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SPATIAL DEIXIS IN THE LANGUAGES OF JHARKHAND

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that this dissertation entitled **Spatial Deixis in the Languages of Jharkhand**, submitted by Bidisha Som, Centre of Linguistics and English, School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted, in part or full, for any other degree or diploma of any university. This may, therefore, be placed before the Examiners for evaluation for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy.

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This Dissertation entitled "**Spatial Deixis in the Languages of Jharkhand**", submitted by me To The Center of Linguistic and English, School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of Master of Philosophy is an original work and has not been previously submitted, in part or full, for any other degree or diploma of any university.

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Dedicated

to

My Parents

to whom I owe everything

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	: Austro-Asiatic	PP	: Post-Position
Acc	: Accusative	rem	: remote
adj	: Adjective	sg	: singular
adv	: Adverb	S-Agr	: subject-agreement
cont	: continuous	ToM	: Topic-marker
D1	: proximate	Ip	: First-person
D2	: remote	IIp	: Second-person
Dr	: Dravidian	IIIp	: Third-person
Dat	: Dative	CAPITAL	: For V2 in an ECV construction
du	: Dual		
emph	: emphasis		
excl	: exclusive		
fut	: Future		
GEN	: Genitive		
IA	: Indo-Aryan		
incl	: inclusive		
imp	: Imperative		
LOC	: Locative		
neg	: negative		
perf.	: perfect		
pl	: plural		
past	: past		
prox	: proximate		

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Introduction

*“Language is perhaps our greatest natural achievement,
the most unique of those capacities which make us human.
It is worth trying to understand.”*

(Jarvella & Klein' 82: 1)

Defining Deixis

Language is not only our greatest natural achievement but it is also the most manifest form of the complex thought process which mark us out as humans. Language manifests the way men perceive the world, his immediate surroundings, the situation around him. Natural language is always used in a certain situation – at a certain time and at certain place. Hence, contextually is one of the most fundamental characteristics of natural languages and contextual information is one of the basic information that all languages encode in their structure. There can be various ways of encoding contextual information in a language. One of the most important device to integrate this information in a language is through deixis. The significance of deixis in natural languages is undeniably crucial. As Barbara Kryk says, “Not only are all languages indexical but are so over ninety percent of the sentences produced by humans.” (Kryk '90:49)

[The term 'deixis' comes from a Greek word meaning pointing or indicating. Deictics have been defined by Anderson and Keenan as, “those linguistic elements whose interpretation in simple sentences makes essential reference to properties of the extralinguistic context of the utterance in which they occur.” (Anderson & Keenan ,85: 259). According to John Lyons. “By deixis is meant the location and identification of persons, objects,

processes and activities being talked about or referred to, in relation to the spatio-temporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and participation in it, typically of a single speaker and at least one addressee.' (Lyons, '77: 637). So, by deixis or deictic categories are meant those categories in a language which are used to point to the extralinguistic features or characteristics of the context of the utterance. These contextual informations may include the participants of the speech act, the place of the utterance or the place being referred to, the time being talked about etc. Deixis is a domain par excellence where language and reality meet. It is also the central link between language, perception and cognition. It refers to the actual context, the real situation within which the utterance takes place. The study of deixis, however, does not have a long history. The recognition of the importance of deixis as an area worthy of investigation came only in 1934 in the form of a theory put forward by the German philosopher, Karl Bühler. The deictic expressions acquire their meaning in the particular context in which they are used, and as a result, the same deictic expression will have a different interpretation when applied in a different situation. [The meaning of deictic expressions depend on when, where and by whom they are uttered,] ^(Karl Bühler 1934) Taking these as the starting point, Bühler formulated his theory that the deictic interpretation of words depends on the zero-point of the utterance – the origo, which comprises of the 'I' (the speaker), the 'here' (the place of utterance) and the 'now' (the time of utterance). In other words, "the canonical situation of utterance is ego-centric." [The speaker almost always takes himself as the 'ego' and relates everything to his view-point, taking the above mentioned three axes as the basic co-ordinates for reference. Hence there are three major categories of deixis: person

deixis, spatial deixis and temporal deixis. These are complemented by social and discourse deixis.)

Person deixis

The person deictics are the expressions which refer to the speakers and or the addressees of the utterances in which they occur. The person deictics encode various informations about the identification of the referents of these expressions. These informations generally include the information on the number, gender, the social or personal relationship between the speakers and the addressee- etc. apart from the other language – specific informations. The First and Second person pronouns fall under this category of deictic expressions.

Temporal deixis

The temporal deictics are those expressions that refer to time relative to that of the speech - event. References to time in respect to the time of speaking – the 'now' – can be represented in grammar in various ways. First, realisation of time distinction along the line of demonstratives used in spatial deixis. Locational adverbs like 'here' and 'there' of English, fall under this category of expressions. Secondly, the most common way to realise time distinction is through the verbal category of tense. Other than these two, languages also use a number of lexical items that can be used as temporal deictics.

Spatial deixis

Spatial deixis deals with the expressions in a language that make references to the spatial location of entities in relation to that

of the speaker. Identifying location of the referents is the principal feature of spatial deictic expressions. The spatial location of an entity can be grammaticalised in various ways in a language. The basic grammatical categories to encode spatial informations are the demonstratives – demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives. Locative post-positions and locative adverbs are the other two main grammatical categories that encode locational information in Indian languages. The spatial location of an entity is almost always measured with reference to that of the speaker. Some languages, however, also encode information about the addressee's spatial location. Languages also vary in respect to the descriptive as well as locational information integrated into the lexical structure of the various grammatical categories having the function of spatial deictic expressions. For example, languages may recognise varying number & character of distinctions along with the primary dimension of distance while referring to the location of an entity.

The Languages and Areas Under Study:

The present work is an attempt to look into the spatial deictic system in the languages of Jharkhand. For this purpose, three languages belonging to the three different language - families in Jharkhand have been chosen. These three languages are; Sadri (Indo-Aryan), Kurux (Dravidian) and Santhali (Austro-Asiatic). The aim and purpose of this study is to investigate the spatial deictic system of these three languages and find out how much of similarity they share or how much they differ from one another on this subject. The grammatical categories chosen for the study of spatial deictics

in these languages are demonstratives (pronouns and adjectives), locative post-positions and locative adverbs.

Jharkhand

Jharkhand became a state only in the year 2000, but the struggle for Jharkhand as an autonomous and separate state had been going on for quite some time. The Jharkhand that was proposed by the movement was larger than it is now in reality, and the proposed Jharkhand comprised of parts of the states of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal, with a dominant tribal population (See Appendix). Culturally and linguistically, this area is of interest to any scholar as it is “the only area in the entire country where three major cultural streams - Aryan, Dravidian and Austroasian, represented through various languages – have converged to create a cultural synthesis of its own kind” (Ram Dayal Munda, as quoted in Abbi '97). From the point of view of areal linguistics, therefore, this area is of great importance. Various languages belonging to the three major families are here sometimes in direct contact with each other, resulting in language convergence and language change.

Deixis is an area where language and reality meet. This is also an area of convergence for language, perception and cognition of the immediate world for a language community. This lies in the very heart of the linguistic system of a community and hence can be perceived not to be open to changes easily. Deixis, while having certain universal traits across languages, also shows some language-specific peculiarities which stem from the individual way a speech community perceives its immediate world. The geographical surroundings of the natural habitat of a community also shape the

way spatial perceptions are shaped in that language. It is in this light that the current study looks into the deictic systems of the three languages concerned. It is to find out how far these languages have maintained their original system of deictic categorisation and to what extent they have allowed it to be influenced by the areal pressure, if at all. It can be hypothesised that being in close contact over centuries, these languages would show some level of convergence in their deictic categorisation and that the degree to which they have retained their language – specific characteristics would be on the decline. This will, for obvious reasons, be more prominent in communities which are more in contact with other communities than the communities which are rather ‘closed’ and resistant to outside influences, both at conscious and unconscious level.

Review of Literature

The grammar books very often do not give any specific information about the deictic system in language. The Grammars consulted for the present research are no exception. “The Grammar of Kurukh Language” by Rev Ferd Hahn has since long been one of the authentic grammars of the language. This book is divided into two parts that deal with forms and syntax, respectively in the section on demonstrative pronouns. He mentions three basic forms of demonstrative roots: /i-/ for proximate, /a-/ for remote and /hu-/ for remote emphasised. The grammar describes the demonstratives formed by /hu-/ as the emphatic demonstrative. The section also contains a table showing the declensions of the different demonstrative pronouns.

“An Introduction to Santali” by R.M. Macphail is divided into two parts, the first part dealing with grammar and the second with

vocabular. This book deals with demonstratives in chapter XII of part I. This chapter, however, does not elaborate on the structure and usage of demonstratives in the language. Moreover, it deals, like the grammar of Kurux, only in demonstratives. According to this book, Santhali has a three way division of distance and three different words to denote the three degrees of distance. The three morphemes used are /nu-/ for proximate, /un-/ for farther off and /hən-/ “those farther off still, either in time or in space.” While talking about other demonstratives, he writes that they (adverbs and adjectives) are “made by combining the roots with various post-positions”.

P.S. Nawrangi's Sadani grammar, while giving outline of the language by describing various grammatical categories, does not give much detailed description about the deictic categories in the language, or even the demonstrative pronouns.

The German psychologist Karl Bühler might easily be called the pioneer in the field of study in deixis. His famous work, “Sprachtheorie: Die Darstellungs funktion der Sprach”, first published in 1934, presents his main thesis on deixis on which the later studies were developed. His theory that deictic expressions refer to a deictic field of language whose zero-point – the origo- is fixed by the speaker (the ‘I’), the place of utterance (the ‘here’) and the time of utterance (the ‘now’) became the cornerstone of research in the field of deixis.

Fillmore, in his ‘lectures’ on deixis, defines deixis as “the name given to those formal properties of utterances which are determined by, and which are interpreted by knowing certain aspects of the communication act in which the utterances in

question can play a role. These properties include the identity of the interlocutors, the place where the persons are located and the time of the utterance. He also mentions discourse and social deixis. In his article, "Towards a Descriptive Framework for Spatial Deixis" in Jarvella and Klein (ed.), Fillmore gives a descriptive framework for this type of deixis through which "deictic locating expressions in different languages may be compared with each other in respect to their pragmatic, semantic, syntactic and morphological characteristics". Deixis, as is evident from the works of various scholars, is an area where different areas of linguistics – pragmatics, semantics, syntax, morphology etc. converge.

John Lyons, in his 1977 book "Semantics" (vol.2) devotes a chapter (Chapter 15) to the discussions on deixis. He elaborates each of the three major types of deixis. He describes deixis in a lucid manner as "... the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes and activities being talked about, or referred to, in relation to the spatio-temporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participation in it, typically of a single speaker and at least one addressee". He concentrates on the semantics of deixis in general, and demonstratives in particular, in his discussion.

Anderson and Keenan, at the outset of their article 'Deixis', in Timothy Shopen (ed.), define deixis on the same line as Lyons and Fillmore. The discussion is informative about the "variety of linguistic forms which deictic expressions may take, and the variety of kinds of person, spatial and temporal information which may be systematically structured by such forms". In spatial deixis, they discuss in detail the systems with various dimensions of contrast.

Reddy, in his article in the IJDL on "Some Lexico-grammatical Aspects of Place Deixis in Dravidian and Munda", presents the place-deixis system in a few languages: Telugu, Manda, Kuvi and Kharia. Out of these Telugu, Manda and Kuvi belong to the Dravidian family of languages and Kharia belongs to the Munda subgroup of Austro-Asiatic family. These languages have different degrees of division of distance in their place-deixis. In cases where languages have a four-way or five-way division of distance, the semantic criteria on which the division is based, gets blurred. Kuvi has a four-term system of demonstrative bases and Kharia has a five-term system. On both of these language-systems, Reddy offers some suggestions on the basis of differentiation, but agrees that "the exact parameters differentiating those three are not yet clear to me". He includes Santhali among the languages that have more than two-way division in their place-deixis. Even Emeneau mentions a four-way contrast of demonstrative bases in the languages of Kuvi and Kui "... but unfortunately neither Emeneau nor his sources provide any clue to the semantic criterion of the division".

Emeneau deals with the presence of the initial 'n' in the demonstratives in some of the Indian languages. In this cross-linguistic study, he cites examples from Dravidian, Munda and Indo-Aryan languages. He traces the existence of initial 'h' in the Indian demonstratives from the time of Asoka the Great to "the present" and "from Sind to Bengal and Ceylon" and even suggests it as a "universal as exemplified in this area". In this paper, Emeneau mentions Kurux as having a three-term system with an "intermediate" 'hu'.

Material and Methods:-

The material used for the present work was collected during the Field-work carried out for the purpose. An elaborate questionnaire was prepared and the language data was collected on the basis of that questionnaire. This data was recorded while the conversation was on between the informants and the researcher. Spontaneous speech was also recorded. The data was analysed and information elicited. The informants were chosen from across different social strata, gender, age and educational background. None of the speakers is a monolingual though. As the fieldwork was done in and around Ranchi, a predominantly urban area, the speech also reflects the speech of the communities in the urban areas, where the contact between different speech – communities is much more frequent than in the isolated rural areas. Other than the language data collected in the field, existing grammars of the three languages were also consulted.

Organisation of the Study:-

The present study is divided into five chapters. The division of the main chapters i.e. the chapters other than the Introduction and the conclusion, has been done on the basis of the subject matter rather than on the basis of language – division,

Chapter I : Introduction

This chapter gives an outline of deixis as a special feature in languages by defining it and pointing out its place in natural languages, a brief discussion on the three major types of deixis follows. It also elaborates on what the present dissertation aims to

look at. Methodological issues and the organisation of the study are also part of this chapter.

Chapter II: The Land and the People

This chapter starts with some factual information of Jharkhand as a state. There is also a brief note on the background of the state as an area of convergence for different languages and cultures. With a brief introduction on the three major language-families represented by three different languages under study: Sadri, Kurux and Santhali in their respective families have been traced. The cultural and historical background of the three communities have also been discussed in this chapter. A section has also been devoted to an overview of literature in this area.

Chapter III: Demonstrative Pronominals and Adjectives

After a brief introduction on demonstrative pronouns and adjectives, the chapter deals with the structure of these two categories in the three languages under consideration. This chapter is a comparative study of the information context in the demonstratives in these three languages and shown in what way they are similar & in which aspect they are different.

Chapter IV: Locative Post-Positions and Adverbs

This chapter discusses the structure and use of locative post-position and locative adverbs in the languages under study. This chapter also proposes a schema of "spatial expressions" which are found to be used in all of these languages. The similarities and differences among the languages on these categories have been discussed in detail in this chapter.

Chapter V: Conclusion

On the basis of the discussions and analysis carried out in the previous chapter I arrive at some significant conclusions about deixis in Santhali, Kurux and Sadri, in general & convergence phenomenon occurring therein in, particular.

2

The Land and the People

The State

“An area that exists in reality but not in geopolitical maps of the Government of India, an area that contains 55 percent of tribal population of the country, an area that symbolises the ancient heritage of India.... This is the region of Central India”. (Abbi '97: 131) This is the region of the 'proposed Jharkhand State' encompassing parts of the states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal. But when the Jharkhand state was created in November 15, 2000, it was carved out of only the southern part of the state of Bihar, making it one of the latest created states under the Republic of India.

The state has an area of 79,714 sq.kms. This state is part of the Chota Nagpur plateau and is mainly made up of ancient stone Arkiyan Granite Tatanis. A large part of the state is covered with dense forests and hence the name (jhar – tree). This state in the eastern part of the country borders on the states of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Chattisgarh. It has a total population of 26,909, 428 (approx), the majority of which is made up the various tribes of the area, e.g., Santhal, Munda, Ho, Bhumij, Oraon, Birhor, Kharia etc.

The People and their language

India is said to be an anthropologist's paradise. Same is true of a linguist. Innumerable languages and cultures have made it their home for centuries. In the Indian kaleidoscope, one can find people speaking hundreds of languages and dialects which represent four of the worlds major language families; Indo Aryan, Dravidian, Austro Asiatic and Tibeto Burman . All these languages lived here together

for millenia thus creating the peculiar phenomena of the Indian linguistic area. Emeneau defines a linguistic areas as an “area which includes languages belonging to more than one family but showing traits in common which are found not to belong to other members of (at least) one of the families” (Emeneau 56: 16n). So, a linguistic area is a geographically contiguous area where languages belonging to different language-families co-exist and over time, they come to share certain features though they are genetically non-related, India is such an area. Here the languages belonging to four different language – families have existed together thus resulting in convergence of features and causing various linguistic changes in almost all of these languages. Language-convergence and language-change are an integral part of a linguistic area, and India is no exception. Within this vast geographical area that is India, Jharkhand, in the central-eastern part of the country can be considered a microcosm of the Indian linguistic area. In this area, language belonging to the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic family of languages have co-existed since time immemorial. Different Munda and Dravidian groups have been living here in the contiguous geographical areas surrounded by the Aryan population. The central and central-eastern India which were part of the “proposed Jharkhand” have the highest number of tribal population in India as well. The speakers of both the Austro-Asiatic and the Dravidian languages belong to this tribal population. These communities live in direct contact with each other, and are, therefore, exposed to the other’s language and culture most of the time. As a result, the peculiar features of the Indian Linguistic area will be reflected in this microcosm as well. Language convergence language-change, sharing of features not typical of their language-

families etc. will be as much part of this area as it is of the larger Indian Linguistic area.

Like other parts of India, in Jharkhand also, bi/multilingualism/dialectalism is more of a norm than an exception. Moreover, tribals show a rather high degree of bi/multilingualism than other communities. They are bilingual at least in their mother tongue and the dominant language of the region, depending on the region they belong to. The rate of bilingualism among the tribals is higher than the average rate of bilingualism of the country. And Jharkhand is one place where a speaker of a particular speech-community has to use different languages at different places in his daily life. For example, a Kurux speaker would be speaking Kurux at home, Hindi in School, Sadri in the market-place etc. So, bilingualism is at the core of the linguistic practice of the various linguistic communities in Jharkhand. This wide-spread bilingualism can be responsible for the language convergence taking place as an areal phenomenon in this place.

In the following section, we present a brief account of the three language-families of the region under study. With that the place of the languages (under discussion in this paper) in their respective language-families will also be outlined.

The Austro-Asiatic family of languages:

The Munda languages (older term Kol) which forms a part of the Austro-Asiatic languages, are spoken "principally by tribal groups in Eastern and central India". (Shapiro and Seiffman, 1981, pp. 105). These languages have existed in India from before the arrival of both the Aryan and Dravidians (here we bypass the controversy whether the theory of Aryan invasion etc. actually holds

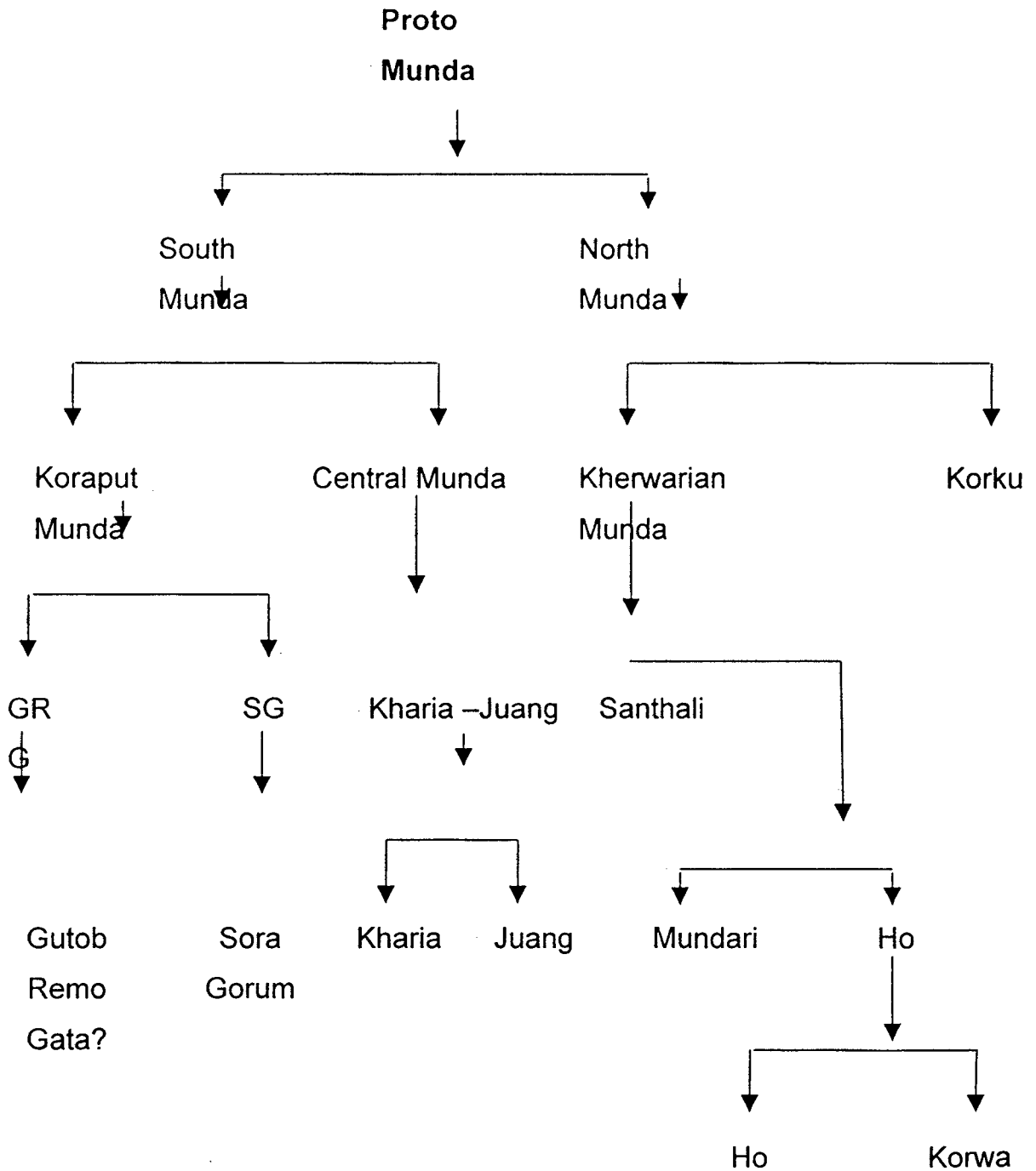
true). The Mundas are arguably the oldest inhabitants on the Indian soil, and they were much more widely spread in the country in past than they are now.

According to Norman Zide (1969), the West was aware of the existence of these languages from the 19th century. But it was only in 1906 that the existence of a separate language family comprising these 'tribal languages' was actually proposed by Schmidt. It was Schmidt who suggested the concept of "Austro-Asiatic" family of languages, which, in turn, was a part of the "Austric" family of languages. Grierson followed the same concept in his "Linguistic Survey of India". He divides the Austro-Asiatic languages further into the Mon-Khmer branch and the Munda branch. Mon-Khmer group of languages are spoken in Assam, Burma and parts of Indo-China whereas the Munda group of languages are spoken in central and eastern India.

Place of Santhali among the Munda group of languages:

Santhali comes under the 'Munda' group of languages in the Austro-Asiatic family of languages. Schmidt's classification of the Munda languages were later revised and re-formulated by scholars like Pinnow and Zide. The similarity between the classification of Munda languages used by Pinnow and Zide notwithstanding, it is Zide who is considered the most authoritative in this case. His classification is based on extensive historical reconstruction of the Munda languages. Zide placed Santhali along with Mundari and Ho under the Kherwari group of languages which together forms the North Munda group of languages. The following figure shows the place of Santhali in the Munda family of languages.

Figure I. Zide's Classification of Munda Languages:



The Dravidian family of languages:

The Dravidian language family is another ancient language-family which has existed in India for centuries. The languages

belonging to this family are spoken in the southern India, though a few of them are found in the northern and central India as well. The declaration of Dravidian as a separate language-family came into existence with Caldwell (1856) though the idea was around even before that.

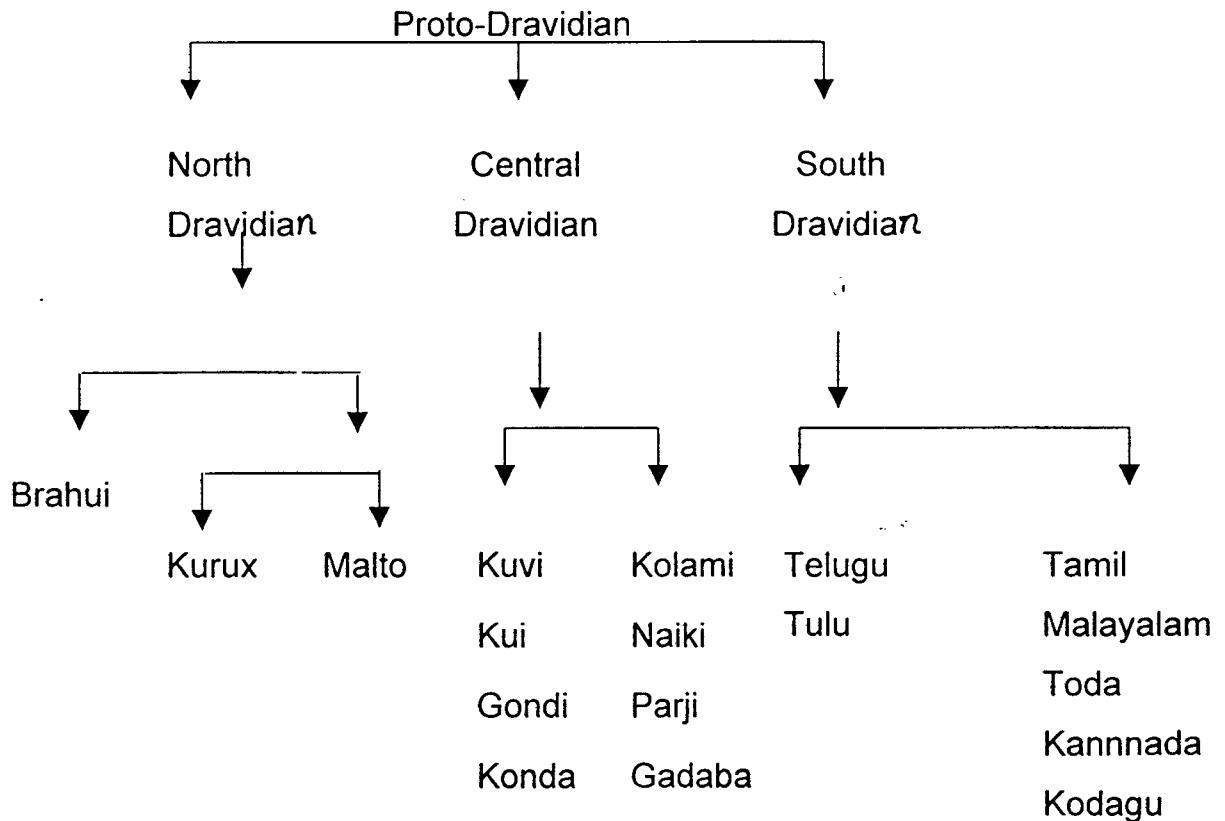
Various sub-groupings of the different Dravidian language have been given so far. There is only one language belonging to this family that is spoken outside the political boundary of India, i.e., Brahui. All the others are spoken in India, mainly South India. Two languages Maito and kurux are spoken mid-earthen part of India.

Place of Kurux in the Dravidian family:-

Kurux belongs to the North Dravidian group among the Dravidian languages. Caldwell put kurux under the title of "uncultivated dialects" along with Toda, Kota, Gond etc. within the Dravidian family (Caldwell 1974, pp.6) various ways of classification of the Dravidian languages were used by scholars from Grierson to Emeneau and even after him. Largely, the division followed was of the division of the Dravidian languages into north, central and south Dravidian languages. Kurux is placed under the sub-group North Dravidian along with Malto and Brahui. "These groups are defined not only by the geographic position of the areas in which the respective languages relating to phonological, morphological and etymological peculiarities." (Krishnamurti 1961, pp 236). It was Emeneau who proposed that Brahui, Malto and Kurux most probably form a sub-family due to certain phonological isoglosses and some common relations and shared innovation. (Emeneau 1962b, pp 62-70).

The following figure shows kurux's position in the Dravidian language-family.

Figure: 2 Classification of Dravidian languages: (after Andronov 1964)



The Indo-Aryan family of languages:-

“The existence of an autonomous group of Indo-Aryan languages, whose approximate relationship to Sanskrit was assumed roughly to parallel that of the modern Romance languages in relation to Latin, has been known for hundred of years” (Shapiro & Schiffman 1981, pp.72). The languages belonging to this family are spoken over a vast tract of land in the Indian subcontinent comprising India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. The

classification of Indo-Aryan that is followed largely is the one given by the LSI.

Place of Sadri in the Indo-Aryan family of languages:

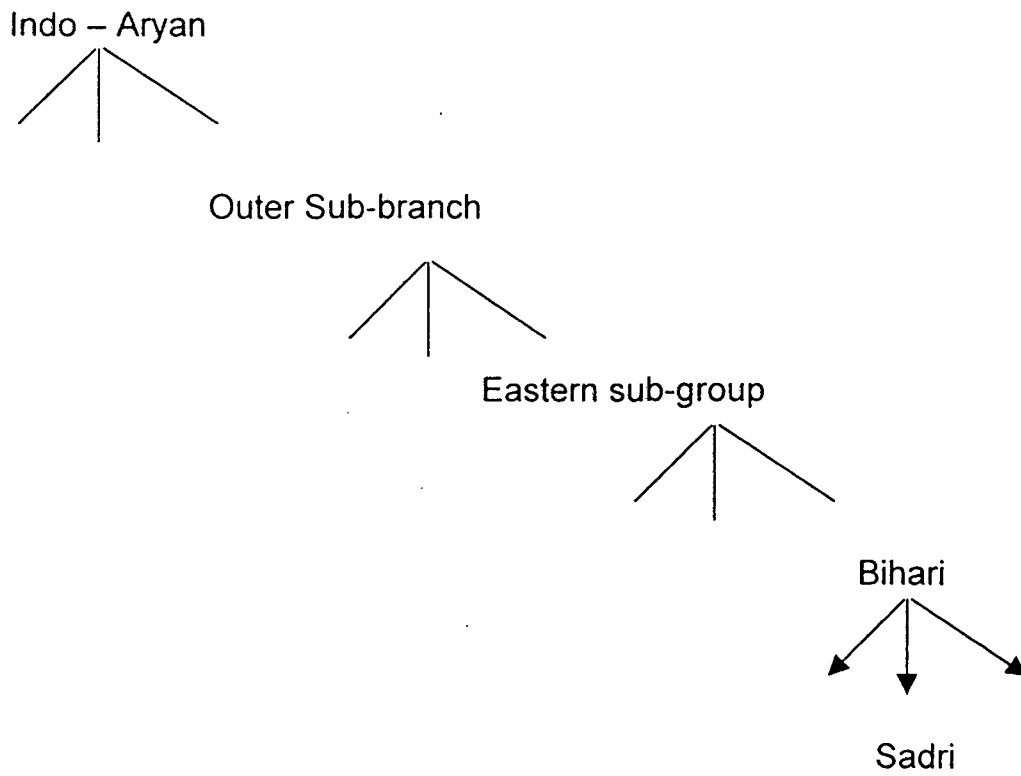
Sadri belongs to the Indo-Aryan family of languages and comes under the Bihari languages of the Eastern group. This language hardly gets any mention among the major languages of the family. It is considered more as a dialect than as a language in its own merit. Grierson calls it "a form of corrupt Bhojpuri" 'which has undergone modifications, partly by the influence of the Magahi dialect which surrounds it on three sides and of the Chittisgarhi spoken to its west and partly owing to the influx of words into its vocabulary which belong to the non-Aryan population" (LSI, vol V, part II: 277).

Nowrangi differs sharply and opines that it would be inappropriate to call Sadri or Nagpuria a corrupt form of either Bhojpuri or Magahi. He prefers to call it a language in its own right, a language which has a distinct grammar. (Nowrangi 1965:13). He also traces into history a community called Sadan whose traditional language is called Sadani or Sadri or Nagpuria.

Nowrangi's view is carried forward by other writers and scholars in this language. The recent studies stick to the stand that Sadri is an independent language, not merely a dialect or a corrupt form of some standard neighboring language. Some pro-Jharkhandi authors even talk about different dialects of Sadari, and 'Sadari language family.'

In the present dissertation, Sadri is considered a language & is placed under Bihari Languages.

Figure: 3 – Sadri in the IA language – family



Cultural and Historical Background:-

Introduction

The cultural and historical background of the three language communities under study, the Santhalis, the Orans and the Sadans, though different in many respects, seem to merge at some time or the other in history. This owes primarily to the fact that having migrated from different places, they finally settled down in the contiguous geographical locations. Two of these language-communities, Oran/Kurux and the Santhalis are designated as the tribals and the third one, the Sadan are non-tribals. Their history reflects the history of the most of the tribals in India.

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Tribals have always been an integral part of Indian civilisation. Various elements in the ancient civilization of India were contributed by them. Literature of ancient India, like the Rig Veda, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Purana etc. mention various non-Aryan communities who were their contemporaries. The contact between the various tribal communities in India and 'the others', e.g. the Aryans, can be traced to the Vedic ages. The Vedic literatures have references to people who had different physical appearance and who "worshipped strange gods." In the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, they are referred to as Jana. "When in exile, Rama reached the borders of the forests of Central India, the land was introduced to him as the abode of the tribal people, Jana-sthana" (Vidyarthi & Rai '85:25). And the relationship between these Aryan and non-Aryan population was not always one of conflict. They are very often mentioned as helping the Aryans in their various enterprises.

The ancient Indian literature refers to these non-Aryan population by various names such as, the Nishadas, the Subaras, the Bhilas, the Kollas, the Kiratas, the Dasas , the Dasyus, the Dramida etc. All these people, along with the Aryans, "created one people, the Hindu people" (Chatterjee 68;1). They can be put under separate categories as:

1. Austro-Asiatics; represented by the Kols and the Mundas.
2. Mongoloid people; represented by the Nagas, the kukis etc.
3. Dravidians; like the Oraons, the Gonds etc.
4. Aryans; the last tribe to enter India among these people.

The Kurux or Oraon

The Kurux people migrated from the western part of India to Chota Nagpur and settled there. Though their origin from the western India is established, it is not beyond doubt as to which place they exactly come from.

Robert Caldwell mentions that the Oraon or the Kurux traditions are said to connect them with konkan, "from which it is supposed they derived the name khurnk by which they invariably call themselves." (Caldwell, 74, pp-36). According to another view, the internal migration of the Kurux began from somewhere near Coorg in Karnataka. This view is strengthened by the close resemblance between Kannada and Kurux. From there, they migrated towards the east to Chota Nagpur. They came here after the Mundas and they gradually pushed them out of the place and began settling in the North Western part of present day Ranchi district.

Santhal

The Mundas are supposed to be the most primitive of the inhabitants on the Indian soil. They were here even before the Dravidians. In the ancient Indian literature, they are referred to as the kols. S.C.Roy mentions Azamgarh district in eastern Uttar Pradesh as the ancient residence of the Mundas. "General Cunningham, in his Archaeological Report (Vol XVII: 139) has identified the Suiris of the area with the Saoras which is probably a generic name for all the Kolarian tribes," (Vidyadhi 1985: 30) i.e., the korku, the Bhil, the Munda, the Santhal, the Ho the Bhumi and the Juangs. In the initial stages, the Munda and the Santhals are

believed to have formed one tribe. They parted ways after they reached Chota Nagpur from the West. They were probably pushed out of their original habitat by the Aryans. The Santhals gradually settled down in places like Santhal Pargana, Dhanbad, Giridih etc.

Sadan

When even the oldest anthropological account of the tribals of India mentions both Santhals and Oraons, the literature is silent about Sadans as a separate community. Though Sadans do not come under the 'Tribals', they are a community with distinct identity among the people of Jharkhand. The established theory about the community of Sadri speakers is that they are the non-tribal population living with or around the tribal population of Jharkhand. Father Nawrangi suggests that the word 'Sadani', used to refer to Sadri sometimes, originated from 'Nishad'. According to him the Nishad community was not one of the 'tribal' communities of the area and they must have had come from outside. This community had come in contact with the Aryans much before others and as a result, were considerably influenced by the Aryans in every sphere of their life. Grierson mentions (LSI, vol-V, part II: 277) that Mundas refer to Sadri as "Dikku Kaji" which means the language of the Dikku (meaning 'Daku') or Aryans. These people were probably pushed to the east from their original habitat in the central India by the Aryans. In due course of time, they also joined the Mundas and the Dravidians in the Jharkhand area.

The other name of Sadri language, Nagpuria could have derived its name from Nagpur or Nag-desh as that area of Jharkhand was once called owing its name to the 'Nag' dynasty that

ruled here, over all the communities. But exactly when these people came to Jharkhand is not yet clear.

Apart from the view expressed above, there are other hypotheses as well about the origin of these linguistic communities. There are some recent developments in the study of the people in these areas and very often these theories have a political overtone. According to some of these latest theories, many of the tribals did not 'come' from outside and they were always here. The question on the origin and original habitat of the various tribes in India is a rather tricky one and Indian anthropologists often find themselves on difficult terrain on this, as noted anthropologists Madan and Majumdar agree. "Fixing the racial origins or affinities of the tribal communities of India is one of the most complicated tasks that has had to be faced by the Indian anthropologist. There is practically no direct evidence of those stocks who inhabited different parts of India in prehistoric times. No startling discoveries of prehistoric human skeletons have been, so far, made in India." (Madan and Majumdar '01: 222). Notwithstanding the controversy, what can be taken for granted is that communities mentioned above have been living in the Jharkhand area for quite a long time. Together with the other 'tribals' in the adjoining areas, these people comprise more than 55 percent of the total population of tribal people in India.

Literature

Contrary to the popular belief that the tribal cultures depend primarily on oral tradition, and do not generally have any written literature, the communities under investigation have a sound body of written literatures. This owes mainly to a revival of nationalistic sentiment among the Jharkhandi people and their urge to establish an identity of their own and what better way to do that other than through literature in their own language? There are also a quite a few magazines and journals in these languages catering to people

of all the strata of the society. This is a breakthrough from the earlier practice of either translating or writing only religious books in these native languages, a practice perpetrated by the missionaries. But the role of the missionaries in bringing out the first literatures of the 'tribal communities' in print cannot be overlooked. As is the case with almost all of the 'tribal' communities in India, it was the missionaries who bridged the gap between these isolated communities and the outside world. Though these missionary activities were guided, not entirely, by the lofty ideals of 'uplifting' their life-style, their endeavor proved useful in ways more than one. Foreign missionaries brought out the first written grammars of these communities. Linguistically, it was a big step towards the assimilation of these people into the 'mainstream' of the state. Missionaries translated the Bible and many of the biblical stories into these tribal languages. Apart from this volume of biblical works, the other major portion of tribal literature was collections of folktales, again an enterprise of the missionaries. Tribal cultures are principally oral culture. The missionaries collected these stories and brought them out in both English as well as in the tribal languages (using, more often than not, the Roman script for these languages). These two types of written documents formed the majority of tribal literature for a long time. The various tribes of Jharkhand have been at the forefront of a number of rebellions against their oppressive masters. Their stories of valour encouraged the flowering of literature. And of late, there had been a surge of nationalistic sentiment among these people and the need to revive their language and culture was taken rather seriously. This also saw a growth in the body of literature in a number of the tribal languages of Jharkhand.

3

*Demonstrative
Pronominals and
Adjectives*

Spatial deixis localises both speech participants and narrated participants in space. Generally, demonstratives form the core of this category of deictic expressions. As the name itself suggests, the main function of demonstratives is to mark the distance of an entity from the zero-point of the speaker's spatio-temporal location – the origo. Among the variety of parts of speech that express deictic notions, demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives are perhaps the most central. These categories are also the most frequently used points of departure for any analysis of spatial deictics in a language.

Demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives are primarily deictic and 'when they have this function, they are to be interpreted with respect to the location of the participants in the deictic context'. (Lyons'77: 646). The demonstrative pronouns have the function to draw the addressee's attention to a referent that satisfies the description implied by the use of the pronoun. There is a component of definiteness in the meaning of demonstrative pronouns. This definiteness is combined with the distinction of distance in case of demonstratives and with the distinction of gender in case of the third person pronouns.

Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns and third person pronouns are inter-related. In many languages, the demonstrative pronouns incorporate several features into their lexical composition to serve the grammatical function of the third person personal pronoun. In some languages though, the same lexical form is used both as a demonstrative pronoun and as a third person personal pronoun.

Third person personal pronouns or “non-participant pronouns’ are diachronically related to and, as a matter of fact, derived from the demonstratives as Greenberg puts it: “In many languages there is no separate third person pronouns as distinct from one or more of the demonstratives. In other cases, third person pronouns derive historically from demonstratives. “ (Greenberg ’85: 271).

Anderson and Keenan (’82) don’t give the third person personal pronouns the status of deictic pronouns, calling them ‘weak’ deictics. Choosing English third person pronouns as a case in point, they show that these pronouns are unmarked for distance, and hence, are not inherently deictic. In certain cases though they can be used deictically. But in case of most of the Indian languages, the third person pronouns are derived from the demonstrative pronouns and are deictic. This is because the information of distance is incorporated into their lexical form. This holds true for all the three languages under study in the present work: Santhali (AA), Kurux (Dr.) and Sadri (IA).

There are two major kinds of semantico-pragmatic informations that are lexicalised in the demonstrative pronouns and third person personal pronouns. First, the locative information. The demonstrative pronouns have the basic purpose of locating an entity in space, in relation to the location of the speaker. Secondly, the qualitative or descriptive information. The demonstrative pronouns encode a rich variety of descriptive information into their lexical structure. “The recognisable salient semantico-syntactic features” include number gender, animacy and human, among others. The languages under study donot always select the same features for the lexicalisation of demonstratives. Though there is a kind of

homogenous pattern as far as the encoding of locative information is concerned, they differ on the kind of descriptive information content.

The following table shows the demonstratives in the three languages under study: Santhali (AA), Kurux (Dr.) and Sadri (IA)

Table-1

Title :Demonstratives in Santhali, Kurux & Sadri

		Singular		Dual		Plural	
		+ animate	- animate	+animate	-animate	+animate	-animate
P R O H A X L I K U R U X S A D R I	S a n t h a l i	nui	nua	nu-kin	nua-kin	nu-ku	nua-ku
	k	+ masculine	-masculine			+rational	-rational
	u r u x	is	ld			ir	ibra
A T R I E	S a d r i		i				imən

R E M	S	+animate I	-animate	+animate	-animate	+animate	-animate
	a n t h a l i	uni	una	un-kin	una-kin	un-ku	una-ku
		huni	hena	hun-kin	hena-kin	hun-ku	hena-ku
		+masculine	-masculine			+rational	-rational
O T E	K u r u x	as	ad			ar	abra
	S a d r i	u				u-mən	

All the three languages under study divide space into two broad divisions – proximate and remote. They differ on the kind and number of descriptive informations encoded into their lexical forms.

In the following sections, we discuss, in detail, the demonstratives in Santhali, Kurux and Sadri. But before that, it will not be out of place to elaborate on the features that are being investigated while discussing the locative and descriptive information found in the demonstrative pronouns in those languages. As has been mentioned already, there are two types of information encoded in the demonstrative pronouns, locative information and descriptive information.

Locative information – Demonstrative pronouns, as already mentioned, refers to the location of an entity or a person relative to the location of the speaker and/or addressee in a speech event. There are two major dimensions to this assignment of a location to the referent. *First*, as the emergence of deictic notions is based on the location of the speaker in a given speech situation, spatial deixis, in the form of demonstratives, take the speaker's location (physical, mental, real or imaginary), as the deictic centre of any context of utterance. In a large number of languages of the world, therefore, the demonstratives take into account only the speaker's position while giving the locative information about the referent. English, Hindi, Bangla etc. fall into this category. But there are certain languages in which the addressee's location also plays a role in the choice of the demonstratives. In these languages, both the speaker and the addressee form the deictic centre of the utterance. For example, Japanese has demonstratives that is addressee-oriented. In the languages under study, this feature of the demonstratives will be discussed. Here, it can be hypothesised that there would be a homogenous pattern in these languages as far as the assignment of deictic centre is concerned, because the major languages of Indian linguistic area don't show addressee – centred deictic system and Jharkhand might not be an exception.

Secondly, while referring to the location of an entity or a person in relation to that of the speaker's (and/or addressee's) the physical (or mental) universe is divided on the basis of the degrees of distance from the speaker. Languages differ on the number of such divisions recognised in their system. One of the most frequently used systems of the spatial division is that of a two-way division of proximate and remote, where proximate refers to the entity located near to the speaker and remote refers to the one located at a relatively distant place. This is a primarily distance-

oriented system. Besides this, there are languages which recognise three or even more number of distinctions – in their demonstratives. In these languages there is generally a superimposed criterion on the primary division of distance. The superimposed criteria can be visibility, audibility and so on. Depending on the nature and number of such secondary criteria, languages can have a number of division of distance intermediate of proximate and remote. In the Indian linguistic area itself one can find languages having a range of two-way to five-way division of distance. Dravidian language very often show a system with more than a two-way division. In the present work the proximate and remote will be symbolised as D1 and D2.

Descriptive information:- Number and gender are the two main categories about which information is generally encoded in the demonstrative pronouns. Languages, may encode other descriptive informations besides these two in their demonstratives. Those can be considered as language-specific cases. The information on number and gender can be thought as a universal feature. First, we take the case of number. The 'grammatical' number generally corresponds to the number of entities in the 'real' world being referred to. Languages of the world commonly show a two way division of number e.g: singular and plural, though dual number is also used quite frequently. Numbers other than these three is less frequent.

Secondly, gender is the other main category besides number that constitute the descriptive information in the demonstrative pronouns. The category of gender is not a very straight forward one. Crystal defines grammatical gender as 'a grammatical category used for the analysis of word-classes displaying such contrasts as masculine/feminine/neuter, animate/inanimate etc "(Crystal' 80: 158). In some languages there is a one-to-one correspondence between the grammatical gender and the natural gender of the

entity referred to. But not all languages use the same feature as the distinguishing factor in gender of different entities. Sometimes rationality or animacy seem to be the dividing factor, and the entities are accorded rational or irrational gender, for example, as they are conceived of in the particular language. Gender division used in a particular language throws important light on the language and language-community as a whole. In the languages under study here, the gender distinction is in the nature of binary opposition, though the lines of division are not necessarily the same.

Keeping the above discussion in mind, we now look into the language-specific cases of demonstrative pronouns.

Santhali (AA)

The demonstratives system in Santhali can be seen from the following table.

Table II: Santhali demonstratives.

P		Singular	Dual	Plural
r o x i m a t e	+ animate	nui	nu-kin	nu-ku
	- animate	nua	nua-kin	nua-ku
R e m o t e	+ animate	uni	un-kin	un-ku
	- animate	una	una-kin	una-ku
	+ animate	huni	hun-kin	hun-ku
	- animate	həna	həna-kin	həna-ku

The demonstratives in Santhali encode both locative and descriptive information in their lexical structure. This language

shows apparently three-way distance – oriented system and encodes two genders and three numbers. These are discussed below.

Locative information: Many languages present three-way basic demonstrative pronouns. In these systems, the first term represents something which is close to the speaker. The third term represents something which is remote relative to the space occupied by the speaker and the addressee. The second term may sometimes refer to something close to the addressee. But more generally, the second term in the three-term system of distance refer to an object which is farther from the speaker indicated by the first term but closer than the object referred to by the third. Santhali has a three-term system of demonstratives, and they reportedly stand for proximate, distant and remote. The older grammars on Santhali as well as recent work endorse the theory of Santhali having a three – way distance – oriented system with the degree of distance as mentioned above. Reddy mentions the name of Santhali along with a few other Munda languages which have a three way division of distance. (IJDL' 90, vol XIX No.1) According to Macphail (64:61) Santhali has three root-morphemes representing the three distance, like.

/nu-/ : proximate

/un-/ : distant

/han-/ : most distant or remote.

He writes, "Other demonstratives (adverbs, adjectives) are made by combining the same roots with various post-positions." Even a recent thesis on Santhali grammar (Anil Chand, 2000)

supports the view that Santhali speakers recognise three division of distance relative to the speakers spatial location.

But during the field-work done for the present work, it was observed that though the three morphemes do exist in the language, their use has changed. The morpheme /han-/ no longer refers to a specific entity at the farthest end of the horizon. On the contrary, /un-/ and /han-/ are used in free variation for the same situation. Which means that /un-/ and /han-/ are in the process of getting neutralised and they signify only one meaning, i.e. 'remote'. As a result, there is only a two-way division of distance in Santhali demonstratives now, where /nu-/ stands for proximity and both /un-/ and /han-/ for remoteness. The frequency in the use of /han-/ is also less than /un-/. The reason for this kind of neutralisation, perhaps, could be sought in the phenomenon of 'areal pressure' existing in Jharkhand.

A few examples of Santhali demonstratives,

1. **nua** dɔ ijək' disəm kəna
 prox ToM 1p-sg GEN country be
 dem

this my country be

This is my country

2. **ona** - ma amrika riyək' jəhaj kan
 rem dem particular America GEN plane be

that America of plane is

That is an American aeroplane.

3. **nua** - dɔ uni emay - mɛ

prox dem. ToM III p-sg Acc give imp.

this him give

Give it to him.

Neither visibility nor audibility seem to play any role in the assignment of demonstratives in Santhali. Though old grammars (e.g. Maephails grammar) as well as recent research work (Ph.D thesis, Anil Chand) show that the language has not changed in the lost 50 years or more. However, the field-work conducted for the current research establish that the demonstrative pronominal base /han-/ has lost its original use. Books on Santhali language (for example “Santhali-Hindi Shabdakosh”) present different sets of demonstratives depending on the visible/invisible, audible/ inaudible criteria, none of which is in use in colloquial Santhali anymore. Though the old usage of /həna/ can be said to have left its traces in constructions like /həna-sa-rɛ/ (see the chapter on locative post-position and locative adverbs) where /həna/ can be glossed as “that, invisible (side)”. But as far as demonstrative pronouns are concerned, they donot incorporate visibility/audibility axes anymore. Also, whether the degree of distance between the speaker and the referent is on a horizontal or vertical plane cannot be represented in the demonstratives.

The concept of distance in Santhali is ego centric. The distance is always measured from the speaker’s spatial location and none of the demonstratives encode any information about the location of the addressee. Thus, the demonstrative pronouns in Santhali give the locational information of the referent in respect to the speakers position. Consequently, when the speaker refers to

that lake in crocodile is

There are crocodiles in that lake.

4. **nua** dɔ pəpuaʔ əkana
 -
 prox. ToM break be-inanimate
 dem.

this break be

This is broken.

5. **uni** - dɔy cəhera kūri kəna
 rem. ToM beautiful girl be-animate
 dem

she beautiful girl is

She is a beautiful girl

In the sentence (2), the mountain being talked about is situated very far from the speaker, at the end of the horizon for him. But still, the demonstrative used is /ona/. Again, in the next sentence (3) the lake is behind this very mountain just mentioned. The lake is obviously too far from and invisible to the speaker. Even here, the demonstrative used is /ona/ and not /həna/. Examples like these abound in colloquial Santhali.

Descriptive information: Apart from the locational information, the demonstratives also provide some descriptive

information of the referent as well, such as number, gender/animacy etc.

Number

Santhali distinguishes three numbers in the demonstratives: singular, dual and plural. These three number markings are incorporated into the structure of demonstrative pronouns as well. The singular number is left unmarked. The dual number is marked with the morpheme /-kin/ and the plural number is marked by /-ku/. These number markers are suffixed to the root morpheme of the demonstrative pronouns. There are some morpho-phonemic changes that take place in case of third person dual and third person plural animate demonstrative forms when the number marker is suffixed to the root. The animacy marker in the demonstrative /-i/ is omitted in the animate demonstratives, whereas in case of the inanimate objects the inanimate marker /-a/ left unchanged. (See Figure 1).

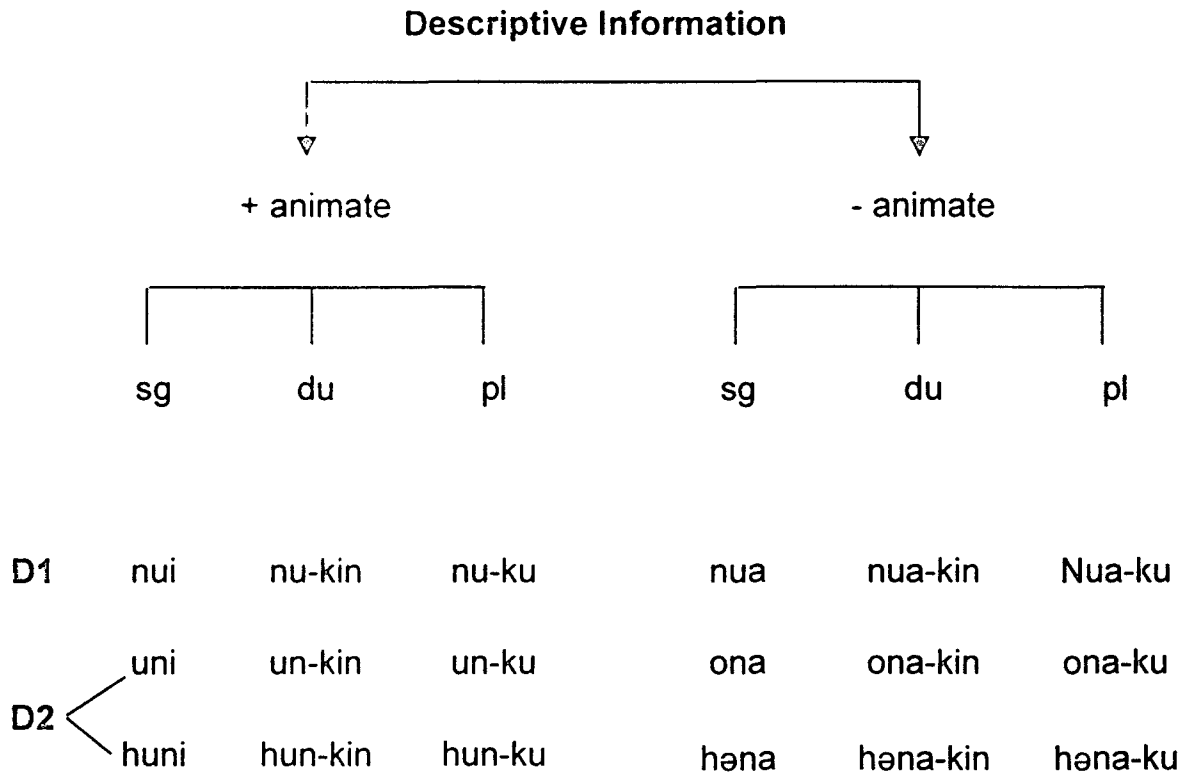
Gender/Animacy:-

Santhali demonstrative pronouns are divided on the lines of animacy and it corresponds with the animacy of the entity in the real world. Information about animacy is incorporated in its lexical structure. Among the animate demonstratives, however, there is no further division on the line of gender corresponding to the gender of the referent in the real life. Whether a referent is of masculine or feminine gender cannot be realised from the lexical form of the animate demonstrative pronoun. For information on that one has to depend on the context. The animate pronouns are marked with /-i/ after the root morpheme and the inanimate pronouns are marked with /-a/ after the root morpheme of the demonstrative pronoun. The

following Figure I (based on Reddy' 90) gives a detailed account of the descriptive information in Santhali demonstratives.

Figure I

Descriptive Information in Santhali Demonstratives



It can be noted that though the animate D2 demonstrative pronoun /huni/ and its dual and plural exist theoretically none of the informants used it even once during the field-work. On the other hand, the inanimate counterpart of it /həna/ was found to be in use in everyday Santhali, though sans its 'original' meaning and it is also used less frequently than /una/.

Example

1. un - ku - dɔ - ku bəric' həɾ kəna
 rem. PI ToM pl bad man be
 Dem

those bad people

Those are bad people

2. nu ku dɔ - ku alɛ ətu - rən gəi kən
 - - a
 prox. pl ToM pl lp-pl village GEN cow be
 dem GEN
 (excl)

these our village of cow be

These cows are from our village.

3. Kəmra- rɛ bariya kʰirki minak'a ona kin- rɛ pərda
 -
 Room LOC two window be- rem du LOC curtain
 PP inanimat de PP
 e m

Akao kəna

Hang be

room in two window be those two on curtain hung

There are two windows in the room and there are curtain on those two windows.

Kurux (Dr.):-

Kurux demonstrative pronouns also are lexicalised with informations about both the locational and descriptive features. Kurux, like Santhali, recognises only two divisions of distance: proximate (D1) and remote (D2). On the qualitative or descriptive front, these demonstratives give information on number and gender.

Table III

Title: Kurux Demonstratives

	Singular		Plural	
D1	is	id	ir	ibra
D2	as	ad	ar	abra

Locative information:- As said earlier, Kurux demonstratives show a two-way distance-oriented division in its demonstratives. Emeneau (80:23) mention a three-way division of distance in the kurux demonstratives: proximate, intermediate and remote. The root morphemes used for these three categories are: /i/, /hu/ and /a/. However, during the fieldwork, the intermediate /hu./ was not found to be used by the informants.

The colloquial form of the languages is found to use only two forms of demonstratives: /i-/ for proximate and /u-/ for remote. Proximate stands for proximate to the speaker and remote means remote in relation to the speaker's positions. In other words, the

Give me that book.

5. a orən nin era-din?
rem.de bird lp-sg see past -S.Agr
m

That bird you saw?

Did you see that bird (flying high above)?

6. as eḡhε kitapən xəddəs
rem.dem lp-sg - GEN book steal-past-S.Agr.

He my book stole

He stole my book.

7. en asin bəjar nu irkən
-
lp-sg rem.dem +masc- market LOC PP see-past-
Acc S.Agr.

I him market - in saw

I saw him in the market.

Descriptive information: - As far as descriptive or qualitative information is concerned, Kurux demonstratives encode information on number and gender of the referent.

Number

Kurux demonstratives distinguish between singular and plural numbers. There is no dual number in Kurux.

Examples:

1. **ibra** səmanən hoʔa kəla
 these things take GO
 these thing take - go

Take these and go

2. **ibra** səmanən hoʔa kəla
 these things take GO
 two

These two things take - go

Take these two things and go.

3. **idin** as gusən hoʔa
 this-Acc he place take.
 this he place take

Take it to him (his place).

Animacy & gender:

Kurux divides nouns and pronouns on the lines of masculinity. There are basically two classes of pronouns, masculine and non-masculine. Some kurux grammarians establish a division on the line of rationality as well, resulting in the two – way division of rational and irrational beings. Men and God are masculine (rational) in Kurux and all the rest are put under one category-non masculine (irrational).

This distinction is seen in the singular demonstrative pronouns in Kurux. The demonstrative pronouns in singular number distinguishes between masculine and non-masculine referents. If the referent is a man and his spatial location in relation to that of the

speakers is + proximate, the demonstrative pronoun to be used will be 'is'. In an otherwise same situation, if the referent is anything other than a man, the demonstrative and will be 'id.' So, the referent of 'id' can be either of the feminine gender or it can be a neuter being, depending on the context; it can include a large number of entities. It can be said that the non-masculine demonstrative pronouns are less specific than the masculine demonstratives in qualitative information. This holds true for both proximate and remote demonstratives in singular number.

e.g.

- | | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|------|-------------------|---------------------|------|----------|
| 1. | as | əkku | d ^h er | gecc ^h a | cəil | kerəs |
| | he | now | very | far | walk | g o-past |
| | He now very far walk-gone | | | | | |

Now, he has gone for away.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---------------|---|-----|----|---|-----|----|------|
| 2. | id | - | in | as | - | ge | ci | cilē |
| | this | | Acc | He | | Dat | | give |
| | This him give | | | | | | | |

Give it to him.

- | | | | |
|----|------------------|-------------|-------|
| 3. | ad | taŋgən | lauca |
| | she | herself-Acc | beat |
| | she herself beat | | |

She beat herself.

In case of plural number, however, the line of distinction is different. Plural demonstratives distinguish between + person and – person categories. It might also be called a distinction along the line of rationality with the division being rational or irrational beings. [It

rem	men-pl	this place	come	be-past-perf-
dem				S.Agr

those men this place had come.

Those people/men had come here.

It is noteworthy that the plural demonstratives /ibra/ and /abra/ can be used as adjectives with person nouns and in that case they also take the usual plural suffix, as can be seen from the sentence (4) above.

Sadri (IA)

The Sadri or Nagpuri demonstratives are as follows:

	Sg	Pl
Proximate :	i	i-mən
Remote:	u	u-mən

Sadri demonstratives, like Santhali and Kurux, give both locational and qualitative information about their referents. As far as locational information is concerned, Sadri demonstratives only show the relative distance of the referent from the speakers' spatio-temporal location. On the qualitative or descriptive front, these demonstratives give information about the number of the referents.

Locational information

Sadri shows a two-way distance-oriented system of demonstratives. There are two categories of distance: proximate and remote. Entities can either be near or distant. There is no further division in the 'distant' category. The distance on both the

vertical on horizontal axes are treated the same way, i.e., the distinction between horizontal and vertical distance is not encoded in the demonstratives lexical structure.

This language also doesnot take either visibility or audibility as a criterion for distinction. The remote demonstratives can have referents both within or outside the field of visibility.

e.g.

1. i - ke u - ke dei de
 Prox Acc rem Dat give
 dem dem
 this him give

give it to him.

2. mɔy to - ke i ni demu
 Ip-Sg lip-Sg Dat prox neg give-fut
 dem

I you this not will give

I will not give you this.

3. mɔy u - mən ke ni pətiyaōn
 -
 Ip-Sg III-Sg pl Acc neg like

I them not like

I don't like them.

4. ərə ! I to əmrika - kər urənbaz disela
 Oh, prox emphatic Amerika GEN plane seen
 dem

Oh, this America of plane (to be) seen

Oh: This is an American plane.

5. u - kər u - pak^hl u - kər g^hər ahē
rem GEN rem side rem GEN house Be
dem dem dem

that of that side his house is

His house is behind that (mountain).

Descriptive Informations:-

Apart from the locational informations being encoded, Sadri demonstratives also encode some descriptive informations.

Number

Sadri has two numbers: singular and plural. The singular demonstratives are unmarked whereas the plural demonstratives are marked by a plural marker: /-mən/.

e.g.

1. I Mor rəij heke
prox dem Ip-Sg GEN country be
this my country is

This is my country.

2. u mən - hūa muruk^h gul kərət^hε
-
rem pl there very much noise do-present-
dem cont.

they there much noise doing

They are making too much noise there.

3. i - mən - ke k^hay le
 prox dem pl Acc eat TAKE
 These eat take

Eat all these.

Gender and animacy:

Sadri demonstratives do not encode any information on animacy or gender or any such information about the referent. From the lexical form of the demonstratives, the identity of the referent cannot be decisively derived. The proximate demonstrative 'i', for example, can have as its referent, a man, or a woman, a cow or any other animal and even a neuter entity. As a result, Sadri demonstratives give rather generalised information without being specific about the animacy or gender identity of the referent. In fact they are the least informative about the identity of the referent, and one has to derive it only from the context.

e.g.

1. U ke heke?
 rem dem who is
 S/he who is?
 Who is s/he?

2. i mina - kər sarl heke
 prox Mina GEN sari is
 dem
 This mina's sari is
 This mina's sari.

3. i mor b^hai heke
 prox Ip-Sg GEN brother Is
 dem

this my brother is.

He/she is my brother.

4. U moke mair - ke b^haig gelək
rem lp beat flee GONE
de
m

he me beat ran away.

He/she hit me and ran away.

Based on the above discussion, it can be said that the three languages investigated here have some basic features common to all of them while retaining their typical features.

All the three languages, i.e. Santhali, Kurux and Sadri, have basically a two-way distinction of distance. These two divisions are proximate and remote, respectively. Though Santhali has three-forms, they are neutralised and now denote a binary opposition only.

The deictic-system in all the three languages are based on the ego-centric, localistic criterion. The one and only measure of distance is that from the spatio-temporal location of the speaker – the Ego. The position of the addressee or that of any of the referents etc. do not have any reflection in the demonstrative systems of these languages.

Out of the three, two languages, Kurux and Sadri distinguish between singular and plural numbers. Santhali on the other hand, has a three-way number distinction in its demonstratives, singular, dual and plural. The singular demonstratives are left unmarked in all

the three languages. On the other hand, plural number (and dual in case of Santhali) is generally marked with a separate morpheme. Santhali uses /- kin/ for dual and /-ku/ for plural whereas Sadri uses /-mən/ as a marker for plural number, highlighting the agglutinative character of these languages. Kurux uses a number of plural marker depending on the 'gender' of the referent.

As for gender and/or animacy distinction, Santhali and Kurux have more elaborate system than Sadri. Santhali demonstratives have maintained distinction on the line of animacy. Animate and inanimate demonstratives have two distinct lexical – forms in Santhali. In Kurux, the distinction is on the lines of either masculinity or rationality. But in Sadri, there is no such distinction at all. The demonstratives in Sadri are non differentiated on the marking of gender or animacy. Theirs seems to be a more egalitarian approach.

Demonstrative adjectives

The demonstrative bases which are used as demonstrative pronouns can also be used as the demonstrative adjectives in the same lexical form (or with a little change in form in certain languages). These demonstrative bases are used as attributes and appear before head nouns in a noun-phrase. This is when they act as demonstrative adjectives. In most languages, the demonstrative adjectives have basically the same lexical form as the demonstrative pronouns, however, the grammatical functions of them are essentially different, even when the semantico pragmatic function of the demonstratives in the attributive position remain the same, i.e., to point out some entity in space in relation to the speaker's position.

The demonstrative adjectives sometimes agree with the head noun in respect to person, number and gender. A detailed description of the demonstrative adjectives in the languages under inquiry here, Santhali, Kurux and Sadri follows.

Santhali

The demonstrative bases that act as the demonstrative pronouns are also used as demonstrative adjectives in the same lexical form in Santhali. The demonstratives are used attributively and precede the head noun in the noun-phrase, consider the following examples.

1. **ona buru** cɔ:t rɛ ijək ɔrak' minak'
 that mountain on LOC lp-sg house be
 - GEN

that mountain on my house is.

My house is on that mountain

2. **ona disəm** gin ijɪ - dɔ - ijɪ Kusiya?a
 that country emph. lp-sg ToM S.Agr like

that country (only) I like

I like that country (emphasis added).

3. **niə buru** gəjar - rɛ aleya mi?ten məndir minak'
 this forest inside LOC we-excl. one templ be
 e

This forest inside our one temple is.

We have a temple inside this forest.

4. niə kursi rɛ Durub'mɛ ona - rɛ dɔ - baɲ
 -
 this chair LOC sit-imp that LOC ToM neg
 PP

this chair on sit, that on not

Sit on this chair, not on that.

5. nui gidrə ai?gogo hohoay mɛ
 this child mother call imp
 this child mother call

Call the mother of this child.

In all the above examples, demonstrative precedes the head noun in the noun-phrase.

Agreement

Santhali demonstrative adjectives and the head nouns agree on gender and number. Santhali has specific forms of the demonstratives distinguished on the line of animacy. As a result, they have different demonstratives to refer to either animate or inanimate referents. This feature of Santhali demonstratives is evident in their attributive use as well. If the head noun refers to an animate entity, the demonstrative used will be marked likewise. Similarly for an inanimate noun, the demonstrative chosen will be inanimate.

hence,

6. nui gidrə
 this (animate) child
 This Child

7. nua kuṛsi
 this (inanimate) chair
 This chair

8. ona buṛu
 that (animate) Mountain
 That mountain

9. uni haṛ
 that (animate) man
 That man

Number

Santhali has two different morphemes to mark dual and plural numbers, respectively and the singular number is unmarked. When the noun is in singular number, the form of the demonstrative adjective is also in the singular (see example 6-9 above). But when the noun is in dual or plural number, it is the adjective that takes the number marking and not the noun consider the following example,

10	ona	-	ku	buṛu	taynom	rɛ	ɪnək	ɔrak'	minak'
					-				a
	that		pl	mountain	behind	LOC	lp-sg-	house	be
						PP	GEN		

Kurux

In Kurux also, the demonstrative adjective precedes the head noun, in an attributive use of the demonstratives.

e.g

1. a pəṛta xoxa - təra eɲhē eṛpa rəʔl

that mountain behind side I-GEN house be
That mountain behind my house is.

My house is behind that mountain

2. əbra pərta ki:ya onta pəj^hra rəʔl
-
those mountain below one spring be
those mountain below one spring is.

There is a spring below those mountains

3. i ʔoraŋ məj^hl - nu emhē onta məndir rəʔl
this forest middle LOC WE-GEN one temple be
This forest inside our one temple is.

We have a temple inside this forest.

Agreement

Kurux demonstratives agree with the head nouns in gender and number.

Number

In Kurux, the number agreement between the demonstrative adjective and the head noun is different from that of Santhali. In this language, when the demonstrative adjective is used with a singular noun, the indefinite form of the demonstrative base is used. Kurux demonstratives can be said to have two distinct forms: definite and indefinite. Definite form is that form of the word in which the demonstrative root takes a gender/animacy marker and gives it specific form; e.g. 'is' (Illp sg., proximate, masculine). On the other

hand, the indefinite form is the one without the gender/animacy marker, e.g. 'i'.

Hence, in case of singular noun, the demonstrative used is 'i' in place of 'is' and 'a' in place of 'as' and 'ad'. It is interesting to note that though Kurux demonstratives are quite rigid about their gender specification, when they are used as demonstrative adjectives with singular nouns, they would be devoid of that specific information. As a result, in case of singular nouns, the demonstratives don't agree with the head noun in gender. [The concept of gender in Kurux has been already discussed in the section on demonstrative pronouns]

Hence,

1. **a** **pərta**
 that mountain
 That mountain

2. **a** **aləs**
 that man-mase
 that man

1. **a** **aḍḍon** **era**
 that ox-Acc see
 see that ox

In case of plural nouns, however, the system is different. In Kurux, plurality treats rational and irrational (or person and non-person) nouns differently. Non-person or irrational nouns don't take a plural marker; though plurality in their case can be shown with affixation of words meaning 'many' 'all' etc. On the other hand, the person or rational nouns take a plural marker, like 'ar' 'ae' etc.

When the plural demonstratives precede a plural person noun, they also take the same plural marker as the noun. So, in case of person nouns in plural number the demonstrative adjective agrees with its head noun.

e.g.

ibra	-	ər	al	-	ər	:	ibrar alər
these		pl	man		pl	:	those men

abra	-	ər	mukk - ar	:	abrar mukkar
those		pl	women pl -		those women

But when these demonstratives precede a non-person, plural noun, they don't take the plural marker. The noun also, in this case, doesnot take a plural marker. The non-person nouns are unmarked for number,.

e.g.

əbra		pəta	
Those		mountain	those mountains

ibra	alo :	gutt ^{hi}	
these	thing	all	all these things [ref. Mishra. A.K]

Sadri

Sadri, the Indo-Aryan representative in this study has a different structure of its own in respect to demonstrative adjective in a noun phrase. In Sadri, also, the demonstrative precedes the head noun in the noun-phrase e.g.

1. i pəhar kər paç^he mor g^hər ahē
 -
 this Mountain GEN behind Ip-sg- house be
 GEN

My house in behind this mountain.

2. u gaōn me mor səŋ rəhət rəhē
 -
 that Village LOC Ip-Sg friend stay be-
 PP GEN present

My friend stays in that village.

3. həmke i devta me viswəs ahē
 -
 we - this god LOC PP faith be-
 present
 t

We have faith in this God.

4. i - kam ke ek^hən kər
 -
 this Work acc now Do

Do this work now.

Agreement

Sadri demonstratives do not encode any information about gender or animacy but do encode distance. So, an agreement between the demonstratives and the head noun on the basis of gender is out of question.

As for number, Sadri demonstratives take the plural marker /-mən/ when they are used as demonstrative pronouns. But, as attributive adjectives, they do not take the plural marking. The plural marker /-mən/ is suffixed to the head noun only.

e.g.

i	c ^h oua	mən	
	-		
this	child	pl	these children
		:	

u	iskuliya	-	mən	
that	student	pl	:	those students

As with the pronouns, so with the demonstrative adjectives. All the three languages distinguish between two degrees of distance – proximate and remote. In the attributive use of these adjectives, they precede the head noun in the definite noun phrase, and these adjectives agree with their head nouns in number and gender. The pattern of this agreement, however, varies from one language to another.

4

*Locative Post-Positions
and Adverbs*

In addition to the demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives, locative post-positions and locative adverbs are the other two grammatical categories used to express spatial deictic notions. These two categories are widely used in the Indian linguistic area to specify spatial information. Structurally, they are sometimes dependent on each other in use, as will become evident from the discussion below. Both locative post-positions (henceforth LOC PP.) and locative adverbs can be used on their own in a free-form, but sometimes they are used in compound form as well, bound with other morphemes. Pragmatically, the purpose of locative PP and locative adverbs is to locate an entity in either space or time. The concentration in this paper is on the spatial use of these two categories.

Typically, the locative PPs as well as the locative adverbs specify the location of one entity in respect to that of another. Following Fillmore ('82, pp.42-43), the first entity can be called a Figure and the second a Ground. The location of a Figure is generally both ascribed and described in reference to the position of the 'ground'. The 'Ground' can be either animate or inanimate; the choice ranging from a landmark to the speaker himself, depending on the context. In a sentence, the locative PP is placed after the noun denoting the Ground. Fillmore's terminology will be followed in this chapter. An instance of the Figure and the Ground in the sentence below.

The house is	near	the lake
Figure	Loc Adv.	Ground

Before getting into the language-specific discussion about the way locative PPs are used, a brief look into the theoretical background will help put the current study in the proper perspective.

Linguists argue that there is a kind of universal trait in the nature of spatial specifications in the languages of the world: that man describes his world, in his everyday language, taking himself as the measure of all things. "Anthropocentrism and anthromorphism are woven into the very fabric of his language" (Lyons '77:690). Accordingly, "spatial conception is essentially the same in all languages and cultures", (Foley '97: 215) because man always perceives nature, and hence space, in a relativistic and ego-centric manner, with spatial co-ordinates "projecting out from the anatomical patterns of our bodies". Whorf also seems to endorse the same view when he says, "the apprehension of space is given in substantially the same form by experience irrespective of language" (Whorf '56: 158-9).

The human conception of the basic co-ordinates of spatial orientation takes ego as the central deietic reference- point. And man's upright physical position plays the central role in it. Man's upright position is thought to have created the vertical spatial axis up/down. The horizontal axis of front/back results from the corresponding two anatomically asymmetrical divisions of the human body. The other horizontal axis of left/right is derived from the two symmetrical divisions. This explains the existence, in most languages of the world, of the lexical items equivalent to the up/down, front/back and left/right in English. These are called the cardinal orientational axes. Languages generally have an elaborate lexicon for spatial description along with these cardinal orientations.

The nature and extent of use of these spatial expressions vary from one language to another.

Contrary to this universalist claim, there is another view which asserts that languages have fundamentally different ways of describing spatial orientation. Though this view does not denounce the existence of innate universal conditions in the perception of spatial orientations, they argue that the "universal trait generally underdetermine the range of possible cognitive systems, leaving wide latitude for contingent human experience, in the form of language and culture, to play a guiding role in spatial cognition". (Foley 97:215) The languages that back this argument are the ones that use absolute system of spatial orientation instead of the relative system of orientation that depends on the speaker's intrinsic orientation. Absolute system of orientation does not take human body as a reference point, it ascribes location to an entity taking into consideration the cardinal direction depending, for example, on the movement of the sun etc.

The view represented in the current work is that there is a certain degree of universality in the perception of the world among the various linguistic communities, and living conditions play a major role in the cognition of our immediate environment. It is hypothesised that spatial perceptions depend a lot on the geography of one's natural habitat; people in the same geographical area, even when speaking different languages, would perceive space similarly. And this similarity will be reflected in the nature and use of the locative expressions in the language. It is in this light that the languages under study: Santhali, Kurux and Sadri are investigated here. Also taken into consideration is the Areal

pressure working on these languages, within this microcosm of the Indian Linguistic Area that is Jharkhand.

Locative Post-positions:

The discussion can be started with locative PPs in all the three languages separately. After that the compound locative forms will be discussed. The locative PPs in Santhali, Kurux and Sadri are as follows:

Santhali	:	-rɛ	(in, on)
Kurux	:	-nu	(in, inside)
Sadri	:	-me	(in, on)

The English gloss in the parenthesis shows how these PPs can possibly be translated. But the English terms are far from satisfactory in representing the exact meaning of these terms. Nevertheless, they give a rough idea, a kind of starting point which can be built upon later.

Santhali Locative PPs:

The locative post-position /rɛ/ in Santhali is used after the head noun representing the Ground, i.e. it is suffixed to the noun. This PP conveys the sense of 'containing' and has been glossed in English as either 'in' or 'on', as can be seen below:

- | | | | |
|-------|---------|-------|----------------------|
| dibba | rɛ | buluŋ | minak'a |
| box | Loc | salt | be-present-inanimate |
| | PP (in) | | |

Box in salt be
The salt is in the box.
- | | | | | |
|------|-------|--------|---------------|-----|
| nua | kursi | -rɛ | durub' - | me |
| this | chair | LoC PP | sit - present | imp |

This chair on sit.

Sit on this chair.

3. dundu dɔy ɖaɾɪ dəndhɔr -rɛ mina k'a
 owl ToM tree hollow LoC PP be-present-inanimate
 owl tree hollow in be
 The owl is (sitting) in the hollow of the tree.

As is evident from the above examples, the locative PP/-rɛ/ has the function of locating on object in space. Santhali has very few case- marking and in the situation that calls for locative case-marking, the same post-position is used as can be seen from the sentences cited. This PP conveys the sense of one entity 'containing' or 'holding' another entity. There is no change in the form of the post-position depending on whether the 'contained' object is physically placed on the outer surface of the container (i.e. – 'on') on it is placed so that it is surrounded by the inner surface of the 'container' (i.e. 'in' on 'inside' in English). Moreover, the 'thing' or 'entity' contained fills (atleast) the most part of the container, if not the whole of it. A few more instances,

4. lutu -rɛ pəgnay hərəʔ okayda
 ear LoC PC ear-ring wear be-present perf
 ear in ear-ring has worn
 (She is) wearing ear-ring in the ear.
5. ɪɲ dɔ kəʈu -rɛ murdən ɪɲ hərə okayda
 Ip-Sg ToM finger LoC PP ring SM wear be-perf
 I finger in ring have worn.
 I've worn a ring on my finger.
6. jələpuri -rɛ ləukə cələk' kəna
 Sea LoC PP boat go be-present-cont.
 Sea in boat going.
 The boat is floating in the sea.
7. b^hit rɛ c^həba akao okada
 wall Loc PP photo hang be-perf.
 Wall on photo hung
 The photograph is hung on the wall.

8. daɾl rɛ ədiʝāt jɔ:v əkana
 tree loc many fruit be
 tree in many fruit be
 There is lots of fruits in the tree.

As can be seen in the examples (6-8), the meaning of the locative PP /-rɛ/ does not exactly convey the sense of ‘containing’. Here the figure is always on the outer surface of the Ground and these two entities are in touch with each other, physically. In all the three cases, the Figure occupies a rather small place on the outer surface of the Ground and it becomes apparent that the location of the Figure is given in a broad sense, without being very specific about it. The use of locative PP in a general and broad sense, to locate the Figure positioned either on the outer surface or surrounded by the inner – surface of the Ground is found in the other two languages under study as well. The discussion on them follows.

Locative post-positions in Kurux:

The locative PP in Kurux is /-nu/. It is used after the head noun denoting the Ground, as in Santhali. This PP also can be glossed in English as ‘on’ or ‘in’, i.e., it can be used with reference to an object which is physically positioned vertically on the outer surface of the Ground and in touch with it or positioned in such a way so as to be ‘surrounded’ by the inner surface of the Ground. As instances given below show,

9. bek ḍibba -nu rəʔɪ
 salt box LoC PP be
 salt box in be
 The salt is in the box.
10. a pədda -nu eŋhɛ səŋgəs rəʔdəs
 rem village LoC Ip-sg-GEN friend- be present-masc
 dem PP masc

That village in my friend lives
 My friend lives in that village

11. i pok^hra nu am mɔl a
 prox. pond LoC water neg be
 dem. PP

This pond is water not be
 There is no water in this pond.

12. kuk -nu mɔnjʔali
 head LoC PP pain-present-cont.
 Head in paining
 I've pain in my head (My head is paining)

13. iŋ a erpa -nu korʔon
 Ip-Sg rem. House LoC go inside-fut
 Dem. PP
 I that house in shall go.
 I shall go into that house.

All the above cases depict situations where the figure is 'contained' in the Ground. Even when the Figure is not physically 'contained', like in the sentence (10), it conveys the same sense. Also, the location specified is rather generalised. It is in a broad sense that the Figures spatial location is described, without being too specific. This is a feature prevalent in all the three languages, as the Sadri data below proves further. Only when there is a need to specify the location of the Figure in a precise manner, the languages use other grammatical structures like using "spatial expressions" (discussed later).

The following Sadri examples also follow the pattern seen earlier in Santhali & Kurux.

14. i b^hɔdra -me hɔmər ego mɔndir ahē
 prox. Forest LoC We-GEN one temple be
 dem. PP class

this forest in our one temple is
 We have a temple in (side) this forest.

15. r gaō -me mor səŋ rəhot rəhē
 prox. Village LoC PP Ip-sg-GEN friend stay
 be-past

this village in my friend stayed
 My friend stayed in this village.

16. hām-ke i mastarin -me viswās ahē
 we-dat. prox.dem. teacher LoC PP faith be

Us this teacher in faith be
 We have faith in this teacher.

The Sadri LoC PP /-me/ can be glossed in English as 'in'. It can also be glossed as 'on' meaning touching the outer surface of the Ground vertically, in the following sentence,

17. i kursi -me bəɪtʰ
 prox. dem. Chain LoC PP sit-imp.

This chair on sit.
 Sit on this chair.

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that when the locative post-positions are used on their own (contrary to the use of them as compound locative expressions) they are used to give a general location of the Figure in respect to the position of the Ground. More often than not it broadly gives the information that the Ground 'is' containing the Figure. This holds true in case of Santhali, Kurux and Sadri.

Compound Locative Expression:

The languages of Jharkhand under study here show a particular trend of using compound locative forms. A compound locative form is an expression where the locative PP is used in conjunction with locative adverbs and genitive PPs. This compound

form is named “spatial expression” in the current work. The schema for this “spatial expression” will be thus,

spatial expression =

GEN PP + adverb of place + locative PP

This “expression” is found in most of the languages here. So, it is hypothesised that this schema runs through all these languages. The claim comes from the fact apart from being used in the same schema, some languages sometimes show a preference to keep one of the components in the schema optional. But even in that case, no other component from outside the schema can replace the ones already in it. No other grammatical category can either enter the schema nor replace any of its components. This is what is meant by the statement above that all the three languages being considered here, i.e. Santhali, Kurux and Sadri, follow the above mentioned schema. The discussion that follows proves this point.

Locative adverbs, as can be seen in the proposed schema, are used in conjunction with locative PPs and the genitive PPs. They are rarely used separately, without these two categories. Exception is Kurux, where the number of cases where the locative adverb is used separately is far higher than either Santhali or Sadri. In Santhali and Sadri, locative adverbs are always used in conjunction with atleast one of the two categories, viz. Locative PP and genitive PP.

The Table-IV: gives a list of some of the spatial expressions in use in the three languages under study.

Table IV: Some spatial expression in Santhali, Kurux & Sadri

English gloss	Kurux	Sadri	Santhali
Behind	pəkke ^h xoxətəra xoxa	kər-pac ^h e, kər - u-pak ^h e	taynom rɛ, hənasa- rɛ həna - pastə
Infront of	mundvare	kər-i-par,kər- samne	səmaŋ-rɛ
Below	kɪ:ya	kər nice ker tərɛ	lətar-rɛ
On	məlya, nu	kər upre, me	rɛ, cət - rɛ, cetaŋ rɛ
In	nu	me	rɛ
Above	məiya	kər upre	cetaŋ rɛ,
Near by	hedde, gusən	lali, t ^h in, t ^h ina	t ^h ɛn
Side	kuṭi	kər kinare	pastə,
Left-side	ḍibba-təra	kər baye kinare	liŋga sɛ
Right side	tina-təra	kər ḍaina kinare	jəjəm sɛ
Inside	-nu, b ^h itre, məj ^h ɪ - nu	məj ^h e	b ^h itri rɛ gəjar rɛ
Under	kɪ:ya	kər nice	latar rɛ
Middle	məj ^h ɪ nu		təla rɛ, gəjar rɛ,

Spatial expressions in Santhali:

Santhali locative post position /-rɛ/ is very productive. It is used with the locative adverbs to create the rich system of Santhali spatial expressions. /-rɛ/ is used obligatorily with all the locative adverbs in Santhali whenever the location of a static object is being denoted. The locative PP is suffixed with the locative adverb to create the Santhali “spatial expressions”, though the use of genitive PP is some-what rare in Santhali. In the proposed sehema for spatial expressions for the languages of Jharkhand, Santhali has the following pattern,

20. uḍo gəḍi taoar cətan tɛ cəlak' kəna
 aeroplane tower above abl. go be-present-cont.
 Aeroplane tower above from going
 The aeroplane is (going) flying above the tower.

Some spatial expressions in Santhali

Santhali has a very rich and elaborate system of ‘spatial expressions’ and their use. They are discussed in detail below. Some of them have overlapping or adjacent semantic range and have been very often glossed in English with the same meaning. Such expressions have been grouped together here and discussed in detail.

/cɔ:t - rɛ/ vs /'cətan - rɛ/ : (above)

The two spatial expressions */cɔ:t- rɛ/* and */cətan-rɛ/* can be glossed in English as ‘above’. But they have distinct and separate areas of use in Santhali. Both of these expressions are used to describe the location of the Figure which is at a higher plane than the Ground on the vertical axis and these two are not in physical contact, with each other. The factors that seem to trigger the difference in their use, however, are spatial and distance – oriented.

/cɔ:t- rɛ/ is used when the Figure is distant from the Ground- on a vertical axis. On the other hand, when the Figure and the Ground are proximate, */cətan - rɛ/* is used. It must be however, remembered that the vertical distance in question is not conceived in an absolute term, but it is rather relative; relative to the size and shape of both the Figure and Ground. It can be seen in the following sentences,

21. mej cɔt -rɛ bolb minak'a
 table above LoC PP bulb be-inanimate
 table above bulb is

The bulb is (hanging) above the table.

22. buru cəʃ -rɛ rimil minak'a
 mountain above Loc PP cloud be-inanimate
 mountain above cloud is
 There is cloud above the mountain
23. uðə gəð rimil cɛtan -tɛ cəlak' kəna
 aeroplane cloud above abl. go be-presented-cont.
 Aeroplane cloud above from going.
 The aeroplane is flying above the cloud.
24. uðə gədi cɛtan -tɛ cɛrɛrɪ uðə cəlok' kəna
 aeroplane above abl. Bird fly go be-present-cont.
 Aeroplane above from bird flying
 The bird is flying above the aeroplane.
25. uðə- gədi ʃəoʊr cɛtan -tɛ cəlak' - kəna
 aeroplane tower above abl. go be-present-cont.
 Aeroplane tower above from going
 The aeroplane is (going) flying above the tower.
26. ɪŋ cə:t - tɛ cɛrɛrɪ uðə cəlak' kəna
 I-GEN. Above abl. Bird fly go be-present-cont.
 My above bird fly going.
 The bird is flying above me.

In sentence 21 and 22, the figure is static; and here the locative PP used is /-rɛ/. But in all the other examples, the Figure is moving, hence the use of /-tɛ/.

In the sentences (21), (22) and (26) the distance between the Figure and the Ground is considered more than that in the cases of sentence (23), (24) & (25). The distance between “the aeroplane” and “the cloud” is relatively less than that between “the aeroplane” and ‘a man’ standing on the ground. It is not the exact scalar distance that matters here rather the way that distance is conceived of.

It is noticeable that only when the speaker takes himself as the Ground and also mentions that, that the Ip sg takes the genitive

form and this '1p-sg-GEN' precedes the spatial expression in sentence (26). In this case, however, the pronoun has a declension for genitive case and it doesn't take a GEN PP. So, the presence of genitive form of the first person pronoun does not violate the rule of the proposed schema for the spatial expressions in this language.

The two spatial expressions /cɔ:t-rɛ/ and /cɛtan-rɛ/ can also be glossed as 'on' in English, that is when the Figure is positioned on a higher level on a vertical axis than the Ground and the Figure is in touch with the upper portion of the outer surface of the Ground. In such cases also these two 'spatial expressions' are used, as seen in the following cases.

27. buru cɔ:t -rɛ ɪnək' ɔrak' minak'a
 mountain on LoC PP I-GEN house be-inanimate
 mountain on my house is
 My house is on (top of) the mountain.
28. mɛj cɛtan -rɛ kəp minak'a
 table on LoC PP cup be-inanimate
 table on cup is
 The cup is on the table.

As is seen from the sentences from 21-28 above, the two spatial expressions can be used irrespective of the physical contact between the Figure and the Ground. What matters is not whether they are in contact but the fact that the Figure is at a higher level than the Ground on a vertical plane.

On the basis of the current investigation it can be argued that the use of these two spatial expressions depends on the position and orientation of the ego. In other words, they are deictic. /cɔ:t-rɛ/ or /cɔ:t-tɛ/ is used when the Figure or the Ground or both are distant from the speaker, on a vertical axis. In cases where the Figure or

the ground or both are proximate to the speaker on the same axis, /cɛtan-rɛ/ or /cɛtan-tɛ/ is used. For instance, in cases of the sentences from 23-25, the speaker was imagined to be placed inside the aeroplane. But in case of the sentence 22, the use of the spatial expression will remain the irrespective of whether the speaker is standing on that very mountain or not, perhaps because in either case, the cloud is far above the speaker.

'b^hitri - rɛ', 'tɔla - rɛ' and 'gɔjar-rɛ:-

The three spatial expressions is Santhali /b^hitri-rɛ/ and /tɔla-rɛ/ can be glossed as 'inside' in English. But each of them has a distinct area of meaning within this semantic field and hence they have separate areas of use as well.

b^hitri - rɛ

/b^hitri - rɛ/ can be glossed in English as 'inside'. In Santhali, this spatial expression is used with reference to a Ground that has a cavity or hollow in it and, as a result, can hold the Figure in it. In other words, when the Figure can be "physically inside" the Ground, this expression is used. Also, the Ground should have much larger dimensions than the Figure, as seen in the following instances,

29. uni -dɔ ɔrak' b^hitri -rɛ durub' kəna
 III-Sg ToM house inside LoC PP sit be-present-
 cont.
 He house inside sitting
 He is sitting inside the house.
30. k^hāncá b^hitri - rɛ kul minak'a
 cage inside LoC PP lion be-inanimate
 cage inside lion is
 The lion is inside the cage.

It is observed that when the Ground and the Figure donot differ much in their dimensions and the Figure 'fills' almost the whole of the Ground this spatial expression cannot be used. So, a sentence like the following is not acceptable in Santhali.

31. dundu - dɔy darɪ dɔndhɔr b^hitri rɛ ab'
 əkana
 owl ToM tree hollow inside Loc PP sit be-
 present-cont.
 Owl tree hollow inside sitting
 The owl is sitting in the hollow of the tree

Here only the locative PP/ɔɛ/ can be used. So, the correct way of saying the above sentence will be,

31. dundu - dɔy darɪ dɔndhɔr -rɛ minak'a
 owl ToM tree hollow LoC PP be-inanimate
 owl tree hollow in is
 the owl is inside the hollow of the tree.

/təla - rɛ/

This spatial expression is used in cases where the Figure is actually 'surrounded' by the Ground. It can be said to mean literally 'in the middle of' instead of 'inside'. Here, the Ground doesnot have a vacuum in it and hence cannot take the Figure 'physically inside', as

32. ona bir təla -rɛ pok^hra minak'a
 rem dem. Forest inside LoC PP Pond be-inanimate
 that forest inside pond is
 There is a pond inside that forest.

33. on -ku b^hir təla -rɛ uni minaya
 rem.dem pl crowd inside LoC PP IIP-sg be-
 human
 Those crowd inside he is.
 He is in the middle of that crowd.

34. hɔr dɔ bir təla -rɛ cəlao əkana

road ToM forest inside LoC PP go be-present
road forest inside goes
The road goes through the middle of the forest.

So, the situations where the Figure is 'surrounded' by the Ground, it calls for the use of the spatial expression /təla-rɛ/.

/gəjar-rɛ/

Another spatial expression which can be glossed in English as 'inside' is /gəjar-rɛ/. The use of this spatial expression needs more investigation though. It was found to be use by only two of the informants for the following situation.

35. nua bir gəjar -rɛ aleya miʔtɛn bəgga ɔrak'
minak'a
prox. Forest inside LoC PP We-GEN One worship
house be-
Dem. excl.
inanimate
this forest inside our one worship house is
We have a temple inside this forest.

/hənasarɛ/, /taynom-rɛ/, /kuɖəm-rɛ/ and /danəŋ - rɛ/ (behind);-

Santhali showcases a range of varying forms of spatial expressions all of which can be glossed in English approximately as 'behind'. The language has four spatial expressions roughly equivalent to this English gloss; they are: /hənasarɛ/, /taynom-rɛ/, /kuɖəm-rɛ/ and /danəŋ - rɛ/. These have separate areas of use which we discuss in detail below.

/hənasarɛ/

The spatial expression /həna-sa-rɛ/ literally means "on the other (invisible) side". The use of this term is dependent on the

speaker's position in relation to the Ground. The typical positional pattern of the speaker in relation to the Figure and the Ground which calls for the use of this expression is the one where the Ground comes between the speaker and the Figure and they all are in a straight line on the horizontal plane. The speaker has to also face the Ground. And in most of these cases, the Ground would hide the Figure from the speaker. The following examples would make the point clearer.

36. ona buru hənasa-re iɲək' ɔrak' minak'a
 rem mountain other -LoC PP IP-Sg GEN house be-inanimate
 dem side
 that mountain otherside in (my) house is
 My house is behind (on the other side of) that mountain.
37. b^hit hənasa -re tənki minak'a
 wall other side LoC PP tank be-inanimate
 Wall other side in tank is
 The tank is behind the wall.

According to the situation depicted in the sentences above, the mountain (36) and the wall (37) are in front of the speaker and the Figures in the respective cases are behind the Ground. The fact that the Ground is in front of the speaker is essential for the use of this spatial expression.

/taynom-rɛ/ ~ /tayom-rɛ/

This spatial expression also can be glossed in English as 'behind'; and this has a specific area of meaning and use. Like */hənasa-rɛ/*, this expression is dependent on the position and orientation of the speaker. The speaker's position in this case is the opposite of the previous example, the speaker should, in this case, have the Ground 'behind' himself instead of having it in front of him. That is the speaker should face the direction opposite to where the

Ground is. Even when the speaker himself acts as the Ground, the spatial expression /taynom-rɛ/ is used as in.

38. misera (iŋ) **taynom** -rɛ minaya
 elder sister I-GEN behind LoC PP be-human
 elder sister (my) behind is
 Elder sister is (standing) behind me.
39. ona tuppa -dɔ girjɔ orak' **taynom** -rɛ minak'a
 rem. cemeting ToM church house behind -LoC PP be-inanimate
 dem.
 that cemetery church-house behind is
 That cemetery is behind the church.

Here, in the first example (38), the speaker himself is the Ground and the Figure is behind him and in the second instance both the Ground (church) and the Figure (cemetery) are behind the speaker. Both of these situations call for the use of the spatial expression /taynom-rɛ/. In other words, /taynom-rɛ/ will be used when both the Figure and the Ground (if the speaker himself does not function as the Ground) are behind the speaker.

/kudəm - rɛ/

The spatial expression /kudəm - rɛ/ is comparable with /taynom-rɛ/ and /hənasə-rɛ/ in respect to the range of distance covered in the term. While both /hənasə-rɛ/ and /taynom-rɛ/ do not exactly specify the distance between the Figure and Ground, the term /kudəm-rɛ/ has a specific and limited range. To use this term, the Figure should be placed immediately behind the Ground. It does not depend on the position and orientation of the speaker. On the other hand, it is used, typically, with reference to the canonical 'back' or 'backside' of a building, i.e. the Ground should be something with intrinsic orientation, as can be seen in the sentence below,

40. ɔrak' kuɖəm -rɛ dari mɪnak'a
 house behind -LoC PP tree be-inanimate
 house just behind tree is
 The tree is just behind the house.

/kuɖəm - rɛ/ is one of the spatial expressions with rather limited use, may be because of its specialised area of meaning and use.

/danaŋ - rɛ/

/danaŋ-rɛ/ like the three other spatial expressions just discussed can be glossed in English as 'behind'. This expression is not very frequently used, as this can be used only in very specific areas with a particular type of Figure and Ground. This expression is used independent of the speakers' orientation. It has been noticed that this particular expression is generally used when the Ground doesnot have a very large dimension as compared to that of the Figure. The conditions are that the Ground cannot be anything like a building or a mountain. The situation would be such that the ground barely manages to 'hide' the figure'. The figure should preferably be + animate, though it is not obligatory.

For instance,

41. pusi -dɔ dari dɛnaŋ-rɛ minak'a
 cat ToM tree behind-LoC PP be-inanimate
 cat tree behind is
 The cat is behind the tree

As can be seen here, the Ground is a tree which barely manages to hide the cat behind. In cases of some animal hiding behind a door or other similar objects also the same spatial expression is used.

The sum up, out of the four spatial expressions in Santhali which can be glossed in English as 'behind', /hɔnasanɛ/ and /taynom-rɛ/ are inherently deictic as they depend on the position and orientation of the speaker for their interpretation. Even though the speaker doesnot (apparently) have the function of the Ground, the speaker's orientation decides the use of either of these two spatial expression. From this we can arrive at the decision that in those cases, there are two grounds having the function of a reference – point (i) the speaker and (ii) the 'mentioned' ground. Out of these two, the speaker, can be termed the "primary ground" and the second as the 'secondary ground'. The 'primary ground' need not be mentioned; it is understood as well as evident from the use of these expressions. Also, there might not be any need for a 'secondary ground' sometimes, still the some spatial expression will be used. In other words, the use of these two spatial expressions do not depend on the 'secondary ground' but only on the 'primary ground', and hence, are inherently deictic or ego-centered.

On the other hand /kuɖəm - rɛ/and /danaŋ - rɛ/ are not deietic. The use of these two not only donot depend on the speaker's orientations they also "cannot" be used deictically.

Table V: Some important Santhali spatial expressions

Deictic		Non-deictic	English gloss
Position of ego			
- proximate	cɔ:t - rɛ		On/above
+ proximate	cɛtan - rɛ		
Facing the ground	hɔnasa - rɛ	dɔnaŋ - rɛ	Behind
Facing away from the ground	taynom - rɛ	kuɖɛm - rɛ	
		tɔla - rɛ gəjar - rɛ b ^h tri - rɛ	Inside/in the middle of

Spatial Expressions in Kurux

Kurux also uses “spatial expressions”, but unlike Santhali the use of this expression is not frequent. Unlike Santhali, which has an obligatory use of locative forms comprising of a locative adverb and a locative post-position, Kurux locative PPs are used in a compound form only in specific cases, as will be illustrated below. In most cases, Kurux shows a preference for the use of locative adverbs and locative post-positions separately and independent of each other. The structure of Kurux spatial expressions differs slightly from that of Santhali, though it follows the same schema. In the described schema, Kurux has the following structure for its spatial expressions.

Spatial Expression –	GEN PP	+ adverb of place	+ Loc PP
Kurux	(hi)	+ adverb	+ nu
e.g.	hi	+ ki:ya	+ nu
	of	below	in
	below		

A few Kurux spatial expressions are,

(a) (hi) -mɔiya-nu
 GEN PP above LoC PP above

(b) (hi) pək^he -nu
 GEN PP behind LoC PP behind

(c) (hi) mɔi^h -nu
 GEN PP inside -LoC PP inside

The situation that calls for the use of spatial expression in Kurux are the ones that emphasise the proximity of the Figure and the Ground. It is when the location of an object is being specified rather than being broadly mentioned. In order to be specific that the Figure is rather proximate to the around, the locative post-position /-nu/ and the genitive post-position /hi/ are added to the adverb of location. Some of the examples are given here,

42. as mɔi a - nu rəh'dəs
 IIIp-sg masc. above LOC PP be-present - III p.sg. masc
 He above stays
 He stays (just) above (me).

43. a erpa ghorna məj^h- nu r əʔ₁
 rem. House Fence middle LoC be-present-non-masc.
 dem PP
 that house fence inside is
 That is inside the boundary fence.

44. A girija - erpa - Hi xoxa - nu məsra rəʔ₁
 rem. church house GEN behind LOC cemetery be-
 dem PP PP present-
 non-
 masc.

that church - house behind cemetery is
 The cemetery is behind the church.

45. berxa a -mən -hi kuti - nu rəʔ₁
 cat rem. dem tree GEN PP corner LOC PP be-present -non-
 masc.
 cat that tree corner is
 The cat is by the side of the tree.

46. a balti gēnda -hi xoxa - nu rə? ɪ
 rem. bucket ball GEN behind Loc be-present -non
 masc.
 dem PP PP
 that bucket ball behind is
 That bucket is immediately behind the ball.

47. ad ka:r -hi mundvare - nu ijiki rə?ɪ
 Illp.sg car -Gen PP front LOC PP stand be-present-Illp.sg.
 non-masc
 She car in front of standing.
 She is standing in front of the car.

As can be seen from the sentences above that in most of the cases the spatial expression comprises both the GEN-PP and the LOC-PP along with the adverb of place. And in all the cases, the proximity of the Figure to the Ground is emphasised. In the case of sentence (43), however, the GEN pp is not used. The reason might be that there cannot be any immediate inside of a boundary. In sentence (42), the ground is not mentioned, but it is understood that the speaker takes himself as the ground. When the speaker mentions himself as the ground, the lp-sg. will take the GEN marking as in the case below.

48. ad enɦe koti - nu ijiki rə?ɪ
 Illp-sg lp-sg-GEN side LOC PP stand be-present Illp. sg
 non-masc
 She my side standing
 She is standing by my side.

There is a crucial difference between Kurux and Santhali. The Santhali spatial expression comprises of locative adverb and locative post-position but in Kurux, in addition to these two categories the genitive post-position is also added. Moreover, Santhali cannot do away with the LOC PP whereas in Kurux it is optional and depends on the proximity between the Ground and the Figure. In a more generalised statement, Kurux acts differently; then only the locative adverb is used. Such cases donot use the spatial

expressions. Since the proximity of the Figure to the Ground is not taken into consideration, neither the GEN PP nor the LOC PP is used. Like,

49. a pərtə - məiya bədali rəʔl
 rem mountain above clod be-present-IIIp-sg-non-masc
 dem
 that mountain above cloud is
 There is clod above that mountain
50. i pustək i tebəl məiya rəhca
 prox book prox.dem. table on be-past IIIp.sg-non-masc
 this book this table on was
 This book was on this table.
51. as a erpa b^hitre ukka rəh'dəs
 III p.sq rem house inside sit be-present-IIIp.sq.masc.
 masc
 dem.
 he that house inside sitting
 He is sitting inside that house.

The sentences above depict situation where the location of the Figure in respect to that of the ground is mentioned. But there is no hint as to the physical proximity between these two entities and hence in all the cases only the locative adverb has been used and not the spatial expression that comprises of GEN PP as well as LOC PP with locative adverbs.

The Kurux locative adverbs are not inherently deictic (other than the deictic adverbs like 'here', 'there' which will be discussed later). These adverbs can be used deictically but only when the speaker takes himself as the Ground and localises the Figure in space thereby.

Sadri

Sadri locative adverbs or the adverbs of place are used with genitive post-position unlike Kurux, where the adverbs of place can

Sentence (53) emphasises the position of the person ('U') in the middle of the crowd and in the other two sentences the proximity between the Figure and the Ground is highlighted.

But when the proximity of the Figure to the Ground or the location of the Figure itself is not highlighted, the locative post position /-me/ is not used. In such cases, the locative adverb, with the genitive post-position preceding it, locates the Figure in space. Consider the following,

55. U pəhar -kər pač^he mor g^hər ahē
 rem. mountain GEN behind 1p-sg-GEN house
 be-present
 dem. PP
 that mountain of behind my house is.
 My house is behind that mountain.
56. pəhar - kər upre gač^h ahē
 mountain GEN PP on tree be-present
 mountain on tree is
 There are trees on the mountain.
57. U ka:r - ker pič^he thərhai ahē
 11p-sq car GEN PP behind stand be-present - cont.
 S/he car of behind standing
 S/he is standing behind the car.

That the Figure 'U' in sentence (57) is located somewhere behind the car (the sentence (57) gives only this information). Nothing specific is mentioned about her position nor is her location emphasised. Hence, the LOC PP is not used. However, the GEN pp is obligatory in Sadri, in all the situations. The use of the GEN PP doesnot depend on the emphasis given on the Figure's position or its proximity to the Ground.

The discussed languages, show that the locative post-positions and the locative adverbs are very often inseparably related. It is only in Kurux that the adverbs of place can be used on

their own. But in Santhali, the locative adverbs cannot be used without the locative PPs, though the locative PPs can be used independently. And in case of Sadri, the GEN PP is indispensable with the locative adverbs although the locative PP is not obligatory.

Among these languages, only Santhali has locative adverbs which are purely deictic in nature. The reference to the speaker's position and orientation is inherent in them, or rather, they acquire their meaning with reference to the speakers position. Apart from these, Santhali also has a number of other locative adverbs (or spatial expressions) which are not inherently deictic, and hence, can be used both deictically and non-deictically.

In Kurux and Sadri, the locative adverbs (and / on spatial expressions) are not deictic by nature and it depends on the context to decide whether they can be interpreted deictically.

A number of objects and entities have an intrinsic orientation, i.e. they have an inherent front-back, left-right upper-lower parts etc. Buildings, cars, animals are some such entities. When the use and interpretations of spatial expressions anchor on the intrinsic orientation of such entities rather than that of the speaker, it is said to be used non-deictically.

For example, in the following Kurux sentence.

eghɛ səŋgiyəs	-hi	ka:r	laibreri	-	munvare	ijiki	rəʔ ₁
I-GEN friend (m)	GEN	car	library	front	stand	be	
	PP						

My friend's car is parked in front of the library.

The reference - point is the library and not the speaker. As a result, the use of the locative adverb 'mundvare' is non-deictic in this case.

Fillmore ('82) says "spatial deixis is that aspect of deixis which involves referring to the locations in space of the communication act participants; it is that part of the spatial semantics which takes the bodies of the communication act participants as significant reference objects for spatial specification." And this happens when one is referring to a location in reference to an object which does not have any intrinsic orientation. In such cases, the location is ascribed in a relative term, taking the speaker's orientation as the 'Ground' or the reference-point. Consider the following Sadri sentence,

pətəi	genda -	ker		upre	ahē
Leaf	ball	GEN PP	on	be	
The leaf is on the ball.					

Here the reference is to a ball which does not have an inherent 'up' and it is decided by the speaker's orientation.

Similarly, Santhali,

buru	həna	sa -	nə	ətu	minak'a
mountain	other	side	LOC PP	village	be - inanimate

The village is behind (on the other side of) the mountain.

The spatial expressions can be used deictically even with 'Grounds' with intrinsic orientation. In that case it will depend on the context whether the locative is deictic. The interpretation as well as the use of deictic expressions depend on the context of use and they vary from one language to another.

Languages vary according to the "deictic strategies" applied. The deictic strategies show the way a particular linguistic community perceives the world around him in general and the deictic - field in particular. So, the study of the deictic system of a language can provide some insight into the cognitive procedures of a certain linguistic community.

Among the three languages studied here, Santhali has the most elaborate and unique system of defining the location of particular object in space and this complexity is not seen in either Kurux or Sadri.

The three languages, Santhali, Kurux and Sadri while differing on the grammaticalisation of spatial deixis, follow the relative method in spatial cognition which takes the speaker's body and his position and orientation to assign deictic meaning to a category. These languages do not take the absolute system of cardinal directions as the basis of deictic specifications, while Santhali has locative adverbs with inherent deictic meaning, other languages apply different methods to use their inherently non-deictic adverbs deictically. None of these languages is found to have the natural environment as intrinsic to their deictic vocabulary, i.e., there is no lexicon in any of the languages being studied here that typically use the items of nature surrounding them, like river, mountain etc in their essential deictic vocabulary.

ADVERBIAL DEICTICS:-

Adverbial deictics might be taken as a subsection within the grammatical category of locative adverbs. The locative adverbs denote the location of an object in question in a spatial term. They refer to a place in space and need not be inherently deictic though they can be used deictically. On the other hand, adverbial deictics or the deictic adverbs have the function of locating an object in space in relation to the location of the speaker and/or addressee's location in a speech-event.

Languages differ on the division of degrees of distance as reflected in their system of adverbial deictics. Many languages show

a two-way divisions of deictic adverbs in the line of proximal - distal distinction. Some languages, on the other hand, have more than two forms of adverbial deictics. In such cases, it has been noted that the adverbial deictic category of 'there' will be further divided into various degrees of distance, as 'distance' is conceived of in that particular language. The proximal deictic, however, is hardly found to be further divided; languages tend to have only one 'here' even when they have a number of 'there'. In the languages under discussion [Santhali, Kurux and Sadri] also this holds true.

The languages under study show different patterns of adverbial deictics in their deictic system. While Santhali apparently has a three - way distance - oriented system, both Kurux and Sadri show a two - way contrast. None of these languages differentiate between horizontal and vertical distance in the use of deictic adverbs, in other words, only distance in general is relevant - in these cases, not the axes.

The following table represents the deictic adverbs in the three languages.

Table:VI: Deictic Adverbs in Santhali, Kurux and Sadri

Santhali	Kurux	Sadri	English gloss
nɔndɛ	isən	hīa	'here'
	i-gusən	i-t ^h ən	proximate
ɔndɛ	asən	hūa	'there'
		ut ^h ən	
handɛ			there (further)

nɔndɛ-kʰɔn	istleke	hĩa - se	from her (source)
ɔndɛ-həbɪc	a-geccʰa	hũa-tək	till there (goal)

Santhali adverbial deictics:-

Santhali adverbial deictics have three forms: /nɔndɛ/ (here), /ɔndɛ/ (there) and /handɛ/ (over there). Out of these three, the first, /nɔndɛ/ is used as the proximate deictic adverb and the other two as the distant ones. Previous works on Santhali take the position that Santhali has a two-way division in its use of 'distant' deictics: the roots for them being /on -/ and /han - / respectively, where /han -/ refers to a place much further removed. But during the investigation it was noticed that /ɔndɛ/ and /handɛ/ are used interchangeably. For a location that is distant from the speaker, both /ɔndɛ/ and /handɛ/ can be used. There is no exclusive domain of use for any of these two terms.

Consider the following examples.

- (a) un - ku - hɔr - dɔ ɔndɛ - ku ərisida kikkiyə
that pl man ToM there pl noise shout

Those people are shouting there (ver far).

- (b) pɔ:l dɔ səlɛl tʰɔŋra nɔndɛ dɛhɔyɪa
Paul ToM match - box here keep-past
Paul kept the match box here

- (c) gədi - dɔ nɔndɛ hɛ? kətɛ tiguina
car ToM here coming stand - part
coming here, the car stopped.

(d).	nɔndɛ - na	kursi - rɛ	durub'mɛ	handɛ	atu-	bin
	durub'na					
	here	particular	chair LOC PP	sit-imp.	there	neg.
	sit					

Sit on the chair here, not there.

In the sentence (a), the adverb /ɔndɛ/ is used to refer to a place far - off, beyond the field of visibility. Whereas, in sentences (d), /handɛ/ is used to refer to a place in the same room where the speaker is sitting. Whereas the established theory would have it the other way, i.e. /handɛ/ for the furthest placed object and /ɔndɛ/ for a slightly removed object. Incidentally the use of /ɔndɛ/ and /handɛ/ follow that pattern as well. On the basis of these examples, we can argue that Santhali no longer puts to use the three-way distinction of distance, or rather the distinction between the two terms for distal category has been neutralised.

Kurux adverbial deictics:-

Kurux uses a two-way division in its deictic system and it is true in case of adverbials also. Kurux has two adverbial deictics 'isən' and 'asən' which can be glossed in English as 'here' and 'there' respectively. Kurux also uses 'i-gusən' for 'here':

(g)	nin	isən	okka	asən	məl - a
	You	here	sit	there	neg - do

Sit here, not there.

(h).	isən	gɔt̩tɛ -nu	dumba	nindki	rəʔɪ
	here	all LOC PP	wasp	cover	be.(- masc)
			This place is full of wasps.		

- (i) a:sən eŋhē erpa rəʔɪ
 there 1p-sg-GEN. housebe. (-masc)
 My house is there (talking about a place far off).
- (j) laibreri a:sən nəʔɪ
 library there be. (-masc)
 library is there.

As is evident - from the above example, Kurux employs two adverbial deictics for proximal and distal location respectively.

Sometimes term like,

i -gusən

this place = here

emhē - təra

we-gen side = our place = here

are used to denote the place proximate to the speaker in a context. But these terms donot fall under the category of adverbs, though they convey the same meaning. May be the Kurux adverbial deictics need farther investigation as they seem to be more in the nature of "demonstrative adjective +noun (meaning place".

Sadri adverbial deictics:-

Sadri also uses the dichotomous use of adverbs to denote various locations deictically, and they can be glossed in English 'here' and 'there' respectively.

The two adverbs are,

hiā : here

hūa : there

Apart from these two, Sadri speakers also use two more terms for the same situation and to convey the same meaning. They are,

i tʰɔn

this place =here

u tʰɔn

that place =there

But like in kurux, these terms donot come under the category of adverbs. So, Sadri adverbial deictics will be restricted to the use of 'hia' and 'hua' only

Examples

(k) pɔ:l sɔləɪ- ke hūa rəkkʰɪ
paul matchbox Acc. their keep-fut
Paul will keep the matchbox there.

(l) u hīa murukʰ gul kərotʰɛ
he here very noise do-present-cont.
He is creating too much of noise here.

It is clear from the above discussion that there is a sort of homogeneous pattern among the three languages in their use of adverbial deictics. Santhali, while retaining many of its unique systems, has gone through some changes as well, albeit under the influence of the other languages surrounding it. Santhali is more of a

'closed' community in the sense that they live in large groups in a place and also move in groups. Moreover, there is a certain degree of conscious effort on the part of the members of this community to retain the 'purity' of their language. However, the very nature of any language is to change, Santhali too cannot be kept in a water-tight compartment and hence, is open to change due to influence from other language, and areal pressures.

5

Conclusion

The previous chapters discuss in detail the spatial deixis in the three languages of Jharkhand. As is seen, spatial deixis is encoded in natural languages in various grammatical categories. These categories are demonstratives, locative post-positions and locative adverbs. The most commonly used grammatical category that carries spatial deictic information is the demonstrative. Demonstratives include demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives; these two categories are inter-related and can be said to form an integrated whole. The demonstrative pronouns and third person personal pronouns are essentially deictic and encode certain locational and descriptive information about the referent in their lexical structure. And as we have seen languages vary along these lines of information encoding. In the locative informations, languages encode degrees of distance based on the basis of the primary factor of distance with some other criteria superimposed on it. These criteria may include visibility, audibility etc.

The findings of the present work show that the languages under study exhibit a kind of homogenous pattern as far as the locational information in the demonstrative pronouns are concerned. Though in respect to descriptive information, they differ from one another. All the three languages are found to encode only two degrees of distance in their demonstrative systems; proximate and remote, and none of them use the superimposed qualities of visibility or audibility as distinguishing factor in assigning the degrees of distance.

The current work differs considerably from the findings and ideas presented in older works in the area. Reddy (1990) mentions Santhali as having a three-way division of distance. The grammar

books on Santhali also show this language as having three-way system with the axis of visibility superimposed on it. The work done in this dissertation, however, shows that this system of the division of distance in Santhali is on the decline. Santhali is found to use a two-way division of distance – proximate and remote. The third category of distance, the farthest from the speaker, is not used any more as a category different from the more general ‘distant’ category. The morpheme, used exclusively for the third category previously, is still in use, but it has lost its original meaning in colloquial Santhali. Now, both the terms /ona/ and /həna/ are used to designate some entity which is “not proximate to the speaker”, i.e., which is ‘far’, without any farther division in that category. These two terms can be used in free variation to designate the same referent. They can be said to be in a redundant stage. Another change towards simplification can be seen in the omission of the sets of demonstratives for visible/invisible and audible/inaudible referents in colloquial speech. This neutralisation of the two demonstrative forms in Santhali can be said to reflect the changing scenario of this language.

Again, Emeneau mentions Kurux having a three-term system of demonstratives with the divisions – proximate, intermediate and remote. But the intermediate form is not found in Kurux anymore. And unlike Santhali, even the term is not in use to designate some other referent. Kurux was found to be having only two-way division of distance – proximate and remote – without any other superimposed criterion of distinction. There are two morphemes in use for the two divisions of distance; /i-/ for proximate and /a-/ for remote. The morpheme previously used for the ‘intermediate’ /hu-/ range was not found to be used at all.

Sadri also has a two-way distance – oriented system in its deictic categories. The visibility/audibility axis donot play any role in the demonstrative system of this language. On the locational front Sadri demonstratives encode only distance without regarding concepts such as audibility, visibility etc.

In all the three languages, the demonstratives are ego-centric. In a conversation, the speaker takes himself as the ego and assigns location to an object, deictically, in relation to his position. None of the languages under study were found to encode information about the addressee's spatial location nor do they have separate demonstratives to encode that information.

The two nearest neighbours of Kurux from the Dravidian family of languages are Malto and Telugu. These two languages have two-way system of demonstratives. "The third person pronouns in Malto mark two degrees of deixis: proximal marked by i:- and distal, marked by a:-. The distal forms are semantically unmarked. (Steever 1997: 367)". Telugu has a two-way distinction of distance; proximal and distal. Steever mentions that the number of such division is three in both Tamil and Brahui. Both of these languages are spoken in areas away from the zone of language-convergence in the central India. Though it cannot be said conclusively, but we can certainly hypothesize that languages such as Tamil, Brahui etc. maintained their original demonstrative structure because of their geographical distance from the heart of the convergence area. The existence, in a number of other Dravidian languages, of the demonstrative system that recognise three or more divisions of spatial distance also point in the same

direction. Steever attested the view that the South-Dravidian or Proto-Dravidian languages show a three-way division of distance.

The languages other than Santhali from the Munda family very often have a complicated structure of demonstratives, with the recognised division of distance ranging upto five (in Kharia). These languages utilise a secondary quality superimposed on the primary dimension of distance while determining such divisions. The number of languages belonging to the Munda family of languages is rather large in number than the languages of the Dravidian family in the Jharkhand region. With that Santhals are considered a 'closed' community as compared to the Kurux in the sense that they resist 'outside influence' on their life, culture and language consciously. There is a general feeling of need among the Santahals to protect & preserve their languages. The rate of bilingualism among the Santhals is much lesser than that among the Kurux speakers. All these factors might be responsible for the languages of Munda family including Santhali to retain their language-specific features to a great extent. Still, Santhali has started showing traces of change.

Extensive bilingualism is prevalent among the speakers of various languages in the Jharkhand region. Most of the speakers of the so called 'tribal' languages are bilinguals in their mother tongue and an Indo-Aryan speech – form. In most cases, Sadri is used as a lingua-franca among the various speech-communities. Most of the Kurux speakers are biliinguals in Kurux and Sadri, thus leaving enough room for interference. The rate of bilingualism is not so high among the Santhali speakers. But for practical purpose, they also have to communicate with others through either Sadri or some other local variety of an Indo-Aryan language. This is the reason that the influence of Indo-Aryan languages is more pronounced on these languages. Under this areal pressure, it can be said that there is a

change towards homogenisation in the demonstrative system of the languages discussed. This change is reflected in the structure of demonstrative adjectives and locative adverbs as well. It can be noted here, that though the languages are undergoing changes in respect to the locational information encoded into their demonstrative system, as far as the descriptive informations are concerned, languages have mostly retained their individual way of integrating information, & thus differ widely from one another in this front.

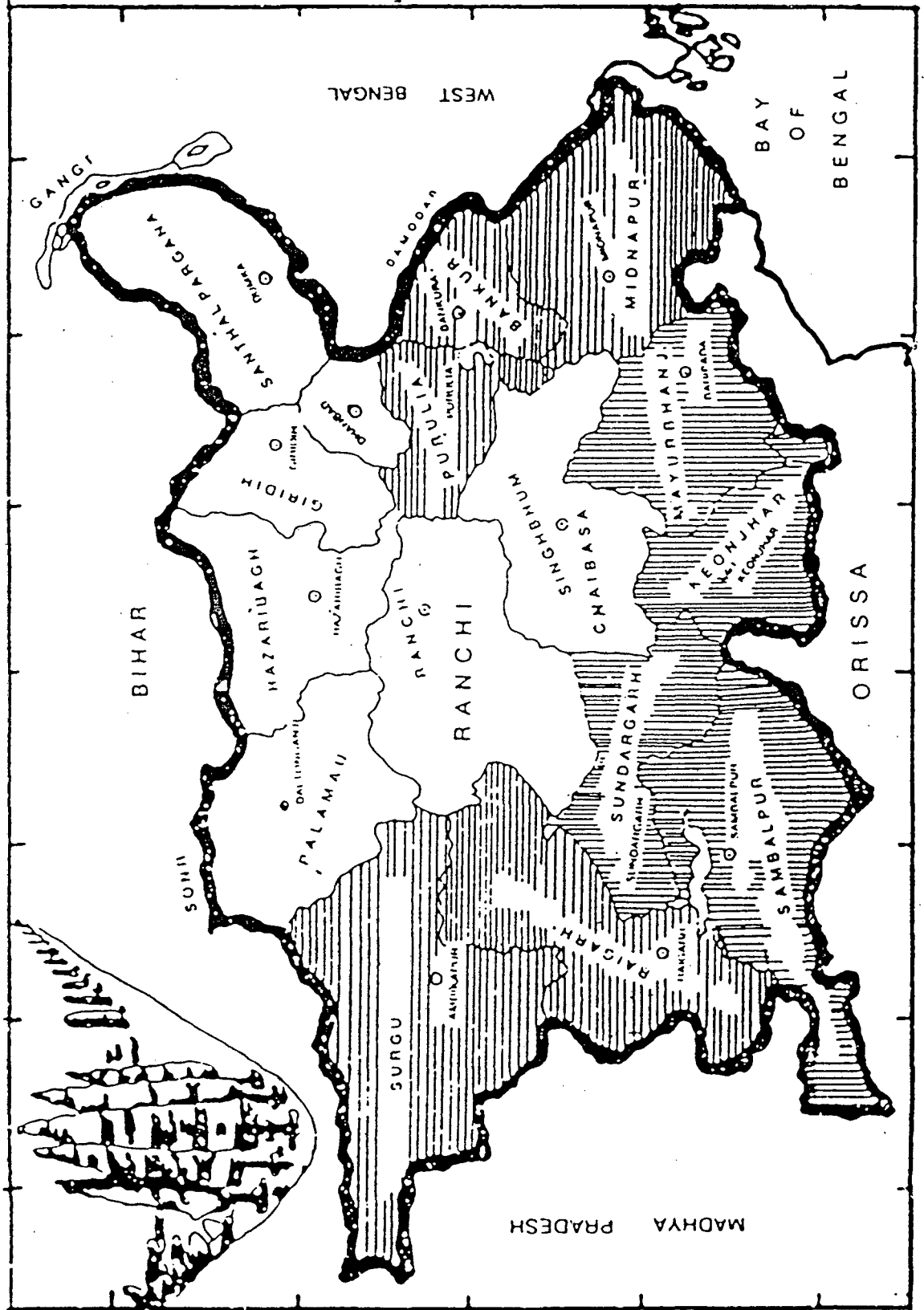
The use of 'spatial expressions' were rather prevalent in all the languages under study. The situations that call for the use of such expressions generally follow a similar pattern. The spatial expressions, in most cases, are not inherently deictic though they can be used in a way for them to have a deictic interpretation. Only Santhali has a small number of inherently deictic spatial expressions.

To sum up, the study of spatial deixis in the languages of Jharkhand bring to light interesting similarities among them though in certain cases, they have maintained their language-specific features. These similarities might be attributed to the universal trait in the deictic systems of the languages of the world. The other contributive factor, in our case, is the areal pressure present in the micro- linguistic area that is Jharkhand. The study of deixis, in all its intriguing characteristics and keeping in mind the various fields of linguistics that converge into it, is very often the "path less travelled" by linguists, more so in the Indian linguistic situation. It can open up new vistas of knowledge in fields beyond linguistics and can serve humanity as a whole.

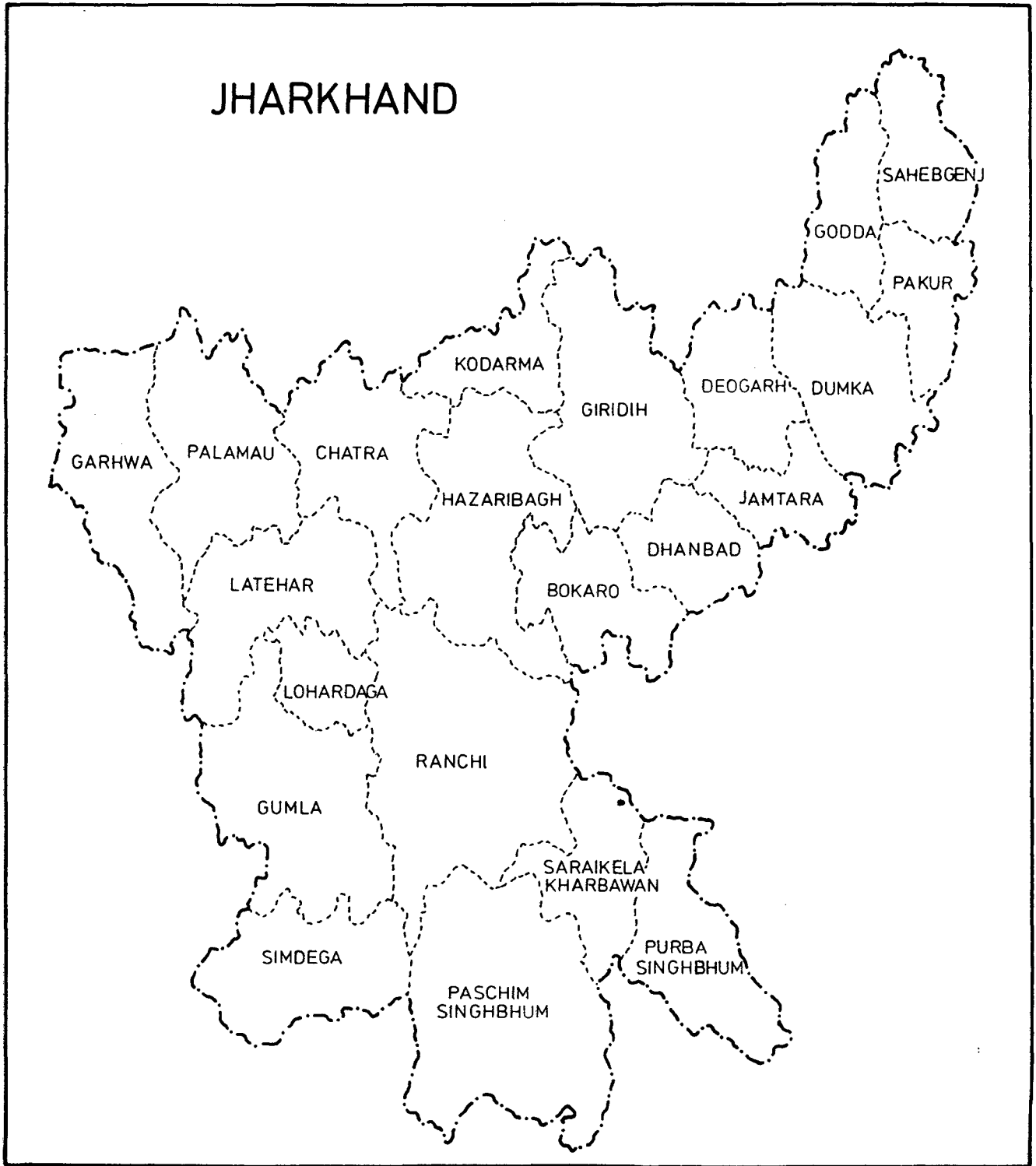
Appendix

JHARKHAND

PROPOSED



Source : Abbi, A, ed. "Languages of Tribal and Indigenous Peoples of India". 1997



Source : Abbi, A - "Forms and Functions of Tribal Languages" in B. Kachru, eds (forthcoming)
&
S.N. Sridhar

**C-7 PART A(ii): DISTRIBUTION OF THE MOTHER TONGUES (HAVING A MINIMUM OF 10,000 SPEAKERS IN INDIA)
INCLUDED UNDER THE 18 SCHEDULED LANGUAGES - INDIA, STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES - 1991**

Language/ Mother Tongue/ India/State/Union Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
28 Daman & Diu	171	105	66	130	78	52	41	27	14
29 Delhi	23,955	13,013	10,942	1,169	628	541	22,786	12,385	10,401
30 Pondicherry	87	45	42	5	5	-	82	40	42

42. SADAN/SADRI (Mother Tongue)

INDIA	1,569,066	795,308	7,773,758	1,475,830	747,466	728,364	93,236	47,842	45,394
1 Andhra Pradesh	7	5	2	-	-	-	7	5	2
2 Arunachal Pradesh	2,423	1,366	1,057	2,370	1,336	1,034	53	30	23
3 Assam	104,567	53,733	50,834	103,864	53,339	50,525	703	394	309
4 Bihar	521,590	264,942	256,648	484,611	245,876	238,735	36,979	19,066	17,913
5 Goa	21	13	8	19	13	6	2	-	2
6 Gujarat	17	11	6	9	6	3	8	5	3
7 Haryana	5	5	-	-	-	-	5	5	-
8 Himachal Pradesh	303	219	84	240	175	65	63	44	19
9 Karnataka	11	11	-	11	11	-	-	-	-
10 Kerala	4	3	1	-	-	-	4	3	1
11 Madhya Pradesh	306,363	154,044	152,319	303,358	152,498	150,860	3,005	1,546	1,459
12 Maharashtra	72	45	27	14	12	2	58	33	25
13 Manipur	538	508	30	538	508	30	-	-	-
14 Meghalaya	27	18	9	7	4	3	20	14	6
15 Mizoram	140	124	16	128	118	10	12	6	6
16 Nagaland	293	253	40	221	207	14	72	46	26
17 Orissa	248,089	123,854	124,235	199,929	99,425	100,504	48,160	24,429	23,731
18 Punjab	15	13	2	7	7	-	8	6	2
19 Rajasthan	9	4	5	1	1	-	8	3	5
20 Sikkim	47	26	21	47	26	21	-	-	-
21 Tamil Nadu	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
22 Tripura	149	83	66	149	83	66	-	-	-
23 Uttar Pradesh	524	345	179	354	201	153	170	144	26
24 West Bengal	371,655	188,950	182,705	368,963	187,548	181,415	2,692	1,402	1,290
25 Andaman & Nicobar Isl	12,166	6,723	5,443	10,990	6,072	4,918	1,176	651	525
26 Chandigarh	7	2	5	-	-	-	7	2	5
27 Delhi	23	7	16	-	-	-	23	7	16

43. SANORI (Mother Tongue)

INDIA	11,537	5,841	5,696	11,531	5,837	5,694	6	4	2
1 Himachal Pradesh	11,358	5,751	5,607	11,357	5,750	5,607	1	1	-
2 Maharashtra	5	3	2	-	-	-	5	3	2
3 Tripura	50	24	26	50	24	26	-	-	-
4 West Bengal	124	63	61	124	63	61	-	-	-

44. SIRMAURI (Mother Tongue)

INDIA	18,280	9,702	8,578	17,945	9,453	8,492	335	249	86
1 Himachal Pradesh	18,218	9,683	8,535	17,884	9,435	8,449	334	248	86
2 Mizoram	4	2	2	4	2	2	-	-	-
3 Uttar Pradesh	58	17	41	57	16	41	1	1	-

C-7 PART B(ii): DISTRIBUTION OF THE MOTHER TONGUES (HAVING A MINIMUM OF 10,000 SPEAKERS IN INDIA) INCLUDED UNDER THE 96 NON-SCHEDULED LANGUAGES - INDIA, STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES - 1991

Language/ Mother Tongue/ India/State/Union Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
13 Mizoram	26	21	5	11	10	1	15	11	4
14 Nagaland	14,626	7,571	7,055	13,377	6,903	6,474	1,249	668	581
15 Punjab	9	7	2	3	2	1	6	5	1
16 Rajasthan	6	3	3	-	-	-	6	3	3
17 Sikkim	11	2	9	11	2	9	-	-	-
18 Tamil Nadu	3	1	2	-	-	-	3	1	2
19 Tripura	1,173	592	581	1,165	586	579	8	6	2
20 Uttar Pradesh	5	3	2	-	-	-	5	3	2
21 West Bengal	32	16	16	23	7	16	9	9	-
22 Chandigarh	3	3	-	-	-	-	3	3	-
23 Delhi	10	10	-	-	-	-	10	10	-

2. Total of other Mother Tongues with less than 10,000 speakers in India grouped under the above Language

INDIA	5,752	2,944	2,808	4,847	2,455	2,392	905	489	416
1 Assam	1,174	624	550	331	172	159	843	452	391
2 Karnataka	3	1	2	-	-	-	3	1	2
3 Maharashtra	5	2	3	-	-	-	5	2	3
4 Manipur	927	495	432	920	489	431	7	6	1
5 Meghalaya	3,507	1,758	1,749	3,461	1,731	1,730	46	27	19
6 Orissa	136	64	72	135	63	72	1	1	-

50 KURUKH/ORAOON (Language)

1. KURUKH/ORAOON (Mother Tongue)

INDIA	1,417,856	714,433	703,423	1,319,499	664,245	655,254	98,357	50,188	48,169
1 Andhra Pradesh	8	2	6	-	-	-	8	2	6
2 Arunachal Pradesh	967	533	434	899	495	404	68	38	30
3 Assam	54,202	27,806	26,396	53,491	27,424	26,067	711	382	329
4 Bihar	681,260	344,429	336,831	615,166	310,813	304,353	66,094	33,616	32,478
5 Goa	2	2	-	1	1	-	1	1	-
6 Haryana	8	5	3	-	-	-	8	5	3
7 Himachal Pradesh	440	296	144	377	263	114	63	33	30
8 Karnataka	17	11	6	4	2	2	13	9	4
9 Kerala	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
10 Madhya Pradesh	393,104	194,146	198,958	380,913	187,968	192,945	12,191	6,178	6,013
11 Maharashtra	1,900	992	908	1,752	921	831	148	71	77
12 Manipur	141	114	27	140	113	27	1	1	-
13 Meghalaya	91	59	32	52	29	23	39	30	9
14 Mizoram	77	70	7	77	70	7	-	-	-
15 Nagaland	248	155	93	199	107	92	49	48	1
16 Orissa	80,681	40,427	40,254	69,386	34,772	34,614	11,295	5,655	5,640
17 Punjab	14	12	2	6	4	2	8	8	-
18 Rajasthan	16	13	3	9	8	1	7	5	2
19 Sikkim	17	10	7	16	9	7	1	1	-
20 Tamil Nadu	6	3	3	-	-	-	6	3	3
21 Tripura	4,472	2,281	2,191	4,426	2,267	2,161	44	14	30

C-7 PART B(ii): DISTRIBUTION OF THE MOTHER TONGUES (HAVING A MINIMUM OF 10,000 SPEAKERS IN INDIA) INCLUDED UNDER THE 96 NON-SCHEDULED LANGUAGES - INDIA, STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES - 1991

Language/ Mother Tongue/ India/State/Union Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
22 Uttar Pradesh	74	37	37	69	35	34	5	2	3
23 West Bengal	190,612	97,906	92,706	184,083	94,338	89,745	6,529	3,568	2,961
24 Andaman & Nicobar Isl	9,252	5,013	4,239	8,417	4,597	3,820	835	416	419
25 Chandigarh	7	3	4	-	-	-	7	3	4
26 Delhi	234	102	132	9	4	5	225	98	127
27 Lakshadweep	5	5	-	5	5	-	-	-	-

2. Total of other Mother Tongues with less than 10,000 speakers in India grouped under the above Language

INDIA	8,762	4,313	4,449	7,805	3,815	3,990	957	498	459
1 Andhra Pradesh	46	24	22	46	24	22	-	-	-
2 Bihar	661	347	314	646	334	312	15	13	2
3 Himachal Pradesh	11	4	7	11	4	7	-	-	-
4 Madhya Pradesh	721	354	367	702	340	362	19	14	5
5 Maharashtra	283	142	141	182	85	97	101	57	44
6 Manipur	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
7 Meghalaya	6	3	3	-	-	-	6	3	3
8 Nagaland	41	31	10	28	19	9	13	12	1
9 Orissa	4,677	2,230	2,447	4,606	2,193	2,413	71	37	34
10 Rajasthan	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-
11 Sikkim	50	23	27	50	23	27	-	-	-
12 Tamil Nadu	4	3	1	-	-	-	4	3	1
13 Tripura	3	-	3	3	-	3	-	-	-
14 Uttar Pradesh	13	7	6	1	1	-	12	6	6
15 West Bengal	2,221	1,133	1,088	1,529	792	737	692	341	351
16 Andaman & Nicobar Isl	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
17 Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
18 Delhi	21	10	11	-	-	-	21	10	11

51 LAHAULI (Language)

1. LAHAULI (Mother Tongue)

INDIA	21,907	10,980	10,927	20,624	10,250	10,374	1,283	730	553
1 Haryana	4	3	1	4	3	1	-	-	-
2 Himachal Pradesh	21,891	10,970	10,921	20,618	10,246	10,372	1,273	724	549
3 Uttar Pradesh	3	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	-
4 Delhi	9	5	4	-	-	-	9	5	4

2. Total of other Mother Tongues with less than 10,000 speakers in India grouped under the above Language

INDIA	120	70	50	51	29	22	69	41	28
1 Arunachal Pradesh	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
2 Himachal Pradesh	5	2	3	5	2	3	-	-	-
3 Kerala	11	6	5	-	-	-	11	6	5
4 Maharashtra	70	38	32	37	21	16	33	17	16
5 Rajasthan	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
6 Tamil Nadu	19	10	9	7	4	3	12	6	6
7 Uttar Pradesh	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-

C-7 PART B(ii): DISTRIBUTION OF THE MOTHER TONGUES (HAVING A MINIMUM OF 10,000 SPEAKERS IN INDIA) INCLUDED UNDER THE 96 NON-SCHEDULED LANGUAGES - INDIA, STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES - 1991

Language/ Mother Tongue/ India/State/Union Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

80 SANGTAM (Language)

1. SANGTAM (Mother Tongue)

INDIA	47,454	24,531	22,923	43,854	22,630	21,224	3,600	1,901	1,699
1 Maharashtra	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
2 Manipur	3	2	1	-	-	-	3	2	1
3 Meghalaya	4	3	1	-	-	-	4	3	1
4 Nagaland	47,440	24,521	22,919	43,854	22,630	21,224	3,586	1,891	1,695
5 West Bengal	6	4	2	-	-	-	6	4	2

2. Total of other Mother Tongues with less than 10,000 speakers in India grouped under the above Language

INDIA	7	4	3	7	4	3	-	-	-
1 Nagaland	7	4	3	7	4	3	-	-	-

81 SANTALI (Language)

1. SANTALI (Mother Tongue)

INDIA	4,915,808	2,498,278	2,417,530	4,726,222	2,397,475	2,328,747	189,586	100,803	88,783
1 Andhra Pradesh	41	22	19	7	6	1	34	16	18
2 Arunachal Pradesh	1,352	968	384	1,316	949	367	36	19	17
3 Assam	134,663	69,831	64,832	133,879	69,412	64,467	784	419	365
4 Bihar	2,351,129	1,195,493	1,155,636	2,274,043	1,154,568	1,119,475	77,086	40,925	36,161
5 Gujarat	8	5	3	1	1	-	7	4	3
6 Haryana	15	8	7	7	6	1	8	2	6
7 Himachal Pradesh	36	35	1	35	34	1	1	1	-
8 Karnataka	11	10	1	6	6	-	5	4	1
9 Kerala	6	4	2	-	-	-	6	4	2
10 Madhya Pradesh	551	299	252	139	78	61	412	221	191
11 Maharashtra	141	78	63	12	11	1	129	67	62
12 Manipur	159	155	4	158	154	4	1	1	-
13 Meghalaya	273	156	117	235	134	101	38	22	16
14 Mizoram	3,667	3,598	69	2,435	2,414	21	1,232	1,184	48
15 Nagaland	358	358	2	329	327	2	29	29	-
16 Orissa	616,337	311,278	305,059	586,142	295,133	291,009	30,195	16,145	14,050
17 Punjab	24	19	5	12	8	4	12	11	1
18 Rajasthan	40	36	4	10	10	-	30	26	4
19 Sikkim	15	12	3	11	9	2	4	3	1
20 Tamil Nadu	9	6	3	9	6	3	-	-	-
21 Tripura	3,104	1,664	1,440	3,040	1,621	1,419	64	43	21
22 Uttar Pradesh	189	121	68	75	51	24	114	70	44
23 West Bengal	1,803,262	913,797	889,465	1,724,105	872,324	851,781	79,157	41,473	37,664
24 Andaman & Nicobar Isl	218	218	2	210	208	2	8	8	-
25 Chandigarh	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
26 Delhi	197	109	88	6	5	1	191	104	87
27 Pondicherry	2	2	-	-	-	-	2	2	-

STATEMENT 4
NON-SCHEDULED LANGUAGES IN DESCENDING ORDER OF THE PERCENTAGE OF SPEAKERS
KNOWING TWO OR MORE LANGUAGES - 1991

Non-Scheduled Language	Percentage of speakers knowing two or more languages	Non-Scheduled Language	Percentage of speakers knowing two or more languages
1	2	1	2
1 Coorgi/Kodagu	86.46	50 Halam	41.89
2 Tulu	68.89	51 Nicobarese	41.75
3 Deori	68.83	52 Khandeshi	40.88
4 Sherpa	68.17	53 Tangkhul	40.45
5 Lahauli	67.85	54 Chakhesang	40.40
6 Bishnupuriya	67.13	55 Santali	40.02
7 English	66.99	56 Koch	39.59
8 Jatapu	63.48	57 Nocte	39.44
9 Other Languages	62.70	58 Khezha	39.43
10 Maring	61.57	59 Malto	38.43
11 Lalung	61.52	60 Kui	37.96
12 Anal	61.46	61 Thado	37.89
13 Bhotia	60.94	62 Bodo Boro	37.87
14 Kolami	60.43	63 Maram	37.12
15 Kinnauri	60.23	64 Khond/Kondh	37.09
16 Limbu	60.01	65 Liangmei	36.84
17 Korku	58.94	66 Lotha	36.53
18 Lepcha	58.57	67 Adi	36.17
19 Kisan	57.83	68 Gangte	35.40
20 Konda	57.79	69 Mogh	34.73
21 Gadaba	57.59	70 Zemi	34.10
22 Parji	57.52	71 Vaiphei	33.94
23 Rabha	57.34	72 Pawi	32.04
24 Kharia	56.77	73 Ho	31.83
25 Lahnda	56.10	74 Mao	31.45
26 Koya	54.36	75 Zeliang	31.45
27 Kurukh/Oraon	53.85	76 Hmar	30.54
28 Arabic/Arbi	53.41	77 Ao	30.02
29 Dogri	52.04	78 Phom	29.81
30 Miri/Mishing	51.81	79 Lakher	29.02
31 Tangsa	51.66	80 Sema	28.78
32 Juang	51.45	81 Sangtam	27.69
33 Tibetan	51.40	82 Monpa	27.52
34 Korwa	50.28	83 Chakru/Chokri	27.13
35 Bhumij	49.63	84 Nissi/Dafla	26.22
36 Mundari	48.12	85 Rengma	25.64
37 Kom	47.96	86 Zou	25.60
38 Kuki	47.45	87 Halabi	24.68
39 Koda/Kora	47.23	88 Paite	24.02
40 Dimasa	46.77	89 Wancho	23.24
41 Karbi/Mikir	46.68	90 Yimchungre	20.78
42 Tripuri	44.73	91 Konyak	20.72
43 Savara	44.71	All India Average	19.44*
44 Angami	44.04	92 Chang	19.38
45 Munda	43.93	93 Bhili/Bhilodi	19.31
46 Pochury	43.83	94 Garo	18.35
47 Mishmi	43.18	95 Khasi	12.60
48 Kabui	43.14	96 Khiemnungan	11.64
49 Gondi	42.34	97 Lushai/Mizo	9.88

- Note:
- The Statement excludes the figures for Jammu & Kashmir where the 1991 Census was not held due to disturbed conditions.
 - The 1991 Census could not be conducted in 33 villages of Akrani and Akkalkuwa tahsils of Dhule district of Maharashtra. The population of these villages (i.e 16,052 Persons) has been obtained from secondary sources and included in the population of Maharashtra and India. However, their language data are not available.
 - * The all India average has been worked out as the percentage of persons knowing two or more languages among the speakers of both Scheduled and Non - Scheduled languages to the total population of India.

STATEMENT 2 (Continued)
BILINGUALISM AND TRILINGUALISM AMONG THE SPEAKERS OF
NON-SCHEDULED LANGUAGES - 1991

Non-Scheduled Languages		Number of persons knowing two or more languages	Percentage of Col. 3 to Col 2	Number of persons knowing three languages	Percentage of Col. 5 to Col. 2	
Name	Total Speakers					
1	2	3	4	5	6	
44	Konyak	137,722	28.532	20.72	12,628	9.17
45	Korku	466,073	274,718	58.94	35,692	7.66
46	Korwa	27,485	13,819	50.28	1,195	4.35
47	Koya	270,994	147,320	54.36	1,419	0.52
48	Kui	641,662	243,568	37.96	22,493	3.51
49	Kuki	58,263	27,646	47.45	11,753	20.17
50	Kurukh/Oraon	1,426,618	768,169	53.85	98,043	6.87
51	Lahauli	22,027	14,946	67.85	3,979	18.06
52	Lahnda	27,386	15,364	56.10	7,699	28.11
53	Lakher	22,947	6,660	29.02	807	3.52
54	Lalung	33,746	20,762	61.52	6,074	18.00
55	Lepcha	39,342	23,044	58.57	7,746	19.69
56	Liangmei	27,478	10,123	36.84	3,898	14.19
57	Limbu	28,174	16,907	60.01	3,810	13.52
58	Lotha	85,802	31,347	36.53	18,569	21.64
59	Lushai/Mizo	538,842	53,253	9.88	11,823	2.19
60	Malto	108,148	41,561	38.43	15,523	14.35
61	Mao	77,810	24,475	31.45	14,153	18.19
62	Maram	10,144	3,765	37.12	2,187	21.56
63	Maring	15,268	9,400	61.57	1,242	8.13
64	Miri/Mishing	390,583	202,365	51.81	48,171	12.33
65	Mishmi	29,000	12,523	43.18	7,516	25.92
66	Mogh	28,135	9,770	34.73	467	1.66
67	Monpa	43,226	11,895	27.52	3,469	8.03
68	Munda	413,894	181,812	43.93	43,034	10.40
69	Mundari	861,378	414,472	48.12	46,519	5.40
70	Nicobarese	26,261	10,963	41.75	4,503	17.15
71	Nissi/Dafla	173,791	45,571	26.22	26,160	15.05
72	Nocte	30,441	12,007	39.44	6,669	21.91
73	Paite	49,237	11,828	24.02	2,971	6.03
74	Parji	44,001	25,309	57.52	6,119	13.91
75	Pawi	15,346	4,917	32.04	465	3.03
76	Phom	65,350	19,483	29.81	10,291	15.75
77	Pochury	11,231	4,923	43.83	2,683	23.89
78	Rabha	139,365	79,906	57.34	17,297	12.41
79	Rengma	37,521	9,622	25.64	6,316	16.83
80	Sangtam	47,461	13,141	27.69	6,708	14.13
81	Santali	5,216,325	2,087,805	40.02	279,416	5.36
82	Savara	273,168	122,131	44.71	11,647	4.26
83	Sema	166,157	47,827	28.78	27,447	16.52
84	Sherpa	16,105	10,979	68.17	3,170	19.68
85	Tangkhul	101,841	41,199	40.45	10,742	10.55
86	Tangsa	28,121	14,528	51.66	8,826	31.39

Continued

STATEMENT 7

GROWTH OF NON-SCHEDULED LANGUAGES – 1971, 1981 AND 1991

Language	Persons who returned the language as their mother tongue			Decadal percentage increase	
	1971	1981	1991	1971-1981	1981-1991
1	2	3	4	5	6
39 Koch	14,256	16,694	26,179	17.10	56.82
40 Koda/Kora	14,333	23,113	28,200	61.26	22.01
41 Kolami	66,868	83,690	98,281	25.16	17.43
42 Kom	6,969	10,062	13,548	44.38	34.65
43 Konda	33,720	23,258	17,864	-31.03	-23.19
44 Konyak	72,338	76,092	137,722	5.19	80.99
45 Korku	307,434	347,661	466,073	13.08	34.06
46 Korwa	15,097	48,079	27,485	218.47	-42.83
47 Koya	211,877	240,245	270,994	13.39	12.80
48 Kui	351,017	521,585	641,662	48.59	23.02
49 Kuki	32,560	49,478	58,263	51.96	17.76
50 Kurukh/Oraon	1,235,665	1,333,670	1,426,618	7.93	6.97
51 Lahauli	16,749	18,728	22,027	11.82	17.62
52 Lahnda	41,935	42,879	27,386	2.25	-36.13
53 Lakher	11,867	16,091	22,947	35.59	42.61
54 Lalung	10,650	802	33,746	-92.47	4107.73
55 Lepcha	33,360	27,814	39,342	-16.62	41.45
56 Liangmei	3,378	17,487	27,478	417.67	57.13
57 Limbu	4,334	20,258	28,174	367.42	39.08
58 Lotha	36,949	58,116	85,802	57.29	47.64
59 Lushai/Mizo	271,554	384,528	538,842	41.60	40.13
60 Malto	20	100,177	108,148	500785.00	7.96
61 Mao	35,381	58,813	77,810	66.23	32.30
62 Maram	4,201	6,073	10,144	44.56	67.03
63 Maring	9,710	11,663	15,268	20.11	30.91
64 Miri/Mishing	180,684	6,372	390,583	-96.47	6029.68
65 Mishmi	22,354	24,182	29,000	8.18	19.92
66 Mogh	12,378	17,458	28,135	41.04	61.16
67 Monpa	26,369	33,320	43,226	26.36	29.73
68 Munda	309,293	377,492	413,894	22.05	9.64
69 Mundari	771,253	742,739	861,378	-3.70	15.97
70 Nicobarese	17,971	21,542	26,261	19.87	21.91
71 Nissi/Dafla	114,678	140,986	173,791	22.94	23.27
72 Nocte	25,263	23,776	30,441	-5.89	28.03
73 Paite	27,157	32,607	49,237	20.07	51.00
74 Parji	73,912	35,758	44,001	-51.62	23.05
75 Pawi	10,560	11,656	15,346	10.38	31.66
76 Phom	18,017	24,487	65,350	35.91	166.88

Continued

STATEMENT 7

GROWTH OF NON-SCHEDULED LANGUAGES – 1971, 1981 AND 1991

Language	Persons who returned the language as their mother tongue			Decadal percentage increase	
	1971	1981	1991	1971-1981	1981-1991
1	2	3	4	5	6
77 Pochury	3,799	7,245	11,231	90.71	55.02
78 Rabha	51,146	22,351	139,365	-56.30	523.53
79 Rengma	8,578	15,563	37,521	81.43	141.09
80 Sangtam	20,015	28,513	47,461	42.46	66.45
81 Santali	3,786,899	4,332,511	5,216,325	14.41	20.40
82 Savara	222,018	209,092	273,168	-5.82	30.64
83 Sema	65,227	95,630	166,157	46.61	73.75
84 Sherpa	7,785	14,195	16,105	82.34	13.46
85 Tangkhul	58,167	79,887	101,841	37.34	27.48
86 Tangsa	13,333	12,027	28,121	-9.80	133.82
87 Thado	51,054	57,536	107,992	12.70	87.69
88 Tibetan	49,221	63,431	69,416	28.87	9.44
89 Tripuri	372,579	502,067	694,940	34.75	38.42
90 Tulu	1,158,419	1,417,224	1,552,259	22.34	9.53
91 Vaiphei	12,209	15,618	26,185	27.92	67.66
92 Wancho	28,649	32,442	39,600	13.24	22.06
93 Yimchungre	19,609	26,672	47,227	36.02	77.07
94 Zeliang	12,891	13,970	35,079	8.37	151.10
95 Zemi	6,472	10,619	22,634	64.08	113.15
96 Zou	9,749	12,515	15,966	28.37	27.57

Notes:

1. Excludes the population of Jammu & Kashmir as the 1991 Census was not conducted there due to disturbed conditions.
2. The 1981 Census was not conducted in Assam due to disturbed conditions.
3. The language figures of Tamil Nadu are not included in 1981 Census as the records of Tamil Nadu under 'P' sample project have been lost due to floods.
4. The 1991 Census could not be conducted in 33 villages of Akrani and Akkalkuwa tehsils of Dhule District of Maharashtra. The population of these villages (persons -16,052, males - 8,200 and females - 7,852) has been obtained from secondary sources and included in the total population of Maharashtra. However, their language data are not available.

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