceived as a liberating force by some marginalized communities.

The policy underscores the importance of Sanskrit, designating it for study at all education levels. However, other classical languages receive less attention and studying them is limited to two years. The policy wordings on Sanskrit recalls T.B. Macaulay's colonial-era intent to introduce English. Because of Sanskrit's rich textual tradition but limited everyday utility Sanskrit should be an academic subject but not a compulsory language. India's linguistic diversity is acknowledged by the NEP 2020. However, concerns are raised about the focus on languages listed in the Eighth Schedule, with a call for attention to the 99 non-scheduled languages to ensure linguistic inclusivity and recognize India's diverse linguistic heritage.

The study highlights a shift in language perceptions under the NEP 2020, with sustained importance given to Hindi, a reduced emphasis on English, and extensive promotion of Sanskrit. It advocates for a balanced approach, promoting multilingualism, regional language development, and respect for diverse linguistic heritages in alignment with the policy's overarching vision.

1. Introduction

National Education Policy 2020 (2020) is the third education policy of independent India. The first was in 1968 (1968) followed by the second in 1986 modified in 1992 (1992). NEP 2020 is presented as “the first education policy of the 21st century and aims to address the many growing developmental imperatives of our country.” This study aims to examine the implications of the National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 on diverse languages and its impact on language teaching and learning. Specifically, the research investigates whether the NEP 2020 imposes linguistic preferences, potentially favoring the advancement of a few selected languages. The analysis delves into the underlying attitudes reflected in the policy's language-related statements. Additionally, the paper explores the influence of various other factors - like the language practices and language negotiations- on the language teaching and learning process in India.
India is a multilingual country. As per the Census of India data and the eighth schedule of the Indian constitution, India is home to 24 Indo European languages of which 15 are scheduled, 17 Dravidian languages of which 4 are scheduled, 14 Austro Asiatic languages of which 1 is scheduled, and 66 Tibeto Burman languages of which 2 are scheduled. 146 dialects have been recorded under these 121 scheduled and non-scheduled languages. Government of India recognizes six languages as ‘Classical languages’ - Tamil (declared in 2004), Sanskrit (2005), Kannada (2008), Telugu (2008), Malayalam (2013), and Odia (2014) (Secretariat, 2020). In the present world marked by globalization, there is an increasing tendency towards homogenization of codes, discourses, and communicative practices. (Canagarajah, 2009). Because of this there is negotiation and conflict between the global homogenous discourses and the local discourses. India has witnessed major language movements for recognition and resistance to homogenization in the pre and post-independence period - Tamil (Srivastava, 1979) (Haque, 2021), Assamese (Misra, 2000), Marathi (Pawar, 2015), Sindhi (Daswani, 1979), Chatisgarhi, Kannada (Horowitz, 2001), Oriya (Acharya, 2004), Gujrati (Isaka, 2021).

Secondly, the language taught and the medium of education varied from time to time. The medium of education in the pre-colonial period varied from Sanskrit for brahmans, Pali for Buddhist monks, and regional languages for all the other castes (Annamalai, 2005). English was added during the colonial period and continued to be the language of higher education in India (Annamalai, 2005), (Mahmood, 1974). Teaching in local language was seen as too expensive and impractical during the colonial period (Annamalai, 2005). Thirdly, a significant disparity exists in the attitudes toward different languages. In light of these variations, meticulous examination and scrutiny should be applied to language planning, policy, and practices.

2. What constitutes Language Policy?
Shohamy states that to obtain meaningful understanding of the “real” language policy, “there is a need to deduce it through various mechanisms, language policy and practices and the set negotiations, conversations and battles that take place among them” (Shohamy, 2006). The mechanisms may include linguistic landscaping, school language test, policy/legal documents, entrance examinations for higher education, medium of education in the primary, secondary and tertiary sector, private educational institutions that fulfil popular demands, language institutions for the promotion of various languages, etc. These mechanisms may not be seen as policy devices but strongly affect language practice.

Spolsky opines that a study of the language planning should include “the actual practice, the society’s language beliefs or ideology, and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management” (Spolsky, 2004). Andrée Tabouret-Keller adds that “a nation has so many means of forcing a language upon their citizens the constitutional definition of a national, official, or state language, … and secondly allowed for school education, for law and justice, etc.” (Tabouret-Keller, 1997) These scholars point at the non-written covert language policies. The influence of non-written covert language policies on actual language practices which includes societal language beliefs or ideology, constitutional definitions, official state languages, and legal frameworks employed by nations to enforce language preferences among citizen surpasses the influence of the educational policy itself.
3. Hindi and English
NEP 2020 states, “The three languages learned by children will be the choices of States, regions, and of course the students themselves, so long as at least two of the three languages are native to India.” (2020) Hindi and English may not be taught compulsorily in the schools as part of the three-language formula. This is a clear departure from the earlier stance.

In the context of the exclusion English, one cannot emphasize enough the importance of English as a global language (Krishnaswamy, 2006). Resources in various fields of knowledge are readily available in the English language. Research from across the world, original or translated are also published in English journals. To keep abreast of the growing knowledge in science and technology (recognized in NEP 1968) the Indian researchers must have a good command of the English Language.

In a complex nation like India, many citizens also view the English language as a social and economic liberator (Kachru, 1990). The Scheduled Castes believe that the Sanskrit language and culture, has long oppressed them and treated them in the most inhumane way. These communities find liberation in the English language. Studying English is considered a tool to break from the fetters of these disgraceful and sub-human cultural practices perpetuated through the Sanskrit language. Consequentially, in a village called Banka in Uttar Pradesh, Scheduled Castes have dedicated a temple to the English language. The English language has been deified as a goddess, Angrezi Devi, and a statue erected that is modelled after the Statue of Liberty.

A growing apathy towards English has been developed worldwide in the last four decades and its reverberations are heard in India too. English came to be regarded as a ‘killer language’ (Pakir, 1997), (Mühlhäusler, 1996) and as a means of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992, Saville 2002, Tollefson 1995). A growing number of people in India also regard teaching-learning English as a linguistic neo-colonization which will affect the unity of India, question the integrity of the nation, and will construct a slavish mentality (Gandhi, 1968).

For the promotion of English, Central Institute of English (CIE) was founded in 1958. It was renamed the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages (CIEFL) in 1972 with the addition of other Languages. In 2006-2007, CIEFL was given central university status focusing on ten foreign languages. Private sector is investing in building English medium schools, that fulfill the popular demands of parents (Meganathan, 2020) especially in the urban areas but also in the rural ones.

Hindi is also not advocated as one of the three languages as a part of the three-language formula. The draft NEP, which made it mandatory for all to study Hindi, caused major upheavals in various parts of India. The reason for the disgruntlement was the perception that Hindi was imposed on all even when their mother tongue belongs to a completely different language family. As a result, in the final draft Hindi was not made compulsory. But we often hear that Hindi is the national language and we as one nation will be united by one Language to impress upon the importance of teaching-learning Hindi. In certain schools Hindi is introduced to students as rastrabhasha (national language). As per the constitution of India and the official language act of 1963, Hindi is the official Language of the Union. Further, language is not the necessary means by which a nation can be united. In a distinctly multilingual country like India, the following statement made by Renan holds a lot of value:
“Language invites one to reunite; it does not oblige it. The United States and England, Spanish America and Spain speak the same language and do not form a single nation. In contrast, Switzerland, so well formed since it was created by the assent of the different parts, has three or four languages. There is in man something superior to language: that is will. The will of Switzerland to be united, despite the variety of its languages, is much more important than a similitude often obtained by humiliation.” (Judt & Lacorne, 2004)

It is also highlighted often that Hindi is the language spoken by the majority in India or is the mother tongue of the majority of the people of India. As per Census 2011 (General, 2011), Hindi was spoken by only 36.99% of the total population in 1971, 38.74% in 1981, 39.29% in 1991, 41.03% in 2001 and 43.63% in 2011. This also includes the substantial number of speakers who speak the 57 odd “dialects” of Hindi. Some of these dialects, like Bhojpuri, Chhattisgarhi, Garhwali, Kumauni, Magadi/Magahi, and Rajasthani, have a sizable number of speakers. These languages have presented their case to the central government to be included as separate languages in the Eighth Schedule to the Indian Constitution. If this is approved, then the perceived majority of Hindi will further reduce.

Even though, Hindi is not made mandatory in the schools, there are other ways in which it is promoted. Awards have been constituted - Rajbhasha Gaurav Award Scheme for Original Book writing in Hindi, Rajbhasha Gaurav Award Scheme for authors of articles published in magazines, Rajbhasha Kirti Award Scheme for in-house magazines. The commission for scientific & technical terminology has published a Glossary of administrative terms. Central Institute of Hindi was established in 1961 with the mission of play a leading role in the promotion and propagation of Hindi in India. Indian Council for Cultural Relations with the objective of promoting Hindi abroad sends Hindi teachers to Indian Cultural Centers abroad, has been establishing University level Hindi teachers at Chairs in various foreign universities, and providing scholarships to students. As per the department of official language data, more than six thousand crore rupees is spent for the promotion of Hindi since 2017.

Governmental and non-governmental institutions, at different points in time, have issued statements and circulated directives promoting the adoption of Hindi in the workplace. Some of it were later withdrawn due to backlashes. Various instances reflect a concerted effort to promote the usage of Hindi in different domains. The Chief of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of India (ICAI) encouraged accountants to adopt Hindi in their professional endeavors. The Delhi Police issued directives instructing personnel to conduct all official tasks in Hindi. The Haryana High Court issued a notice to the Haryana government to enact a law mandating Hindi in lower courts. Minister Piyush Goyal declined to respond to a question posed by a DMK MP in English during a session in the Lok Sabha. The Ministry of Rural Development outlined plans to implement 100% Hindi communication. Additionally, a delegation comprising 30 Members of Parliament visited Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh to promote the Hindi language.

September 14 each year is celebrated as Hindi Diwas. On that day Amit Shah pitched for ‘one nation, one Language’ that is Hindi, which has been "Unifying Force" for India for centuries. Further, Amit Shah while presiding over the 37th meeting of the Parliamentary Official Language Committee stated that “efforts being made to promote usage of Hindi language in official works”. Rajnath Singh reiterated it.
India's National Academy of Letters Sahitya Akademi confers awards to writers of both English and Hindi. Thus, though Hindi and English are not made mandatory The language attitudes and practices concerning Hindi and English align with the observations articulated by Miller, “In India Hindi is the nationalist language at the federal level, while the language of former imperialism, English, has the nationalist function of assuaging the fears of Hindi language hegemony felt by speakers of Dravidian languages.” (Millar, 2005)

4. Classical Languages
NEP 2020 visualizes “The rich heritage of ancient and eternal Indian knowledge and thought as the guiding light for this Policy”. One of the fundamental principles of the policy is to create “a rootedness and pride in India, and its rich, diverse, ancient and modern culture and knowledge systems and traditions”. These two aims shall be achieved through the study of classical languages and their knowledge tradition. In the case of classical language studies too, the policy wordings are highly unobjective and Sanskrit has been given preferential treatment. Sanskrit despite being the least spoken language amongst the scheduled languages (only 24,821 uses it as their mother tongue according to the census 2011) in present-day India, NEP states that Sanskrit is “an important modern language mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India” (4.17). Rather than communicative it is the symbolic function of Sanskrit that is highlighted here. Hence, NEP 2020 recommends that “…Sanskrit will thus be offered at all levels of school and higher education as an important, enriching option for students, including as an option in the three-language formula.” Apart from Hindi, Sanskrit can thus be one of the three languages taught in schools for a period of ten years.
Five other languages such as Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Odia, are given classical language status in India. Most of these are languages are spoken in their modern form in various states and have a sizeable number of speakers. Tamil proudly lays its claim to a rich literary heritage and knowledge tradition, that is nothing subordinate to Sanskrit. But the policy only states “For the enrichment of the children, and for the preservation of these rich languages and their artistic treasures, all students in all schools, public or private, will have the option of learning at least two years of a classical language of India and its associated literature, through experiential and innovative approaches.” These languages will be studied for only two years as compared to Sanskrit which can be studied for 10 years.
Further, the document states that “Under the ‘Ek Bharat Shrestha Bharat’ initiative, students will learn about the remarkable unity of most of the major Indian languages, starting with their common phonetic and scientifically-arranged alphabets and scripts, their common grammatical structures, their origins and sources of vocabularies from Sanskrit and other classical languages, as well as their rich inter-influences and differences.” Here also one can notice the partisan view that major Indian languages have their origins and sources of vocabularies from Sanskrit. Further, the fact that all the other five classical languages (Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Odia,) have been reduced to just other classical languages shows the priority given to Sanskrit.
We see reverberations and reversal of the now (in)famous Minutes

vii by the Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay, dated the 2nd of February 1835 all over NEP. This document by Macaulay replaced the Indian Education system and Sanskrit language with the Western education system and
English in India. It “was to order them to be instructed in the English and French languages, and in all the sciences to which those languages are the chief keys.”

Macaulay states “We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, --a class of persons Indian in blood and color, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.” Whereas in NEP 2020 we see “The vision of the Policy is to instill among the learners a deep-rooted pride in being Indian, not only in thought, but also in spirit, intellect, and deeds, as well as to develop knowledge, skills, values, and dispositions.” Annamalai opines that “the choice of language in education provides the necessary first step and frame of mind to engage in this process” (Annamalai, 2005).

In the minutes Macaulay states “I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia…. All the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanskrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the paltriest abridgments used at preparatory schools in England. In every branch of physical or moral philosophy, the relative position of the two nations is the same.” In NEP 2020 we see the reversal of it as it states “Sanskrit…. possesses a classical literature that is greater in volume than that of Latin and Greek put together, containing vast treasures of mathematics, philosophy, grammar, music, politics, medicine, architecture, metallurgy, drama, poetry, storytelling, and more (known as ‘Sanskrit Knowledge Systems’)”.

The apparent parallelism between Macaulay’s minutes and NEP 2020 prompts contemplation on the possibility that, much like Macaulay's intent to introduce English educational system to India, NEP 2020 might similarly aspire to institute Sanskrit on a broader scale in the country. This assertion gains credence when considering the recent elevation of deemed to be Sanskrit universities to the status of central universities by the Government of India. The establishment of three central universities — Central Sanskrit University, New Delhi, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri National Sanskrit University, New Delhi, and National Sanskrit University, Tirupati — coupled with the creation of Sanskrit centers within other universities, underscores a notable emphasis on Sanskrit education. In contrast, the central government’s commitment to other classical languages, apart from Classical Tamil managed by the Central Institute of Classical Tamil (CICT), Chennai, appears less robust and is often contingent upon the initiatives of individual state governments.

While acknowledging the extensive corpus of texts within the Sanskrit knowledge tradition and its applications in Natural Language Processing and other computational endeavors, the practical utility of Sanskrit in everyday life remains limited due to its status as a non-native language for the majority of the population. Consequently, advocating for Sanskrit as a distinct academic subject in schools, akin to other classical languages, is advocated. This perspective contends that Sanskrit, given its restricted use in daily interactions, should not be obligatory in the three-language formula but rather offered as an academic pursuit. The suggestion is to allocate the third language slot to a regional modern Indian language, fostering an appreciation for the nation's diverse linguistic heritage.
5. Other Modern Indian Languages

NEP 2020 celebrates multilingualism at least in a limited sense. It states, “There will be a major effort from both the Central and State governments to invest in large numbers of language teachers in all regional languages around the country.” (4.12) and “All efforts will be made in preparing high-quality bilingual textbooks and teaching-learning materials for science and mathematics.” (4.14) NEP 202 envisages “Education is a great leveler and is the best tool for achieving economic and social mobility, inclusion, and equality.” Further, one of the fundamental principles that is highlighted is “respect for diversity and respect for the local context in all curricula, pedagogy, and policy, always keeping in mind that education is a concurrent subject”. It further states that “Wherever possible, the medium of instruction until at least Grade 5, but preferably till Grade 8 and beyond, will be the home language/mother tongue/local language/regional language.” The language census of 2011, apart from the 22 scheduled languages, lists 99 other non-scheduled languages and 146 varieties/dialects of these languages. The question here then would be whether there will be a concrete effort to develop all these 121 languages or just the scheduled languages. The matter of fact the policy states that efforts should be made “in particular, for all languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India.”(4.12) This means that States and Centre will put in more effort to develop the Eighth Schedule languages i.e. Assamese, Bengali, Bodo, Dogri, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marathi, Maithili, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Santali, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu. Though these languages form 97% of the total population, there is a substantial population that speaks the other 99 languages and forms 3 percent of the total population.

The language practices in various Indian institutions reveal a nuanced approach that embraces linguistic diversity and regional distinctions. Notably, major examinations such as the Joint Entrance Exam (JEE), the National Eligibility Cum Entrance Test (NEET), and the Central University Eligibility Test (CUET) incorporate eleven languages, in addition to English, Hindi, and Urdu. Since 2021 JEE in Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Odia, Punjabi, Tamil, and Telugu has been conducted only in the regions where these languages are used and in Hindi, English and Urdu held across the country. The University Grants Commission (UGC) NET examination covers 34 language/literature subjects. The Sahitya Akademi awards acknowledge literary contributions in 24 languages including Indian English. Efforts are underway to transliterate Prime Minister Modi’s official website into 22 Indian languages. The Press Information Bureau (PIB) disseminates press releases in 12 regional languages alongside English, Hindi, and Urdu. The central government has decided to conduct government job tests in 15 Indian languages. In the legal domain, the Chief Justice of India emphasizes linguistic accessibility by making Supreme Court judgments available in Hindi, Tamil, Gujarati, and Odia. This commitment is driven by the acknowledgment that English may not be comprehensible to a significant proportion of the country’s citizens. All these reflect a commitment to linguistic inclusivity, and a recognition of the importance of linguistic diversity.

A glimpse of the language census 2011 will establish that in many states & Union Territories the percentage of people speaking these non-scheduled languages are in two digits as in Sikkim (26.36), Manipur (41.80), Tripura (30.22), Dadra & Nagar Haveli (37.68), Lakshadweep...
(14.46), and Andaman & Nicobar Islands (14.77). In Arunachal Pradesh (721.3), Nagaland (88.13), Mizoram (87.65), Meghalaya (85.35), they form the majority of speakers. If we investigate the language-dialect distinction further and find objective criteria to label one variety as a separate language, then the number of languages will increase. The paucity of space does not permit me to elaborate this point here. Nonetheless, I would like to highlight an example. This is the case of Rajasthani spoken in the state of Rajasthan. Rajasthan was formed into a state by the union of several princely states when India got its independence. The borders of the state were extended after the linguistic re-organization of the Indian States in 1956. During this linguistic re-organization Rajasthani was considered a separate language. Further, Rajasthani is recognized as a distinct literary language by Sahitya Academy and the University Grants Commission. In 2003 the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly unanimously passed a resolution to include Rajasthani in the eighth schedule languages. Despite a large population (2,58,06,344; 2.2% of the total population) of Rajasthani speakers, which is much more than many of the existing scheduled languages, and a long history of independent geographical and political state ship, Rajasthani was not included in the Eight schedule. It is still considered a dialect of Hindi.

As per the Ministry of Home affairs, at present, there are demands for inclusion of 38 more languages in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution. These languages are Angika, Banjara, Bazika, Bhojpuri, Bhoti, Bhotia, Bundelkhandi, Chhattisgarhi, Dhatki, English, Garhwali (Pahari), Gondi, Gujar/Gujjari, Ho, Kachchh, Kamtapuri, Karbi, Khasi, Kodava (Coorg), Kok Barak, Kumaoni (Pahari), Kurak, Kurmali, Lepcha, Limbu, Mizo (Lushai), Magahi, Mundari, Nagpuri, Nicobar, Pahari (Himachali), Pali, Rajasthan, Sambalpuri/Kosali, Shaurensi (Prakrit), Sirai, Tenyidi and Tulu. Two committees, namely the Pahwa Committee (1996) and Sitakant Mohapatra (2003) Committee were constituted to evolve a set of objective criteria with reference to which representations of languages to be included in the 8th Schedule will be analyzed. Unfortunately, so far this activity of the central Government has been futile, and no objective criteria could be identified.

One can presume the plight of the 99 languages listed in the census which have far smaller number of speakers than Rajasthani. If these languages are not promoted and given adequate status as per the Indian constitution, they will gradually become extinct and with them the wealth of knowledge, culture and literature (folk and written) will be lost forever. Isn’t it gross injustice to all those people whose mother tongues are not listed in the scheduled language lists? Won’t this be against the spirit of one of the major aims of this policy the “promulgation of Multilingualism and the power of language in teaching and learning”? Shouldn’t they have the choice to use their mother tongue which is also a highlight of this policy? Will this not affect equality, inclusion and mobility? Or is it a surreptitious attempt to impose Hindi as opposed to other languages? A very concerted effort should be made to include these languages in the Eighth schedule of languages. India will not be the only county which shall do so. “In Peru, there are 93 living languages, and all languages are official. Spanish is spoken by 80.3 per cent of the population, Quechua by 16.2 per cent and other indigenous languages are spoken by 3 per cent.” As Tony Judt and Denis Lacorne noted “Linguistic choices are indeed choices, often political ones.” (Judt & Lacorne, 2004) But policies should not be visualized and framed to severely constrain the choices.
6. Conclusion
When we put policy, practice and attitudes towards various languages into perspective, we can recognize a noticeable break in the way language is perceived in the present policy in contrast to the 1968 and 1986 education policies. Hindi, though not compulsory, continues to be pertinent in the educational field and is promoted widely. English has lost much of its glamour over the last one decade. Still it continue to hold its sway among the masses. Sanskrit is being promoted extensively. Gradually, many regional languages may lose their importance. As Millar argues, “It is easier (and cheaper) to teach (and govern) a population in one language. One language may be of higher prestige than any other spoken in that territory so that a hegemonic assumption of superiority might be made.” He also states, “It often actually suits a nation-state to ignore its multilingualism, for economic, social or, regularly, political and ideological reasons.” (Millar, 2005)
Education must be locally relevant, nationally inclusive, and internationally competitive. With this intent in mind, the government needs to promote the three-language formula in letter and in spirit. Everybody should be given the opportunity to study in their mother tongue at the primary and secondary level along with Hindi and English. Hindi enjoys the status of the official language of the Union. English is widely recognized as the global lingua franca (Costa, 2019) and India has gained much because of English language (Kanna & Rakesh, 2023). Literature in Sanskrit and other classical language literature can be included as a separate subject of study. This will assist to fulfil the vision of this new policy, of learners at all levels having “a deep-rooted pride in being Indian … and reflecting a truly global citizen.”

References


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1 The National Education Policy 2020 (NEP 2020) is an education policy document that was introduced in India.
2 https://www.thehindu.com/books/a-temple-for-a-language/article17752224.ece
3 There has been many instances where Hindi has been presumed to be the nation language. Hindi national language, says Mumbai HC as it rejects bail petition in NDPS case. Zomato lands in a row after customer care agent says 'Hindi is our national language'. Amit Shah says Hindi should be made national language and Hindi is a friend of all Indian languages.
4 Census of India 2011, Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India; 2011
7 Macaulay's Minute on Indian Education; Thomas Babington Macaulay; 1835
The National Academy of Letters which gives a separate award for Rajasthani writers

National Eligibility Test has Rajasthani language as a separate subject

www.peru.gob.pe; https://www.ethnologue.com/country/PE/