THE NEGOTIATION OF IDENTITIES IN PLURI-LINGUAL CONVERSATION: A THEORY OF CODE CHOICE IN JHARKHAND

ABSTRACT
SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

BY
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ABSTRACT

The Negotiation of Identities in Pluri-lingual Conversation: A Theory of Code Choice in Jharkhand

The Negotiation of Identities in Pluri-lingual conversation: A theory of code choice, is related on the one hand to a balancing of the equation of language maintenance and language shift in a growing Bi- and multilingual tribal state of Jharkhand, providing a choice of code to the speakers, and on the other hand, to a variety of social, psychological and historical factors, giving a changed look to the aspect of tribal identity. A minority group may shift completely to the language of the host society in some domains, maintain its own language in a few others while using a mixed code showing varying degrees of mixtures of the two languages in contact in the rest. Even when social and cultural assimilation is almost complete, the native language may still continue to be used in extremely formal situations e.g. rituals and ceremonies as well as in extremely informal situations e.g. family, while mixed varieties may be used in several informal and semi-formal situations, e.g. peer groups. Depending on their historical and cultural background and the response of the host society, two communities may behave very differently in the case of language maintenance and language shift.
On the one extreme we have the case of a speech community whose complete assimilation to the majority community has been called the most striking event of current history, e.g. the American Jews; On the other are the German Mennonite farmers who have struggled to maintain their religion and language against heavy odds. Language thus acts as a shield against complete loss of identity. Generally, however, the conditions for maintenance and language shift effecting the identity process is obtained when two communities speaking two different languages come in contact and in studying this we are concerned with the relationship between degree or change on degree of stability in language use patterns, on the one hand and ongoing psychological, cultural or social processes, on the other.

The number of historical, cultural, social, political and psychological factors involved in the processes of linguistic negotiation is so large and complex that the formulation of any comprehensive model to investigate the phenomenon in all its complexity seems fraught with unprecedented dangers. In spite of the freedom to use one's language, the pressures to assimilate to the language and culture of the immigrant society may be very powerful. The linguistic minorities in many countries have often
maintained their group identity while merging more or less completely linguistically.

Having lost their land, their main moorings, the tribals were just a drifting population till yesterday. With the formation of the newly tribal state of Jharkhand, the problems have not reduced. They are exposed to new dangers of losing everything they have, their language, their literature and ultimately their very tribal identity, as the development of any tribal language is directly linked with the stability of the tribal community. As they are coming in contact with the non-tribals, they are losing their 'tribal' character which is reflected in their linguistic atmosphere. The compulsion of having to acquire non-tribal language in order to participate in the new politico-economic situation is influencing the perception of the tribal speakers and their attitude towards their own language. Children are in fact encouraged to learn non-tribal like Hindi to maximize their opportunities for employment. The affluent and educated elite among the tribal prefer to communicate primarily in Hindi. What is happening to the tribal language, culture and the tribal psyche is a complex mix of socio-linguistic acculturation, crisis of identity and total incomprehension of their role in linguistically and pluralistic atmosphere.
In examining the various factors we find that little attention is afforded to language behaviour and for understanding the role of language in ethnic groups, a model is necessary that describes the socio-psycholinguistic factors which can influence whether an ethnolinguistic minority will or will not seek to establish its own ingroup language as viable mode of communication. Secondly which could outline some of the socio-psychological processes which allow us an explanation of the linguistic strategies they adopt. And here we take aid of the speech accommodation theory which explains the language behaviour.

The first chapter titled "The Theoretical Framework" has three subsections. First is the theoretical setting; second, the problem and its background; and third, tribes. The first subsection i.e. Theoretical setting takes into account the theory of social psychology and speech Accommodation theory. The specifics of social psychology is that its studies the laws of behaviour and actions of the people depending on the social group they belong to and also focuses on the mentality of the separate individual. It is seen studying both mass mental processes and the position of the individual in a group. the second is speech accommodation theory proposed by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1973). It has drawn on four social psychological
theories to focus on the interactive aspects of interpersonal communication. The theory is highly "negotiative" in its character.

The Accommodation theory incorporates ideas from four socio-psychological theories: Similarity-attraction; social exchange; causal attribution and Tajfel's theory of inter-group distinctiveness. Similarity-attraction theory proposes that the more similar our attitudes and beliefs are to certain others, the more likely it is we will be attempted to them. Specifically it involves the reduction of linguistic dissimilarities between two people in terms of their languages, dialects, paralinguistic features, etc. Convergence perhaps reflects a speaker's desire for his listener's social approval. Social exchange processes states that prior to acting, we attempt to assess the rewards and costs of alternate courses of action, for e.g. the increased effort made to converge might be a loss of perceived integrity and personal (and sometimes group) identity. Causal attribution process suggests that we interpret other people's behaviours and evaluate the persons themselves, in terms of motives and intentions that we attribute as the cause of their behaviour.

In 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 possession and so forth. This will lead individuals to search for, and even create dimensions on which they can make themselves positively distinct from the out-group, and this perception will ensure that they have an adequate social identity.

The next subsection describes the problem and its background, i.e. the negotiation of identity in the tribal speakers of Jharkhand in the four major tribal communities, the Oraon, Munda, Santhal and Ho. The phenomena of pluri-lingualism is general and is rising continuously, presenting a scene of paradoxical oscillation between language maintenance and language shift. The working hypothesis is that the 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.

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

(d) To reflect on the socio-psychological process involved in such negotiations based on the accommodation theory.

The data is collected from 4 tribes, the Oraon, Munda, Santhal and Ho. The last sub section of this chapter talks about the characteristic features of tribes.

Chapter two deals with the sociolinguistic profile of Jharkhand. It gives a general information about the state, its history, its people, particularly the four tribes that has been taken for the purpose of study, their language, family classification, scripts etc. The situation of tribal language as well as the non-tribal language, the rising inclination towards the non-tribal language leading to growing Bi and Multilingualism due to various, historical, socio-economic and psychological factors and the pressures created by the dominating non-tribal society.

The third chapter titled "Multilingualism in the tribes and its impact on identity features" in various subsections describes the phenomena of Bi- and multilingualism, the classification based on the context of development of bilingual skills, the early studies showing the negative consequences and the positive consequences
of bilingualism, and the phenomenon of multilingualism particularly in the Indian context. The last section of this chapter is the analysis of the data collected through questionnaire and brief interview. Analysis is done simply by taking the percentage based on hundred as common denominator. It is found that the Oraon (Kurukh) speakers have negotiate their identity at the maximum degree, language shift is more than maintenance with code switching and mixing. Then is the case of the Munda community while Santhal and Ho tribal speakers have negotiated the least.

The fourth chapter is titled “Negotiation of Identity” which takes into account the historical, cultural and social factors which are responsible for such negotiation in the Ethnolinguistic Identity and an account on the application of the speech accommodation theory in the tribal speakers of the Jharkhánd.

It is thus concluded in the last chapter that linguistic identities are negotiated in plurilingual conversation. The hypothesis that old generation tribal speakers maintain their tribal language while middle and the younger generation tribal speakers are giving up their tribal mother tongue and shifting to Hindi is accepted greatly in the case of the Oraon and Munda community but is partially accepted in the case of Santhalies and to a great extent unacceptable regarding the Ho community.
Negotiation of identities is an important feature found in pluri-lingual conversation in all the four communities in varying degrees. With Oraon this negotiation has occurred in the maximum then is the Munda and Santhal. In the Ho speakers it is found in the least degree. Negotiation has been found greatly with the younger generation, then in a lesser degree in the middle generation and in the least in the older generation. Urban tribal settlers negotiated more than the rural the literature and the tribal speakers occupying a better position in the socio-economic ladder negotiated more. And the speech accommodation theory is also well applied to the tribal speakers of Jharkhand.
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ALIGARH (INDIA)
2004
Dedicated to

Allah

My Creator, The Most Merciful,
The Most Affectionate,
Lord of The Heavens
&
The Earth
This is to certify that this thesis entitled "The Negotiation of Identities in Pluri-lingual Conversation – A Theory of Code Choice in Jharkhand", by Rehana Khatoon for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics has been done under my supervision.

It is further certified that Rehana Khatoon has fulfilled all conditions laid down in the Academic Ordinance with regard to Ph.D. coursework.

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(Rehana Khatoon)
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>Page No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1 – 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER-1</strong></td>
<td>12 – 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Theoretical Setting</td>
<td>12 – 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 The Problem and its Background</td>
<td>30 – 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Tribes</td>
<td>39 – 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER-2:</strong></td>
<td>51 – 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE SOCIO-LINGUISTIC PROFILE OF JHARKHAND</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Jharkhand – The Tribal Land</td>
<td>51 – 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 The People</td>
<td>53 – 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3A: Family Classification of Tribal Languages</td>
<td>63 – 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3B: Scripts of Tribal Languages</td>
<td>65 – 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 The Sociolinguistic Situation</td>
<td>65 – 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER-3:</strong></td>
<td>84 – 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MULTILINGUALISM IN THE TRIBES AND ITS IMPACT ON THE IDENTITY FEATURES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Classification based on the Context of Development of Bilingual Skills</td>
<td>87 – 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Negative Consequences of Bilingualism</td>
<td>92 – 93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>Page No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Studies showing Positive Consequences</td>
<td>93 – 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 Multilingualism – The Indian Context</td>
<td>94 – 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5 Data Analysis</td>
<td>107 – 129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER-4:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEGOTIATION OF IDENTITY</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Identity</td>
<td>130 – 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 The Concept of Interaction</td>
<td>137 – 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 Ethnolinguistic Identity</td>
<td>146 – 156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4 Accommodation Theoy as applied to the Tribal Speakers of Jharkhand</td>
<td>157 – 163</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER-5:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONCLUSION</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>167 – 178</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ANNEXURE: QUESTIONNAIRE                                   |          |
INTRODUCTION

The issue of linguistically different populations coming in contact has attracted the attention of scholars from various disciplines. The Negotiation of Identities in pluri-lingual conversation: A theory of code choice, is related on the one hand to a balancing of the equation of language maintenance and language shift in a growing Bi and multilingual tribal state of Jharkhand, providing a choice of code to the speakers and on the other to a variety of social, psychological and historical factors, giving a changed look to the aspect of Tribal identity. Bloomfield (1933) had noticed it in language:

Some people entirely give up the use of their native language in favour of a foreign one. This happens frequently among immigrants in the United States. If the immigrant does not stay in a settlement of others from his own country, he may have no occasion at all to use his native language. Especially it would seem, is case of less educated persons, this may result, after a time, in wholesale forgetting, people of this kind understand their native language when they chance to hear it spoken, but can no longer speak it freely or even intelligibly. They have made a shift of language, their only medium of communication is now English and it is for
them not a native but an adopted language. Sometimes these persons have nevertheless acquired English very imperfectly and therefore are in the position of speaking no language well. (Bloomfield 1933:55)

A minority group may shift completely to the language of the host society in some domains, maintain its own language in a few others while using a mixed code showing varying degrees of mixtures of the two languages in contact in the rest. Even when social and cultural assimilation is almost complete, the native language may still continue to be used in extremely formal situations e.g. rituals and ceremonies as well as in extremely informal situations e.g. family, while mixed varieties may be used in several informal and semi-formal situations, e.g. peer-groups. Depending on their historical and cultural background and the response of the host society, two communities may behave very differently in the case of language maintenance and language shift. On the one extreme is the case of the American Jews whose complete assimilation to the majority community has been called the most striking event of current history; on the other are the German Mennonite farmers who have struggled to maintain their religion and language against heavy odds. Language thus often acts as a shield against complete loss of identity. To quote Lieberson,
Although it is true that group may retain their identify without a unique tongue, it is difficult to visualise complete assimilation in other areas if their native languages are maintained. (Lieberson, 1970:6)

In Israel and Surinam, a search for collective identity has resulted in a mass shift to the use of Hebrew and Sranan. Hoffman and Fisherman (1971) showed that the acquisition of Hebrew and the maintenance of previous another mother tongues were not necessarily competitive process. Hebrew had acquired the status of a symbol of an emerging integrated identity of a religious group now consolidated as a nation. Eersel (1971) showed how in Surinam, Sranan, previously the lingua-Franca between the Dutch masters and the native population had become the symbol of a growing consciousness and that claiming Dutch as one's mother tongue had become a betrayal of national integrity.

Often a community may retain the use of its native language in the domains of home and neighbourhood and switch completely to the language of the host society in the domains of education and work. In a complex multi-lingual setting a speaker may use several languages in his daily routine. Keeping them distinctly separate in same situations and inextricably mixing them in others. Generally, however, the conditions for language maintenance and language
shift effecting the identity process is obtained when two communities speaking two different languages come in contact and in studying this we are concerned with:

*The relationship between degree of change (or degree of stability) in language usage patterns, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, cultural or social processes, on the other......... (Fisherman 1971: 301).*

Haugen (1978) points out that Fishman's language "loyalty in the United States" (1996) is a monumental study of self-maintenance efforts, rationales and accomplishments of non-English immigrants on American shores (p. 15).

Fishman followed up Weinreich (1953) theme of language loyalty and collected into one volume an integrated review of the situation in which non-English immigrants had found themselves and their efforts to prevent or retard the extinction of their languages.

The number of historical, cultural, social, political, psychological and linguistic factors involved in the processes of Negotiation is so large and complex that the formulation of any comprehensive model to investigate the phenomenon in all its complexity seems fraught with unprecedented dangers. Sociologists e.g. Hoffman (1964), Miller (1924) have generally concentrated on
the language used in different settings and role-relations. Anthropologists e.g. Barker (1947), Dozier (1951) Barber (1952), Hohenthal (1955) have studied the significance of cultural, religious and political forces.

Lowen (1966) explained contradictory tendencies observed among the Maca Indians on the one hand and the Chamacoco Tribe on the other, in terms of cultural vitality. The former, in spite of being involved in frequent interaction with Spanish and Guarani in Paraguag in which they depend for their livelihood, retain their native language. They have scrupulously avoided even Spanish and Guarani loan words. Thus such urban names as 'the street car', 'buses', 'neon-lights' etc have been given descriptive Maca names. On the other hand Chamacoco tribe, though not as dependent, has either lost its language or borrowed extensively from Spanish and Guarani Loewen suggested that cultural vitality and in-group solidarity of Maca Indians help functional distribution of languages and lead to Identity assertion. Brass (1974) explained language shift in terms of political and religious reasons. He showed how in linguistic conflicts of Punjab, Punjabi was the primary loser as Punjabi speaking Hindus opted for Hindi and Punjabi speaking Muslims for Urdu. After the partition of India in 1947, the Urdu issue lost its vitality and as the Sikhs consolidated themselves as a
religious group and asserted Punjabi as an expression of their identity, more and more Punjabi Hindus have opted for Hindi. To quote Pandit:

*The Punjabi Hindu of Delhi is prepared to give up Punjabi in order not to be identified with the Sikh (the opposition is Hindu-Sikh) and the Punjabi Muslim of Pakistan is prepared to revive Punjabi in order not to be identified with other Muslims (the opposition is Punjabi Muslim and non-Punjabi Muslim)* (Pandit 1974; 20-31).

In most parts of Western Africa, language shift is considered to be a disgrace in spite of rapid urbanisation and the shifting of population (Ansre, 1961). In the United States, in spite of the freedom to use one's language, the pressures to assimilate to the language and culture of the host society are very powerful. Fisherman (1964) noted the feelings of several language loyalists who felt that their languages shrivelled in the air of freedom while they hard apparently flourished under adversity in Europe. Yet the processes of assimilation invariably carried with them seeds of revival. To quote Fisherman:

*In general, ethnicity and culture maintenance appeared to be much more stable phenomenon than language maintenance. On the other hand, most immigrants became bilingual much*
before they embarked on de-ethnisation or seriously contemplate the possibility of biculturalism. On the other hand, marginal but yet functional ethnicity lingers on (and is transmitted via English) longer after the mother tongue becomes specially dormant or is completely lost. Curiously enough the lingering of marginal ethnicity prompts and supports respect, interest, and nostalgia for the ethnic mother tongue, causing language loyalists to entertain renewed hopes for revitalisation even though displacement is far advanced. Thus the very resultants of deep reaching socio-cultural change carry with them seeds of further change and of reversal (Fishman, 1964: 339).

The linguistic minorities in America have often maintained their group identity while merging more or less completely linguistically. In the case of the minority groups in Europe, language has often been the sole of group identity. As Van Der Plank (1978) points out, in spite of the incongruence between language and other ethnic markers in Europe, language has proved to be an astonishingly dominant symbol of group identity for more than one-and-a-half centuries. To quote:

*In Europe, much older common national identities have split up precisely alongside linguistic boundaries. Language and group identity are closely connected in Europe; even when*
largely unilingual nations fell apart the Irish from the English: the Norwegians from the Danes—they looked for a language of their own as a national symbol. Thus, while assimilation in Europe is not only 'linguistic', linguistic assimilation is indeed an indication of the choice of another (national) identity (Van Der Plank, 1978: 423-24).

Many social groups can be readily categorised by their indistinct language varieties and for many ethnic and national groups, these can be among the most salient dimensions of their social identities) (Taylor, Bassili, and Abond, 1973; Giles, Taylor and Bourhis, 1977; Giles, Taylor, Lambert and Albert, 1976, Ryan and Carranza, 1977).

Indeed, for many ethnic group, 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, 1973, 1977). For instance a number of ethnic minorities (e.g. the Welsh, Catalans and Quebecois) are redefining their status in a more favourable direction and expressing this via language. Although many authors have discussed the linkage between language and ethnicity, few as yet have linked these to the dynamics of inter-ethnic group relations in any coherent fashion. Moreover when one examines social
psychological accounts of inter-group relations, little attention is afforded to language behaviour.

In an attempt to account of these theoretical deficiencies, 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 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 later psychological approach, can be regarded as a theoretical integration of two independent conceptual system: Tajfel's (1977;1978) theory of inter-group relations and social change and Giles' theory of interpersonal accommodation through speech (Giles, 1973; Giles and Powesland, 1975).

Tajfel has suggested there-when members of a group interact with members of another, they compare themselves on a number of value dimensions with this other group, he claims that these inter-group social comparisons will lead group members to search for characteristics of their own group which will lead them to differentiate themselves favourably from the out-group. Such
positive ingroup distinctiveness will not only allow individuals satisfaction in their own group membership but will afford them a positive social identity.

Giles has been concerned with understanding why people shift their speech in different social contexts, and especially in interaction with others. He has suggested that in many social interactions, speakers desire their listener's social approval. One tactic consciously or unconsciously conceived is for the former to modify his speech in the direction of the latter, a process termed speech convergence. On the other hand there might arise situations where the speaker might wish to dissociate himself from the other perhaps because of his undesirable habits, appearance etc. and hence accentuate their linguistic differences; a process termed speech divergence.

Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) were concerned with showing how the speech strategies of convergence and divergence (among others) could be understood in an inter-ethnic group contact by means of Tajfel's theory for instance, it was suggested that when members of a subordinate group considered their inferior status to be just and fair, they would attempt to 'pass' into the dominant group socially and psychologically. They might also do this linguistically and hence in interaction with a member of the dominant
group, would converge towards him. However, if group members considered their inferior status to be illegitimate and the inter-group situation to be unstable they would redefine their group attributes, socially and psychologically, in a more positive direction. They might also do this linguistically, and hence in interaction with a member of the out-group might accentuate their own in-group characteristics by means of speech divergence. In such an interaction, one might expect the dominant group members to adopt reciprocal strategies of divergence in an attempt to retain his own positively valued distinctiveness. Therefore, it was proposed that in certain inter-group situations, members of an ethnic group might search for a positively valued distinctiveness from the out-group on linguistic dimensions they valued highly, a process Giles, Bourhis and Taylor termed 'Psycholinguistic distinctiveness'. By diverging (or emphasising) their own ethnic accent, dialect or language, in-group members would accentuate the differences between themselves and the out-group on a salient and valued dimension of their group identity.
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.
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
Theoretical Framework

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;
Theoretical Framework

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 emphasize 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 on 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 became 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 Wilkes, 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.

“Bereft 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 identify 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 communities. 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
high rate of bilingualism prevailing in the Jharkhand state, where Hindi/ Sadari bilingualism has became 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 of the 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 option 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-Psycholinguistic data: Question (21-43) these questions tell us mainly about the informant's choice and preference of languages, with reasons for the selection etc.

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

Apart from the qualified social and psychological data obtained through the various questions, there were certain areas in which it was felt that 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 out, cannot always 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.
Theoretical Framework

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 in 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 on 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 on ideal type, the triba derives its unity not from a territorial identify 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 "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 of 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 backward 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
Theoretical Framework

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,
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 is 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 Betelille (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 worldview 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.
1.3C: Social Stratification in Tribal Society

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 arlenq '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 langauge 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.'
CHAPTER-2

THE SOCIO LINGUISTIC PROFILE OF JHARKHAND

2.1: Jharkhand - The Tribal Land

Rich cultural heritage, immense geographical variations, the newly formed 28th state of India, Jharkhand, got its independent status on 15th Nov 2000. The name Jharkhand means "The region of bushes or forests." It shares border with Bihar in the North, Orissa in South, West Bengal in the East and Chhatisgarh and Uttar Pradesh in the west, the state languages are Hindi, Santhali, Mundari and Ho. Bangla and Orrisa are also used.

The state has 22 districts (Sahebganj, Pakur, Dumka, Devghar, Godda, Kodarma, Hazaribagh, Chatra, Bokaro, Dhanbad, East Singhbhum, West Singbhum, Ranchi, Gumla, Lohardaga, Palamu, Garhwa, Latehar, Jamtara, Simdega, Saraikela) with its Capital at Ranchi. The population of the state is around 2.7 crores, while the Tribal population is 10.7 lakh which is 26% of the total population of the state.

Jharkhand is the richest state of India in terms of its mineral resources. It's Damodar valley region is called the Ruhr of India. About 30% of the total mineral resources of the country lies in this
states. Iron ore Manganese, chromite, Gold, Berite, Bauxite, Gold, Dolomite, Lime stone, Quartz etc. It has huge stores of Coal, Uranium. Many industrial units like Tata Iron and Steel Company (Jamshedpur), Bokaro Steel Plant (Bokaro), Heavy Engineering Corporation (Ranchi), Hindustan Copper Ltd (E. Singhbhum), Bihar Spange Iron (E. Singhbhum), Indian Aluminium (Ranchi) Sindri Fertilizers (Sindri, Dhanbad) make this state rich.

When we look into the history of Jharkhand we find that it had been a home to the aboriginal men from more than 10 thousand years ago. The drawings founds in the caves in the District of Hazaribagh assert to this fact. Out of the Major races had come for settlement, the Austro Asiatics, the Dravidian and the Aryans.

Many events took place especially in the Chotanagpur region which are important in the making of Jharkhand. In 1585, the king of Chotanagpur was directed to pay taxes to the Mughal King Akbar. After the death of Akbar is 1605, Chotanagpur once again become free. In 1616 in the reign of Jahangir, the Governor of Bihar Ibrahim Khan, defeated the 16th king Durjansal who was imprisoned for 12 years in Gwalior. After 12 years he was freed, who when returned to Chotanagpur, invited people from other parts of India in his court, During this time Rajputs, Muslims, Hindus come in large number and settled here.
In 1765 the Mughal emperor Shah Alam gave the responsibility of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa to the East India Company of collecting taxes and in this way Jharkhand come under the English rule.

The company, the Landlords, the people from outside started dominating the Local tribal and compelled them to a life of deprivation, hunger and nakedness. The situation gathered momentum for a number of revolts that finally led to the creation of a free Jharkhand. Bhumij Revolt in 1832, Tamar revolt in 1789 by the Oraons, the HO Revolt in 1820-21, Santhali Revolt in 1855-56, the Kol Revolt in 1895-1900 started by Birsa Munda etc. In 1920, for the first time demand for the Jharkhand state was made by the Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj. In the 1970's the demand was reiterated in stronger voice and finally 15th Nov 2000, the Jharkhand state came into existence.

2.2 The People

Jharkhand which is peopled, by and large, by about 30 different tribal communities could be divided into two parts, on the basis of the population with Santhal tribe being the largest tribe, followed by Oraon (Kurukh) the second largest and Munda tribe the third largest tribe. Besides these there are the tribes of HO, Kharia, Paharia, Asur, Birhor, Lohra, Machlichik Barik, Korba etc. One for
major Tribes have been taken into consideration for the purpose of this study. These four tribes are Oraon (Kurukh), Munda, Santhal and HO.

The tribal of this state generally belong to the proto-Australoid stock though traces of Mongoloid strain have been found in parts of Santhal parganas. They are of average height, dark brown in colour and generally healthy. Each community has its distractive culture and institutions. Although the social intercourse between the tribals and non-tribal in the region has not been unrestricted, the acculturation on the linguistic level is as remarkable as the extent of Miscegenation on the ethnic level.

The tribals differ widely among themselves in the level of socio-economic development. The number of people living entirely by hunting and food gathering is very small, there are, however, a few tribal communities still devoted to shifting cultivation. These are Asur, Birjia, still Kharia and Sauria Paharia. The rest of the tribals who form 95% of the tribal population are settled agriculturists engaged in plough, cultivation.

As in their economic organization, so also in their world-view, tradition orientation and commitment to their past, the tribals differ among themselves. In some cases their level of socio-cultural
integration is low, in others it is vigorous and potent. Among some, their cultural institutions are extremely simple, among others they are highly complex and elaborate. Some have very simple religious beliefs and rituals, while others have a plethora of gods and goddesses. Most of them subscribe to belief in witchcraft and sorcery. Severe penalty is prescribed in tribal social code for persons found guilty of these offences.

Now we take a close look on the different-tribes taken into consideration for the purpose of study.

2.2A: The Oraon

The Oraon tribe is one of the major tribes of Jharkhand, the people of this tribe are settled in large numbers mainly in Ranchi, Gumla, Palamau, Singhbhum and Dhanbad while several thousands found in Purnea, Hazaribagh, champaran, Sahabad districts.

In their own language, the Oraon call themselves Kurukh. Their language Kurukh belongs to the Intermediate group of the Drauidian language family. Like most other aboriginal tribal names, 'Kurukh' is derived from a root meaning 'man', Roy connects the term to 'krisan' on 'kurkhar', a tribe of agriculturist (1915:7) as the Oraon are far famed as diligent agriculturists. Traditions of the Oraon point to the Dean as their original home. They are said to have learnt the
art of cultivation before they settled in Rohtas in the Shahabad district. When pressed by Chero they migrated to Palamu and then to Ranchi. Another section proceeded up the valley of the Ganges and settled in the Rajmahal Hills and were called the Paharia.

The Oraon live in large settled villages with a large number of houses. Their homes are built of mud and roofed with brick tiles. The most important occupation of the Oraon is agriculture. Rice is the chief crop. The Oraon are a patrilineal and patrilocal people. They are divided into a number of exogamous clans called Gotar.

A number of reform movements like the Bhagat movement have stirred the Oraon. They have also been deeply influenced by Hinduism. The number of converts to Christianity is not very large.

2.2B: Santhali

The Sathals are the largest of the tribes of eastern India besides Jharkhand and Bihar, a sizable number of Santhals are found in the adjoining districts of Bangal and Orissa. In Jharkhand they are concentrated in a large number in the districts of Santhal pargama, Dhanbad, Hazaribagh, Sighbhum, Ranchi, and Palomu where as in Bihar, they are found in the district of Monghyre, Bhagalpur and Purnea.
The traditions of the Santhals represent them as a race wandering from one land to another until they found their present homeland in Chotanagpur and the adjacent districts. On the bases of these traditions several theories have been put forward to count for their origin. One authority traces their origin in control Asia Holding that they entered India from the north-east (Dalton, 1872).

A third theory regards them as being pushed from central alluvial valley of the Ganges to the Hills of Chotanagpur under pressure of the Aryans. A fourth theory credits them with having settled near Mirzapur after coming from the north-east and then being dispersed to Chotanagpur. Whether the Santhals came to the Chotanagpur plateau, from the west, north-east on north-east, cannot however, be conclusively proved on the basis of legend alone (Dutta-Majumdar, 1956:23). About the middle of the 18th century Chotanagpur was the chief habitant of the Santhals. At the end of the center as the jungles were being cleared and the pressure of populations was keenly felt they moved up towards the virgin forest in and around the Raj Mahal Hills. The introduction of Permanent settlement in 1790 in that area inducted the landlords to pay more attention to land improvement and reclamation for which the Santhals were increasingly used.
In 1832 the government set apart a total area of 1366 square miles in the Santhal pargana for the settlement of the paharia, another hill tribe of the area. The Santhals, however, settled in this area known as Daman-i-Koh, skirts of the hills. The number of people increased in this tract from 3,000 in 1838 to 82,795 in 1851, thus from the middle of the last century Daman-i-Koh became the main concentration of the Santhals.

In the work of reclaiming land and clearing new jungles the Santhals have very few equals in India. The mainstay of the Santhal is agriculture. The Santhals are divided into twelve patrilineal exogamous groups called *Paris*. Of these, one is supposed to have disappeared long ago. Each group is known after some *totem* and is exogamous. Every part is divided into sub-group called *Khut*. The number of *Khut* in various *paris* varies between thirteen and twenty eight. Santhal kinship terminology is more descriptive that of other tribe of Jharkhand.

**2.2C: The Munda**

The Munda people occupy an important place in Jharkhand. They mostly live in the Chotanagpur, their distribution extends over the adjacent hilly tracts of Orissa and Chhattisgarh also. Their population scattered mainly in the district of Ranchi, Singhbum,
Dhanbad, Hazaribagh and Palamu, however some of them are found in Shahabad and Purnea.

It is fact that a thick curtain of mystery hangs over the antiquity of the Munda and their origin. About their real origin and primitive abode, we are in the utter darkness. Of their successive migrations in ancient times through different parts of India, we have till now no written record. Sarat Chandra Roy (1912: 42-113) who was probably the first anthropologist to study them, has given a rough outline of how they come to settle in the land they now inhabit based on references found in Vedic, Epic and later Hindu literature as well as in their own traditions. In the absence of reliable historical sources, however, the reconstruction of Munda history is little more than a series of conjectures and has a very little bearing on the understanding of present day Munda culture and tradition. The Mundas have lived in the Chotanagpur for two thousand years.

Another possible and important direction of the inquiry for their origin may be made through finding out their linguistic affiliations. Mundari belongs to the Austroasiatic language family, whose speakers in India include the Karku of Makardeo Hills of the Satpura Range, many tribes in Bihar and Orissa as well as the Khasi of Assam the one cultural tract common to all of them is the prevalence of the Megalithic cult.
The Mendas have long been settled agriculturists practicing both dry and wet cultivation and living is permanent villages. The fields are situated round about the village site itself. Same villages have a clearly defined village site, which is often marked by such permanent features as boundaries. The layout of the village does not conform to any pattern. A village is a collection of above fifty to a hundred homesteads fuddled together with one — any arrangement. In the heart of the village is the dancing ground called Akhara and on its outskirts is the bone-burial ground called Sasan. In some villages we find the Gitoria or the sleeping house for the youth.

The staple food of the Mendas consists of boiled rice. For a side dish they take pulse or some vegetable. Fowl and goat meat are occasionally taken. Except among Hinduised Munda, beef and pork are eaten with relish. Their favourite drink is the home-brewed rice beer called Hanria. Munda economy is largely self-sufficient.

They are largely subsistence cultivators and whatever little surplus they have they sell in the weekly markets and buy such necessary articles as salt, kerosene oil, clothes, etc circulation of money in the village is restricted.
The Munda family is generally nuclear in character, though the well-to-do among them may have collateral and affinal relations living under the same roof. The authority of the father is supreme. Women cannot hold or inherit real property, though a daughter is entitled to maintenance and her marriage expenses from the heirs of father. A Munda woman takes her full share in the economic activities of the family. A munda woman takes her full share in the economic activities of the family.

In the changing Munda society in Jharkand, the power structure has evolved in its form and function suited to the changing situation. It has resulted in the emergence of a new elite among them. They are the persons who are most influential and reputed, who hold positions of eminence in field of activity. The Munda elite has played a significant role in the social transformation of their society.

Munda culture is fast changing due to contact with outside people and way of life. The process has been continuing for a very long time and as facilities for communication have increased, the isolation of tribal villages has broken. Constant living with non-tribal castes in the villages, growth of education, growth of township in the region increasing industrialisation of the area have changed tribal life to a great deal.
The Munda response to the cumulative effect of these forces of change is observed in their changing life style, material culture, social and economic relations, political organisation, beliefs and rituals etc. The Munda like other small communities living is a multi-ethnic society, are approximating the life style of the dominant communities (Sachchidananda).

2.2D: HO

The Ho speakers form a very important tribe in Jharkhand found in large numbers in Orissa as well. The habitat of Ho is confined to Singhbhumn, Seraikala, Manoharpur, and Kharswan in Jharkhand.

The Ho speakers are not the earliest settlers is Kolhan. They are closely akin to the Munda in language and culture. It may be because they branched off from the Munda fold only a few centuries back. They Ho tribes are believed to have migrated from Chotanagpur Plateau to their present abode. The genealogical tables of important families do not show them as being settled long in those tracts. The story of the origin of different clans is also the same as that of many Munda clans.

The Ho tribes live in a permanently settled villages build on high level ground with clearly defined boundary lines marked by
stone slabs at the end of the village is the bone burial ground as among the Munda. Every village has a number of satellite settlements called Tola. In most villages we find a Akhara, the village dancing ground and the Giti-ora, the sleeping house for the youths. On the outskirts of the village is situated the sacred grove called Johira.

The houses are build on the support of wooden pillars with wooden planks filling the wooden walls and plastered with cow-dung and roofed with grass thatch. Ancestral worship is strictly observed and every year after harvest, huge stone slabs are ceremonially erected on the graves of the dead ancestors. Hatu is the name by which Ho people call their village.

The main occupation of the Ho is agriculture. Hunting and fishing are important only as diversions. Their agricultural technique is the same as that of the Munda.

The religion of the Ho has been termed as 'Bongaism' (Mahumdar 1950: 264).

2.3A: Family Classification of the above tribal languages

The tribes of Jharkhand have a number of languages of their own. Most of the tribal languages fall into the Austric family of languages and the Dravidian family of languages, Mundari, Santhali,
Ho, Kharia, Birhori etc belong to the Austric family while Kurukh, the language of the Oraon and Malto, the language of the Maler of Santhal Parganas belong to the Dravidian group.

Mundari, Santhali, Ho and Oraon are well-developed languages and have their own literatures also. For a long time their folklore was communicated through the oral tradition but they have now been written down and fresh works are also appearing either in the Devnagri or Roman script. However, large number of tribals speak Hindi or one of its dialects like Magadhi, Bhojpuri, Gwari or Sadani and have returned there as their mother tongue is the census. 17.64% of the tribes speak Hindi as their mother tongue. Another 17% are bilingual and besides their mother tongue, they speak Hindi or one of its dialects as a second language. 34% or more are well conversant with the regional language. On Bengal and Orissa borders they speak Bengali and Oriya as secondary languages. In Chotanagpur the language of the of weekly markets and the small town is Sadani on Gawari whose scripture is like Hindi but the vocabulary contains a large number of tribal words.

Among all the tribals, the Oraon is most areas have lost their language and adopted Mundari or Sadani, but the Munda Ho and Santhal cling to their language tenaciously.
2.3B: Scripts of Tribal Language

Santali has Devanagri and Roman scripts in Jharkhand, Bengali (Bangla) script in West Bengal and Oriya in Orissa. Santhals have also a new script called olcemet or Olchiki and the same is in use in the Santhali literature in some places. The Olcemet or Olchiki script invented by Shri Raghunath Murmu is 1905 was first introduced in Santhali writings. But somehow it could not be popular, as Santhals spread over Jharkhand, West Bengal and Orissa adopted scripts like Devanagri, Bengali and Oriya in the respective states. The Ho tribals in Singhbhum district of Jharkhand adopted Devanagri and Roman scripts. Kurukh (Oraon) has both Roman and Devanagri for its script.

2.4 The Sociolinguistic Situation

The tribes of Jharkhand have their habitation generally in remote and isolated areas mostly in the forests and the hilly terrain away from the sophisticated and dominant society, living in a close community, they have a distinct culture, customs, beliefs and languages which are unique in themselves. They have been described as the happiest people so long they are left undisturbed by the external social force. They live a life simple, pure and pristine.
Literacy among the tribals in Jharkhand ever after 56 years of Indian Independence is extremely poor and pathetic. The literacy rate in 1981 was 17% and 1991 rate improved to 26.8%.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Literacy rate (1981)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oraon (Kurukh)</td>
<td>23.28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munda</td>
<td>22.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho</td>
<td>17.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santhal</td>
<td>12.55%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When we speak about the unwritten literatures of tribes, it is with reference to this vast majority of the tribes who do not know how to read and write. However they keep up their unwritten literature orally from generation to generation. The same may no longer be possible under the impact of modern industrial development, which causes mass displacement of tribals and disintegration of the tribal to be recorded in black and white for want of enough literacy among the tribals. Those few literate and educated tribals who have managed to come out of their forefather’s primitive way of life through modern education are in search of jobs and modern life style away from their villages. Their tribal language and literature written or unwritten do not attract them any more. It cannot provide them bread and butter. The unwritten tribal literature is gradually falling into oblivion as the tribal villages are being
uprooted and tribal are displaced from their habitat when man is in
pains and struggle for survival, even the Muse of his creativity is
mum and the literature is allowed to die a natural death.

The tribal population in recent past has been ruthlessly
displaced, dispersed and depleted for the sake of making space for
mining explorations, industrial projects and construction of huge
dams and water reservoirs for producing hydro-electricity. The
statistics in tribal belt of Chotanagpur and the adjacent regions
present an alarming picture. The coal companies are acquiring
extensive areas and displacing large number of families. According
to an estimate between 1981 and 1985, the central coalfields Ltd
has acquired 1,20,300 acres of land, and caused displacement of
32,751 families. Only 11,901 families were provided employment for
one member each family in the coal companies (Aree Parampil p.22
in Fernandes and Thukral 1989).

Later reports on Hatia HEC (Heavy Electrical Corporation),
Bokaro steal Project and Rourkela Steal Plant along with its mines
and dams show that by 1985 a total of 72,751 acres of lands have
been acquired and 18,936 families displaced. A large no of these
poor displaced people go jobless, landless and homeless. Under
pretext of economic development innumerable explorations by
contractors in almost every hill and the mushroom growth of
industries all over the beautiful mountainous region, are causing uninhibited ecological and environmental Vandalism.

As the projects of economic developments are reaching even the far flung regions of the tribal belt, there is an influx of more sophisticated non-tribals like the project staff, contractors and the businessmen who have no love or desire to understand and appreciate the tribal values. The tribals in Jharkhand calls these people "Dikus" which in real sense means the outsiders who are non-tribals.

Literacy is a recent phenomenon among the tribals. Almost 73% of the tribal population still remain illiterate, they are deprived of the elementary education at the primary level. The overwhelming influence of external society, their culture and language is one of the reasons why the tribals are unable to hold firm to their traditional culture and language.

For the majority of tribals in India, language other than their own mother tongue is Greek to them, the medium of instruction in the primary school in the tribal village in the strange language naturally causes many dropouts. There is no harmony between the language tribal child speaks at home and the language spoken in the school. The tribal boy faces multiple problems initially, he has to
learn the script, language and the lessons in it. Used to running around freely in the fields and forests often his cattle or on hunting trip, the tribal boy feels that sitting in the classroom to face the roughs and quivering rod of the school master is an unnatural phenomenon. This is the reason why the tribal language should be the medium of education at the Nursery and Primary levels. Once the tribal students settle down in the school for same years, at later stage, preferably at fourth or fifth standards Hindi or other regional language may be gradually introduced.

The tribal languages are irresistibly shifting to languages of dominating communities with whom the tribals are coming in contact for example Hindi has a tremendous impact. 70% tribals like the Oraon, Mundas, Hos and Santhals, speak their tribal languages, 39% of the tribals have already left their tribal languages, in favour of Sadani, a Hindi Bhojpuri mixed dialect as lingam franca, this tendency of digression from their own mother language still spoken in the rural areas is noticed particularly among the educated and semi-educated tribals.

Prof. Roy Burman notes that the intellectual elites belonging to the post primitive communities are vaguely conscious of the malaises of high technology of civilization (Roy Burman, p 105,
The Socio-linguistics Profile of Jharkhand

UNESCO). The educated tribals, are rushing headlong to language shift and social and cultural changes.

The other side of the story presents a different picture. Major tribes and their languages are able to overcome the obstacles in their way to development. But Prof. Dube fears that the smaller groups of tribes and their languages are under constant danger of suppression.

In the modern world the contact of tribals with the advanced and dynamic population is inevitable. Unless the tribal community is consolidated and it is conscious of the values of its language, literature and culture, it is going to face a serious danger of total assimilation and extinction, such contacts of tribal language with the advanced language may have multiple consequences. It has been observed writes Imtiaz Husain, that depending on the focus of social mobilization i.e. ethnicity and nationalism, the linguistic consequences for social groups in language contact situation varies ranging from language death, language spread, language shift, and language maintenance (Husnain p.520, cited in Mriuarl Miri 1993).

In the present context, one is not expected to appreciate the beauty and values of the tribal language and literature, unless he knows them, or at least he has a positive approach to them for
learning and understanding them. Devalle wonders as to why is sometimes such a strong positive attitude towards tribal languages. But she finds an answer in the great potential a language has for practical purposes, and for maintaining a people's identity. Language is a people's particular code, a field where collective identity and the perception of reality are constantly reformulated, hence a terrain difficult to conquer by those external to it. (Devalle 1992, p.17).

Otto Von Bismark (Kumar, 1984), the German dictator invaded Poland and immediately banned the polish language is all the schools, colleges and Universities, German language was imposed in place of polish. He seemed to know well that language and literature of the conquered enemy are too dangerous weapons to be ignored.

Mankind is proceeding towards greater and greater homogeneity-racially, culturally and linguistically. Oldest cultures are either dying or being exterminated. In such a board category came a great segment of humanity known by a bewildering variety of names such as primitive, Tribal, indigenous, aboriginal, native and so on some major characteristics of these groups have been single pre-machine economy, unsophisticated rituals and social customs.
lack of a script for their speech, small local community organization and homogeneity, (Husnain, Tribal India Today).

These tribals have come into contact with their non-tribal neighbours and are coming to lose their 'tribal' character. Industrial civilization is now completing its destruction of technologically simple tribal cultures. This disappearance or drastic modification of these cultures reflected in their linguistic atmosphere, is considered by many to be inevitable, natural and in the long run, beneficial for the peoples involved" (John M. Bodley, 1982).

The study of tribal interaction in the country is important because the tribal communities in India are no longer in a state of isolation and gradually they are coming in contact with the other communities living in the neighbouring areas as a result of which interaction between different groups of people is imperative. Even if some of the tribes are marked by their ecological isolation and backwardness in respect of their autonomous techno-economic existence having strong in-group feeling in their socio-religious life, a study of such tribal communities in isolation may give a convincing picture of an unacculturated tribe. But when the tribal communities are not living in isolation a realistic picture can only be obtained when they are studied in relation to the other communities of the region with whom they interact. Hence a study of tribal interaction
The Socio-linguistics Profile of Jharkhand

will provides a wholistic picture of the interacting groups. The interaction, when studied at intra-tribal, inter-tribal and also at tribal and non-tribal levels projects a better picture of the communities involved because they are studied in relationship to the demands made by one community on another and thus it gives an opportunity to know the processes through which a society undergoes to adjust it self to varied situations. The tribes of Jharkhand have a number of language of their own most of the tribal languages fall into two categories, the Austric and the Dravidian.

Mundari, Ho, Santhali etc. belong to the Austric family while Kurukh, the language of the oraon belong to the Dravidian group. Mandari, ho, Santhali, Ho and Oraon are well-developed languages and have their own literature also. For a long time their folklore was communicated through the oral tradition but they have now been written down and fresh works are also appearing either in the Devnagri or in Roman Script. (Singh, K.S, Tribal Movement in India)

However, large number of tribals speak Hindi or one of its dialects like Magadhi, Bhojpuri Gawari or Sadani and returned them as their Mother tongue in the census. 17.64% of the tribes speak Hindi as their Mother tongue. On Bengal and Orissa borders they speak Bengali and Orisa as secondary language. The language of the weakly markets and the small town is Sadani or Gawari whose
scripture in like Hindi but the vocabulary contains a large number of tribal words.

The medium of instruction at all levels in Hindi. According to government instructions, the medium at the primary level should be the mother tongue but up till now this is not so either because of the paucity of teachers or a good text book. Demands are made by certain sections of tribals for the introduction of tribal language as their medium of instruction but it is more or less political. It cannot however, be denied the primary education can spread faster in the Tribal areas with the mother tongue as the medium a section of the tribals do not like the tribal language as the medium as they suppose that they would not take to Hindi as easily as now, if this were so. If they are taught everything through Hindi, they would be in a better position to compete with other an their own terms.

Jharkhand contains 55 percent of tribal population of the country, on areas that symbolizes the ancient heritage of India a centre for cultural and linguistic convergence as it is interwoven by Austor-Asiatic (Munda), Dravidian, and Indo-Aryan speech communities, various dialects of Hindi, Bengali and Oriya dominate the indigenous Munda languages and those of the North Dravidian families such as Kurukh (also known as Oraon) and Malto.
The dynamics of language contact is such that the dominant language of the Indo-Aryan family or their dialects (non-scheduled) while the dominated ones are those of the Munda and the Dravidian families. Communication within this complex linguistic network has generated bi-/multilingual, peoples, with interaction between various indigenous groups such in Kharia, Munda and Oraon as well as between those of various dominant languages and their dialects such as Hindi and Sadani/ Sadri. The resultant scheme is of a unique nature where minority community is on higher level at the 'scale of bilingual proficiency' than its dominant majority community/ies. (Abbi, languages of Tribal and Indigenous People of India).

The contact induced changes in languages such as Kurux and Kharia have led to linguistic typological homogeneity on the one hand and to a tendency to languages attrition, on the other. We must remember that societal bilingualism is frequently mentioned as a prerequisite for language shift. (Fasold 1984; 216-17)

Bilingualism prevails between intra-tribal and inter-tribal communities. Hence a typical Mundari speaker might have a working knowledge of Mundari and Sadari or Mundari and Hindi. Fluent Monolingual speakers are declining, instead Hindi/ Sadari bilingualism has became the rule rather than an exception, among
the younger generation. Average bilingual intensity in the Jharkhand area runs around 47 percent. (This is an official figure; in realities the urban Jharkhand area has a bilingual intensity of nearly 85 percent.

Various mother tongues in an intense language contact situation enjoy the features of the periphery and thus run the risk of resulting in a pidgin-like situation. Fortunately, none of the tribal language of the area has reached this extreme. However danger signs of language attrition are visible in the loss of basic vocabulary, borrowings of Indo-Aryan lexicon and morphological processes, as well as in change in word order.

Pandit (1972 p.2) observed in his Saurashtra study:

One of the significant features of multilingualism in India is the existence of stable bilingual or multilingual communities. People in large metropolitan centres or district towns maintain their languages for generations, despite 'majority' status. They speak their own language in their domestic settings and such other dealings where the speakers of 'minority' language came in contact with each other and they speak the majority languages in other contexts.

In order to settle down among other language speakers, an Indian does not have to give up his language. He is welcomed
The Socio-linguistics Profile of Jharkhand

Despite his different language; speaking a different language does not make him alien. The underlying acceptability of any Indian in any Indian cultural setting is symptomatic of a cultural identity and homogeneity at a deeper level; it permits retention of identity markers - whether it is language or religion, food habits or dress habits continuous language contact in such multi-lingual communities results in a set of rules shared by diverse languages, at the same time retaining identity markers, namely at morphophonemic and lexical levels.

The compulsion of having to acquire non-tribal language in order to participate in the new politico-economic situation is influencing the perception of the tribal speakers and their attitude towards their own language. In addition to this economic impulse to learn another languages there are other socio-psychological factors. For instance a feeling of backwardness. Also, by and large, an exploited mass. While the adults among the tribal population found ways and means of acquiring a nont-tribal language, the adolescent tribals naturally took to the task of acquiring the languages, the adolescent tribals naturally took to the task of acquiring the languages in their schools. The young tribal children are picking up the additional language as they grow up in a bilingual environment. What is happening to the tribal language, culture and the tribal
psyche is a complex. Mix of socio-linguistic acculturation, crisis of identity and total in comprehension of their role in linguistically and pluralistic atmosphere.

The tribal language today is spoken in small pockets of tribals settlements on a relatively wide scale in the periphery of urban location. Elsewhere, in the heart of cities and towns, where the tribals are not concentrated in a single locality, the tribal language is used as a code language spoken within the intimate family circles and in reference groups that are essentially socio-cultural. It is used on ritual occasions and cultural gatherings.

In areas where a large number of tribal adherents live in close proximity and regularly communicate with each other, the tribal language is acquired naturally by children like in any other language acquisition situation. The strategic which these tribal children on their own land, may adopt to create new patterns of social and linguistic behaviour in an alien environment created by the influx of non-tribals will depend, apart from the possibility of differences of individual genetic inheritance, on their proceeding and concurrent social, psychological, cultural and religious experience on the one hand and the pressure exercised by the foreign community like the non tribal community on the other.
Although these tribals, too, acquire a second language for their communicative needs outside their immediate reference groups, the tribals languages is their primary language particularly in rural areas. It is in these pockets alone that the language is maintained in its natural form.

However, it has been observed that the linguistic competence of these tribal speakers is highly restricted. Even in these areas the language is used in finite contexts. It has also been observed that in most pockets of homogeneous tribal settlements the socio-economic factor plays a significant role. Once the members of these in-groups achieve a certain amount of economic ascendancy, they tend to move away from these settlements and identify with more cosmopolitan sections of the Indian society.

Wherever the tribal speakers are sparsely settled they tend to identify with the local language and reserve tribal for a very limited functions. In such areas, the children influence the linguistic practices within the family, with the parents choosing the language preferred by the children. In such cases the older generation tribals may continue to use tribal language for inter-personal communication in small groups but the local language like Hindi is spoken as demanded by their reference groups.
The affluent and educated elite among the tribal prefer to communicate primarily in Hindi, few in English. They do not identify with the language as with the tribal culture in same meaningful way. In case of Kannadigas in Delhi the language of the host society i.e. Hindi is introducing even in the home domain (Satyanath, 1982). Friedrich (1962), Cohen (1967), Neale (1971) and plank (1978) have shown the significance of political, religious cultural factors in the processes of language maintenance and shift resulting in same sort of negotiation. It is not necessary that linguistic assimilation should always imply complete loss of identity (Agnihotri, 1987).

As Fishman (1966a) point out in his preface to language Loyalty in the united states, deethnisation and assimilation on the one hand and cultural and linguistic maintenance an the other, are essentially 'ubiquitous processes'. They are, he says,

"neither necessarily opposite side of the same coin nor ubiquitous processes. Frequently the same individual and groups have been simultaneously devoted to both in different domains of behaviour (Fishman, 1966 a: 15)."

Yet maintenance of language considerably helps to maintain several other forms of native behaviour. A group which loses its language also loses contact with its literature and folk lore, with its people back home and with so many objects and concepts which
lose at least part of their unique value when handled in other language. Lieberson (1970) point out that where as migrant groups may retain their identity without maintaining a unique tongue , it is difficult to visualize complete assimilation if the native language is maintained.

Children are in fact encouraged to learn non-tribal like Hindi to maximize their opportunities for employment. At the conversational level, moreover, most villagers fluently control the non-standard Hindi and shifts of language in the course of a single conversation are a common occurrence. Because of the history of prejudice and discrimination, villagers regard it as crude to use tribal language in the presence of non-tribal outsiders. In fact in the younger generation tribal speakers, so strong is the injunction against speaking tribal language in mixed company, that non-tribal speaker can never notice that any language except non-tribal like Hindi is spoken. At the level of discourse and of the conversational principles which govern judgement of communicative effectives in any one situation, other abilities are involved. Situational norms, which associate a variety or mode of speaking with particular types of activities. Included here are the preference for tribal language in family and informed local friendship circles, the prohibition of tribal in mixed company, the tendency to use non-tribal like Hindi for
official business. Within the village system such code switching strategies take on such essential discourse functions of distinguishing the the new from old information, marking the degree of emphasis etc. the shift from tribal to non-tribal language like Hindi as a metaphoric extension which builds on the out group association of the non-tribal language to lend a tone of seriousness. Villagers generally agreed that things said in tribal language has less of a connotation of seriousness.

Brief interviews of the informants, in the eighteen to thirty four year age range, provided furthers documentation of the ongoing language shift with a higher degree of negotiation on the part of the tribal speakers. These informants from rural surrounding control key standard and village Hindi variables. They understand short sentences when addressed in tribal tongue but respond in Hindi. Their productive control of the tribal language is limited to just a few stock of phrases. Several young informants used Hindi terms in citing tribal words such as the Hindi word/ sunder/ (beautiful) instead of Mundari word / Sugra/ (beautiful), Hindi word / naya/ (new) in place of Mundari / nawa/ (new). Clearly village Hindi is the first language for these youngsters and standard Hindi the second. They do learn same tribal through contacts with adults, but the language no longer plays an important part in their verbal repertoire.
An impression was created that these speakers with tribal mother tongue negotiated their identity with the non-tribal language to a great extent and maintenance of tribal language and identification of the tribal population with their language had declined greatly. There were many socio-psycho-linguistic indicators that the young tribals were looking for an identity. At the same time, these young people were reluctant to adhere to their tribal language.

But it is essential to understand this urge for a tribal identity today in the newly independent tribal state. Language is not the major issue. Yet they are in search of a cultural identity. Since they are identified by their peers as tribals, they are in search of the meaning of being tribal. For the present, they are satisfied to discover this identity through their independent tribal state. It is of course, natural to except that they will eventually turn to except that they will eventually turn to their language for complete tribal identity. They are willing to let the culture convey language, rather than insist on the language carrying the culture.
CHAPTER-3
MULTILINGUALISM IN THE TRIBES AND ITS IMPACT ON THE IDENTITY FEATURES

Bilingualism in the west is the ultimate manifestation of linguistic diversity and hence, challenging. In India, bilingualism is the first incremental step towards multilingualism and hence, taken for granted. In India, it would be unnatural if individuals and societies can remain completely monolingual. Bilingualism is perceived as a challenge in the west because it usually means not only another language but also another culture. In India, bilingualism is hardly noticed because it comes naturally as part of growing up into a multilingual life style. Bilingualism is a step away from the monolingual ethos of the west and hence generates conflicting identities. Indian bilingualism is a basic step towards multilingualism and hence, constitutes the inner most circle of concentric layers of non-conflicting and non-competing identities (Mohanty, 1994).

Being so varied a phenomenon within the multilingual mosaic of India, it has been sometimes viewed as too complex and being so pervasive, it has been viewed as common but interesting,
Bilingualism here is much more a positive phenomena supported by a social system in which the child is socialized to a life style involving pluralistic modes of communication as a part of the socio-linguistic organization of languages and functional allocation of their roles. The positive consequences of bilingualism are also partly attributable to the multilingual and pluralistic ethos of Indian society in which the social priorities are in fervour of maintenance rather than shift and integration rather than assimilation. In Indian context bilingualism is an integrative and adoptive strategy for mother tongue maintenance and for a positive relationship with the wider society which makes it a necessary step in the direction of multilingualism in India (Mohanty 1994).

The attitudes towards maintenance of in-group language and culture and integrative attitude towards the language and culture of the out group among the 3 age groups in the contact situations shows the trends of language contact attitudes among the multilingual and bilingual tribes the implication of bilingualism for Indian pluralism for integration of linguistic groups in contact and for education of the linguistic minorities are the practical concern.

There are various definitions of bilingualism due to the multifaceted nature of the phenomenon. Bloomfield (1933) views bilingualism as "native-like control of two languages" (p.56) and
Oestreicher (1974) goes even further by incorporating a non-interference criterion in addition to full mastery by suggesting that bilingualism without interference between the two linguistic processes" (p.9) Quite in contrast to such views Haugen (1956) has characterized bilingualism as minimal rather then maximal competence in two languages. Weinreich's (953) definition also takes a middle position. According to him, "the practice of alternatively using, two languages will be called bilingualism and the person involved, bilingual" (p.1). Mackey's (1957) position is somewhat similar. He considers bilingualism "as the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual " (p.51).

Bilingualism can be as much a characteristic of an individual as of a society. In fact, often individual bilingualism, its nature and incidence may be social consequences of a host of socio-linguistic factors associated with societal bilingualism. As such, a distinction has often been made between individual and societal bilingualism. Fishman (1965 b, 1967, 1968, 1978, 1980) has repeatedly emphasized the significance of social and linguistic factors in the community and the different patterns of language use including bi and multilingualism in society. In fact, understanding of bilingualism among individuals is incomplete without an analysis of the societal bilingualism the social, political, historical and other processes
involved in it. The distinction between societal bilingualism and multilingualism, and individual multilingualism, is all the more relevant for India where multilingual nature of the society does not create any communication problems because of the wide spread prevalence of individual bilingualism at the grass root level. The bilingual individuals in groups, communities and sub-cultures form the link in maintenance of continuous communication zones as the foundation societal multilingualism.

3.1 Classification Based on the context of Development of Bilingual Skills

A fundamental distinction based on the context of acquisition (on learning) of the languages bilingualism. Primary bilinguals acquire the second language skill under natural conditions or without any special training either during the early childhood or later in life growing up in an environment where he has to deal with communication requirements in two languages. In secondary bilingualism, on the other hand, the second language skills are learned through deliberate efforts or instructions.

Regardless of whether bilingual skills have been acquired in a social context or through formal instruction, it is quite natural that speaker's ability to communicate in a second language, instead of remaining static, would change. Bilingualism can be said to be
ascendant, if the individual bilingual's ability to effectively function in his second language increases over time and with its use. However, if a bilingual speaker, following a period during which one of his two languages is not used, has difficulty in comprehending and expressing in that language, he can be characterised as a recessive bilingual. Most people who have learnt a second language for a few years in a school get back to a stage of recessive bilingualism after some time during which there is no scope of using the language.

Compared to dormant bilingualism, retrieval of lost language skill is less spontaneous in recessive bilingualism. There is also an interesting variation of manifest recessive bilingualism in what Sawyer (1978) has characterized as covert bilingualism in which there may be an wilful concealment of a language skill due to a negative attitude towards that language. A member of a minority linguistic group may conceal his knowledge of the minority language in order to facilitate his acceptance into the majority community and/or for social mobility. Similarly, in a language conflict situation, a speaker may conceal his ability to function in a particular language due to the prevalence of negative attitude towards that language.
In case of ascendant or recessive bilingualism, the increase or decrease in the skills in one language (i.e. the second language) is not conceptualised as affecting the skills in the other language. However there can be situations in which the context of bilingualism is such that the acquisition of a second language might have negative or positive consequences for the first language. Lambert (1975) has suggested that in the subtractive bilingualism, proficiency of the bilingual children in their two languages show subtraction of L1 and its replacement by L2. Thus in subtractive bilingualism as L2 proficiency is developed, L1 proficiency declines. Subtractive relationship between the two languages is often found in case of minority language children in a social cultural context in which L1 of minority children is treated as a low-prestige language and L2 as a dominant language. In most of these cases, school language is the dominant one where as home language has no educational value or use. In contrast to subtractive bilingualism, additive bilingualism is achieved in a situation in which L2 is in complementary and supportive relationship with L1. Thus, development of L2 proficiency takes place at no cost to or with no negative effect as L1 proficiency.

The close interaction between the context of language learning and the nature of individual bilingualism is quite evident in
conceptualisation of the compound-coordinate dichotomy prominent in the literature on bilingualism. The dichotomy owes its origin to the pioneering work by Weinreich (1953) who spoke of three types of bilingualism corresponding to the different ways in which the sign and meaning system of the two languages are organized.

Type-A bilingualism is characterized by two separate language systems in such of which one unit of expression is combined with one unit of contact.

In type-B bilingualism the two languages are combined to one single unit of contact with two units of contact with two units of output or expression.

Weinreich's type-C bilingualism is one in which there is only one meaning unit which is that of the first language with its corresponding system of expression and the second language shares the meaning units of the first language with its expression or output organized as equivalent (translation) unit of the first language. Ervin and Osgood (1954) formalized the distinction between compound and coordinate bilingualism by calling the type-A situation coordinate bilingualism and merging type-B and C into compound bilingualism. In their formulation the emphasis was on the context of acquisition of the languages. Compound bilingualism
usually develops when the individual grows in a situation in which two languages are used interchangeably by the same people and under similar conditions. The coordinated bilingualism develops when the two languages are learned under different cultural and environmental conditions in which the two languages correspond to two independent meaning system. Since the degree of the relationship between the two cultural and environmental systems corresponding to the two languages may vary depending upon the specific nature of acquisition of languages, it may sometimes be difficult to characterize a bilingual exclusively either as a compound on a coordinate bilingual. In fact there are evidences to show that the same individual may sometime respond as a compound bilingual and sometimes as a coordinate one reflecting continuum rather than a dichotomy (Lambert 1969b). Lambert (1969b) revised the dichotomy to incorporate both the context and the age of acquisition of bilingual proficiency. Compound bilinguals according to Lambert (1972a) are those who grow up from infancy in a bilingual home environment, where as coordinate bilinguals are "those who had learned the second language at the same time after infancy, usually after 10 years of age and usually in a setting other than the family" (p. 308).
3.2 Negative consequences of Bilingualism

Since the beginning of the century, a number of studies have compared the performance of bilinguals and monolinguals on a variety of tasks measuring intelligence, creativity, flexibility and other skill related to school performance. It seems the school performance of the bilinguals was a dominant concern of the early researchers in bilingualism, and as a result, intelligence and creativity were the most favoured variables in the early studies (mostly among Spanish-English bilinguals in Wales) since these were thought to be highly correlated with scholastic success. The question of school achievement of the bilinguals was a justifiable practical concern in the early studies in view of the fact that almost all of the bilinguals in the schools were immigrants who generally had some difficulty in adjustment and school performance. As Lambert (1977) pointed out, "Researchers in the early period generally expected to find all sorts of troubles and they usually did" bilingual children, relative to Monolinguals were behind in school, retarded in measured intelligence and socially adrift" (p.15).

Jansen (1962 a, b) reviewed over 200 studies and found evidence of negative intellectual and academic consequences of bilingualism. Jansen (1962 a) describes the personality and
emotional problems of a typical bilingual as noted by the early researchers, in the following words:

... he may develop extreme introversion and shyness or he may became very aggressive and antisocial.

.........after being exposed to a second language in school, the child may develop a sense of shame and guilt regarding the language of his family and may direct this into feelings of arrogance, contempt, hatred, rejection, avoidance towards his parents (p. 136).

3.3 Studies Showing Positive Consequences

The first study that reversed the negative trend reported in the early literature on the Cognitive consequence of bilingualism was by Pearl and Lambert (1962). The studies compared 10 year old French-Canadian balanced bilinguals with their English or French Monolingual counterparts. The bilinguals, on measures of non-verbal intelligence and verbal intelligence, rated better than the monolinguals in general school achievement and were more favourable, compared to the monolinguals, in their attitude towards the English Canadians, the author concluded as follows:

"The picture that emerges of the French, English bilingual in Montreal is that of a youngster whose wider experience in
two cultures has given him an advantage which a monolingual does not enjoy. Intellectually his experience with two languages seems to have left him with a mental flexibility, a superiority in concept formation, and a more diversified set of mental abilities, in the sense that the patterns of abilities developed by bilinguals were more heterogeneous (reprinted in Lambert, 1972, p. 152)."

Given the ethos of those days and the 'Melting pot' approach to acculturation of the minorities into the dominant culture, there was tremendous pressure on the minority groups to give up their separate ethno-linguistic identity in favour of the identity of the dominant language and culture. As a result, it is quite likely that the native language or the first language (L1) of the tribal children were being gradually replaced by the dominant or more prestigious second language (L2). Lambert (1975) has characterized this form of bilingualism as 'subtractive'. In subtractive bilingualism the acquisition of the second language is at the cost of the first language which is viewed with low social prestige.

3.4 Multilingualism – The Indian Context:

The heterogeneity in language use pattern and the coexistence of different language dialects and speech varieties
gives rise to different and hierarchically ordered language identities among the people. As Khubchandani (1986) points out,

......in spite of the linguistic reorganizations of Indian states 1in 1956 based on the language identify regions are not necessarily homogeneous communication regions.

......every state, apart from the dominant state language, has from one to six outside or minority languages which are spoken by more than 20 persons per 1000 population (p. 20).

A complexity in the situation of language identities arises in such a heterogeneous context of different patterns of language use and declaration of mother tongue. The mother tongue claims and the vacillations in such claims are of psychological significance because they often indicate changing patterns of socio-cultural and linguistic loyalties, and changing views of group identity and solidarity rather than actual language use. Mother tongue declaration, particularly in a bilingual or language contact situation is often an indicator of a group of language users.

Trying to establish a separate identity and distinctiveness. Dua (1982) points out that selective code switching is sometimes a strategy on the part of a language user to exhibit the multiple identities. Southworth (1980) has also suggested that code mixing
by Indian bilinguals can be seen as a strategy for simultaneous expression of multiple identities. Plurality of languages and language identities, is not perceived as a problem at the individual and society level, the widespread bilingualism at the individual level and the multiplicity of languages coexisting at the societal level are of functional significance given the nature and characteristics of multilingualism in India, Khubchandani (1986) views the multiplicity of language use in Indian society as a necessary outcome of the way languages are used in every day life of an Indian, In his words:

“The verbal repertoire of an individual or a group in a plural society is often characterized by creative use of speech variation in diverse combinations through linguistic stratification (such as diaglossic complementation, code-switching, code-mixing, bilingualism) in every day life. In other words, diversity of speech on a societal level is not merely, a convenience or an ‘aesthetic’ choice (a luxury that can be dispensed with) but it signifies subtly of purpose in an interaction, it is highly functional, the human quality of communication is a plural society is bound to suffer when we discard such an asset through the steam roller effects of Standardization (p.28).”

On the basis of his observations of persistence of isolated languages among migrants in different parts of India, Pandit (1977)
has made his famous observation that in Indian language maintenance is the norm and language shifts, a deviation, whereas in the western societies generally the reverse is true. According to Pandit (1977).

“A second generation speaker in Europe or America gives up his native language in favour of the dominant language of the region; language shift is the norm and language maintenance an exception, In Indian, language maintenance is the norm and shift an exception, American Social-linguists start their inquiry with the question, why are languages maintained? Indian socio-linguists should start their enquiry with the question, why should people give up their languages? (p. 9)”

In recent analysis of the dynamics of language shift in India, Saivastava (1989), however, notes that is certain contexts Pandit’s generalization is “erroneous” (p.13). The tribal contact situations, seen by Srivastava (1989) as departures from the maintenance norm, are for too complex to fit into any simple generalization about language shift or maintenance. There are several complex covariant of the tribal contact situation, which are to be understood in order to grasp the dynamics of the situation. Srivastava’s analysis of the language shift process among the Santhalis and later indications of the of the Santhal language movement with a view to establishing
self-identity and gaining access to socio-economic resources shows the complexity of the language contact situations in India. Srivastiava (1989) also speaks of partial shift and assimilation as some of the possible outcomes in Indian contact situations.

A number of factors intrinsic to Indian multilingualism lead to several complex outcomes which are quite unusual in terms of western socio-linguistic and cultural processes in which languages often compete to over ride each other in a mutual contact situations. In India, speakers of different languages, dialects, speech styles come in mutual contact as a natural way of life resulting in the same individual moving between different patterns or modes of language use in his interaction with others and even within the realm of his own speech, behaviours. This results in the languages, dialects and different styles of expression fitting into the framework of the social mosaic and into the individual's own pattern of language use in a mutually complementary manner. Different languages playing complementary functions in the society and in the life of the individual has always been a dominant feature of Indian Multilingualism (Dua, 1986). The complementary relationship between languages and their functions make it easier for the individuals and communities to live with many languages which became a part of child's growing up. In the words of South-worth
Multi-lingualism in the Tribes & its Impact on the Identity Features

(1980), "multilingualism is an integral part of social segment of life to which many Indians adjust at a very early age. Different language, dialects or sharply distinct styles of speech are complementarily distributed in the speech of individuals and groups in a way which minimizes their completion with each other" (p.79).

The complementary nature of the roles of different languages in the lives of individuals and speech communities is quite evident from assignment of different languages, codes, and varieties to different domains of speech use like home, market place, work place, religious rites, intimate groups and inter-group communication situations etc. In the context of such differentiated role relationship of languages, switching from one language to another or mixing languages within a discourse unit does not indicate failure to communicate but are used as deliberate and selective strategies to serve specific communicative functions. A number of Indian sociolinguists have discussed about the functional significance and implications of code mixing and code-switching in the context of Indian language use patterns (Dua, 1984; Gupta, 1976; Kachru, 1978; Sridhar, 1978; Verma, 1976).

In Indian society, languages generally coexist without a clear cut perception of dominance or high-low status relationship among them in the minds of the average speaker-hearer. As annamalai
(1990) pointed out, languages are possessed and used like “an additional garment or tool needed for different situation or purpose” (p.1). Thus “language labels are not rigidly associated with fixed ‘stereotype’, ...... language boundaries .... remain fluid and the messes at large do not show over consciousness at the speech characteristics which bind them in one language or another “(khubchandani, 1986, p.20) sometimes, even making it difficult to decide whether a person or a community belong to one language or the other on the basis of the patter of speech usage. Factors like this have resulted in pluralistic language identities and may be seen as responsible for vacillating trends in the declaration of mother tongue in the census. With multiplicity of languages distributed into complementary patterns of use in different domains at the grassroots level in the society, mass bilingualism in India has never presented any problem for communication (Pandit, 1979), although Weinreich (1975) indicated the possibility of communication crisis in such situations on the basis of low communication index.

The reflection of social, cultural and ecological patterns and preferences of a community on its language is more prominent in the lexicon then in the grammar (E. Annamalai, 1997 ed. Anvita Abbi)

\[ \text{Diku (Friend) \rightarrow After a Period of Time} \rightarrow \text{Diku (Foreigner)} \]
In the contemporary climate of development, various traditional and modernising factors affect the issues of identity, the sense of belonging, among tribal societies, and the changing patterns of intra-tribal and inter-tribal communications among them (Khubchandani, 1997 ed. Anvita Abbi).

During the course of history, though nearly half of the tribal societies still maintain a distinct language as a mark of their identity (40% in 1971, reduced to 42% in 1981), a large section of them tend to switch over to the surrounding non-tribal languages in home environments, a characteristic feature of plurilingual Indians (Khubchandani 1983, 1991 a).

These protests have not only baffled the liberals, academics and professional ideologues, but have also forced them to believe that science and economic rationalization are now subservient to the ties of language, race and religion even in a secularized and technocratic world. As Greeley puts it:

*One of the most extraordinary events of our times has been the resurgence of tribes in a supposedly secularized and technocratic world. Science and economic rationalization had been expected to reduce, if not eliminate, man's attachment to ancient ties of common ancestry, common land and common faith, but suddenly ties of race, nationality and*
Multi-lingualism in the Tribes & its Impact on the Identity Features

Religion seem to have been taken new importance (Greenlay cited in Edwards, 1985: 99).

Fresh awakening emanating from growing awareness of ethnic consciousness has resulted in sudden shift in paradigm from equilibrium to conflict perspective. In the former sense, ethnicity is constructed as a group cultural phenomenon in which a group identifies itself with "... common bonds such as language, race and religion" (Edwards, 1985: 6) shared within a "culture-population-group frame of reference" (Bennett cited in Paulston 1986: 130) and enjoys an obsequious assimilation. In the latter sense ethnicity holds competitive and confrontationist perspective with an emphasis on the recognition of differentiation and conscious desire to maintain one's identities. This conflict perspective allows the ethnic identities to proceed from the cultural chosen and not cultural given of the past. Bennett prefers to call it as 'new ethnicity' whose major function is to evolve "a set of strategies for acquiring the resources one needs to survive and to consume at the desired level" (Bennett cited in Paulston, 1986: 130, Imtiaz, ed Anvita Abbi 1997).

It is a conscious, self chosen ethnicity concerned with power-struggle against the dominant group for with power-struggle against the dominant group for social and economic advantages. By laying emphasis on the recognition of differentiation, it strives for maintaining the distinct ethnic identity and forces its members to
assert their antonomy be it linguistic, political, economic etc. (Imtiaz, ed in Anvita. 1997).

Whether it an obsequious assimilation leading to homogenization or a fresh awakening of ethnic consciousness leading to confrontation, there are linguistic consequences in the form of language death, language loss, language shift, language contraction, language maintenance, etc. by the speakers of smaller and weaker languages.

Variation in the Number of Tribal Speakers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Total Speaker 1981 (thousand)</th>
<th>Variation (increase/Decline)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1971-81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurukh</td>
<td>1,265</td>
<td>+2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>+6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santhali</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Munda</td>
<td>349</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(Quoted in Khubchandani 1992)

The signs of sudden spurt of growth or decline in the use of mother tongue not only indicate vacillation but also mark nexus between language and identity. In fact, whatever may be the form of linguistic consequences, there is an underlying relationship between language and identity i.e. language and the identification of its speakers within a certain speech community.

Thus Indian multilingualism is characterized by a different set of values and functional significance of bilingualism at the individual
Multi-lingualism in the Tribes & its Impact on the Identity Features

and societal levels. In Indian, bilingualism is an adaptive strategy, a process intended to stabilize the relationship between individuals, communities and languages.

The pattern of language use and communication in India is a hierarchically layered system with each layer of communication or each domain of language use socially assigned a particular code. The pragmatic function of such allocation of codes to specific domains or layers of communication is evident from the fact that use of an incongruent code often leads to failure of communication. This pragmatic Knowledge is something that a child growing up as a bilingual in a multilingual society like India acquires as a part of her language socialization. Srivastava (1987) has shown the hierarchical relationship between dialect, language and national language as media of communication within a local speech community, between speakers of different dialects and between different speech communities or language groups respectively.

The stability of Indian bilingualism can partly be attributed to allocation functionally determined roles to different languages or codes in what has been characterized as non-conflicting type of grassroots bilingualism (Srivastava, 1977). In such an arrangement of the language roles, the multiplicity of languages on dialectical varieties are accommodated within an individual's life space into
different domains of language use and within the social space as languages of communication in village, regional, provincial, national and international levels.

Functional bilingualism is a strategy adapted by individuals and communities to maintain languages. Adopted by the individuals and communities, who are in a subordinate relationship (being in a minority or non-dominant-position), bilingualism is a strategy for maintenance of native mother languages in a non-conflicting and integrative relationship with the other language and culture, and, adopted by the individuals and the communities who are in a superordinate relationship (with the other language groups themselves being in a dominant or majority position as the host community), it is a strategy to bring the subordinate group to share a common set of cultural values and norms without involving any conflict. In different societies, the reactions of the groups in contact to fundamentally the same situation (i.e. language contact) vary as a result of a host of socio-cultural forces operating on the interacting groups. Thus, it is necessary to understand the dynamics of the contact situation in order to understanding why same situations lead to a facilitative type of positive and stable bilingualism at the community and individual level, whereas others lead to a transitional type of bilingualism, which is a strategy to shift from monolingualism, in one language to monolingualism in another. Or, why,
in a language and cultural contact situation some groups are assimilated with or without resistance whereas other tend to be either integrated with or without resistance whereas others tend to be either integrated with or dissociated from the main cultural stream. Answers to such questions are essential for understanding bilingualism as a social process and the multilingual models in which bi-lingualism is a means to assertion of a group's identity and pride.

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. Communication within this complex linguistic network has generated Bi-/ Multi-lingual peoples, with interaction between various groups such as Munda, Oraon, Santhal and Ho as well as between those of various dominant languages and their dialects such as Hindi and Sadani/ Sadari. The resultant scene is of a unique nature where minority community is on higher level at the 'scale of bilingual proficiency' than its dominant majority community/ies.

We now come to the analysis of the primary data collected in the fieldwork to arrive at some concrete idea about the situation in Jharkhand.
3.5 Data Analysis

1. The Mundas: A total of 100 Munda informants participated in collection of data through questionnaire and brief informal interview.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Young (18-34 yrs)</th>
<th>Middle (35-50 yrs)</th>
<th>Old (Above 50 yrs)</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>17</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literate</td>
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Socio-economic Class:

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<td>49</td>
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In a total of 49 illiterate informants, from all the three age groups about 94.6% i.e. 43 informants recorded Mundari as their Mother tongue. All the 17 informants belonging to age group of above 50 years and the 16 informants of middle age group were unhesitant in their response while the 10 informants belonging to the low socio-economic strata lacked confidence in their response, as they reported Munda as their mother tongue. The rest of 6 informants which constituted about 36.3% of a total of 16 informants falling in the age group (18-34) felt elated to describe Hindi as their
mother tongue. Variations were found in the ability to speak and comprehend their tribal tongue. All the 17 old aged informants informed that they were fluent in their tribal tongue and felt most comfortable sitting but that the society was changing fast so they had to speak Hindi but still their Mundari showed a lesser degree of mixing on borrowing from the non-tribal language like Hindi. The group constituting the middle age tribals (35-50) yrs could speak and understand well their tribal tongue but felt that speaking tribal was not useful in their present life but it was important within their own tribal community. They showed positive sentiments for Hindi language which they felt would soon replace tribal language completely. Among the younger age group of (18-34) yrs, the 10 informants which constitutes 62.5% of a total of 16 informants did have Mundari as their mother tongue but did not show any liking for it and wanted to speak Hindi as much as possible. More than 60% of the illiterate respondents said that Hindi was the language they liked most, but felt most comfortable to converse in Mundari with parents, Siblings, relatives and close friends. More than 70% of the illiterate low socio-economic informants wanted to learn non-tribal for earning livelihood. More than 70% of the old and the middle generation liked to identify themselves as Munda speaking the Mundari language as it was their mother tongue. As they had a very low level of income, they felt that if schools were opened for teaching tribal language
free of cost then they will certainly support it by sending their children. Majority of them insisted for sadari as the common language between the different tribes. More than 80% of the respondents felt that in the long run it would be best if all the tribal maintained their way of life to some extent and adopt non-tribal culture simultaneously.

In the middle and the upper strata of the tribal society, more than 60% of the informants falling in the age group above 50 yrs, recorded Mundari as their mother tongue and 60% of middle age group described Mundari as their mother tongue but there was not a single informant from the younger age group (18 - 34) who recorded Mundari as his or her mother tongue. All of them recorded Hindi as their Mother tongue or the first language.

The elderly group was quite sensitive towards their language and felt to revive their tribal tongue. More than 60% of the respondent belonging to the age group (35 - 50) felt that their tribal mother tongue must be developed. One elderly gentleman had a highly negative attitude towards his tribal language Mundari, saying that Mundari has given them nothing then why bother about it. Hindi and English has given them everything, even their state.

Majority (More than 70%) of the middle aged respondent could speak and understand Mundari fully, used it occasionally only with
their elders at community gatherings and avoided strictly at home because of the children on whom it will have a negative impact, it may affect their pronunciation and mental ability. A majority of them (More than 60%) felt most comfortable to converse in Hindi with parents, siblings, relatives and close friends, and it was Hindi and English, the language they liked most. None of the respondent insisted his children to speak Munda. More than 90% wanted Non-tribal language(s) instead of Mundari for better education which would enhance chances of employment. A little more than 30% hesitated extremely to express their tribal accent when amongst the non-tribals. Only 30% of them said that if schools were opened for teaching tribal language, they would support it by sending their children.

Majority (More then 60%) felt that in the long run it would be best if all the tribals maintained their way of life to some extent and adopt non-tribal culture simultaneously. In case of the younger generation (18 - 34 yrs). 60% the respondents recorded Hindi while 40% recorded English as the language they liked most. More than 20% felt that the tribal accent is a stimulating block in their progress and that is why they always avoided learning Mundari which will affect their Hindi and English accent. More than 90% wanted to learn non-tribal language (S) instead of tribal tongue for getting
education and employment none of them wanted to identify themselves as Munda but as Hindi speakers as it was their first language, to Majority (60%), Hindi was a sweet language, useful for social and personal gains as well as for status in their own tribal community and English as prestigious and powerful language. More than 70% felt that it would be best if all the tribal maintained their ways of life to some extent and adopt non-tribal culture simultaneously.

2. The Oraon: A total of 100 Oraon informants participated in data collection through questionnaire and brief informal interview.

   Educational Status in Different Age Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Young (18-34 yrs)</th>
<th>Middle (35-50 yrs)</th>
<th>Old (Above 50 yrs)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literate</td>
<td>17</td>
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Socio-economic Class:

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<th>Lower</th>
<th>Middle</th>
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</table>
Multi-lingualism in the Tribes & its Impact on the Identity Features

About 83.5% (41 informants) of a total of 49 informants with complete illiteracy and belonging to the low Socio-economic class of the Oraon speakers recorded Oraon (Kurukh) as their mother tongue. All the 41 informants recording Oraon as Mother tongue could understand the language well but variations were found in their ability to speak. The old generation felt that they spoke Oraon much better than their children and grand children. They showed great liking for their tribal tongue. The younger mass (18-34 yrs), felt that their tribal language provided no benefit in their practical life and that Hindi was a better language and more useful for gains in practical life. The majority (60%) felt that they should partly accommodate to the culture of the non-tribal while only 40% felt that they should retain their distinct identity.

The middle and the upper strata of the Oraon society had a different situation to project. Not a single informant from the age-group (18-34 yrs) recorded Oraon as their mother tongue or the first language they learnt to speak. None of them could understand or speak Oraon fully. All of them had Hindi as their Mother tongue and the first language. English was the language they liked most and which could lead them to success in their career. They expressed that they were never insisted and encouraged by their parents or elders to speak Oraon. Some even said that they were highly
discouraged if ever they tried to speak a word or two in tribal. A unique situation was created in the home domain, more than 40% of the young informants expressed at their parents. Interacted with their grand parents in tribal tongue particularly in the absence of the children. Even such Multilingual situations also occurred where at the same moment parents conversed with their parents in tribal and side by side talked to the children in non-tribal especially Hindi. Such code shifting is a common feature in most middle class educated homes. 5 convent educated informants, after lots of hesitation, expressed that their tribal accent might be a stumbling block in their progress and so they tried their best to avoid people of their folk who spoke tribal. They felt that they were taken in high esteem in the social gatherings due to their non-tribal accent. All the informants of this age group opted for Hindi to be their state language. I asked my informants whether culturally they would like to assimilate completely to the non-tribal society or partly assimilate and partly retain their identity or whether they would like to retain their own identity completely. No tribal felt that they should completely merge with the host society. The majority (60%) felt that the tribals should retain their distinct identity while only 40% felt that they should only partly accommodate to the culture of the non-tribal society. In the older generation also, the majority (60%) of the
tribals felt that the tribes should retain their identity while 40% felt to accommodate only partly.

During the interview I asked certain questions regarding the informants awareness of and interest in their community's social, literary and cultural activities. The illiterate informants showed a keen awareness of their social and cultural activities while regarding the literary activities they had no knowledge as they were completely engaged in earning their livelihood. The educated and the semi educated tribals showed a tendency of dislike for their own mother tongue they did not consider it developed and refined enough to be the medium of education and literary activities, the older Oraon men and woman were quite aware of the Oral folk traditions which they still enjoyed in their social and cultural gatherings like marriages and festivals.

Most Oraon parents be it from the lower, middle or upper strata, insisted that it was not necessary to provide the child an opportunity to acquaint himself with the oral folk heritage of their tribe. They wanted their children to learn Hindi and English which was very important for their professional life, nor did they wish to send their children to schools opened for teaching tribal languages.
None of the Oraon informant rank his tribal language higher than any other tribal or non tribal language. Hindi is ranked the highest followed closely by English. In fact, in terms of being prestigious and powerful, English is ranked higher than Hindi. The attitude towards Oraon is less favourable than towards Hindi and English the tribal is particularly less favourable in the case of such attributes as prestigious, refined and useful for social gains.

3. The Santhals: A total of 100 Santhali informants participated in collection of data through questionnaire and brief informal interview.

**Educational Status in Different Age Groups**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
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<td>49</td>
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<tr>
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**Socio-economic Class**

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</table>
Multi-lingualism in the Tribes & its Impact on the Identity Features

All the 49 illiterate informants from the lower socio-economic strata belonging to all the 3 age groups recorded Santhali as their Mother tongue and their first language. The 17 elderly informants above 50 years of age, understand and speak Santhali quite well. They also could understand and speak Hindi and Bengali. They had neighbours speaking Hindi, Santhali, Bangla, yet none of them mixed Santhali with any other language at the intra-sentential level or inter-sentential level. At the work place, all of them used Hindi while in the home domain Santhali had a complete domination.

Majority (more than 80%) used santhali in religious activities. 90% of old aged respondents felt most comfortable to converse in Santhali and it was the language they liked most. None of them felt that their tribal accent was a stimulating block in their progress. More than 70% could understand and speaks Hindi well, 20% of them could understand and speak Bangali, 30% could understand Ho a little. More than 60% did not mix other language while speaking Santhali. Hindi was mostly used at workplace, offices and Santhali both languages, were used in market places, 70% said that the use of Hindi language by youngsters was increasing at home. More than 80% felt most comfortable to converse in santhali with parents, siblings, relatives and friends. More than 80% described santhali as a sweet language, useful for sociol gains & personal
gain while Hindi as a prestigious and powerful language. 30% felt santhalis should maintain their identity and culture as distinct groups without assimilating non-tribal culture at-all, 40% identified themselves as santhalis.

Eighty percent of the illiterate respondents in the age group (18–34 yrs) recorded santhali as their first language while 20% recorded Hindi as their first language. More than 40% of these illiterate respondents could understand and speak Hindi and Bengali which they used at work place and Market along with santhali. 80% felt most comfortable in santhali. 70% said that santhali was the language they liked most. None felt that their tribal accent is a stimulating block in their progress. More than 70% said that they would insist their children to speak santhali. 50% of the illiterate respondents of the age group above 50 years opted for santhali to be their state language. More than 80% of the illiterate elderly respondents wanted their children to learn non-tribal language(s) instead of their tribal tongue for education and employment. Ninety percent of them identified themselves with santhali language as it was their mother tongue. None of them hesitated at all to express their tribal accent when amongst the non-tribals. 90% of them felt santhali to be a sweet language. More than 90% describe Hindi and English as prestigious and powerful, more than 60% felt that
Santhali was useful for social and personal gains. More than 50% of them mentioned Hindi as useful for status in own tribal community, 50% opined that it would be best if all tribals maintained their way of life to some extent and adopt non-tribal culture simultaneously. 50% of them described themselves as Santhali.

The middle age group illiterate respondents belonging to the age group (35 - 50 yrs) projected a bit different picture. All the respondents had Santhali as their mother tongue could understand and speak Santhali well. More than, 70% could understand and speak Hindi well. 20% of them could understand and speak Bangali, 30% could understand Ho a little. More than 60% did not mix other language while speaking Santhali. Hindi was mostly used at workplace, offices and Santhali and Hindi both languages were used in market places. 70% said that the use of Hindi language by youngsters was increasing at home. More than 80% felt most comfortable to converse in Santhali with parents sibling, relatives and friends. More than 80% felt most comfortable to converse in Santhali with parents siblings, relatives and friends. More than 80% described Santhali as a sweet language useful for social gains and personal gain while Hindi as a prestigious and powerful language. 30% felt Santhalis should maintain their identity and culture as
distinct groups without assimilating non-tribal culture at all. 40%
identified themselves as santhalis.

Eighty percent of the illiterate respondents in the age group
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felt most comfortable in santhali. 70% said that santhali was the
language they liked most. One felt that their tribal accent is a
stimulating block in their progress. 70% said that they would insist
their children to speaks santhali. 50% said that they would like
santhali to be their state language. 90% said that they wanted to
learn non-tribal language(s) instead of their tribal tongue for getting
education and employment. 60% identified themselves as santhalis
as it was their mother tongue. None said that they hesitated to
express their tribal accent when amongst the non-tribals. 70% said
that they would send their children to learn santhali if schools were
opened. 60% said santhali to be a sweet language. More than 70%
felt Hindi to be prestigious and powerful. 90% felt santhali to be
useful for social and personal gains. 40% felt that in the long run it
would be best if all the tribals maintained their ways be best if all
the tribals maintained their ways of life. 40% identified themselves as santhalis.

Sixty percent of the literate informants belonging to the age group of (18-34 yrs) recorded Santhali and 40% recorded Hindi as their First language. All of them could understand, speak, read and write Hindi. 10% recorded HO as the language which they could understand and speak a little which they learnt from friends and neighbourhood. 30% recorded Bangali as a language they could understand and speak well. More than 50% mentioned that they mixed other languages while speaking their mother tongue. Both words and parts of sentences. Words from Hindi, English and Bengali were found in speaking santhali. 40% used santhali and Hindi with parents, siblings and friends, but exclusively santhali with their grand parents. All of them interacted in Hindi with non-tribal. 60% had friends who were Hindi, Bengali and to speakers with whom they interacted in Hindi. All the Respondents who recorded santhali as their mother tongue mentioned the fact that Hindi slowly replacing santhali in the home domain. 60% of the respondents liked santhali the most. 30% felt that their tribal accent might be a stimulating block in their progress. None said that they would insist their children to speak santhali. More than 80% wanted to learn non-tribal language instead of tribal tongue for education and
employment. Only 3 informants (17.6%) hesitated to express their tribal accent a little. 40% said that they would support by providing financial help, if schools are opened for teaching santhali language. 60% identified themselves as santhalis. 30% described santhali as a sweet language. None wanted to send their children for learning tribal. All wanted Hindi to be the state language. More than 70% defined Hindi and English as prestigious and powerful as useful for social and personal gains. 60% felt that it would be best if all the tribal maintained their way of life to some extent and adopt non-tribal culture simultaneously. More than 80% of the literate (35-50 years) respondents recorded santhali as their First language and Hindi as their second language. All the respondents could understand, speak, read and write Hindi. 40% could understand English. All of them could speak santhali well. 10% could understand and speak Ho. More than 40% used santhali at home. Hindi was used especially with children and outside home. 60% used santhali with their parents. More than 80% liked santhali most and felt most comfortable to converse in santhali but tried best to speak non-tribal like Hindi with their children. All wanted Hindi to be state language. All of them identified themselves as santhalis. 90% wanted to learn non-tribal like Hindi and English for Education and Employment. Only 10% said they would send their children for learning tribal if schools are opened. 90% described santhali as
sweet, Hindi and English as powerful and prestigious and santhali as useful for social and personal gain. 70% felt that it would be best of all the tribals maintained their ways of life to some extent and adopt non-tribal culture simultaneously.

All the literate respondents from the age group above 50 years recorded santhali as their mother tongue. All of them shared the some facts and sentiments as the middle aged respondents.

4. The Ho: A total of 100 Ho informants participated in collection of data through questionnaire and brief informal interview.

### Educational Status in Different Age Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Young (18-34 yrs)</th>
<th>Middle (35-50 yrs)</th>
<th>Old (Above 50 yrs)</th>
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### Socio-economic Class

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<tbody>
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<td>49</td>
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</table>
All the 49 illiterate informants belonging to the low socio-economic strata recorded HO as their mother tongue and Hindi as their second tongue which they could understand and speak well. They learnt Hindi at workplace, where they used it also. Home domain and neighbourhood completely conversed in HO. More than 90% said that they did not mix other languages when speaking their mother tongue HO. In the offices, Markets and in interacting with the non-tribals, majority (more than 90%) used Hindi. 40% could understand and speak Mundari a little, which they learnt from neighbourhood and friends. All the respondents named HO to be their language of worship. Majority (more than 90) felt most comfortable to converse in HO with parents, siblings, relatives and close friends and the language they liked most. None felt that their tribal accent is a stimulating block in their progress. 70% said that they would insist their children to speak HO.

Sixty informants (60%) opted Hindi to be their state language. 70% wanted to learn non-tribal language(s) instead of tribal tongue for getting employment. 90% said that they identified themselves as HO and HO speaker as it was their mother tongue. None hesitated to express their tribal accent when amongst the non-tribals. More than 70% said that will send their children if school are opened for teaching tribal language. 90% described HO as sweet language and
Hindi as prestigious and refined, 70% described HO as useful for social and personal gain.

Forty informants (40%) opined that it would be best if all the tribals maintain their identify and culture as distinct groups without assimilating non-tribal culture at all. The literate class of the HO society expressed the same sentiments as the literate class of the other 3 tribes but specifically regarding its tribal identity it was more assertive. All the respondents belonging to the age group (35-50) and above 50 recorded HO as their mother tongue and first language, while in the age group (18-35), 60% recorded HO and 40% recorded Hindi as their first language. These 40% young respondents could understand and speak HO quite well. All the respondents of the three age group could understand, speak, read and write Hindi, which they learnt at school and used at workplace, Neighbourhood, market with non-tribals friends and office. 40% of HO tribals who had Hindi as their first language, learnt Hindi at home. 90% reported HO as their language of worship. 90% felt that the use of Hindi language was increasing at home and that they generally mix other languages (like Hindi) when they speak HO at word level mostly, 60% could understand well and speak English a little. All the respondents who recorded to as their first language felt most comfortable to converse in to while those recording Hindi as
their First language felt most comfortable in Hindi to converse with parents, siblings, relatives, friends. 60% like HO most while 40% liked Hindi most. None felt their tribal accent to be a stimulating block in their progress. Only 30% said that they would insist their children to speak HO. 20% wanted HO to be their state language, 80% wanted Hindi to be state language. 90% wanted to learn non-tribal language(s) instead of tribal tongue for education and employment. 70% identified themselves as HO. 60% identified themselves as HO speakers as it was their mother tongue. 30% said that they will send their children if schools are opened for learning HO. 60 described HO as sweet language, 80% mentioned Hindi and English as prestigious and powerful. 60% named HO as useful for social and personal gain. 40% felt that it would be best if all the tribals maintained their identity and culture as distinct groups without assimilating non-tribal culture at all, 60% wanted to maintain their ways of life to some extent and adopt non-tribal culture simultaneously.
Population of the 4 Tribes in the Various Districts of Jharkhand

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1991 CENSUS</th>
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<th>ORAON</th>
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<td>*589109</td>
<td>133129</td>
<td>31483</td>
<td>104777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Singhbhum</td>
<td>37947</td>
<td>41423</td>
<td>9749</td>
<td>249731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazaribagh Chatra Koderma</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>52254</td>
<td>45839</td>
<td>60633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanbad Bokaro</td>
<td>1316</td>
<td>10599</td>
<td>9000</td>
<td>174020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giridih</td>
<td>.106</td>
<td>10780</td>
<td>3554</td>
<td>228433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>630378</td>
<td>899162</td>
<td>1137666</td>
<td>2067039</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Maximum population of the tribe in the District
### Multi-lingualism in the Tribes & its Impact on the Identity Features

#### Rural-Urban Ratio (Jharkhand Figure)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Rural (%) Speakers</th>
<th>Urban (%) Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mundari</td>
<td>668,958</td>
<td>93.06</td>
<td>6.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurukh (Oraon)</td>
<td>681,921</td>
<td>90.31</td>
<td>9.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santhali</td>
<td>2,546,655</td>
<td>96.63</td>
<td>3.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho</td>
<td>653,429</td>
<td>92.30</td>
<td>7.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Quoted from Fatihi A.R., 2001)

#### Monolingual-Plurilingual Ratio (Jharkhand Figure)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Rural (%) Speakers</th>
<th>Urban (%) Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mundari</td>
<td>668,958</td>
<td>51.99</td>
<td>48.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurukh (Oraon)</td>
<td>681,921</td>
<td>38.96</td>
<td>61.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santhali</td>
<td>2,546,655</td>
<td>67.88</td>
<td>32.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho</td>
<td>653,429</td>
<td>68.16</td>
<td>31.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Quoted from Fatihi A.R., 2001)
Multi-lingualism in the Tribes & its Impact on the Identity Features

Male-Female Literacy Rates (Jharkhand Figure)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Tribal Literacy Rate</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981 Census</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>26.17%</td>
<td>7.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991 Census</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
<td>38.40%</td>
<td>14.75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Literacy Rate in the Tribes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribal</th>
<th>Literacy Rate (1981 Census)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mundari</td>
<td>23.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munda</td>
<td>22.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho</td>
<td>17.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santhali</td>
<td>12.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Oraon with highest literacy rate amongst the four tribe are found in maximum number in Ranchi (above 3 lakhs 50 thousand). The maximum percentage of plurilinguals (61.04%) are found in the Oraon tribe, which also has the maximum urban speaker (9.69%). All these are indicative of the idea that the Oraon, (the Kurukh
Multi-lingualism in the Tribes & its Impact on the Identity Features

speakers) tribe have negotiated their identity at the maximum degree. Language shift is more than language maintenance, with more code switching and mixing.

The Munda or the Munda speakers with literacy rate little less than the Oraon are found in great number in Ranchi (about 4 lakhs sixty-thousand) (461002), the percentage of plurilinguals in the Munda tribe (48.01) is again little lesser than the Oraon which has about 6.94% urban speakers. This again indicates the Munda tribe's Negotiative character, with rapidly growing phenomena of Multilingualism.

The Ho and the Santhal with poor literacy rate and a much less plurilingual percentage (31% and 32% respectively), indicate that they have negotiated their identity the least. Language maintenance is more with lesser degree of the phenomena of plurilingualism.
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/ them 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 Santhales. 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-tribal 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 intercultural 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Earlier)</th>
<th>(Now)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e.g. Diku (friend)</td>
<td>Diku (enemy, foreigner)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 "Messiah" 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 radical 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
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
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 came. 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 come 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
Negotiation of Identity

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 than 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 particularly 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 losing. 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, 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.
Negotiation of Identity

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.
Linguistic identities are negotiated in plurilingual conversation. The two processes of maintenance and shift go simultaneously. Abbi (1997) observed that this oscillation between the two processes give them a new lease of life and saves them from the dangers of extinction. A gradual adoption of non-tribal language as mother tongue is indicative of the fact that negotiations are taking place at cost of language shift by the dominated tribal communities.

Weinreich (1951) pointed out that language shifts should be studied against time in the context of language loyalty and the functions of the languages in contact. Only a study across generations can give us a quantitative index to language shift. The hypothesis that old generation tribal speakers maintain their tribal language while middle and the younger generation tribal speakers are giving up their tribal mother-tongue and shifting to Hindi is accepted greatly in the case of Oraon and Munda Community but is partially accepted in the case of the Santhali speakers and to a great extent unacceptable regarding the HO community.

The major dimensions of the study are verified. Negotiation of identities is an important feature found is Pluri-lingual conversation.
in all the four communities in varying degrees. In the Oraon community this negotiation has occurred in the maximum degree, then is the case of Munda community and then Santhal. HO is the community in which negotiation has taken place in the least degree. In all the four communities, negotiation was mostly found in the younger generation, then in a lesser degree is the middle generation and in the least degree in the older generation. It was particularly they older generation who maintained the tribal mother tongue. Tribals settled in Urban locations negotiated or shifted more than the rural settlers. Tribals who were more educated or at least literate shifted or negotiated more than the illiterate who maintained their tribal mother tongue. Upper and the middle class tribals shifted more while the lower socio-economic strata better maintained their tribal mother-tongue.

Much of the Oraon/ Munda speaking area is ethnically heterogeneous as compared to Santhals and HO, which is more homogenized. The co-existence of the Oraon/ Munda community with the non-tribal population which is numerically, socially, and economically dominant, creates a multilingual milieu where these two languages cannot function as socially equal languages. Santhali and HO speakers were better guarded from identity crisis. The trend indicates that the urban tribals seldom consider it their privilege to
speak their mother tongues. On the contrary, ignorance of the tribal languages is regarded as an enhancement of status and prestige. By speaking Hindi they feel superior to other fellow-tribals who cannot speak it. A negative attitude towards language loyalty is also induced by ethnolinguistic minority status. A gradual increase in the adoption of a non-tribal language as mother tongue presents a classical case of language shift. All the four processes incorporated in the speech Accommodation Theory i.e. Similarity-Attraction Process, Social Exchange Process, Causal Attribution Process and Process of Inter-group Distinctiveness, is found to be greatly applicable to the tribal speakers of Jharkhand.

The historical, social and cultural factors, which are responsible for Negotiation of identities in plurilingual conversation is also highlighted.
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**SECTION-A**
*(Personal Data)*

1. Name:  
2. Sex: M/F  
3. Occupation:  
4. Age: (18-34 yrs) (35-50 yrs) (Above 50 yrs)  
5. Mother tongue:  
6. Vill/ Dist:  
7. Literate/ Illiterate:  
8. Tribe:  
9. Its tribal language  
10. Education: Primary/ Secondary/ Hr. Secondary/ College  

**SECTION-B**
*(Linguistic Data)*

11. What other languages do you know?  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Read</th>
<th>Write</th>
<th>Speak</th>
<th>Understand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

12. What tribal languages do you know and how well can you speak them (please tick)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Understand</th>
<th>Speak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A little</td>
<td>Quite well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mundari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oraon/ Kurukh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santhali</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. Where did you learn them (please tick)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Home</th>
<th>Neighborhood</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Friends</th>
<th>Market</th>
<th>Other (specify)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mundari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oraon/ Kurukh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santhali</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. Do you generally mix other languages when you speak your mother tongue? YES/ NO.  
If ‘Yes’ kindly tick among the following you mix  
(1) Only words [ ]  (2) Parts of sentences [ ]  

15. What non-tribal languages do you know?  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-tribal language</th>
<th>Understand</th>
<th>Speak</th>
<th>Read</th>
<th>Write</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi/ Urdu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any other (specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. Where did you learn them?  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-tribal language</th>
<th>Home</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Workplace</th>
<th>Neighborhood</th>
<th>Friends</th>
<th>Market</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
17. Languages used at home

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>Grand Parents</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Siblings</th>
<th>Relatives</th>
<th>Friends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mundari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oraon/ Kurukh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Santhali</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ho</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. What language is usually spoken at work?

19. With which language(s) do you interact with the non-tribals at your workplace?

20. What languages do you use for official purposes at different levels of administration?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Thana</th>
<th>Tehsil</th>
<th>Sub-division</th>
<th>District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SECTION-C

(Socio-psycho-linguistic data)

21. What languages, tribal/ non-tribal you use in talking to people of a different tribe?
   Village office: ..............................................
   District office: ..............................................
   Village bazaar: ..............................................
   District bazaar: ..............................................

22. In which language do you feel most comfortable to converse with?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>Siblings</th>
<th>Relatives</th>
<th>Close friends</th>
<th>Neighbors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oraon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mundari</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santhali</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ho</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23. The language you like the most: ..............................................

24. Do you feel that your tribal accent is a stimulating block in your progress: YES/ NO.
   Which language(s) do/ would you insist your children to speak: ..............................................

25. Which language would you like to be you state language (please tick)
   (a) Oraon/ Kurukh (b) Mundari (c) Hindi (d) Ho (e) Santhali (f) English

26. What language(s) do you generally use in talking to non-tribal people?
   Village office: ..............................................
   District office: ..............................................
   Village bazaar: ..............................................
   District bazaar: ..............................................

27. What languages are used for worship? ..............................................

28. What languages do you use at various levels of the court of law?

29. To which linguistic community do your friends belong to? .................
   In which language do you generally speak to them? ..........................

30. Is the use of language(s) other than mother tongue increasing at home? YES/ NO.
   If 'Yes' which language(s): ..............................................

31. What language is generally used at home? ..........................

32. Why do you want to learn non-tribal language(s) instead of your tribal tongue (please tick)
   (a) Education (b) Status (c) Employment (d) Integration with the national mainstream (e) Any other (specify)

33. With which language would you identify yourself? ........................ Why? ........................