CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The scheduled tribes of India have lived in varied degrees of isolation for many centuries. However, on the peripheries of the tribal homelands their interaction with the non-tribal segment of population was more frequent than in the interior areas. With the arrival of the British a new phase began. It was characterized by intensive exploitation of mineral resources and the consequent establishment of industrial plants in the tribal regions. This exposed the tribal communities to a new set of forces and brought them gradually to the threshold of change both in economic and socio-cultural domains. A major impact of these developments was seen in the linguistic change overtaking the tribal groups. This linguistic change was of a higher order among those tribes who had been interacting with the non-tribal groups in the surrounding areas than those living in area of tribal majority. The latter were able to preserve their languages for longer in time.
Since language is a strong element in cultural identity, any change of language implies loss of cultural identity.

An earlier study revealed that the linguistic change was noticed among all tribal groups throughout the country, although the degree of change varied from region to region depending upon the degree of exposure to exogenous influences and other locational factors. The degree of change is very low in the north-east, east as well as in mid-India because of high degree of tribal concentration and relatively isolated character of these regions. More than 80 per cent of the Austric tribal population in these regions continued to communicate in their languages. The tribal groups living on the periphery of these areas have revealed a tendency of growing adaptability to communicate in more than one language. At their homes they speak their own mother-tongue while they communicate with out-groups in other language at the place of work or in the market-place. The findings of the earlier study are revealing in many respects. The Austric-speaking tribal groups of India, for example, display a fairly high degree of continuity of their mother-tongue, particularly those living in the remote, forested and hilly regions. The minor groups among the
tribals have by and large changed over to other languages, tribal or non tribal.

Linguistic change is common on the periphery of the tribal homelands. The nodes of the developmental activity within the zones of tribal concentration also play an equally catalytic role. In a nutshell, the process of urbanization and the attendant sectoral change have proved to be the most effective vehicles of linguistic change over time.

A case study of the Santals indicated that the linguistic change was positively correlated with sectoral change, urbanization and literacy.

The process of urbanization draws the rural based tribals into the framework of urban economy with the result they lose their traditional language and get absorbed into the urban culture.

The growth of literacy accelerated this process further. Since education is generally imparted in regional languages, literacy invariably leads to linguistic change (Ishtiaque, 1980).
2. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The present research aims at identifying the nature and the degree of language change overtaking the tribal communities in different regions of the country characterized by differences in ecological and socio-economic milieu. It proposes to understand the dynamics of linguistic change and analysing their spatial parameters.

The objectives of the study are:

i) to examine language change among the four numerically and linguistically important tribal groups i.e. the Bhils, the Korkus, the Mundas and the Santals belonging to the western, central and the eastern regions of the country. Since, linguistic change varies within the same tribal group, an effort has been made;

a) to trace the patterns of language change among the various age cohorts such as youth, adult and old age-groups as well as between the male and female populations for each tribal group;

b) to examine the degree of exposure among each tribal group to Hindi which is the major non-tribal language in the study area;
c) to evaluate the degree of bilingualism which is taking place undoubtedly among these tribes in their respective regions as a result of the interaction between the tribes and non-tribes;

ii) to develop a typology of language maintenance and shift for these tribes in order to understand the areas of high, medium, and low degrees of language maintenance and shift as well as the type of linguistic combinations.

iii) to explore the processes and determinants of language change among the tribes in India in general and for the above mentioned tribes in particular.

It is intended here to test the relationship through rigorous computer programming to establish the role of a set of factors leading to linguistic change among the tribal groups. The aim is to develop a theoretical insight into the social condition that leads to loss of traditional tribal identity expressed through change in the medium of communication. Thus, it is different in nature and highlights the need to frame hypothesis through the process of intellecction.
3. **DATA BASE AND METHODOLOGY**

The data for this study have been derived both from the secondary source and generated through the field-work. The census data have been collected for the district level whereas the data from the field-work have been collected at the household level. The latest census data available for this study is for 1961 which have been used for inter-district comparison of the pattern of linguistic change and other aspects such as index of concentration, typology of language change, etc. The census data include the following variables for all the four tribes i.e. the Bhils, the Korkus, the Mundas and the Santals, selected for the study.

1. total population of the tribes;
2. tribal population in urban areas;
3. tribal literates;
4. tribes engaged in non-primary activities;
5. Hindu tribes;
6. Christian tribes;
7. Male tribal population;
8. tribes under 45 years of age;
9. tribes speaking regional language;
10. tribes speaking other tribal language;
11. tribes speaking non-tribal non-regional language;
12. tribes speaking their own mother-tongue.

Besides the above, total population, total urban population and total tribal population of the district, and total population of the Bhils, Korkus, Mundas and Santals of the country have also been derived from the census.

The primary data have been generated from the field-work at the household level. Besides socio-economic aspects, it is tried to gather maximum information on linguistic aspects ranging from mother-tongue, to language choice, recognition of mother-tongue, and the language of past and present. To test the degree of exposure to Hindi, a set of common Hindi words have also been included in the questionnaire.

3.1 PROCEDURE OF DATA COLLECTION FROM THE FIELD-WORK

Four districts have been selected for field-work. These districts include Santal Parganas for the study of the Santals, Ranchi for the Mundas, East Nimar for the Korkus, and the Bhils from Banswara district. The selection of these districts has been done on the basis of dominant position of these tribal groups in their respective districts. Since tribes are not uniformly distributed in these districts it
was decided to do the field-work in the predominantly tribal blocks. Keeping this in mind, Bagidora block from Banswara, Punasa and Khalwa blocks from East Nimar, Bundu and Murhu blocks from Ranchi and Littipara block from Santal Parganas (now under Sahibganj district) were selected. Besides these, data were also collected for urban centres and for this purpose, the district headquarters of these districts except in the case of East Nimar were chosen.¹

Altogether 15 villages have been selected from the above mentioned blocks for the household survey. Four villages from Bagidora, four villages from Khalwa, three villages from Punasa, two villages from Bundu, one village from Murhu and one village from Littipara block have been chosen for household survey. Since, all these villages are monolingual in nature, not much attention has been paid to collect the data on the required sample.²

¹. The local people were surprised when they have been asked about the Korkus. presence in Khandwa town. "Korkus live in Jungle not in town" was their reply.

². Since, the tribal people in most of these villages were found hostile to outsiders, it was tried to collect data as much as possible in the presence of the security personnel who not only worked as interpreter but also took care of my security.
The change in mother-tongue was noticed only in Ranchi town in which some Mundas have declared Sadni/Sadri as their mother-tongue whereas some of them have still affinity with their traditional language. The Bhils in Banswara town and the Santals in Dumka town have declared their traditional mother-tongue. In these cases, the same procedure was adopted while surveying as many households as were possible by taking care of the feasibility of time and resources as well as to fulfill the purpose and requirements of the study. The details of the survey conducted during the field-work at different villages are given in table-1.
TABLE 1

SAMPLE DESIGN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village/town</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>No. of household</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Wanera Para</td>
<td>Banswara</td>
<td>Bhil</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Regania</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Nai Abadi</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Umedgarhi</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Banswara town</td>
<td>do -</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Bande</td>
<td>Ranchi</td>
<td>Munda</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Litingdih</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Kula Buru</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Murhu</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ranchi town</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Suraj Beda</td>
<td>Santal Parganas</td>
<td>Santal</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Dumka town</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Mir pur</td>
<td>East Nimar</td>
<td>Korku</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Punasa</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Udaipur</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Richhi</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Kalamkala</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2 METHODOLOGY

The data available in the census were found in discrete series fragmented into male and female as well as into rural and urban segments. To get the aggregate figure at the district level, male, female population of rural as well as for urban areas were clubbed together for all the variables required for the study. The percentages of all these variables have been calculated. After these preliminary steps, the following methods have been applied:

a) Concentration Index has been used to find out the areas of relative high, medium and low concentration of tribal population in the country as well as in the study area in order to understand the relationship between the concentration of tribes and degree of linguistic change;

b) Degree of Linguistic Diversity has been measured to trace out the areas of high, medium and low degrees of linguistic diversity to understand the direction and magnitude of language change in the study area;
c) Exposure Index has been developed to measure the degree of linguistic exposure and its relationship with linguistic change among the tribes;

d) Degree of Linguistic Change has been measured to demarcate the areas of high, moderate and low linguistic change among the tribes;

e) Typology of Language Maintenance and Shift has been attempted to trace out the areas of linguistic combination for language maintenance and shift;

f) Stepwise Regression Model has been used to understand the causal relationship between a set of socio-economic variables and linguistic change;

The details of these methods have been discussed at the relevant places in the thesis. Besides, cartographic techniques have also been employed to show the spatial variation of tribal concentration, distribution and concentration of mother-tongue, areas of language change and maintenance, etc.
4. STUDY AREA

The study area is extensive and includes the western, central, and the eastern regions of the country (Fig.1). It includes 53 districts to study the patterns of language change among the Bhils. These districts are distributed in the states of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, and Maharashtra. In the case of Korku, the region extends over 10 districts lying in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. As far as Santali is concerned, the study area includes 37 districts distributed over the states of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Tripura whereas for Mundari, it comprises 41 districts belonging to the states of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Tripura.

Out of the above mentioned geographical regions of India, the districts of Banswara (Rajasthan) was selected from the western region, East Nimar (Madhya Pradesh) from the central region, and Ranchi and Santal Parganas (Bihar) from the eastern region to conduct the field-work for this study. A brief account of the districts is given below:

4.1 RANCHI

It is the largest district and having the highest percentage of tribal population to its total population in
LOCATION OF STUDY AREA

Fig. 1
the state of Bihar. Situated in the south western part of the state bordering Orissa to its south and Madhya Pradesh to the south-west. It extends over 18,266 square kilometres between 20° 21' and 23° 43' north latitudes and between 84° and 85° 54' east longitudes. It is surrounded on the north by the districts of Palamau and Hazaribagh; on the south by Singhbhum and Sundargarh; on the east by Singhbhum and Purulia, and on the west by Raigarh, Surguja and Palamau.

Physiography

The district lies on the Chotanagpur plateau which is made of very old rocks like gneisses and khondalites. The height of the plateau varies from 150 to 900 metres above the sea level. In the north-western portion a long stretch of hills is locally known as Pat which rises more than 900 metres in height. A little more than one half of the district falls in between 600 to 900 metres in the north and west while the lower plateau which is found in the south and east has an elevation of less than 600 metres above the sea level. There is a long narrow stretch of low-lying area formed by the Subernarekha river along the border of Purulia district. Due to extensive soil erosion and gully formation, the land adjoining streams has developed typical bad-land characteristics.
Climate

The district receives rainfall almost through-out the year with an average of 1,481mm. though the concentration is during the south-west monsoon period from June to September.

Natural Resources

From the natural resource point of view the district has a vast potential of forest and mineral resources. About 24 per cent of the total area of the district is covered by forest. Besides Sal (Shorea robusta), the main forest, Asan (Terminalia Tomentosa), Gamhar (Gmelina arborea), Kendu (Dispyros tementosa), Mahua (Bassia latifolia), Simul (Bombax Malabarrian) are also common through-out the district. The principal forest produce includes fire-wood, leaves for Biri-making, lac, Sabai grass, etc. A significant amount of revenue is generated from forest produce every year.

The district is rich in mineral resources and acquires an important place for their production not only in Bihar but also in India. Important minerals are baryte, bauxite, beryle, chromite, clay; coal; copper, gold, lead, silver, mica and lime-stones.
Economy

Agriculture and forests provide the source of livelihood to the bulk of population. However, since the early sixties industrialization has made a rapid progress and the economy of the district acquired a new orientation through the introduction of tea plantation and shellac manufacture. In the independent era, the district has emerged as a symbol of industrial revolution because of the establishment of heavy industries such as alumina, cement, black-wire ropes, heavy electrical equipments and lac, tea as well as other forest based industries. Although the pace of the industrialization has stirred up even the remotest corner of the district, agriculture remains the main occupation of the indigenous population. The staple food for majority people is maize, kodo, mahua, and jackfruit whereas rice is the staple food for a small and upper class people. The inhabitants in the forest areas also supplement their food with jungle produce.

Population

The population of the district has been growing steadily from 1901 except during the decade 1911-1921. The increase of population here is mainly due to a spurt of
industrialization leading to the growth of new towns. According to 1981, population of the district is 30.7 lakh with a density of 168 persons per square kilometre. About 21 per cent of the population lives in urban centres. More than 56 per cent of the population is comprised by Scheduled Tribes and about 5 per cent are Scheduled Castes. The percentage of literate people is 31 whereas 34 per cent of the population was classified as main workers. The primary sector is predominant which absorbs more than two-thirds of the total work-force.

According to 1981, there were 17.3 lakh tribes divided into 28 tribal communities. Of the total tribal population, about 8.5 per cent was living in urban areas and 37 per cent was classified as main workers. The literacy among them was 23 per cent as against 31 per cent among the non-tribals. Majority of work-force was engaged in primary sector which accounted for 88 per cent of the total tribal work-force.

Both the Mundas and the Oraons are dominant tribal groups and together account for more than three-fourths of the total tribal population of the district. The Mundas with a population of 4.7 lakh persons declared 10 mother-tongues besides their own tongue that is Mundari. More than 75 per
of the Mundas declared Mundari as their mother-tongue. Among the remaining languages Hindi, Sadri, Panch Pargania and Nagpuria, are important which have more than ten thousand speakers each.

4.2 SANTAL PARGANAS

It is the third largest district of Bihar lying between 23° 40' and 25° 18' north latitudes and between 86° 28' and 87° 57' east longitudes and covers an area of 14,206 square kilometres. It is bounded on the north by the districts of Bhagalpur, and Purnia; on the east by Malda, Murshidabad and Birbhum; on the south by Burdwan, and Dhanbad; and on the west by Hazaribagh, Mongher and Bhagalpur.

Physiography.

The district is an upland tract with undulating and a hilly back-bone running from north to south. To the north and east, it is flanked by a long but narrow strip of alluvial soil of about 1,046 square kilometres hammed in between the river Ganges and the Rajmahal hills. The hills covered an area of about 2,200 square kilometres and rise abruptly from the plains, forming a wall of 300 to more than 600 metres high which forces the Ganges to bend to the east before it finally takes its southerly course to the sea. The
hilly region which occupies the northern portion of Sahibganj and south and west of Deoghar have an average height of 450 metres above the sea-level. The height varies between 150 and 300 metres in the region known as rolling land or plateau area consists series of rolling ridges of undulating uplands often gives a fantastic outlook. The flat and fertile land which has less than 150 metres in height is also known as Tappa Manihari covering the northern part of the district.

Santal Parganas is mainly a dissected upland of ancient crystalline rocks which are covered with thick flows of volcanic lava. The rocks consist of archaean gneiss (also known as Bengal gneiss) and Gondwana type, except in the north where they disappeared beneath the alluvium deposited by the Ganges. The high lands along the eastern boundary are made up mostly of volcanic rocks. In fact the greater part of the Rajmahal hills have volcanic rocks.

Climate

Climatically the district is hot and dry during summer and cool during winter. The average rainfall in the district is 1,367mm. of which 80 per cent occurs during the monsoon season from June to September.
Natural Resources

Though the district is not rich in mineral resources yet a number of economic minerals are found. These are clay, quartz-silica-sand, glass-sand, soap-stone, felspar, building-stone, road metal, lime, china-clay, fire-clay, coal, iron, copper and lead.

Once thick and extensive forest, the district now is bereft of much of its jungle wealth. There has been large scale destruction of forest in few decades. Except Daman-i-koh the jungle on plains have almost cleared. Still about 13 per cent of its area is covered by the forest. The forest comes under the dry peninsular Sal type. The predominant species are sal, bamboo, birja, asan, dharua, kendu, chir, jamun, mahua, etc. Lac, sabai grass, silk cocoon, and tassar are important forest produce.

Economy

The district offers an interesting example of how indigenous pastoral economy had passed to agricultural economy and how an attempt is now being made to have a mixed economy with much emphasis on industrialization. Agriculture is the mainstay of the majority of the people. Rice is the
main crop which covers about 63 per cent of the total cultivated area followed by maize. Other crops such as marua, bajra, kodo, til, kulthi, mustard etc. are also grown. The Paharias who have been pushed up by the Santals on the top of the hills, live on jungle produce. They depend much on hunting than cultivation. Jhuming cultivation is still common among such tribes in the district.

Population

The population of the district was increased at the rate of 15.2 per cent in 1961 and 19.1 per cent in 1971. According to 1981 the total population of the district was 37.2 lakh persons which increased at the rate of 16.8 per cent. The density of population is 261 persons per square kilometre. Out of the total population, about 37 per cent is comprised by Scheduled as Tribes and about 7 per cent as Castes. About 7.9 per cent people lives in urban areas and the share of main workers was about 33 per cent to the total population. The primary sector absorbs 81 per cent of the total work-force.

According to 1981, total tribal population in the district was 13.7 lakh persons comprised by 13.2 per cent literate as against 22.3 per cent as a whole in general.
Almost hundred per cent tribes lived in rural areas. The share of main workers to the total tribal population was 38 per cent whereas the share of primary sector was more than 90 per cent the total tribal work-force.

Out of 37 per cent population belonging to tribal, almost 33 per cent are the Santals. Nearly 57 per cent of the total Santals of the state of Bihar live in this district only. Besides the Santals, the other important tribes are Sauria Paharia, Mal Paharia, and Mahli having more than one lakh population each. Altogether 30 tribal communities are found in the district. More than 99 per cent Santals declared Santali as their mother-tongue. While the remaining Santals have declared 11 languages belonging to both tribes and non-tribes as mother-tongue.

4.3 EAST NIMAR

It is one of the most important districts of Madhya Pradesh having a rich historical past. The district extends over an area of about 10,779 square kilometres between 21° 5' and 22° 25' north latitudes and between 75° 57' and 77° 13' east longitudes. It is bounded on the east by the districts of Betul, Hoshangabad and Amravati; on the south
by Jalagaon, Buldhana, and Amravati; on the west by West Nimar, and on the north by Dewas.

Physiography

The district lies, for the most part on the uplands forming part of the Deccan trap between the valleys of the two major rivers i.e., the Narmada and the Tapi. The Narmada flows through the northern part of the district, roughly in the east-west direction. The Tapi flows in a narrow valley between two parallel ranges of the Satpura in the south. The Satpura is the name given collectively to a complex system of ranges and highlands lying to the south of the Narmada and extending up to the Amarkantak hills in the east. This system includes ranges as far south as the southern Maikal range. It is highly dissected by the erosive action of rivers and streams. The drainage pattern is of dendritic. India's one of the largest hydel power projects known as Indira Sagar Dam is being constructed over the Narmada in the district.

Climate

The climate of the district is dry. Summer is hot and winter is cold. The amount of rainfall is more on the
northern part than the southern. The average rainfall is 747mm.

Natural Resources

Rich in forests, the district has very limited mineral resources of economic importance. Some iron ore and manganese have been recorded in the north-eastern part of the district. About one-fourth of its area is covered with the forests of Southern Dry Deciduous Type. Most of the forests are under the management of the Forest Department. Teak is the most important and extensive forest. About half of the total forest area is under teak forest. The other important forests are mixed, anjan (Hard wikia binata), sabai grass, sal etc.

Economy

Majority of the people of the district depend on agriculture which is the mainstay of the people. Jowar and wheat constitute staple food of the majority people. Rice and maize are also used as additional staple food for small section of population. The tribes of jungle supplement their food with forest produce. The district is industrially backward but efforts are being made to put up some more
forest based industry. Nepa Nagar is a large scale industry located in the southern part of this district.

Population

According to 1981, the district is inhabited by 11.5 lakh persons with a density of 107 persons per square kilometre. About 27 per cent of its total population lives in urban areas. About 31 per cent of its population is literate and 40 per cent is classified as main workers. More than 74 per cent main workers are engaged in primary sector. The secondary and tertiary sectors together accounted for 26 per cent only.

The tribal population accounted for 26 per cent with a total population of about 3 lakh persons. About 2 per cent of them lives in urban areas. About 3 per cent tribes was found literate and 48 per cent was classified as main workers. The primary sector absorbed by almost 95 per cent of the total tribal work-force.

Korku is one of the most important tribes in the district. They not only speak their own traditional mother-tongue but also declared non-tribal language as their tongue. Besides Korku, they declared Hindi and Nimadi as
their tongue. About 80 per cent of the total Korkus in the district declared korku as their mother-tongue.

4.4 BANSWARA

It is the south most district of Rajasthan forming a part of the region known as Bagar or Vagad.

The district extends over an area of 5,037 square kilometres between 23° 3' and 23° 55' north latitudes and between 73° 58' and 74° 47' east longitudes. It is bounded on the north by the districts of Pratapgarh; on the west by Dungarpur; on the south by Jhabua and Indore; and on the east by Ratlam and Pratapgarh.

Physiography

On the north, northeast and the southwest, the district is protected by the impenetrable barriers of the Aravalli ranges while the western part is comparatively open and well-cultivated. The hills developed rugged surface and attain, in places, an altitude of 500 to 600 metres. In the western part, the rocks consist of gneisses of the Aravalli system while in the east these rocks are covered by Deccan trap.
Climate

The average temperature varies from $50^\circ F$ in winter to $108^\circ F$ in summer. The annual rainfall is nearly 965 mm. The southern part receives more rainfall than the other parts of the district.

Natural Resources

About 20 per cent of its area is covered under forest, while the district is nil in mineral resources. The most dense forest is found in the north-eastern part along the hilly areas. Teak is the main forest. Besides, black-wood, pipal, haldu (Adina cardifolia), dhak, Salor (Boswellia serrate), Kadamb, mahua, are also commonly found in the district.

Economy

Agriculture is the main occupation of the population in the district. The fertile soil of the district and development of Mahi hydel and irrigation projects have given a boost to agriculture. Maize and rice are the staple food. Besides these, wheat, barley, gram, sugarcane, are also grown. The district remained industrially backward and improving gradually. The district neither has railways nor any national highway passes through the district.
Population

The district provides shelter to almost 8.9 lakh persons of which 94 per cent live in rural areas. The density of population is 176 persons per square kilometre. About 7 per cent of the population is literate and 28 per cent is classified as main workers. Out of the total work-force, about 82 per cent is engaged in primary sector. About 73 per cent population of the district is classified as Scheduled Tribe and almost all of them live in rural areas. About 8.5 per cent of the tribal population is literate and 28 per cent of them is classified as main workers. Out of the total work-force, almost 95 per cent is engaged in primary sector.

Bhils are the main tribe in the district. They declared Bhili and its dialect Wagdi as their mother-tongue. Altogether 76 per cent Bhils of the district declared Bhili as their mother-tongue. The remaining 24 per cent Bhils registered Khariboli, Marwari, Gujarati, Malvi, and Palvi as their mother tongue.
5. AN OVERVIEW OF LITERATURE

History provides many examples of language shift/change that have occurred throughout the world. The study of language censuses also reveals that this process is continued and the languages of minority, or backward languages, are absorbed by and assimilated into the more developed and advanced languages. Chatterji (1969) pointed out that the Sumerians gradually shifted to the great Babylonian speech and the ancient Egyptians have become Arabic speakers. In the recent centuries Amerindian people of the two Americas, have become English, Spanish, or Portuguese speaking people. On the other hand, the old native speeches of Americas, although still current among a few million people, are slowly on the way to extinction. Most of the Celtic-speaking Gauls in France and Briton in England have lost their speech and now they are French and English speaking people.

In most cases, the language shift as suggested by Scotton (1983) seem to occur at the sub-conscious level while some changes come about consciously to manipulate the interaction of linguistic form and social significance. For example, the Sephardic community of Jerusalem radically shifted to Hebrew. Almost all population belonging to
younger generation exclusively speak Hebrew even at their home. This change, according to Chumaceiro (1983) was not due to political and economic domination or to the imposition of new social system over the Sephardism rather they welcomed Hebrew with their open arms. In the case of Uzbek, Fierman (1982) observed that inspite of all possible efforts and arrangements made by the Soviet government to develop and popularize it in uzbekistan between 1917 and 1940, there was a tremendous decline of uzbek speakers on the other hand there was an increase of Russian language speakers.

Language change is an evolutionary process (Mazumdar, 1970) and begins slowly and accelerates in succeeding generations. The time span taken in this process considered by Johnson (1976) may cross centuries or two demographic generations. He applied a model to measure the rate of language change during a specific time period. Labov's major theoretical work on language change is diachronic in nature. He made strong claim that language change occurs only when system changes and may be observed in progress in real time or more feasibly in apparent time (1972). Peng (1979) while rejecting the hypothesis of Johnson, opined that language change need not take place across generation boundaries. It
is continuum of constant change and therefore, need not wait for a new generation.

Language and culture do not exist in isolation from each other. They are highly and intensively inter-related. Thus, any culture change may result change in language suggested by Hoijer (1948). He believed that the introduction of new technology brought drastic changes in west European countries which followed change in language. When two or more different language groups come in contact for long period, natural borrowing starts to take place thus, leading to high degree of bilingualism and finally to language shift. Bonvillain (1978) studied the influence of French and English on Mohawk in Canada who had pervasive contact with French speaking people since mid-7th century and found that they have been shifting to French rapidly.

In India too, one can trace numerous examples of language shift/change starting from the days of the Aryans to the present. Chatterji (1969) believed that the pre-Aryans of the north Indian plain gradually gave up their tongue and became Aryan speakers. He calls it as the process of "Aryanisaiton" in language. Roy (1962) traced the linguistic history of India from Sanskrit and Prakrit to
Pali. The secondary Prakrit led to literary Apabhramsa and consequently after 10th century the development of Hindi, Bengali etc. took place in the north Indian plain. Assimilation of tribal groups into the non-tribal cultures brought many changes including changes in tribal dialects (Dasgupta, 1970, Gopal, 1966). Most of the tribals in India now became bilingual (Royburman, 1972) while some of them have completely abandoned their traditional language. For example, the Baigas and the Bhils speak non-tribal tongue (Ghurye, 1963). According to Marten the tribal languages of India are disappearing rapidly. He noticed that Hindi and Marathi have ousted Gondi in more than half of the Gondi population (Census of India, 1901, 1911, 1931). Hutton's study (1931) revealed that the Nagas have quickly shifted from one language to a new form or to a different language. Dalton (1972) observed that in many Oraon villages, Mundari and Hindi are spoken by the Oraons instead of Kurukh their traditional dialect. He also pointed out that those tribes who embraced Hindu faith have lost their language and speak a dialect of Hindi.

The extent of acculturation on linguistic level is as remarkable as the extent of miscegenation on the ethnic level (Sachchidananda, 1977). However, large number of
tribes in Bihar speak dialects of Hindi. About 18 per cent of tribes in Bihar returned Hindi as their mother-tongue. Another 17 per cent are bilingual. Oraons in most areas have lost their language. Royburman (1972) estimated that more than 50 per cent of the tribal population of the country speak non-tribal languages. Grierson, Russell (1916) and Doshi (1985) agree that whatever might have been the original language, their can be no doubt that at present, the Bhils have adopted an Aryan speech. A remarkable language shift can be noticed in India since 1951 among the Muslims in Andhra Pradesh, and Hindus in Punjab. Also noticeable is the decennial decrease in percentage share of Hindi speakers and growth of regional dialects in Bihar and other states. This shifting identity from census to census may be the result of deliberate misstatement and may also be due to a change in the attitude towards a particular language suggested by Bose (1969) as the Language Displacement. Kachru (1977) called it as language dynamics and Mitra (1974) identified it as the changing language attitude.

5.1 FACTORS PROMOTING LANGUAGE CHANGE

There are many reasons responsible for language shift/change. Among them age, sex, generation, status
differences, ritual, community contact and boundaries, migration, religious affiliation, education, and political organization are significant. All these factors were categorized by Joseph (1983) into internal and external. The external factors include contact between two or more linguistic groups. On the other hand, the internal factors are entirely related to the linguistic system only. Pandey (1977) in his study highlighted the importance of external forces in order to understand the mechanism of linguistic change. He felt the need of statistical support before drawing any conclusion. Dorian (1982) identified two factors such as pragmatism and cultural stance as responsible for language shift and maintenance. Under pragmatism, a language is adopted and retained if speakers believe that this is the way that their needs are best served. The cultural stance, on the other hand, is obvious in situations in which communities develop clear and specific priorities in valuing things cultural.

Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1986) hold the view that the language shift is a function of situation and is caused by variation in socio-cultural contexts. Blount and Sanches (1977) devoted their attention to determine possibly what complex socio-cultural dimensions activate linguistic
change. Weinreich (1953) observed that as the situation changes the bilingual groups replace one language by another. Urban dwellers are more inclined to shift than rural once who are more conservative and more isolated. Fishman (1976) further suggested that prestigious language replaces the less prestigious languages. Mackinnon (1977) pointed out that the shift may be pronounced both in higher prestige occupational groups as well as in the manual labouring and under-employed groups of lower prestige. Liberson (1970) examined language and ethnic relation with the help of various demographic ecological variables e.g., patterns of residence, fertility, migration, and a set of socio-cultural variables, that can effect ethno-linguistic persistence and assimilation. He tried to establish the causal relationship between these variables in order to show the pattern of language change and maintenance.

Gal (1981) believed that language change is essentially a symbolic change correlated with the changing relation status of the value-system and not a simple function of industrialization, urbanization or some other large scale social change. Milroy and Milroy (1985) with the help of a model tried to explain how language passes from one state to another and why language change seems to take place in some
social conditions and not in others. At the macro-level they claimed that in institutions of mobility or social instability along with the population of weak-ties, language change is likely to be rapid. Liberson and McCabe (1978) tried to find out relationship between language usage in various domains and mother-tongue shift. The use of more than one language is another mechanism by which long term shift may occur. Apte (1962) used coefficient of correlation to find out the extent of adoption of standard dialect with urbanization and socio-economic factors. He found that these factors are significant to a large extent in bringing about linguistic change. Ishtiaque (1982) took the Santals as the case study and concluded that percentage of Santals shifted to non-tribal languages is positively correlated with the percentage of Hindu, Christian, literate, urban, work-force, and workers engaged in non-primary sectors of economy. The correlation observed so far as believed by Gal (1979) have not led to a systematic understanding of language shift.

In India, the study of language was promoted by S.M. Katre with the cooperation of Rockefeller Foundation in 1953. Since then, the field attracted other social scientists besides linguists and anthropologists and ethnographers. The works of Apte, Chatterji, Pandit
Khubchandani, Kachru, Nigam etc. though linguistic in nature provide a base to the social scientists for further studies on language situation in India. It is also necessary to mention here that the Deccan College Research Institute in Pune, the Central Institute of Indian Languages in Mysore, and the Language Division of the Census Office are taking such studies in India. Besides, there is a National Association of Geographers, India (NAGI) "Commission on Linguistic Geography" which has been holding its annual symposium to draw the attention and participation of geographers and scholars from related disciplines to make combined efforts for the development of linguistic geography. A number of scholars are engaged in research in the field of linguistic geography at the JNU, centre for the study of Regional Development.

The foregoing paragraphs show that language change/shift is geographically and historically wide spread in India as well as outside but hardly any geographical description of language change has been given either by geographers or by the other social scientists. This rich field requires a fresh look from the geographical angle in order to understand the linguistic dynamics, its
distribution and problem of language regionlism, etc. Which seem to be one of the burning issues in the country today.

6. SCHEME OF CHAPTERISATION

The present thesis on "Dialectal/Linguistic Change Among the Scheduled Tribes in India and Its Correlates- A Geographical Analysis" has been divided into eight chapters.

The first chapter is Introduction in which Statement of the Problem, Objectives of the Study, Data Base and Methodology, a brief account the Area Under Study and an Overview of Literature have been studied.

Indian Tribes : The Locational Settings is the second chapter focussing on socio-economic and cultural conditions of the tribal population as well as environmental conditions of tribal areas. The chapter has been divided into seven sections including Characteristics of Tribal Regions, Tribal Population and Its Socio-Economic Conditions, Classification of Indian Tribes, Impact of Developmental Activities, Indian Tribes : A Historical Perspective, Distribution of Tribes in India and Pattern of Interaction and Change. The chapter is purely theoretical in nature.
The third chapter is *Linguistic Diversity in India*. The purpose of the chapter is to provide a general description of the various language families in India on the one hand and tribal languages on the other. The chapter has been divided into four sections including Indian Languages: Some Generalities, Distribution of Languages in India, Tribal Languages/Dialects and Distribution of Selected Tribal Dialects in India. Like second chapter, it is also a theoretical chapter.

The fourth chapter is *Language Change and Maintenance: Basic Assumptions and Concepts*. It deals with the conceptual framework of language change and maintenance. Language diversity and processes of language change have also been studied. The chapter is theoretical and has been divided into three sections.

*Language Change Among the Selected Tribes in India: Determinants and Correlates* is studied in the fifth chapter. This chapter has been divided into five sections including Linguistic Diversity, Linguistic Exposure, Bilingualism/Multilingualism and Correlates of Language Change. Lastly, Explaining the Unexplained was also studied. The chapter is based on empirical data. In this chapter
regression model has been attempted to find out the causal relationship between language change and a set of socio-economic and cultural variables.

Language Change and Maintenance has been studied in the sixth chapter. The concept of language change and maintenance was dealt in the introductory section. The first and the second sections deal with the Changing Nature of Linguistic Identity Among the Tribes and Areas of Language Change and Maintenance. The Typology of Language Shift and Maintenance has been studied in the third section. The first section is theoretical but the remaining two sections are based on empirical data. The last section makes an attempt to develop a statistical technique to demarcate the areas of various degrees of language shift and maintenance. It also identifies the various typologies of language change.

The language change and maintenance has many implications both socio-economic and political. Therefore, in the seventh chapter an attempt has been made to study these implications. The chapter is titled as Language Shift: Interaction and Assimilation. The chapter is divided into four sections. These include Implications of Language Change, Growth of Language Regionalism, Language Regionalism
in Tribal Areas, and lastly, Politics and the Choice of Language in the Study Areas. The first three sections are theoretical in nature but the last section is based on empirical data collected from the field.

The last chapter presents a Summary of Conclusions. The chapter also highlights some of the problems which usually come across in the study of linguistic geography especially in the case of language change among the tribal communities in India. The findings of the study have been analysed separately for primary data as well as for secondary data. Lastly, the policy implications of language change has also been discussed in brief.

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