CHAPTER-1

1.1: THEORETICAL SETTING

In the theoretical setting, there is an incorporation of two theories:

- Theory of social psychology
- Speech Accommodation Theory

1.1A: Theory of Social Psychology

The requirements of socio-psycho Linguistic, investigations stem literally from all spheres of social life connected with the ever-increasing demand for conscious management of social processes. Such requirement arise in the areas of industry, education, mass communication systems, demographic politics, struggle against anti-social behaviour, public services, sports etc. There is no doubt that the practical requirements far surpass the progress of theoretical knowledge in social psychology.

The specifics of social psychology can be defined as the study of the laws of behaviour and actions of the people depending as the social group they belong to and the psychological characteristics of these groups.
The mentality of the individuals is also social and therefore is an object of research in social psychology. In this sense social psychology is different from collective psychology: social psychology focuses on the mentality of the separate individual and collective psychology – on personal psychology under conditions of collective manifestations.

Basic economic, social and political problems called for a more careful analysis of the psychological aspect of various manifestations of social life. Active inverse influence of consciousness on the course of objective processes had to be investigated in greater detail in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution where the psychological, "human" factor assumes such a great role. The mechanisms of concrete interaction between society and the individual under these circumstances have to be investigated on socio-linguistic, socio-psychological, as well as on a sociological level.

The polemics touched mostly upon two problems: 1) the subject matter of social psychology and correspondingly the set of its problems, and 2) the correlation of socio-linguistics with social psychology and psychology, on the one hand, and with sociology on the other hand.
Theoretical Framework

Three approaches were formulated around the dispute on the subject matter of social psychology. The supporters of the first, enjoying prevalence among sociologists, understood social psychology as a science of mass phenomena of the psyche and treated each phenomenon from the angle of his definition, sometimes they gave most attention to the study of the psychology of classes and large social communities and also to separate elements of the group mentality like traditions, morals, customs etc. In other instances, attention was focused on the formation of social opinion, on such specific areas phenomenon as fashion etc. finally on the basis of this approach, a nearly unanimous agreements managed concerning the need to study collectives.

The supporters of the second approach on the contrary considered the individual as the main object of social psychology's research. Discrepancies arose here only in the choice of context the individual was to be studied in, On the one hand, greater attention was given to the mental peculiarities of the individual (personality typology) and on the other hand, the position of the individual in the collective, interpersonal relations and to the entire system of intercourse.

The third approach was an attempt to synthesize the two previous approaches. Social psychology was seen as a science
studying both mass mental processes and the position of the individual in a group. In this case problems of social psychology seemed to be rather broad: practically the entire set of questions examined in different schools of social psychology was included in its domain, the list proposed by Boris Parygin was the most extensive. According to him, social psychology covered (1) Social psychology of the individual, (2) social psychology of communities and communication, (3) Social relations and (4) forms of cultural activities.

According of Vladinier Myasishchew, Social psychology involved:

1. Changes in the mental activity of people in a group under the impact of their interaction.
2. Specific features of the groups.
3. The psychological aspect of social processes.

The subject matter of social psychology is rather extensive and its definition can be approached both from the angle of the individual and from that of mass mental phenomena. Such and interpretation was mostly consonant with the practical requirements of society.

Social psychology tackles the studies of personality from a definite angle, considering how the personality behaves in real
social groups. Social psychology must not simply answer the question of how motives, needs and orientations of the individual are formed, but also to explain why namely these and no other motives, needs and orientations have formed in a given individual and to what degree they depend on the group to which the individual belongs and so on. Interpersonal relations, communication processes, leadership, solidarity - all of these phenomena are inherent in any type of social organization.

New social realities generate new problems, intercourse and interactive between people takes place not in a vacuum but always in really existing Society (the first empirical fact).

Methodology

1) It is always connected with specific objects, in other words with the observable amount of empirical data which can be collected through the means science has at its disposal;

2) Differentiated within it are empirical (the establishment of facts, the elaboration of methods of measurement), logical (the drawing of one propositions from another, the determination of the connections between them) and the theoretical (the search for the cases, discovery of the principles and the formulation of hypotheses on laws) and cognitive tasks;
3) The distinct demarcation between the established facts and hypothetical suppositions in characteristic for it in as much as the procedures are worked out for the verification of hypothesis.

4) Its goal lies in the foretelling of facts and processes, not only their explanation.

These distinguishing characteristics can be briefly summed up as the thorough collection of empirical data, their generalization into principles and the verification and application of these principles in forecasting the future developments, the linguistic data that is overt expression along with behaviours of the individual (attitude), even on some specific characteristics of these individual and the psychological characteristics of the groups themselves. Depending on the volume of data, all socio-psycho-linguistic research is divided into two types:

a) Correlationary – based on a large mass of data, within which various types of correlation are established and

b) Experimental – where there is a limited volume of data, arbitrarily introducing new variables and then controlling them.

The second feature is the generalization of data, the establishment of the principles, the formulation of the hypotheses, understandably is the most important links between the linguistic and the socio-psychological research
For linguistic study related to the socio-psychological aspects of man, there can be two parameters of quality of information: the Objective and the subjective.

This is brought about by the fact that the source of information in this discipline is always man. It is necessary to consider this fact along with the ensuring a high level of reliability of "subjective" parameters, "subjective" information consists of the information gathered from various questionnaires on interviews, and this information can be complete and reliable enough. Three characteristic of the reliability of information are ensured in every instance: validity, stability and precision.

Currently in the humanistic orientation, unlike the scientific, it is emphasized that the science about man require the inclusion of value judgements in the making of scientific investigation, the question is more specific in relation to social psychology; in what forms do values "penetrate" the process of scientific research. First of all, the formulation of the problem being well aware of the goal of the research and orients on the values of society which and orients on the values of society which is recognised or rejected. Further the values he recognises permit the determination of the purpose in the application of his recommendations. Finally, these values must also "be present" during the interpretation of the results obtained. This
The theoretical Framework

does not "lower" the quality of knowledge, but on the contrary, makes the interpretation conscientious allowing the social context, in which the studied events took place, to be fully evaluated.

Both sets of human relations - Social and interpersonal are revealed and realised through communication. Communication is also the realisation of the individuals entire system of relations. In normal circumstances the relations of the individual to the surrounding objective world are always mediated by his relations to people and society. In other words, they are included in communication. It is especially important to emphasis the idea that in real communication not only are the interpersonal relations of the people manifested and their emotional attachments, hostility and other attitudes revealed, but social relations, i.e. relations impersonal by nature are also intertwined in the fabric of communication.

The position of the individual in the narrow framework of interpersonal connections in the broader social system also requires a definite "construction" of the aggregate of his connections.

A society cannot exist outside of communication. It emerges in society as a means of uniting individuals and along with this a means for the development of these very individuals this is the main
explanation for the simultaneous existence of communication as both the reality of social relations and also the reality of interpersonal relations.

Each set of relations is naturally realised in specific forms of communication. Communication as the realisation of interpersonal relations is the best-studied socio-psycho-linguistic process. There is a tendency to identify communications and interpersonal relations.

The form of communication in essence are the specific forms of people's joint-activities, people do not simply "communicate" in the process of carrying out their various social functions, but rather, they always communicate in certain activities, "concerning" it.

It is important to reveal the content also in the communicative aspect of communication, which consists in that the mutual influence of people on one another is realised in the process of communication. To describe the process of mutual influence in full, it is not enough to know the structure of the act of communication. It is also necessary to analyse the motives of the participants along with their goals and orientations. For this, the systems of symbols must be considered which, together with speech communication are included in the system of activities.
1.1B: Speech Accommodation Theory:

Socio-linguistics is the field of language in its social context. A reasonable definition of its scope is provided by Fishman (1970: 3). He states that:

*It is the study of the characteristics of language varieties, the characteristics of their functions and the characteristics of their speakers as these three constantly interact, change, and change one another within a speech community.*

It is here that we encounter the situation of pluri-lingualism with its speakers negotiating their identities linguistically, choosing their code in accordance with the current social trends. And here arises the first question i.e. why such socio-linguistic phenomena occurs. Hence, if we need to understand why individuals acquire, use and react to language and its varieties in the way they do, we require a greater understanding of the dynamics of attitudes, motivations, identities and intentions, that is social psychological phenomena.

Allport (1968: 3) states that Social psychology is 'an attempt to understand how the thoughts, feelings and behaviours of individuals are influenced by the actual, imagined or implied presence of other'. Some social psychologists are extending this approach to a consideration of how society and its structure, that is,
as reflected along such dimensions as power and control, affect the individual's social behaviours (Tajfel and Israel, 1972).

Traditionally, the most appropriate method for collecting socio-psychological data has been to record and revise scientifically the subjective and objective behaviour of individuals in a controlled manner.

Social psychologists have many theories above how individuals search for understanding of the behaviour of others and the situation they are in, and above-how this mediates to guide their subsequent behaviour in an interactive sense. One of the most important ways in which we can influence others and be influenced by them, is through language behaviour. In other words much of individual social behaviour is concerned with the decoding and encoding of verbal and non verbal language variables.

Socio-linguistics emerged as a multidisciplinary endeavour in order to provide an understanding of language behaviour with due regard to the context in which it is spoken, what fo people's needs, feelings, motives and loyalties surely these elements figure prominently in the production and interpretation of our verbal output. Considerations such as these have fuelled a number of publications aimed at directing socio-linguistics towards a theoretical base in social psychology, contaminating in a model of speech diversity
termed 'interpersonal accommodation theory' (Giles, Taylor and Bourhis, 1973; Giles and Powesland, 1975).

Based on explicit models of neither the speaker nor the listener, accommodation theory has drawn on four social psychological theories to focus on the interactive aspects of interpersonal communication. The accommodation theory, considering new data, has also led to a conceptual framework highlighting its 'negotiative' character.

A very important modification of speech in social interaction, is that of 'convergence' (Giles 1973b). The term 'convergence' has been coined to refer to the processes where by individuals shift their speech styles to become more like that of those with whom they are interacting. Such adaptation has been observed to occur on a number of descriptive levels. When two people meet, there is a tendency for them to become more alike in their language (Giles, Taylor and Bourhis, 1973), pronunciation (Giles, 1973b), speech rates (Webb, 1970), pause and utterance lengths (Jaffe and Feldstein, 1970; Matarozzo, 1973), Vocal intensities (Notale, 1975) and in the intimacy of their self disclosures (Mc Aclister and Keister, 1975). Moreover, Leiberman (1976) has observed children of about twelve month of age converging to the pitch patterns of their parents.
by lowering the fundamental frequency of their babbling in the presence so their father and raising in with the mothers.

In the development of accommodation theory the assumption has been made that is all these cases, speech style shifts have occurred so as to encourage further interaction and decrease the perceived discrepancies between the actors, the assumption then is that in such situations, the speaker and the listener have shared a common set of interpretative procedures which allow the speakers intentions to be

(i) Encoded by the speaker and
(ii) Correctly interpreted by the listener.

In the cases described above, it is probably safe to assume that these shifts resulted in a favourable appraisal of the speaker, that is they have created an impression that the speaker is trying to accommodate to his on her listener (s). In fact many speech shifts traditionally viewed as rule governed for example, adult-to-child, young-to-old, male-to-female and speech to foreigner, can be subsumed under an accommodation rubric. In all these cases, people may be converging their speech to how they believe others in the situation would best receive it.

The accommodation theory has thus incorporated ideas from fours socio-psychological theories: similarity-attraction; social
exchange; causal attribution; and Tajfel's theory of inter-group distinctiveness.

(a) Similarity – Attraction Processes

In its simplest form, attraction theory proposes that the more similar our attitudes and beliefs are to certain others, the more likely it is we will be attracted to them (Byrne, 1969). Speech convergence is but one of the many devices a person may adopt in order to become more similar to another. Specifically, it involves the reduction of linguistic similarities between two people in terms of their languages, dialects, paralinguistic features, etc. Since increasing similarity between people along such an important dimension as communication is likely to increase attraction as communication is likely to increase attractions as well as intelligibility (Triandis, 1960) and predictability (Berger and Calabrese, 1975). Convergence perhaps reflects a speaker's desire for his listener's social approval. In as much as we more after desire another's approval than not, it is reasonable to suggest that there may be a general tendency for people to converge to each other in many situations, many factors could affect the descriptive levels on which, and the extent to which convergence occurred of failure interaction with the listener, status relationships, and recollections of previous shifts made by the listener.
A corollary of the notion that convergence might result in increased approval is the idea that the greater one's need for approval, the greater will be one's tendencies to converge. Natale (1975) has found that speakers with high needs for approval converge more to another's vocal intensity.

Considering the perception or decoding of a speech style, a cognitive analogue to convergence has been demonstrated by Larsen, Martin and Guiles (1977) who found that subjects who thought that a speaker was a prestigious, authoritative figure, and who anticipated future interaction with him, perceived his speech to sound more similar to their own than did subject who were told nothing about the speaker. This difference in appraisal of the speaker between the two groups gives further, indirect support to the similarity - attraction model of convergence. It also leads to an explicit recognition that a given style of speech will be perceived differently by people in two different situations.

(b) Social Exchange Processes

The similarity - attraction model tends to emphasise only the rewards attending a convergent act, that is, an increased in attraction and or approval. However it is likely that certain costs would be involved too, such as the increased effort made to converge, a loss of perceived integrity and personal (and sometimes
group) identity. Social exchange theory, again in its simplest form, states that prior to acting, we attempt to assess the rewards and costs of alternate courses of action (Homans, 1981). Thus, if we have the choice of doing (or saying) A or B, we tend to choose the alternative which maximises the chances of a positive outcome, and minimises the chance of an unpleasant one, engaging in convergent speech acts should then incur more potential rewards for the speaker than costs.

The notion of rewards attending the use of a certain search style is problematic, but attempts have been made to specify what they might constitute in empirical specific terms. Moreover, it can be suggested that the specific rewards that may accrue from convergence may depend on the particular level (or levels) on which it takes place (of, Taylor and Altman, 1876; Miller and Steinbery, 1915).

(c) Causal Attribution Processes

Causal attribution theory (Heider, 1958; Jones and Davis, 1965, Kalley, 1973) suggests that we interpret other people's behaviour, and evaluate the persons themselves, in terms of the motives and intentions that we attribute as the cause of their behaviour.
Although interpersonal convergence is generally favourably, and non-convergence generally unfavourably, received, the extent to which this holds true will undoubtedly be influenced by the listener’s attributions of the speaker’s intent.

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 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 whereby members of an ethnic group would display their intention of maintaining their identity and cultural distinctiveness.

One bears witness to the efforts beings made by many of the world’s cultural minorities to maintain their own languages and dialects, as expression of their cultural pride (Fishman et al. 1966; Giles 1977a). It may well be that in certain situations, people not only want to maintain their own speech style, but wish to emphasises it in interaction with others Bourhis, Giles and Lambert, 1075; Doise, Sinchair and Bourhis, 1976. In these cases, speakers may wish to accentuate the differences between themselves and others (Cf. World 1959; Taifel and Wires, 1953; Tajfel, 1972).
perhaps because of the other's out-group membership, undesirable attitudes, habits or appearance. Speech shifts away from the interlocutor's style, occurring with whatever intentions have been termed 'Speech divergence' (Giles, 1973b).

**(d) Process of inter-group Distinctiveness**

Tajfel proposes that when members of different groups are in contact, they compare themselves on dimensions which are important to them, such as personal attributes, abilities, material possessions and so forth. He suggests that these 'inter-group social comparison' will lead individuals to search for, and even create, dimensions on which they can make themselves positively distinct from the out-group. The perception of such a positive distinctiveness by the in-group will ensure that they have an adequate social identity. In other words, people experience satisfaction in the knowledge that they belong to groups which enjoy same superiority over others. Given that speech style is, for many people, an important subjective and objective clue to social group membership (Giles, Taylor and Bourhis, 1977; Giles, Taylor, Lambert and Albert, 1976), 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 favourably distinct from out-group members.
1.2 THE PROBLEMS AND ITS BACKGROUND

Prof. Haimendorf writes (Slaimunderof, p. 321, 1985) that the disruption of the tribal economy and the degradation of the tribals by large scale industrialisation, is well-described in the following paragraph of the commissions final report on the problem.

"The tribals were dislodged from their traditional sources of livelihood and place of habitation. Not conversant with the details of acquisition proceedings they accepted whatever cash compensation was given to them and became emigrants in their own land. With cash in hand and many attractions in the nearby industrial towns their funds were rapidly depleted and in course of time they were without money as well as without land. They joined ranks of landless labourers, without any training on aptitude for any skill or semi-skilled job." (SC and ST Commission Report, 1962 cited in Haimdendorf, p. 321).

The development of any tribal language and literature is directly linked with the stability of the tribal community settled more or less on permanent basis. On the contrary the tribals were dispossessed of their lands, their only source of livelihood, for them everything got disrupted and damaged, even their customs and
culture, their primitive faith and consequently their language and literatures encounters the same fate.

"Beret of their land and devoid of their geographical boundaries, distinct lifestyles, language, culture, social values and ethos, the tribals in the Chotanagpur plateau will be rendered rootless."

Says Prof. Ram Dayal Munda, former Vice Chancellor of Ranchi University (Frontline, July 1995). Having lost their land, their main moorings, the tribals were just a drifting population till yesterday. With the formation of the newly tribals state, the problems have not reduced. They are exposed to new danger of losing everything they have, their language, their literature and ultimately their very tribal identity. Thus they are left helpless to be submerged in the 'main stream' of the dominant society as a lower caste or 'Dalits' and they remain no more as an independent and proud tribes of the forests. Lest it is misinterpreted, let us not call this ongoing process of socio-linguistic changes among the tribals as a 'Sanskritisation' or 'Aryanisation' but it is certainly a rapid process of detribalisation socially and obviously linguistically.

The study examine the various indicators that provide a clue that negotiation takes place i.e. language maintenance and language shift, code mixing and code switching because of the
phenomena of Bi and multilingualism creating a complex picture of identity of the tribals in Jharkhand.

The projection of these issues is aimed at acquiring an in-depth understanding of tribal societies through their claims of identity and communication in the changed circumstances, which can be utilised as significant inputs in evolving a tribal policy of the country. The diagnosis probes into a number of questions such as, how the modernising pursuits (notably urbanisation, literacy) are affecting the tribal ‘Mindset’? Do these pursuits accentuate the awareness of belonging to a distinct culture or of integrating into the mainstream? How is this awareness reflected through various processes of acculturation, e.g. claiming one’s another-language identity through the ancestral language or switching over to the language dominant in the region? What are the attitudes of tribals towards acquiring contact languages for intra-tribal, inter-tribal as well as for tribal non-tribal communications? It highlights certain basic issues relevant in nation-building, i.e. relations between individuals, communications, culture, and state, correlating them to the newly ‘crystallised’ consciousness among the tribals.

The study utilises the date on tribal communities and tribal language as enumerated in the census documents covering 1981, 1991 and correlates the data with the patterns of urbanisation,
literacy, another language and contact language claims. It necessarily relies upon the secondary sources such as micro-level field investigations conducted by several tribal research institutions in the country.

Fasold (1984) mentioned societal bilingualism as a prerequisite condition for language shift. Anvita Abbi (1997) observed that in Jharkhand the dynamics of language contact is such that the dominant languages are either the scheduled languages of the Indo-Aryan family or their dialects (non-scheduled), while the dominated ones are those of the Munda and the Dravidian families. Interaction between the dominant and the dominated groups has generated a good population of bi- and multilinguals where minority community is on a higher level at the 'scale of bilingual proficiency' than its dominant majority community/ies. She further says that in a tug of war between language maintenance (retention of Mother tongues) and language proficiency in the dominant/contact language/s, the tribal languages have begun passing through a transition period of language change and language convergence postponing or avoiding the expected language obsolescence situation.

Her idea that the paradoxical oscillation between language maintenance and language loss or shift is a natural consequence of
The high rate of bilingualism prevailing in the Jharkhand state, where Hindi/Sadari bilingualism has become a rule rather than an exception among the younger generation. This has aided me in forming a working hypotheses on the negotiation of identities in pluri-lingual conversation to be tested on the different groups of Tribal population of Jharkhand.

The main hypothesis of my study is:

*Old generation Tribal speakers maintain their tribal language while middle and the younger generation tribal speakers are giving up tribal tongue and shifting to Hindi (particularly in the Urban locations) in other words, the older generation is negotiating less while the Younger generation negotiates more in pluri-lingual Conversation*

The major dimensions of the study are:

(a) To establish that phenomena of Negotiation occurs.

(b) To determine the level of Negotiation amongst the social variables – Age, locations/settlement, education, socio-economic class.

In case of age, three groups have been considered (18-34 yrs) (35-50 yrs) (above 50 yrs).

In education, 2 groups are taken literate and illiterate.
In socio-economic class, 3 groups are taken lower class, middle class, upper class.

(c) To determine the historical, social and cultural factors which may be responsible for negotiations i.e. language maintenance or shift and

(d) To reflect on the Social-psychological process involved in such Negotiations based on the Accommodation theory.

Formulated by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, which has incorporated ideas from four socio-psychological theory. The hypothesis is too broad since it is a general statement on entire Jharkhand. I have therefore restricted any fieldwork in Ranchi and Jamshedpur district of Jharkhand. The Observations are tentative and speculative.

Method: The sampling procedure and the tools designed to elicit socio-psychological and linguistic data and the procedure adopted during the fieldwork.

Sample: A total of 400 informants participated in the demographic survey. 100 informants were interviewed from each of the 4 tribes of Oraon (Kurux) Munda, Santhali and Ho. Ranchi, the capital of Jharkhand, has a great population of Oraon and Munda tribe while Jamshedpur, being industrial locations has large influx of people coming for employment and settlement from all the four communities of Oraon, Munda, Ho and Santhal.
The informants were asked to give information on personal, linguistic and socio-psychological aspects. Through this, I could identify some significant traits of the groups. I give a brief description of these traits below.

1. **Age group:** A preliminary analysis of the data showed that the speech of the younger group (18-34 yrs) was significantly different from the older generation (Above 50 yrs), while the middle age group (35-50 years) showed a straddling position both in linguistic as well as socio-psychological aspect. A total of 23 informants in the age group (18-34 yrs), 16 informants in the age group (35-50 yrs) and 34 informants in the age group (Above 50 yrs) are in the sample.

2. **Education:** In the variable only 2 options are taken, literate and illiterate. This variable being one of the most important threw light immensely on the research topic. With a pathetic rate of literacy, the state has only 33.66% of its population literate.

3. **Socio-economic class:** The socio-economic situation of the informants reveal a great deal on the multilingual nature of the language use pattern and as a result their degree of negotiation of their identities in socio-psychological and linguistic from three groups are considered, lower, middle and Upper class.
Lower class constitutes of 49 informants who are illiterate and daily wagers like the rickshaw-pullers, vendors, domestic helpers etc.

Middle class in constituted by 26 (primary to college) informants who are literate and have their basic necessities fulfilled, have their own house or stay in moderate rented house.

Upper class has 25 informants having high income especially in the service sector and higher. Education like post-graduation and above.

My sample is a very small number to claim any thorough representation for the entire districts of Ranchi or Jamshedpur or the state. But considering the four Tribes occupying a major part of the state, their age, education and socio-economic background, and sample could be viewed adequate enough to know at least some of the general tendencies of the tribal speakers, their social psychology regarding their language.

Questionnaire with brief informal interviews put to the informants assumed as representative of a particular age group and socio-economic class, was the only means employed in collection the data. In the Questionnaire I am concerned with 3 aspects (a) The personal data (1-10) that provides information about his age, education income.i.e. his socio-economic class.
(b) The linguistic data (Question 11-20) tell us about the informant's linguistic facts, his use of different languages from early childhood till present time, in the various domains, with different social relations and contexts etc.

(c) Socio-Psychoc Linguistic data: Question (21-43) these questions tells us mainly about the informants choice and preference of languages, with reasons for the selection etc.

All the 3 aspect together throw light or their Negotiation of identities in the pluri-lingual conversation they create the analysis of date collected from the 4 tribes is done by taking the percentage based on hundred as common denominator.

A part from the qualified social and psychological data obtained through the various questions, there were certain areas in which, it was felt, a deeper probing was necessary to arrive at some understanding of the social psychological background of the communities under investigation. And such information, as Le Page (1972) has pointed one can not always us be qualified objectively through a set of questions in a questionnaire and besides, 'statistical methods can be easily give a false impression of objectivity (p.7). In order to meet with this need for deeper understanding. I asked a few open ended questions in detail during the interview (question) 38, 40, 43, 46 to confirm certain information elicited through question 14 to 36.
1.3 TRIBES

Tribals have come to acquire extensive usage in our discourse on social science and social change. The expression “Tribal identity” has sharp political resonance. But that resonance is felt and read almost entirely in ethnic-social terms.

The constitution provides for the notification of certain communities as tribal. The notification is on the basis of a varied mix of ethnic, social, linguistic and economic criteria. Hence the prevalence usage as also the only available working definition of a tribal in India: Scheduled Tribes. One could speak of the Tribal presence in India at two levels. One, the fragmented and fragmentary Tribal presence in the very midst of non-tribal life. Two, the Tribal presence in Tribal contiguities comprising regions that are or were until recently predominantly tribal.

Tribal presence in regions that are predominantly tribal signifies a distinctly different historic quality of Tribal non-tribal interaction. Such regions constitute what could be termed tribal contiguities. Within tribal contiguities, choices available to tribal communities for working out their own equations between man and nature have not been entirely foreclosed in favour of a more advanced mode of livelihood. True, powerful non-tribal rulers did
seen to control over tribal contiguities. But pre-modern conquest could never exact more than a nominal annual tribute. The divide in these regions between resistance and restraint, submission and defiance, was always somewhat fluid.

In this backdrop there is a necessity to take stoke of the linguistic scene of the tribals in the country. In the contemporary climate of development, various traditional and modernising factors affect the issue of identify (i.e. a sense of belongingness) among tribal societies, and the changing patterns of intra-tribal and inter-tribal communications among them. How is this dynamics affecting the socio-psychological profile with its expression on the linguistic scenario.

The present study draws attention to the socio-psychological indicators signifying the linguistic change among the tribal speakers in the newly formed tribal state of Jharkhand.

The Term ‘Tribe’

The term ‘tribe’ has been defined is a number of ways by dictionaries, encyclopaedia, and scholars. The advanced learner’s dictionary defines the term ‘tribe’ as "racial group, especially one united by language and custom, living as a community under one or more chiefs."
According to the Webster's new world dictionary of American language, "Tribe is a group of persons, families, or clans descended from a common ancestor and forming a community". The dictionary further defines as "any primitive or nomadic group of people of generally common ancestry, possessing common leadership".

The encyclopaedia Britannica defines the terms as "in a cultural anthropology, theoretical type of human social organisation based on small groups defined by traditions of common descent and having temporary or permanent political integration above the family level and a shared language, culture and ideology. In this ideal model of a tribe, members typically share a tribal name and a contiguous territory; they work together in such joint endeavours as trade, agriculture, house construction, warfare and ceremonial activities. Tribes are usually composed of a number of small local communities (e.g. bands, villages or neighbourhood) and may be aggregated into higher order clusters, called nations".

As an ideal type, the tribe is regarded by cultural evolutionists as "the form of social organisation that developed into a stratified society and eventually into the type of social organisation known as the primitive state. As an ideal type, the tribe derives its unity not from a territorial identity but from a sense of extended kinship."
The word tribe in anthropological perspective fell out of favour in the latter part of the 20th century. Some anthropologist rejected the term itself on the ground that it could not be precisely defined. Others rejected to the negative connotations the word acquired in the colonial contexts. African scholars, in particular, felt that the term was pejorative as well as inaccurate. Thus many modern anthropologists replaced it with the designation ethnic group, usually defined as a group of people with a common ancestry and language, a shared cultural and historical tradition and an identifiable territory.

According to Imperial gazetteer of India "a tribe is a collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying or professing to occupying a common territory and is not usually endogamous, though originally it might have been so".

In the dictionary of sociology, George Peter Murdock defines the tribe as a social group in which there are many clans, nomadic bands, villages of other sub groups which usually have a definite geographical area, a separate language, a singular and distinct culture and either a common political organisation or at least a feeling of common determination against strangers". Eminent anthropologist Roy-Burman (1972) classifies tribes into:

1. Those incorporated in Hindu society.
(2) Those positively oriented to Hindu society.
(3) Those negatively oriented.
(4) Those indifferent to Hindu society.

Vidyarthi [1977] talked of tribes as:
(1) Living in forests, (2) living in rural areas
(3) Semi-acculturated (4) acculturated or
(5) assimilated

In the conceptualisation of tribes in anthropology three distinct but inter-related strands are intertwined. Tribes are first of all invariably seen as society. It is a society like all other societies, i.e., it is made up of people, it has boundaries. People belong to a society by virtue of the rules under which they stand, rules which impose on them regular, determinate ways of acting towards and in regard to one another. The characteristic of a tribe as a society is related through its boundaries. At the same time, boundaries have defined linguistically, culturally and politically. Boundaries set certain limit of interaction in the legal, political, economic and social relations of its members.

Secondly a tribe is also seen as a distinctive type so society. Godelien (1977:30), for example, sees tribal societies as being characterised by certain positive and negative features, and negative being the absence of literacy, civilisation, industrialisation.
specialisation, etc. the positive features are those absent as modern societies: social relations based on kinship bonds, all pervasive religion, frequency of co-operation for common goals etc. They are seen as primitive, simple, illiterate, and back ward societies.

1.3A: Tribal Identity

A tribe like any other ethnic group, has its own self image and identity (Sabay, 1977) on the basis of which it considers itself historically as well as socio-culturally and nominalistically distinct from other groups and tenaciously sticks to and justifies this identity in spite of various changes taking place in their life. It is this sense of identity which is basic for the survival of a tribal group. It also works as a sort of censor and rational for cultural acceptability or in-acceptability of innovations and determines the hard core of culture.

Among the studies having a bearing on the change of tribal identity, mention may be made of the studies related to such tribal groups, which during the course of time came into intensive contact with Hindus and were gradually and insensibly incorporated into Hindu fold as castes. A tribe remains a tribe so long it thinks itself to be a tribe different from Hindu castes, but the process of change starts the moment it begins to identify itself with Hindus. It is
followed by a voluntary emulsion of the Hindu model of life. Most of the Hindu lower castes of today are said to have a tribal origin.

In recent decades a number of scholars have analysed this change from tribal to Hindu model of life, in the methodological frameworks of 'tribe-caste continuum', 'Rajputaisation' 'Khatriazation', 'Sanskritization' and 'Emergence of caste like structure' among the tribals. In this connection, the studies made by Sahay (1967, 1963) of Oraon of Ranchi may be mentioned. In fact these studies refer to different stages of accumulation and incorporation of a tribal group into Hindu group with consequential and gradual changes in their group identity.

The working of Christian Missionaries in tribal areas presented still another alternate model before the tribals which ultimately led to a change is their ethnic identity. The tribals accepting the Christian faith found their belief-system customs and style of life markedly changed from that of their pagan brethren which were in several ways even diametrically opposed. Further Christianity brought a schism between the Christian convert and non-Christian Tribals practising indigenous tribal religion and provided the former with a separate ethnic identity. The studies made by Sayah (1961, 1968a, 1968b, 1969, 1976) with special reference to tribal Chotanagpur bring out these points is adequate measure.
However, it may be noted here that a change in ethnic identity of a tribal group due to their affiliation with a Hindu sect or acceptance to Christianity, does not necessarily change their 'Tribal identity'. Even after these changes, they continue to be affiliated with the particular tribe retaining change of tribal identity has been taking place among the Kharia, the Munda, and the Oraon for several decades, even centuries (Sahay, 1985).

1.3B: Tribal Society: A Peasant Society

Tribal society in India has been studied in relation to peasant society. In social anthropological literature peasant society has invariably been conceptualised and studied in contrast to tribal society. A tribe has generally been defined as a more or less homogenous community having common administrative system, a common dialect and a common culture. But as Beteille (1960) puts it, it is one thing to show the boundaries between tribes and non-tribes or between different tribes and quite another to specify the characteristics of tribal societies in general. An attempt has therefore been made to specify these characteristics. Tribes have came to be defined by the features of a segmentary system. This means that tribes are conceived of not only as small in scale but also as representative of a structural type which is quite different from the more complex social system in which the peasantry and
gentry coexist. Ideally then, tribal societies are small in scale, restricted in the spatial and temporal range of their social, legal and political relations and in possession of a morality, religion and world view of a corresponding order. In short, tribal societies are self-contained units.

There has been much inquiry in anthropology with regard to the extent to which tribal people in India can be regarded as peasants. The inquiry arises from the fact that not all the communities described as tribes stand at the same level of development. Accordingly, tribes has been classified on the basis of the characteristic mode of livelihood. Bose [1971: 4-5], for example divided the tribal people into:

(1) Hunters, fishers and gatherers;
(2) Shifting cultivators;
(3) Settled agriculturists using plough and plough cattle;
(4) Nomadic cattle-keepers, artisans, agricultural labourers; and
(5) Plantation and industrial workers.

In support of the theory of the transformation of tribes into peasants some scholars have focussed on the fact that tribes have moved away from hunting/ fishing on shifting agriculture to terraced or settled agriculture.
There is another term of reference in terms of which tribes in India have been studied, and this is social differentiation. Sometimes this has been couched in terms of class or social stratification while tribal society has never been as unprecedented and dramatic as in the last 10 years: Tribal society has moved from homogeneity to a considerable degree of heterogeneity.

There is occupational differentiation in tribal society. One can find in the same society people who are engaged in agriculture (shifting or settled) or commerce. There are others who work as landless agricultural labourers, general mine workers, stone crushers, plantation workers or industrial workers. And still others are lawyers, doctors, teachers, government servants, politicians etc. Along with occupational differentiation there have been differences of wealth and income, giving rise to social stratification in the form of class not only in the qualitative as well as the quantitative sense.

There have also been differences of religion, ideology, values, political orientation, way of life, etc, among the members of a tribal community. In view of all this, it is generally held that a given tribal society has become like any other component of Indian society and hence that society is no longer a homogenous tribal society.
Such groups, isolated in different pockets all over the world now being named as the indigenous people' carry a strong sense of distinct identity. It generally is expressed by attributing an 'ingroup' label to their members and the mother tongue spoken by them. They call themselves by words which literally mean 'us, men, people'. In the North-east region the generic label naga can be traced to the term nok 'people'; Mikirs of Assam are known as arleng 'man'; Garos of Meghalaya are mande 'man'; Kachari tribes in the Assam valley call themselves boro 'man'.

In the newly formed state of Jharkand, a tribe called Ho means 'people'; santals are known as nor 'people'; in Munda language horo signifies 'people', they are often referred as horoko; the tribe Korku means 'men'; kor 'man', - ku plural suffix. The tribe Birhor comprises of bir 'Jungle' and hor 'people', 'the Jungle people'.

This distinct self conceptualisation of tribals in the context of natural, social and historical processes is referred as 'Tribal consciousness' – mutual knowledge in distinguishing groups, self from the other. This consciousness brings into focus 'Tribal corporate personality' which pervades the tribal ethos throughout the country.
In a universal perspective when taking into account the dynamics of persistence and change in tribal identities in general, and in their language behaviour in particular, throughout, one notices a significant shift from the earlier view of tribe as 'a simplistic social formation is the evolutionary scheme' (to be replaced by social formations of higher order) to the new approach of treating tribe as 'a distinct type of social formation with elements of perpetuity in diverse technological contacts.'