Development with Diversity
Political Philosophy of Language Endangerment in South Asia

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South Asia's high rate of language endangerment is yet to be discussed in relation to human development and this paper examines it in terms of the political philosophy of human development. It discusses the sociopolitical contexts in which multilingualism, language endangerment, and linguistic justice are constituted as subjects of political philosophy and looks into the postulated correlation of linguistic diversity with human development. No significant correlation of human development with language diversity is observed at the global level, but a fuzzy correlation is found in south Asia. Four normative statements are derived and negotiated with political philosophy to rationalise the discourse on language endangerment in south Asia. Based on this, the paper points out that development with diversity has to be the political philosophy of this region.

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1 Introduction

In the preface to the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (UDLR), Carles Torner, the then president of the follow-up committee, narrates the following:

An old legend says that, a long time ago, there was a king who heard that in his country there lived a truly wise man. He was so wise, they said, that he could speak all the languages in the world. He knew the song of the birds and understood it as if he were one of them. He knew how to read the shape of the clouds and immediately understand their meaning. Any language he listened to, he could answer without hesitation. He could even read the thoughts of men and women wherever they came from. The king, impressed by all the qualities that were attributed to him, called him to his palace. And the wise man came. When he was there, the king asked him:
'Wise man, is it true that you know all the languages of the world?'
'Yes, sir,' was the answer.
'Is it true that that you listen to the birds and you can understand their song?'
'Yes, sir.'
'That you know how to read the shape of the clouds?'
'Yes, sir.'
'And, as I have been told, that you can even read people's minds?'
'Yes, sir.'
The king still had a last question. 'In my hands, which are hidden behind my back, there is a bird. Wise man, answer me: Is it alive or dead?'
The answer of the wise man was addressed to everybody. In our case, to everybody who has any responsibility in promoting linguistic rights, from the activist to the writer, from the teacher to the legislator. For that wise man, surprisingly, felt scared. He knew that, whatever the answer, the king could kill the bird. He looked at the king and remained silent for a long time. Finally, in a very serene voice, he said, 'The answer, sir, is in your hands.'
The answer is in our hands (UNESCO 1998: 9-10).

Why did Torner intentionally preface this story to the UDLR? What did he intend to say? What do linguists have to learn from this "wise man answer" in the story? In simple terms, we should be exceptionally wise to address the issue of language endangerment because the answer is not in our hands. This may be one of the reasons that language diversity, linguistic justice, and consequently language endangerment, which we discuss, have been serious concerns of political philosophy for the last one decade. In tune with the political philosophy discourse, this paper attempts to critically examine language endangerment in south Asia in relation to human development. The first part discusses the global sociopolitical and intellectual context in which linguistic diversity is constituted as a subject of political philosophy. Some of the existing, established, and seldom disputed observations on the negative correlations of linguistic diversity with economic development are then reviewed with special reference

to the south Asian situation. Based on the facts revealed in this, four normative statements are proposed and negotiated with political philosophy. Based on the negotiation, I reach towards the conclusion that we have to adopt or develop a political philosophy based on development with diversity. Therefore, an outcome of the "wise man strategy" is that our answer does not affect the life of the bird.

2 Context

There are many factors that facilitated serious attention to linguistic issues in political philosophy. First, the dissolution of east Europe on regional and linguistic lines, which had been suppressed over decades and the emergence of the post-Soviet Union Commonwealth of Independent States. Second, the emergence of the European Union (EU) with its proclaimed commitment to multilingualism (Council of Europe 1992, 1995; Faingold 2007: 25-36) as a supranational organisation over the old European linguistic states. Third, immigrant transnationalism or the challenges to homogenic nation states by the expansion of human migration at the end of the 20th century. The general tendency of an integration of immigrant groups into the dominant language by a language shift is now showing a deviation to language maintenance and calls for language rights (Schiller 1995: 48-63). Fourth, the cultural impact of economic globalisation challenges cultural and linguistic diversity on the one hand and facilitates a global civil platform for the emergence of a transnational identity discourse over the nation state on the other. This is the immediate political context. Last, unfair reports on language endangerment around the world are correlated with the crisis of biological diversity (Hale et al 1992; Crystal 2000; Nettle and Romaine 2000; Harmon and Jonathan 2010; Whalen and Simons 2012).

2.1 Responses

The factors mentioned facilitated an intellectual climate where linguistic diversity, multilingualism, language endangerment, and linguistic justice were constituted as subjects of political philosophy. This resulted in the development of philosophical theories by Taylor (1992), Taylor et al (1994), Habermas (1994), Kymlicka (1995), and Benhabib (2002). There are even different camps of thoughts like the egalitarians (Pogge 2003), democrats (Laitin and Reich 2003), nationalists (Tamir 1993; Kymlicka 2001; Kymlicka and Patten 2003), and libertarians (Kukathas 2003). A thesis developed by Kymlicka (1995: 83) asserts that "individual autonomy requires a cultural context of choice". This is a point liberal nationalists and multiculturalists agree on, but the approach is opposed by Barry (2001) and Kukathas (2003) who argue that the state should be "culturally blind". They vehemently reject minority rights and assert that the state shall remain silent on such issues by not adopting or publicly supporting any position.

2.2 Questions

Kymlicka (1995: 111) challenges the liberal nationalist stand in terms of language – "The state can (and should) replace religious oaths in courts with secular oaths, but it cannot replace the use

Figure 1: Linguistic Diversity and Human Development
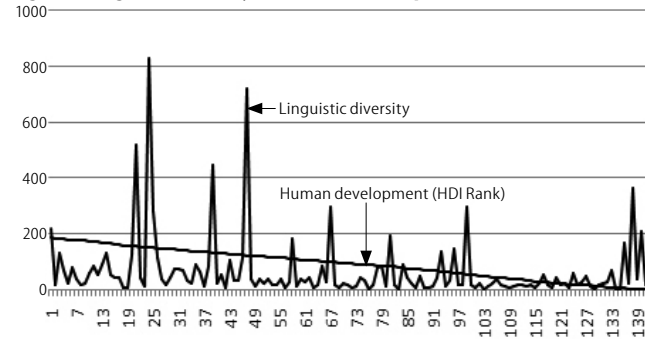
of English in courts with no language." The questions raised by Patten (2001) and endorsed by De Schutter (2007: 1-23) remain unanswered. They are, whether political protection of languages is a requirement of justice; whether language loss is also moral loss; why and under which circumstances will language loss call for political action; and what it amounts to in the domain of language if the normative goals of equality make sense.

2.3 Debates

Among the many debates on multilingualism and interlingualism, the political philosophy of linguistic justice provides an ideal platform for discussing language endangerment. There are two divergent positions – one argues that instances of language loss call for political attention, the other that there is nothing wrong with language death. An intermediate view has been developed by Blake (2003), which holds that language loss can be approached in terms of justice and it requires political action only when the causative factors are a result of domination or discrimination. Language loss in developing countries, especially in south Asia, is often the result of nation-building and modernisation processes. Here, the minority of speakers integrate themselves with the officially adopted languages of a nation or region, or state in the case of India. From being literate in the dominant languages of the nation and assimilation, these communities get economic opportunities and welfare from the nation state. The reality we have to concern ourselves with is that many minority languages survive only because of their relative social and geographical isolation from mainstream society. I would say that in a relative sense underdeveloped people, who have not benefited or are unaffected by the development that humanity in general has achieved, are the custodians of language diversity. This leads us to the relation of linguistic diversity to economic development, which is discussed in the next section.

3 Language Diversity and Development

There exists a geographical disparity in the distribution of language diversity in the world (Greenberg 1956; Lieberson 1964; Nichols 1996; Nettle 1998). Statistical summaries by Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) show that the Asian region is very rich in language diversity (3,256 languages), followed by Africa (2,962), the Americas (1,610), the Pacific (1,297), and Europe (946). This uneven distribution of language diversity raises a number of questions about the correlation of language diversity with disparity in economic development. This was first observed by

Greenberg (1956), and later hypothesised by Fishman (1968, 1972) and Pool (1972), which eventually came to be known as the Fishman-Pool Hypothesis. This hypothesis is disputed by Nettle (2000) who is sceptical about the validity of gross domestic product (GDP) as an indicator of development in general and its speculated correlation to language diversity. Instead of GDP, the human development index (HDI), which is comparatively representational of human development, is considered here to review the Fishman-Pool Hypothesis. In Figure 1 (p 52), the vertical axis represents linguistic diversity and the horizontal axis the HDI. The correlation diagram shows any negative correlation that exists between language diversity and human development.

Our examination involves 25 top-ranked nations from the global HDI of 2011 (UNDP 2011) and their 25 low-ranked counterparts (Table 1 in the Appendi, p 57). The average number of languages in the 25 top-ranked nations is 49, while there are 46 in the low-ranked ones. This show that highly developed nations in general have almost the same number of languages as their less developed counterparts, indicating that the Jonathan-Pool Hypothesis is not valid in terms of the correlation of language diversity with HDI at the global level. Therefore, as Nettle (2000: 345) asserts,

> Given the lack of evidence for a direct causal interpretation, I would resist any argument on the basis of the Fishman-Pool result that language diversity should be discouraged. The fact that two variables have coevolved in no way implies that manipulating one will affect the other in the desired direction.

It can be safely held that linguistic diversity and human development are not antithetical though both are affected by economic factors. A simple search of language endangerment in the top-most nation Norway and its low-ranked counterpart Tongo shows that no languages have become extinct in Norway, but one language has in Tongo. Only six languages are reported to be in danger in Norway. Therefore, the argument that language diversity is a hindrance for development is an empty generalisation. This is the global picture. Now we examine the situation in Asia.

3.1 Linguistic Diversity and Development

Asia is the region with the largest language diversity in the world and it has 47.1% of the world's languages. But there is regional disparity in Asia (Table 2 in the Appendix, p 57).

South-east Asia is rich in language diversity, followed by south Asia, west Asia, and east Asia. The linguistic region with the least diversity is central Asia. A simple analysis shows an 85-point difference in language diversity between the top 24 nations and their low-ranked counterparts. This difference contradicts the global negative correlation that we observed and needs special attention. Japan is the most highly developed nation in this region with 16 languages, while Afghanistan is the least developed region with 52 languages. The second most developed nation is Hong Kong with four languages and its less-developed counterpart, Nepal, has 127 languages. What does this indicate? Hong Kong and Japan are in east Asia while the least developed but linguistically rich Afghanistan and Nepal are in south Asia. The question of whether the linguistic diversity in Afghanistan and Nepal affect their human development shall be examined by comparing them with other nations in south Asia.

3.2 Diversity and Development in South Asia

South Asia is the second richest region in the world in terms of language diversity and includes the fourth and 19th linguistically most rich nations in the world – India (445 languages) and Nepal (127 languages) respectively. Iran, with 79 languages, is highly ranked on the HDI at 88, while Afghanistan, with 52 languages, is low on the HDI at 172. This can be taken to show that human development is affected by language diversity or that development affects language diversity in south Asia. Two articles by Driem (2007a: 303-41, 2007b: 283-347) on the endangerment of languages in south Asia (the second includes west Asia) gives an introduction to the endangered status of languages in the region. Table 1 shows language diversity and endangerment in relation to the HDI rank of each nation.

Among the nine countries in south Asia, Bangladesh shows a comparatively low degree of language endangerment (10.8) with low indicators of human development, followed by Sri Lanka with high indicators of human development, Iran, and Pakistan. The number of languages in Sri Lanka is below the south Asian average of language diversity and it cannot be taken as a case in this discussion. A high degree of language endangerment exists in Nepal with 71 of 127 languages (55.9%) endangered. The low position of Nepal in human development shows that linguistic diversity there can be correlated with human development. Without a considerable degree of human development, Nepal shows a high degree of language endangerment. This is true also of Bhutan (19 out of 35, or 54.2%), Afghanistan (23 out of 52, or 44.2%), India (197 out 445, or 44.2%), and Pakistan (28 out 77, or 36.3%). Of the 870 languages in south Asia, 369 are endangered, or 42.4%. Afghanistan, Nepal, Bhutan, and India are above the region's average, while Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Iran,

Table 1: Language Endangerment and HDI in South Asia

HDI Rank*	Country	No of Languages**	Safe Languages***		Language Endangerment according to WALE***						
					Endangered Languages***		Vulnerable	Definitely Endangered	Severely Endangered	Critically Endangered	Extinct
			No	%	No	%					
88	Iran	79	54	68.3	25	31.6	4	14	2	3	2
97	Sri Lanka	7	6	85.7	1	14.2	0	1	0	0	0
109	Maldives	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
134	India	445	248	55.7	197	44.2	81	63	6	42	5
141	Bhutan	35	16	45.7	19	54.2	10	9	0	0	0
145	Pakistan	77	49	63.6	28	36.3	7	15	16	0	0
146	Bangladesh	46	41	89.1	5	10.8	3	1	1	0	0
157	Nepal	127	56	44	71	55.9	18	32	13	7	1
172	Afghanistan	52	29	55.7	23	44.2	3	12	6	2	0
	Total	870	449	51.6	369	42.4	126	147	44	54	8

Sources: * Based on *Human Development Report 2011* (UNDP 2012); ** *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009); *** *World Atlas of Language Endangerment* (Moseley 2010).

and Pakistan are below it. (For a detailed review of language endangerment in India, see Sengupta 2009.) Bangladesh is the only nation in south Asia that shows a low level of language endangerment with comparatively low indicators of human development and a medium level of language diversity.

What do these trends, which are against the general trend of language diversity and human development at the global level, indicate? The situation of language diversity and endangerment in relation to human development is fuzzy in south Asia. Bangladesh indicates that a low degree of human development indicates a low degree of language endangerment. At the same time, India, which is higher in language diversity than Bangladesh, is higher in human development. Iran is lower in language diversity compared to both Bangladesh and India, but it has the highest human development in south Asia with comparatively less language endangerment than Nepal and Bhutan. This indicates that language diversity may be an indication of less human development in south Asia. But human development may alone not be the reason for language endangerment. Nepal and India with a high degree of language diversity with low levels of human development are examples of the former, while Iran and Sri Lanka show that language diversity is unaffected by human development. South Asia shows a trend of triggering human development by rationalising language diversity at one level and stabilising language diversity at a higher level of the development. How can this be achieved by all nations in the region? What type of normative philosophy can we adopt for this? This is the wise man problem here, and it needs a negotiation between development and diversity. One should not be sacrificed for the other. We cannot say, "Neither the philosophy of Babel nor the Pentecost." What we need is a philosophy of development with diversity, which India had for centuries before it was disturbed in modern times and is now seen in the EU.

4 Negotiation

A review of the literature on the political philosophy of language diversity shows that there are two streams of thought. The first and the dominant one is against unconditional facilitation of linguistic diversity, and the second, an emerging stand, is for diversity with deferent levels of reservations. The basic premises of both are given in Table 2.

Table 2 shows that the relation of language diversity and language endangerment to development is a multifaceted issue.

Any normative statement that we adopt for or against language diversity in relation to human development, especially for south Asia, requires a complex negotiation between immediate reality and categories of political philosophy. There are few problems with the conception and articulation of language endangerment, which we have to address without any "hyperbolic valorisation" (Hill 2002). Since the early 1990s, endangered languages are often defined in a realm of universal ownership, statistical enumeration, and universal sympathy. This has made the discourse rhetorical, alienating it from the community. None of these ideas of the question of ownership and statistical enumeration are familiar to the language communities about which the literature speaks. Therefore, Hill (2002: 125) states,

> This rhetoric removes endangered languages from the realm of the quotidian and places them in a highly restricted sphere of exchange, in the kind of rarefied linguistic marketplace that may be seen by communities of speakers as a space where tokens composed by experts are exchanged for a kind of wealth that is inaccessible to ordinary speakers.

A negotiation of language endangerments should be realistic and grounded enough to experience the immediate material reality of the language community. The following premises are proposed for the negotiation.

4.1 Social Ontogeny of Language

A language is a reciprocal public good developed by a speech community that derives benefits from it, and it can sustain itself only if these conditions are met. Language endangerment is the result of an acceleration in the trend of a speech community not developing it or deriving benefits from it or the absence of both. Therefore, endangerment of a language in a non-discriminatory context is beyond value judgment. Language is shared by all and will not be diminished by individual or collective use. Unlike other natural public goods like the environment, the development of languages categorically depends on its use. Its development is proportionate to it use. The more it is used, the more it develops, and the less it is used, the more it diminishes. In this sense, language is a reciprocal public good.

Equating language diversity with ecology is ontologically wrong even though there is a statistical correlation between them (Maffi 2005). Reciprocity with humans is not necessary for ecological development. Unlike a language, a maximum level of use of the environment leads to environmental risk. Ecology is not a reciprocal public good, but it can be considered as a public good for all, or a universal public good. Language is a

Table 2: Streams of Thought in Political Philosophy of Language Diversity

Type of Approaches	Against Language Diversity	For Language Diversity
Value	Value of language is extrinsic; language is an individual possession	Value of language is intrinsic; language is a public good
Justice	Justice to language community	Justice to language (linguistic justice)
Right	Right is individual; individual right is universal	Right is socially defined; right is meaningful in language
Political	Linguistic diversity destabilises the nation state; linguistic diversity is against democracy	Linguistic diversity rationalises the nation state; linguistic diversity rationalises democracy
Language policy	Non-identity outcome language policy; tolerance-oriented language policy	Identity outcome language policy; promotion-oriented language policy
Ideological	Instrumentalism: Language is external to who I am and language is a tool or convention for the individual	Constructivism: Language is intrinsic to whom I am and individual subjectivity is linguistically embedded
Economic	Language is private; diversity is costly and should be reduced for fitness; market approach; language is a human capital; private rate of return of language	Language is public; diversity is beneficial and should be preserved for fitness and fairness; non-market approach; language is an ethnic attribute; public rate of return of language

public good only for its community because it is developed by the productive participation of its speakers, who are the only ones who benefit by this. As long as a community can survive in a mode of production based on the language it possesses, the language will develop in it. When a community cannot survive in a mode of production on the basis of the language it possesses, it will gradually leave the language irrespective of its intrinsic value and ethnic attributes. Here, the instrumental and economic values overshadow the intrinsic value of a language. This situation may arise in a non-discriminatory context. Language endangerment in Nepal illustrates this process. In the *Diversity and Endangerment of Languages in Nepal*, Toba et al (2005: 18) observe,

> Most of the indigenous people live in the countryside working as peasant farmers, producing more or less enough to live but no cash crops. In many places in Nepal, the environment has been increasingly deteriorating through landslides, floods and deforestation. Together with the steady increase in the population, the situation in the majority of the villages is now such that the arable land is not enough to support the population. Thus, migration for economic reasons has become prevalent. Migration to the Terai in search of land, or to the cities in search of work has drastically changed the language use, that is, from the indigenous languages to Nepali by necessity.

Here the extrinsic value of language is what counts. The Nepal Supreme Court's decision to not include local languages in administration is discriminatory in principle, but economically expansive if it is accepted. Any judgment on the value of language in relation to endangerment is justified only on the basis of immediate reality, but not in terms of a universal logic. In south Asia, modernisation and nation-building processes are ongoing. Therefore, communities that are modernising choose a language other than their own in both non-discriminatory and discriminatory contexts. This leads to a language shift and eventually endangerment of minority languages. This is a palatable process, but there is no need for a liberal state to intervene in it until and unless social justice is denied to a community on the basis of language.

4.2 Prioritised Justice

Socio-economic justice to a language community has priority over linguistic justice in a non-discriminatory context. Therefore, the future development of an endangered language would be a potential outcome of the socio-economic justice to a language community, and this can result in the emergence of stable bilingualism. Therefore, linguistic resources should be properly documented, and the linguistic ecology should be strengthened and constantly revitalised by linguistic landscaping.

4.3 Economic

Language endangerment in discriminatory and non-discriminatory contexts should be compensated for by the promotion of minor and major language bilingualism. In a discriminatory context, the expenditure for promoting bilingualism has to be shared by the dominant language community, and in a non-discriminatory context by both parties. In south Asia, contact with a dominant language is the discriminatory context in which minor language communities shift to it for accessing

resources and participating in the economy to earn. In India, the shift is towards the scheduled language of each state, in Bhutan towards Nepali, in Pakistan towards the dominant language in each province, in Bangladesh towards Bengali, in Afghanistan towards Dari and Pashto, and in Nepal towards Nepali. By shifting to the dominant language, minority language communities contribute to the total production of a nation at the cost of their language.

This is a discriminatory context in a society where languages and the resources are unevenly distributed. This is one of the major reasons for language shifts and language engenderment. The promotion of bilingualism through education is a potential solution for this. Here, two languages groups benefit from the language shift of one language group and the compensation for the shift should be shared by both language groups. In India, a majority of tribal communities are shifting from their first language to the dominant second language in their region for better participation in the economy. The rate of bilingualism among linguistic minorities is considerably high in India at between 40% and 50% (Mahapatra 1989: 61-72). This indicates that they are in a process of transition triggered by either discriminatory of non-discriminatory contexts. This transition may lead to dominant language monolingualism or stable bilingualism. The latter should be facilitated with special investments in teaching the first language, which is potentially endangered by active or passive assimilation of the language community. The advantages of bilingualism among the Konda tribes in India reported by Mohanty and Babu (1983: 15-22) and the revitalisation of the Maori language in New Zealand through bilingual education reported by Spolsky (1989: 89-106) demonstrate what can be done. Therefore, schools, an important agency of development, should facilitate bilingualism with a positive priority on endangered languages.

4.4 Nation Building

A non-identity outcome-oriented language policy can be followed when there is an unmanageable linguistic identity-based threat to the nation state, provided it does not discriminate against any language community. In such a context, a state can choose a language based on cost-effectiveness without delimiting justice based on the language. This is a process of linguistic rationalisation, as pointed out by Patten (2001), which can enhance social mobility, facilitate democratic deliberation, encourage the formation of a common political identity, and increase the efficiency of public institutions. While evaluating these, Patten emphasises, "Language rationalisation...can be associated with equality along a non-language-related dimension. The priority here is to adopt a language policy that leaves people as equal as possible with respect to some aspect or aspects of their social, economic, and political lives" (ibid).

5 Conclusions

The most obvious finding emerging from the discussion is that language endangerment can be a topic of political philosophy in general and in the discourse on human development in particular. No ideal discussion on language endangerment is
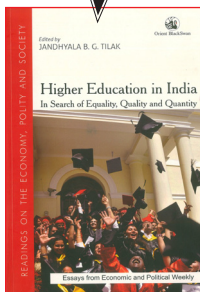
suggested. The second part disputes the negative correlation of human development with language diversity at the global level. But the paper supports the negative correlation in the south Asian situation. Language endangerment in south Asia is further negotiated with the two dominant views on language diversity in relation to linguistic justice in political philosophy. The first normative statement asserted that language is not a public good like nature and that it is a reciprocal public good of a language community. Based on this assumption, language shift and language endangerment in a non-discriminative context are processes beyond value judgment. Based on the reciprocal nature of language, the second statement holds that justice to a language community ought to be a priority over linguistic justice. Political economic negotiation of the issue yields the third statement that the cost of language maintenance in a non-discriminatory context should be borne by the minor and major language communities, while in a discriminatory context the dominant language community should bear it. This proposes an interlingual economic practice of redistributive justice for the development of language diversity, and the fourth statement argued promoting bilingualism is a major practical step for the development of language diversity. In the political negotiation, rationalisation of multilingualism is proposed as a political philosophy of language policy in south Asia. The paper is an attempt to rationalise the discourse on language endangerment in south Asia and dismantle hyperbolic valorisation (Hill 2002) from the discourse. Future studies investigating why language communities are "stampeding from their language" and how to save birds that not even in hand would be interesting. Of course, such efforts in practice would be ideological.

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Appendix

Table 1: Human Development and Language Diversity

HDI Rank	Nations with High HDI 2011* Nations	Number of Languages**	HDI Rank	Nations with Low HDI 2011* Nations	Number of Languages**
1	Norway	20	186	Niger	21
2	Australia	207	185	Burundi	4
3	Netherlands	38	184	Mozambique	53
4	United States	364	183	Chad	133
5	New Zealand	22	182	Liberia	31
6	Canada	169	181	Burkina Faso	70
7	Ireland	5	180	Sierra Leone	26
8	Liechtenstein	4	179	Central African Republic	82
9	Germany	69	178	Guinea	38
10	Sweden	30	177	Eritrea	18
11	Switzerland	26	176	Guinea-Bissau	25
12	Japan	16	175	Mali	60
13	Hong Kong	4	174	Ethiopia	88
14	Iceland	2	173	Zimbabwe	22
15	Korea	5	172	Afghanistan	52
16	Denmark	13	171	Malawi	24
17	Israel	48	170	Côte d'Ivoire	93
18	Belgium	29	169	Sudan	134
19	Austria	20	168	Gambia	23
20	France	62	167	Benin	56
21	Slovenia	10	166	Rwanda	5
22	Finland	23	165	Djibouti	10
23	Spain	21	164	Zambia	50
24	Italy	42	163	Comoros	7
25	Luxembourg	6	162	Togo	43
	Total number of languages	1,225			1,168
	Average number of languages	49			46

Source: * *Human Development Report 2011* (UNDP 2012); ** *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009);

Table 2: Language Diversity and Endangerment in Asian Region

Language Diversity Rank	Region	Number of Languages in Each Countries of Followed by the Number of Endangered Languages	Total Number of Languages; Per Cent of World Share	Total Number Endangered Languages; Per Cent of Endangered Languages
1	South-East Asia	Indonesia: 722(146), Philippines 181(15), Malaysia 145(26), Myanmar 116(28), Vietnam 108 (27), Lao 89(32), Thailand 85 (25), Singapore 31(na), Cambodia 25(19), Timor-Leste 19(6), Brunei Darussalam 1(na)	1,511 (21.08)	358 (23.6)
5	South Asia	India 445 (197), Nepal 127(71), Iran 79 (25), Pakistan 145(28), Afghanistan 52 (23), Bangladesh 46 (5), Bhutan 35(19), Sri Lanka 7 (1), Maldives 2(na)	870 (12)	369 (42.1)
10	West Asia	Israel 48 (13), Turkey 45(18), United Arab Emirates 36(na), Azerbaijan 34(11), Iraq 26 (8), Georgia 75 11), Syrian Arab Republic 22(7), Oman 89(8), Saudi Arabia 20(na), Jordan 16(2), Yemen 14 (4), Bahrain 12(na), Armenia 12(2), Lebanon 9(2), Kuwait 7 (na), Cyprus 6(1), Qatar 6 (na), Occupied Palestinian Territory 6(1)	365 (5.28)	69 (18.9)
11	East Asia	China 296 (144), Japan 16(8), Mongolia 15(7), Korea 5(1), Hong Kong 4(na)	336 (4.8)	160 (47.6)
18	Central Asia	Kazakhstan 43(1), Uzbekistan 39 (3), Tajikistan 33(11), Kyrgyzstan 32(2), Turkmenistan 27(1)	174 (2.5)	18 (10.34)