4.1 Identity

Identity is a socio-psychological construct by which an individual or a group identifies itself vis-à-vis others through the use of certain symbols or features. The question of identity does not arise when there is no contrast with others. It becomes a subject of concern when there is heterogeneity of identity markers. In such a context each individual or group tries to project features which set him/her apart from others (Fatihi, 2001: 88).

The identity markers can reveal a great deal more about the communicator. It may include overtly identity-related data: name, age and gender, etc. More importantly, it provides a chance to get a sense of the communicator’s “voice” and to see how one interacts with others in the cross-cultural social environment.

Fatihi (2001) distinguishes between “Identity given” and the “Identity given off”. He explains that the former are the deliberately stated identity markers indicating how one wishes to be perceived; the latter are the much more subtle — and sometimes unintentional — identity markers communicated, via action and nuance. Both forms of expressions are
subject to deliberate manipulation, but the "identity given off" may be much harder to control.

The tribes of Jharkahand in the expression of their corporate self-identity as well as in the patterns of their interaction amongst themselves and the non-tribal groups is focused. Sustained efforts at nation-building in post-independent India have brought into sharp relief the significance of various forms of ethnicity, for its diverse manifestations have befuddled policy makers and blocked the emergence of a cohesive and viable nation. Tribal identity has asserted itself in different parts of the country, at different periods of time, with varying degree of intensity: its articulation in more extreme cases, has ranged from violent irredentism to hard bargaining, bordering on coercion, for a share in scarce development resources. Though the main thrust of the ethnic movements was political in so far as they represented competition for power, their social, cultural, and psychological dimensions were also significant. In intra-tribal terms the directions and trends of change were determined largely by them.

The tribals whose roots in the soil date back to a very early period, if they are not the original inhabitants, they are at least some of the oldest inhabitants of the land. Living in the relative isolation of the hills and the forests, their sense of history is shallow for them, the remembered history of five to six generations tends to get merged in mythology, they have a low level of techno-economic development. In terms of their cultural
ethos-language institutions, beliefs and customs—they stand one from the other sections of the society. If they are not egalitarian, they are at least non-hierarchic and undifferentiated.

The tribes have been viewed as ethnic categories defined by real or putative descent and characterized by a corporate self-identity and a wide range of commonly shared traits of culture. They believe that they have a common descent, consciously hold a collective self-image and possess a distinctive cultural ethos, many elements of which are shared by the collectivity. They often develop individual identities and function as the principal unit of larger group loyalty beyond kin, clan and residential land group.

Tribal India, as such, did not have a common identity in the past and even today such an identity is not significantly strong. Though there are all-India tribal organizations and periodic conferences of the emerging category, they still do not evoke powerful loyalty. Only a fraction of the four hundred – odd scheduled tribes is drawn into such organizations and gatherings. In specific regional contexts, however, there is evidence of tribal identity, contributing to the “we” and “they” distinction. “We” includes first an individual tribe and second also all other tribes of the region. “they”. On the other hand include all non-tribals. Within the cluster of tribes the “we” category still refers to one’s own tribe, but in reference to the total population of the region it is used also as a classification
device to distinguish between the tribal and the non-tribal groups. With interest articulation and aggregation, the regional tribal identity becomes powerful; where interest does not provide the bases of cohesion and action, the identity continues to be feeble. But the identity problem is more complex than it looks at first sight. There are significant “we” and “they” differences among the tribes of a region and they often lead to intense competition and even conflict. A common tribal name – Oraon or Munda – does not fully subsume the loyalties of individual groups or subgroups. A close examination of the tribal identities are still in the process of evolution. As new identities emerge, old tribal names are discarded and new ones adopted, mythology and Tradition are modified and revised and alternative bases of solidarity building are discovered to forge wider links with a view to evolving articulate, aggressive and viable identities.

Tribal identity must be studied both in its expressive and instrumental dimensions. Does a tribe possess a corporate self identity? What are its sources? Shared experience of rulership or subjugation? Or some other factors? How strong is it? Is the consciousness of this identity being strengthened? To what end and how? To what extent does its worldview reinforce this self-identity? A tribe must interact with other tribal as well as non-tribal groups because of geographical, economic, and political compulsions. Where does this interaction lead to? Cooperation? Or coexistence? In what manner are the patterns of interaction stabilized? Do social, religions and political movements consolidate the existing
traditional identities or do they reshape and enlarge them? What is their role in solidarity-building, in goal-setting and in goal-attainment? Where traditional and emerging political structures coexist, do they tend to pull in the same or the contrary directions? All such questions must be addressed to arrive at the point of Linguistic aspect reflecting the identity feature giving a way to Negotiation or not.

S.C.Roy (1915) mentions that in Oraon village, besides Hindu castes, the Korwa and the Asur also live, the Munda and the Kharia had the same standing as the Oraon. There was exchange of services and goods among the people forming the village community. According to Roy (1915:69) castes and tribes whose services were indispensable to the Oraons formed component parts of the typical village community in the Oraon country.

In tribal villages there are several social groups, with an absence of vertical interaction. The social interaction among the communities rests on functional interdependence. The concept of dominant caste is insignificant in the case of a tribal village because of the absence of social structure based on inequality (D.P. Sinha, 1961: 65-74). This argument of Sinha, however, is debatable. In his admirable study of an inter-tribal market, D.P.Sinha, (1968) demonstrates the long-range interdependence of the tribal in Jharkhand. In his study he shows that a market in a tribal setting provides a meeting place for economic and
cultural specialists of different tribes and functions as a center not only of economic but also of social, religious, and political activities in the region. A market is also a powerful source of change.

There have been several tribal movements, tribal rebellions, and efforts to organize the tribes of Chotanagpur at various times. The great Santhal rebellion of 1815-57, an uprising which is well remembered by the Santhalies. The rebellion was an effort to undo the steady loss of land to non-tribal immigrants. The memory of the rebellion instills courage and unity in the tribe, and deepens the Santhal feelings of separatism. Their participation in the new cult - efforts to gain a higher status through new symbols, and rallying behind a pan-tribal movement like that of the Jharkhand party, provide a perspective to understand the tribal conversions in this area (Oraon, 1959).

Jyoti Sen (1966; 1967, 1972) analyzes the transformation in Jharkhand. She examined various movements and their influences on the tribal – Hinduization, through vaishnava preceptors; messianic or millenarian movements; reformatory sects like Bhakti, Tana Bhagat and Kabir Panthi; and Christian movements. She observes that after the Government of Indian Act of 1935 (for creation of special constituencies) the tribes increasingly became conscious of their tribal identity. This led to the emergence of a new tribal solidarity, which was accentuated further after independence. The successive elections for positions in the state.
and the central political arena have released cross-currents which, on the one hand, encouraged tribals to organize themselves across ethnic identity and, on the other, to reinforce ethnic solidarity (Sen, 166; Martin Oraon, 1965). Jyoti Sen observes that sometimes people are divided on account of their religious identity or association with one or the other Christian denomination.

Sachchidananda (1954, 1859) analyzes the impact of Birsa Munda and his movement and the new political consciousness in the then tribal Bihar. These writings record along with Suresh Singh's historical account of Birsa Munda and his movement (1996) help in understanding the struggle of the tribal people. Suchchidananda (1972 b) deals on a broad canvass with the problems of the tribals. He remarks that as in tribal areas of other parts of India, Chotanagpur is also seething with discontent. Because of the process of modernization, rising expectations, and growth of education, a middle class has emerged among the tribals. This class is the most vocal and articulate. Its demand for a separate state of Jharkhand was the rallying orey for tribals of different groups to voice their political opinion.

Vidyarthi (1969), in his massive works, provides ample date to understand the cultural configuration of Ranchi. Ranchi principally a town inhabited by tribals, gradually grew into a cosmopolitan city. In the tribal localities of the city traditional leadership is still maintained though there
is a progressive decline in tribal beliefs. The traditional leadership, however, has failed to provide effective political leadership. The educated tribals appear to be more secularized. Vidyathi tells us that in the last fifty years, the leadership of the tribals has gone into the hands of educated Christians. He gives a historical sequence of how a Christian students Union ultimately developed into the Jharkhand party, when its membership was thrown open to non-adivasi members. Christian leaders, however, continued to enjoy popularity. In a changed locale like that of Ranchi, the pattern of inter-tribal interaction cannot be same as it is in the tribal villages. Further, the impact of urbanization, education, Christianity, old prejudices, new issues, rising tribal aspirations and democratic party politics have given rise to new patterns of inter-tribal interaction.

4.2 The concept of Interaction

Anthropologists like Oliver (as referred by Romney, 1961: 223) has discussed the concept of interaction. All interactions may be viewed as having duration and discernible sequence of action. Moreover, it is probably rare for emotion to be entirely absent in interaction:

The concept of interaction has been viewed in many ways. At the dyadic level, it can be viewed as an interactive situation between individuals when they influence one another. At the inter cultural level one can conceive of interactive situations between cultures when they influence each other. As early as 1936 this process was described as
"acculturation". Acculturation included "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different culture came into continuous first hand contact with subsequent change in the original cultural pattern of either or both groups. (Redfields et al, 1936; 194).

Social psychologists have discussed interaction under the heading of "Symbolic interactionism'. Symbolic interactionism rests on three simple premises: Human beings act towards things on the basis of the meanings the things have for them; the meaning of such things is derived from or arises out of the social interaction one has with one's fellows; and these meanings are handled in and modified through one interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters. For the understanding of any interaction process, the concept of symbolic interactionism has relevance mostly at the individual or at the intra-cultural level.

Based on the above discussion Linguistic interaction may be conceived as a socio-cultural process in which demographic, spatial, temporal, psychological and functional factors act as intervening variables in any interactive situation. In demographic terms, if the numerical strength of the tribes is smaller than that of non-tribal the pattern of interaction would have been different. In spatial terms, the rate of interaction between closely situated tribes and non-tribes would be higher than those far away from each other. The temporal factors seem very
important in any interactive situation as they determine the continuity of relationship between the tribes and non-tribes. All these. Interactive situations generally lead to cooperation, competition and conflict. The close economic linkage between tribes and non-tribes like the Oraon, Munda, Santhal, Ho and the Hindu landlords in Jharkhand is a good example of agricultural cooperation. In the major industrial zones of Jharkhand, one observes, competition for jobs between the local tribes and migrant non-tribes. Competition and conflict have strong linguistic expressions.

The resultant linguistic effect of these interactions between tribes and non-tribes may be understood in terms of acculturation, assimilation and integration. Linguistic acculturation has been conceived as a process of subsequent change in the original linguistic patterns of either tribes or both tribes and non-tribes. The process of linguistic assimilation has been viewed in terms of loss of identification in linguistic and cultural identity on the part of the numerically smaller tribes who become a part of the non-tribe Indian civilization. Linguistic integration has been viewed as a continuing process of mutual give and take in terms of language between tribes and non-tribes. It essentially denotes historical acceptance of the linguistic differences and tolerance of each other. It is worth noting that in the process of integration, tribes did not lose their language and continued to maintain many of their linguistic traditions. Prasad (1974) observes that the process of interaction has led to cultural borrowing.
among the tribes and non-tribes. Linguistic borrowing therefore is highly obvious in such process of interaction.

Tribal movement originated from reactions against local rulers and landlords, the support of the British administration to these rulers and landlords and the government intervention in the life of the tribals. All these movements were bound by a backlog of unfulfilled aspirations expressed in rebellions uprisings on the part of the tribals. Various lexical items faced a change the semantic. Level with the meanings of those words moving from a positive sense to negative one.

(Earlier) e.g. Diku (friend) (Now) Diku (enemy, foreigner)

The tribals of Jharkhand came into contact with the non-tribal Hindus and Muslim several centuries ago. The non-tribal people have been living side by side with the tribals in the villages. The tribals came into contact with outsiders at the weekly markets also. The frequent visits of govt. officials since independence, industrialization and rapid growth of education have also helped in breaking the isolation of the tribes. The various movements of this region shared a common genesis of movements of this region shared a common genesis of lose of age-old ownership of or free access to land and loss of the freedom of the forest. This resulted from the intrusion of landlords and of the British administrative and legal
system in these areas. Missionaries also arrived with the message of a new religion and cultural system. Local tribals identified them as dike (outsiders) and as a serious threat to their own socio-economic existence. This led to the outburst of violent resistance and the emergence of strong socio-political movements. These movements had a double purpose: to fight against outsiders and to reform their own societies.

Ghurye (1963: 1-22) has described these reform movements as Hinduization of these tribes. Fuchs (1965) presented them under a generic title of "Messiab" movements. Vidyarthi (1964 a : 151-152) has called them resistance movements and Sachchidanand (1965:180-289) has designated them as revivalistic at same places and reformative at others. These labels are extremely tentative.

Edward Roy (1962) sums up the functional characteristic of these movements as:

1. They are expressions of great solidarity and social cohesion, and have acted as unifying forces for group under conditions of social disorganization.
2. They represent attempts to establish a new moral order where the old one has been destroyed.
3. They have acted as catalysts of acculturation
4. They have aided in the structuring of a new social system of which both Hindu and tribal societies are a part.
According to Sachchidananda (1965:209) "These movements have lost momentum but present day tribes are trying to recapture the glory of their ancient culture by reviving some of their dying institutions and investing them with new values."

The Jharkhand movement has been a popular movement. Vidyarthi has divided this movement into 3 phases of development.

1. The formulatory phase of the Christian students philanthropic movements.
2. The constructive phase of movement for social uplift.
3. The elaborate phase of political movement. In 1963, the Jharkhand party merged with the congress and lost its identity.

Thus in Jharkhand the tribal system had survived relatively intact as it became the center of a dynamic separatist movement due to a combination of many reasons. Firstly it's Chotanagpur belt was the most advanced of the tribal regions in terms of literacy, political consciousness and industrial progress. Secondly, the major tribal communities were concentrated in a geographically distinct region. Thirdly Christianity was a strong force in Chotanagpur belt; the major tribes of Chotanagpur became very effectively evangelised. As Christianity spread it performed many roles: it gave the tribes a sense of identity; it gave them a history and a myth; it accentuated the notion of private rights in land; it promoted education and medical care; it also emphasised among the converts a
sense of separateness from the rest. Fourthly, the Chotanagpur tribes had a tradition of militant and organised struggles going back over a hundred years; struggles organised around land of proletarianisation was small. Fifthly, there was a rich corps of anthropological literature to draw upon in order to create a new sense of history to legitimise the tribals search for identity. Sarat Chandra Roy gave eloquent expression to the tribals demand for separation; his ideas and draftsmanship left their imprint on the memoranda submitted by tribal organisations. Lastly, Jharkhand was exposed to the operation of many interests: Bengalis formed a sizeable professional and landowning community, and the Muslims were a significant trading and professional interest.

The Munda-Oraon education conference (Siksha Sabha) founded by a non-Christian leader, and the Ranchi Union also worked in 1912, the Chotanagpur charitable Association was organised by all aboriginals, Christians and non-Christians to raise funds for students. Voices were raised for forging unity among the people of Chotanagpur; for abolition of differences between Christian and non-Christian tribals, as also among all tribals such as the Munda, Oraon, Tamaria, Mahalia, Lohar and Panre. A new sentiment was in the air, "All Advises are one", "Advises of lower category such as Lohar, Panre, Bhuniya and Tamaries should not be looked down upon", etc
When the era of constitutional reforms dawned and demands for the promotion and protection of regional and sectarian interests grew the educated christian tribals – mostly student belonging to the Lutheran and Anglican Missions took a hand in organising the Chotanagpur Improvement society at the instance of the Anglican Bishop of Ranchi. A Munda led this interdenominational body, which voiced its concern in 1916 over the absence of security for tribals and stressed the need for the preservation of tribal identity in the changing political context. "Whatever may be done in the way of reform elsewhere" it urged, "the aborigines of Chotanagpur may be left to the administration of European officers". The society also offered various suggestions for economic advancement of the tribal community. The society however became more or less moribund (at the point of death) by 1920.

The second phase, which lasted from 1920 to 1938, was dominated by the revived activities of the Chotanagpur Improvement society (Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj) was led by tribal teachers and catechists and sought to secure employment for educated tribals, reservation in the services and legislative bodies and formation of a sub-state joined to Bengal or Orissa. A tribal urban middle-class was forming.

Third phase from 1938 to 1947, saw the rise of militant movement under the Adivasi Mahasabha. It did not demand merely the formation of a
sub-state but complete separation from Bihar. It remained outside the mainstream of nationalist politics and the freedom movement.

The fourth phase from 1949 to 1963, saw the rise of the Jharkhand party. The fifth and the sixth schedule recognized the tribals as a minority. In keeping with the larger political and secular stance current in those days that language and not ethnicity should determine the formations of a province. The concept of the Jharkhand was enlarged to include all the regions that once formed part of the Chotanagpur administrative division. Thus the tracts inhabited by the Chotanagpur tribals which formed parts of Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, were included in Jharkhand. Though Christians dominated the movement and provided the leadership there was an unmistakable tribal core to it.

The late 1950s saw the decline of the party, which can attributed to many factors. Firstly there was the growing impact of development programmes on chotanagpur and the increasing involvement of the tribals in the developmental process. Secondly because of the competition for better educational facilities, employment opportunities and control over development inputs and resources, the split deepened between the advanced Christians and relatively backward non-Christian tribals. Thirdly, it was clear, that, all that the tribals needed was a share in power in order to protect their interests and redical measures were needed to remedy the lot of the tribal masses.
In the past, the failure of the Jharkhand movement to develop into a full-fledged regional movement may be explained by many factors. Firstly, its appeal to the non-tribal sections of the chotanagpuris was small, because it was essentially a tribal party and the tribals and non-tribals were not on the best of terms. Secondly, its past record of alliances with the forces which had worked against the national movement and remained ‘loyalist’ cost it the sympathy and support of a large section of the ruling elite. Thirdly, its structure contained many contradictions which sharpened and multiplied as the cleavage between the Christian and non-Christian tribals deepened. Lastly, the region had always been exposed to the operation of pan-Indian forces.

4.3 Ethnolinguistic Identity

Ethnolinguistic identity is based on a belief that one's own group is distinctive in socially important ways (Lambert and Klineberg 1967); the underlying logic seems to be: we have our own unique culture and language and these give us distinctive styles of personality and distinctive modes of thought (Lambert and Klineberg, 1967). The value of language as a chief symbol of group identity is one of the major forces for the preservation of non-standard speech styles or dialects (Gubuglo, 1973). Glaser and Mongniham (1975) states that a rise of ethnicity has occurred across the world, with language as an important marker of the newly recognized ethnic groups. In a series of studies concerning ethnic groups.
In a series of studies concerning ethnic identity, Taylor and associates have found language to be a critical dimension of identity (Taylor, Bassili and Abond, 1973; Taylor, Simard and Abond, 1972).

During the late 1980's, demonstrations were carried out to demand for granting higher status to the tribal language. These demands seem to be highly volatile and might incite a conflict in the non-tribals who use Hindi as the lingua-France and do not understand or speak tribal language at all. In 1991 Census, non-tribal communities constituted 23% of the total Jharkhand population. In four districts non-tribal groups represented only between 17% to 30% of the respective populations, they made up a substantially larger share in Dhanbad district (38%) and a much larger one still in Giridih (48%) and Singhbum (60%).

In almost all the districts of Jharkhand with the largest non-tribal population, Hindi speakers are by far the largest non-tribal groups in 1991, forming 18% of Jharkhand's population. However, Urdu Speakers constitute 5% or less of the population everywhere in Jharkhand. In Dhanbad and Hazaribagh, Bhojpuri speakers form a significant share of the population: 13% in Dhanband and 24% in Hazaribagh. With these exceptions, no other single ethnic minority exceeds 9% of the population in any district.
In Jharkhand, ethnic conflict between tribal and non-tribal populations has largely been associated with Hindi speaking non-tribes and with the regionally dominant tribes, Santhal, Oraon, and Munda. Language carries great potential of becoming one of the inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic "battlefields" on a statewide basis. Hindi speakers are today the largest minority (9% of the population), residing mainly in the areas bordering Bihar. Hindi remains important throughout the state and may reassert its dominant role, Hindi speakers forming the largest linguistic and ethnic minority and bilingualism in tribal languages with Hindi is widespread. Hindi has a special official role (Fatihi, 2001).

The special status of Hindi in Jharkhand, today is not merely due to demographic factors but also to the weak development of tribal languages and the corollary expansion of Hindi during the non-divided Bihar era. In the mid-1980s the Jharkhand region had only one or two tribal language schools to serve tribal communities. Tribal scholars like Prof. Ram Dayal Munda estimates that around 1990, between 25% and 40% of the tribal groups in Jharkhand existed especially in urban areas. In the rural areas the fluency rate among the tribal population was between 23% and 28%. The enormous impact of Hindi is Chotanagpur region of Jharkhand is also illustrated by the fact that the tribal writers and elites, though in many ways "tribal", communicate mostly not in tribal languages, but in Hindi. In considering the significance of language as a potential area for conflict in Jharkhand, it should be noted that many tribal leaders see those without
Negotiation of Identity

native language skills as "national nihilists or cosmopolitans." In Chaibasa, tribal speakers have supported regulations to enforce Ho language at lower official level, but not other tribal communities. Recent debates among academicians and elites demonstrate the great sensitivity about the role of Hindi in the states. The "solution" involves tackling the question without providing a clear answer. Hindi with its role as "official" language does have its impact on the communicative pattern of tribes in Jharkhand (Fatihi, 2001).

State identity as represented through language issues is unlikely, to became the major political issue which causes conflict. Moreover, should a "language conflict" arise, the tribal population themselves are very divided about the appropriate status for tribal language and Hindi in their state, and even about the relevance of the tribal languages to ethnic identity. However, combined with economic and social policies which might disproportionately harm those without good Hindi skills, language could become a rallying point for those who feed that only in a tribal state, tribes interests should be protected. And as elsewhere, of course, language in Jharkhand can be used as a weapon of exclusionary politics. With the encouragement of opportunistic "patriotic" local politicians, Hindi-tribal language conflicts could take an great symbolic significance for the whole country. Though the language problems are same what analogous in Jharkhand, fears of domination by Diku (Non-tribal) and the non-tribal languages are moderated by the fact that the tribal language hold
stronger position within the rural areas of the state and become a component of ethnic identity. It is impossible to predict whether language problems will stimulate conflict in the future. This is because much will depend on such factors as economic and social conditions, migration, industrial policy and political structures in Jharkhand. One could imagine a scenario in Jharkhand in which, a great rural to city migration, contributed to the swelling urban underclass. Such a setting might create the environment for nationalist politicians to make "protection of language right" a key element in an appeal to those who felt exploited (Fatihi, 2001).

Since independence, the number of government servants moving in the tribal areas has been large. With the opening of schools, teachers arrive from different places, with these people, the tribals are in close contact. They have acted as innovators unconsciously. Besides these are the programmer of induced or planned and deliberate change which produce an impact on the tribals though these are aimed at changing same sectors of economic activity, they indirectly affect other sectors of life and in the long run bring structural change in society. In recent times industrialization has come to Chotanagpur in big way, the tribals have been thrown into the vortex of industrialism and have been exposed to new influences and beliefs. Rapid growth of education at the university level has helped to break down the insularity of tribal life and thought.
On the socio-psychological level, all notions of cultural superiority of the non-tribal way of life should be given up and due deference must be made for things or values which the tribals hold dear, once the fear of suppression of tribal culture is dispelled, the two communities would come close to each other.

The youth of Jharkhand under the new set of leadership is in ferment, the national problems of unemployment, economic disparity, social disabilities and political maneuverings which need to be tackled at a broad base level are being attacked here in terms of ethnic and regional considerations. The acceleration of industrialization in Jharkhand had also brought about discontentment among the educated youth who feel frustrated when they do not get employment in the industrial concern. The emerging industrial style of life in the midst of folk society of Jharkhand have obviously caused gaps and the level of aspirations of the urbanised or semi urbanised tribal communities have been increasing and have wider repercussions.

The older generation in all the four tribes negotiates the least in the expression of identities in their language. The Urban dweller and the rural settler both assert their tribal identity in a number of ways. The older generation urban dweller, both male and female, the literate and the illiterate use the tribal language to the maximum. They assert their tribal accent unhesitatingly. The tribal accent has a strong influence in their
Negotiation of Identity

second language output. Tribal lexical items have a frequent occurrence in their second language output or utterances. Informal gatherings are completely dominated by exchanges in tribal tongues especially amongst the older generation. Such freedom to communicate completely in tribal tongue is somewhat exclusive in such informal of meetings, which is absent in the urban home domain where the older generation finds a response only from the middle generation in the tribal tongue and that too is highly restricted. They respond more in the non-tribal language i.e. Hindi and they even discourage their older generation to speak tribal in the home domain which might have an impact on the speaking style of the children of that home. The rural settler faces no such challenges in their sphere.

The middle-aged generation is caught in a conflict of maintenance and shift within his home domain, without any risk of losing identity. A unique situation is created. It is a case of compound Bilingualism. A family constituting of grand parents, parents and children generally in the towns of Jharkhand face such situations. The parents are found speaking tribal with their parents and at the same time speaking non-tribal especially Hindi with their children and put their efforts best that children do not pick up the tribal conversation. In rural areas such situations arise less.
The young generation faces the problem of the negotiation of identities greatly, creating a socio-linguistic picture which is more a manifestation of shifting of tribal identity than maintenance. A significant percentage of the young urban youths do not have the capacity to communicate in their tribal tongue, most of them have the non-tribal language especially Hindi as their first language. They never desired to learn their tribal language. They regarded it as inferior and non-tribal language as superior and disliked tribal interference in speaking Hindi. The non-tribal speakers are viewed as far more intelligent, self-confident, industrious and determined than tribal speakers, even by the latter themselves. They held a notion that tribal language would help in no way in their future career and job prospect. Negative views of one’s own ethnic group are believed to colour interpersonal and inter-group relationships, often providing those in minority positions with a subjective justification for the existing difference in standards of living and status that separate subgroups in society. Negative views also often promote shifts in values, behavioral styles, and in the case where a different language is involved, socially important shifts away from the use of one’s own language or dialect to that of the more prestigious group’s language or speech style (Lambert, 1967).

This awareness that they (Tribal children) are shifting is causing profound socio-psychological consequences. They are confused about their personal identity and are behaving as if they are actually inadequate.
and inferior. As these sentiments spread through the urban social system, members of the tribal society may be prone to give up and accept one's 'inferior' fate, at the same time as they ready themselves to counter-react in the sense of rejecting the accepted image of one's group, starting often with an exploration of the opposite views - that one's own group is as good if not better than the high prestige group. As the counter-reaction gains social force, the relative attractiveness and status of the two or more ethno-linguistic groups in the society can change. Mechanisms of this sort are believed to underlie the 'Jharkhand Revolution', where demands for respect and identity for one's own ethno-linguistic group are put forward. Tribal children hitherto had a feeling about themselves as disadvantage children. Disadvantage children are those whose home background and early socialization are such as to make the transition from home to school difficult thus Passow (1970) points one that:

A child is at a disadvantage if, because of social or cultural characteristics... he comes into the school system with knowledge, skills, and attitudes which impede learning and contribute to a cumulative academic deficit... restricting later economic and social opportunities (p. 16).

The tribal children’s disadvantaged situation certainly encompasses such things as poverty of material environment, family instability, unemployment etc. The view of Deficit position is attached to them, in this
conception of disadvantage, children from lower class environments are seen as cognitively deficient and culturally deprived with respect to their middle class counterparts.

Of all the characteristics which contribute to or reflect disadvantage, one of the most important is language. It was and still is supposed by many tribals that their tribal tongues are substandard within society at large, disadvantaged children will doubtless find the way they speak a hindrance in many situations or some time to come. And within the educational context which gives definitions to the term disadvantage, one finds teachers whose views on ‘correctness’ imply negative evaluation of the way many children talk. Earlier work attesting to such negative evaluation (e.g. Arthur, Farrar and Bradford 1974; Baratz 1972; Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez, 1972) derives much of importance from the possibility that unfavorable reactions by teachers may unfairly hinder pupil’s progress. That is children’s speech, which may reflect little or nothing of their academic potential, may cause teachers to hold lower and essentially unjustified expectations of their performance. It is then argued that children of whom less is expected will came to feel that they have, in fact, less to contribute - a vicious circle which Rist (1970) has referred to as a self fulfilling prophecy.

Many social groups can be readily categorized by their distinct language varieties and for many the most salient dimensions of their
social identities (Taylor, Bassili and Aboud, 1973; Giles, Taylor and Bourhis, 1977; Giles, Taylor, Lambart and Albert, 1976; Ryan and Carranza, 1977). Indeed, for many ethnic group members, language spoken is often the major embodiment of their ethnicity given its distinctly human character and the fact that it can be used to attain and maintain cultural distinctiveness (Fishman, 1972, 1977). A member of ethnic minorities, e.g. the Oraons, the Mundas, the Santhals and the HO are redefining their status in a more favorable direction and expressing this via language. Certainly there is a strong linkage between language and ethnicity and the dynamics of inter-ethnic group relations. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) proposed a framework for understanding the role of language in ethnic group relations. Firstly, the model describes the socio-structural factors which can influence whether an ethnolinguistic minority will or will not seek to establish its own in-group language as a viable mode of communication. Secondly, it attempts to outline some of the socio-psychological processes operating between ethnolinguistic groups in contact which allow us an explanation of the linguistic strategies they adopt. This latter psychological approach, which is of prime interest to us in the present context, can be regarded as a theoretical integration of two independent conceptual systems: Tajfel's (1974, 1978) theory of intergroup relations and social change and Giles's theory of interpersonal accommodation through speech (Giles, 1973; Giles and Powesland, 1975).
4.4 Accommodation Theory as applied to Tribal Speakers of Jharkhand

In other words, a compromise in the expression of identity, sometimes maintaining linguistic characteristics, sometimes shifting into other's linguistic characteristic, sometimes asserting one's linguistic characteristic and sometimes hiding. The theme called the Negotiation of identities could best be fitted into this conceptual framework of 'interpersonal accommodation theory' constructed by Giles, Taylor and Bourhis (1973).

In the application of accommodation theory on the four major tribal language speakers of Jharkhand, the Oraons, the Mundas, the santhals and the Ho, the assumption has been made that in all these cases, speech style shifts have occurred so as to encourage further interaction and decrease the perceived discrepancies between the actors. It is probably safe to assume that these shifts resulted in a favourable appraised of the tribal speakers, that is, they have created an impression that the speaker is trying to accommodate to his or her listener(s).

Similarity-attraction theory with 'Convergence' as the keyword has found grounds in the tribals speakers. Speech convergence in Jharkhand mainly of the 4 tribal languages towards non-tribal languages, especially Hindi is but one of the many devices the tribals adopt in order to become more similar to the non-tribals. It has involved the reduction of linguistic dissimilarities between the tribals and the non-tribals in terms of their languages, dialects, paralinguistic features, etc. Increasing similarities
between people along such an important dimension as communication has immensely increased attraction as well as intelligibility and predictability. It was also found that tribal speakers, especially in the urban areas with high needs for approval converged more to the non tribals, be it the Hindi speakers or the Bengali speakers, to their vocal intensity and pause length than those with low needs for approval. It was also found that the tribal subjects who thought that the non-tribal speaker was prestigious, authoritative figure and who anticipated future interaction with him, perceived his speech to sound more similar to their own then did subjects who were told nothing about the speaker.

The similarity attraction model has emphasized only the rewards i.e. an increase in attraction and or approval attending a convergent act. On the other side certain costs would be involved too and it too is being prominently found in all the four communities of tribal speakers, whose increased effort for the process of convergence has resulted in a loss of perceived integrity and personal and sometimes group identity. Social exchange theory states that prior to acting, we attempt to assess the rewards and costs of alternate courses of action studies in many cultures have show that the more prestigious the accent one possess the more favorably one will be perceived on certain dimensions (Giles and Powesland, 1975). This is particularity true in Ranchi, the capital of Jharkhand where standard Hindi speakers are viewed as far more intelligent, self confident, industrious and determined than regional tribal
speakers, even by the latter themselves. In addition, what one has to say in Hindi will often be considered more persuasive and of a better quality and also more likely to gain the co-operation of other than had it been voiced in a less standardized tribal accent. People's reactions suggest that there may be additional rewards for women. It was found that not only are the standard Hindi accented tribal women stereotyped as more competent than their regional tribal accented counterparts. They were also perceived as less weak, more independent, adventurous and feminine. In other words, upward convergence may glean a greater array of rewards for women than the some speech strategy adopted by a male.

There also occurs situations - such as at the various industrial sights in Ranchi, Bokaro, Jamshedpur, Dhanbad, Sindri etc set up by the great industrialists - who absorbed the tribals in their set up mainly as labourers - where there might be a greater need on the part of the employer to win his worker's social approval than, vice-versa. In this case, the non-tribal employer is more prone (within the realistic limits of his repertoire) to shift his accent in the direction of his workers than they did to him (that is, to downward converge). Downward convergence of speech style shifts generally is common in the interaction with the uneducated tribal mass settled in the rural areas who temporarily move for earning livelihood to the urban settlements. Such negotiations incurred more benefits in the preservation of their tribal identity. The non-tribal employer was found to accommodate the tribal accents, their lexicon etc.
into their non-tribal language. Upward convergence generally takes place with the educated and the urban area tribal settlers who shift their speech style in the directions of the non-tribal speakers as a result personal and group identity seems to be loosing. Indeed, mutual convergence can occur where upward convergence from one person is complemented by downward convergence.

Since accommodation theory includes the possibility of convergence to less as well as to more prestigious speech styles and included notions of rewards and costs to both speakers and listener, this leads us from an attempt to explain convergence merely in terms of the observable characteristics of the interacting pair to a consideration of the role played by the phenomenal worlds of the participants involved using notions derived from causal attribution theory.

Causal attribution theory (Heider, 1958; Jones and Davis, 1965; Keller, 1975) suggests that we interpret other people's behaviour, and evaluate the person themselves, in terms of the motives and intentions that we attribute as the cause of their behaviour. Although interpersonal convergence is generally favourable, and non-convergence generally unfavorably received, the extent to which this holds true will undoubtedly be influenced by the listener's attributions of the speaker's intent. We consider a situation in which a tribal speaker is
interacting with a member of an out-group (Hindi dialect Bhojpuri speaker of N Bihar) hostile to one's own group in such cases valid and reliable information is often lacking about the other's true intentions and attributions may be based on unfavorable stereotypes about the out-group. For instance, they seemed to be always ready to attribute convergence by out-group members to unspecified situational pressures, or to deviousness, then to acknowledge a sincere, or to deviousness, than to acknowledge a sincere desire on their part to reduce tension. In the same way, the tribals were more ready to attribute their non-convergence to a lack of effort than to consider the possibility that they do not possess the necessary linguistic skills, or that there were strong cultural pressures forming them to use their native speech style. Considering the interpersonal context it is clear that an understanding of attribution processes as they operate in both the speaker and the listener will be necessary to an explanation of variations in speech style. From the point of view of the speaker, convergent acts will not always be intentionally active, and non-convergence intentionally passive responses - nor will they always be perceived as such by interlocutors. Non-convergence might act as a powerful symbol where by members of ethnic group would display their intention of maintaining their identity and cultural distinctiveness. This sentiment of maintenance is emerging strongly among the tribal speakers and the effort is being made particularly by the educated-urban-older generation of all the four tribes of Jharkhand. In
certain situations, people are not only maintaining their own speech style, but are wishing to emphasize it in interaction with others, and to accentuate the differences between themselves and other, perhaps because of the other's out-group membership, undesirable attitudes and habits.

Tajfel's theory of intergroup Distinctiveness found expressions in the tribal state where members of different tribals and non tribal groups were/are in contact, they compared themselves on dimensions which were/are important to them, such as personal attributes, abilities, material possessions and so forth. These inter-group have led and is continuously leading individuals to search for and even create dimensions on which they can make themselves positively distinct from the out-group, the tribals have a feeling that they have been exploited of the various rich resources of their land. That they are peace loving people, away from the dirty politics of communalism of the non-tribals who have seized their land and have become the masters, turning them into bonded labourers deprived of progress and prosperity. The perception of such a reactionary and critical but yet positive distinctiveness by the in-group has and will ensure that they have an adequate social identity. It can be argued that in situations when group membership is a salient issue, speech divergence may be an important strategy for making oneself psychologically and favorably distinct from out-group members. Thus we see that interpersonal speech style shifts do occur and in terms of four social
psychological theories, we have discussed some of the reasons why speakers might make such shifts and how they might be interpreted by listeners. The emphasis has been on moving closer to the interactive interface between speaker and listener, and arriving at the conception of the procedures employed by them in the production and interpretation of speech style shifts.