 CHAPTER VI

LANGUAGE CHANGE AND MAINTENANCE

1. INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

In this chapter an attempt has been made to explain the changing nature of linguistic identity and the probable directions to which this change is possible among the tribal communities in India. Possible combinations of bilingualism and multi-lingualism have also been discussed. Secondly, on the basis of linguistic affiliation, it is tried to identify various groups of the tribes have been affiliating themselves to their traditional dialect and those who have switched over to non-traditional dialect. Thirdly, an effort has been made to demarcate the areas of language change and maintenance of the selected tribes i.e. the Bhils, Korkus, Mudas and the Santals. Variations in the degree of language change and maintenance have been classified into very high, high, medium and low groups. Lastly, an exercise of typology of language maintenance and shift has been done to demarcate the areas of mixed degrees of language maintenance and language shift.
2. CHANGING NATURE OF LINGUISTIC IDENTITY AMONG THE TRIBES

Language change/shift, to geographers, means switching over from own traditional language to non-traditional language. For example, a section of Santals, whose traditional language is Santali, declared Hindi as their mother-tongue meaning thereby they have changed their traditional mother-tongue and identified themselves with the regional language. This kind of language shift takes place not only in the direction of non-tribal language but also in the favour of other tribal language. For example, in 1961, a large section of Oraons in the Chotanagpur plateau have adopted Mundari as their mother-tongue.

2.1 DIRECTION OF LINGUISTIC CHANGE

The language shift which is taking place among the tribes in India is likely to be in the following directions.

- Traditional language to
  - i) other tribal language;
  - ii) own regional language;
  - iii) other regional language;
  - iv) international language;

The above hypothetical illustration may be understood in actual terms as follows:
Mundari to
i) Santali
ii) Hindi
iii) Bengali/Oriya
iv) English

It is to be noted here that the above case may be true only when the Munda tribe is selected from Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. If the same tribe is selected from West Bengal then the regional language will be Bengali and other regional language may be Hindi/Oriya etc. as may be the case.

Linguistic change, usually at its early stage, leads to the process of bilingualism and multilingualism. Bilingualism and multilingualism among the tribes in India may have the following combinations.

The case for Bilingualism
Own language + i) other tribal language;
ii) own regional language;
iii) other regional language;
iv) national language;
v) international language;
In actual term the above situation, by taking Korku as an example, may be expressed as follows:

Korku +  
   i) Gondi;  
   ii) Nimadi;  
   iii) Marathi;  
   iv) Hindi;  
   v) English

The case for Multilingualism

Own language +  
   i) other tribal + own regional language;  
   ii) own regional + national language;  
   iii) own regional + other regional language;  
   iv) own regional + international language

In actual terms the above cited illustration may be expressed as follows:

Korku +  
   i) Gondi + Nimadi;  
   ii) Nimadi + Hindi;  
   iii) Nimadi + Marathi;  
   iv) Nimadi + English;
There may be many more combinations of languages spoken by the tribal communities in India but it is not possible as well as not desirable to discuss all of them here. It needs proper investigation and classification for the purpose of an independent research in linguistic geography.

2.2 CLASSIFICATION OF TRIBES ON LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION

Today, the tribal people in India speak not only their traditional dialect but also the language of other tribal and non-tribal groups. They can at present, be identified as belonging to the following groups in terms of their linguistic affiliation.

a) tribes speaking a dialect with which they are traditionally identified;

b) tribes speaking a dialect of other tribal group with whom they have come in contact;

c) tribes speaking regional language;

d) tribes speaking non-tribal non-regional language.
It is easy to understand the above classification of tribes into various groups. Group 'a' refers to those who remained loyal to their traditional language and speak it as their mother-tongue. On the other hand, group 'b', 'c' and 'd' are the cases of language shift. Group 'b' refers to those who have adopted dialects of different tribal groups. For example, Mundas declared Santali as their mother-tongue. Group 'c' refers to those who have declared Hindi as their mother-tongue instead of their traditional dialect. Besides these, there are cases at the peripheries of the tribal areas and along the border areas of different states where tribals declared non-tribal non-regional language as their mother-tongue. It was found that the Santals of Bihar living along the Bihar and West Bengal border, declared Bengali, and those living along the Bihar-Orissa border registered Oriya as their mother-tongue. Both these languages are non-tribal non-regional in character and may be classified under the group 'd'. Tribes declaring foreign languages may also be grouped under the 'd' category.

3. AREAS OF LANGUAGE CHANGE AND MAINTENANCE

Language change varies not only from region to region but also from tribe to tribe. The census of India 1961 reported that about 15 per cent tribes in Bihar, 35 per cent
in Orissa, 30 per cent in West Bengal, 38 per cent in Andhra Pradesh, and 66 per cent in Madhya Pradesh have declared non-tribal languages as their mother-tongue. The picture was too generalized at the state level to draw any conclusion, therefore, an attempt has been made to find out the changing patterns of linguistic identity among the Bhils, Korkus, Santals and the Mundas at the district and village levels.

3.1 LANGUAGE CHANGE AND MAINTENANCE AMONG THE BHILS

3.1.1 Bhils Declared traditional language

Out of the total 53, there were only 20 districts in which the Bhils have declared Bhili and its dialects as their mother-tongue. The Bhils of Dungarpur and Ratlam declared Bhili with the percentages of 99.6 and 81.9 respectively. In another 3 districts the share of Bhili ranges from 60 to 80 per cent. In the remaining 15 districts, the share of Bhili is insignificant. Most of these districts may be classified in a group where less than 20 per cent Bhili was declared as mother-tongue.

3.1.2 Bhils Declared other Tribal Languages

There were 23 districts in which the Bhils registered other tribal languages as their mother-tongue. Out of the
total, there were 15 districts in which less than 10 per cent Bhils have registered other tribal languages. Its share ranges from 10 to 20 per cent in 3 districts and from 20 to 60 per cent in another 7 districts. In Jaipur 72 per cent Bhils declared other tribal languages as their mother-tongue. Among these languages Malvi, Dangi, Bard, Ahirni, Harauti etc. are important.

3.1.3 Bhils Declared Regional Language

There were 48 districts in which the Bhils have declared regional language. Out of which, there were 23 districts where more than 90 per cent Bhils shifted from traditional to regional language. There were as many as 5 districts in which cent per cent Bhils declared regional language. The share of regional language varies between 40 and 80 per cent in another 10 districts. The percentage of language shift ranges from 20 to 40 in 5 districts and in another 3 districts it is from 10 to 20 per cent. Hindi and its dialects are considered regional language in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan while Gujarati and Marathi in the state of Gujarat and Maharashtra respectively.
3.1.4 Bhils declared non-tribal non-regional languages

There were 40 districts in which, Bhils have declared non-tribal non-regional languages as their mother-tongue. Except 6 districts in which the share varies from 10 to 60 per cent, the remaining 34 districts have only 10 per cent Bhils who have registered non-tribal non-regional languages as mother-tongue. These languages include Hindi, Gujarati, Telugu, Kannada, in Maharashtra, while Hindi, Marathi, Telugu and Kannada in Gujarat, and Gujarati, Marathi, Telugu in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan (table 14).

TABLE 14

LANGUAGE CHANGE AND MAINTENANCE AMONG THE BHILS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% categories</th>
<th>Own mother tongue</th>
<th>Other tribal language</th>
<th>Regional language</th>
<th>NR.NT. language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 80</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-80</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-60</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-40</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2 LANGUAGE CHANGE AND MAINTENANCE AMONG THE KORKUS

3.2.1 Korkus declared traditional language

Out of the total 10, there were as many as 8 districts in which Korkus have declared Korku as their mother-tongue.

In Amravati almost cent pre cent Korkus declared it as mother-tongue while in Surguja, Chhindwara, Betul and E. Nimar the share of Korku varies from 77 to 82 per cent. In the remaining 3 districts, Hoshangabad, W. Nimar and Dewas the share of Korku was 11.7, 3.0 and 0.3 per cent respectively.

3.2.2 Korkus declared other tribal languages

Except E. Nimar and Bhind districts, the Korkus in the remaining 8 districts registered other tribal languages. The share does not exceed beyond 5 per cent in any of these districts except Betul with 22 per cent. Gondi and Malvi are the two main languages in this group.

3.2.3 Korkus declared regional language

The Korkus, in all 10 districts, have declared regional language as their mother-tongue. The shift was almost cent
per cent in Bhind district followed by Dewas (99%), West Nimar (92%), Indore (93%) and Hoshangabad (88%). There were 2 districts, E. Nimar and Chhindwara in which about 21 per cent Korkus have declared regional language while the share is less than one per cent in Amravati and Betul districts. Hindi and its regional dialects are considered regional language in Madhya Pradesh and Marathi in Amravati district.

3.2.4 Korkus declared non-tribal non-regional languages

There were only 4 districts in which the Korkus have declared non-tribal non-regional languages as their mother-tongue. In all these districts the share of these languages is less than 7 per cent. Chhindwara with the highest percentage of 6 is followed by Indore and W. Nimar with less than 3 per cent, and Amravati with 0.2 per cent only. Hindi and its regional dialects were considered as non-tribal non-regional languages in Amravati while Marathi, Telugu in Madhya Pradesh (table 15).
TABLE 15
LANGUAGE CHANGE AND MAINTENANCE AMONG THE KORKUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% categories</th>
<th>Own mother language</th>
<th>Other tribal language</th>
<th>Regional language</th>
<th>NR.NT. language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 80</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-80</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-60</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-40</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3 LANGUAGE CHANGE AND MAINTENANCE AMONG THE SANTALS

3.3.1 Santals declared traditional mother-tongue

Out of the total 37, there were 35 districts including Tripura in which the Santals have reported Santali as their mother-tongue. Out of which there were 21 districts in which more than 80 per cent Santals have declared Santali. In 18 districts the share of Santali exceeded 90 per cent. The share of Santali varies from 40 to 80 per cent in 9 districts. There were only 3 districts in which less than 10 per cent Santals declared Santali as their mother-tongue. In
another 2 districts the share varies in between 20 and 40 per cent.

3.3.2 Santals declared other tribal languages

There were altogether 26 districts including Tripura in which the Santals have declared languages of other tribes as mother-tongue. The share of these languages was not found more than 24 per cent in any district. There were as many as 21 districts in the region in which the share ranging from 0 to 10 per cent. In the remaining 5 districts the share varies from 10 to 20 per cent in 3 districts and from 20 to 40 per cent in another 2 districts, Mundari, Kurukh. Korwa and Sadri are important among these languages.

3.3.3 Santals declared regional language

In 36 districts, the Santals have registered regional language as their mother-tongue. There were only 5 districts in which the share of regional languages exceeded 80 per cent. On the other hand, in 21 districts the share was less than 10 per cent only. The share of regional language ranges from 10 to 20 per cent in 3 districts and it was between 20 and 40 per cent in other 4 districts. In the remaining 3 districts the share of regional language varies from 46 to 61 per cent. Hindi and its regional dialects are considered
regional language of Santals in Bihar whereas Oriya in Orissa and Bengali in West Bengal.

3.3.4 Santals declared non-regional non-tribal languages

There were only 21 districts in which non-tribal non-regional languages were declared by the Santals. In each of these districts, the share of these languages remained under 13 per cent only. Out of the total, 15 districts were found in West Bengal, one in Orissa and remaining 4 districts in Bihar and Tripura. The highest share of these languages was 12.1 per cent in Tripura followed by Calcutta, 24-Parganas and Darjeeling districts. Bengali, and Oriya are considered non-tribal non-regional languages in Bihar while Hindi and Bengali in Orissa and Hindi and Oriya in West Bengal (table 16).
### TABLE 16

**LANGUAGE CHANGE AND MAINTENANCE AMONG THE SANTALS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Categories</th>
<th>Own mother tongue</th>
<th>Other tribal language</th>
<th>Regional language</th>
<th>NR.NT language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 80</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>60 - 80</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>40 - 60</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 40</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>10 - 20</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 35 26 36 21

#### 3.4 LANGUAGE CHANGE AND MAINTENANCE AMONG THE MUNDAS

#### 3.4.1 Mundas declared their traditional language

Out of the total 41, there were 30 districts in which the Mundas have declared Mundari as their mother-tongue. Among these districts, there were only 2 districts (Patna and Singhbhum) in which more than 80 per cent Mundas declared Mundari. On the other hand, there were 8 districts
in which the share of Mundari varies from 0 to 10 per cent only. In another 13 districts, the share of Mundari ranges from 10 to 40 per cent. The share of Mundari varies between 60 and 80 per cent in 4 districts while it was found between 40 and 60 per cent in 3 districts only.

3.4.2 Mundas declared other tribal languages

There were 37 districts in which the Mundas have declared other tribal languages as their mother-tongue. Out of which, there were altogether 15 districts where the share of these languages was confined to 10 per cent only. In another 11 districts the share was ranging from 10 to 40 per cent whereas it was between 40 and 80 per cent in another 9 districts. There were only 2 districts (Jalpaiguri and Balasore) in which more than 80 per cent Mundas declared other tribal languages. Kurukh, Santali, Sadri, Kharia etc. are important languages.

3.4.3 Mundas declared regional languages

There were 41 districts in which the Mundas have declared regional language. Out of the total, there were 9 districts in which more than 80 per cent Mundas have declared regional language. The percentage share ranges between 20 and 40 in 12 districts. There are 3 districts in
which the share varies from 10 to 20 per cent. There were only 6 districts in which the share of regional language was restricted to 10 per cent only. On the other hand it was varying between 60 and 80 per cent in another 5 districts and between 40 and 60 per cent in 6 districts. Hindi and its regional dialects are considered regional language for the Mundas living in Bihar while Oriya in Orissa and Bengali in West Bengal.

3.4.4 Mundas declared non-tribal non-regional languages

There were 29 districts in which Mundas have declared non-tribal non-regional languages as their mother-tongue. Out of the total, 22 districts had less than 10 per cent share while in the remaining 7 districts, the share varies from 15 to 46 per cent (table 17).
TABLE 17

LANGUAGE CHANGE AND MAINTENANCE AMONG THE MUNDAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Categories</th>
<th>Own mother tongue</th>
<th>Other tribal language</th>
<th>Regional language</th>
<th>NR.NT language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 80</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 - 80</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 60</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 40</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5 LANGUAGE CHANGE AND MAINTENANCE (Based on Primary data)

The pattern which emerges out of the study at the district level does not give a true picture of the real situation that exists at the household level. In order to overcome such anomaly, household survey has been designed to collect linguistic information for these tribal groups. The analysis of the study at the household level reveals that the Bhils of Wanerapara, Umedgarhi, Nai Abadi,
Regania villages (Bagidora tahsil) and the Bhils of Banswara town declared their traditional tongue as their mother-tongue. The Korkus of Punasa, Richhi and Udaipur villages (tahsil khandwa) have already been switched over to the regional language. On the other hand, the Korkus of Mirpur, Kalam Kala, Kutbi Sunderdeo villages (Hersud tahsil) registered Korku as their language.

The Mundas and the Santals of eastern India present a different picture. It was found that cent per cent Santals of Dumka town and Suraj Beda village declared Santali as their mother-tongue. On the other hand, about 92 per cent Mundas of Ranchi town declared Sadri as their mother-tongue and only about 8 per cent of them declared their traditional language. The situation is different in rural areas where majority of the Mundas reside and declaring their traditional mother-tongue. The Mundas of Kula Buru and Litingdih (Bundu block) and Bande (Murhu block) in Ranchi district declared their traditional tongue. Out of 8 households belonging to high school teachers at Murhu, it was found that Hindi is being used as mother-tongue in 5 households whereas in the remaining 3 households Mundari is continued.
The foregoing study on the nature of linguistic change among the tribal communities in India reveals that the Mundas in Ranchi and Korkus in E. Nimar were more inclined towards the language shift as compared to the Bhils in Banswar and Santals in Santal Parganas. Besides this, there is a regional variation in the degrees of language shift and maintenance. For example, the Korkus of Khalwa development block (Hersud tahsil) are more affiliated with their traditional language whereas the korkus of Punasa development block (Khandwa tahsil) have shifted to the regional language. Majority of the Mundas living in Ranchi town displayed a shifting tendency whereas the Mundas residing in rural areas have a greater tendency of maintaining their old tongue. As far as the Bhils and the Santals are concerned, there was no rural and urban difference on the changing nature of linguistic identity. The Santals of Dumka town and Littipara block and the Bhils of Banswara town and Bagidora tahsil declared their traditional language as mother-tongue.

4. TYPOLOGY OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT

The degree of language maintenance and shift among the selected tribal groups varies from less than one in some districts to almost cent per cent in others. Such a large
variation in data makes it a difficult task to arrive at some meaningful conclusions. To overcome this problem, an exercise has been made in this section to identify the typology of language maintenance and shift in order to demarcate the areas with very high, high, medium, and low degree of language maintenance and shift.

4.1 METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURE

The percentages of language maintenance and language shift have been calculated for all the districts and for each tribal group separately. On the basis of range of variation it is decided to divide into four grades of:

a) very high with the percentages of above 75;

b) high with the percentages from 50 to 75;

c) medium with the percentages between 25 and 50;

d) low with the percentages below 25.

It is to be noted here that less than 0.5 per cent has been considered as zero while more than 99.5 per cent as 100 per cent.

In order to find out typology, the above identified grades of maintenance and shift have been shown on the maps for each tribal group. The maps of maintenance and shift
have been superimposed to demarcate the mixed degree of maintenance and shift. Theoretically, there are possible 16 types but in fact the varying number of types are found for these tribes ranging from three in the case of Korkus to four for the remaining tribes. These grades are as follows:

a) Areas of very high maintenance with low shift (VL);
b) Areas of high maintenance with medium shift (Hm);
c) Areas of medium maintenance with high shift (Mh); and
d) Areas of low maintenance with very high shift (Lv).

4.2 TYPOLOGY OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT AMONG THE BHILS

Out of the total 53 districts, there were 21 districts only in which the Bhils have registered Bhili as their mother-tongue. Among these districts the magnitude of variation of language maintenance ranges from 1.33 per cent to 81.84 per cent besides Dungarpur district in which almost cent per cent Bhils have declared Bhili as mother-tongue. Both Banswara and Jhabua districts with the percentages of 76.53 and 81.84 respectively have been classified under very high degree of language maintenance whereas Ratlam and Dhulia have been considered as the districts with high degree of language maintenance. The medium degree of
maintenance is found in 4 districts including Dhar, West Nimar, East Nimar and Bhir in which the percentage varies from 25 to 50. The degree of language maintenance was of low order in 12 districts where less than 25 per cent of Bhils declared Bhils as mother-tongue.

Besides 32 districts in which cent per cent Bhils have shifted to non-traditional languages, there were 20 districts in which the magnitude of language shift varies from 18.16 to 98.67 per cent. Among these, there were 12 districts which have been classified as districts of very high degree of language shift. The high degree of shift was found in 4 districts while medium and low grades of shift were found together in 4 districts only (Appendix IV).

The value of coefficient of variance is 88.44 for language maintenance indicating higher regional variation whereas the value is 34.43 for language shift representing lower regional variation.

There are four types of mixed region emerging out of the superimposition of the language maintenance on language shift,

a) Very high maintenance with low shift (V1);
b) High maintenance with medium shift (Hm);
c) Medium maintenance with high shift (Mh);
d) Low maintenance with very high shift (Lv).

Areas of Vl type: There is only one pocket comprised of Banswara and Jhabua districts in which very high maintenance is associated with low language shift. This pocket is located almost in the centre of the Bhili region.

Areas of Hm type: There are two districts, Ratlam and Dhulia in which high maintenance is associated with medium shift. It is located adjacent to the boundary of Vl in the south in Dhulia district and to the north-east of the Vl in Ratlam district.

Areas of Mh type: This type is composed of two pockets consisting of 4 districts. The districts of Dhar, West Nimar and East Nimar forming a large pocket. It is located adjacent to the south border of Vl. Bhir district in central Maharashtra is another pocket of this type.
Areas of Lv type: This type consists of four pockets located mainly on the peripheries of the Bhil region (Fig. 10)

4.3 TYPOLOGY OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT AMONG THE KORKUS

Out of the total 10, there were 7 districts in which Korkus have maintained their language and in the remaining 3 districts they have shifted to other languages of the region. The magnitude of variation in the case of language maintenance varies from 3.21 to 99.42 per cent. There were 4 districts: East Nimar, Betul, Surguja, and Amravati, in which more than 75 per cent of the Korkus registered Korku as their mother-tongue. These districts have been classified under very high degree of language maintenance. The district Chhindwara has been classified as high degree of language maintenance whereas West Nimar and Hoshangabad districts may be grouped under the low degree of language maintenance.

Besides 3 districts in which cent per cent Korkus have registered non-traditional language, there were 7 districts in which the magnitude of variation of language shift varies from 0.58 to 96.79 per cent. There were two districts, West Nimar and Hoshangabad in which more than 75 per cent shift
TYPOLOGY OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT (1961)

**Fig. 10**
was observed and thus have been classified under very high degree of shift. The district chhindwara has been classified under medium degree of shift whereas low degree of shift was found in East Nimar, Betul, Surguja and Amravati districts (Appendix V).

The value of coefficient of variance is 57.06 for language maintenance indicating moderate regional variation whereas the value of coefficient of variance is 89.30 indicating high regional variation for the shift.

There were 3 types of mixed areas emerged out of the superimposition of language maintenance over the map of language shift.

a) very high maintenance with low shift (Vl);

b) high maintenance with medium shift (Hm);

c) low maintenance with very high shift (Lv).

The third grade which is medium maintenance with high shift does not appear among the korkus.

Areas of Vl type: This type consists of two pockets. The one which is comprised of 3 districts: East Nimar including Betul and Amravati in Central India whereas
Another pocket is located along the Bihar and Orissa border in Surguja district.

Areas of Hm type: There is only one district, Chhindwara located to the east boundary of V1 in central India belonging to this type.

Areas of Lv type: The districts of West Nimar and Hoshangabad have been classified under this type in which low maintenance is associated with very high degree of language shift. Hoshangabad is located to the north of V1 type whereas West Nimar towards the west (Fig. 11).

4.4 Typology of Language Maintenance and Shift Among the Santals

Out of the total 35, there were 4 districts in which hundred per cent Santals declared Santali as their mother-tongue. In the remaining 31 districts the magnitude of variation ranges from 0.71 to 99.28 per cent. Among these districts, 19 have been classified as the areas of very high degree of maintenance whereas 7 districts of high degree of maintenance. Medium degree of language maintenance was found
TYPOLOGY OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT

(1961)

KORKUS

MAHARASHTRA

ANDHRA

PRADESH

BIHAR

ORISSA

SANTALS

NEPAL

BHUTAN

ASSAM

MEGHALAYA

BANGLADESH

BAY OF BENGAL

PERCENTAGE

CENT PER CENT MAINTENANCE

CENT PER CENT SHIFT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>MAINTENANCE</th>
<th>SHIFT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>&gt; 75</td>
<td>&lt; 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hm</td>
<td>50-75</td>
<td>25-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mh</td>
<td>25-50</td>
<td>50-75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lv</td>
<td>&lt; 25</td>
<td>&gt; 75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VI = VERY HIGH MAINTENANCE WITH LOW SHIFT.
Hm = HIGH MAINTENANCE WITH MEDIUM SHIFT.
Mh = MEDIUM MAINTENANCE WITH HIGH SHIFT.
Lv = LOW MAINTENANCE WITH VERY HIGH SHIFT.

NOTE = District without mark not under study.
in 2 districts whereas 3 districts were classified under low grade of maintenance.

There were 31 districts in which the magnitude of language shift varies from 0.72 to 99.29 per cent besides the districts of Puri and Sundergarh in which cent per cent Santals declared non-santali language as their mother-tongue. Among these, 19 districts were classified under the areas having low degree of language shift. There were 7 districts in which medium degree of shift was found whereas 2 districts were classified under high and another 3 districts under very high degree of language shift (Appendix VI).

The value of coefficient of variance is 39.57 indicating lower regional variation for language maintenance while the value for the shift is 109 indicating very high degree of regional variation for the shift among the Santals.

There are four types of mixed areas of language maintenance and shift emerged out of the superimposition of these two maps.

a) very high maintenance with low shift (V1);
b) high maintenance with medium shift (Hm);
c) medium maintenance with high shift (Mh);
d) low maintenance with very high shift (Lv).

Areas of Vl type: There are three pockets which fall under this type consisting of 19 districts. The largest pocket comprising of 16 districts lying on the Chotanagpur region and extending to its north and east in the states of Bihar and West Bengal. The another pocket is located in the north of West Bengal. Tripura which exists in isolation also classified under this type, is forming the third pocket in the northeast India.

Areas of Hm type: There are five small pockets classified under this type. Except Purulia which lies in the midst of Vl on the Chotanagpur region, the other two pockets lie to the south of Vl in Orissa. The remaining two pockets are located in West Bengal comprising of Calcutta and Howrah together in the south and Jalpaiguri district in the north of the state.

Areas of Mh type: There are only two districts, Cooch Behar in the north and 24-Parganas in the South of West Bengal which have been classified under this type.
Areas of Lv type: There are two pockets consisting of 3 districts in this type. The one which includes the districts of Gaya and Palamau in Bihar and the another is Koraput districts in Orissa (Fig. 11)

5.4 TYPOLOGY OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT AMONG THE MUNDAS

Out of the total 41, there were 28 districts in which Mundas have declared their old tongue. Among these districts the magnitudes of variation ranges from 1.30 to 93.46 per cent. The percentage was more than 75 in the districts of Patna, Ranchi and Singhbhum and was considered a very high degree of maintenance whereas high degree of maintenance was found in another 4 districts. The medium degree of maintenance was observed in 7 districts whereas there were 14 districts in which low degree of maintenance of Mundari was found.

Out of the total, there were 13 districts in which cent per cent language shift was found. In the remaining 28 districts the magnitude of variation ranges from 6.54 to 98.70 per cent. Among these there were 14 districts which have been classified under the areas of very high degree of
language shift. There were 7 districts which have been grouped under high and 4 districts under medium and the remaining 3 districts under low grade of shift (Appendix VII).

The value of coefficient of variance is 82.42 for language maintenance and for the shift it is 40.65 indicating high degree of regional variation for maintenance and low degree of regional variation for the shift.

There are four types of mixed areas of language maintenance and shift emerged out of the superimposition of these two maps.

a) very high maintenance with low shift (Vl);
b) high maintenance with medium shift (Hm);
c) Medium maintenance with high shift (Mh);
d) low maintenance with very high shift (Lv).

Areas of Vl type: This type consists of 3 districts divided into two pockets. The districts of Ranchi and Singhbhum lying on the Chotanagpur plateau forming larger pocket than the another pocket which is located in the north of the Gangetic plain in Patna district.
Areas of Hm type: There are 4 districts divided into 3 pockets have been grouped under this type. Except Sundergarh in Orissa, the other two pockets are located in the north as well as to the south in West Bengal.

Areas of Mh type: This type consists of 3 pockets comprised of 7 districts. To the north of VI type there is a pocket consisting of 3 districts including Hazaribagh, Palamau and Dhanbad. Besides Howrah, there is another pocket including Bankura, Burdwan and Murshidabad districts of West Bengal.

Areas of Lv type: There are 14 districts under this type and may be divided into 8 pockets. All these are located on the peripheries of the Munda region except Purulia district on the Chotanagpur plateau (Fig.10)

The study of typology of language maintenance and shift reveals that the areas of VI are located in the core areas of tribal heartland whereas the areas of Lv type lie on the peripheries and the areas of Hm and Mh types are found in between these two grades. Some irregular patterns of the distribution of these types may also be noticed in the region which are mainly due to the development of industries.
and urban centres in the tribal heart lands and secondly, due to the nature of tribes living in segregation.

The values of coefficient of variation for language maintenance reveal that the regional variation is least in the case of Santali followed by Korku, Mundari, and Bhili while on the other hand these values for language shift indicating lowest regional variation in the case of Bhili followed by Mundari, Korku and Santali. Santali while comparing with Mundari, Korku and Bhili showing the highest regional variation of language shift and the lowest for language maintenance. On the other hand the Bhili indicating the lowest regional variation for language maintenance as compared to the others.