

Indian Language Policy And Creative Economy

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Abstract

This study is an attempt to analyze the nature and implications of the relationship between the English language and national development in the light of Indian Language Policy and the national economic development in the post-neoliberal economy. The analyses are foregrounded on Bourdieu's seminal work on the sociology and the economics of linguistic exchange called materiality of language: 'its exchange or currency value,' the post-colonial theory of 'appropriation,' and Kachruvian 'Indianization' of English. The conceptual framework informed by influential social science monographs, Richard Florida's *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002) and *The Flight of the Creative Class* (2007) provides background to the arguments found in the study. The core issue, How is the linguistic capital of Indian English realized in the language policy and practice? is analyzed, highlighting that Indian creative writers have appropriated and reconstituted the language of the 'centre' to remould it for capitalizing its currency in modern India. The study is directed to see whether there is a complementarity between English and the economic development and to attempt to arrive at policy recommendations that would democratize Indian language policy and practice.

Keywords: neoliberal economy, creative class, appropriation, policy democratization

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I. Introduction

It is quite unthinkable to think about Language Policy in isolation without analyzing its economic implications in the post-colonial countries (henceforth PCcs) during the era of Globalization. The countries, which were under colonization, have left to face with a fate of continuing the colonizer's legacy i.e. the language of the colonizer or to choose their own vernacular language. This dilemma of deciding between 'to continue' or 'to choose' implicates a lot for the political, sociocultural, and economic history of PCcs. Such 'dilemma story' is abundant throughout Asia, Africa, South America and Europe even in the twenty-first century. In Asia, India, a multilingual, multicultural and multireligious setting provides a case to study dimensions of such a 'dilemma' and its diverse implications. One such intriguing dimension is about the role of Language Policy in ensuring the national economic development. The issue of National Language Policy is particularly complicated in Post-colonial countries like India due to the challenges relating to the national identity formation, political consolidation and economic consideration. This study briefly surveys a history of Indian Language Policy seeking explanations and insights into the factors contributing to the process national economic development. It attempts to investigate the connections between English and economic development as these are promoted through the national language policy, by analysing the premium associated with English as immaterial value, which offers economic promises and prosperity in the neoliberal paradigm and how far the relationship is replicated in the Indian Language Policy Act 1963.

Historical Background: policy and (in) practice

I contextualize the thesis in the following section. The realization to rationally revisit Indian Language Policy dawned upon me as a result of chancing upon the advertisement signages that are created in *english* and displayed for the public in India. I cite, out of innumerable, two leading Multinational Corporation (MNCs) for the contextual relevance: Pepsi and Coca Cola. A Pepsi advertisement reads like this, "*Yeh Dil Maange More.*" It means 'the heart wants more.' The Coke advertisement is "*Life ho to aisi.*" It means, "Life should be like this". These two advertisements I cited raise a fundamental question: What is Indian Language Policy and how is it reflected in practice? I have this question raised for the reason that the Coke ad was made originally as "Ask for More" in straight English (Standard English). The reach was negligible and later it was changed into "*Life ho to aisi.*" It has a mass appeal as it reflects the existing 'linguistic ecology' of the plurilingual country. These two advertisements provoke me look into the issue of gap between the policy and practice. It makes me wonder at

Indianization of English through code-meshing or mixing in practice as it reflects the linguistic ecology of language practice. As I am chanced upon the cleavage between them, I am eager to dig deeper to find out a different kind of 'dilemma' story which I believe to have been persisting as unnoticeable or unresolvable in the Policy Act. In the following sections, I attempt to look for the historic, cultural and economic forces and factors that led to the crevice between policy and practice.

Historically, English is one of the legacies the British has left behind India. It has become rooted deep without the British intending to leave this heritage. In pre-independent period, English was instrumental in serving the British Raj; in Post-independent India, it has become one of the Indian languages. The contact of English with the vernacular languages over four hundred and sixteen years brought forth a new variety called Indian English. For Crystal, English in India has a very special position, probably outranking the combined total speakers in the USA and UK (Crystal, 2003). There are about 350 million, equals to the total population of UK, USA, Australia, and New Zealand. India has had a longer exposure to English than any other country where English is a Second language. (Crystal, 2013). In (2012) Crystal states "India currently has a special in the English language record books –as the country with the largest English speaking population in the World". What does it mean to be housing more English speakers in the 'World?' This massification of English speaking community defines the way Indian economy surfaces in the post Neoliberal economy.

Culturally, there is an extraordinary belief, among almost all castes and classes, in both rural and urban areas, in the transformative power of English throughout India. English is seen not just as a useful skill, but as a symbol of better life, a pathway out of poverty and oppression. Aspiration of such magnitude is a heavy burden for any language, and for those who have responsibility for teaching it, to bear. The challenges of providing universal access to English are significant, and many are bound to feel frustrated at the speed of progress. But we cannot ignore the way that the English language has emerged as a powerful socio-economic agent of change in India. (Graddol 2010:120) English as a global language has implications at social and economic levels, in particular at national development. English is the gatekeeper to higher education and all the scientific, technological and medical advancements. The skills in English have been viewed as the fundamental elements required for global participation in 21st century. It is a resource that is believed to influence the socio-economic mobility of an individual and a population, through access to education in English and employment. It is obvious in the Outer Circle countries that English is predominantly used in the key domains such as education, law, management and media. English has been recognized as the language of importance in the dominant domains is one of the fascinations for the study. English is believed to be a 'cultural capital' – a resource fundamental for the national upliftment, it has been given increasing prominence in not only in education but in all domains. This expanding significance is evident as the Expanding circles countries too expand its domains for English since the dawn of Neoliberal economy for participating and interacting with countries at the global level. This trend has been on-track where English has been introduced as a language of governance, resulting in "attracting foreign investment and participating in the global economy" (Erling, 2013:3). Given the trends in the increasing use of English in a range of domains along with the belief that English has potential to improve personal and national prospects, the section that follows explores and documents how English is valued in India. The growth of Indian economy owes to English and subsequently to the evolution of Indian English. I will return to this complementarity and their contribution for progress in the latter section.

The question of English and development needs to be considered "within the global and local structures of neoliberalism" (Erling, 2013 citing Pennycook). Now, I need to turn to the contexts which have capitalized English in Globalization and neoliberal economy.

Globally, no other political and economic trend had brought out a revolutionary turn in the production and consumption than globalization. Globalization is, according to Appadurai, "world interconnectedness" (Powell, 2011). While commenting on the cultural capital, Appadurai (1995) projects that many changes were informed by changes in global capital and the cultural flow. Jürgen Habermas's study emphasizes that, "the consumption of culture also enters the service of economic and political propaganda" (5). The term 'consumption' defined by Appadurai as '*the work of imagination*' (italics added) is an activity that simultaneously captures the distinctive disciplines of modernity and draws attention to new forms of expressions of sociocultural capital. This changing-middle class is the social basis for public culture formations, that is to say, the capacity to afford the change in the consumer market (Mudimbe-boyi, 2002). Appadurai refers to them as the 'expert', and who Adorno would call a 'stylemaker' whose function in the increasingly open global marketplace is to legitimate artefacts aesthetic and cultural with the stamp of authenticity (Toor, 2000). Globalization has become a defining marker of the twenty-first century, as a new structure of feeling (Williams 1979). Such phenomenon as the movement of global capitalism, the transnational corporation and the new division of labour, the power of information technologies, the end of the cold war, the undermining of the nation-states, the resilience of nation-states, decolonization, feminist and ecological movements, global entertainment, and the rise of newer forms of imagination are central to this new structure of cultural capital. A new world of cultural products and national representation, which is simultaneously becoming more globalized and more localized as capitalism moves across

borders, is producing coalitions and resistances in everyday life. The interface of global forces, images, codes, sites, and technologies of transnationalization with those of local communities, tactics, and symbolic strategies confronts and challenges them in the production of locality (Dissanayake, 2006). What is interesting about the interplay between the global and the local is that both are in a constant process of interaction and evolution, new creation, one feeding into the other. We have begun to notice the hybrid spaces in the work of arts in recent times is a new currency in the changing economy. The interaction between the local and the global informs to experience the 'good news.' Consequently, the trope for understanding globalization has changed from penetration to circulation. The idea of penetration of capitalism was widely used by those who embraced Marxist theory. This theory, pointed to the complex ways in which various institutions and ideas travel across the globe begins to influence life in various locations. The notion of penetration, with its suggestions of coercion and force and the willful imposition of the interests of the powerful onto the less powerful, has been supplanted by the trope of circulation. In a word, the focus is now on supposedly free and equal exchange. This trope seems to signal the collapsing of hegemonic divisions of nations, races, cultures, and languages and the ascendancy of freedom, mobility, and cultures in dialogue and hybridity. In other words, it signals the 'homogenization' of the World through one global culture (Americanization) and one global language (English).

Economically, the issue of development is shrouded in political and economic ideology: Neoliberalism. As a free-market, which has been in service since its emergence in the 1960s, David Harvey defines it as "a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices" (Henry, 2015). Neoliberalism reiterates that the social and material interests of the citizens would be better served if they were left free to flourish in the market 'prompted by the profit motive to supply essential services.' It lays emphasis on the merit of unrestrained individualistic economic endeavours, independent of state interference. It aims at deregulating national economies, liberalizing international trade, and creating a single global market. The neoliberal market economy primarily focuses on economic growth and profit (Ram, 2012). As an economic agenda, it promotes market principle over reliance on government; it privileges the privatisation of property and of the public institutions, a free market devoid of any regulations and tariff of the state. In his *The Rise and Fall of Neoliberal Capitalism* (2015), Kotz draws attention to more open global economy that emerged after the collapse of the Bretton Woods system in 1973, the shift toward a conservative interpretation of the role of government, the erosion of collective bargaining and incessant attack on labour unions, and the increasingly competitive environment confronting corporations in the marketplace, as well as within their administrative structures (Toruño, 2015). As a political agenda, the state tries its level best to withdraw from interventionist and welfarist model towards an accumulation of global capital more reliant on privatization. As a pedagogical model, it creates specific neoliberal subjects, modelled after the social Darwinism- the theory promoted by Henry Spencer that socially most fit would succeed in society - creating only the selfish individuals (Turner, 2015). It is true that English has been one such post colonial invention that it has come to be used as the 'partition wall' between the rich and the poor across India.

Critical positions on English language policy

Many developing countries including India believe that English as a lingua franca (Seidlhofer, 2015; Jenkins, 2007) serves many domains such as law education, media and business at the global level. English has been a language which intensifies "worldwide the social relations" (Block, 2008). English has, of late, become the language of international communication and interactions, and the language of "Internet communication" (Crystal, 2011). It is, for many, a global language (Crystal, 2013). As a result, there has been an increasing stress on the importance of English as well as the prominence of English language education being highlighted in a growing body of research in the field of English and development. Research by Ku and Zussman in 2010 provides evidence that in a survey of 100 countries where English is not the native language, English language skills could be seen as "enabling the promotion of foreign trade" (Erling, 2013). They argue that English proficiency has a "strong and statistically significant effect on bilateral trade." Euromonitor research (2010, 2012) created a scoring system for each country's economic and education system in order to determine the relation between the two. It concludes that "English is seen as a key competitive advantage in a difficult employment environment means." (Erling, 2013). It means that there is a high premium attached to English in the countries. This is the case with the Middle East and African countries that were seeking economic and better standard of living improved the English skills of their populations. Erling and Sergeant (2013) state that English language skills are essential part of achieving growth, "which will give domestic companies a competitive edge in the global economy as well attract investment abroad" (5). These studies show the economic values associated with the English language education. Let me cite a few studies, which are critical of the claim made in these literatures. One such is a study by Levingson (2007) that English opened up international market to South Africa from 1993 - 2000, but the beneficiaries are the English. This study highlights that English may not bring an equal 'capital' to all ethnic groups. Another

landmark survey by Azam and Prakash (2010) who used the India Human Development Survey 2005 to verify the value of English speaking and wages. The result show that fluent in English increases the hourly wage of men by 34% and simply be able to speak English increases men's hourly wage by 13%. However, their findings show that the returns to English were very low for women and members from the Scheduled caste-the economically and socially disadvantaged community in India. Rassool (2007) study show that language policy of Africa and Indian subcontinent during the 19th century has contributed to the "underdevelopment of these nations and their local languages. Dijite (2008) study reiterates that more African languages have to participate, if economic growth and stability is to be achieved.

Another dimension of understanding relationship between English and development is to look at the ELT industries. Brock-Utne (2000) critiques that English for development privileges Western languages and practices. She states that "donor agencies have been so concerned with supporting international languages that they have hampered educational development, destroyed local textbook production in indigenous languages and weakened local cultures" (Erling, 2013 citing from Crossley & Watson, 2003:87). The most noteworthy study highlighting the ELT project as a form of linguistic imperialism is Phillipson's *Linguistic Imperialism* (1992). His work is the most prominent example of scholarship in sociolinguistics that investigates the effects of language policies and educational practices involving English as an imperial and hegemonic force in terms of the damage caused to other languages and cultures. He argues that English has grown at the cost of the local languages in the imperial colonies and also of neoliberal economy. He describes that "English might be more accurately described as a *lingua economica*" in business and media, the language of neoliberalism (Phillipson, 2008). He labels "English as a *lingua frankensteinia*" (Phillipson, 2008). He explains "Frankenstein ... is the person who created the monster rather than the monster itself" (p.251) which implies the ultimate dominance of the English language over 'others' languages which poses more endangered situation on the global stage. This "linguistic imperialism results in *linguicide* or *linguistic genocide*," (Skutnabb, 2000). Linguicism is defined as "ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language" (Skutnabb, 2000). Similarly, Pennycook (1994) has written extensively on the myth of English as an international language, arguing that the myths of global spread of English as natural (having evolved into the global language without overt political action), neutral (as disconnected to social, economic, and political concerns), and beneficial (as being inherently beneficial to all that learn and use it) are untenable. He argues that "the widespread introduction of English into primary sectors around the world could lead to amelioration of poverty" (Erling, 2013 citing Pennycook, 2007). In his preface to *English and Development* (2013), Pennycook reviews Brothiaux (2002) that "English language education is 'an outlandish irrelevance' and 'talk of a role for English language education in facilitating the process of poverty reduction and a major allocation of public resources to that end is likely to prove misguided and wasteful'" (citing pp.299-3). Here it is apt to cite the lamentation of Tupas (2015), that "we have been seduced into celebrating our victories over English but forgetting the massive inequities sustained and perpetuated by the unbridled dominance of English today." (p.2) Canagarajah (1999) argues that English imperialism is an example of linguicism that the English language through hegemony has created inequalities. Therefore, the dominance of English is not only the effect of the 'economic inequalities' but also the reason for them. To summarize its implications in short, the dominance of English is not only the effect for the 'economic inequalities' but also the reason for them.

English and development discourse

India has internalized a colonial hegemonic consciousness and assimilated aspects of the dominant colonial culture. One example is its continued use of English and how the indigenous ways of speaking, ways of knowing, and ways of doing in across India were eroded. This is best described as the shaping of the "colonial habitus" (Rassool et. al. 2007). In the words of Franz Fanon (1967),

Every colonised people – every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality, finds itself face to face with the language of the civilized nation, that is, with the culture of the mother country. The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards. (18)

It is in this construction, the colonial mother tongue becomes a benchmark in appreciating the cultural and creative standards of the colonized. In most of the postcolonial contexts, a high value is attached to English despite the rhetoric raised for the formation of nationhood and national language in the immediate decolonization mood and mode. To cite a few countries, where English is as a second language and has some official functions as a language of government, media, judicial and educational systems: Bangladesh, Botswana, Brunei, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gambia, Ghana, India, Israel, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritius, Myanmar, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sierra Leone, Singapore, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Tonga, Uganda, Western Samoa, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. (Hall, 2000 citing McCallen, 1989: 7–9; Crystal, 1997: 55–60). Another valid reason for retaining

English in post-colonial countries is that “the drive for rapid economic growth and social modernization provided the main rationale for retaining English in education, over and above the development and mainstreaming of vernacular languages” (Erling, 2013:53). It presents the fact that whether countries around the world like it or not, the spread of English is unprecedented event in the contemporary human history that it has become the language of globalization and world economic order. Taking in to account the value of English, many nations have recognized the growing importance of English in not only the personal and sociocultural mobility, but also the resulting impact and growth of national economy as well.

English is considered a symbol of modernization, a key to expanded functional roles, and an extra arm for success and mobility in culturally and linguistically complex and pluralistic societies... it internationalizes one’s outlook... knowing English is like possessing the fabled Aladdin’s lamp, which permits to open, as it were, the linguistic gates to international business, technology, science and travel. In short English provides *linguistic power*. (Kachru, 1986) (Italics added)

It provides a space for the periphery community to seek out social and economic mobility amidst emerging linguistic - hierarchy. “So while English is a despicable “killer language” for some, it is “associated with universalism, liberalism, secularism and internationalization for others” (Schneider, 2007 citing Kachru 1992:11). This paper argues for the position that while looking at English as the “killer language,” for many linguists, I look at English as a “linguistic power” (Kachru, 1986) for socio-economic empowerment of India. Let me explain further how English is transformed from a Postcolonial legacy to transnational currency in the following subsection.

The Language policy Act will be discussed in detail in the subsequent sections.

Revisiting Language Policy Constructs

Let me turn to the issue briefly of which language gets ‘marketed’ through the national language policy and the reasons to get marketed. A language chosen to be ‘marketed’ as powerful only through national language planning and policy. The seriousness involved in the language planning and policy has been highlighted in many literatures. (Tollefson, 1991; Ricento, 2006; Spolsky, 2013). The status of language is determined by the so-called market value as a mode of communication and a “society’s linguistic culture” (Ricento, 2006 citing Harold Schiffman). As argued earlier language policy is associated with either power or empowerment. Tollefson explains that,

Language policy is a form of disciplinary power. Its success depends in part upon the ability of the state to structure into institutions of society, the differentiation of individuals into ‘insiders,’ and ‘outsider’.... To a large degree, this occurs through the close association between language and nationalism. By making language a mechanism for the expression of nationalism, the state can manipulate feelings of security and belonging... the state uses language policy to discipline and control its workers by establishing language based limitations on education, employment, and political participation. This is one sense in which language policy is inherently ideological. (Reagan, 2006 quoting Tollefson, 1991:207-8)

Revisiting Indian national language policy with the focus of the above mentioned quote will shed light on whether the National language policy was a ‘mechanism of education, and employment’ or can be used to maneuver economic security and stability. Let me briefly discuss the formation of language policy. The Indian constitution assembly was established on 9 December 1946, few months before the declaration of Independence in August 1947. One of the core discussions of the Constitution was over the issue of ‘national language’ specifically in which language the Constitution was to be written. Many Hindi speaking members from Hindi-speaking regions moved pro-Hindi movements and demanded that Hindi shall be the ‘sole’ national language of the Republic of India. On 10 December 1946, Dhulekar declared "People who do not know Hindustani have no right to stay in India. People who are present in the House to fashion a constitution for India and do not know Hindustani are not worthy to be members of this assembly. They had better leave” (Jayasundara, 2014). This pro-Hindi move as the national language was vehemently opposed by Parliamentarians from South India like T.T. Krishnamachari G. Durgabai, T.A. Ramalingam Chettiyar N.G.Ranga. Gopaldaswamy Ayyangar and S. V. Krishnamurthy Rao (Mysore) (Jayasundara, 2014). Of course, the ‘voice’ of opposition came only from non-Hindi speaking regions.

After three years of debate, the assembly arrived at a compromise at the end of 1949 that there will be no “National Language” but only the “Official Languages” of the Union. PART 17 of the Indian Constitution mentions that there is no mention of any ‘National’ language instead it defines only the ‘Official’ language Act. According to Article 343 Hindi in Devanagari (Indian alphabet) will be used as the Official language and Article 344 English will be the Associate official language of the Republic of India. The Constitution came into effect from January, 26, 1950. The other side of the coin is that Indian Constitution places a heavy premium on both language development and language survival. In other words, there is a constitutional provision for language rights that state shall adopt any language as its state official language. Part III of the Constitution defines language rights as fundamental rights – associating language rights to education as well- “All minorities, whether based on

religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.” Within two years in 1952, 15 major languages have been recognized and placed in Eighth Schedule² emphasizing that “they grow rapidly in richness and become effective means of communicating modern knowledge.”(Official Languages Resolution, 1968, para 2). In 1992, three more languages were recognized and 2002-2006 four more languages were added to the Eighth Schedule. The list of twenty Two Official (Scheduled Languages are; Assamese, Bengali, Bodo, Dogri, Gujarati, Hindi, Kashmiri, Kannada, Konkani, Maithili, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Santali, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu. Sanskrit and Tamil are assigned the status of Classical languages.

I like to highlight a few more issues that the Constitution of India was unclear about initially. Firstly, English would continue as the Associate official language for 15 years. The Language Commission will be convened thereafter, to see ways and means to promote Hindi as the sole official language and to decide upon the future of the English language. Secondly, Article 345 states that the official transaction between the Union and the states will be in the Official language and English will be used for all legal purposes - in court proceedings, bills, laws, rules and other regulations (Article 348). Thirdly, the Union was committed to promote the spread and usage of Hindi (Article 351). The point to learn here from the issues cited above is that gone are the days of post-colonial policies aiming for decolonization position and process. These policies openly show that English is inevitable for the global, cultural, economic interactions and participation and it has become a corner stone of nation building. From where has the revelation to accept the ‘colonizer’s mother tongue’ to be valued with the highest premium in India been emphasized? It is in the Indian National Language Policy!

Revolt for Linguistic autonomy and revival of English

The act of division of linguistic state is as historic as the independence of India as it assures linguistic independence to regional language communities. The issue of division of linguistic state became more controversy than the issue over the status of official language. By the end of the First World War, the Congress had committed itself to the creation of linguistic provinces. A consistent advocate of States based on language was Mahatma Gandhi. In 1918, when a proposal for linguistic re-distribution of India was turned down in the Imperial Legislative, Gandhi wrote consolingly to the man who moved the proposal: “Your idea is excellent but there is no possibility of its being carried out in the present atmosphere”. Three years later, he told the Home Rule League that “to ensure speedy attention to people’s needs and development of every component part of the nation”, they should “strive to bring about a linguistic division of India”. The proposal received criticism not less than from his political heir Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India. Nehru placed his arguments on the premises that the country had just been divided on the basis of religion: “would not dividing it further on the basis of language merely encourage the break-up of the Union? Why not keep intact the existing administrative units, such as Madras, which had within it communities of Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, and Konkani speakers, and Bombay, whose peoples spoke Marathi, Gujarati, Urdu, Sindhi, Gondi and other tongues? Would not such multi-lingual and multi-cultural states provide an exemplary training in harmonious living? And, in any case, should not the new nation unite on the secular ideals of peace, stability, and economic development, rather than revive primordial identities of caste and language?” (*The Hindu Sunday*, 2003). Gandhiji has had a sensible voice and clear vision over the issue. Five days before his assassination in a prayer meeting on January 25, 1948. “The Congress had decided some 20 years ago” Gandhiji recalled, “that there should be as many provinces in the country as there are major languages” (*The Hindu Sunday*, Mar 16, 2003). It must have been the ‘eureka’ moment for the linguistic minorities in the new born state. As a result the State Recognition Commission (SRC) was constituted to study the feasibility of linguistic division of states. The re-organization of states more or less on linguistic basis was established under the States Reorganization Act, 1956 and reinforces the legalization of regionalism in India’s legal and political system. There are four Articles in the Constitution of India which protect the rights of linguistic minorities, only one of which, however, specifically refers to mother language (Article 350A). Articles 29, 30, 350, which refers to “languages” confer broader rights upon linguistic minorities to preserve their “distinct language, script or culture” (Article 29), “to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice” (Article 30), and to submit representations for redress of grievances to any Central or State authority in any language (Article 350).

It may not be surprising to note reasons that led to the claim of linguistic division of states. The main reason is that the union’s failure to address the socio-economic mobility of most of the states after the Independence through equal allocation of funds. Bureaucrats, mainly from the National Capital Region (NCR), became narrow-minded and began to clamour for the progress of their own state or region. Mostly, the Hindi-speaking regions stood to gain progress and prosperity of the new statehood in all grounds. The broad principles enunciated by the State Reorganization Commission in creating linguistic States were the following: (i) to preserve the unity and integrity of the country; (ii) to maintain linguistic and cultural homogeneity; and (iii) financial, economic and administrative viability. In the following, the impact of division of linguistic states and the reconstitution of Official language act 1963 will be discussed.

No sooner did the 'emancipatory' move come to pass than there came an awkward moment for the linguistically divided new states. India constituted a committee in 1960 to promote Hindi as the sole official language. The Parliament enacted the Official Languages Act, 1963. Once again, Hindi was accepted as the official language and *English has been granted the status of Associate official language of India* for the indefinite time. To pacify those who were opposing Hindi as an official language as required under Article 343(2), the said Act provided that the English language may continue to be used in addition to Hindi even after January 26, 1965, i.e., after 15 years deadline, for all official purposes of the Union. In 1963, Three Language Formula was introduced, where a student graduates from high school shall have the command over the state, then Hindi and the English language (Mother Tongue + Hindi + English). The resurrection of English as an associate official language is not an accident. The Nehruvian government then on power was pro English, looking at English as an asset which can bring prospects and prosperity to the post-independent India, only when there is a constitutional provision or policy to acquire the knowledge of English. I like to call it 'an act of sanity' at the critical and crucial point where India's economic developmental plans and projects had to do with the international companies at the peak time of Capitalism.

The question of linguistic autonomy and the resurrection of the English language policy for indefinite time is of much relevant to the point of discussion as linguistically divided has developed 'a story of linguistic appropriation of English' only after this so called linguistic independence of India in 1963. It is clear by now that much attention is to be given to ensure that policy recommendations and planning interventions take account of a full range. How is that the English language policy discussed above was able to dream about the upcoming economic boom and social, cultural and creative capitals of English are realized? is a question to be answered empirically in the study. Therefore, the flowing section is heading towards the interdisciplinary perspective to explore and expand the scope of understanding the complexities involved in the relationship of the English language policy and economic development in India through theoretical and conceptual constructs.

Theoretical and conceptual framework

The study is anchored on Bourdieu's theory of materiality of language, post-colonial theory of appropriation, theory of Indianization of English, and Florida's theory of creative economy. Let me discuss the explanation and relevant application of the above-mentioned theories. English and development discourse analysis is foregrounded on Bourdieu's seminal work on the sociology and the economics of linguistic exchange. He argues that "the notion of capital accumulation in all its forms- represents the key organizing principle of society and culture." (Erling, 2013:48) He emphasizes both the materiality of language i.e its currency or exchange value and its symbolic power. Language represents an aspect of cultural capital which includes the skills, knowledge and qualifications to be exchanged in the labour market. The cultural capital is accumulated by an individual or a population over a period of time through policies and economic conditions. He positions that the accumulation of linguistic capital is in relation to the demands of linguistic markets. Bourdieu states that "different linguistic markets prevail in everyday life, each in turn, associated with specific social roles linked with both private and public spheres of interaction" (Erling, 2013 citing Bourdieu, 1986). The language associated with the public sphere is accorded with extra linguistic power, that is to say, it is hierarchically powerful. For instance, Hindi has been declared as the Official language of India, it means that linguistic power is accorded with it that it is primarily used in the public sphere. Those who are fluent in the official language is endowed with the linguistic power or capital within the national formal language. Therefore the linguistic exchanges reflect the power relation between and among the speakers. While this is the scenario at the nation-state level the power relation has gained in complexity where English has become one of the Official languages. Apart from the national status, English has become a potent linguistic capital in the global and neoliberal scenario through systematic and strategic valorization as a global language (Crystal, 2003) or lingua franca (Seidlhofer, 2011) So it goes without saying that there is a need to look into the political economy of English as it engages itself in the broader global context. Political economy refers to "the ways in which political and economic forces influence the choice of language policies" and its impact and implications in the social and economic mobility of a nation (Erling, 2013: 50) As it is implied here that language policy is be tuned not only to the interrelationship between the individual, communities at national level but also between and among international markets. It is all clear now that English has superseded in its statuesque it has not only acquired the state of national but the global linguistic capital. This argument is relevant to the focus of the present study as it analyses the *linguistic capital* in the contemporary neoliberal India which has colonial ties with the Britain and global markets where English is given much premium.

Secondly, as the study undertaken focuses on the post-colonial setting, the discussion on the theory of appropriation is appropriate. In *The Empire Writes Back*, Ashcroft et. al. (2003) describe the function of language as a medium of power that the post-colonial writers "seize the language of the centre and replace it in a discourse fully adapted to the colonized space."(38) There are two processes defined in the work: abrogation and appropriation. The first means "the denial of the privilege of English." In other words, a refusal of the categories of the imperial culture, its aesthetic, its illusory standard of normative or 'correct' usage, and its assumption of a

traditional and fixed meaning 'inscribed' in the words. Latter means "the process of capturing and remoulding the language to *new usages* (my emphasis), marks a separation from the site of colonial privilege." It is a process by which English is adopted to express cultural experiences. Among the three linguistic groups, monoglossic, diglossic and polyglossic, India falls under the 'diglossic paradigm. It means that English has been adopted as language of governance and commerce in multilingual contexts. Among many, the literary use of English expresses very explicit form of language appropriation. I here narrow down to my discussion of appropriation to the literary production. I quote Chinua Achebe's classic statement on appropriation,

My answer to the question, Can an African ever learn English well enough to be able to use it effectively in creative writing? Is certainly yes. If on the other hand, you ask: Can he ever learn to use it like a native speaker? I should say: I hope not. It is neither necessary nor desirable for him to be able to do so. The price a world language must be prepared to pay is submission to many different kinds of use. (Preece, 2016 citing Achebe, 1965:21).

To quote C.D. Narasimhaiah, "English is not a pure language but a fascinating combination of tongues welded into a fresh unity" (Ashcroft, 2003). One of the ways to show appropriated English is to reflect the way as used in post-colonial social contexts and to contrast it with the way it is used in reality in the centre. By showing that the creative writers are able to demonstrate that they are able to exhibit the appropriation through the distinctive linguistic features in their literary expressions. Glossing is another linguistic aspect of appropriating the code. The cultural sign is parenthetically translated into English as to allow the 'referent to accord meaning to the English word in parenthesis, *veedu* (house). It is another way othering the monolingual-oriented readers. The technique of selective lexical fidelity where some words are used without their translation reflects the linguistic reality of community. For instance, 'the *mangalyam* is blessed by the elders of the family' showcases the issue that it is culturally untranslatable and even if there is an equivalent, it cannot capitulate its true sense. Another way of appropriating English is through the syntactic fusion where the linguistic structures of two or more language systems are meshed to capture the cultural essence. One very specific form of syntactic meshing is use of neologisms in literary texts. The successful creation of new lexical forms generated by the linguistic structures of vernacular languages is more for their functional use within the text than to prove their linguistic newness. One example to cite is a compound word created by the Bengali poet Sri Chinmoy: 'purity-heart' (Ashcroft, 2002 citing 1978:279). By appropriating English, the dominant 'standard' English code is replaced by a marginal code. It reverses the paradigm of 'centre' and 'periphery'(56). To quote more, literary writers like Rushdie, Roy, Desai and Adiga were able to appropriate and transform and domesticate the 'coloniser's language into a language of their own. As a result of their hybridization, their texts have become a unique semiotic-code reflecting the distinctiveness of Indian English and exemplifying Indian sense and sensibility. Linguistic appropriation is one of the most relevant post-colonial theories on language that helps to understand the ways and means by which English has accrued its 'capital' through appropriation. Application of literary appropriation will be discussed in detail in the section that surveys Indian creative capital.

In the same line, the study draws on the theory of Indianization of English based on Kachru's examination of the linguistic aspects of the English language in India with special reference to his contextualization, Indianness and lexical innovations. "The Indianization of the English language is a consequence of what linguists have traditionally termed interference" (1983:1) is linguistically a revolutionary statement made by Kachru against the so called ELT establishments of the West. The process of indianization of English has set in ever since the arrival of the merchants and missionaries from the United Kingdom. Another Indian novelist Raja Rao writes, "As long as we are Indian - that is not nationalists, but truly Indians of the Indian psyche - we shall have the English language with us and amongst us, and not as guest or friend, but as one of our own, of our caste, our creed, our sect and of our tradition" (Kachru, 1983:2 citing Rao). In *Step Across This Line*, Rushdie states, "English has become an Indian language. Its colonial origins mean that, like Urdu and unlike all other Indian languages, it has no regional base; but in all other ways, it has emphatically come to stay" (149). It asserts the fact that English has become a language of India like any other vernacular language. Kachru opines, "Indianisms in Indian English are, then, linguistic manifestations of pragmatic needs for appropriate language use in a new linguistic and cultural context" (1983:2). The concern here is the outcome of the typical linguistic and contextual characteristics of the Indianization of English. He states that "the non-native varieties of English share a number of processes marking their non-nativeness in grammar, vocabulary and the use of rhetorical devices in various functional styles" (1983: 12). Kachru's 'transfer of context' makes a mention that the culture (C_1) of L_1 users can be transferred into L_2 and in the process L_2 gets Indianized.

The concept of nativization is another way of accruing the 'capital' of Indian English. Indian multilingual contexts provide the Indian novelists (user) to use linguistic resources from various verbal repertoire. Their ability to code switch and tranlanguage from the verbal and cultural repertoire influences the making of text. As a result, texts are nativized — given their regional, national and local characters —by the appeal to such 'multinorms of styles and strategies' in each 'distinct context of situation' (Y. Kachru, 2006 citing Kachru p. 164). Y. Kachru outlines that "any text must bring into account its context of setting- place, time and participants." The readers from outside of the culture of situation strive to find out the contextual meaning as they lack the linguistic and

cultural resources. If the text refuses to make any sense, the text is limited, and on the other hand, it rewards them with meaning if extended. Y. Kachru lists out various features that mark the text contextually functional. Firstly rhetorical devices such as, figures of speech are salient features of text-nativization. Secondly, the speech interactions are contextualized and authenticated. Thirdly, transcreating 'idioms and proverbs.' Fourthly 'culturally dependent speech styles'. Finally 'use of selected syntactic structures' can make a text culturally different in a context. This concept is relevant to the study as this looks into the process of how linguistic features such as, lexemes, idiomatic expressions are contextualized in the texts in Indian contexts. As the study has been informed by the above mentioned theories, it exemplifies the conditions that led English to acquire the current 'capital' empirically in the creative economy paradigm.

Creative Economy

This part of the essay will clarify the constructs of creative economy in terms of its relation to "linguistic capital" of Indian creative literary production. The entry of neoliberal market economy in the 1980s has created a class of people who could afford to engage themselves in leisure and art, either in production or in consumption. This emerging 'new class' of neoliberal market economy redefines the way 'market' and class has been defined in the capitalism. The modern economists call it the 'Creative Economy.' The creative economy big exponents are John Hawkins, Charles Landry and Richard Florida. The term "creative economy" was popularized by the British writer and media manager John Howkins 2001(UN report 2013:19). According to Hawkins, creativity by itself has no economic value until it takes shapes, means something and is embodied in a product that can be traded. A creative product is an economic good, service or experience resulting from creativity whose main economic value is based on creativity" (Hawkins, 2013). To define, what is creative economy?, Florida calls, "today's economy is fundamentally a Creative Economy," (Florida, 44) as opposed to the most noted exponent Peter Drucker's 'knowledge economy.' In creative economy, knowledge and information are the capital, and innovation is the product of creative economy.

Drawing on Florida's idea of 'creative economy,' Brouillette's (2014) work, titled, *Literature and Creative Economy* (2014) explains the application of creative economy in interpreting the work of art and how creative economy redefines the formation (creation), production, circulation, reception and consumption of creative works. She reports that UNECSO's Creative Cities Network, such as, Cities of Literature, Cities of Film, Cities of Music, showcases that it is interested to "help unlock the creative, social and economic potential of cultural industries" (Brouillette, 2014). The modern governance has started to notice the economic restructuring of modern world realising that there is a close bond between the cultural, social and economic aspects and the creativity paradigm. In the UN report (2008) on the Creative economy, it positions that "the creative economy has the potential to generate income and jobs while promoting social inclusion, cultural diversity and human development." The British Council labels it as the 'cultural industries' with cultural capital. One could begin to see the argument that the exposure to cultural capital is the pathway to social inclusion, the use of presence of culture and institutions to increase the property values, encouraging cultural diversity as a means of improving cultural economy and fostering an inclusive society of cultural consumers. In other words, Creative economy values the economic value of culture and art and their role in nation-branding and nation-building process. The perspective that centres on the interplay between culture and economy has been expressed in the notion of 'cultural economy.' One of her claims is that the creative economy dovetails closely with neoliberalism-a set of values valorising the private property and free market. The fundamental belief is that culture as a symbiosis of social and cultural order will promote individual and collective interests. In the path breaking model, Florida's *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002) argues that the work of the creative class is to render ideas amendable to market circulation. He explains that "true creativity is indivisible from marketability" (Brouillette, 6). The economic growth of a community is determined by its creative potential. The human creativity has many forms and dimensions: economic creativity, aesthetic creativity, political creativity, cultural creativity, educational creativity and so on. He foregrounds his argument on the economic stability of the countries around the world, such as, Athens, Florence, Paris, New York and so on. Their economic attainment and flourishing is based on creativity. Growth stems only from the creativity. The creative impulse-the attribute that distinguishes us, as humans, from other species determines the economic attainment. One cannot deny the fact that the economic growth of a nation is determined by its creativity. The critical thing in the modern economy is that we need to harness the creativity of every individual in a society. Defining the role the class plays as 'creator of meaningful new forms' (68) he distinguishes two categories of creative class: the 'Super Creative Core' includes scientists and engineers, university professors, poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers and architects, nonfiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts and opinion makers'(69); the second category, 'Creative class' includes high-tech sectors, financial services, the legal and health care professionals and business management. UN report endorses that under the concentric model, literature, music, performing, arts, visual arts form the 'core creative arts (22). The theory of 'human capital' argues that the regional and national economic growth is determined by not reducing the costs of doing business, "but in endowments of highly educated and

productive people” (221). It is quite revealing that it is mostly the artistic and talented creative class only define the major stake of national economy. He cites an illustration that, 30% of US employed belong to the creative class includes- science and engineering, architecture and design, arts, music and entertainment- whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology and or new creative content (8). It also facilitates cross-fertilisation among these contents or forms as is the experience of the publishing and media productions. This class of people –who he defines as the ‘creative class’ whose role adds economy to their creativity.

Florida’s second book, *The Flight of the Creative Class* (2007) offers some insights into the creative class and global creativity. Sweden, Japan, Finland occupy the first three rankings in the global creativity index. India scores 41st place globally taking into account three parameters: the Talent index, the Technology index and the Tolerance index. As per the interpretation of the index, the key to economic success is ‘only’ the creative class. The creative class represented by the literary production is one of the factors in determining the economic flow and prosperity of a nation. Florida’s work exemplifies that economy thrives in neoliberalism because of the aesthetic expression of artists. Artistic expression has been caught up in between aesthetics and commerce, self-expression and conformity. Florida in 2006, while addressing in Austin 360 submit said, “Creativity is multidimensional. One cannot have high-tech innovation without art and music. All forms of creativity feed off each other” is the foundational argument of his study found to be compelling.

The most interesting thing about the creativity is that it does not define human being on the basis of social categories. Every human being is creative (Florida, 2007) and it is not limited to only a handful of superhuman being. He states that the greatest challenge in the new era will be to “spark and stoke the creative furnace inside every human being.” This central thesis promises that the creative class is a class where no class hierarchy and social status prevails. It defies gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation and physical appearance. He does not see the present economy as ‘information society,’ ‘high-tech economy,’ ‘knowledge workers,’ and so on. In *The Flight of Creative Class* (2007), Florida provides statistical description of the creative class. Based on International Labour Organisation statistics, the creative class accounts for more than 30 percent of the workforce in Ireland 34%, Belgium 30% and Australia 30%. For between 25% and 30% the countries include the Netherlands 29.5%, New Zealand 27%, Estonia 26% the UK and the USA 26% (Florida, 2007:137). These statistics throw light on the present study that economic transformation – the shift from the industrial to the creative economy is a dynamic process. Nations with strong creative capital such as, literary production, film production and fashion technology enjoy a considerable advantage in generating new ‘commercial products’ new wealth, new job. It is also closely related to the R&D investment which in turn creates the creative class. As per the 2004 Economist magazine Survey, in the leading countries for the global R & D investment, China ranked first, USA second and India third, (Florida, 2007:140). What does say about the economic prospects? It means that it has implications on the prospects of creative capital of a nation. As per the Global Creativity Index, based on the 3Ts of economic growth namely, Technology, Talent and Tolerance, Sweden tops the list, followed by Japan and Finland. The USA ranks fourth, China 36th and India 41st place, Economic experts perceive that China and India 36th and 41st place will move forward respectively in the Global Creativity Index. Though the hosting countries like Finland, Sweden, the Netherland, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand that have already built dynamic creative climates, investing in talent leveraging technology and increasing their effort and ability to attract talent form around the world (Florida, 2007:155). When we look at the literary production and reception of 1980s and 90s, based on the creative index, one could know not only the impact of creativity on society, but also its impact of economic flow on the production and reception of literary works. Therefore, the economic success of a nation is determined by the creative class and its capacity. This emerging ‘creative capital’ is dominating all spheres of human endeavours and changing the way the global economy in a fundamental way. The section that follows will analyse the “linguistic capital” of English in India in the field of creativity with the critical lens of creative economy paradigm.

Indian Creative (linguistic) Capital: a critical evaluation

It is quite essential to know that the trend of creative writing has long been nourished by various facts and factors in the relatively short but highly charged history. In 1793, Sake Dean Mahomed wrote the first book, called *The Travels of Dean Mahomed*. Earlier Indian writing in English was non-fictional work, such as biographies and political essays. This began to change in the late 1800s, when Indian authors who wrote mostly in their mother tongue, began to try their hand at writing in English (Ray, 2008). In 1913, Rabindranath Tagore awarded the Nobel Prize for literature for his work *Gitanjali* in English “because of his profoundly sensitive, fresh and beautiful verse, by which, with consummate skill, he has made his poetic thought, expressed in his own English words, a part of the literature of the West” (Noble foundation). Starting in 1917 Dhan Gopal Mukherji wrote many children’s stories that were set in India. He was awarded the Newbery medal in 1928 for *Gay Neck*, the Story of a Pigeon. Soon after, a new generation of Indian authors, hit the bookshelves, beginning in 1935 with R.K. Narayan’s *Swami and Friends* and Mulk Raj Anand’s *Untouchable*. Raja Rao’s *Kanthapura*. Their works were the forerunners to the magnificent diversity of Indian writing in English that we see today.

The triumphalist literary arrival of Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* in 1981 illuminates the relationship between the literary production and the emergent Indian creative economy. The arrival of *Midnight's Children* and followed by his fame and fortune was 'a new phenomenon' to the publishers, critics and readers. Given the fact that Rushdie's launch in 1981 has received controversies in abundance, one cannot set aside the 'rich'ness it has brought to the creative capital of India. But the 'value of creative capital'— his phenomenon has never been discussed and highlighted in the scholarly tradition of criticism. First published in 1980, *Midnight's Children* went on to win the Man Booker Prize in 1981 and the even more distinguished James Tait Black Prize and in 1993, was awarded the Best 'Booker of Bookers', the Best Booker Prize winner of the last quarter century, and in 2008, the Best Booker of the last forty years. Clark Blaise of *The New York Times Book Review* writes, "at last the literary continent (India) has discovered its voice (Huggan 2001 quoting Balise 1981:23).

The post-Rushdie generation 'spell' was something magical and mysterious. Mishra "Rushdie" (Rothstein, *The New York Times*, 2000). In the first scale one can measure the mushrooming of creative or literary writers in English emerging during the 80s, 90s and 20s —the decades that have witnessed 'Super Creative core' Indian English writers. The generation is often called "Midnight's Grandchildren" in homage to Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*. This lineage comprises such well-known names as, Vikram Seth, Rohinton Mistry, Nayantara Sahgal, Shashi Tharoor, Allan Sealy, Farruk Dhondy, Amitav Ghosh, Bapsi Sidhwa and Shashi Deshpande, grouped under the category "Rushdie's children" (Pilapitiya, 2008). Certainly it is true that few Indian novels who appeared after 1981 have not escaped comparison with Rushdie's. The much-hyped publication of Vikram Seth's novel, *A Suitable Boy* (1993) was no exception. It was in 1999, that the magic wand of Rushdie fell on Arundhati Roy's *The God of Small Things*, sold nearly three million copies worldwide and won the prestigious The Man Booker Prize in Britain. Jhumpa Lahiri's *Interpreter of Maladies* is a book collection of nine short stories published in 1999. It won the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction and the Hemingway Foundation PEN Award in the year 2000 and has sold over 15 million copies worldwide. Kiran Desai won praise for her first novel, *Hullabaloo in the Guava Orchard* (1998). Her novel *The Inheritance of Loss* won the 2006 Man Booker Prize and the National Book Critics Circle Fiction Award. Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger* was awarded the Booker Prize in 2008.

After the first wave of success, India witnessed a steady flourishing of creative class' and its creative production. For instance, Raj Kamal Jha's first novel, *The Blue Bedspread*, (2001) has received strong reviews and an advance more than \$275,000. Amit Chaudhuri, was awarded the Sahitya Akademi Award, India's highest literary honour, in 2002 for his novel *A New World*, whose writing has been described by Rushdie as "languorous, elliptical, beautiful". (Rothstein, *The New York Times*, 2000). Followed by Shashi Tharoor's *Riot: A Love Story* (2001), Githa Hariharan's *In Times of Siege* (2003), Jhumpa Lahiri's *The Namesake* (2003), Salman Rushdie's *Shalimar the Clown* (2005), Kiran Desai's *The Inheritance of Loss* (2006), Shiv K. Kumar's *Two Mirrors at the Ashram* (2006), Shashi Deshpande's *In the Country of Deceit* (2008), Manju Kapur's *The Immigrant* (2008), Amitav Ghosh's *Sea of Poppies* —shortlisted for the Booker (2008), Khushwant Singh's *The Sunset Club* (2009), Amit Chaudhuri's *The Immortals* (2009), Tabish Khair's *The Thing about Thugs* (2009) and *How to Fight Islamist Terror from Missionary Position* (2012), Manu Joseph's *Serious Men* (2010), Upamanyu Chatterjee's *Way to Go* (2010), Amitav Ghosh's *River of Smoke* (2011), Tarun Tejpal's *The Valley of Masks* (2011), Rahul Bhattacharya's *The Sly Company of People Who Care* (2011), Kunal Basu's *The Yellow Emperor's Cure* (2011), Hari Kunzru's *Gods without Men* (2011), Cyrus Mistry's *Chronicle of a Corpse Bearer* (2012), (Singh, 2013). Akhil Sharma, was awarded the Folio Prize 2015, worth £40,000 for his second novel, *Family Life*. Sunjeev Sahota's *The Year of the Runaways* (2015) was shortlisted for the Booker.

The following Indian writers serve as literary markers in Fiction, Poetry and Drama in the post independent neoliberal India. These works have been recognised as World Literature. Agha Shahid Ali, *The Veiled Suite: Collected Poems* (Penguin, 2009), Sarnath Banerjee, *Corridor* (Penguin, 2004), Samit Basu, *The GameWorld Trilogy: The Simoqin Prophecies, The Manticore's Secret, The Unwaba Revelations* (Penguin, 2004–7), Upamanyu Chatterjee, *English, August* (Faber & Faber, 1988), Vikram Chandra, *Red Earth and Pouring Rain* (Faber & Faber, 1995), Amit Chaudhuri, *A Strange and Sublime Address* (Vintage, 1999), Chandrabhas Choudhury, *Arzee the Dwarf* (HarperCollins, 2009), Keki Daruwalla, *Collected Poems 1970–2005* (Penguin, 2006), Rana Dasgupta, *Solo* (HarperCollins, 2009), Mahesh Dattani, *Collected Plays, 2 vols.* (Penguin, 2000), Siddhartha Deb, *The Point of Return* (Picador, 2002), Anita Desai, *In Custody* (Harper & Row, 1984), Shashi Deshpande, *Collected Stories, 2 vols.* (Penguin, 2003–4), Amitav Ghosh, *The Circle of Reason* (Viking, 1986) Sunetra Gupta, *The Glassblower's Breath* (Orion, 1993), Indrajit Hazra, *The Burnt Forehead of Max Saul* (Ravi Dayal, 2000), Manju Kapur, *Difficult Daughters* (Faber & Faber, 1998), Mukul Kesavan, *Looking Through Glass* (Ravi Dayal, 1995), Arun Kolatkar, *Jejuri* (Pras Prakashan & NYRB Classics, 1976/2006), Jayanta Mahapatra, *The Lie of Dawns: Poems 1974–2008* (AuthorsPress, 2009), Rohinton Mistry, *Such a Long Journey* (Faber & Faber, 1991), Dom Moraes, *Collected Poems 1954–2004* (Penguin, 2004), Bharati Mukherjee, *The Middleman and Other Stories* (Ballantine, 1988), A. K. Ramanujan, *The Collected Poems* (Oxford, 1995), Anuradha Roy, *An Atlas of Impossible Longing* (Picador, 2008), Sudeep Sen, *Postmarked India: New and Selected Poems*, (HarperCollins,

1997), Vikram Seth, *The Golden Gate* (Faber & Faber, 1986), Khushwant Singh, *Train to Pakistan* (Grove/Roli, 1956/2006), Tarun J. Tejpal, *The Alchemy of Desire* (Picador, 2005), and Shashi Tharoor, *The Great Indian Novel* (Penguin, 1989).

After the first wave of success, India witnessed a steady flourishing of creative class' and its creative production. For instance, Raj Kamal Jha's first novel, *The Blue Bedsread*, (2001) has received strong reviews and an advance more than \$275,000. Amit Chaudhuri, was awarded the Sahitya Akademi Award, India's highest literary honour, in 2002 for his novel *A New World*, whose writing has been described by Rushdie as "languorous, elliptical, beautiful". (Rothstein, *The New York Times*, 2000). Followed by Shashi Tharoor's *Riot: A Love Story* (2001), Githa Hariharan's *In Times of Siege* (2003), Jhumpa Lahiri's *The Namesake* (2003), Salman Rushdie's *Shalimar the Clown* (2005), Kiran Desai's *The Inheritance of Loss* (2006), Shiv K. Kumar's *Two Mirrors at the Ashram* (2006), Shashi Deshpande's *In the Country of Deceit* (2008), Manju Kapur's *The Immigrant* (2008), Amitav Ghosh's *Sea of Poppies* –shortlisted for the Booker (2008), Khushwant Singh's *The Sunset Club* (2009), Amit Chaudhuri's *The Immortals* (2009), Tabish Khair's *The Thing about Thugs* (2009) and *How to Fight Islamist Terror from Missionary Position* (2012), Manu Joseph's *Serious Men* (2010), Upamanyu Chatterjee's *Way to Go* (2010), Amitav Ghosh's *River of Smoke* (2011), Tarun Tejpal's *The Valley of Masks* (2011), Rahul Bhattacharya's *The Sly Company of People Who Care* (2011), Kunal Basu's *The Yellow Emperor's Cure* (2011), Hari Kunzru's *Gods without Men* (2011), Cyrus Mistry's *Chronicle of a Corpse Bearer* (2012). Akhil Sharma, was awarded the Folio Prize 2015, worth £40,000 for his second novel, *Family Life*. Sunjeev Sahota's *The Year of the Runaways* (2015) was shortlisted for the Booker in 2015.

I am tempted to quote emerging sub-genre culture, i.e. Campus novels, most of them have made a grand-office hit. Out of which the notable writer is Chetan Bhagat and his box-office hit is *five point someone* (2004) as 'Three Idiots.' Other subsequent publications are Abhijit Bhaduri's *Mediocre but Arrogant* (2005), an expanded image of MBA set in a management institute of Jamshedpur, and its sequel, *Married but Available* (2008), a search for inspiration within the corporate world to achieve self-actualization. Tushar Raheja's *Anything for You, Ma'am* (2006) is a love story of an IITian, and Srividya Natarajan's *No Onions, Nor Garlic* (2006) is a hilarious Wodehousean satire on the academic life of an English department. Amitabha Bagchi's *Above Average* (2007), an IITian's sensitive account of the difficulties in chasing a goal, and Harshdeep Jolly's *Everything You Desire: A Journey through IIM* (2007) are also notable works. Soma Das's *Sumthing of a Mocktale* (2007), a sketch of Jawaharlal Nehru University's jeans-jhola-kurta culture, Kausik Sircar's *Three Makes a Crowd* (2007), an account of hostel life and escapades of the students of a military college, and Ritesh Sharma and Neeraj Pahlajani's *Joker in the Pack* (2007), an irreverent view of life at IIMs, are further additions. Karan Bajaj's *Keep Off the Grass* (2008) is about a banker, and Mainak Dhar's *Funda of Mixology* (2008) shows how life gives lessons that IIM curriculums cannot. Sachin Garg's *A Sunny Shady Life* (2010) is an icy love story of a student of Delhi College of Engineering. Siddharth Chowdhury's *Day Scholar* (2010) is a coming-of-age tale set in a Delhi boys' hostel, and Chetan Bhagat's *Revolution 2020* (2011) is a story of love, ambition and corruption partially set in Varanasi. Satyajit Sarna's *The Angel's Share* (2012) runs through the dark zones of the campus life in the National Law School of India University (NLSIU), Bangalore.

The LGBT novels as narratives of creative class are rocking the booming publishing industry in India. To cite a few, Suniti Namjoshi's *The Conservations of Cow* (1985), which expounds diasporic lesbianism with a lesbian character in the centre. Abha Dawesar's *Babyji* (2005) is a lesbian novel about a 16-year-old young Brahmin girl's sexual adventures with a classmate and two older women. R. Raj Rao's *The Boyfriend* (2003), one of the pioneer gay novels in India, and *Hostel Room 131* (2010) show his continued drive for alternative literature. Mayur Patel's *Vivek and I* (2010) unravels a school teacher's infatuation for his student, and Mahesh Natrajan's *Pink Sheep* (2010) deals with a series of confrontations between instinctual radicalism and rational conservatism. The latest addition to this type is Ghalib Shiraz Dhalla's *The Exiles* (2011) which is about a gay's extramarital affairs and his wife's resultant confusion, shame and suffering.

Mendes presents the economic conditions of India in her article, "Showcasing India Unshining: Film Tourism" in Danny Boyle's *Slumdog Millionaire* that the "exploitative poverty porn that exoticised and packaged Indian slum life for the consumption of voyeuristic Western audiences" (2010:473). Boyle's representation of India as squalid slum points out the fact that the Briton still continues to harp on the idea that India is no longer able to survive without the English. The success of the film *Slumdog Millionaire* is due to the exotic events, characters portrayed there. To Rushdie, the idea of tourism is indeed central to the success of Boyle's film: 'If the earlier films were raj tourism, maharajah-tourism, then we, today, have slum tourism instead.' Rushdie reproaches that India is no longer an 'exotic' land as presented and perceived by the West. It is fast-changing, adopting the new creative values as its core economic measure, propelling creative capital, modest life style and a secured political presence. On the other hand, the publication of Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger* (2008) reveals the truth that India is emerging as 'tiger economy' in Science and Technology. The representation of the West tarnish the fact about the emerging economy.

While lauding the accomplishment of literary creation of Indian writers, Rushdie writes, the Western world has been growing gradually more excited by the voice emerging from India; In England, at least, British writers are often chastised by reviewers for the lack of Indian –style ambition and verve. It feels as if the East is imposing itself on the West, rather than the other way around. And, yes, English is the most powerful medium of communication in the world; should we not then rejoice at these artists’ mastery of it, and at their growing influence?... One important dimension of this ‘linguistic capital’ in India is that it is a means of holding a conversation with the world. These writers are ensuring that India, rather Indian voices will henceforth be confident, indispensable participants in that literary conversation. (Huggan, 2001 quoting Rushdie and West 1997)

The triumphalist literary arrival of Rushdie’s *Midnight’s Children* in 1981 illuminates the relationship between the literary production and the emergent Indian creative economy. Literary production is primarily a cultural production. As Clifford Geertz pointed out that “economic behaviour is a unique cultural product” (Wilk, 2007). According to Huggan (2001), cultural capital is “transmitted, acquired, and accumulated through a complex process of legitimation negotiated through the interaction between the producers and consumers of symbolic goods.” Creativity was recognised as the major propeller of neoliberal economy in India. According to UNCTAD report, 2010, the creative “sector’s exports grew faster in developing economies between 2003 and 2008 (at 13.55 per cent a year) than in developed countries (10.02 per cent), and were above the world average (11.53 per cent)” (“The Hindu”, 2011). Shashi Tharoor former Minister of Human Resource Development, Government of India wrote, “It is vital for the modern world to motivate the innovators and practitioners of the creative economy in order to promote and preserve the cultural diversity and heritage of all humanity. It is, therefore, particularly important for the developing world to evolve policies to support the creative economy...” (UN, 2013:38)

The list is obtrusive yet quite unavoidable evidence showcasing what is happening in practice, explicating the linguistic reality of India. Mushrooming of these literary productions implies that there is a demand for consumption, and link between the currency of literary creativity and its marketability in the Neoliberal economy. This ‘creative capital’ is defining Indian economy and differently. It is clear that the economy propelled by the Creative class in India (literary writers, film producers/ publishers) is ruling the rooster in the Indian economic scenario in the twenty first century. This section so far exemplifies how the creative economy operates and is operated in and through Literature in Indian English which a creative capital as a propeller of neoliberal economy. On the whole, the fact is overwhelming.

Publication and Lit Fest metamorphosis

I like to bring out the ‘economy’ of Indian publishing houses and literary festivals as to see how much linguistic capital has been assigned to English. The brief survey is restricted to only English. The sociology of publication is another indicator of creative economy. It is profiting to look at what the cultural anthropologists say about the production and consumption in order to understand the economic organization of society. Production is one of the inventions of the society as it advances. “Production is a process whereby a society uses the tools and energy at its disposal and the labor of its people and domesticated animals to create the goods necessary for supplying society as on ongoing entity (Rosman, 2009).” Technology as part of culture enables people to exploit their environment. Book is one such neoliberal production. It is bewildering to look at the transformation in terms of demand for the new form of engagement and entertainment. The new demand has been met by the emerging class of creative class in the post- independent and post neoliberal India. Apart from Indian literatures global recognition and readership, the growing neoliberal economy in English-publishing within India has played its part in the new crop of ‘houses’ to emerge. One example is that Ravi Dayal’s publishing House has patronised St. Stephen’s elite writers: Allan Sealy, Amitav Ghosh, Shashi Tharoor, Upamanyu Chatterjee, Rukun Advani, Mukul Kesavan, and Anurag Mathur (Mee, 319). The setting up of Penguin Press in 1985, Rupa paperback and Indialnk has provided the marketing network to the expanding middle class readers in India. Currently there are sixty-nine English publishing press in India. One can see that the publishing industry in India is actually far better economically now than it has been before. Unlike the West where the publishing houses face a problem or switching to digital publishing, India’s publishing industry is gaining momentum through the new culture of lit fests. The Federation of Indian Publishers claims that there are approx. 19,000 publishing houses in India out of which 12,400 are using the ISBN system and are publishing approximately 90000 titles per year. The value of the Indian publishing industry in 2012 was estimated at USD 2 Billion. India ranks third, behind the USA and the UK in the publication of English-language books.²⁰The Indian book volume sales alone according to a Nielsen BookScan²¹ for 2013 was 17.4 million units with value sales of 22Rs. 5.3 billion (\$8.6m) - a 5 % increase in market sales since the previous year. E-book sales through Amazon, flipcart and inflibeam.com, constitute 2 to 5% of total sales by value (BS, 1 Feb 2014) up against 1% registered in 2013. The E-book market is expected to grow 3 to 5 times in the next 3 years and Academic publications are focusing on the e-books segment. The overall market is expected to grow from \$122m upto \$128m by 2018.

To look at the number of literary festivals that have been organized in the last year 2015 will tell us the growth of the creative industry and its dynamism. There were more than sixty literary festivals organized across

India last year alone almost once in a week. To name a few, Patna Literature Festival, Chandigarh Literary Festival, Delhi Literature Festival, Goa Arts and Literary Festival, Jammu Literary Festival, Bangalore Literature Festival, Kochi International Book Festival, The Kovalam Literary Festival, Mumbai International Literary Festival, Pune International Literary Festival, Kalinga Literary Festival, Odisha Literary Festival, Ajmer Literature Festival, Jaipur Literature Festival, Chennai Literary Festival, Lit for Life, Hyderabad Literary Festival, Lucknow Literary Festival, Taj Literature Festival, Kumaon Literary Festival, and Apeejay Kolkata Literary Festival. The most important in terms of number of attendees is the Jaipur Literary festival organized in three weeks of January every year. It is praised as 'largest free literary festival on earth.' The interesting factor one can draw here is that there is correlation between the book reading culture and the literary festivals. Indian literary festivals are modelled on the broader cultural festivals, like film festivals without the government's sponsors. The stunning thing about the creative culture is that the amount of participants it drew this year is 180,000 footfalls which is astounding and remarkable. The amount of human flow brings in the financial prosperity to the city through 'this' creative tourism. To add another example is the Shillong CALM Festival in this North-eastern Indian town makes its unique selling point. It activates the tourism machinery. The multiple lit fest has been fixed to major cities such as New Delhi, Mumbai, Bangalore and Chennai. The Indian lit fest scene offers a smorgasbord to pick from. Besides the city-based lit fests, theme-based fests include Bookaroo, the largest children's book fest, and Comic Con, the largest comic book and graphic novel festival, both held in New Delhi. The Times Literary Carnival in Mumbai also utilizes the larger cultural aspects of its home to create a festival brand. "It is much more than a literature fest," says Namita Devidayal, co-curator of the festival. "It seeks to draw on the eclectic passions of Mumbai – like film, food, money, relationships – and creatively connect them to the book world. While the fulcrum of the festival is clearly literature, the sessions and discussions are curated to draw in other creative fields." The amount of money spent on organizing Lit fests such as the JLF is though too expensive (1.1m USD last year) invested indirectly on the construction of a community of bibliophiles. It surprisingly increases the market value of books. It is part of the 'marketing' of their last book or backlog and generating interest in their new work rather than directly influence deals for future books.

Four out of seven newspapers over one hundred years old are published in English. According to Economic Times 2014-15 survey, the largest number of newspapers and periodicals registered in any Indian language are in Hindi with a figure of 42,493 publications followed by English with 13,661 registered publications." The Indian government publishes more information in English than in any other languages including Hindi. Creativity is attested in all genres ranging from oratory to media to literary forms. Indian creative writing is not an expression of the use of language but also a 'voice in which Indian minds speak' to the rest of the world. As the co-official language, the literary academy of India has recognised creative works in English on par with Indian languages. India's mushrooming lit fests, publishing houses, newspapers and periodicals of course, heralds one thing that the creative economy has already set in.

Before arriving at a conclusion it is quite important to look at the GDP of India which would exemplify the core argument presented so far.

India, one of the fastest growing countries in the world, is estimated to become an economic super power next to China by 2027 (Jacques, 2009). According to the World Bank report (2015), India's GDP was +7.4%, currently +7.8% and estimated rate is +8% in 2017 (Businessinsider). Information Technology (IT) sector has a tremendous potential to impact the economic growth of a country. Indian economy is basically IT-driven economy since the dawn of the neoliberalism. IT industry has gradually become "indispensable to India's high-growth economy" (Barnes, 2013). Bangalore, the *Silicon Valley* of India, IT capital of India has become the centre of attraction for the global IT service investors. It is precisely due to the availability of huge 'size' of English speaking population in India. NASSCOM, the industry's lobby, expects Indian IT services to continue to grow by 25-28% annually. BPO, from a much smaller base, will grow even faster, by 35-40%. The three biggest Indian IT firms—Tata Consultancy Services, Infosys and Wipro—are now among the top ten globally in terms of stock market capitalisation, gross profits and employees. It testifies that there has been a mushroom growth of IT sectors. According to NASSCOM, IT sector aggregated revenues was US\$147 billion in 2015. India has an estimated 3.5 million software professionals, and is expected to add another 2,30,000 this year. These facts simply unfold the fact that Indian economy has been propelled by the mushroom growth of IT service sectors and it is jet-streaming due to the only fact that there has been a large pool of English-speaking community in India. Som Mittal, President of NASSOM states that

As India aspires to grow 8-9% and integrates with the global economy, the service industry will grow, and the moment you talk about service industry, it is about people interacting with people, and in communication, *language becomes important*. (my emphasis) And that's ... true for people who are in tourism, for people driving taxis, for people who are guides, for people in hotels. ...it could become a hindrance if we did not have more people to communicate in English and understand English (Erling, 2013, citing Graddol, 2010:115)

The above quote openly declares that in Indian context, English capital is realized and used in international communication, employment and in all economic domains. Therefore, GDP or Globalization discourse can never divorce the two factors: English and Economy in post colonial countries or contexts.

II. Conclusion: policy recommendations

I do not disagree with the claims of Phillipson and Pennycook that the spread of English has resulted in linguistic imperialism that it undermines 'Others' languages across the globe. One thing I can not agree with is that they chose to miss the empirical relation between the linguistic capital of English and economy in the neoliberal economy. It needs elaboration. English has been 'pushed' for the global trade and international transactions. What could have happened had the post-colonial countries returned to only the vernacular policy and practice. Where will the post-colonial countries go if they fail to have a policy which does not adhere to availing the economic opportunities in the global scenario. Already the post-colonial countries have been ravished and plundered of their material and immaterial wealth in the past. The recovery is painful and slow in most of the cases. In that context, If a country is to progress, it cannot underestimate global linguistic capital ie. English and its value, given to thinking that it is a linguistic colonization. Countries, which had refused to the global linguistic capitalization of English invest millions of dollars in creating 'English villages' in their countries to catch up with the world and its advancement. So The rhetoric of linguistic imperialism is no longer relevant in 'today's context as every nation is vying with one another for transnational business, educational, scientific and technological transaction and collaboration. Denying the capital amounts to denying the amounts it brings to a nation. The study informs that the core of Indian economy is the 'Super core' creative class. The concentration of the creative class, as it has been the world trend, is the creative centres or cities. It is estimated that Indian population will surpass China and more than 70 % will live in the cities by 2050. It is estimated that by 2030 Indian cities could create 70 % of all new jobs and produce more than 70 % of the national GDP which would amount for an almost fourfold increase in national per capita income from today (McKinsey Global Institute, 2010). When India's urbanisation and its prospects of growth and prosperity are observed by international agents, it is right time for action that the role of English is acknowledged constitutionally. Institutional recognition will expand the functional use of English and will have an increased human resources to participate and operate the international deliberations.

Secondly, my concern all through this study is that English has become a language of India, in particular it has become a language of India. It is time to claim the language rights of Asian Englishes across every nation including Singaporean English, Philippines English and Indian English. How can we be creative and create 'marketability' if we just imitate the 'standard' English? It is Indianness in IE, Filipinoness in PE, Singapurianess in SE, Africaness in AfrE that makes our 'English' creative 'linguistic capital' and provides us economic marketability and national prosperity. The appropriation of the English language is indeed a national choice in India for fulfilling the social, cultural and economic demands of the neoliberal modern India. As Y. Kachru (2006) implores, "Policy-makers and planners must be aware of the functions of English" (104). In other words there is gap between policy and practice. The result of the recommends to the *Lok Sabha* (House of the Leaders) that there is no recognition of the Indian English in policy statements. As there are obvious evidences that the linguistic capital of the English language is appropriated by 'reconstituting and 'remoulding' it into Indianized English ie. Indian English as a well-known linguist Kachru calls it, the Indian Constitution has to recognize and reflect its rights. If so, the linguistic value of Indian English can be capitalised and will result in propelling Indian economy. The Constitution of India is the soul of Indian sense and sensibility. If the soul is healed of its misunderstanding and prejudices against the English language *in practice*, I am sure, India as an emerging global economic super power can play its role of being a GPS at intra and international scenario in linguistic, cultural and economic affirmation and reformation.

Informed by the reasons cited above, I have two recommendations for the constitutional amendments. They are:

1. Therefore, PART 17 of the Indian Constitution Article 344 will be read as English as one of the OFFICIAL LANGUAGES OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA and English be granted the status of Official language of India for the indefinite time.
2. Therefore, the PART 17 of the Indian Constitution, Article 344 will be read as INDIAN ENGLISH be one of the Official languages of the Republic of India.

This act of linguistic generosity towards the Indian English language, which has gained over the centuries of its presence and use in India, can bring about amendment in the Official Language Act 1963 and thereby bring justice to "the immaterial linguistic value of Indian English" in the twenty first century 'Creative Economy' global paradigm.

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