Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

This thesis addresses the question of bilingualism and language/dialect shift among the tribes of Chotanagpur region. It is posited that bilingualism may or may not lead to language shift. However, it is a necessary precondition for language shift which is a concomitant of the process of socio-economic development. It is generally observed that the Chotanagpur region has been witnessing wide-ranging changes in its social and economic structure. As a consequence, the tribes have been exposed to the process of change at different levels of intensity. Bilingualism and language shift are such dimensions of change. Bilingualism is a phenomenon where a new language is used by a group along with that of its own. The increase in the frequency of usage in the new language may gradually lead to abandonment or replacement of the traditional language, thus, characterizing a language shift.

Obviously an enquiry into the incidence of bilingualism and language shift is a complex research exercise. Therefore, this research restricts itself to only a few aspects which are at best exploratory in nature. First, an attempt has been made to conceptualise the terms 'bilingualism' and 'language shift' on the basis of an extensive survey of literature. The questions
of the degree and direction of bilingualism and language shift have been dealt with on the basis of secondary sources of data obtained from the Census. This exercise has been carried out for language/dialect spoken by the scheduled tribes in the study area. The units of observation are the districts at the aggregate level and a selected number of anchals/tahsils at the lower level. In order to obtain sex differences in the extent of bilingualism and language shift, data for the male and female segments of population have been analysed separately.

The patterns obtained from the secondary sources of data have been examined with the help of primary data generated from the field. The nature of primary data provides enormous scope for an examination of a large set of parameters influencing the incidence of bilingualism and language shift. In this context, age and sex differentials have been computed within zones of different radial distance from sample urban centres, for different tribal communities.

Objectives

The study has set before itself the following main objectives.

i) to study the linguistic composition of population in the region and to identify the nature of linguistic diversity;

ii) to identify the patterns of bilingualism among the tribes both in terms of degree of bilingualism and its direction;
iii) to explore the magnitude of language shift among the tribes and the intensity of usage of subsidiary languages in the different tribal life,

iv) to explore the nature of relationship between linguistic diversity/bilingualism/language shift and the selected set of socio-economic and demographic variables.

The Theoretical Framework

The underlying assumption here is that the phenomenon of social and economic change or development which saw its advent in the pockets of tribal concentration have been gradual in time and space. The processes of socio-economic development in the tribal areas are characterized by a sequence of interventions which began sometimes during the first phase of the colonial rule followed by developmental activities during the post-independence era. Such interventions were accompanied by infillration of a sizable proportion of non-tribal population from far and near, which brought about a significant change in the socio-cultural profile of the region. The tribes are now face-to-face with an alien social formation. The process of integration of the tribal economy with that of the regional and national economies have further reduced the isolated and exclusive character of the region. The infiltration of the non-tribal population acquired importance as they introduced distinct speech forms which were relatively more developed in terms of
their highly diversified literary tradition. These alien languages, by virtue of their association with socially, culturally and economically developed societies, soon acquired the status of the medium of communication in market and workplaces involving non-primary activities. In the context of Chotanagpur region, such languages can be recognised as Hindi, Oriya and Bengali.

This is not to suggest that the predominantly tribal territory of Chotanagpur was a monolith linguistically. Several tribal communities who inhabit the region have been territorially and socially exclusive and isolated from each other. Each tribal community, therefore, supported a distinct form of speech characterising a very high degree of linguistic diversity across the region. Nevertheless, within their respective domains of habitation, they were linguistically homogeneous. The infiltration of other linguistic groups, mainly those belonging to the non-tribes, introduced a new dimension of linguistic diversity within their specific linguistic domains. This phenomenon may also be expressed as 'linguistic pluralism'.

The linguistic overlap in a geographical situation may be understood in terms of tribal-non-tribal linguistic contacts. The impact of such a contact may lead to acquisition of any of the above mentioned non-tribal languages by the tribes in order to participate in the structurally transformed domains of regional economy, predominantly controlled by the non-tribals.
One may, therefore, assume that bilingualism and language shift may attain a highly differentiated character in relation to inter-tribal and, intra-tribal (age-sex) comparisons, by virtue of their differential nature of exposure to non-tribal languages.

The nature of traditional social formation of the Chotanagpur tribes may be expressed as primitive in terms of their social, cultural, technological and economic parameters. They were practising slash-and-burn cultivation on small scale, and were largely dependent on hunting, fishing and gathering from the forest. The advent of non-tribals into the region causes the breaking of their primitive state of living.

One may identify qualitatively distinct phases of socio-economic change in the tribal pockets of the Chotanagpur region. In the initial phases, the Missionary activities, launched during the colonial rule, exposed the tribes to a new set of socio-cultural values and practices. As the activities of the Christian Missions were carried through a number of social services directed towards emancipation of the tribes from the bondage of ignorance, superstition and unscientific health practices, Christianity found many subscribers from among the tribes. The tribes were also exposed to the process of education through a large network of educational institutions established by the Christian Missionaries. The impact of such a process of social transformation among the tribes was undoubtedly limited.
A more profound process of change was brought about with the introduction of mining, quarrying and forestry which became the basis for the emergence of incipient forms of industrialisation and urbanisation. It was for the first time, during this phase that a new set of economic opportunities developed in the region, providing enormous scope and promises for the development of resources and diversification of economic activities to both its original inhabitants and the outsiders. Understandably, this was a significant jump in terms of the preconditions under which the promises of the new era could be solidly based and supported by the region and its people. The original inhabitants who were predominantly tribes were ill-prepared to meaningfully understand and respond to the signals of the structural changes that were fast taking place in the region.

The last phase ushered in during the post-colonial period, the bases of which were rooted in the development that took place during the colonial time. The Government of India which proclaimed to establish an egalitarian basis for the development of its people and regions instituted several policies and programmes for development of the hither to extremely backward areas. The tribal areas ranked at the top of such priorities. A vigorous process of industrial-urban development, thus, sparked off. Simultaneously, it was also felt that without developing its people through provisions of educational, health and transportation services, no region can meaningfully
contribute to and benefit from the process of economic development. It was also realised that inequalities in the levels of socio-cultural and economic development of people in the tribal region, which was a function of large scale infiltration of the non-tribals into the region, would have a variety of adverse impacts on the tribes. It was common place that now the tribes were gradually being subjected to alienation from their land and other bases of their life sustenance such as the forest. In order to protect the tribes from the adverse impacts of such development, certain areas which were predominantly inhabited by the tribes and tribal communities elsewhere were provided constitutional protection under the provisions made in the Fifth Schedule.

In the above background, one may find that large scale infiltration of the non-tribal population into the tribal areas took place on an increasing scale all through the history beginning with the first phase. It led to the emergence of two situations in terms of tribal-non-tribal contact. Firstly, the tribal population got redistributed, and secondly, the composition of population in terms of the tribes and the non-tribes got significantly changed. The redistribution of tribes may have led to accentuated enclavisation of the tribes who as a consequence of being squeezed out from their traditional habitat redefined a new spatial configuration. In such a situation, one may notice an inter-mixture of several tribal forms of speech in
a given territorial unit. The change in the composition of population brought about a qualitatively different contact situation in which the tribal languages were now in contact with non-tribal languages. Gradually, the identity of the tribal languages got submerged in a melee of the non-tribal languages as the latter were not only more developed in terms of long literary traditions, but also as they were becoming numerically predominant and were also used in educational institutions as the medium of instruction. Their numerical preponderance may be visualised as a consequence of increasing number of their speakers to which the size of non-tribal population was a significant contributor, but no less important was the process of non-tribal languages being acquired by the tribes.

This process, therefore, must necessarily begin with acquisition of language of the other social group (the non-tribal), besides continuation of the traditional tongue of its own. A contact of this nature may prove helpful in the development of the less developed language of a social group through the process of inculcation of expressions borrowed from the more developed language. However, in the specific context of the traditional languages of the tribes of Chotanagpur, one may find that the incidence of the use in the traditional tongue has been on a decline. This may not be a sudden development. In the initial stages, the 'inner' and 'outer' domains of tribal life may emerge characterising two different situations in which the usage of the traditional and the newly acquired alien languages
may take place. Such a development would qualify a differentiated pattern of bilingualism and language shift across the tribal communities and within each tribal community between the males and the females, and also across generations. The assumption being that the male segment and the working population comprising of population mainly in the age-group of 15-59 years shall have greater propensity to acquire the new language. The younger age-group, by virtue of their participation in educational activities, shall also be exposed to the new language as it invariably forms the medium of instruction. Thus, the educational profile of the tribal population will have strong association with the incidence of bilingualism and language shift.

Lastly, the role of urban centres as they influence their surroundings in the spheres of economy and socio-cultural life, may also provide the basis of the spatial variation in the degree and direction of bilingualism and language shift.

It is obvious from the above discussion that language shift starts with the contact of two distinct linguistic groups enjoying different levels of their social and economic development. Here, the lagged behind group would be placed at the receiving end, and thus, language shift must take place predominantly in this group. But the phenomenon of bilingualism would appear before such a transition takes place. In other words, the phenomenon of bilingualism facilitates language shift.
And, language shift indicates the assimilation of the group linguistically into an alien cultural group. This type of linguistic situation has been observed in different parts of the world.

The tribal communities of the world in general and of the Chotanagpur region in particular would present an excellent example of language shift. But once again, this is nothing but linguistic assimilation. Rubenstein holds the view that "Since language is a part of culture, it may be an indicator to measure the degree of integration or assimilation to other linguistic groups". Nevertheless, its magnitude largely depends upon the policy of the majority linguistic group. Paulston and Paulston, commenting on the assimilationist policy in the United State, says that, "the assimilationist policy seeks to merge the minority members into the wider society by abandoning their own cultural distinctiveness and by adopting their subordinate's value and life style". The situation is, some how, different in the Indian context, where formally an integrationist policy has been adopted in the Constitution of India.

In case of almost similar levels of their development, if speakers of a language declare another language as mother


tongue, it is the case of shifting identity by deliberate choice. This phenomenon has been termed as "language displacement" (Bose, 1969), "changing language attitude" (Mitra, 1974), Language dynamics" (Kachru, 1977), and "language fluidity" (Khubchandani, 1987). The example of this shifting identity is very much visible in the decennial decline in percentage of Hindi speakers and growth of regional dialects in Bihar, Urdu speakers in Andhra Pradesh and Hindi speakers in Punjab.

All the three processes of social economic development, bilingualism and language shift among the tribes in general and the Chotanagpur tribes in particular are highly inter-woven. These processes have been attempted in the form of a schematic presentation (Fig. I.1).

**Figure I.1**

Schematic Diagram Showing the Inter-Connected Processes of Socio-Economic Development, Bilingualism and Language Shift

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Stage I</th>
<th>Stage II</th>
<th>Stage III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tribal Situation</td>
<td>Isolation</td>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>Assimilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Situation</td>
<td>Low Level of Economic Development</td>
<td>Moderate Economic Development</td>
<td>High Level of Economic Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social and Cultural Situation</td>
<td>Traditional Tribal Culture and Values</td>
<td>Mixed Culture and Values</td>
<td>Non-Tribal Culture and Values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguistic Situation</td>
<td>Unilingualism (Tribal Language as Mother Tongue)</td>
<td>Bilingualism (Non-Tribal Language as Second Language)</td>
<td>Language Shift (Non-Tribal Language as Mother Tongue)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Research Questions

Keeping in view the above stated objectives and the theoretical framework, the following research questions have been formulated:

1) To what extent the immigration of speakers of Indo-Aryan languages has affected the linguistic composition of the population as well as the linguistic diversity within the region?

2) Is it true that the tribes have to be bilingual in the newly created linguistic situation?, if yes, what is the magnitude of bilingualism in dominant non-tribal regional language?, and what is the level of disparity between male and female segments of population, and also among different age-groups of the tribal population in terms of acquisition of a more useful language?

3) Is it true that continued dominance of more prestigious, more "useful" language over time leads to abandonment of the less "useful" language by its speakers in a situation of contact?, if yes, what is the degree of language shift that marks abandonment of one tribal language in favour of another language?

4) Does usage of second language in different domains of tribal life indicate the process of replacement of their
traditional language ?, if yes, what are the domains most affected by this on going process ?;

v) In what way socio-economic and demographic variables have affected the magnitude of linguistic diversity in the region ?;

vi) To what extent various development processes have affected the tribal population living in different distance categories from the main town located in the core areas of its concentration ?; how significantly these processes have affected the tribes inhabiting the nearby villages to those inhabiting the far-off ones ?;

vii) What are the implications of questions pertaining to socio-cultural identity of the tribes and their economic development under the framework of equality and social justice ?

Sources of Data

This study is based on data collected from secondary as well as primary sources. The secondary source of data is the Census of India, 1961 and 1981. Data on nature and direction of subsidiary language use and other than traditional mother tongue among the scheduled tribes have been gathered from District Census Handbooks of Dhanbad, Hazaribagh, Palamau, Ranchi, Santhal Pargana, Singhbhum, Raigarh, Surguja, Purulia, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Sambalpur and Sundargarh, where there is a Table
entitled "ST-I: Mother-tongue and Bilingualism for Scheduled Tribes". Data on some of the socio-economic and demographic variables to find out their relationship with the above stated phenomena have also been collected from the respective District Census Handbooks. The Table on 'Mother tongue' in the District Census Handbooks of the concerned districts has been consulted for collecting data on the speakers of different languages/dialects in order to work out the levels of linguistic diversity and composition of linguistic groups, particularly at the lowest administrative unit, i.e., block/police station/tahsil.

The primary data have been generated from the field both at the household level and also at the individual respondents level from 12 sample villages pertaining to four major sample tribal groups of the Oraons, Mubdas, Hos and Santhals. The basis of selection of sample tribes and village has been discussed in the sample design.

The primary data on a set of socio-economic indicators at the household level include development of agricultural infrastructure (e.g., irrigation, chemical fertilizers and pesticides, agricultural credits in cash and kind), change in the structure of workforce, development in education (e.g., literacy rate, educational attainment, enrolment in age-group of 6-14 years), availability and use of health services, drinking
water and electricity, the tribals' exposure to audio-visual and print media and the introduction of newer means of transportation and communication among the tribes.

On the socio-linguistic aspects, data have been generated at the individual respondent level. The respondents have been drawn from both the sexes and also from three different age-groups of the young, the middle and the old of the population. The nature of data is declaration of mother tongue, acquisition of a subsidiary language, name of the subsidiary language, and intensity of use of the second language in different domains on a scale of frequent use, occasional use and no use.

Methodology

The study of any social phenomenon is made more authentic and valuable with the use of relevant statistical techniques for highlighting the relationship of a phenomenon with that of other social phenomena. A brief discussion on specific statistical techniques used in this study is presented.

Index of Linguistic Diversity

This method of measuring linguistic diversity has been formulated by Greenberg, and is based on 'monolingual non-

weighted probability measure of linguistic diversity'. The formula is as follows;

**Index of Disparity (Modified):**

The index of disparity had been first given by Sopher\(^4\), which was later on modified by Kundu and Rao\(^5\). This modified index satisfies all the three axioms of 'additive monotonicity', 'redistributive monotonicity' and 'repetitive transfer'. This index, thus, highlights the actual differences or inequality between two variables or groups in terms of any social attribute, e.g., literacy, the incidence of bilingualism, etc. Both these formulae have been given below:

Sopher's Index of Disparity:

\[
D_s = \log \left( \frac{X_1}{X_2} \right) + \log \left( \frac{100-X_2}{100-X_1} \right)
\]

\(X_1 > X_2\)

Modified Index of Disparity:

\[
D_s = \log \left( \frac{X_1}{X_2} \right) + \log \left( \frac{200-X_2}{200-X_1} \right)
\]

\(X_1 > X_2\)

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Since, this modified formula satisfies all the three above stated axioms, it clearly points out that disparity would be higher for the differences between lower values. The disparity goes on decreasing even though equal addition or redistribution or repetitive transfer is made in the series.

Kundu and Rao⁶ have also developed formula for measuring disparity or inequality if more than two variables or groups are involved. This formula reads as:

\[ D_t = \frac{1}{nq} \left[ (Q - X_1) \log (Q - X_1) + (Q - X_2) \log (Q - X_2) + \ldots \right. \\
\left. + (Q - X_n) \log (Q - X_n) \right] - \log \frac{Q}{2} \]

Where, \( Q \) is 200 as constant; \( n \) is number of observations; and \( X_1, X_2 \) and \( X_n \) are the ratio of observations \( X_1, X_2 \) and \( X_n \).

Sample Design

The sample design has been obtained on the basis of stratified and purposive technique, and thus, involves a multi-layer profile from which samples have been drawn. The Chotanagpur region is predominantly inhabited by the Oraon, Munda, Ho and the Santhal tribes who are also the numerically dominant tribes. The winds of socio-economic change have greatly affected these

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tribes. The smaller tribes in numerical sense of the term have also been exposed to the processes of change, but they have not been of much consequence for the region.

In order to obtain the districts in which these four tribes were largely concentrated, the distribution of each tribal community was mapped, and thus, observed that the districts of Ranchi, Santhal Pargana and Singhbhum had the maximum concentration of the scheduled tribe population (Table I.1) the sample tribes, viz; the Oraons, Mundas, Santhals and Hos (Table I.2). These sample districts also had a very high percentage of tribal population as well as a very high concentration of the tribes in relation to their total strength in the region (Table I.3).

In the second step of sampling, one sub-division each for four tribes was picked up. These four sub-divisions are Ranchi Sadar, Khunti, Chaibasa and Dumka, where the Oraons, Mundas, Hos and Santhals are greatly concentrated in the respective order. The Oraon tribes have 49.58 per cent concentration in Ranchi Sadar sub-division. There they constitute 61.50 per cent share in the scheduled tribe population. The Munda tribes who are highly concentrated in Khunti sub-division (51.04 per cent), constitute 83.71 per cent share in the scheduled tribe population. In the case of the Santhal tribes, Dumka sub-division has their highest
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Name Of the District</th>
<th>% of S.T. Population in total population</th>
<th>Index of Concentration S.T. Population in Relation to the Region (in percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Dhanbad</td>
<td>9.11 (10.61)</td>
<td>1.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Giridih</td>
<td>12.99 (-1.50)</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Hazaribagh</td>
<td>9.04</td>
<td>1.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Palamau</td>
<td>18.33 (19.09)</td>
<td>(-0.76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Ranchi</td>
<td>56.41 (58.08)</td>
<td>(-1.67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Santhal Pargana</td>
<td>36.80 (36.22)</td>
<td>13.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Singhbhum</td>
<td>44.08 (46.12)</td>
<td>(-2.04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Keonjhar</td>
<td>44.82 (46.96)</td>
<td>(-2.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Mayurbhanj</td>
<td>57.67 (58.56)</td>
<td>(-0.89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Sambalpur</td>
<td>27.21 (28.13)</td>
<td>(-0.92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Sundargarh</td>
<td>51.26 (53.40)</td>
<td>(-2.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Raigarh</td>
<td>48.51 (58.02)</td>
<td>(-9.51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Surguja</td>
<td>54.81 (52.36)</td>
<td>(-2.45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Purulia</td>
<td>18.79 (19.58)</td>
<td>(-0.79)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chotanagpur Region: 100.00

Source: The Census of India, 1981.

Note:  
1) In parenthesis one figures pertain to share of Scheduled Tribe population in 1971.  
2) In parenthesis two figures pertain to positive or negative variations of Scheduled Tribe population in the Total Population.
Table I.2
District-Level Concentration of Numerically Four Dominant Tribes of the Chotanagpur Region, 1971.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Name Of the District</th>
<th>Percentage to Their Respective Regional Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Dhanbad</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Hazaribagh</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Palamau</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ranchi</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Santal Parganas</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Singhbhum</td>
<td>94.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Keonjhar</td>
<td>0.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Mayurbhanj</td>
<td>3.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Sambalpur</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Sundargarh</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Raigarh</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Surguja</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Purulia</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Chotanagpur Region | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |

Source: The Census of India, 1971
Table I.3

Share of Tribal Population and Its Concentration in the Districts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>% of S.T. Popn. to Total Popn.</th>
<th>Index of Concentration to the Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>All Tribes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santal Parganas</td>
<td>36.22</td>
<td>13.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanbad</td>
<td>10.61</td>
<td>1.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazaribagh</td>
<td>10.99</td>
<td>3.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palamau</td>
<td>19.09</td>
<td>3.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranchi</td>
<td>58.08</td>
<td>17.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singhbhum</td>
<td>46.12</td>
<td>12.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sambalpur</td>
<td>28.13</td>
<td>5.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundargarh</td>
<td>53.40</td>
<td>6.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keonjhar</td>
<td>46.96</td>
<td>5.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayurbhanj</td>
<td>58.56</td>
<td>9.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purulia</td>
<td>19.58</td>
<td>3.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surguja</td>
<td>52.36</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raigarh</td>
<td>58.02</td>
<td>8.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                | 100.00                          | 100.00      | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |

Concentration (30.95 per cent) and the highest share in the scheduled tribe population is very close to the concentration index (i.e., 32.09 per cent). The Ho tribes dominate in Chaibasa sub-division where 36.83 per cent of their total population is concentrated. The Ho tribes of this sub-division constitute 71.46 per cent share in the scheduled tribe population.
The sub-divisional headquarters were selected as the urban centres for conducting field work in their peripheries. These urban centres are the industrial, commercial, administrative and educational centres of primary importance in the region. They are predominantly settled by the non-tribal population.

Three villages from three bands of distances from the urban centre were selected. These bands of distances are within 8 kms, 8 to 16 kms and beyond 16 kms from the town. Thus, a total of 12 villages were selected to generate primary data (Table I.4; Fig. I.2).

In each village, a sample of 35 to 40 per cent households were randomly selected. These households were surveyed with the help of structured questionnarie in order to obtain information on socio-economic, demographic and sociolinguistic aspects. Since, there is no marked differentiation among the households in terms of size of landholdings, the sample households are appropriately representative. The distribution of sample households for each village is given in Table I.4.

A total number of 1,137 respondents hailing from the sample households were interviewed on sociolinguistic aspects. Of these respondents, 644 persons were males and 493 were females. A distribution showing the age-sex composition of the respondents is presented in Table I.5.
THE CHOTANAGPUR REGION

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE VILLAGES

Fig. 1-2
Table I.4
Tribe-wise Distribution of Sample Villages and Households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribes</th>
<th>Distance From the Town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>within 8kms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oraons</td>
<td>Jhiri (47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mundas</td>
<td>Bhut (44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hos</td>
<td>Baduri (50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santhals</td>
<td>Hijla (40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overview of Literature

An inventory of literature suggests that although the concern of geographers to the question of inter-regional and intra-regional diversities has been very old, not much attention has been paid to language and dialect as a significant parameter of regional and spatial differentiation. In allied disciplines also the question has not been adequately addressed. While the Anglo-Saxon scholarships have mapped the varieties of speech forms on a global and regional scale, it has not shown enough response to the nature of influence that 'mix of languages and dialects' have had on each other. Perhaps it was natural on the
### Table 1.5  
Distribution of Respondents over Space and Time among the Four Selected Tribes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>ORAON</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Within 8-16 km.</td>
<td>16+ Kms.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-19 Yrs.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(36)</td>
<td>(37)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>(23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-49 Yrs.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(60)</td>
<td>(58)</td>
<td>(54)</td>
<td>(34)</td>
<td>(38)</td>
<td>(36)</td>
<td>(38)</td>
<td>(36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49 Yrs. +</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>(21)</td>
<td>(27)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>(25)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(113)</td>
<td>(110)</td>
<td>(71)</td>
<td>(71)</td>
<td>(111)</td>
<td>(184)</td>
<td>(112)</td>
<td>(125)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Males 644  
495 Females
part of American and European scholarships to have ignored such questions on the phenomena of bilingualism and language shift which have been particularly important in the less developed countries of South Asia, Africa and Latin America. These countries present a mosaic of speech forms and ethnic identities on a enormous proportions. In a ever-changing socio-cultural, economic and political dynamics being experienced in these countries since their colonial days, the question of bilingualism and language shift has acquired a new meaning not only in terms of understanding their socio-cultural personality, but also in terms of the role that such a colossal diversity and pluralism has to play in the formation of the nation-state and its stability in future.

While this research does not attempt to dwell upon the political implications emerging from linguistic diversity and pluralism, it, nevertheless, undertakes to examine the question in relation to the processes of socio-economic change. Literature on more relevant themes are by all means scarce. It seems the interest is a new one in the area. However, linguists have all-through been emphasising the phenomenon of a linguistic exchange, but their treatment for obvious reasons, does not incorporate the dimension of space.

The studies of direct relevance to the field of linguistic geography, bilingualism and linguistic change/shift may be broadly classified exactly in this logic. In the
following review attempt has also been made to suggest a few trends and gaps in research areas, particularly with reference to the linguistic scenario obtaining in India.

Linguistic Diversity

Perhaps one of the earliest attempts made in the field was that by Grierson (1928) who had provided a very comprehensive classifications of Indian languages. This monumental work became a significant milestone in Indian linguistic geography. In the later years, several other contributions such as those by Hodson (1932), Majumdar (1932), Sen (1935), Dhall (1957), Chatterji (1963), Majumdar (1970), Nigam (1971), Sakharov (1973), Bhatia (1973), Emeneau (1974), Bhattacharya (1974), Pandit (1974 & 1977), Raza & Ahmad (1978 and 1990), Sengupta (1980), Sapiro (1981), Zograph (1982), Dutt (1985) Shukla (1947), Apte (1967), Khubchandani (1969, 1973 and 1978), and Sneedhar (1979). A few others had attempted to understand the linguistic diversity in India in relation to the Asian linguistic situation (Ferguson & Gumperz, 1960). Implications of linguistic diversity on the process of national development (Karat, 1973; Dua & Sharma, 1979) and problems of inter-communication (Apte, 1981) and inter-group co-operation (Kloss, 1966) may be recognised as important themes. A few scholars have attempted to obtain as to how political sectionalism (Fishman, 1966; Southerlin, 1962), political participation (Steward, 1962; Valman, 1968) and effectiveness of a central authority in a federal situation (Southerlin, 1962;
Kloss, 1968; Rustow, 1968) could be interpreted with reference to linguistic diversity. Gumperz (1962) and Kelman (1968) provide invaluable insights into the problems of diffusion of modern techniques in a linguistically diversified situation. Greenberg's study (1956) discusses the methodological issues pertaining to measurement of linguistic diversity. This measurement has remained the most widely accepted method. Studies on linguistic diversity mainly of geographical nature have concentrated on regionalisation of India on the basis of languages and dialects and understanding of morphology of language boundaries (Ahmad & Ishtiaque, 1987; Vidyarthi, 1969; Bennett, 1980; Jafri, 1977; Southworth, 1974 etc.).

Bilingualism

Studies on bilingualism may be further classified into theoretical, methodological and empirical case studies. The major contributors who have raised various theoretical issues include Weinreich (1956), Diebold (1961), Salisbury (1962), Gumperz (1969), Nida and Wonderly (1971), Dittmar (1976), Grimshaw (1976), Haugen (1978), and Penalosa (1980).

The methodological questions are generally associated with statistical formulations which may help in measurement and classification of the incidence of bilingualism. Therefore, the statistical method cannot be seen in isolation with empirical studies. Contributions from Lambert (1955), Taylor (1956),

Language Shift

A broad cross-sectional studies on language shift incorporates both shift from one language to another bringing in the element of space and also the element of time as any dimension of change is largely a function of time. Some of the notable example of such changes from the remote past may be indicated by shifts from Sumerian to Babylonian, Egyptian to Arabic, Sanskrit to Prakrit, and then from Prakrit to Pali. Pali later served as the basis for the emergence of many languages and dialects in eastern India. Examples of language shifts of much recent origins are those of Hebrew in Israel. Several case studies from India have indicated shifts from tribal languages to non-tribal languages such as Bhili to Rajasthani (Russel, 1916; Ghurye, 1963; Doshi, 1985), Baiga to Hindi and Marathi (Martin, 1901 and 1931), Kurukh to Mundari (Hutton, 1881; Roy, 1916), Santhali to Bengali and Hindi (Ishtiaq, 1982) and a general shift of tribal languages to non-tribal languages (Roy Burman, 1972).

Most of these studies have also indicated possible causes responsible for bringing about change in the linguistic situation. While Weinreich (1953), Milroy and Milroy (1985), Lieberson (1970) have examined the role of modern education and
diversified economic occupational structure, the study by Tabouret-Keller (1976) enumerates a few socio-psychological parameters, such as social prestige and cultural weight (of the newly acquired language) as important causal factors bringing about linguistic change. Factors such as industrialisation and urbanisation (GAl, 1981), pragmatism and cultural stance (Smith, 1981, Dorian, 1982) have also featured as explanatory parameters.

Although, a number of studies have focussed on the processes of socio-economic change and development among the tribal communities, there is hardly any contribution which has seen the relationship between the changing complex of the tribal society and economy and linguistic change.

In nut shell, one may possibly obtain three major strands which characterise a not very old tradition in Indian linguistic geography. Following Griesson's monumental work a trend emerged which concerned itself to primarily identification and classification of languages and dialects in India. The geographers provided the necessary tool for mapping the spatial distribution and concentration patterns of languages and dialects, as a result a few associated ecological, socio-cultural characteristics could be identified. The geographical studies have also led to identification of language and dialect region, cultural linguistic region, morphology of language boundaries. The second trend has taken into cognisance the linguistic diversity of India and has tried to see its implications on
territorial unity and political stability of the Indian federal
polity. An underdeveloped branch of this trend has sought to
understand linguistic diversity as the basis of ethnic identity
as it expresses itself in electoral behaviour. The third trend
which has been mentioned very often in this review pertains to
study on bilingualism and language shift.

Gap in the Existing Research

It is obvious from review of literature that, till now,
much emphasis was given on the spatial distribution of linguistic
groups in terms of their concentration and clustering, origin and
spread of languages and dialects and diffusion of linguistic
features, etc. The socio-linguistic phenomena like bilingualism
and language were largely untouched particularly in a spatial
perspective. Since language serves as an identity factor and
carries cultural values and traits of its speakers, the impact of
changing socio-economic scenario and linguistic composition of
population in the Chotanagpur region on the tribals socio-
linguistic situation would be of immense in nature. It would
further analyse the age and sex differential response to the wind
of change particularly in this direction in an urban-rural
continuum taking different distance bands from the main urban
centre which has come up in the midst of the tribal habitat and
is largely populated by non-tribal population. Thus, the study
of urban impact on the acquisition and use of Hindi language in
particular among the tribes across age and sex would give a new
direction in the field of Indian linguistic geography in particular.

Area of Study

The Chotanagpur is in fact a corrupt form of Chutia Nagpur, as Chutia was the seat of power of the Nagbanshi chief. The ruins of this capital site are still visible on the outskirts of Ranchi town about 5 kms. in south-west direction. Chotanagpur was known by different names in different periods of its history, e.g., Kokraham, or Nagpur during the reign of Akbar, or Jharkhand in the ancient period. Nevertheless, it is obvious from its different names assigned at different points of time, that it has been virtually a jungle tract and was under the rule of Nagbanshi chief over quite a long period of its history. It might have been acting as 'buffer zone' between the rulers of

8. Balmukhund virottam reports that Kokrah name was given to the area by the Nagbanshi rulers itself, and thus, became synonym with the Nagbanshi kingdom. This name has been frequently reported during the medieval Indian history as 'Kokra', 'Khankrah', 'Khokhara', or even as 'Kukra-des', see The Nagbanshis and the Cheros, (New Delhi), 1969, p.1.
9. This name has been derived from the diamond mine of the region; see B.P. Ambastithya, "Beams" contribution to the political Geography of Subah, (Patna), 1976, p.44.
10. Jharkhand is a combination of two words 'Jhar' and 'Khand', that means, the forest land', or jungle land'. It has been also called as 'Chaharkhand', means 'bush land', that is, 'Chahar' means 'bush' and 'khand' means 'land'.

31
its north and south, east and west, because of dense forest and highly rugged terrain making the movement of a huge army quite difficult. But that was proved wrong as a number of expeditions led by different rulers passed through the region; the important being the Ashoka the great (during 3rd century B.C.), the Marathas (during late medieval period 1712 AD to 1715 AD.) and so on.

The Chotanagpur region is located between 20°43' and 25°18' north latitudes and between 81°35' and 88°11' east longitudes. The region constitutes an important area of eastern India, including Raigarh and Surguja districts of Madhya Pradesh. The 12 districts of eastern India are Dhanbad, Giridih, Hazaribagh, Palamu, Ranchi, Santhal Pargana and Singhbhum of Bihar, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Sambalpur and Sundargarh of Orissa; and Purulia of West Bengal. Thus, the region is, more or less, in conformity with the proposed Jharkhand State (Fig.1.3). The only difference is exclusion of Bankura and Midnapore districts of West Bengal from the Chotanagpur region. The region covers a geographical area of 163975.7 sq. kms. The region is, by and large, surrounded by the middle Ganga Plain in the north, the lower Ganga plain in the east as well as the coastal plain in the south-east, the Maikal range and Bilaspur district in the west, the Mahanadi river and Dhenkanal district in the south.

Geologically, the region is the north-eastern extension of the Great Indian Plateau, more commonly known as the Deccan
THE CHOTANAGPUR REGION
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

Fig. 1-3
Plateau which is a part of the Gondwana land. Thus, it is supposed to be a stable land mass. It has, however, experienced the endogenetic forces visible in the form of the Damodar rift valley and in the evidence of volcanic erruption, though at a small scale. The soil type is a clear testimony of the types of rocks, e.g., red soil which is distributed over a large area, is the product of Granite and Gneiss rocks. Laterite soil which is acidic in nature and deficient of organic matter is found in the south-east i.e. largely is Mayurbhanj district. The deposition of Iron ore in Singhbhum; coal fields in Dhanbad and Giridih; Mica in Hazaribagh, Bauxite in Palamau; Copper in Singhbhum and Manganese, Gypsum, Asbestos etc. else where in the region are evidence of lithological formations during the Gondwana formation.

Physiographically, the region may be divided into plateau and highland, and small narrow river valleys. There are altogether 7 well identified plateaux and highlands namely Ranchi Plateau, Hazaribagh Plateau, Mayurthanj Plateau, Baghelkhand Plateau, Rajmahal Hills or Highland, Raigarh Highland, and Sambalpur Highland. Fig. I.4 presents these physiographic units with the average height from the mean sea level.

The region is marked by the radial drainage pattern, as rivers originating from almost the middle of the region flow in all directions. The important rivers are the Damodar which was known as the "Sorrow of Bengal" before the implementation of the
Damodar Valley Corporation, a multipurpose project on the river Damodar and some of its tributaries. It flows from west to east. Rivers like Subarnarekha, Brahmini, Kasav, Silai, Dwarkeshwar, South Koel etc. flow in the southward or south-eastward direction. Rihand, North Koel, Barakar, Phalgu, Morhar, Panchanpur etc. flow in northern direction (Fig. I.5). Gumaini river flows over the Rajmahal highland in eastern direction. The river valleys are characterised by narrow, deep frequented with gorge, steep river basin, rapids, waterfalls. Most of the rivers are seasonal in nature; and the rivers like Damodar, Subarnarekha, Brahmini, etc. experience very lean flow during the summer.

Climatically, the region falls into the monsoon type of climate, and thus, experiences three distinct seasons - winters, summers and the rainy weather season. Winters are marked by pleasant days and cold nights. During the summers this situation is reversed - nights are pleasant, but days are hot. The rains which start by mid-June and last upto mid-September and caused by the tropical cyclones originating in the Bay of Bengal.

The natural vegetation consists of Tropical Deciduous Moist Forest where valuable trees like Teak, Sal, Shisham, and other trees like Mahua, Mango, Bamboo, Jamoon, Pipal, Banyan tree, etc. are found in abundance. The Tropical Deciduous Dry Forest in the north-west part of the region contains trees such babul, thorny bushes, wild palm, berry, and so on.
THE CHOTANAGPUR REGION
DRAINAGE PATTERNS

Fig. 1.5
The hilly and forested land has given shelter to a variety of wild animals such as lion, tiger, bear, elephant, leopard, hyena, jackal, etc. The National Zoological Park at Hazaribagh and Project Tiger and Betwa National Park at Palamau have given protection to these animals.

The total population of the Chotanagpur region was 2,88,57,885 persons of which 30.36 per cent (87,60,363 persons) was constituted by the scheduled tribes belonging to the Munda Branch of Austro-Asiatic language family and the Northern Group of the Dravidian family. The urban areas were covering below one-fifth (17.27 per cent) of the total population and was largely inhabited by the non-tribal population, as the tribals had only 10.97 per cent share of the total urban population. Thus, only about 6.24 per cent of the total tribal population was living in the urban areas at the time of their innumeration in 1981. The scheduled caste population in the region was also of very low in size (11.56 per cent) of the total population.

Ethnographically, the population of the region is very diverse in nature, as it includes population belonging to the three main racial stocks of the Mediterraneans, palaeo-Mediterraneans and the proto-Australoids. The region is, however, supposed to have been early inhabited by the proto-Australoids speaking Santhali, Mundari, Ho, Kisan, Bhumij etc., languages of the Munda Branch of Austro-Asiatic family of
languages. Later on, a group of the Palaeo-mediterranean stock, the Oraons, which speak the Northern group of Dravidian language, Kurukh, inmigrated into the region to take refuge and shelter largely from the present Sahabad district. And lastly come the Mediterranean race from almost all the directions with the motive of exploiting the natural resources having their own developed language viz., Hindi, Bengali and Oriya but all belonging to the Indo-Aryan family of languages. The last racial stock constitute the lion's share in the population, followed by the Proto-Australoids and the Palaeo-Mediterraneans. There is a very negligible population of the Tibeto-Mongoloids in the region, which is of a recent addition in the population particularly in the wake of various developmental activities in the region. Thus, the region is ethnographically and linguistically diversified and presents a museum of racial stocks and distinct language families and their languages at various levels of their development.

Organisation of the Thesis

This thesis has been organised into six chapters including the summary of conclusions which is the last chapter. The first chapter Introduction provides an insight into the nature of problem, main objectives, conceptual framework, nature and sources of data, methods including sample design and a brief glance at the study area. It is followed by the chapter on Linguistic Diversity in the Chotanagpur Region. It highlights the
nature of linguistic diversity in the region in terms of division of total population into major linguistic groups. This diversification brings out the involvement of the major non-tribal linguistic groups, in particular, who are largely responsible for the present nature of diversification of the region linguistically. It also analyses the relationship of linguistic diversity with a set of socio-economic and demographic variables.

The third chapter is on Bilingualism among the Tribes. Its first section analyses the degree and directions of bilingualism among the tribes of the region at the district and anchal/tahsil levels. The data have been collected from the District Census Handbooks, Census of India, 1961 for the districts involved. The second section which is based on the primary data generated from the field, apart from finding out the correspondence with the secondary data, adds a few more dimensions of aga and distance zones from the main town for analysing the process of degree and directions of bilingualism among the tribes.

Language Shift among the Tribes has been discussed in the fourth chapter. Like the preceding chapter, its first section presents the degree and directions of abandonment of traditional tribal mother tongues both at the district and anchal/tahsil levels in the region. The section dealing with primary data not only highlights the degree and directions of
'complete' language shift but also 'partial' shift in tribal mother tongue in terms of use of Hindi, a regionally dominant non-tribal language, with varying intensity in different domains of their life.

The fifth chapter is on the Impact of Socio-Economic Development on Bilingualism and Language Shift among the Tribes. It first tries to trace the origin of the process of socio-economic development among the tribes of the region, and then presents a glance of the nature of development which has taken place there. Then, it highlights the correspondence of bilingualism in Hindi with literacy, educational levels and also with economic activities and non-wirker status. In the end, it works out the relationship of bilingualism and language, on the one hand, with a set of socio-economic and demographic variables, on the other. And finally, the six chapter presents the Summary of Conclusion of this work.