Spatial Patterns of Language Distribution and Diversification in The Chotanagpur and Its Surrounding Region 1971

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "SPATIAL PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE DISTRIBUTION AND DIVERSIFICATION IN THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION (1971)" submitted by Shri Krishna Nandan Prasad in fulfilment of six credits out of the total of twenty-four credits for the award of the Degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (M.Phil.) of the University is a bonafide work to the best of our knowledge and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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_C_O_N_T_E_N_T_S_

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PREFACE

The Chotanagpur and its surrounding region is a unique region, in terms of its physiography, economy and culture. Geographically, it is one of the distinct regions of India having the most fertile river valleys and the hilly and undulating terrain of the Chotanagar plateau. A careful and penetrative look at the region reveals a number of stark contradictions. In spite of having one of the richest mineral and forest resources, the local tribal inhabitants are still living a miserable life with their lowly fed and half naked family members. In other words this richest region has the poorest people. Technologically, the region has most modern giant steel plant of the country, and the wretched workmen who have actually made them, can rarely grasp the nature and the importance of their work, uses one of the crudest tools in their daily life. Apart from the social contradictions caused by the stratified and hierarchic caste structure of Hindu society, the economic disparity amongst the various strata of the society is both astonishing and disturbing. On the one hand, we find the real capitalist bourgeoisie who owns the finance and mechanised factory production and, the petty bourgeoisie who dominates the distribution of the products and controls the agrarian surplus in the form of middlemen, moneylenders and shopkeepers with their

unrestricted greed. On the other hand, the tribal people and other backward classes are forced to abandon their land and forest wealth and work in the form of cheapest drudge labour for the above exploiting class. Thus the so-called civilized people, who have been pushing the tribal people in the hilly and forested areas from times immemorial, have now penetrated in the plateau itself to exploit both the resources and the people of the region. Culturally, it is one of the multi-cultural and multi-lingual region. Linguistically, it is called a 'museum of languages and dialects' of various linguistic families.

Thus the above contradictions at the social, economic, technological and cultural levels and their social variations within this region itself make it a distinct geographical region for the in-depth study and research. The main objective of the present study is to analyse the pattern and nature of distribution and diversification of languages and dialects - only one aspect of the complex social fabric of the society - and to see the impact of historical squeezing of the various tribal groups and their languages and the penetration of various Indo-Aryan languages.

The study has been divided into five chapters. The first introductory chapter takes into account the statement of the problem, objective, methodology and data base of the study and the literature survey. The second chapter deals

with the historical and cultural background of the various languages and dialects present in the region. The third chapter deals with the spatial distribution of the languages and the dialects and delimits the cores and peripheries of selected tribal languages. In the fourth chapter the patterns of linguistic diversity have been analysed and the last chapter summary of conclusions has been presented.

The present study which is based on the secondary sources of data available at the lowest administrative level would naturally lead towards the primary sources of data collected at the household and studying in depth the effects of socio-economic change on the change and shift of tribal languages and dialects.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

Language is one of the most fundamental attributes of culture. It occupies the key position amongst the 'mentifacts', and hence is the most central and durable element of culture. Whatever may be the stage of development of a social group, it has its own distinct language which is one of the most important differentiating elements between man and other creatures of the world. "It is the language which, in the first instance, along with his two hands with ten fingers, has given man the power to translate the thought in his brain into action, and thus, has enabled him to become the supreme in mundane creation."[1]

Language being a powerful means of communication, not only helps in communicating within or outside groups, but also helps in preserving social, cultural and traditional values of a social group, either in a written form or in the forms of legends and folklore. Culture in its

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1. Chaterji, S.K. (1969), "An Inaugural Address," in Language and Society in India, (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Society), p.13.

essence is a form of information which can be preserved and transmitted only through the medium of language. "Language is the highest form of thought-expression, the basic means of controlling, of knowing reality, and knowing oneself and the existence of culture."[2] It is not only an attribute of culture, but it is also a vehicle of culture. Culture is transmitted through the medium of language not only spatially but also temporally.

Linguistic geography is a nascent field of the Geographical science. A number of expressions like, geography of language, linguistic geography, geolinguistics, etc. are used to define this newer sub-branch. It is basically a product of the interface of geography and language, and henceforth, is interdisciplinary in nature. Both geographers and linguists approach this field from their own perspectives. "Linguistic geography is mainly concerned with the geographical distribution of comparable linguistic items of various kinds, rather than, with the function of any of them within the system of the dialect, where they occur... so with linguistic geography, the emphasis is likewise on regional differences and similarities; and a minute examination of the exact function of which the item being investigated has within the

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2. Spirkin, Alexander (1983), Dialectical Materialism, (Moscow: Progress Publishers), p.183.

framework of the dialect of each place is not primary concern of the linguistic geography."[3] In fact linguistic geography not only draws from and contributes to the fields of geography and language, but also includes a number of other fields and hence, is called a 'liaison science'[4] by some scholars.

Linguistic geography can be approached both through the spatial and temporal approaches. While, the former provides an understanding in breadth, the latter in depth. A great need of linguistic geography lies in the study of language relationship, as "any group of related language implies the former existence of a single language, which by an accumulation of changes in different areas has diverged into distinct languages, conventionally spoken of as daughter-languages. This amobea - like generation of new languages cannot be said to be complete, until a language boundary or its equivalent has developed to mark off the different daughter languages from one another."[5]

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3. Mcntosh, A. (1961), Introduction to a Survey of Scottish Dialects, Monograph No. 1, (Thomas Nelson & Sons).

4. Francis, W.N. (1958), The Structure of American English, (New York: The Ronald Press Co.), p.39.

5. Dyen, Isidore (1956), "Language Distribution and Migration Theory," Language, vol.32, p.612.

It is extremely difficult to draw a boundary line between the two or more contiguous languages. In most of the cases, there is a transitional zone where the characteristics of both the languages are observed. Similarly, there seems to be no unanimity amongst the scholars on the problem of differentiating language from dialect. Even within a language/dialect there are considerable variations, not only in terms of space and time but also due to age, sex, occupation, education, caste and religion etc. But a composite picture of the structure and form of language/dialect is considered in the linguistic geography.

Inspite of having a number of problems in terms of content, methods and approaches, the field of linguistic geography is not only fascinating but is also extremely useful.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

A language, like any other phenomenon, originates at a particular place which is known as the 'homeland', or 'area of origin'. It is also called, 'historical centre of distribution', or 'historical centre of gravity'. These all refer to the distribution of a language at a particular space in the remote past. This sometimes indicates that the present distribution of a language is not the traditional home, from the view of its origin,

as its carriers (groups of people who speak it) have been moving from one place to another in search of food, water, a safe shelter, new lands to discover or to conquer. Kumaran remarks that "The pattern of language distribution in the country is closely tied with the 'internal' migration, more especially that part of the internal migration which is termed as 'inter-state'... largely the 'manpower' stream flowing between the states consisting of both skilled and unskilled manpower."[6] Thus, its distribution is affected by internal, or external forces that cause distinct nature or form of distribution of language, e.g., 'compact', or 'dispersed', 'contiguous', or 'fragmented', 'narrow' or 'wide' etc. In other words, migration of speakers of a language results in the formations of 'language regions', 'language sub-areas', 'language islands', 'area of language shift' (that is, 'zone of language collapse'), 'region of pidgin' or 'region of Creole language' and so on.

Dyen defines language regions, and language sub-areas in these words, "If the area of a language

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6. Kumaran, T.V. (1987), "Migration and Language Mix: Linguistic Minorities in Indian State", Paper presented at National seminar for Spatial Dimensions of Languages and Linguistic Communication in India, 28-30 Jan., CIIL, Mysore, p.3.

is discontiguous, the language in each of the contiguous sub-areas is a 'region of the language'; while in case of contiguous distribution, even the areas containing extremely different varieties of speech, are different sub-areas of a single region, since they belong to the same language and are connected by a graded area."[7]

The Chotanagpur region has been a witness to 'squeezing process' of numerous minority linguistic groups that continued for thousands of years. On the other hand, the surrounding region has been a witness to 'diffusion process' of the dominant linguistic groups. The minority linguistic groups (these are tribal groups) adopted the habit of migrations by adjusting themselves in an 'area of difficult survival', as they had to move from one place to another, basically in search of food. Even in the latter half of their history, they were forced to migrate to distant places for their survival. The case of the dominant linguistic groups is, somewhat, different. When the fertile plains, in the surrounding region of the plateau, were too populated, high pressure on the land and lack of employment caused migration of these groups to the plateau region to exploit its natural resources like forests, minerals etc.

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7. Dyen, op. cit., p.613.

These processes of 'outmigration' and 'inmigration', are, thus, results of two different forces i.e. 'centrifugal' and 'centripetal' that have acted simultaneously but differently for the above two groups. A massive rearrangement of language distribution in the study area, is the outcome of these forces or processes. But the presence of dominant linguistic groups in close range is not always harmful, as Neethivanan notes that "sometimes the geographical proximity of the dominant community acts as a model for the minorities who are keenly observing it from close proximity. When the dominant group literally worships its mother tongue and assigns a sacred status to it in order to maintain the purity, the keenly observing minority also tries to act in the same way. This model is more successfully applied in case of narrow distribution rather than widespread distribution of a community."8

The Chotanagpur region is the most important linguistic area of the country. It may be described as a 'linguistic madhouse', as a 'museum of languages', or as a 'sociolinguistic giant' - posing a serious

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8. Neethivanan, J. (1987), "Geographic Contiguity and Linguistic Minorities", paper presented at National Seminar on Spatial Dimensions of Languages and Linguistic Communication in India, 28-30 Jan., CIIL, Mysore, p.3.

challenge to agencies concerned with social planning. A numerous linguistic groups (small and big) belonging to the Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian families are widely distributed over this region. But each of them does occupy a certain area where it is concentrated, though, somewhere in close association, while in complete separation elsewhere. Till now, macro or meso level studies have been carried out, which have, largely, been a failure in providing an accurate explanation of their spatial distribution. A micro level study has not been given any attention, which is the most effective tool for giving the existing pattern of distribution with satisfactory explanation.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The 'squeezing process' of minority groups in the Chotanagpur plateau, the 'diffusion process' of Indo-Aryan dominant languages in the surrounding areas, 'traditions of migration' of the minority groups for their survival in the area of isolation, and then, the 'process of inmigration' of the regionally dominant language groups into the plateau region and side by side the 'process of outmigration' of the minority linguistic groups into the surrounding area, etc. have led to a drastic change during the course of a long history. In this process the tribal languages were the

first victims. Keeping these things in mind, the following objectives have been set for investigation:

(a) to trace the possible origin and diffusion, or, spread of some important languages of both the groups (the dominant Aryan languages, and the minority - Austro-Asiatic as well as Dravidian), present in the region;

(b) to bring out the present distributional pattern of these languages separately in respect of the total population of the unit of study;

(c) to find out the 'index of concentration' of the important tribal languages;

(d) to analyse the distribution of important tribal languages in terms of their 'cores' and 'peripheries';

(e) to highlight the pattern and degree of linguistic diversity in the region;

(f) to analyse the existing diversity with the help of block/police station/taluk traverses as well as relationship between linguistic diversity and proportion of the single largest language.

METHODOLOGY

Though the detailed methodological steps have been described at the appropriate places in the text, here it would be worthwhile to enumerate them briefly. Thus the following simple statistical and cartographic techniques have been employed:

(1) percentage of each language to the total population is computed to find out the proportion of each language;

(2) the 'index of concentration' of the important tribal languages of the Austro-Asiatic and the Dravidian family is computed;

(3) the 'cores and peripheries'[9] of important tribal languages have been demarcated;

(4) the 'index of linguistic diversity'[10] of the region has been computed;

(5) traverses have been drawn in different directions following the centroid of the unit of study.

(6) cross-sections have been drawn of the traverses, that show relationship between linguistic diversity and distance. Numerically dominant languages have also been taken into account;

(7) choropleth method is used for showing the percentage distribution, the first and the second ranking languages, index of concentration, cores and peripheries and linguistic diversity.

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9. The method of delineation of 'cores and peripheries' has been taken from Raza and Ahmad's work on Tribal Atlas of India, (Print-Script).

10. Greenberg, J.H. (1956), "The Measurement of Linguistic Diversity", Language, Vol.32, No.1, p.110.

DATA BASE

The study is based entirely on the secondary sources and hence the following Census of India, 1971 tables are the main source of data:

a) General Population Tables, Part II-A of the states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal;

b) Social and Cultural Tables, Part II-C(ii) of the states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal.

This study is based on the lowest administrative unit i.e. development block in Bihar, police station in Orissa and West Bengal, and taluk in Madhya Pradesh. They are by and large comparable units, despite differences in nomenclature.

AREA OF STUDY

Area of study is 'The Chotanagpur and its surrounding region'. The nature of problem, discussed earlier, is the sole criterion in selecting this region. To avoid any confusion, rivers have been considered as the outer boundary of this region. Thus, the region is encircled by a natural boundary from all sides, e.g., the Ganga in the North, the Mahanadi in the South, the Bhagirathi and the Hooghly (Southern portion of the Bhagirathi is called Hooghly) in the East, and the Rihand and the Hasod in the West. This consideration provides a viable region.

This region covers major parts of Eastern India. It comprises adjoining parts of the states of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. Extending between $20^{o}10'$N and $25^{o}77'$N latitudes, and $82^{o}33'$E and $88^{o}75'$E longitudes, it covers 2,48,306.6 sq. kms of area (Fig.1, Appendix I).

In all 677 units have been taken up for the study. The break-up is as follows: Bihar (352 development blocks), West Bengal (164 police stations), Orissa (158 police stations) and Madhya Pradesh (8 taluks). Fig.2 and Annexure-I give details of these administrative divisions, while Appendix-II gives the district-wise distribution of blocks/taluks/police stations.

The region is dominated by the people speaking Indo-Aryan languages (Hindi, Bengali, Oriya and Urdu). These are spoken by more than 90% of the population of the region. The Munda languages (Santali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia, Munda unspecified) are spoken by 7.5% of the population of which Santali alone accounts for 5%.

Physiographically, it is divided into two distinct sub-regions, the alluvial plains and the plateau. (Fig.3 and Appendix-III).

The alluvial plains comprise the 'Middle Ganga Plain' in the Northern, the 'Lower Ganga Plain' in the

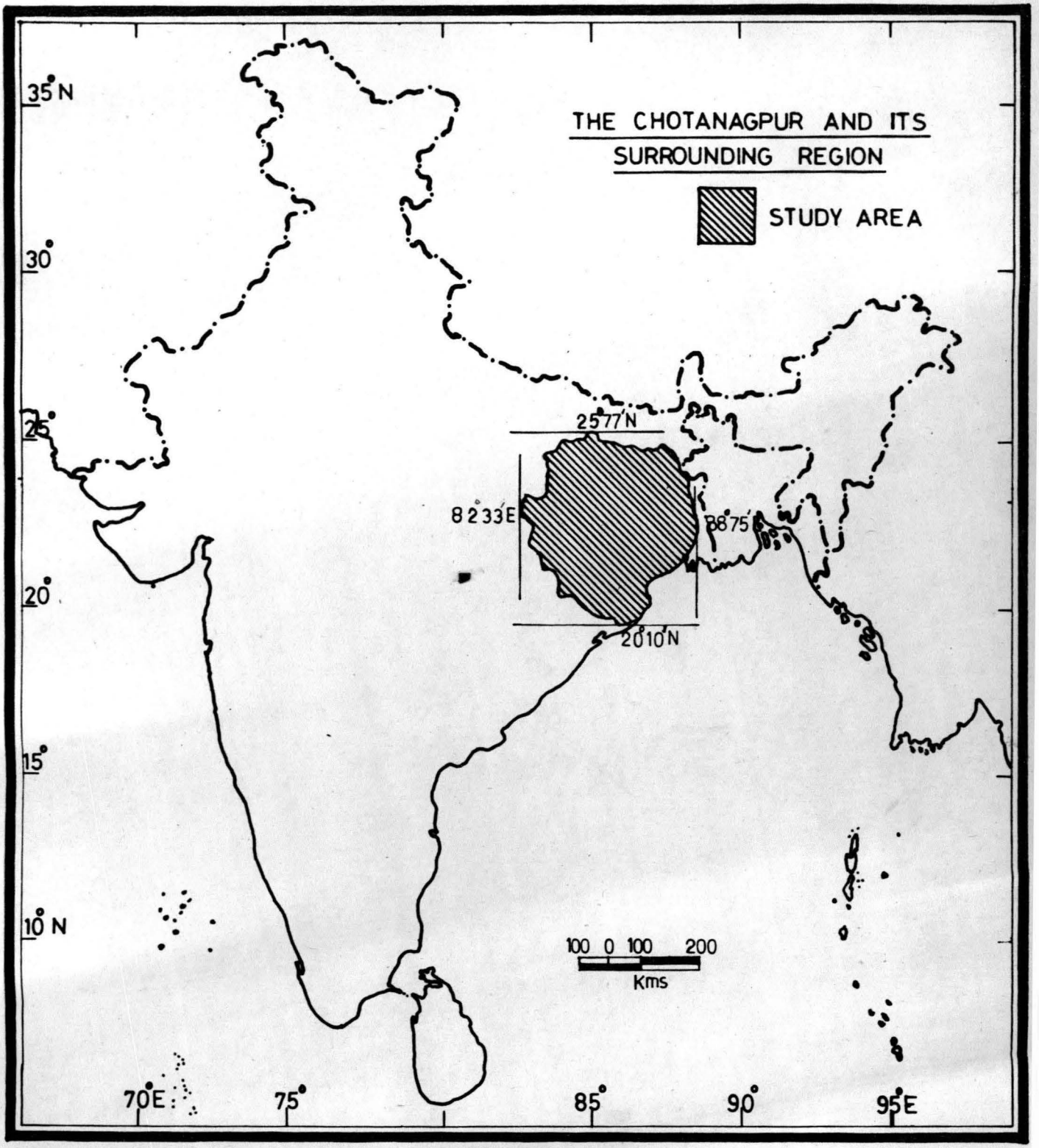
THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
STUDY AREA
35°N
30°
25°
20°
15°
10°N
70°E
75°
85°
90°
95°E
25°77'N
20°10'N
82°33'E
88°75'
100 0 100 200
Kms

Fig.1

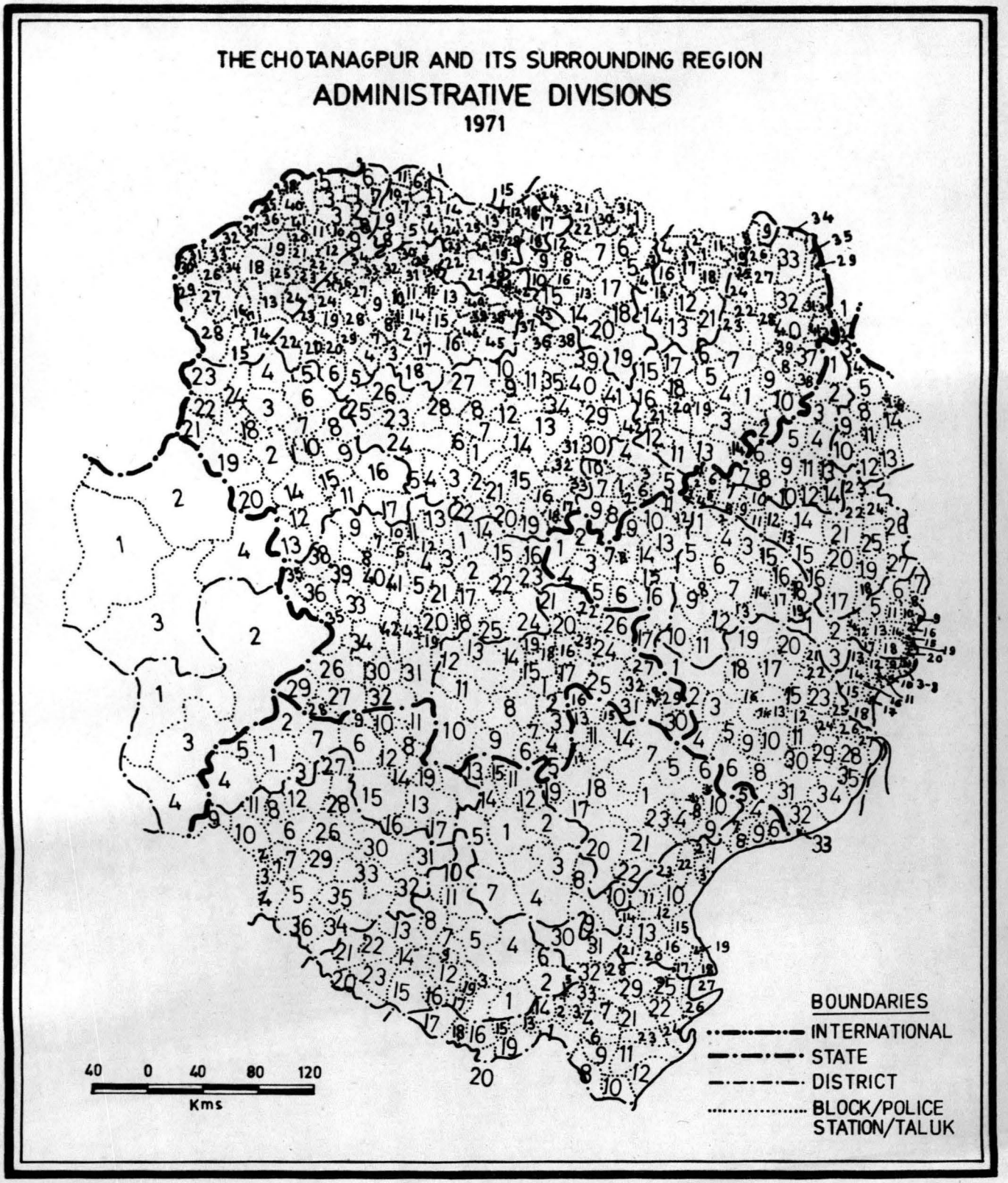
THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS
1971
40 0 40 80 120
Kms
BOUNDARIES
INTERNATIONAL
STATE
DISTRICT
BLOCK/POLICE STATION/TALUK

Fig. 2

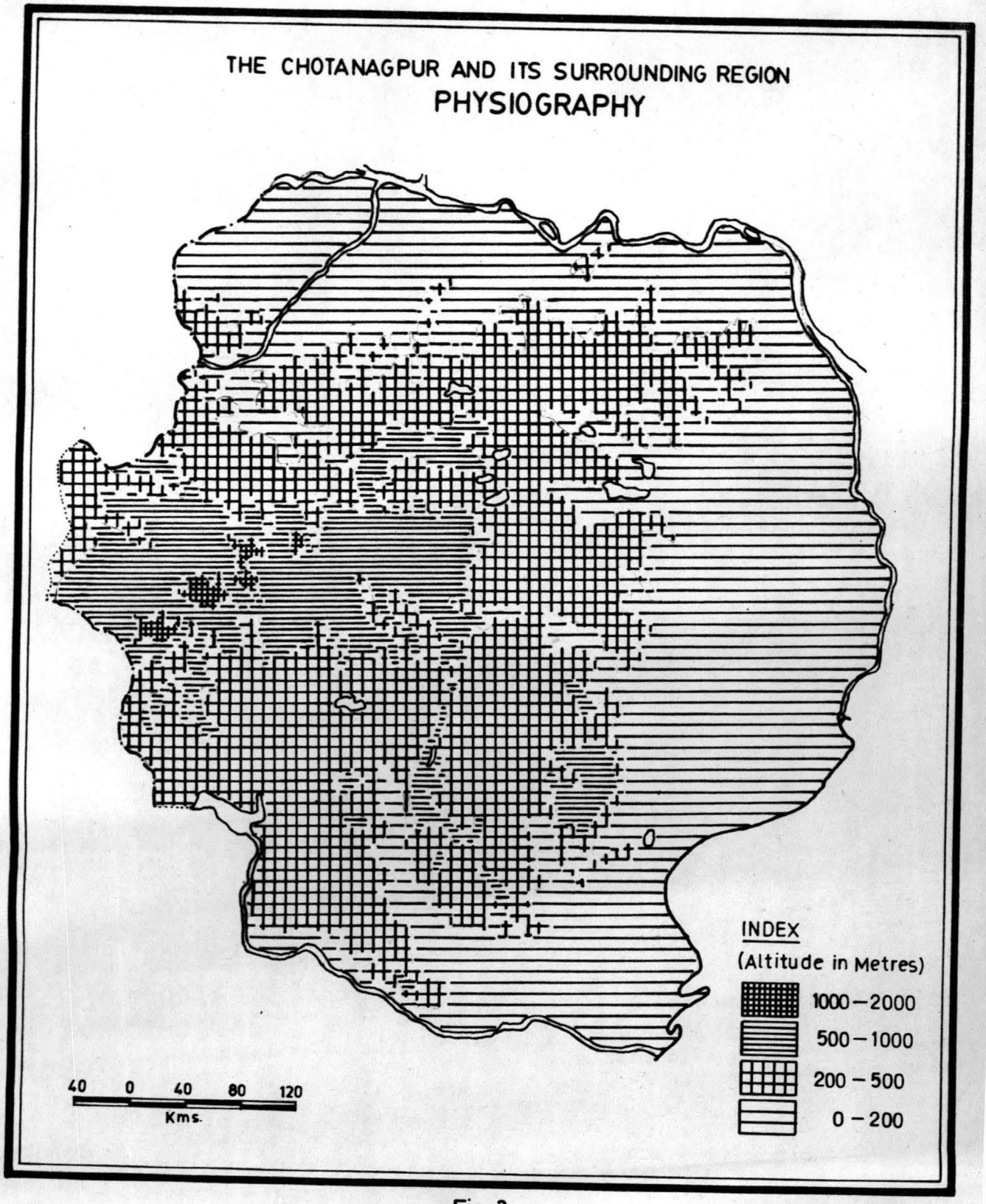
THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
PHYSIOGRAPHY
INDEX
(Altitude in Metres)
1000 – 2000
500 – 1000
200 – 500
0 – 200
40 0 40 80 120
Kms.

Fig. 3

Eastern, the 'Coastal Plain' in the South-Eastern and the 'Mahanadi Plain' in the Southern part of the region.

The Chotanagpur plateau is the north-eastern extension of the Deccan plateau. It lies east of the Rihand river and consists mostly of the Archean gneisses, schists and massive granites. It is an example of senile topography and has been highly dissected by numerous streams and rivers. There are many plateaux hills, ridges, faults, scarps in the Chotanagpur plateau.

Main plateaux of the Chotanagpur plateau are the 'Hazaribagh plateau' and the 'Ranchi plateau' (its western part known as 'PATS' is 762 mts in height) in Bihar. In the West, its extension is seen in the plateaux of Mainpat, Kharia and Jashpur in Surguja and Raigarh districts in Madhya Pradesh. Purulia district in West Bengal is the Eastern extension of this plateau.

The Rajmahal Hills in the North-Eastern part of the region is also included in this plateau. The Northern most part of the Eastern Ghats, is seen in numerous hills and rolling uplands, such as the Garhjat hills (it includes Bonai hills, Bamra hills, Athmalic hills as well as Keonjhar plateau), the North-Eastern plateau (it consists of Baitarani Upland, Simplipal Upland and Bamangarh Upland), and the North-Western

Rolling Upland or, Rajgangpur-Jhasuguda Upland (it includes Rolling Upland of Brahmani Basin and Jhasuguda Rolling Upland). Thus, the Chotanagpur plateau, physiographically, touches these hills and plateaux of northern and north-eastern Orissa.

The drainage pattern is radial, as it flows in all directions, originating from the main plateau which is lying in the centre (Fig.4). Most of the rivers are tributaries of the two main river systems - the Ganga and the Mahanadi, while a few are independent including the Subarnarekha and the Brahmani. The former system drains the water towards the North and the East, while the latter does it towards the South. Important rivers are the Rihand, the Son, the Damodar, the Subarnarekha, the Baitarani, the Koel, the Falagu etc. The rivers are very swift and create waterfalls and rapids in the plateaux area. They are perennial in monsoon, the volume and speed of water is very high, while in summer it is reduced to the river bed.

The whole region experiences the typical Monsoon climate with hot summer and mild winter. In summer the hot and dry wind is called 'Loo'. The average rainfall ranges between 150 to 200 cms.

The Chotanagpur plateau and the adjoining hill ranges are thickly covered with the forest containing a large variety of trees.

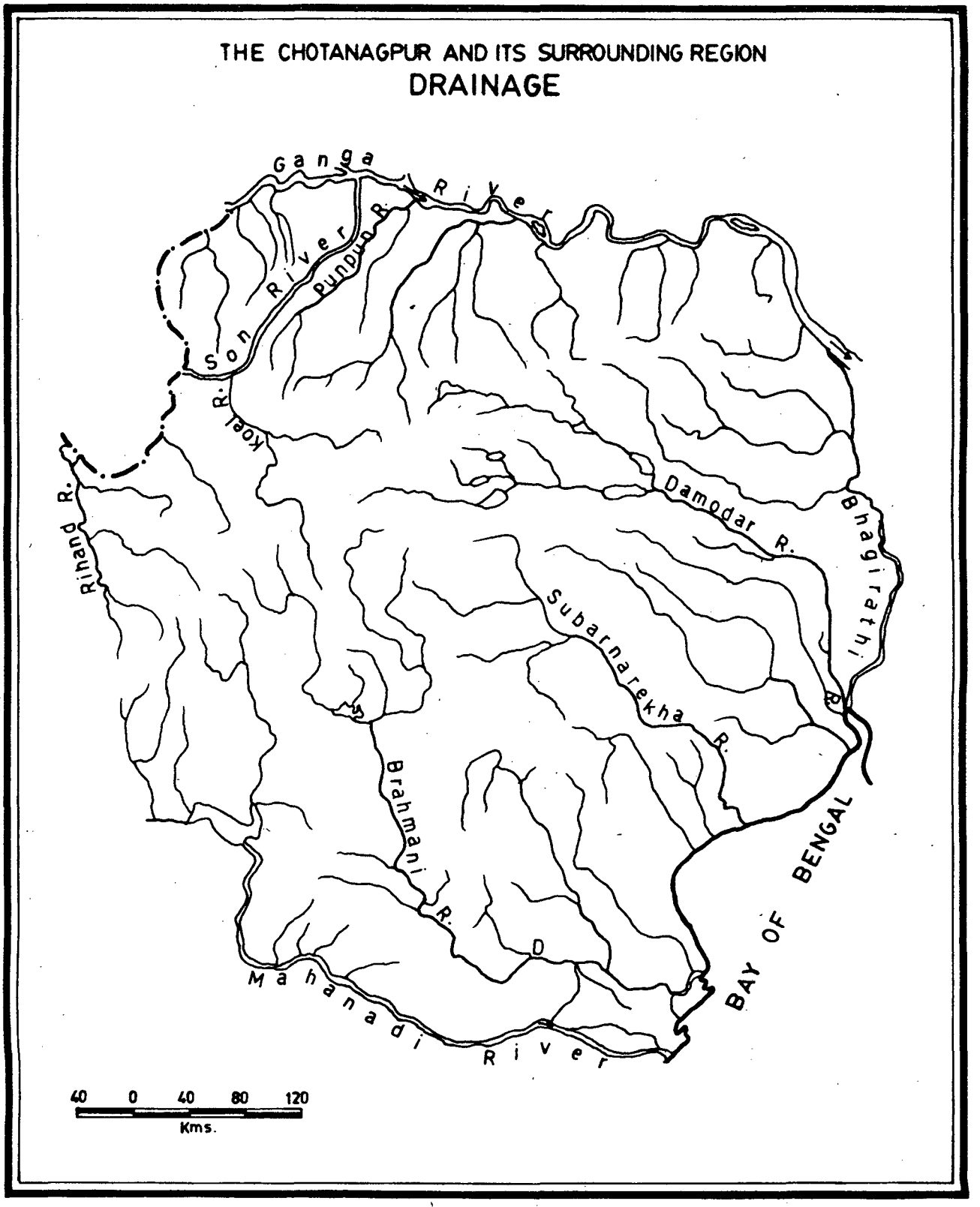
THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
DRAINAGE
Ganga River
Son River
Punpun R.
Koel R.
Rihand R.
Damodar R.
Bhagirathi R.
Subarnarekha R.
Brahmani R.
Mahanadi River
BAY OF BENGAL
40 0 40 80 120
Kms.

Fig. 4

The economy of the region is mainly of subsistence type. Agriculture is the main economic activity. Gathering of nuts, fruits, gums and practice of 'Jhum cultivation' are the main economic activities of the tribes.

In the last few decades, development of roads, railways has enabled the people to exploit the natural minerals such as, coal, iron-ore, bauxite, copper, limestone, mica, chromite, manganese, dolomite, etc. which are in abundance. The Damodar valley is called the 'Rhur of India'. This region leads in almost all minerals being exploited in India. There are many industrial centres, spread over the districts of Dhanbad, Singhbhum, Ranchi, Burdwan as well as in the peripheral districts of the plateaux such as, Patna, Shahbad, Palamau, Gaya, Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Howrah and Hooghly.

SURVEY OF LITERATURE

Linguistic geographers are primarily interested in the spatial distribution of languages/dialects, or linguistic phenomena in their geographical location (extent, site, and situation), spatial distribution (density, dispersion and pattern), spatial interaction, or areal differentiation, and so on. Thus, geographers' prime interest here lies in spatial patterning of different languages and to suggest a rational explanation for such distribution. 'Linguistic geography' developed

in the West, where it made its separate identity as a social science discipline. In England, France, Germany and United States, a number of works were published, most of them on 'word geography', which confines itself to the exclusion, or inclusion of certain alphabet(s) in pronunciation of a word.

In the words of Trudgill, "Dialectology is a very respectable discipline with a long and impressive history, and with a well-established methodology and literatures."[11] He further adds, "Its growing interest among people slowed down due to lack of sufficient and accurate explanations and descriptions by dialectologists." "...therefore much improvement is to be made in descriptions of geographical distribution of dialects and languages, which will increase our ability to explain linguistic phenomenon."[12]

In India, work in linguistic geography was started in the late twenties of this century. Despite such intensive work in geography of language that attracted much attention of scholars from various disciplines, it remained, largely, neglected. It, therefore, received

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11. Trudgill, Peter (1983), On Dialect, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Pvt. Ltd.), p.31.

12. Ibid., p.54.

rare and limited contributions of scholars. Even the reorganization of Indian States on linguistic basis did not provide any incentive. Most of the works in this field are found in seventies and onward. Hence the work done in Indian linguistic geography is given in a chronological order.

The pioneering work in the classification of Indian languages was done by George A. Grierson who worked for more than three decades and published his results from 1903-1928. He carried out a detailed survey of Indian languages and language varieties, or dialects. Grierson identified 179 languages and 544 dialects and classified them in the Introduction of Linguistic Survey of India published in 1927. His intensive work in etymology and philology in identifying and classifying these languages and dialects is a milestone.

B.K. Sen (1935) has taken up Birhori language. He has presented a comparative study of Birhori language in two censuses of India, 1911 and 1951, at district level for the Chotanagpur of Bihar and Jungle Mahals of Orissa.

Bhaduri (1937) concentrated on Korku language of the Central Provinces. He dealt with the distribution of Korku language on the basis of Census of India, 1931, in the erstwhile feudatory states of Surguja, Jashpur

and Udaipur.

Hodson and Mazumdar in 1932, attempted description of geographical distribution of tribal languages. Hodson worked on Gondi and Mundari languages and found in them a definite distributional pattern. Mazumdar studied in detail the languages spoken in Bastar district in Madhya Pradesh. The linguistic map of Bastar clearly gives linguistic regions dominated by one of the Indo-Aryan languages viz., Hindi,Oriya, Marathi, and the Dravidian language - Telugu. The tribal languages (only Dravidian) form 'small language islands'. Gadaba is the only language representing the great Austric family. He has also discussed bilingualism which is increasing rapidly due to the need to communicate among the different linguistic groups.

Dhall (1957) gives an account of languages and dialects spoken in Orissa. He has not only given a distribution pattern in terms of concentration, but has also discussed characteristics of Oriya which has several dialects or forms of speech in different parts of the State. The concentration of tribal languages mainly of the Munda branch (Austro-Asiatic) and Central group (Dravidian) is in the north and south respectively. Thus, he has given a list of languages belonging to different families.

S.K. Chatterji (1963) has done a detailed study of the Indo-Aryan languages starting from their origin and diffusion resulting in the present pattern of spatial distribution. He has confined himself to the languages of this family only.

Mazumdar (1970) has also given a detailed analysis of spatial distribution of different languages by tracing their history. He says that language is a sentimental reflection of one's own culture. It has its own identity. The solution of the language problem, therefore, lies in the recognition of all the languages.

R.C. Nigam (1971) has described languages of all the four families in 'Handbook on Mother-tongue', Census of India, 1971. He has discussed macro and meso level distribution of these languages. But more emphasis has been on languages in ScheduleVIII of the Constitution. He has also classified all the languages of India in terms of the numerical strength.

Peter Haggett (1972) presented an outline of the distribution of major languages and dialects spoken in India. He has identified linguistic regions of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian families.

Sakharov (1973) dealt with the classification and spatial distribution of languages in India in attempting a regionalization on the basis of cultural

as well as social and economic factors. He has largely focussed his attention on the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian families. Kailash Chandra Bhatia (1973) made significant contribution through his work on Bhasha-Bhoogol in Hindi. He has discussed the history of linguistic geography, its definition, works in linguistic geography in the West, works on different dialects and classification of languages spoken in India.

Emeneau (1974) has discussed the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic family of languages in spatial perspective, relationship among them, historically widespread distribution of Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic languages, southward retreating of the Dravidian and subjugation of the Austro-Asiatic languages by the Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian families.

In 1975, S. Bhattacharya published his work on 'Studies in Comparative Munda Linguistics' in which he has presented a classification and spatial distribution of Munda languages. But the basic emphasis is on the linguistic aspects of the languages of the Munda sub-family.

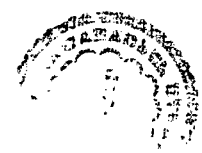
Hardev Bahri (1975) did intensive work on Hindi language, its origin and evolution. He has detailed the characteristics of Modern Indo-Aryan languages. He has also attempted the classification and geographical

distribution of Hindi along with its dialects.

Pandit (1977) discusses linguistic diversity in India in the historical perspective where waves of immigrants entered the Indian-sub-continent. Their movements and the processes of cultural fusion were restricted by the physical barriers, which provided shelter to the earlier groups, thus separating them from the immigrants. That gave rise to the existing ethno-lingual diversity.

Moonis Raza and Aijazuddin Ahmad (1978) have worked out a spatial distribution pattern of languages where the classifications and the distributions of the four language families have been discussed in detail. The role of language in 'region formation' and language as a factor in 'unity in diversity' has been described with appropriate examples.

Mohammad Ishtiaque (1980) has made a significant contribution to linguistic geography through his work 'Language change and continuity among the Austric speaking tribes in India: A geographical perspective'. He has worked out the spatial patterns of distribution of languages of the Austric family in terms of 'concentration'. He has correlated language change among the Santals (the major tribes of this family), with their levels of development. He has also discussed bilingualism in Santals.



In 1981, M. Sapiro published his work entitled "Language and Society in South Asia". After discussing theoretical aspects of language and dialect, he has analysed the traditional taxonomies of South Asian languages and typological classifications of the Munda languages given by Pinnow and, later on, by Zide.

Aditi Sengupta (1980) has done a micro (police station) level study of linguistic groups in Calcutta Metropolitan district on the basis of census data for 1971. His finding is that 'immigrants of each linguistic group' has developed a separate locality'. The pattern of distribution of a linguistic groups is also affected by occupation. He has also discussed the demographic characteristics of the linguistic groups.

Zograph (1982) has given a historical background of Indo-Aryan languages and their historical classification. He has done the similar work on the Dravidian and the Austro-Asiatic languages spoken in the Chotanagpur plateau and the neighbouring areas. He has discussed each language separately with its characteristics and area of concentration.

Sudhir Malakar (1985) has done district-level study on the changing ethno-lingual composition of population in North Eastern India from 1901 to 1971. This change is attributed to mass inmigration of workers, speaking

different languages to tea-gardens, and infiltration of Bengali speaking people from East Pakistan.

A.K. Dutt (1985) discusses the possible immigrations of the four language families in India, their geographical classification, and spatial distribution. He then presents a detailed description of 15 languages of the Schedule VIII of the Constitution of India starting from their origin to the present distribution.

'Linguistic Commission' (it is one of the Commissions of NAGI formed in 1982) under the Chairmanship of Prof. Aijazuddin Ahmad, Centre for the Study of Regional Development, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, was entrusted the task of holding seminars on 'linguistic geography'. Three seminars have already been organized which have been attended by scholars in large numbers from linguistics, geography, census organization etc.

There are two important institutions in India, namely 'Indian Institute of Advanced Study' in Simla and 'Central Institute of Indian Languages' in Mysore, which are carrying out the work in linguistic geography. The organization of National level seminar on 'Spatial Dimensions of Languages and Linguistic Communication in India' by CIIL, Mysore, is an indication of growing interest in linguistic geography among linguists, geographers and social scientists. It has added a new dimension to the current status of linguistic geography in India.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

A large population inhabiting the country speaks languages belonging to the four major families, viz., Indo-Aryan (a sub-family of the Indo-European), Austro-Asiatic (a sub-family of the Austric), Dravidian and Tibeto-Chinese. These families of languages correspond with the four major racial groups of the country in the respective order e.g. the Aryan, Austric, Dravidian and Mongoloid. According to Dutt[1] Samuel Johnson's assertion, two centuries ago that, "Languages are the pedigrees of nations", fits Indian conditions perfectly. Thus, Indian languages have roots in these racial groups, which reveal a specific historical past. Mehta opines that, "history is the frequency and causes of migration".[2] Few causes, which are also common in almost all aboriginal groups, like food, water, woman (marriage by capture), and adventures; and coercive events leading to change

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1. Dutt, A.K. (1985), "Spatial Patterns of Languages in India: A Culture-Historical Analysis," Geo. Journal, Vol.10, No.1, p.51.

2. Mehta, B.H. (1984), The Gonds of the Central Indian Highlands, Vol.I, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company), p.511.

in habitats due to natural calamities, like floods, droughts, famines, wars, etc., are responsible for the migration of these racial groups.

Since these languages are spoken by one or another racial group, the detailed study of their origin and spread shall be helpful in analysing the present distributional patterns of these languages in the Chotanagpur and its surrounding region. R.A. Singh has some reservations, "Even the historians of the languages are not able to discover when, where and how these languages came into existence as our knowledge of these languages is based only, or nearly so, on literary languages, of which we know neither the local basis nor the degree of connection with the vernaculars which were there in Western Europe."[3] Despite the limitation pointed out above, the exercise will no doubt be of immense help.

INDO-ARYAN FAMILY

Indo-Aryans migrated from the Central Asia due to inhospitable climatic conditions, entered the Indian sub-continent from the north-west through the Khyber, Bolan and Gomal passes as well as through the Makaran

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3. Singh, R.A. (1961), Inquiries into the Spoken Languages of India, Language Monographs, No.1, Part XI-C(i), Vol.1, Census of India, 1961, Office of the Registrar General, India, p.x.

and coast route. Numerous waves of immigrations came over hundreds of years. They occupied the fertile river valleys of the Indus and the Ganges river systems, the so-called 'perennial nuclear regions'.[4]

Zograph has classified the languages of the Indo-Aryan into the 'Old Indo-Aryan' (Sanskrit), the 'Middle Indo-Aryan' (Pali and Prakrats, due to gradual and natural change), and the 'New Indo-Aryan' (beginning of the modern Indo-Aryan languages, such as Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Bengali, etc.).[5]

G.A. Grierson has given a genealogical classification of Indo-Aryan languages on the basis of 'R. Hoernle's thesis' (this thesis says that Indo-Aryans entered the Indian sub-continent in two main waves. The first wave of immigrants had settled in the Indus valley, but later on pushed towards the Eastern, Southern and North-Western extremities by the second wave of immigrants who occupied the central place, or region). Thus, Bihari[6], Bengali, Assamese and Oriya languages are grouped in the 'Eastern

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4. Subbarao (1958), The Personality of India, M.S. University Archaeological Series No.5, (Baroda: M.S. University Press), p.

5. Zograph, G.A. (1982), Languages of South Asia, Vol.3, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul), p.22.

6. Grierson has grouped Magahi, Maithili and Bhojpuri into Bihari language.

group' of the 'outer sub-branch' of the Indo-Aryan languages.[7]

Hindi

Hindi is one of the important new Indo-Aryan languages. It is numerically the most pre-dominant mother-tongue. Today, it is the official language of the country and the Provincial Governments of Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Although most of the scholars agree that it originated from the spoken language in the surrounding areas of Delhi, yet there is a big controversy regarding the spoken language from which it originated. Grierson, Dhirendra Verma, R.C. Shukla and others point out that Saurseni Apabhramsh might be the root whereas Vajpayee, Rahul Sanskritayan, R.B. Sharma and others place it as Kaurwi Apabhramsh, yet others like D.N. Khatri, say it is Brajbhasha.

Dutt opined that, "Hindi in its earlier form, established itself like other New Indo-Aryan languages around 1000 A.D., though the actual spoken form of Hindi was in the use by 1300 A.D. ...emerged from Sauraseni

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7. Grierson, G.A. (1904) (1967), Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.1, part-I, p.

Apabhramsh spoken in the region surrounding Delhi."[8] Its rapid spread over the northern Indian plains was experienced during the 'Bhakti movement' (it started from the 11th century A.D.) and later on during the 'secular poetry movement' of the 15-17th centuries. But it acquired its national character only during and after the 'freedom struggle movement'.

The Hindi language can be divided into 3 strata: (i) the local or village level dialects, (ii) 16 sub-regional dialects (The four sub-regional dialects out of 16 such as Magahi, Bhojpuri, Maithili and Anga have been clubbed together with Hindi in Census of India, 1971.) and (iii) Standard Hindi (written in the Devanagri script which has its roots in Nagri and Brahmi). Migration of a large number of Hindi speaking people to the Chotanagpur plateau was experienced in the post-independence period in the form of administrators, contractors, businessmen, workers and so on. Spread of Hindi language, thus, in this region will be analysed in the next chapter dealing with the spatial patterns of distribution of each linguistic group.

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8. Dutt, op. cit., p.55.

Bengali

Bengali is linguistically associated with Magadhi Apabhramsh. It emerged as a distinct language circa 1000 A.D. Sen[9] has divided its thousand years' history into three stages of development. The early stage (circa 1000-1300 A.D.), is represented in Old Bengali, in which some mystic songs (Carya-Padas) are found. The second stage (circa 1300-1750 A.D.), is seen as 'middle Bengali' where copious literature started from the latter half of the 15th century. The third stage (since 1750), is the development of 'modern Bengali' with its rich literature in poetry and prose.

Dutt says that, "The earliest use of Bengali was in North Bengal, which, subsequently, moved to Nadia (Nabadwip in particular), Murshidabad and Calcutta, as a result of historic necessities. During the last 500 years a strong attachment among these cores remained because each is tied to the Bhagirathi - Hooghly, a distributory of the Ganga."[10] There are 5 speech varieties of Bengali of which 3 (North, North-East and East) are in Bangladesh and North-East India and 2 (West

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9. Sen, Sukumar (1961), "A Grammatical Sketch of Bengali" in Language Handbook, Census Centenary Monograph No.10 by R.C. Nigam, p.

10. Dutt, op. cit., p.62.

and South-West) are in West Bengal.

The spread of Bengali language was the result of migration of educated Bengalis to non-Bengali areas, as they were recruited in large numbers by the Britishers at their headquarter, at Calcutta. Similarly they were also persuaded to settle in Assam for agricultural development. On the other hand, "the permanent settlement for the land tax in 1790 resulted in a general extension of tillage towards the West, where the jungles were cleared for cultivation resulting in expansion of Bengali farmers and landowners towards the West."[11] Another important factor responsible for the spread of Bengali language was displacement of thousands of Bengali speaking persons from the erstwhile East Pakistan in 1947 and in 1971, who were sponsored by the Central government for their resettlement in the states of Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Tripura, Meghalaya, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, etc.

Oriya

Oriya like Bengali has also branched out from the Magadhi Apabhramsh, and is classified under the

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11. O'Malley, L.S.S. (1910, 1984), Bengal District Gazetteers: Santal Parganas, (Delhi: B.R. Publishing Company), p.98.

Eastern group of the New Indo-Aryan. "Oriya language traces its origin from the Magadhi Prakrit of the second stage of Middle-Indo-Aryan. Its probable link may be established with the Eastern Ashokan inscription, viz., the Dhauli and Jaugad inscriptions found in Orissa. The next stage is the Magadhi Apabhramsh, which is the immediate ancestor of the Magadhi New Indo-Aryan languages of which Oriya belongs to South-Eastern Magadhi. Thus, a full connotation of classification, one finds in South-Eastern Magadhan New-Indo-Aryan language of the Indo-European family of languages."[12] Nigam[13] has given three stages of its development. The old Oriya (10+ 13th centuries), is enriched by religious literature. The Middle Oriya (1300-1850 A.D.), was initially influenced by Chaitanya of Nabadwip who spent a considerable time in Puri, a sacred place. The Modern Oriya (1850 onwards), was influenced by Western literature. In this period, Oriya which has virtually the same script as Bengali, Assamese and Maithili, has changed a lot.

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12. Misra, Haripriya (1975), Historical Oriya Morphology, (Varanasi: Bharata Manisha), pp.2-3.

13. Nigam, R.C. (1972), Language Handbook on Mother Tongues in Census, Census Centenary Monograph, No.10, Office of the Registrar General, New Delhi, pp.276-77.

Regarding the spread of Oriya, Dutt observes that, "Outside the Oriya core, the Oriyans have been attracted by the non-agricultural employment opportunities, as in the Singhbhum district of Bihar, and then in Madhya Pradesh as well as in the Calcutta metropolis and tea gardens of Assam."[14] A southward extension results in Oriya speaking transition area in adjoining coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh.

Urdu

The word 'Urdu' is of Turkish origin, and means 'army'. Dutt, tracing the history of its origin, notes that, "It originated as an army language of the 13th and 14th centuries when the Delhi based sultans hired Turkish and Afghan generals and militia; the sultans themselves were of the same origin."[15] It, with the passage of time, experienced a great change in its linguistic characteristics, as it mingled with the local dialects from which it borrowed numerous words. This pidginization process gave way to creolization process where a new language is fully developed, as 'Urdu-e-Mualla' or 'the High Urdu' in this case, which found its way into the royal courts of the

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14. Dutt, op. cit., p.68.

15. Ibid., p.58.

sultans and Moghuls. "This development took place in the 16th and 17th centuries and in the process it was greatly influenced by the rich Persian language."[16]

With the passage of time, Urdu not only achieved the status of the court and official languages, but also the popular spoken language of the people. Its widespread distribution in the Indian sub-continent is attributed to the expansion of the sultanats in the East, South and West. With the advent of the British and the consequent spread of English, Urdu lost its position as a royal language, as well as the language of education widely prevalent earlier starting from MADARASA, the primary schooling. Thus, its influence was reduced to a few pockets as compared to its earlier dominant position of an all India character.

AUSTRO-ASIATIC FAMILY

Austro-Asiatic includes two linguistic branches, namely Munda and Mon-khmer in India. In the absence of the latter in the study area, the former alone has been taken for investigation.

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16. Ibid., p.58.

Munda Branch

There is much controversy about the origin of the pre-Dravidian Munda family.[17] European philologists have discovered distinct language affinities all over the wide belt of territory which includes India, China, Malaya, the Philippines Island, Malacca and Australia. These affinities in vocabulary and language-forms, unmistakably point to a racial contact in the past. On this basis, Grierson supposes that all these countries were inhabited by an old race since extinct, whose language now survives as the common substratum of Munda forms of speech.[18]

Another theory is put forward by Sir Herbert Risley.[19] He proclaims that the Munda tribes are the earliest inhabitants of whom we have no knowledge,

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17. The name 'Munda family' was originally given by Max Muller, who was the first person to distinguish the family from the Dravidian forms of speech.

18. In 1907 Peter Schmidt described it as Munda sub-family that includes Munda languages (Santali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia and others spoken by the tribes inhabiting the Chotanagpur plateau), Mon-khmer languages (Khasi, Nicobari) and the aboriginal languages of Mallacca, and the Munda sub-family together form a family, named 'Austro-Asiatic' by Schmidt. There is another family, he calls Austronesian that includes Indonesian, Melanesian and Polynesian. These two families are grouped into one great family, 'the Austric', he calls.

19. Risley, H. (1908), The People of India, Calcutta.

leading weight to the assertion of the Mundas and their congeners that they are genuine autochthones of the Indian soil.

In the opinion of S.C. Roy[20] the Pre-Dravidians or Proto-Austroloids, probably a lower branch of the Caucasian races inhabited the south-western foot of the Himalayas which, however, was not their birth place. Thereafter, they crossed the Jumna, and the Ganges and moved towards the Central Provinces, Bengal and Assam, and spread even to Burma and Cambodia. His theory is based on the linguistic affinities between languages found in these countries.

Thus, directly or indirectly, the linguistic affinity has been used in different ways to prove that the Austro-Asiatic sub-family has entered India from North-East. Hiralal has the opinion that, "The reverse possibility could have been the case, particularly when India has autochthones, i.e., the Brahuis and aboriginals of Baluchistan and Malay Peninsula, including the pacific islands might have emigrated to Baluchistan and Malay Peninsula, including the Indo-Pacific Islands."[21]

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20. Roy, S.C. (1970), The Mundas and Their Country, (Bombay: Asia Publishing House).

21. Hiralal, R.B. (1922), "The Aboriginals of Central India", Man in India, Vol.2, p.15.

Before going into the details of history of origin and spread of languages of Munda branch, a glance at the classification chart of the Munda languages given by Zide, is desirable as Sapiro remarks that,"Zide's classification of Munda languages is most authoritative source of information as it is based on extensive historical reconstruction of the Munda family."[22]

Fig.5 presents both the historical as well as geographical classification of the Munda languages. According to this classification there was a proto-Munda language, which got separated into North and South Branches. From North branch a small section deflected and moved towards the West. It was called Korku. The remaining section was called as proto-Kherwarian. Again a major section diverted from the proto-Kherwarian and spread in the East. It was Santali linguistic group. The proto-Kherwarian, then, was left with three main languages, viz., Korwa, Mundari and Ho. These languages spread between Korku, in the West, and Santali in the East, Korku occupied the western part, Mundari concentrated in the middle, while Ho settled in the eastern part. Thus these languages

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22. Sapiro, Michael et. al. (1981), Language and Society in South Asia, (Delhi: Motilal Banarasi-das), p.107.

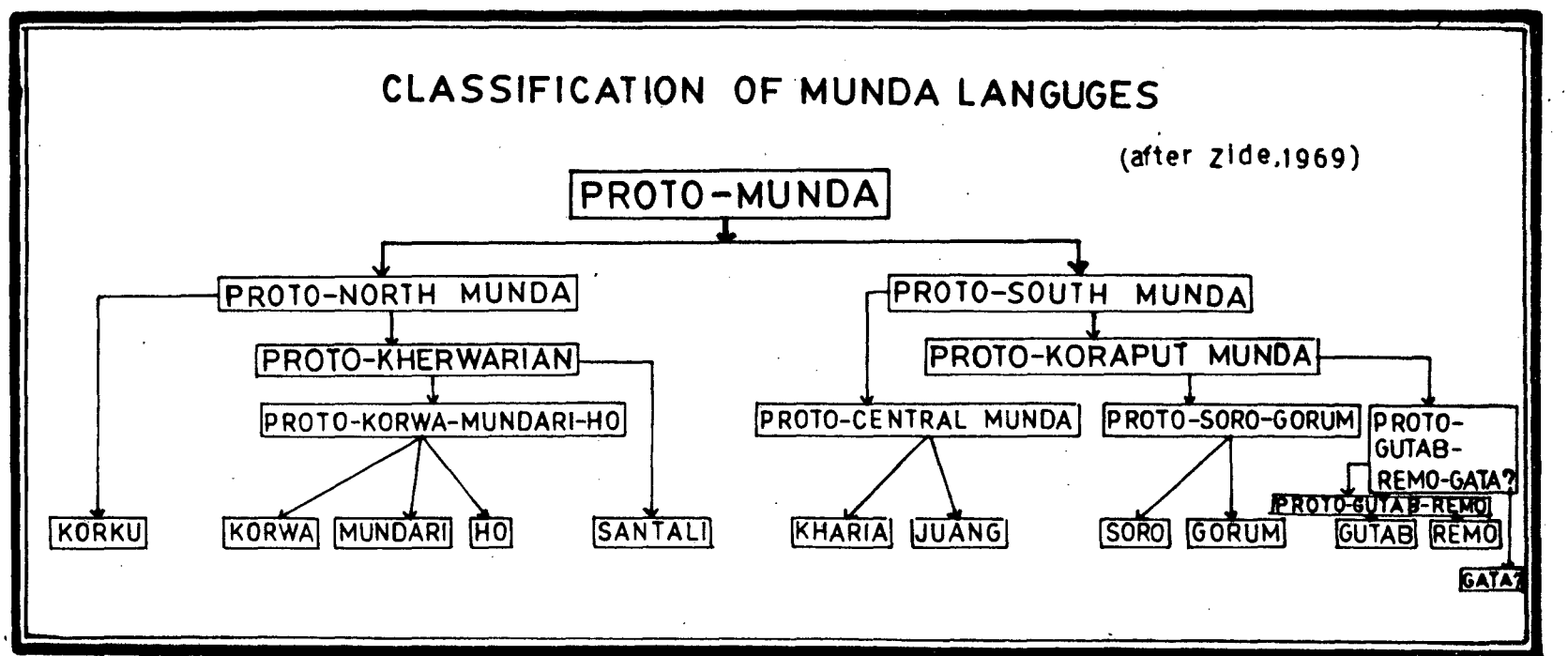

Fig. 5

SOURCE : MICHAEL SAPIRO, P.107

spread from West to East covering the districts of Bilaspur (Korku), Raigarh (Korwa), Ranchi (Mundari), West Singhbhum (Ho), and East Singhbhum (Santali).

The other branch 'Proto South Munda' got further divided into two-'Proto-Central Munda' and 'Proto-Koraput Munda'. The Central Munda includes another two important languages of the Munda Group, namely Kharia and Juang. Kharia spread over the western part of Orissa covering districts of Sambalpur and Sundargarh, while Juang concentrated in the eastern part of Orissa in the districts of South Eastern Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj.

Santali

The history of Santali may be traced from Kherwari language. There is no written traditions and doucments of the origin and spread of this language. Its history is traced with the help of the legends, folklore of Santalis and their linguistic similarity with other groups.

"The name 'Santal', in O'Malley's opinion, "is an English form, which corresponds with the form of 'Saontar' used by the Bengali speaking people. The Santals themselves state that they got this name.... because, they were living in Saont (Sant, as they pronounce the name of the country), which has been

identified with the modern Silda Parganas in Midnapore district."[23]

The 'Hihiri Pipiri' folk song of the Santals narrates their origin, migration and division into sub-groups. Gautam[24] has quoted Bodding's English translation which reads;

> In Hihiri Pipiri we were born,
> In Hihiri Pipiri we were born,
> In Khoj Kamen we were called for,
> In Harata we grew up, In Sasan Beda we became septs.

Gautam quotes Bodding, "They did not settle at Sasan Beda permanently. They, in their wandering habit, came across Jarpi country (a mountainous region), to Aere country, Kaende country upto the 'seven river land' - Campa (or Champa). In Campa country they made as many as 12 forts for each sub-group that had stronghold with their respective functions."[25] But they had to leave Campa ultimately. According to one of their legends, they moved to Tore Pokhari Baha Anadela and then to other places like Sir, Sikhar, Nagpur and Saont or Sat

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23. O'Malley, op. cit., p.99.

24. Gautam, M.K. (1973), "Theoretical Reflections on the Traditions and Legends Related to the Santal Migrations", Man in India, Vol.53, No.2, p.158.

25. Ibid., pp.158-59.

country.[26] Dalton points out that, "They also passed through two more countries-Jhalda (a Munda country) and Patkum (a Bhumij country) before reaching Saont. From then onward, they were not called Kherwari but Saontaro or Santals... Those who were eluctant to accept the Hindu faith, left the place and finally settled in Santhali or Santhalia, or Santal Parganas, their present home-land."[27]

Gautam backs Dalton's theory of Santal migration from north-east India. He has shown the possible routes taken by the Santals in their traditional migration in Fig.6. According to him, "The Santals moved from noth-east to the Gangetic valley. They crossed the Ganges near the Son river (the area near the river might have Sasan Beda, i.e., a Turmeric plain along the river) and turned to the west (area of Mirzapur and adjacent). One group went to the south-east, to Orissa, while another towards Hazaribagh and Bhagalpur."[28]

Thus the long migratory history of Santals have put them in a very vast area. Therefore the Santali

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26. Ibid., p.161.

27. Dalton, E.T. (1972), Descriptive Ethnography of Bengal, (Calcutta: Indian Studies, Past & Present), pp.208-9.

28. Gautam, op. cit., p.162.

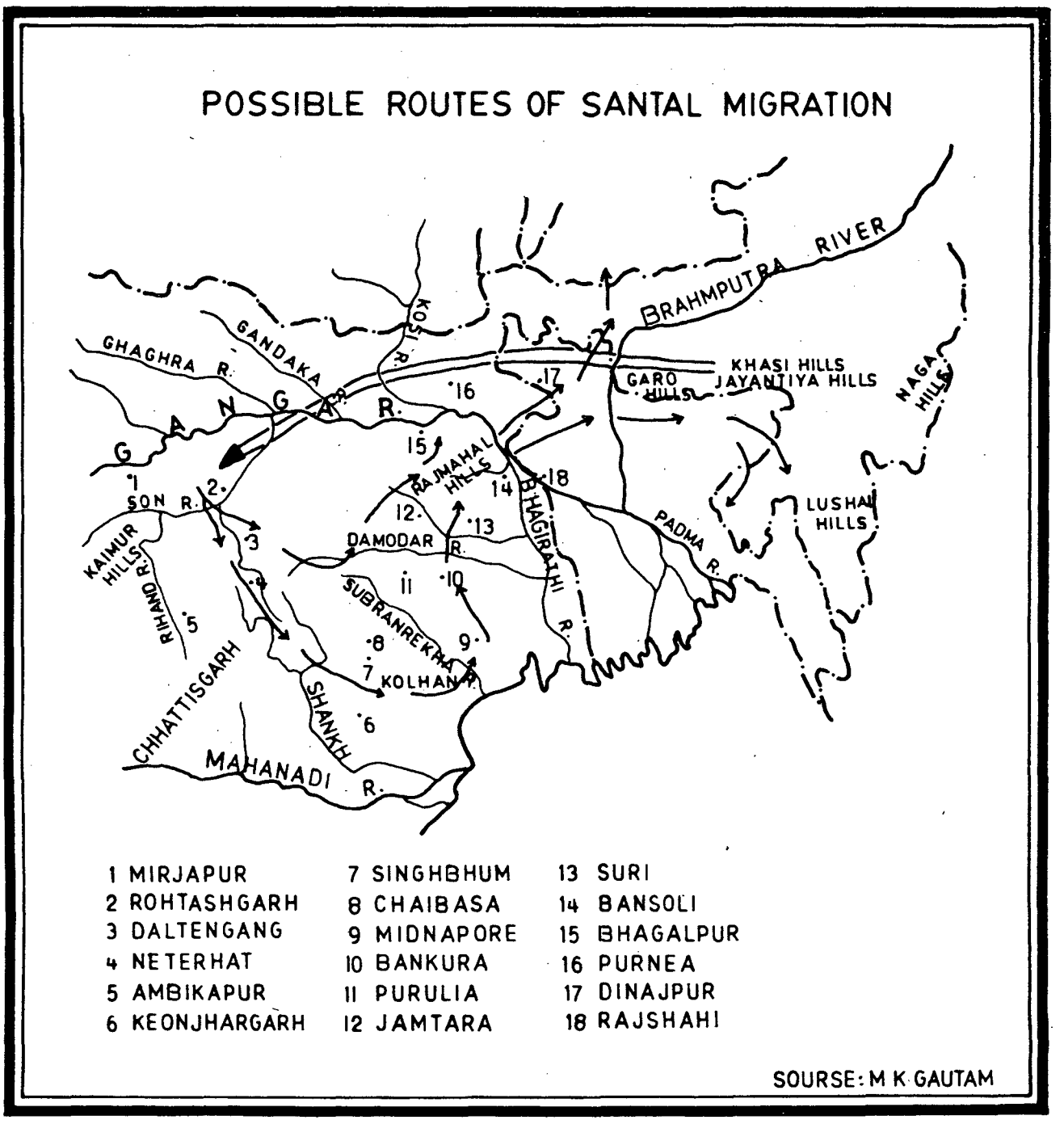
POSSIBLE ROUTES OF SANTAL MIGRATION
BRAHMPUTRA RIVER
KOSI R.
GANDAKA R.
GHAGHRA R.
GANGA R.
KHASI HILLS
JAYANTIYA HILLS
GARO HILLS
NAGA HILLS
LUSHAI HILLS
RAJMAHAL HILLS
BHAGIRATHI R.
PADMA R.
SON R.
KAIMUR HILLS
RIHAND R.
DAMODAR R.
SUBARNREKHA R.
KOLHAN
SHANKH R.
CHHATTISGARH
MAHANADI R.
1 MIRJAPUR
2 ROHTASHGARH
3 DALTENGANG
4 NETERHAT
5 AMBIKAPUR
6 KEONJHARGARH
7 SINGHBHUM
8 CHAIBASA
9 MIDNAPORE
10 BANKURA
11 PURULIA
12 JAMTARA
13 SURI
14 BANSOLI
15 BHAGALPUR
16 PURNEA
17 DINAJPUR
18 RAJSHAHI
SOURSE: M K GAUTAM

Fig. 6

language is spread over a vast area comprising almost the whole of the Chotanagpur plateaux and its surrounding fertile plains.

Mundari

Mundari language traces its origin from Kherwari branch of the North Proto-Munda language. Munda is the mother tongue of the Munda tribe. Like the Santals, the source of information in their case is also their legends and folklore. According to scholars, the Mundas came from Ruidasgarh (which in fact is Rohtasgarh) and from where they are said to have migrated to their present habitat in the central part of Ranchi district (Bihar).

The Mundas had followed the course of the Koel river. The Santals and the Mundas had crossed the Son river and moved in South-East direction that divides Hazaribagh from Palamau and Ranchi districts. The Mundas preferred to remain in the forest covered region (now known as Ranchi district), while the Santals moved in the East.

Dalton observes that, "When Mundari first appeared in Jharkhand (a portion of the country formerly known as the great Dandaka forest in the Chutia Nagpur plateau well connected with the great Vindhyan range), it was doubtless, all covered with such grand sal timber as we

still find in unreclaimed parts. It forms the heart of a territory in which the Mundaris have been settled for ages. It was a secure asylum for them.[29]

Ho

Ho language does not possess much legends and folklore that throw much light on their traditions of origin, or migration, but gives clear sign of a branch of Proto-Kherwari languages, which is admitted by the Hos.

It is believed that the Hos migrated to their present habitat from Chotanagpur. But they had to face wrath of the Bhuiyas who then occupied that part of the Singhbhum District of Bihar. Scholar like Dalton and E. Raghavaiah endorse this view.

Kharia

There are broadly two distinct points of view, regarding the origin and migration of the Kharias. One is that Kolarian speaking Kharias came from somewhere between Patna and Rohtas and settled at Pora near the Koel river. From there they moved in different directions. This view is held by Dalton and Raghavaiah.

The other view is that the Kharias came from the South. But in this case, it is supposed that they

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29. Dalton, op. cit., p.162.

might have moved back south from the Gangetic Provinces and passing through the Vindhyan ranges and gradually arrived in the Chotanagpur area. This point of view has been suggested by S.C. Roy.

Juang

The word 'Juang' in tribal language simply means 'man'. They are inhabiting Keonjhar, Pal Lahara, Dhenkanal, frequently known as the 'Tributary Mahals or Killahs'. Elwin notes that, "The majority of them had no idea about their ancestors; while a few claims that the 'Tributary Mahals of Keonjhar' was the original seat of their race."[30] Elwin again says that, "Keonjhar... is the true MATI-PRITHVI of the Juangs, where they originated and whence they spread to other places for the sake of the food."[31] His view is supported by Pattnaik and Dalton.

Korwa

The Korwas are a small tribe of the most powerful Munda branch of the Austro-Asiatic family. They speak Korwa dialect. The area of present concentration of Korwa is not its original home. "The Korwas are a branch

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30. Elwin (1948), "Notes on the Juangs", Man in India, Vol.28, p.9.

31. Ibid., p.17.

of the Mundas of the Chotanagpur, who moved westwards into Jashpur state, and then further west into Surguja and Udaipur states along the hill ranges, both north (from Khuria to Lahsan Pat), and south (Mainpat range) of Surguja upto Bilaspur district. The other Munda waves of migration further west of Bilaspur gradually merged with the foreigners and apparently impenetrable barrier of the Oraon of Western Ranchi."[32] Hiralal holds the similar view regarding westward movement of the Korwas.

DRAVIDIAN FAMILY

The Dravidian family entered the Indian sub-continent not later than the Austro-Asiatic sub-family, but from an opposite direction, the West. They developed the fascinating city based Mohnjedaro and Harappa civilization (2400 BC - 1700 BC). The language of this civilization is yet to be deciphered. "Their spread in the Indo-Gangetic plains observed absorption of Austric and Tibeto-Burman words in their language, and when they were defeated by the Aryans, they migrated towards the South where they again developed their language and

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32. Bhaduri, M.B. (1937), "The Korwas of the Udaipur State (C.P.)," Man in India, Vol.17, p.133.

subsequently a great civilization."[33] The four important and highly developed languages of the Dravidian family are Tamil, Telugu, Malayam[1a] and Kannada.

Some tribes of central and eastern India have a strong linguistic affinity with this family such as, the Oraons, Gonds, Targi, Khondh/Kondh, Kui etc. The details about the historical migrations of the numerically dominant linguistic group, e.g., Kurukh/Oraon shall be looked into.

Kurukh/Oraon

The Oraons in their own language call themselves Kurukhs. According to the Oraons own story, as Hiralal (1922) says, "The 'Kurukhs' derive their name from Kurukh, the name of their first king, who ruled over Kurush or Kurukh country, the old name of Shahabad district, whence they say, they migrated."[34]

Toppo quotes Archer who has traced the history of their origin (not the language) early to Rohtasganj, as follows: "Before they occupied Rohtasganj area, the Oraons tribe had probably come from a point in the Deccan, had moved up the river Narmada, and had crossed the Vindhyas. Rohtasgarh was their capital,

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33. Dutt, op. cit., p.53.

34. Hiralal, op. cit., p.30.

but it, eventually, fell into the hands of the Hindu invaders. The Oraons were then forced out of this region into a zone in Chotanagpur, a hundred miles to the South-East. In the tribal legends, the period at Rohtasgarh is often depicted as the golden age and Rohtasgarh shines as a symbol of a heroic stability."[35]

Raghavaiah supports the view of Archer and traces "the Oraons' homeland in Gujarat. After having been expelled from their land, they retreated to the East and after an unsuccessful stand at Kalinjar, they finally settled in the Rohtas hills. Even from there they were later driven out during the reign of Akbar. Driven from the Rohtas, the Oraons split into two groups. A small group went to the east and settled in the Rajmahal hills; while the other major group went southward and ultimately settled in the central and western parts of the Ranchi district of Chotanagpur. From amongst these, a small section moved further west and south-west till they settled in Jashpur, Burway and Lohardaga."[36]

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35. Toppo, Ezechial (1983), "'Janni Shikar' or Hunting Expedition of Tribal Women in the Chotanagpur", Eastern Anthropologist, Vol.36, p.316.

36. Raghavaiah, op. cit., pp.49-50.

Gondi

The Gonds is a tribe of the Dravidian family. They moved North, like the Oraons. Both are believed to have lived, at one time, in southern India. Raghavaiah quotes Grierson, "The Gondi language is more akin to Tamil and Kanarese than to Telugu". Raghavaiah says that, "After crossing the river Godavari, they spread over the states of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and to some extent in Bihar and other adjacent states."[37] R.V. Russell and Hiralal also hold the view that the Gonds settled in Gondwana between the 9th and 13th centuries A.D.

The above views are broadly endorsed by Mehta who adds that, "The Gonds appear to be the most mobile of the tribes in India with a possible aboriginal descent. Their movement could have been possibly due to failure of their hunting economy, famine, attack by the Rajputs and Muslim invaders, and their own attempts to subdue weaker tribes and find wives for their clans in a widely prevalent practice of marriage by capture."[38]

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37. Raghavaiah, op. cit., p.324.

38. Mehta, op. cit., pp.12-13.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

The history of evolution and diffusion of eastern branch of Indo-Aryan family in the region, in particular, is based on written records and documents. It is based on legends, and folksongs in the case of Munda branch of Austro-Asiatic family and northern branch of Dravidian family. Whatever controversy has arisen in case of the last two families is basically due to interpretation of their folksongs, legends and incomplete material evidence. Nevertheless, the views discussed here indicate that none of them is 'autochthonous' to the region.

The region has acted as a melting pot of distinct linguistic groups. It has experienced in-migrations of all these groups, broadly, in two phases. In the 'first phase', they got settled in the plain alluvial lands or in the margins of the plateau; while in the 'second phase', they moved into the interior part of the plateau.

Both the phases were greatly influenced by two forces ('centripetal' and 'centrifugal' or 'pull' or 'push') operating simultaneously. When Indo-Aryan groups occupied the plains in the process of their eastward expansion, previously settled Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian groups were pushed out into the interior of the Chotanagpur plateau (this is clearly stated in the legends and folksongs of Santali, Mundari and Kurukh/Oraon).

Again, the process of infiltration of Indo-Aryan groups into the plateau in the last few decades witnessed the out-migration of the tribes in the form of agricultural labourers, workers in tea gardens and construction sites, and the unskilled labourers in the tertiary sector of economy.

The tradition as recorded in the legends and folk-songs of the tribes reflects on their everlasting migration in search of food. They also got settled in separate areas, though not far from each other. Whenever they came in close proximity during their migrations, they lived in complete harmony and shared their social and cultural lives, despite lack of linguistic affinity. For example, the Mundari and Kurukh/Oraon groups (in the north-western Ranchi district), lived in close contact and shared their social and cultural lives. They carried out the cleaning of forests, levelling the terraces for agricultural activity for years, and gradually got separated.

There is a linguistic similarity among the languages of Munda branch, e.g. Santali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia etc. Despite the slight dialectal differences, each language is understood by others. This also supports the view that these languages have originated from a common parent-language which was Kolarian (or Kherwarian) at Rohtasgarh.

CHAPTER III

PATTERNS OF SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

In the previous chapter, the historical origins and diffusion of different languages and dialects of the region has been discussed. This chapter deals with the existing patterns of their spatial distribution. This chapter takes special care of minority linguistic groups that belong to the Austric and Dravidian family of languages, as they have been struggling for their existence for centuries in the 'area of isolation', generally inhospitable and inaccessible. The Chotanagpur region has been the 'homeland' of these linguistic groups.

There are about 18 languages/mother tongues of the Munda branch of the Austric family in this region, which have been attested in the Linguistic Survey of India (Appendix-III). Among them Santali, Mundari, Ho and Kharia are important and dominant languages in the region. Each of these languages is spoken by more than one lakh persons. Languages spoken by more than 10 thousand but less than one lakh persons in the region, are Bhumij, Koda/Kora, Juang, Korku, Korwa, Kisan etc. Kurukh/Oraon is the only important language of the northern group of the Dravidian family.

Bihar has the largest population of the speakers of the Austro-Asiatic family in the region (31.12 lakhs). The important languages/dialects are Santali (18.01 lakhs), Mundari (6.38 lakhs), Ho (5.36 lakhs) and Kharia (1.02 lakhs). West Bengal comes next with 10.99 lakhs Austro-Asiatic speakers, of which Santali alone contributes 10.67 lakhs. Orissa occupies the third place, where 9.52 lakhs Austro-Asiatic speakers were recorded in 1971. Here again Santali has the largest population (3.76 lakhs) followed by Ho (2.13 lakhs), Munda unspecified (1.53 lakhs) and Mundari (1.18 lakhs). Appendix-IV gives a detailed information.

Numerical strength has been considered the only criterion in the selection of languages/dialects for the detailed study in terms of their nature of concentration, or, dispersion. Santali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia and Kurukh/Oraon have been selected for this purpose.

'Section one' deals with the distributional pattern of Hindi, Bengali and Oriya (Indo-Aryan languages), Santali, Mundari, Ho and Kharia (Austro-Asiatic languages) and Kurukh/Oraon (Dravidian languages) in terms of the total population of Block/Police station/Taluk. Indo-Aryan languages are regionally dominant while Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian are minority linguistic groups.

'Section two' shows concentration and dispersion of Santali, Mundari, Ho and Kharia (Austro-Asiatic) and Kurukh/Oraon (Dravidian) languages with the help of 'index of concentration'. This distribution is shown in relation to all India speakers of each group. Thus, an area of high concentration itself is entitled to become the core of a particular language.

'Section three' delimits 'cores and peripheries' of the above-mentioned languages of the Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian family.

METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS

(a) Section I shows calculation of percentage for each language to the total population of block/police station/taluk.

(b) Section II: Calculation has been made to show the percentage of speakers of each of the above languages in block/police station/taluk in respect to all-India speakers of these languages.

(c) Section III: Method of cores and peripheries has been applied in this section.

(d) Choropleth method is used for preparing maps. It depicts the percentage distribution, and cores and peripheries of the above languages.

Cores and Peripheries - Methodological Aspects

The method of delineation of 'cores' and 'peripheries' has been adopted from the work of Prof. Moonis Raza and Prof. Aijazuddin Ahmad.[1] The method is based on the composite index values of the following three variables:

i) percentage of the 'X' language speakers in a development block/police station/taluk to the total population of the 'X' language in the country as a whole;

ii) percentage of the 'X' language speakers to the total population of the development block/police station/taluk;

iii) percentage of 'X' language speakers to the total speakers of the language family, they belong, in the development block/police station/taluk.

These variables have been chosen on the basis of the following assumptions:

i) If speakers of 'X' language have a high proportion of their total population concentrated in a

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1. Raza, Moonis and A. Ahmad, Tribal Atlas of India (Print-Script). They have identified four types of 'cores' and 'peripheries' such as 'compact core and compact periphery', 'compact core and fragmented periphery', 'fragmented core and compact periphery,' and 'fragmented core and fragmented periphery'.

certain development block/police station/taluk, that unit would certainly make the core of the 'X' language;

ii) A high proportion of the 'X' language speakers to the total population of a development block/police station/taluk clearly shows their predominance. It, thus, reveals that the inmigration of speakers of other languages, particularly, Hindi, Bengali and Oriya has been very weak; and

iii) The percentage of the 'X' speakers to the total speakers of the Austro-Asiatic or Dravidian languages in the development block/police station/taluk is an indication of the spatial association pattern of the speakers of these languages in the unit of study. In view of this associational character, the third assumption is - a high proportion of the third variable does point out about the traditional monolithic nature of the 'X' language.

A composite index (Ci) has been worked out for delimiting the core and periphery of the 'X' language speakers. The composite index (Ci) may be symbolically expressed as follows:

$$Ci = \sum_{i=1}^{i=3} Wi\, X_{ij}$$

when $j = 1$

i = number of variables (i_1, i_2, i_3).

j = number of development block/police station/taluk $(j_1, j_2, \ldots . j_n)$.

X_1j = ratio of the percentage of the 'X' speakers in the jth unit to its population to its mean.

X_2j = ratio of the percentage of the 'X' speakers in the jth unit to the total population of the jth unit to its mean. and

X_3j = ratio of the percentage of the 'X' speakers in the jth unit to the total speakers of the Austro-Asiatic or Dravidian language family of the jth unit to its mean.

W = Weightage given to the variables

$W_1 = 1$

$W_2 = 1$

$W_3 = 1.5$

The allotment of weightages to the variables has been done on the basis of their importance in terms of their role in the process of concentration of the Austro-Asiatic or Dravidian language speakers in the area, as they have distinct social, cultural and economic pursuits in their daily lives. The third variable (i.e. percentage of the 'X' language speakers to the total speakers of the Austro-Asiatic or Dravidian family in a development block/police station/taluk has been assigned a higher weightage in view of the infiltration of the other language groups into the area of the Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian speakers.

The composite index has been classified into two categories - core and periphery. The categorization is

based on the standard deviation of the composite index (Ci).

Thus, Core = $\overline{Ci}$+2 S.D. and above, and

Periphery = $\overline{Ci}$ to $\overline{Ci}$+2 S.D.

The methods used for this exercise have been mentioned in Table-1.

Table-1: 'X' CORE AND PERIPHERY - COMPUTATION PROCEDURE

	Total popn. of the dev. block/p.s./taluk	Total Austro-Asiatic Dravidian lang.speakers in dev. block/p.s./taluk	Total pop. of 'X' speakers in dev. block/p.s./taluk	Total pop of 'X' speakers in India
	1	2	3	4
Statistical Technique	A	B	C	D
Percentage	3 as % of 4	3 as% of 1	3 as% of 2	
Normalization value of the i th spatial unit	A'	B'	C'	
weightage	1	1	1.5	
Composite Index	(Ci) = A1' + B1' + C1.5'			
Core	= $\overline{Ci}$ + 2σ and above			
Periphery	= $\overline{Ci}$ to $\overline{Ci}$ + 2σ			

Note: Where σ is the standard deviation of the Composite index ($\overline{Ci}$).

Section I

DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

The first section deals with the distribution of speakers of Hindi, Bengali, Oriya, Urdu, Santali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia and Kurukh/Oraon in respect of the total population of block/police station/taluk of the region. Each language/dialect presents its unique features of distribution pattern over space in terms of concentration or dispersion. A brief distribution of other languages/dialects including Munda unspecified has also been attempted. These are: Bhumij, Korku, Koda/Kora, Korwa, Juang and Birhori. Each of these languages/dialects possesses more than 10 thousand speakers in the region.

Hindi

Hindi is the official language of Bihar as well as of the country. Hindi was opted as a 'mother-tongue' by 26.98 million persons of the Chotanagpur and its surrounding region by declaration in 1971 census. The Hindi (mother-tongue) speakers of the region account for 12.94 per cent of its all-India speakers. Out of which Bihar alone accounts for more than 11 per cent. In other words, Bihar records 89.62 per cent Hindi speakers of the region.

When one considers the district-level distribution of Hindi speakers, three distinct zones are identified

in the region. The share of Hindi speakers exceeds 90 per cent of the total population in the districts of Patna, Gaya, Shahabad and Monghyr, all lying in the northern part of the region. This zone is surrounded by another zone of 80 to 90 per cent speakers of Hindi, comprising the districts of Bhagalpur, Hazaribagh and Palamau. To the East and South of the second zone, there lies the third zone of Hindi speakers in Santal Parganas, Dhanbad, Ranchi and Singhbhum districts with 42.8, 57.61, 50.35 and 10.86 per cent speakers respectively (Table-2).

Table-2: DISTRICT-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF BLOCKS WITH MORE THAN 30 PER CENT OF HINDI SPEAKERS, 1971

S. No.	Name of District	>90	75-90	60-75	45-60	30-45	Total
1.	Patna	26	1	1	-	-	28
2.	Gaya	33	13	-	-	-	46
3.	Monghyr	15	8	-	-	-	23
4.	Shahbad	36	5	-	-	-	41
5.	Bhagalpur	7	10	1	-	-	18
6.	S. Parganas	-	6	5	5	4	20
7.	Palamau	15	6	2	2	-	25
8.	Hazaribagh	14	20	5	3	-	42
9.	Dhanbad	-	2	3	3	1	9
10.	Ranchi	1	3	4	15	16	39
	Total	137	74	21	28	21	281

Source: Compiled by the author.

Fig.7 reveals the block-level distribution of Hindi speakers. They are heavily concentrated in the northern and north-western parts of the region, where almost all the blocks of Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Palamau and Hazaribagh districts of Bihar and all 4 taluks of Surguja district of Madhya Pradesh, have a proportion of more than 90 per cent (in some cases more than 80 per cent) to the total population.

In the South and East of the above area, Hindi speakers are sparsely distributed. In a few blocks of Santal Parganas and Singhbhum districts, Hindi is spokean by less than 15 per cent of the population. The presence of 45 to 60 per cent Hindi speakers in 24 blocks and 30 to 45 per cent in 22 blocks of these districts indicates their present inmigration there. Blocks showing 1 to 5 per cent and below 1 per cent Hindi speakers point out that the process of southward and eastward expansion of Hindi speakers started late.

Bengali

Bengali is the official language of West Bengal. The region records 21.67 million Bengali speakers who constitute 48.38 per cent of all India Bengali speakers. West Bengal alone show 44.9 out of 48.38 per cent Bengali speakers. In other words, 90.75 per cent Bengali speakers

THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HINDI SPEAKERS TO TOTAL POPULATION

1971

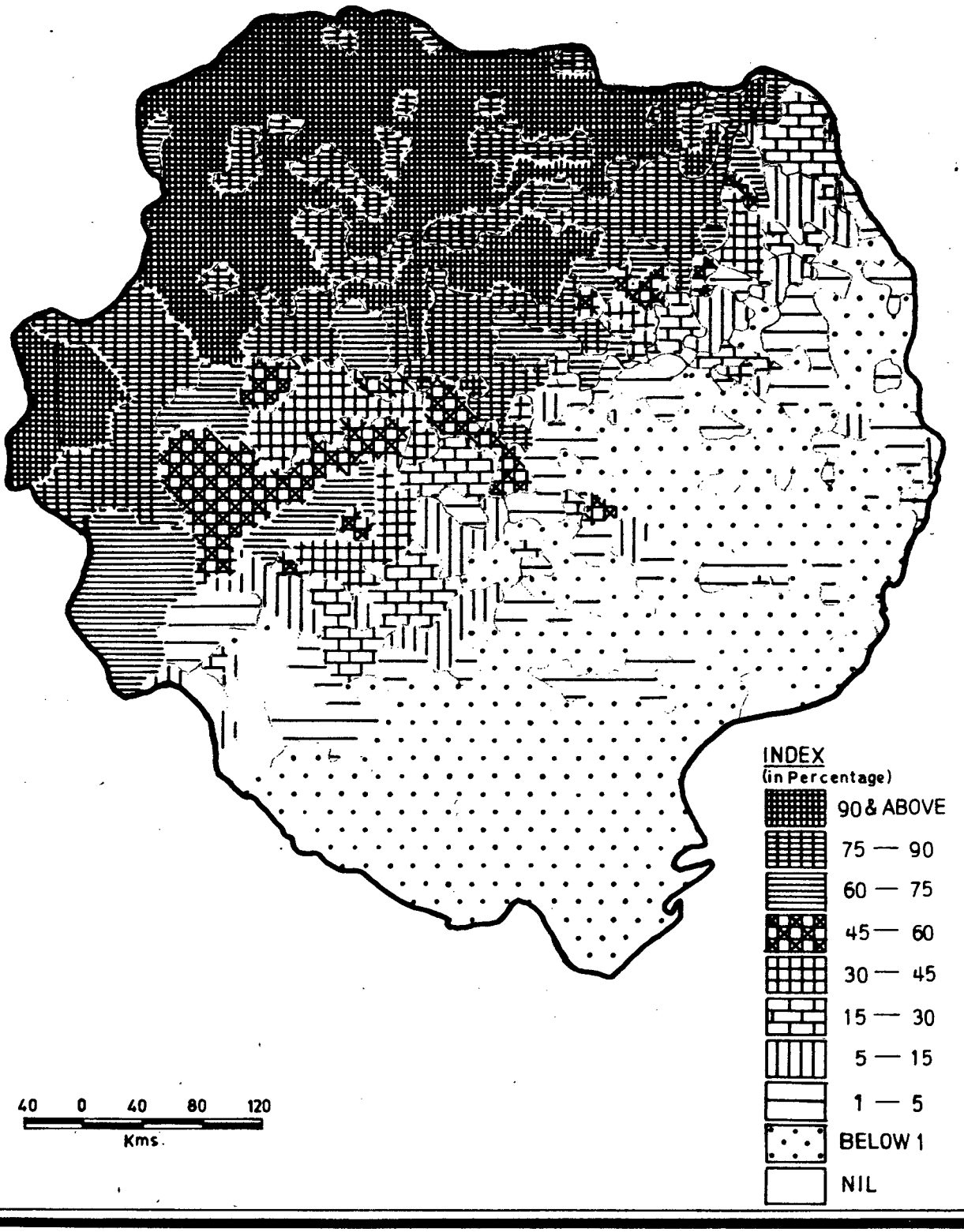


Fig. 7

of the region are concentrated in West Bengal. It is interesting that not a single district of West Bengal accounts for less than 80 per cent Bengali speakers.

Bengali speakers dominate with more than 90 per cent to the total population in 89 out of 159 police stations of West Bengal. In another 47 police stations, share of Bengali is 75 to 90 per cent to the total population. While in the last two categories of 60 to 75 and 45 to 60 per centage of Bengali speakers one finds 17 and 6 police stations respectively. Their districtwise distribution is shown in Table-3.

Table-3: DISTRICT-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE STATIONS WITH MORE THAN 30% BENGALI SPEAKERS, 1971

Sr. No.	Name of District	>90	75-90	60-75	45-60	Total
1.	Birbhum	8	6	-	-	14
2.	Bankura	12	6	1	-	19
3.	Burdwan	10	8	5	4	27
4.	Midnapore	20	11	3	1	35
5.	Purulia	2	11	4	-	17
6.	Hooghly	13	4	2	1	20
7.	Howrah	10	1	2	-	13
8.	Murshidabad	14	-	-	-	14
		89	47	17	6	159

Source: compiled by the author.

A significant proportion of Bengali speakers (15 to 60 per cent) in the adjoining blocks of Santal Parganas, Dhanbad and Singhbhum districts of Bihar, indicates their westward movement. That is why, in these districts Bengali speakers account for 17.1, 21.89 and 27.21 per cent to total population respectively.

Fig.8 shows that Bengali speakers are highly concentrated in the eastern part of the region. The present distribution indicates that the axis of Bengali speakrers lies in the eastern part of the region, while their apex lies in the police stations of Bankura and Purulia districts in the West. In the South, there is sharp slump in the percentage of Bengali speakers due to presence of another regionally dominant language- Oriya, (which incidentally belongs to the same family).

Oriya

Oriya is the official language of Orissa. Oriya is spoken by 10.77 million persons in the Chotanagpur and its surrounding region. Oriya speakers of the region constitute 54.76 per cent of their all India speakers. Orissa alone accounts for 52.23 per cent out of 54.76 per cent Oriya speakers of the region.

Fig.9 shows that Oriya speakers are significantly concentrated in the southern part of the region. They

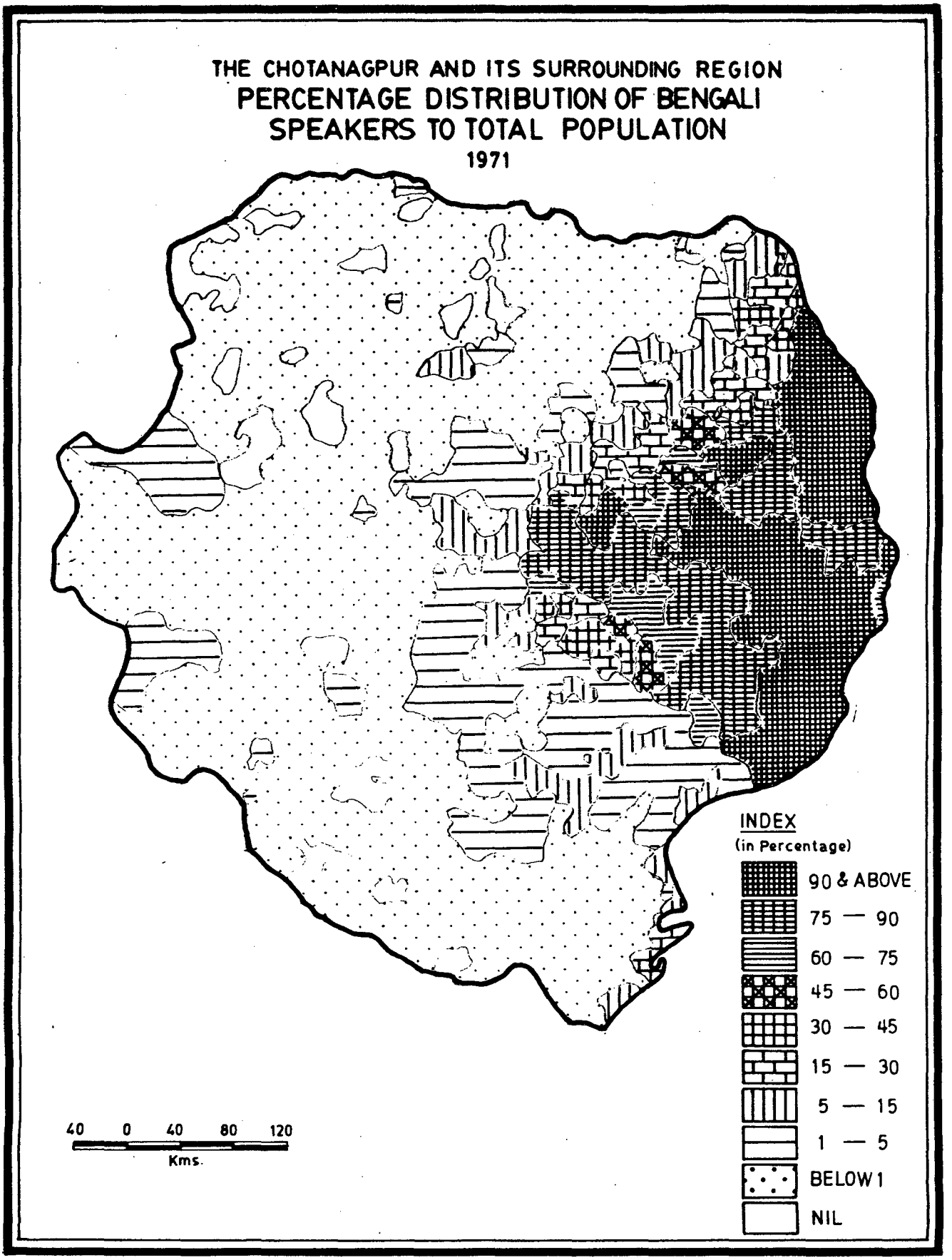

THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF BENGALI SPEAKERS TO TOTAL POPULATION
1971
INDEX
(in Percentage)
90 & ABOVE
75 — 90
60 — 75
45 — 60
30 — 45
15 — 30
5 — 15
1 — 5
BELOW 1
NIL
40 0 40 80 120
Kms.

Fig. 8

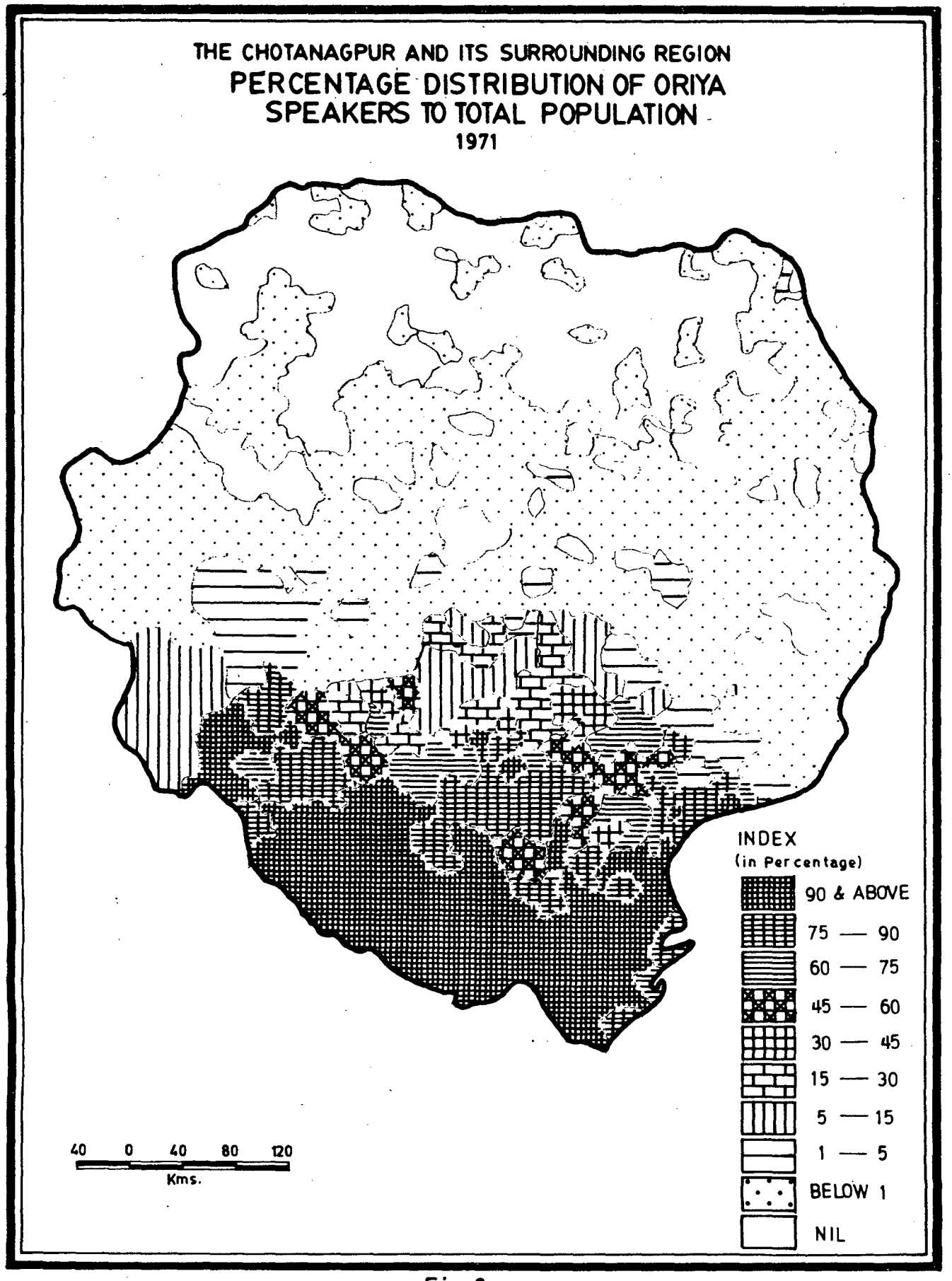

THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ORIYA SPEAKERS TO TOTAL POPULATION
1971
INDEX
(in Percentage)
90 & ABOVE
75 — 90
60 — 75
45 — 60
30 — 45
15 — 30
5 — 15
1 — 5
BELOW 1
NIL
40 0 40 80 120
Kms.

Fig. 9

account for more than 90 per cent of the population in police station. Their share decreases towards the North where Oriya is spoken by 75 to 90 per cent of the population. And beyond Orissa state, their share sharply declines to below 5 per cent, excepting the blocks of Singhbhum district of Bihar (Oriya speakers account for as high as 45 per cent of the population of a block).

Table-4: DISTRICT-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE STATION WITH MORE THAN 30% ORIYA SPEAKERS, 1971

Sr. No.	Name of District	Percentage categories >90	75-90	60-75	45-60	30-45	Total
1.	Dhenkanal	21	2	-	-	-	23
2.	Cuttack	29	3	1	-	-	33
3.	Balasore	13	8	2	-	-	23
4.	Sambalpur	13	7	2	1	-	23
5.	Sundargarh	4	3	4	3	2	16
6.	Keonjhar	4	7	2	1	1	15
7.	Mayurbhanj	-	5	5	5	5	20
	Total	84	28	14	9	8	153

Source: compiled by the author.

One finds that Oriya speakers occupy a dominant position in the coastal region as well as in the Mahanadi valley. The districts covering the alluvial plains record more than 90 per cent Oriya speakers in most of the police stations. While hilly and forested districts

(Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh and Keonjhar), lying in the northern part of Orissa show gradual to sharp decline of Oriya speakers in many police stations (Table 4). In these districts speakers of Austro-Asiatic languages constitutea significant proportion of the population.

Urdu:

Urdu occupies the fourth place (with 23.29 lakhs speakers) among the Indo-Aryan languages of the Chotanagar and its surrounding region. Urdu speakers constitute only 8.14 per cent of its total speakers (28.62 millions) of the country, of which 7.13 per cent speakers are distributed in Bihar alone. In other words, Bihar records 87.7 per cent of Urdu speakers of the region. Bhagalpur district possesses the largest (10.79 per cent) Urdu speakers of the region, followed by Dhanbad (8.01), Monghyr (7.43), Gaya (7.41), Santal Pargana (7.09), Patna (6.14), Hazaribagh (6.13) and palamau (5.67). The percentage of Urdu speakers ranges between 1 and 5 in 10 districts and below 1 per cent in another 10 districts of the region. (Table-5)

Fig.10 gives the block/police station/taluk-level distribution of Urdu speakers. Their share ranges between 1 and 25 per cent of the population in all the block/police station of the northern part of the region, excepting a few patches in the central and south-eastern

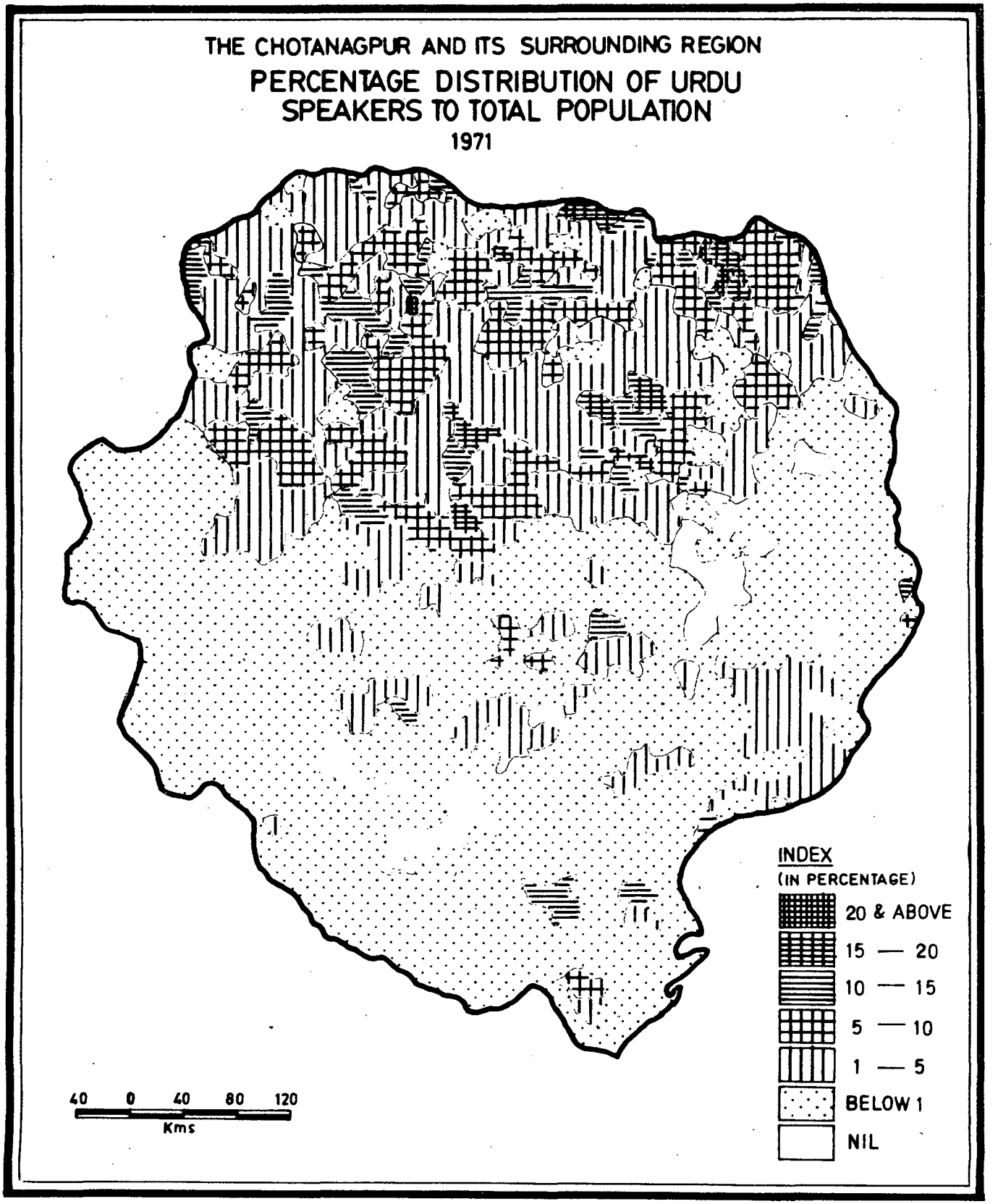

THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF URDU SPEAKERS TO TOTAL POPULATION
1971
INDEX
(IN PERCENTAGE)
20 & ABOVE
15 — 20
10 — 15
5 — 10
1 — 5
BELOW 1
NIL
40 0 40 80 120
Kms

Fig.10

Table-5: DISTRICT-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF URDU SPEAKERS, 1971

More than 5 per cent to total population			Below 5 per cent but more than 1 per cent to total population		
Sr. No.	Name of District	%age	Sr. No.	Name of District	%age
1.	Patna	6.14	1.	Shahabad	4.35
2.	Gaya	7.41	2.	Ranchi	4.55
3.	Monghyr	7.43	3.	Singhbhum	3.07
4.	S. Parganas	7.09	4.	Burdwan	2.26
5.	Bhagalpur	10.79	5.	Howrah	2.61
6.	Palamau	5.67	6.	Hooghly	1.49
7.	Hazaribagh	6.13	7.	Midnapore	1.17
8.	Dhanbad	8.01	8.	Balasore	3.59
			9.	Cuttack	3.33
			10.	Sundargarh	1.57

Below 1 per cent to total population

Sr. No.	Name of District	%age
1.	Birbhum	0.6
2.	Bankura	0.09
3.	Purulia	0.75
4.	Murshidabad	0.73
5.	Sambalpur	0.04
6.	Keonjhar	0.59
7.	Mayurbhanj	0.49
8.	Dhenkanal	0.19
9.	Surguja	0.63
10.	Raigarh	0.41

Source: compiled by the author.

parts. The southern, eastern and western parts of the region contain less than 1 per cent Urdu speakers of the population. Table-6 presents a distribution of blocks/police stations with more than 5 per cent Urdu speakers in each district . In 125 blocks/police stations of the region, Urdu speakers' share ranges between 5 and 25 per cent of the population. Their proportion exceeds 15 per cent in 18 blocks in Bihar alone.

Table-6: DISTRICT-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF BLOCKS/POLICE STATIONS WITH PERCENTAGE OF URDU SPEAKERS TO TOTAL POPULATION, 1971

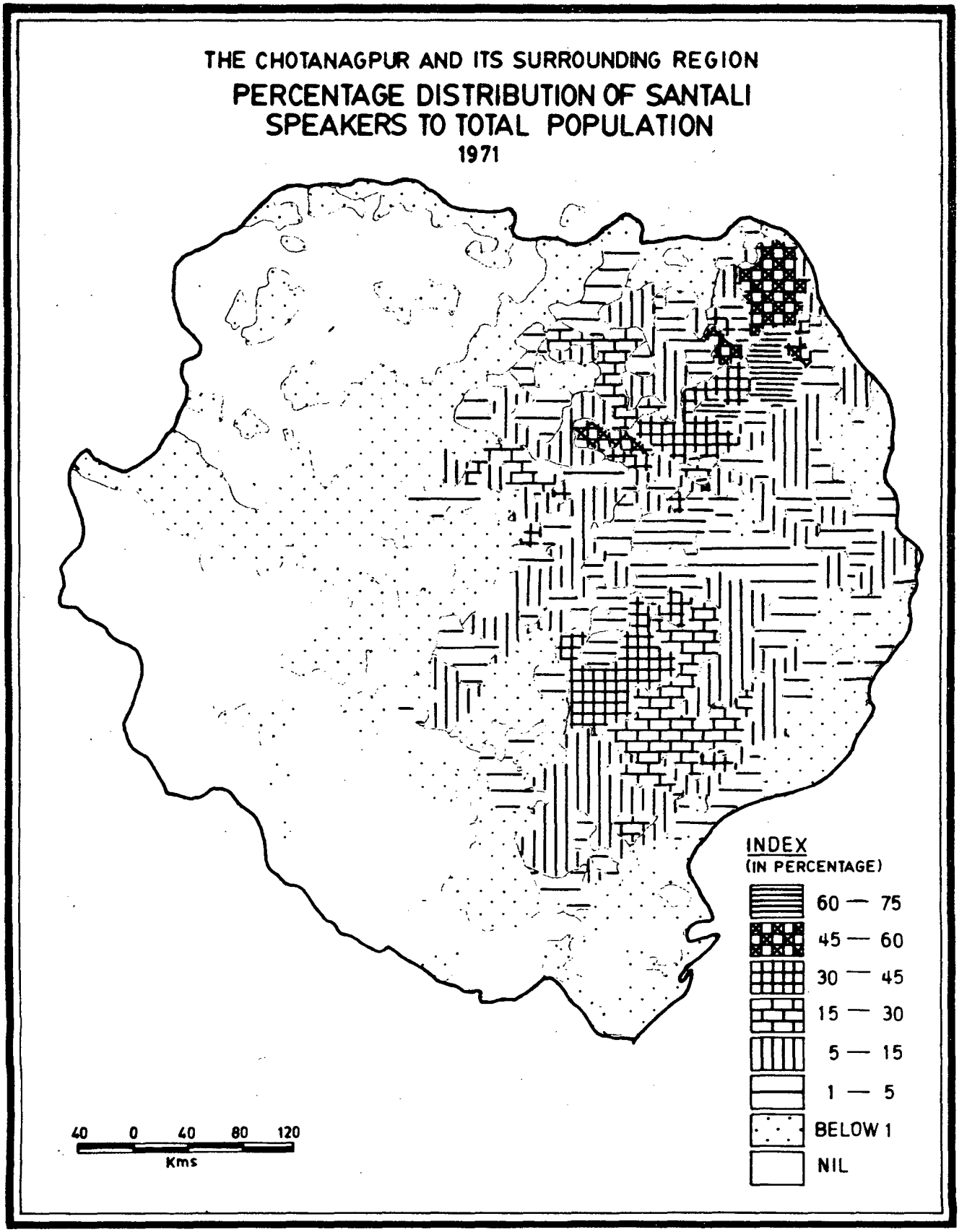
Sr. No.	Name of District	Total no. of blocks/p.s. >20	15-20	10-15	5-10	Total
1.	Patna	-	2	1	8	11
2.	Gaya	1	-	11	18	30
3.	Monghyr	-	1	4	6	11
4.	Bhagalpur	2	2	2	8	14
5.	S. Parganas	1	5	2	13	21
6.	Palamau	-	-	1	7	8
7.	Dhanbad	-	1	3	2	6
8.	Hazaribagh	-	3	3	9	15
9.	Balasore	-	-	1	1	2
10.	Cuttack	-	-	1	2	3
11.	Burdwan	-	-	1	2	3
	Total	4	14	30	76	124

Source: compiled by the author.

Santali

Santali is one of the major tribal languages of the region and the country as well. There were 3,786,879 Santali speakers in India in 1971, of which 325,070 (85.69 per cent of the country) were concentrated in the study area. Bihar has the largest share of Santali speakers (47.56 per cent) of the region, followed by West Bengal (28.19 per cent). Santal Parganas, Hazaribagh, Dhanbad, Singhbhum, Mayurbhanj, Birbhum, Bankura, Purulia and Midnapore districts record more than 5 per cent Santali speakers of the total population. Santal Parganas district possesses the largest share (32.42 per cent) of the population. While Keonjhar, Balasore, Burdwan, Murshidabad, Hooghly, Ranchi, Monghyr and Bhagalpur districts show 1 to 5 per cent share of Santali (Table 7).

Fig.11 reveals that Santali speakers are mostly distributed in the eastern half of the region, between the Ganges, in the north, and the Baitarani, in the south. In most of the blocks/police stations, they account for more than 5 per cent of the population. Their share is as high as 60 to 75 per cent in 6 blocks of Santal Parganas district of Bihar. Even all the 11 blocks showing 45 to 60 per cent Santali speakers of the population, fall in Santal Parganas district. In 5 to 10 per cent category there are 87 blocks/police


THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
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1971
INDEX
(IN PERCENTAGE)
60 — 75
45 — 60
30 — 45
15 — 30
5 — 15
1 — 5
BELOW 1
NIL
40 0 40 80 120
Kms

Fig.11

Table-7: DISTRICT-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF SANTALI SPEAKERS, 1971

More than 5 per cent			1 to 5 per cent		
Sr. No.	Name of District	% of pop.	Sr. No.	Name of District	% of pop.
1.	S. Parganas	32.42	1.	Keonjhar	3.44
2.	Hazaribagh	6.92	2.	Balasore	1.54
3.	Dhanbad	8.78	3.	Monghyr	1.07
4.	Singhbhum	12.07	4.	Bhagalpur	2.39
5.	Mayurbhanj	21.48	5.	Ranchi	1.6
6.	Birbhum	6.64	6.	Burdwan	4.81
7.	Bankura	8.77	7.	Hooghly	2.47
8.	Midnapore	5.18	8.	Murshidabad	1.32
9.	Purulia	12.41			

Table-8: DISTRICT-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF BLOCKS/POLICE STATIONS WITH PERCENTAGE OF SANTALI SPEAKERS TO THE TOTAL POPULATION, 1971

Sr. No.	Name of District	60-75	45-60	30-45	15-30	5-15	Total
1.	S. Parganas	6	9	12	4	10	41
2.	Hazaribagh	-	1	1	6	10	18
3.	Dhanbad	-	1	1	-	5	7
4.	Singhbhum	-	-	6	5	7	18
5.	Mayurbhanj	-	-	7	7	6	20
6.	Birbhum	-	-	-	-	8	8
7.	Bankura	-	-	1	4	2	7
8.	Midnapore	-	-	-	4	11	15
9.	Purulia	-	-	2	5	5	12
10.	Burdwan	-	-	-	5	11	16
	Others	-	-	1	2	12	15
	Total	6	11	31	42	87	177

stations of the region (Table-8 and Appendix V -A).

One striking feature of Santali distribution is that while they are extensively though sparsely distributed in the whole of West Bengal. They are heavily concentrated in the eastern part of Bihar and north-eastern part of Orissa.

Mundari

Mundari is the second largest tribal language in the study area. The area recorded 764,301 Mundari speakers, out of the country's total 771,253 persons in 1971. Mundari speakers of the region, thus, account for 99.10 per cent of their all India speakers. A lion's share (82.82 per cent) of Mundari speakers of the region goes to Bihar. Orissa accounts for 15.24 per cent Mundari speakers. In Bihar, Ranchi district shows the largest proportion (62.8 per cent) of the region, followed by Singhbhum district (18.09 per cent). While in Orissa, 10.91 per cent Mundari speakers of the region are concentrated in Mayurbhanj district.

Fig.12 presents the block/police station/taluk-level distribution of Mundari speakers. Mundari speakers are largely concentrated in south-central part of the region. Their proportion ranges between 1 and 90 per cent of the total population. In Ranchi

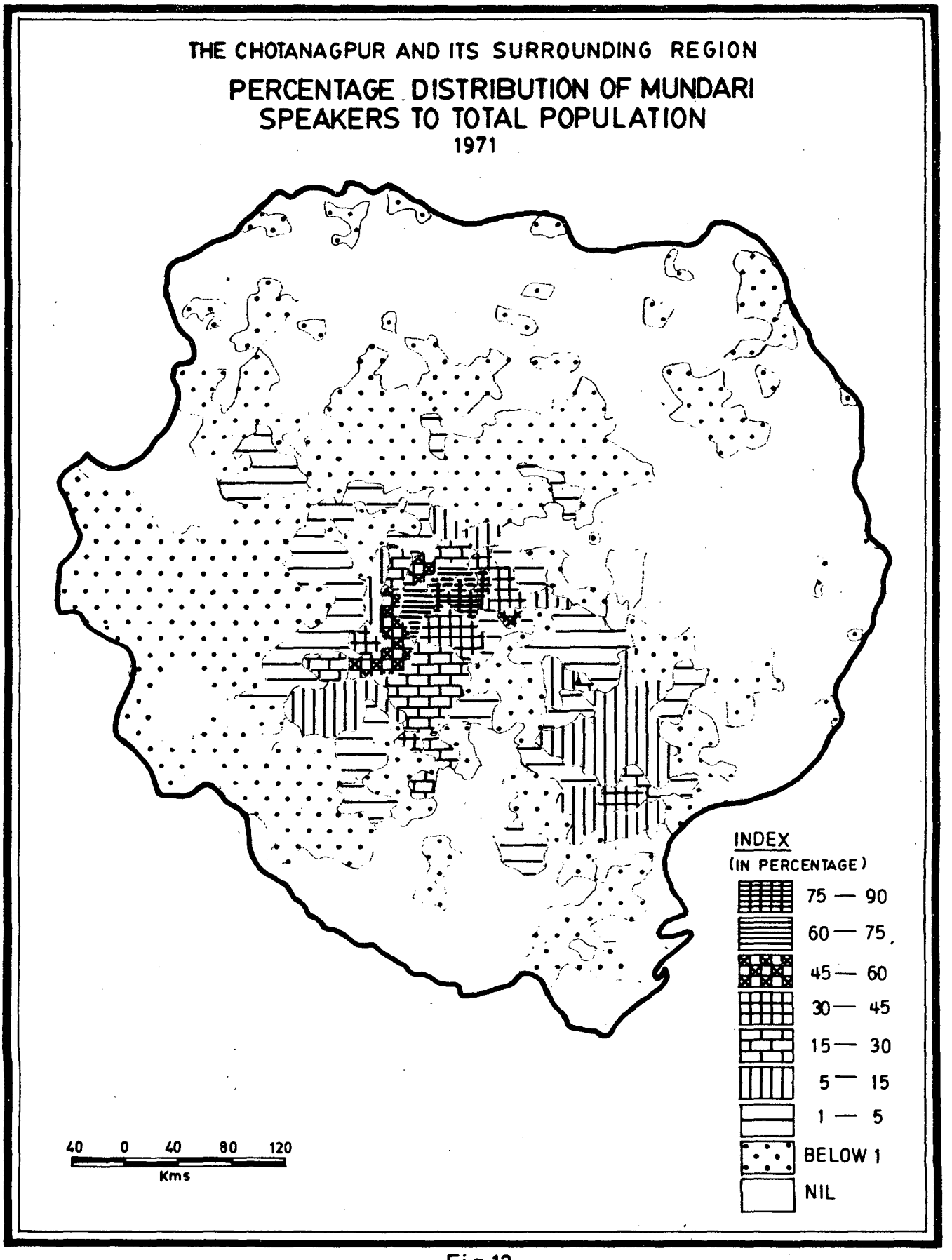
THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MUNDARI SPEAKERS TO TOTAL POPULATION
1971
INDEX
(IN PERCENTAGE)
75 — 90
60 — 75
45 — 60
30 — 45
15 — 30
5 — 15
1 — 5
BELOW 1
NIL
40 0 40 80 120
Kms

Fig.12

district, two blocks record as high as 75 to 90 per cent Mundari speakers of the population. The categories of 60 to 75 and 45 to 60 per cent of Mundari speakers cover 3 and 4 blocks respectively, all in Ranchi district. While police stations of Mayurbhanj district show 1 to 5 per cent Mundari speakers of the total population (Appendix V -B).

Ho

It is spoken by 750,688 persons in the study area. They account for 99.91 per cent of the total speakers of the language in the country. They are mainly distributed in the states of Bihar (71.43 per cent) and Orissa (28.46 per cent) of the region. In Bihar also the major concentration of Ho speakers is in Singhbhum district. In two blocks the percentage is 75 to 90; in another 6 blocks it is 60 to 75; and 4 blocks account for 45 to 60 per cent (Appendix VI-C). Fig.13 reveals a compact circular distribution of Ho.

Kharia

Kharia is the fourth important language of the Austric family. It is spoken by 1,91,421 persons in India. This region itself records 1,65,833 speakers which is 85.43 per cent of the country. Its speakers are distributed in Bihar (102,688 persons), Orissa (49,900 persons) and Madhya Pradesh (12,677 persons).

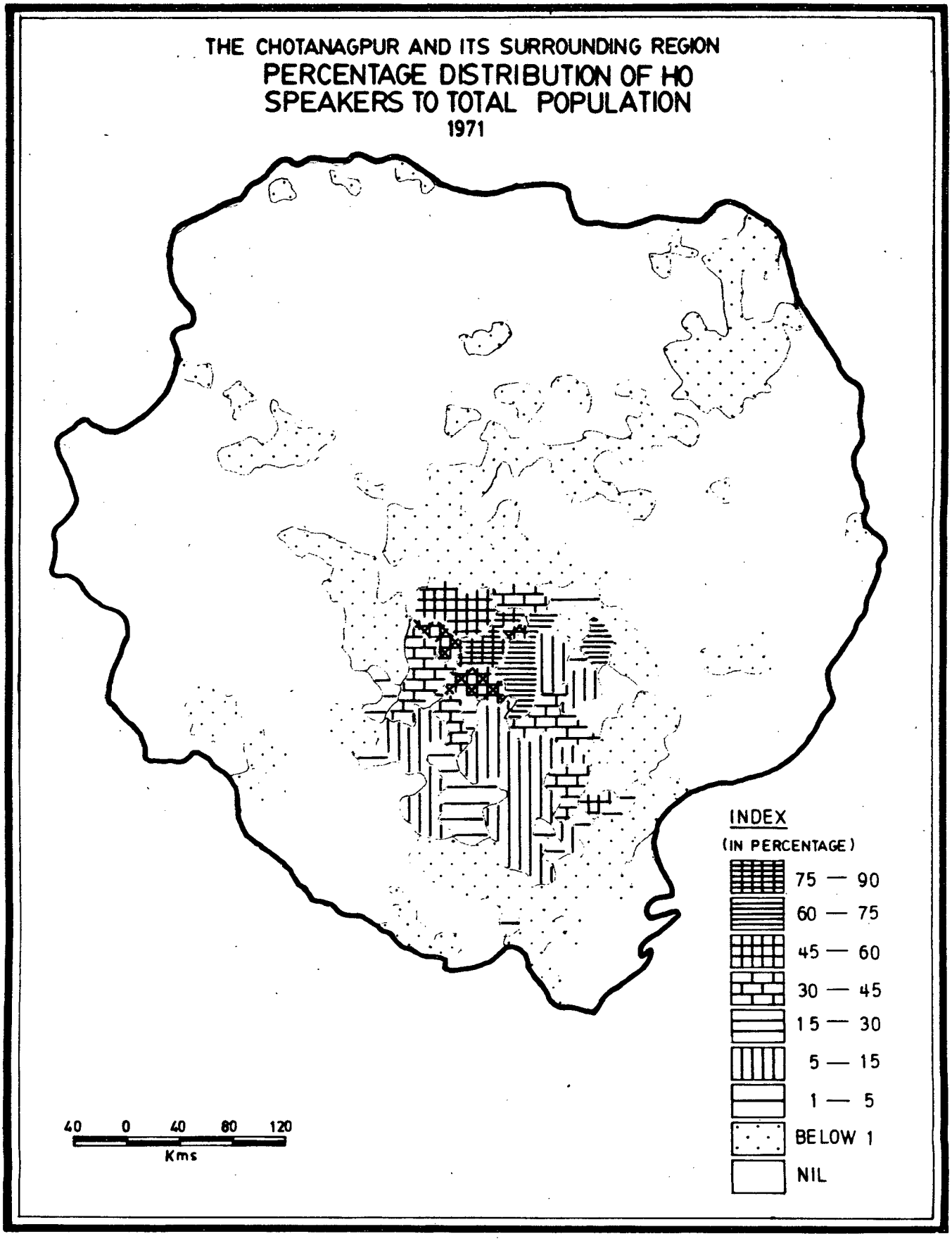
THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HO SPEAKERS TO TOTAL POPULATION
1971
INDEX
(IN PERCENTAGE)
75 — 90
60 — 75
45 — 60
30 — 45
15 — 30
5 — 15
1 — 5
BELOW 1
NIL
40 0 40 80 120
Kms

Fig.13

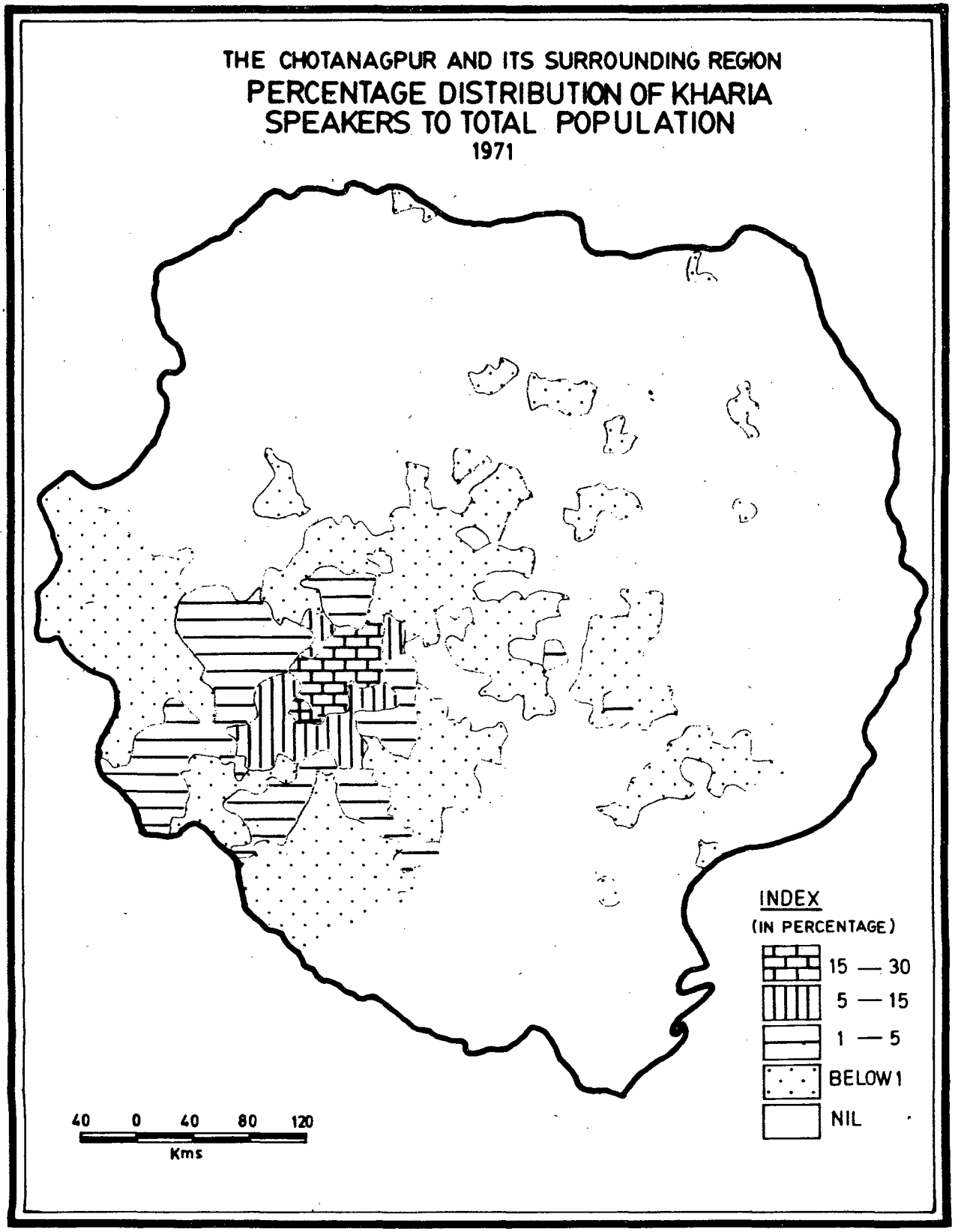
THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF KHARIA SPEAKERS TO TOTAL POPULATION
1971
INDEX
(IN PERCENTAGE)
15 — 30
5 — 15
1 — 5
BELOW 1
NIL
40 0 40 80 120
Kms

Fig.14

Thus, Bihar contributes 53.65 per cent of the country, or, 61.92 per cent of the region.

Ranchi District in Bihar contains bulk of Kharia speakers in the state. It is spoken by 30-45 per cent people in 3 blocks and 15-30 per cent in 5 blocks of the district (Appendix V-D). In the category of 5-15 per cent there are 4 blocks of Ranchi district in Bihar and 2 police stations of Sundergarh district in Orissa. In 1-5 per cent category fall 18 block/ police station and three taluks of the region. The distribution of Kharia speakers is highly compact and is concentrated in south-western corner of the region. (Fig.14)

Kurukh/Oraon

Kurukh/Oraon is the most important language of the Northern Group of the Dravidian family. It is the mother tongue of the Oraon tribe. It is spoken by 956,009 persons in the region out of total of 12,35,665 speakers in the whole of country. Thus the region accounts for 77.31 per cent of the country's total. In the region, maximum share goes to Bihar (47.85 per cent), followed by Madhya Pradesh (24.77 per cent). In other words, Bihar has 61.84 per cent, and Madhya Pradesh has 31.11 per cent of the regional total.

Fig.15 shows a very compact nature of distribution of Kurukh language. It is highly concentrated in the adjoining blocks of western Ranchi and southern Palamau in Bihar and taluks of Surguja and Raigarh districts in Madhya Pradesh. Two blocks of Ranchi district fall in the category of 60-75 per cent speakers, followed by 5 blocks of Ranchi in the category of 45-60 per cent speakers (Appendix V -E). These two categories are well surrounded by the third one (30-45 per cent) covering 11 blocks of Ranchi and Jashpur taluk of Raigarh district. 15-30 and 5-15 percentage categories, though do not show a definite, regular pattern, are very close to the above mentioned categories.

Munda Unspecified

There are 309,293 persons in India who declared Munda as their mother tongue in 1971. Since they did not mention any specific language as such, they have been classified in a separate category, 'Munda Unspecified'. But they have shown their affinity with the Munda branch of the Austric family. This region has recorded 175,758 persons who speak Munda unspecified and thus account for more than half of the country's total Bulk of them have been enumerated in Orissa (153365 persons) followed by Bihar (13025 persons) and West Bengal (9288 persons).

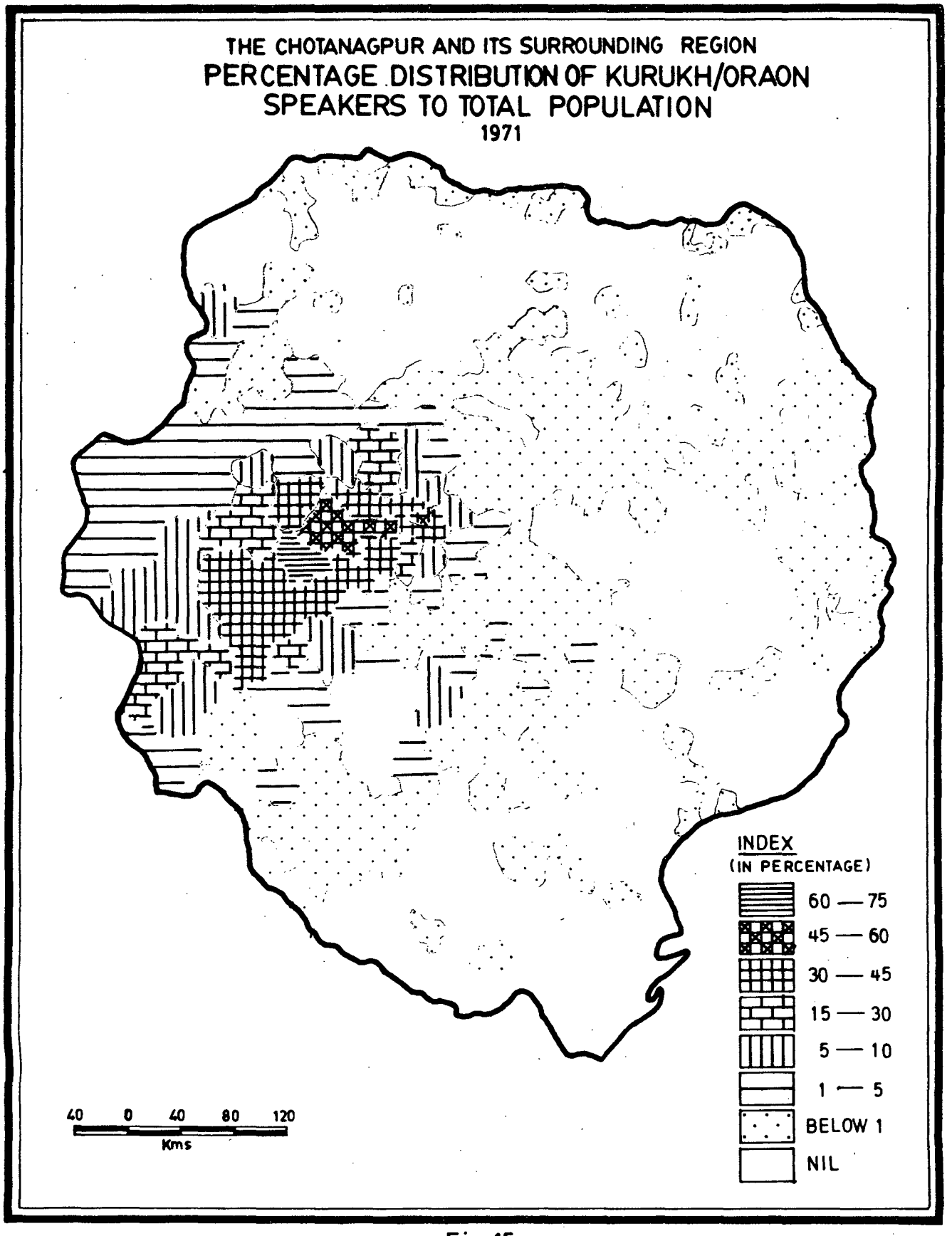
THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF KURUKH/ORAON SPEAKERS TO TOTAL POPULATION
1971
INDEX
(IN PERCENTAGE)
60 — 75
45 — 60
30 — 45
15 — 30
5 — 10
1 — 5
BELOW 1
NIL
40 0 40 80 120
Kms

Fig.15

In this region, Sundargarh and Mayurbhanj districts in Orissa show the dominant share of 31.76 per cent and 24.18 per cent respectively. Keonjhar and Sambalpur districts in Orissa again are placed third and fourth, having recorded 12.01 per cent and 8.01 per cent speakers respectively. Midnapore and Santal Parganas districts constitute 3.8 per cent and 2.21 per cent speakers of the region.

Bhumij:

This is another important language of the Munda branch, and is spoken mainly in the tri-junction of Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa. It comprises four districts - Singhbhum in Bihar (15133 speakers), Midnapore in West Bengal (2746 speakers), Mayurbhanj (20,281 speakers) and extending a little to eastern part of Balasore districts in Orissa (7038 speakers). Thus, out of 51,651 speakers in India, this region accounts for 46,368 speakers. Although they are highly concentrated, they do not form any core, but a compact periphery.

Koda/Kora:

Koda/Kora has linguistic affinity with Mundari language. It is spoken by a tribe of same name, the Kodas who are largely concentrated in West Bengal (10,861 persons out of 14,333 persons in India), followed by

Orissa (1133 persons) and Bihar (970 persons) respectively. In West Bengal, they are mainly found in Burdwan (5,139 persons) and Midnapore (4,092 persons) districts.

Korku

There are only 15 thousands Korku speakers in this region, out of the total 307,434 speakers in country. They are concentrated mainly in Surguja district of Madhya Pradesh. Raigarh district has only 55 Korku speakers. Outside Madhya Pradesh, 122 speakers are recorded in two districts of Bihar i.e. Palamau (85 persons) and Ranchi (37 persons).

Korwa

Korwa language is spoken by 15,097 persons in India. This also belongs to the Munda branch of languages. Grierson has noted that the Korwa district is most closely related to Asuri and resembles Mundari and Santali. In this region, there are 13,328 Korwa speakers. Two districts of Madhya Pradesh (Surguja 5,246 persons and Raigarh 4,867 persons) have 10,133 persons and rest are in Bihar, mostly in Palamau (2,129 persons).

Juang

There are 12,171 persons in India who speak Juang language. All of them are found in 3 districts of Orissa -

Keonjhar (8,937 persons), Dhenkanal (3,142 persons) and Cuttack (92 persons). Their percentage in the total population of the district is very low (below 1 per cent). Elwin notes, "The Juang speakers have never been numerous and their distribution has apparently been confined to a restricted area... and the main distribution of characteristics of Juang is in the three states of Keonjhar, Dhenkanal and Pal Lahara in the Orissa States Agency, joining one another."[2]

Birhori

Birhori is a language that belongs to the Munda branch of the Austric family. It is spoken by a very small number of people, mostly the Birhors. It is dying fast because of the expansion or migration of its speakers to distant areas.

Munda Languages

There are 19 significant languages/dialects of Munda branch of the Austro-Asiatic family. These languages/dialects together noted a dominant position in many blocks/police stations/taluks of the Chotanagpur region (Appendix-VI).

Fig.16 shows that Munda languages don't exist at all in most of the blocks of Patna, Gaya, Shahabad districts

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2. Elwin Verrier (1948), "Notes on the Juang", Man in India, vol.28, p.16.

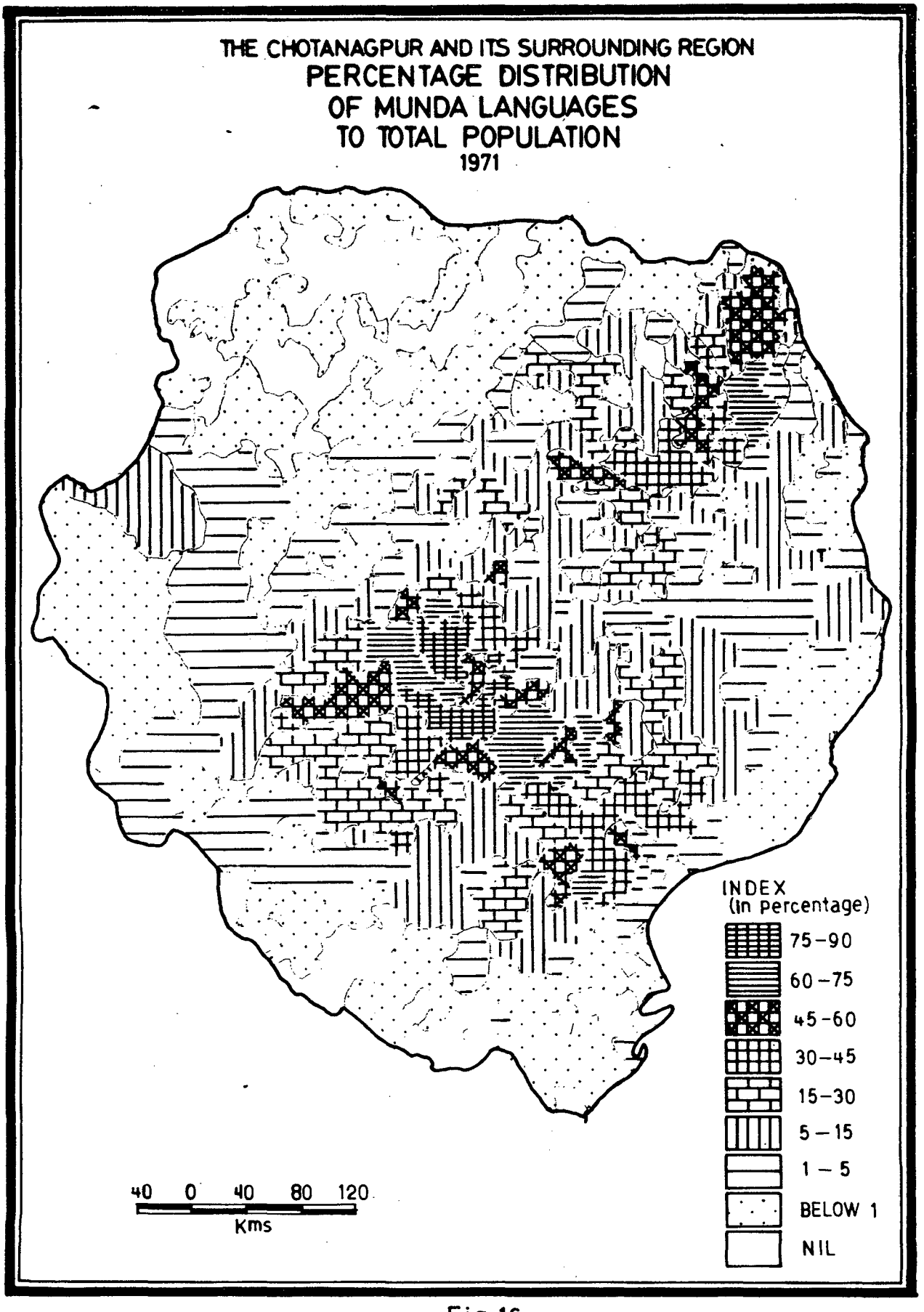
THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
OF MUNDA LANGUAGES
TO TOTAL POPULATION
1971
INDEX
(In percentage)
75-90
60-75
45-60
30-45
15-30
5-15
1-5
BELOW 1
NIL
40 0 40 80 120
Kms

Fig.16

of Bihar, and a few police stations of Cuttack and Dhenkanal districts of Orissa. In remaining blocks/ police stations of these districts, they share less than 1 per cent to the total population. Again, most of the blocks/police stations/taluks, next to that, fall in the category of 1.0 to 5.0 per cent.

Majority of blocks/police stations of Ranchi, Singhbhum and Santal Parganas districts of Bihar and Mayurbhanj district of Orissa show more than 45 per cent share of Munda languages to the total population, while a number of blocks/police stations of Hazaribagh, Bankura, Purulia, Midnapore, Sundargarh and Keonjhar districts fall in the categories of 15 to 30 per cent and 30 to 45 per cent (Table 9).

The above distribution of Munda languages makes it clear that they are largely concentrated in the eastern half of the Chotanagpur plateau, where their proportion, to the total population, is significantly higher. Zograph observes that "Kherwari languages and dialects are a fairly compact group. They cover the whole of the eastern half of the Chotanagpur plateau making the Ganges in the north-east and Mahanadi in the south-east."[3]

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3. Zograph, C.A. (1982), Languages of South Asia, vol.3 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul), p.171.

Table- 9: DISTRICT-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF BLOCKS/POLICE STATIONS/TALUKS WITH PERCENTAGE OF SPEAKERS OF MUNDA LANGUAGES TO TOTAL POPULATION, 1971

Name of District	Percentages 75-90	60-75	45-60	30-45	15-30	5-15	Total
Monghyr (25)	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
Bhagalpur (19)	-	-	-	-	1	3	4
S. Parganas (41)	-	5	11	9	5	9	39
Hazaribagh (42)	-	-	1	-	7	11	18
Ranch (43)	2	4	6	3	5	8	28
Dhanbad (10)	-	-	1	-	2	4	7
Singhbhum (32)	5	7	6	8	3	3	32
	7	16	25	20	24	39	131
Birbhum (14)	-	-	-	-	1	7	8
Bankura (19)	-	-	-	1	3	3	7
Midnapore (35)	-	-	-	1	5	8	14
Burdwan (27)	-	-	-	-	-	10	10
Purulia (17)	-	-	-	2	5	6	13
Hooghly (20)	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
Murshidabad (14)	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
	-	-	-	4	14	40	58
Sambalpur	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Sundargarh	-	-	1	2	8	4	15
Keonjhar	-	-	-	1	3	9	13
Mayurbhanj	1	5	4	6	7	-	23
Balasore	-	-	-	1	1	2	4
Cuttack	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Dhenkanal	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
	1	5	5	10	19	19	59
Surguja	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Grand Total	8	21	30	34	57	99	249

Source: compiled by the author.

The First Ranking Languages

Ranking of languages has been worked out on the basis of the share of their speakers to the total population of the block/police station/taluk. Although percentages of the first ranking languages are not shown, yet rarely any first ranking language has less than 40 per cent speakers of the total population. Fig.17 shows seven first ranking languages in the region. These are Hindi, Bengali and Oriya (Indo-Aryan languages), Santali, Mundari and Ho (Austro-Asiatic languages) and Kurukh/Oraon (Dravidian language).

Hindi as the leading language, divides the Chotanagpur and its surrounding region into almost two equal parts. It occupies the entire north-western part of the region and forms almost a continuous block. In Bihar, all the blocks of Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Hazaribagh and Palamau, 24 blocks of Ranchi, 2 blocks of Singhbhum, 18 blocks of Santal Parganas and 8 blocks of Dhanbad districts have registered Hindi as the first ranking language. Similarly 4 taluks of each of Surguja and Raigarh districts of Madhya Pradesh and 3 police stations of Sundargarh district of Orissa have Hindi as the first ranking language.

As expected Bengali is the first ranking language in all the police stations of West Bengal. It has

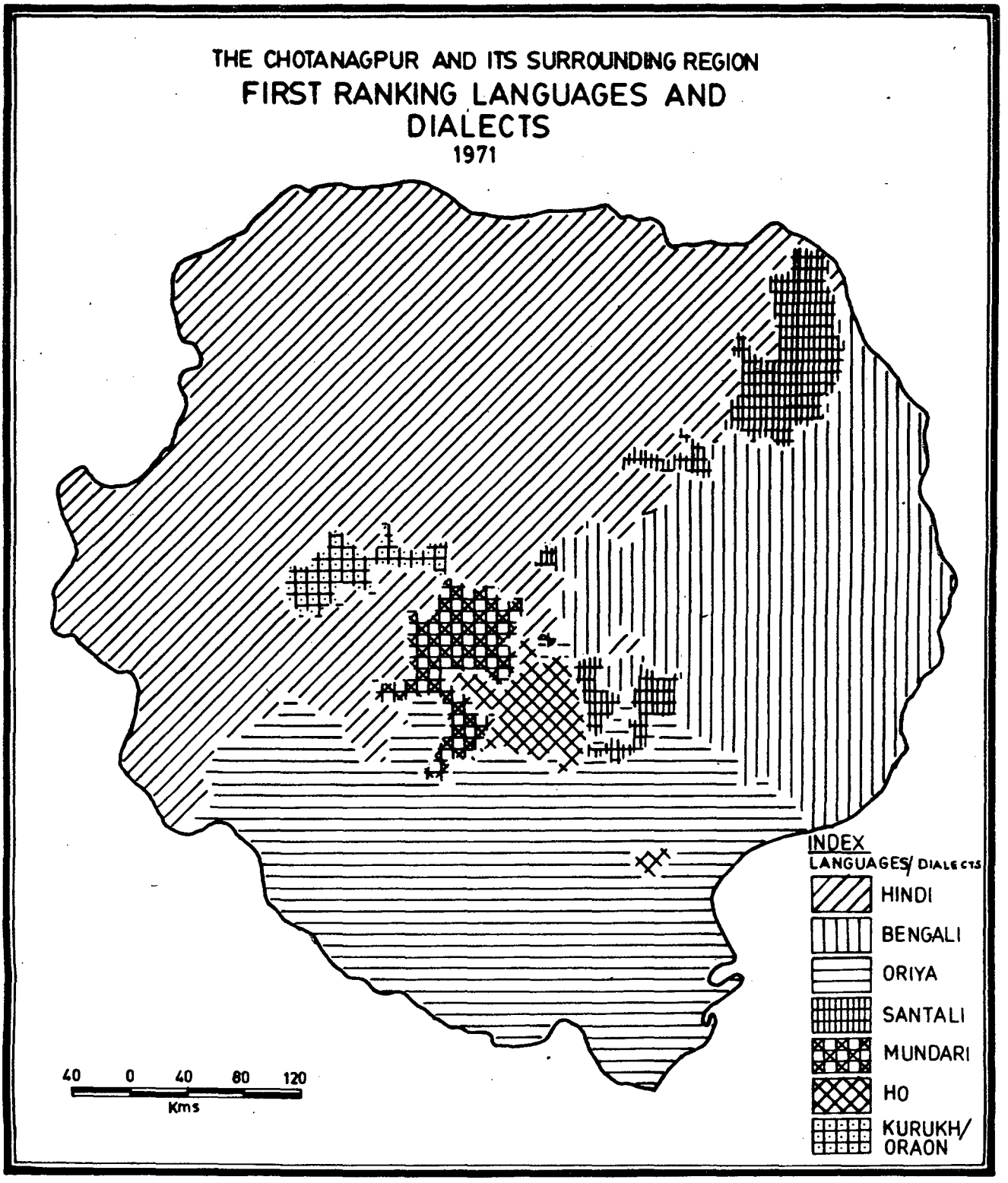

THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
FIRST RANKING LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS
1971
INDEX
LANGUAGES/ DIALECTS
HINDI
BENGALI
ORIYA
SANTALI
MUNDARI
HO
KURUKH/ ORAON
40 0 40 80 120
Kms

Fig.17

expanded towards the West, which is reflected in its status as first ranking language in 15 blocks of Bihar (10 blocks in Singhbhum, 4 blocks in Santal Parganas and 1 block in Dhanbad districts). Oriya is the first ranking language in all the police stations of Orissa excepting 9 (5 in Mayurbhanj and 4 in Sundargarh district). Bengali and Oriya both form a contiguous area, excepting a couple of police stations in the case of latter.

The blocks and police stations with Santali as the first ranking language are highly fragmented. (Fig.17) It is the first ranking language in 18 contiguous blocks of Santal Parganas district. In another 8 contiguous blocks and police stations (4 each in Singhbhum and Mayurbhanj districts) and in 3 blocks (one each in Santal Parganas, Dhanbad and Ranchi districts), it emerges as the first ranking language.

Ho is the first ranking language in 12 blocks of Chaibasa Sub-division in Singhbhum district (Bihar). These blocks form a compact region of Ho language. This region of Ho touches Mundari speaking area in the West.

Mundari is the first ranking language over a contiguous area that comprise 9 blocks of Ranchi, 3 blocks of Singhbhum and 1 police station of Sundargarh districts. In the entire contiguous area covered by

Austro-Asiatic languages (Mundari, Ho, Santhali) none of the regional languages (Hindi, Bengali & Oriya) ranks first.

Kurukh/Oraon is the first ranking language in 9 blocks of Ranchi district. This region is contiguous. It is in the north-west of the belt formed by the Austro-Asiatic languages. Between the two lies the Hindi speaking area. All the four languages namely Santali, Mundari, Ho and Kurukh/Oraon, are completely encircled by the three dominant regional languages viz., Hindi, Bengali and Oriya.

The Second Ranking Languages

The second ranking languages throw light on another dimension of distributional patterns of significant regional and tribal languages/dialects of the region. There are 11 languages/dialects, which have been identified as second ranking languages/dialects of the region. These are Hindi, Bengali, Oriya and Urdu (Indo-Aryan languages), Santali, Mundari, Ho and Kharia (Austro-Asiatic languages), Kurukh/Oraon, Korku and Kisan (Dravidian languages).

Fig.18 shows the extent of expansion of the first four languages (Hindi, Bengali, Oriya and Urdu) into the Chotanagpur region and the dispersion of the tribal

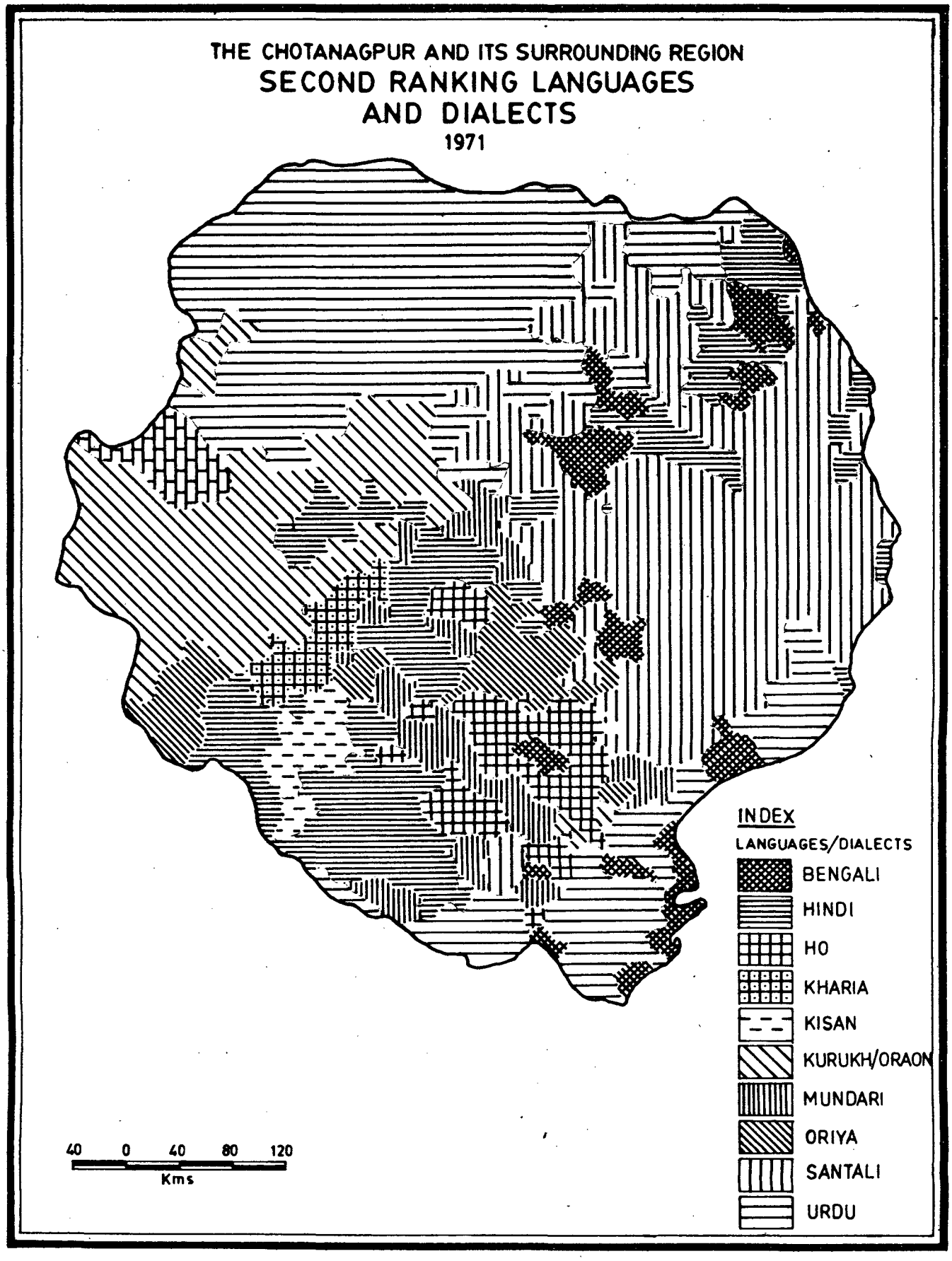

THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
SECOND RANKING LANGUAGES
AND DIALECTS
1971
INDEX
LANGUAGES/DIALECTS
BENGALI
HINDI
HO
KHARIA
KISAN
KURUKH/ORAON
MUNDARI
ORIYA
SANTALI
URDU
40 0 40 80 120
Kms

Fig.18

language to the surrounding areas.

Urdu is the second ranking language in 232 out of total 677 blocks/police stations/taluks in the region, followed by Santali (186), Hindi (98), Bengali (42) and Kurukh/Oraon (37) languages/dialects (Table 10).

Table-10: DISTRIBUTION OF BLOCKS/POLICE STATIONS HAVING SECOND RANKING LANGUAGES WITH PERCENTAGE CATEGORIES, 1971

Sr. No.	Name of Languages	Total no. of Blocks/ P.S./ Taluks	1	1-5	5-15	15-30	>30
1.	Bengali	42	1	10	12	10	9
2.	Hindi	98	16	15	14	32	21
3.	Oriya	19	-	-	4	11	4
4.	Urdu	232	22	99	95	15	1
5.	Santali	186	19	48	64	42	13
6.	Mundari	23	4	3	5	7	4
7.	Ho	24	-	5	9	6	4
8.	Kharia	8	-	-	3	4	1
9.	Kurukh/Oraon	37	-	11	8	6	12
10.	Korku	1	-	-	1	-	-
11.	Kisan	7	1	1	5	-	-
	Grand Total	677	63	192	220	133	69

Source: compiled by the author

Urdu is the second ranking language in most of the blocks/police stations of the alluvial plains in Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa. The share of Urdu speakers hardly exceeds 15 per cent of the population

of any of the blocks/police stations. Santali occupies the second position among the second ranking languages with 186 blocks/police stations distributed over almost the entire West Bengal, eastern Hazaribagh, southern and eastern Monghyr and Bhagalpur districts in Bihar and northern Mayurbhanj district in Orissa. Hindi is the second ranking language in 98 blocks/police stations of Singhbhum, Ranchi and Santal Parganas districts of Bihar, Burdwan and Murshidabad districts of West Bengal; and Sambalpur and Dhenkanal districts of Orissa. Kurukh/ Oraon is the second ranking language in the western part of the region comprising taluks of Surguja and Raigarh districts of Madhya Pradesh and blocks of northern and western Ranchi, southern Palamau and Hazaribagh districts of Bihar. Oriya is the second ranking language in Raigarh taluk of Raigarh district of Madhya Pradesh and north-western police stations of Mayurbhanj district of Orissa and a few adjoining blocks of southern and eastern parts of Singhbhum district in Bihar, Ho, Kharia, Kisan, Mundari are the second ranking languages in the southern and south-central parts of the region. Bengali is distributed in small patches as second ranking language in the region. Korku is the second ranking language in Pal taluk of Surguja district alone.

Section II

INDEX OF CONCENTRATION OF SELECTED TRIBAL LANGUAGES

Index of concentration of five tribal languages, viz. Santali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia and Kurukh/Oraon has been worked out at the lowest administrative unit, that is, block/police station/taluk. The index value of speakers of each language is 'the percentage to its respective all India speakers'.

Index of Concentration of Santali

Fig.19 shows three categories of concentration of Santali speakers. These are high concentration (more than 1.0), medium concentration (0.2 to 1.0) and low concentration (below 0.2) of Santali (Appendix V -A).

In the first category (high concentration) there are 11 blocks (in Santal Parganas) and 2 police stations, (1 each in Bankura and Midnapore districts). Each block/police station in this category accounts for more than 37 thousand speakers of Santali. These blocks/police stations are fragmented.

The next category of medium concentration of Santali covers 110 blocks/police stations of the states of Bihar (57), West Bengal (46) and Orissa (7) of the region. In Bihar the Santal Parganas district leads with 25 blocks,

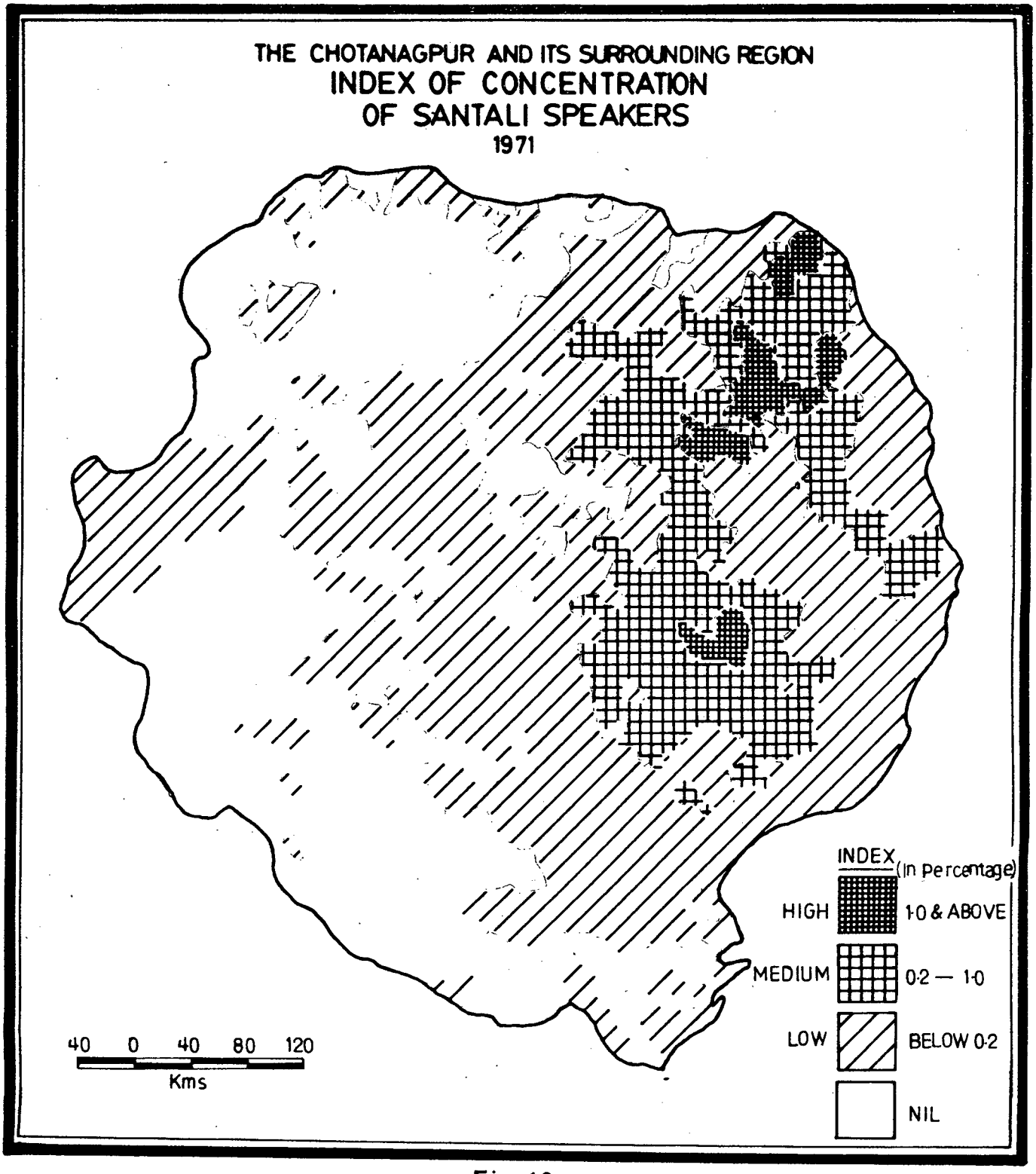

THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
INDEX OF CONCENTRATION
OF SANTALI SPEAKERS
1971
INDEX (In Percentage)
HIGH
1·0 & ABOVE
MEDIUM
0·2 — 1·0
LOW
BELOW 0·2
NIL
40 0 40 80 120
Kms

Fig. 19

followed by Hazaribagh (14), Singhbhum (12), Dhanbad (4), Bhagalpur (1) and Monghyr (1) districts. Midnapore, Purulia, Burdwan, Birbhum and Bankura districts of West Bengal have 13,11, 9, 7 and 6 police stations respectively. All the 7 police stations of Orissa are located in Mayurbhanj district, where Santali speakers are moderately concentrated. The Santali speakers in the block/police stations in this category ranks between 7.5 and 37 thousands.

Although the above two categories of concentration of Santali speakers are not distributed over a contiguous area, they, by and large, form a corridor that extends in a north-south direction over the eastern-half of the region. The corridor of high and medium concentration of Santali originates in the north-western part of Santal Parganas and culminates in the north-western part of Mayurbhanj district.

The third category of low concentration of Santali speakers includes 355 blocks/police stations and 2 taluks of the region. In this category, a block/police station/ taluk records as low as 1 speaker, but not more than 7.5 thousand speakers of Santali. This category forms a thick belt of Santali, and surrounds the area of above

two categories (high and medium concentration of Santali) from three sides viz. West, South and East.

Index of Concentration of Mundari

Fig.20 shows five categories of concentration of Mundari speakers, namely 'very high concentration' (more than 3.0), 'high concentration' (2.0 to 3.0), 'medium concentration' (1.0 to 2.0), 'low concentration' (0.2 to 1.0) and 'very low concentration' (below 0.2). In this case, a few blocks/police stations possess a high proportion of Mundari speakers to its all India speakers (Appendix V - B).

The category of very high concentration of Mundari covers 10 blocks of central part of Ranchi district of Bihar. Mayurbhanj district has only one police station that shows very high concentration of Mundari. Each block/police station of this category accounts for more than 23 thousand of Mundari speakers. Excepting the only police station of Mayurbhanj district, the remaining 10 blocks form a compact area of very high concentration of Mundari.

There are 7 blocks in the category of high concentration of Mundari (3 in Ranchi and 4 in Singhbhum districts of Bihar). The blocks in this category record between 15 and 23 thousand speakers of Mundari.

A compact region of 'very high' and 'high concentration' of Mundari is the actual core of Mundari speakers.

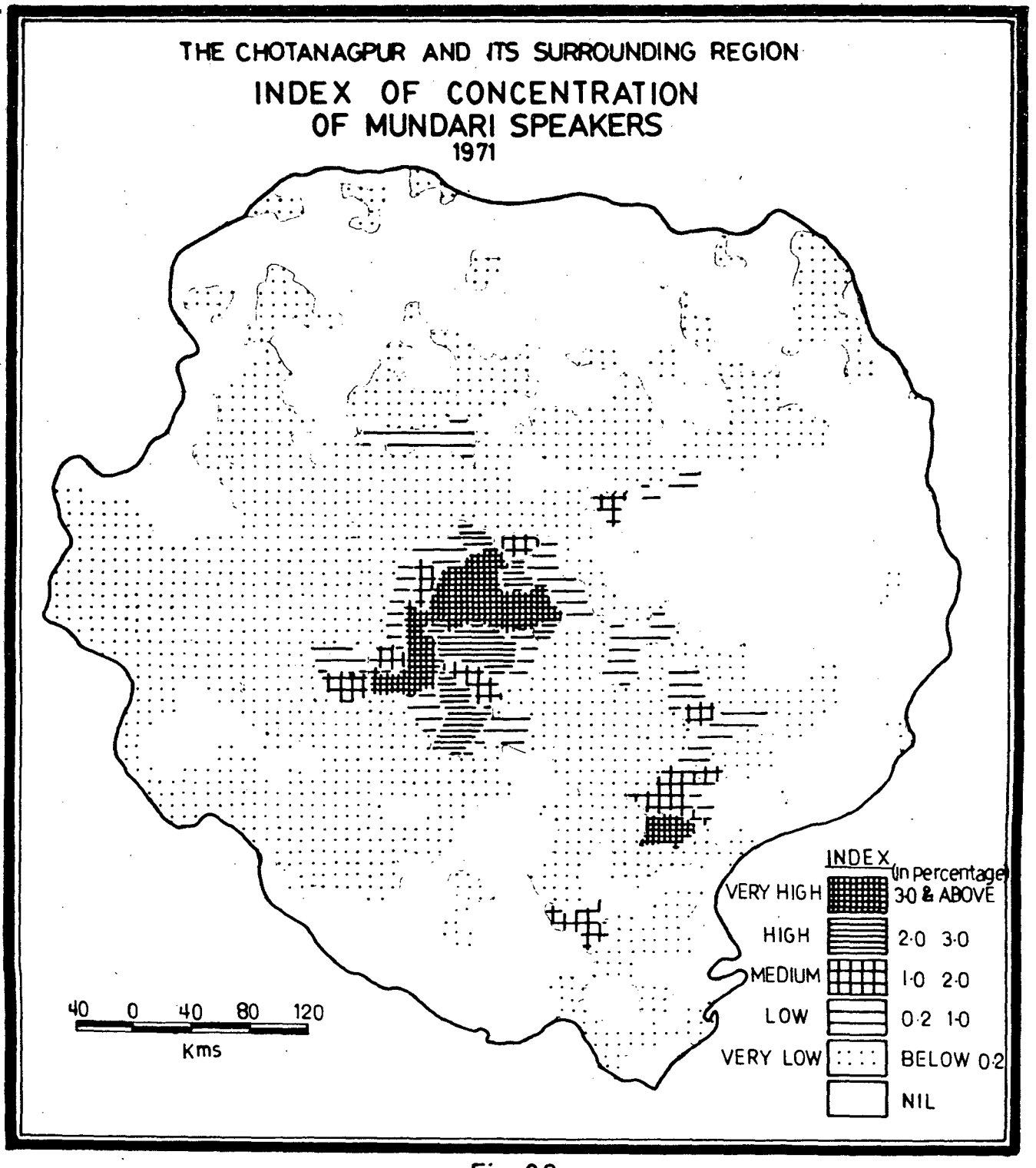

THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
INDEX OF CONCENTRATION
OF MUNDARI SPEAKERS
1971
INDEX (in percentage)
VERY HIGH 3·0 & ABOVE
HIGH 2·0 3·0
MEDIUM 1·0 2·0
LOW 0·2 1·0
VERY LOW BELOW 0·2
NIL
40 0 40 80 120
Kms

Fig. 20

The third category of medium concentration of Mundari extends over 10 blocks/police stations of five districts (4 in Ranchi, 2 each in Singhbhum and Mayurbhanj and 1 each in Dhanbad and Cuttack districts) of the region. These blocks/police stations are, thus, highly scattered. There are 7,714 to 15,428 speakers of Mundari in a block/police station in this category.

The category of 'low concentration' of Mundari comprises 23 blocks/police stations of the region, where Mundari is spoken by more than 1,600 and less than 7714 persons in each Block/Police station. The last category of very low concentration of Mundari extends over a wide area that surrounds the above four areas of concentration of Mundari. In a block/police station/taluk, there are maximum 1599 and minimum 1 Mundari speakers in this category.

Index of Concentration of Ho

Ho speakers are also grouped in five categories in terms of their concentration. These are very high (more than 3.0), high (2.0 to 3.0), medium (1.0 to 2.0), low (0.2 to 1.0) and very low (below 0.2) of Ho speakers (Fig.21).

There are 12 blocks in western part of Singhbhum district that show very high concentration of Ho speakers. These blocks form a compact area. Here each block

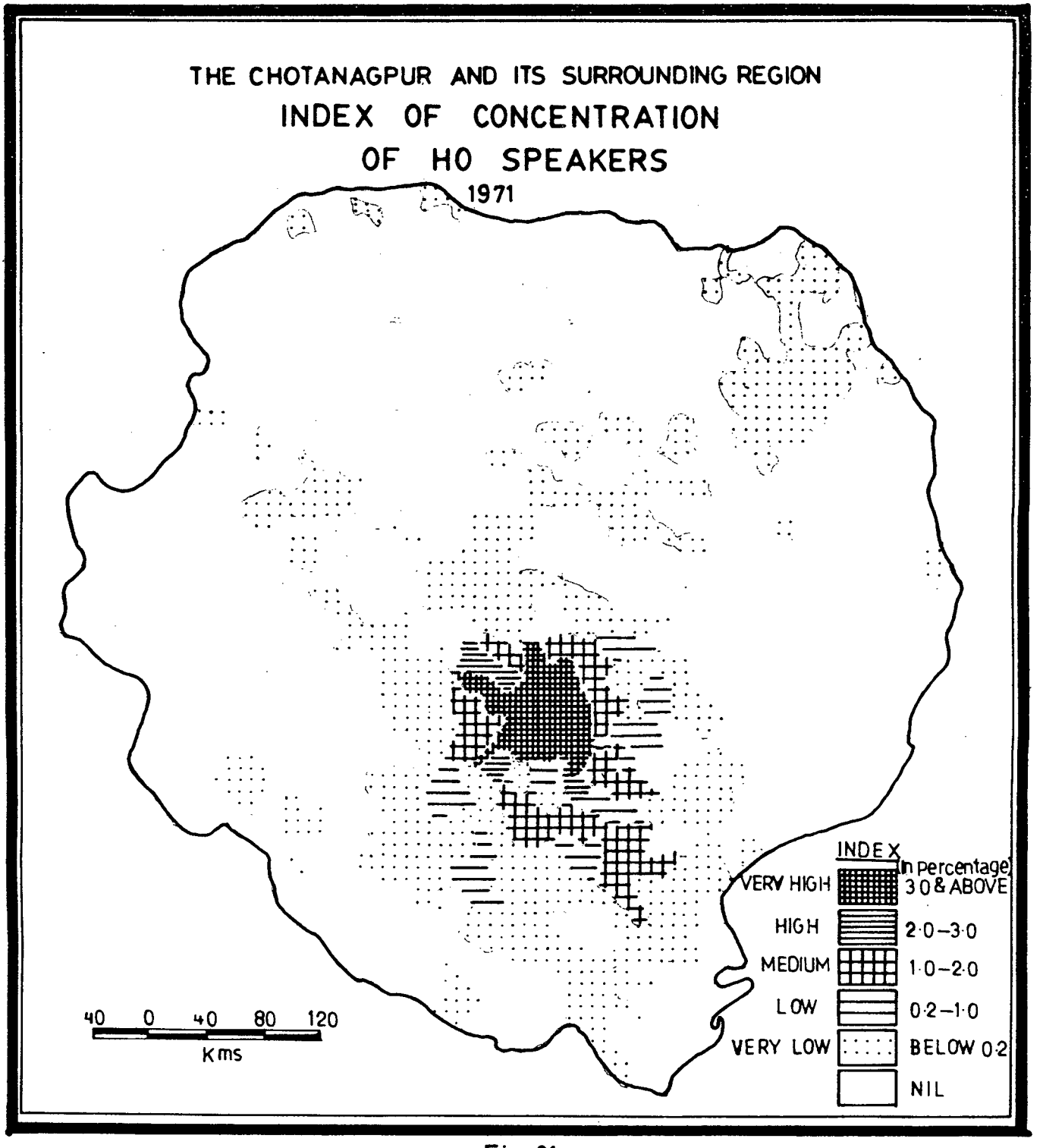

THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
INDEX OF CONCENTRATION
OF HO SPEAKERS
1971
INDEX
(In percentage)
VERY HIGH
30 & ABOVE
HIGH
2·0–3·0
MEDIUM
1·0–2·0
LOW
0·2–1·0
VERY LOW
BELOW 0·2
NIL
40 0 40 80 120
Kms

Fig. 21

possesses more than 22,542 Ho speakers. This area is known as Kolhan region which has been inhabited by Ho tribes for centuries. Adjacent to this region, 4 blocks/ police stations (2 in Singhbhum and 1 each in Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar districts) from area of high concentration of Ho, with more than 15028 and less than 22541 speakers. A high population of Ho speakers in these blocks/police stations clearly indicates that here lies the core of Ho speakers. Appendix V -C gives percentage of Ho speakers to its all India speakers.

The third category of medium concentration of Ho covers 17 blocks/police stations (6 each in Singhbhum and Mayurbhank, 4 in Keonjhar and 1 in Cuttack districts) of the region. These blocks/police stations where Ho speakers are between, 7514 and 15,028 per block, almost surrounds the above two areas of concentration of Ho.

The low concentration of Ho extends over 12 blocks/ police stations (3 each in Singhbhum and Mayurbhanj and 2 each in Sambalpur, Sundargarh and Keonjhar districts) in the southern and south-eastern part of the region. There are 1509 to 7514 Ho speakers, in a block/police station. The last category of 'very low concentration' of Ho almost surrounds the above mentioned four categories.

The index of concentration of Ho is quite similar to that of Mundari in terms of their categories, range

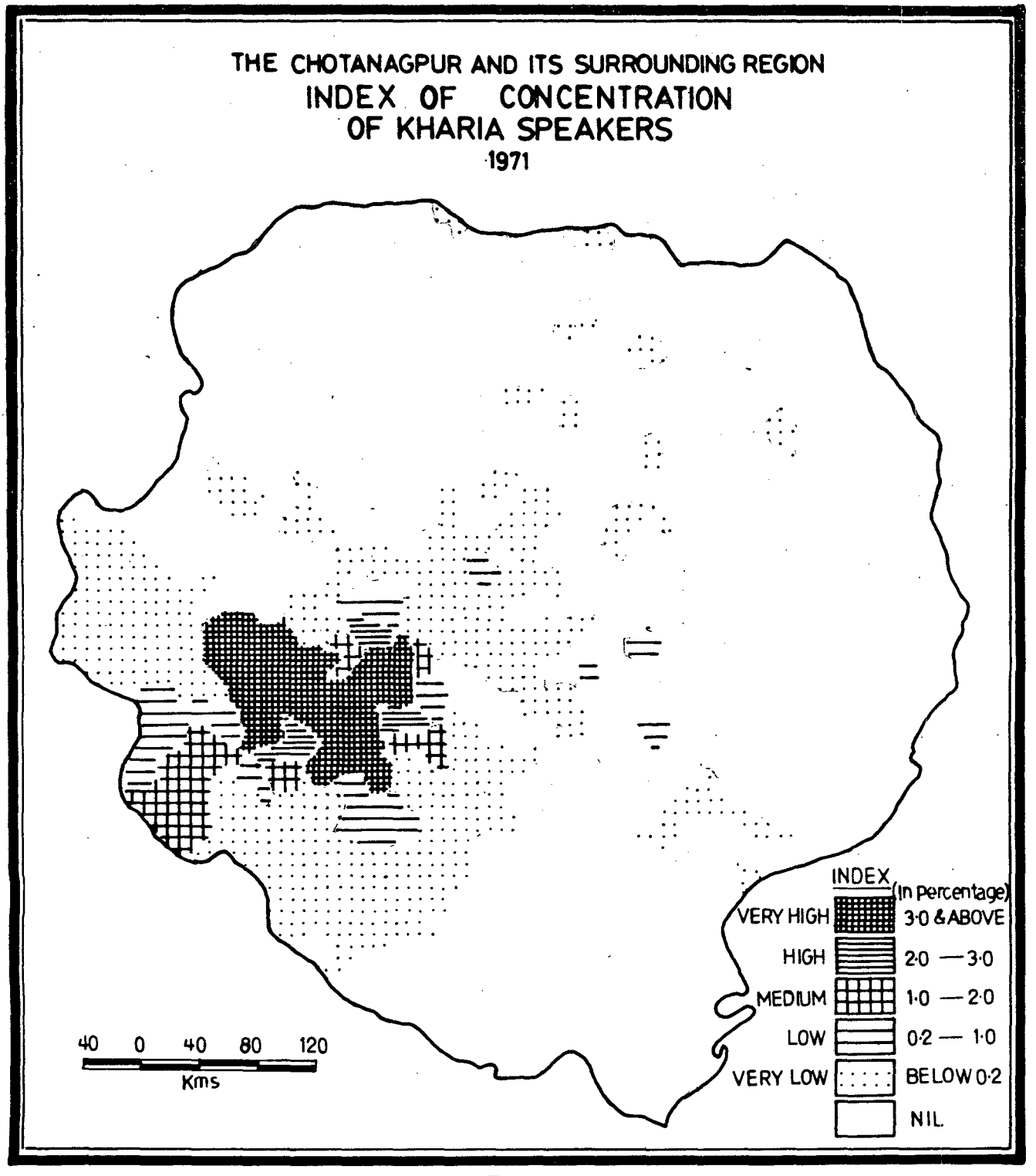
of percentages and actual number. A strong concentration of Ho is in the southern and south-eastern part of the region. It also lies to the south-east of the main concentration of Mundari.

Index of Concentration of Kharia

Fig.22 shows five categories of concentration of Kharia speakers. These are very high (3.0 and above), high (2.0 to 3.0), medium (1.0 to 2.0), low (0.2 to 1.0) and very low (below 0.2) of Kharia (Appendix V -A).

In the category of very high concentration, each block/police station/taluk has more than 5521 Kharia speakers. There are only 11 blocks/police stations/ taluks in this category, of which 7 blocks are in Ranchi, 3 in Sundargarh and 1 in Raigarh district. The category of high concentration covers only 3 blocks/ police stations (2 in Ranchi and 1 in Sundargarh district), where there are 3828 to 5514 Kharia speakers. These two areas of concentration of Kharia, located in the south-western part of the region, record a very high percentage of Kharia speakers, not only in the region but in the country also. These areas, thus, can be called the core of Kharia.

The category of medium concentration of Kharia extends over 7 blocks/police stations (2 each in Ranchi and Rajgarh and 3 in Sundargarh district). There are


THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
INDEX OF CONCENTRATION
OF KHARIA SPEAKERS
1971
INDEX (In percentage)
VERY HIGH 3·0 & ABOVE
HIGH 2·0 — 3·0
MEDIUM 1·0 — 2·0
LOW 0·2 — 1·0
VERY LOW BELOW 0·2
NIL
40 0 40 80 120
Kms

Fig·22

1914 to 3828 speakers of Kharia in each unit.

The next two categories of low and very low concentration of Kharia covers 12 and 100 blocks/police stations/taluks of the region respectively. The blocks/police stations/taluks that fall in the latter category, almost surrounds the above four categories of concentration of Kharia.

Index of Concentration of Kurukh/Oraon

Speakers of Kurukh/Oraon are heavily concentrated in the western part of the region having 24 contiguous blocks/taluks. Of these, western part of Ranchi and southern Palamau of Bihar have 17 and 2 blocks and Surguja and Raigarh districts of Madhya Pradesh have 2 and 3 taluks respectively (Fig.23).

There are five categories of concentration of Kurukh/Oraon, such as, very high (3.0 per cent and above), high (2.0 to 3.0), medium (1.0 to 2.0), low (0.2 to 1.0) and very low (below 0.2 per cent). Each of the above mentioned blocks/taluks constitute more than 1 per cent Kurukh/Oraon speakers of the country (Appendix V-E). These blocks/taluks, thus, fall into the first three categories of very high, high and medium concentration of Kurukh/Oraon.

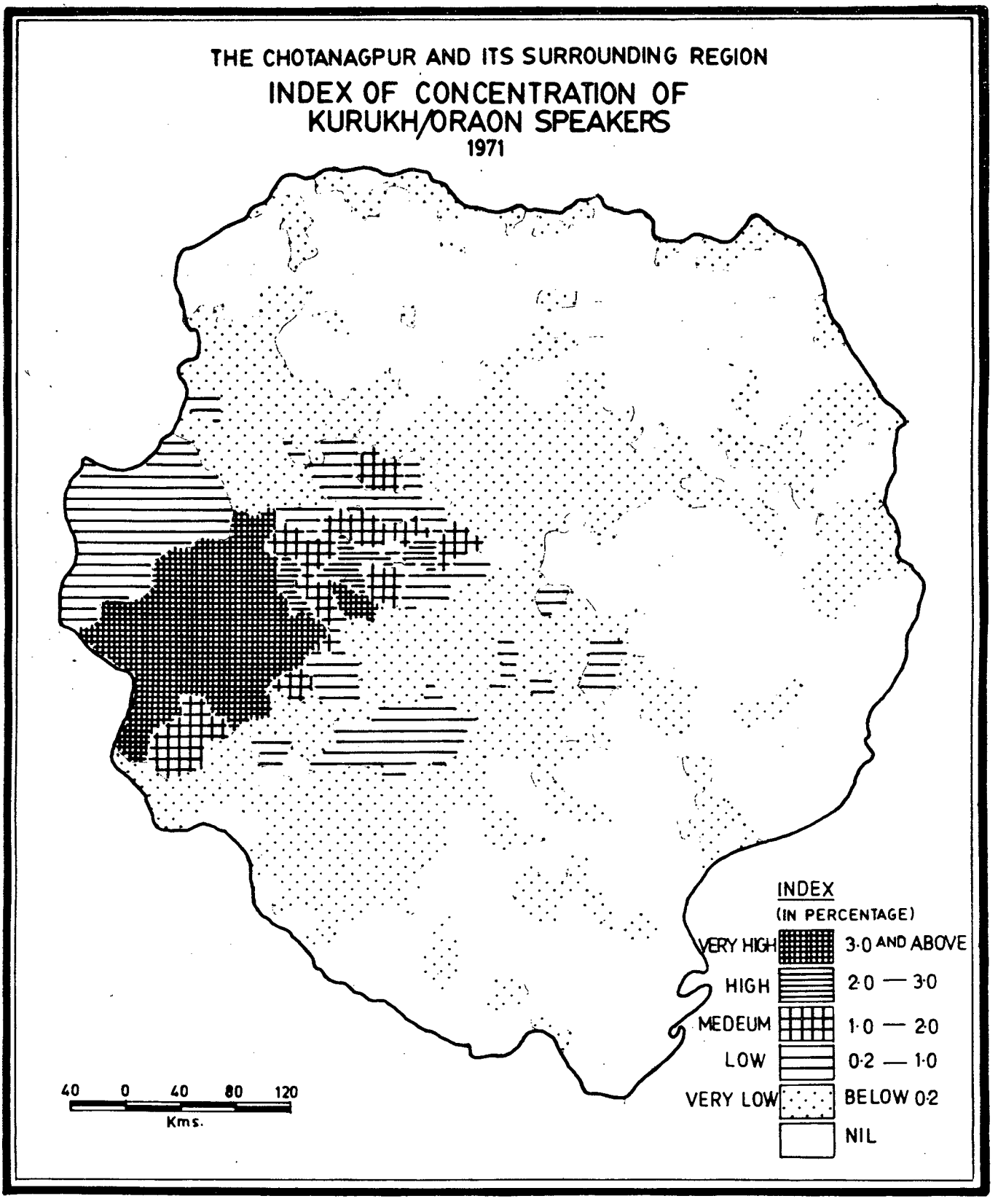

THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
INDEX OF CONCENTRATION OF
KURUKH/ORAON SPEAKERS
1971
INDEX
(IN PERCENTAGE)
VERY HIGH
3·0 AND ABOVE
HIGH
2·0 — 3·0
MEDEUM
1·0 — 2·0
LOW
0·2 — 1·0
VERY LOW
BELOW 0·2
NIL
40 0 40 80 120
Kms.

Fig. 23

Section III

CORES AND PERIPHERIES OF SELECTED TRIBAL LANGUAGES

Cores and peripheries of five tribal languages, viz., Santali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia and Kurukh/Oraon have been worked out at the lowest administrative unit, i.e. block/police station/taluk. The composite index and its standard deviation of three variables for the speakers of each of these languages helps in identifying the cores and peripheries of each of them. The core represents a monolithic character and the continuity of each language groups; while the periphery indicates area of transition, where speakers of these languages are gradually losing grounds either to other tribal groups, or, to regionally dominant linguistic groups.

Santali Core and Periphery

Fig.24 displays an example of 'fragmented core and compact periphery' of Santali language. The core of Santali covers 36 blocks/police stations; while the periphery extends over 128 blocks/police stations out of total of 480 blocks/police stations where Santali speakers have been enumerated (Table 11).

The major core of Santali lies in the Santal Parganas district of Bihar. It is the new homeland of Santalis. The core covers 22 blocks, out of 41 in

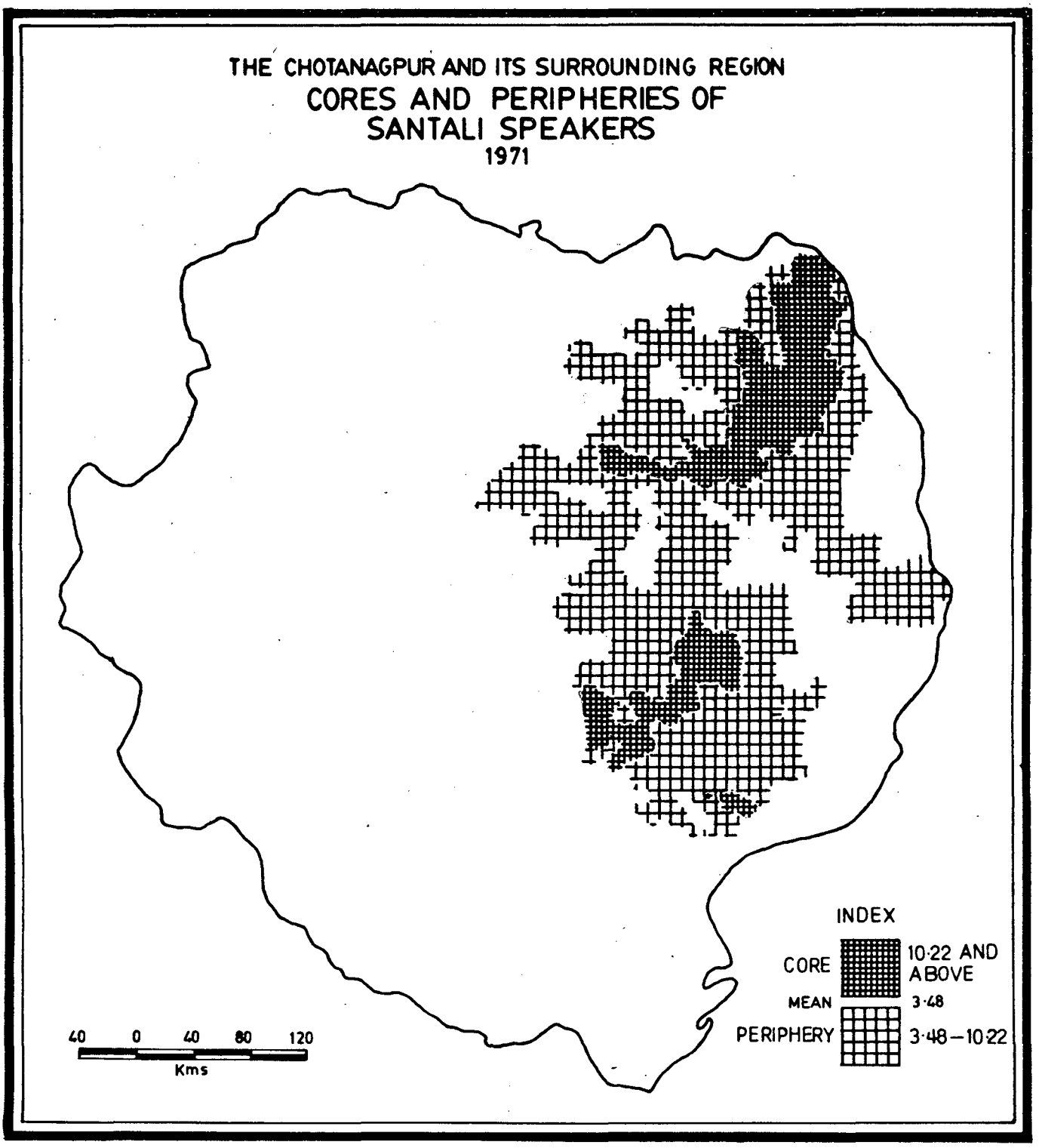

THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
CORES AND PERIPHERIES OF
SANTALI SPEAKERS
1971
INDEX
CORE
10·22 AND ABOVE
MEAN
3·48
PERIPHERY
3·48 – 10·22
40 0 40 80 120
Kms

Fig. 24

Table-11: SANTALI CORE AND PERIPHERY, 1971

CORE

Sr. No.	Name of District	Total no. of blocks/ police stations	Name of Blocks/Police Stations
1.	S. Parganas	22	Dumka, Ranishwar, Masalia, Jama, Ramgarh, Gopikandar, Kathikund, Shikaripara, Jamtara, Nala, Kundahit, Poreyahat, Boarijor, Sundar Pahari, Pathna, Barhati, Borio, Taljhari, Maheshpur, Pakauria, Amrapra and Litipara
2.	Hazaribagh	1	Pirtanr
3.	Dhanbad	1	Tundi
4.	Singhbhum	3	Dhalbhumgarh, Chakulia, Dumaria
5.	Mayurbhanj	6	Betnoti (portion), Muruda (portion), Rairangpur, Bahalda, Bisoi and Tiring
6.	Bankura	2	Ranibandh and Raipur
7.	Midnapore	1	Binpur
	Total	36	

PERIPHERY

1.	S. Parganas	16
2.	Monghyr	2
3.	Bhagalpur	4
4.	Hazaribagh	15
5.	Dhanbad	6
6.	Singhbhum	11
7.	Mayurbhanj	10
8.	Balasore	1
9.	Purulia	13
10.	Birbhum	11
11.	Bankura	8
12.	Burdwan	14
13.	Midnapore	13
14.	Hooghly	5
	Total	128

Source: compiled by the author.

the district, in a contiguous area and extends in north-south direction. In its southern part, it extends in east-west direction thus including 2 blocks (one each of Dhanbad and Hazaribagh districts) in the core. The core that lies in the north-eastern part of the region, corresponds to the Rajmahal hills. Thus, the two have acted as a buffer zone between the two sister-languages, Hindi and Bengali of the Indo-Aryan family. The core is marked by a dominant share of Santali speakers in all three variables in these blocks.

The minor core of Santali is located on the tri-junction of states of Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa. There are 12 blocks/police stations (6 in Mayurbhanj, 3 in Singhbhum, 2 in Bankura and 1 in Midnapore district) that form this core of Santali. The core lies about 300 miles south of the major core of Santali in the vicinity of Dhalbhum region (old homeland of the Santals). Santali speakers migrated from there due to heavy industrialization in and around Jamshedpur. That also led to the inmigration of large population of Bengali and Hindi speakers.

Both the segments of Santali core are located in the hilly areas, marked by rugged topography and dense forest. The low carrying capacity of land of the area is reflected in the low density of population.

The Santali periphery spreads over 128 blocks/police stations of 12 districts of Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa (Table 11). It surrounds the Santali core from three sides. The Santali periphery, extending in north-south direction, forms a corridor that originates in the north-western and eastern part of Santal Parganas district of Bihar and ends in the northern part of Mayurbhanj district of Orissa. The periphery covers more than half of total police stations of West Bengal due to complete absence of its sister-language groups of the Austro-Asiatic family. Its westward and southward expansion is checked by the presence of other tribal languages, viz., Mundari, Ho, Bhumij, Kurukh/Oraon etc. The compactness of the Santali periphery is due to migrations of the Santalis over a wide area of the region.

Mundari Core and Periphery

Fig.25 shows 'fragmented core and fragmented periphery' of Mundari speakers. The Mundari core and periphery cover 19 and 32 blocks/police stations respectively. The Mundari speakers are distributed over 286 blocks/police stations/taluks of the region (Table 12).

The major core of Mundari is highly compact, and consists of 13 blocks of eastern and southern parts of

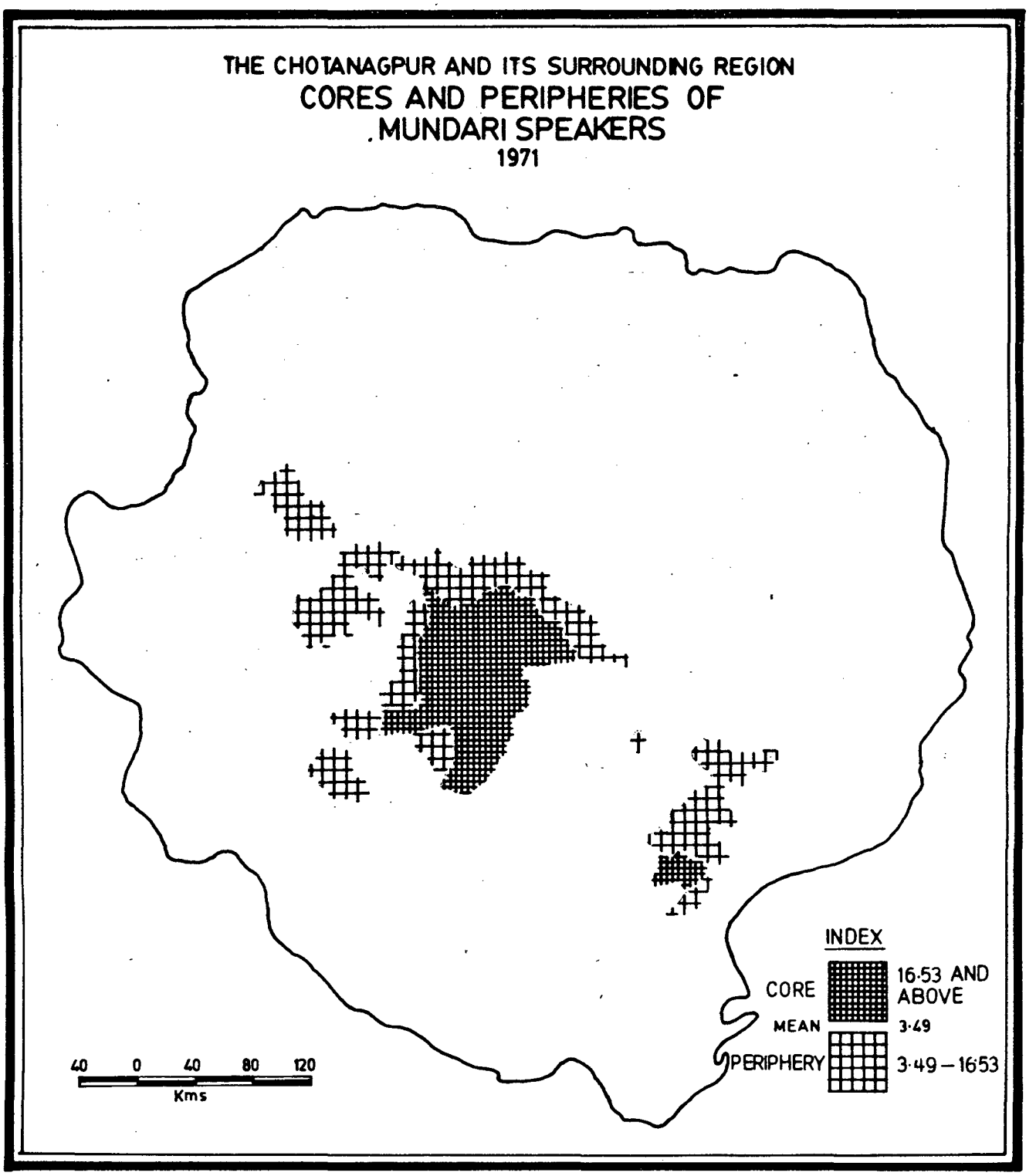

THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
CORES AND PERIPHERIES OF
MUNDARI SPEAKERS
1971
INDEX
CORE
16·53 AND ABOVE
MEAN
3·49
PERIPHERY
3·49 – 16·53
40 0 40 80 120
Kms

Fig. 25

Table-12: MUNDARI CORE AND PERIPHERY, 1971

Sr. No.	Name of District	Total Number	Name of Blocks/Police Stations
		CORE	
1.	Ranchi	13	Namkum, Lapung, Khunti, Murhu, Ranja, Torpa, Karra, Bundu, Tamar I, Tamar II, Kolebira, Bano and Bapia
2.	Singhbhum	5	Manoharpur, Goilkera, Sonua, Bangaon and Kuchai
3.	Mayurbhanj	1	Raoruan
		19	
		PERIPHERY	
1.	Ranchi	20	Kanka, Rati, Bero, Bhandra, Lohardaga, Sehna, Kisko, Kuru, Chanho, Burmu, Ormanjhi, Sonahatu, Thethaitnagar, Chainpur, Dumri, Bishnupur, Ghaghra, Kolebira, Verna and Basia
2.	Singhbhum	2	Chandil and Bahragora
3.	Sambalpur	2	Lakhanpur and Gobindpur
4.	Sundargarh	2	Bargaon and Birsa
5.	Mayurbhanj	5	Baripada, Badasahi, Kuliana, Gorumahisuni and Khunta
6.	Balasore	1	Berhampur
		32	

Source: compiled by the author.

Ranchi and 5 blocks of western part of Singhbhum districts of Bihar. It occupies almost the central location in the region. In this case, each block accounts for a high proportion in all three variables taken for the computation of composite index. Raoruan police station of Mayurbhanj district of Orissa forms a separate small core of Mundari speakers.

The major periphery of Mundari is formed by 16 blocks of Ranchi and 2 blocks of Singhbhum districts of Bihar. It surrounds the major core of Mundari from western, northern and north-western sides. The minor periphery lies in 9 blocks/police stations of districts of Mayurbhanj (6), Midnapore (2) and Singhbhum (1). Palamau, Sambalpur and Sundargarh districts have 2 each blocks/police stations that also form Mundari periphery.

Ho Core and Periphery

The Ho core and periphery present an example of compact core and compact periphery (Fig.26). All the 12 blocks which form core of Ho, are in the western part of Singhbum district in Bihar. The core occupies south-central part of the region, and lies to the East of the Mundari core.

Ho periphery is also compact. It covers 41 blocks/ police stations (Table-13) of districts of Singhbhum

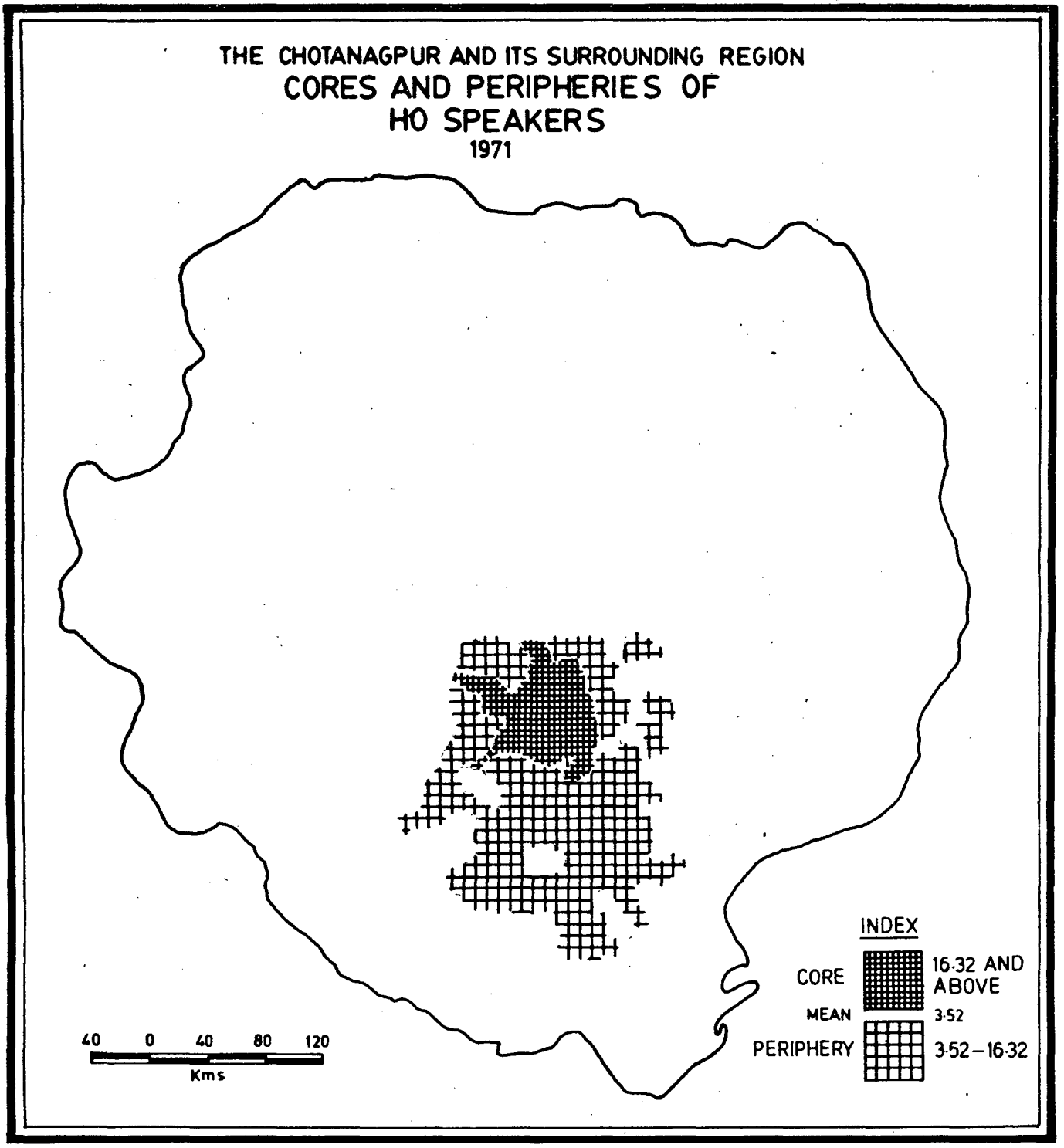

THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
CORES AND PERIPHERIES OF
HO SPEAKERS
1971
INDEX
CORE
16·32 AND ABOVE
MEAN
3·52
PERIPHERY
3·52–16·32
40 0 40 80 120
Kms

Fig.26

Table-13: HO CORE AND PERIPHERY, 1971

Sr. No.	Name of District	Total No.	Name of Blocks/Police Stations
1.	Singhbhum CORE	12	Chaibasa, Tantnagar, Manjhari, Kumardungi, Majhgaon, Jagannathpur, Jhinkpani, Tonto, Noamundi, Goilkera, Chakradharpur, and Khuntpani
	PERIPHERY		
1.	Singhbhum	9	Manoharpur, Sonua, Bangaon, Seraikela, Gobindpur, Kharsawan, Kuchai, Golmuri-cum-Jugsalai and Dumaria
2.	Sundargarh	3	Bonaigarh, Tikyatpali and Kumarposh Bulang
3.	Keonjhar	12	Sadar, Patna, Ghatgaon, Harichandanpur, Kanjipuri, Pandapara, Telkoi, Anandpur, Champua, Baria, Barbi Toda and Champua (portion)
4.	Mayurbhanj	9	Badampahar, Bahalda, Bisol, Tiring, Karanjia, Jashipur, Raorman, Thakurmunda and Sarat
5.	Cuttack	4	Salepur, Gurudijhatia, Narsingpur and Sukinda
6.	Dhenkanal	4	Bhuban, Pallahara, Khamar and Bantala
		41	

Source: compiled by the author.

Table-14: KHARIA CORE AND PERIPHERY, 1971

Sr. No.	Name of District	Total No. of blocks/ p.s.	Name of blocks/police stations
	CORE		
1.	Ranchi	7	Simdega, Thethaitnagar, Bolba, Kurdeg, Kolebira, Palkot and Basia
2.	Sundargarh	3	Rajgangpur, Bargaon and Raiboga
	PERIPHERY		
1.	Ranchi	6	Jaldega, Gumla, Raidih, Ghaghra, Sisai and Kamdara
2.	Sundargarh	6	Sadar, Talsara, Lephripara, Birmirtrapur, Birsa and Gurundia
3.	Sambalpur	11	Hirakud, Burla, Katarbaga, Sason, Jharsuguda, Rengali, Brajrajgapur, Laikera, Kuchinda, Gobindpur, Mahualpali
4.	Surguja	4	Jashpur, Udaipur, Ghargoda and Raigarh

Source: compiled by the author.

(9), Sundargarh (3), Keonjhar (12), Mayurbhanj (9), Cuttack (4) and Dhenkanal (4). Ho periphery covers a larger area to the south and east of its core (Fig.26).

Kharia Core and Periphery

Fig.27 shows compact core and fragmented periphery of Kharia speakers. The Kharia core and periphery are located in the south-western part of the region. It lies in the west of Mundari core. There are 10 blocks/police stations (7 in Ranchi and 3 in Sundargarh districts) that form Kharia core (Table-14).

Kharia periphery comprises 26 blocks/police stations/taluks of the districts of Ranchi (5), Sundargarh (6), Sambalpur (11) and Raigarh (4). Since it is fragmented, it only partly surrounds Kharia core.

Kurukh/Oraon Core and Periphery

Kurukh/Oraon again presents the same example of compact core and fragmented periphery. Both core and periphery of Kurukh/Oraon are located in the western part of the region (Fig.28). It lies to the west and north-west of Mundari core.

Kurukh/Oraon core consists of 17 blocks in the western part of Ranchi and 1 block in the south-western corner of Palamau districts of Bihar and 3 taluks (2 in Surguja and 1 in Raigarh districts) of Madhya Pradesh (Table 15). Kurukh/Oraon speakers constitute a quite

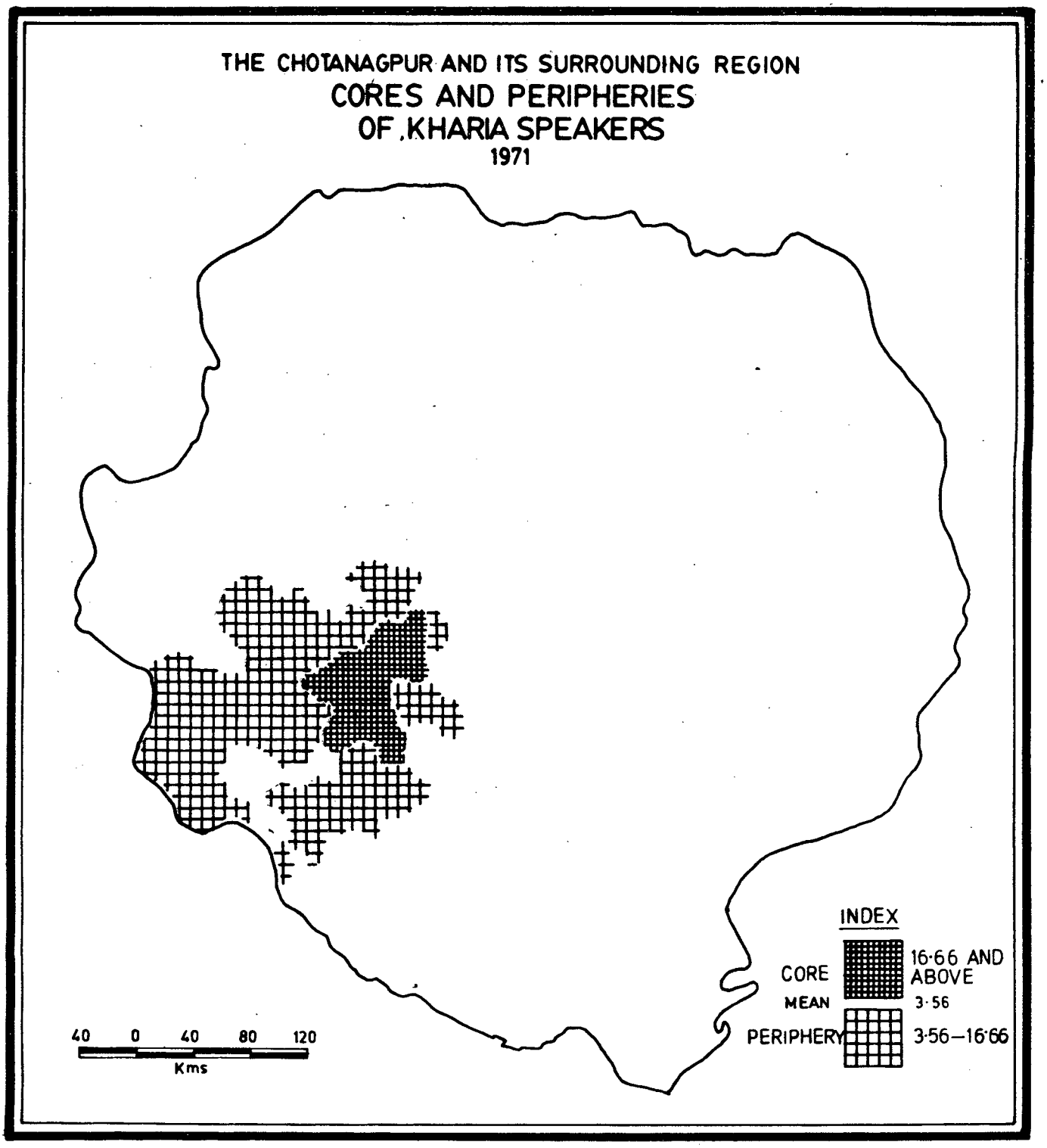

THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
CORES AND PERIPHERIES
OF KHARIA SPEAKERS
1971
INDEX
CORE
16·66 AND ABOVE
MEAN
3·56
PERIPHERY
3·56–16·66
40 0 40 80 120
Kms

Fig. 27

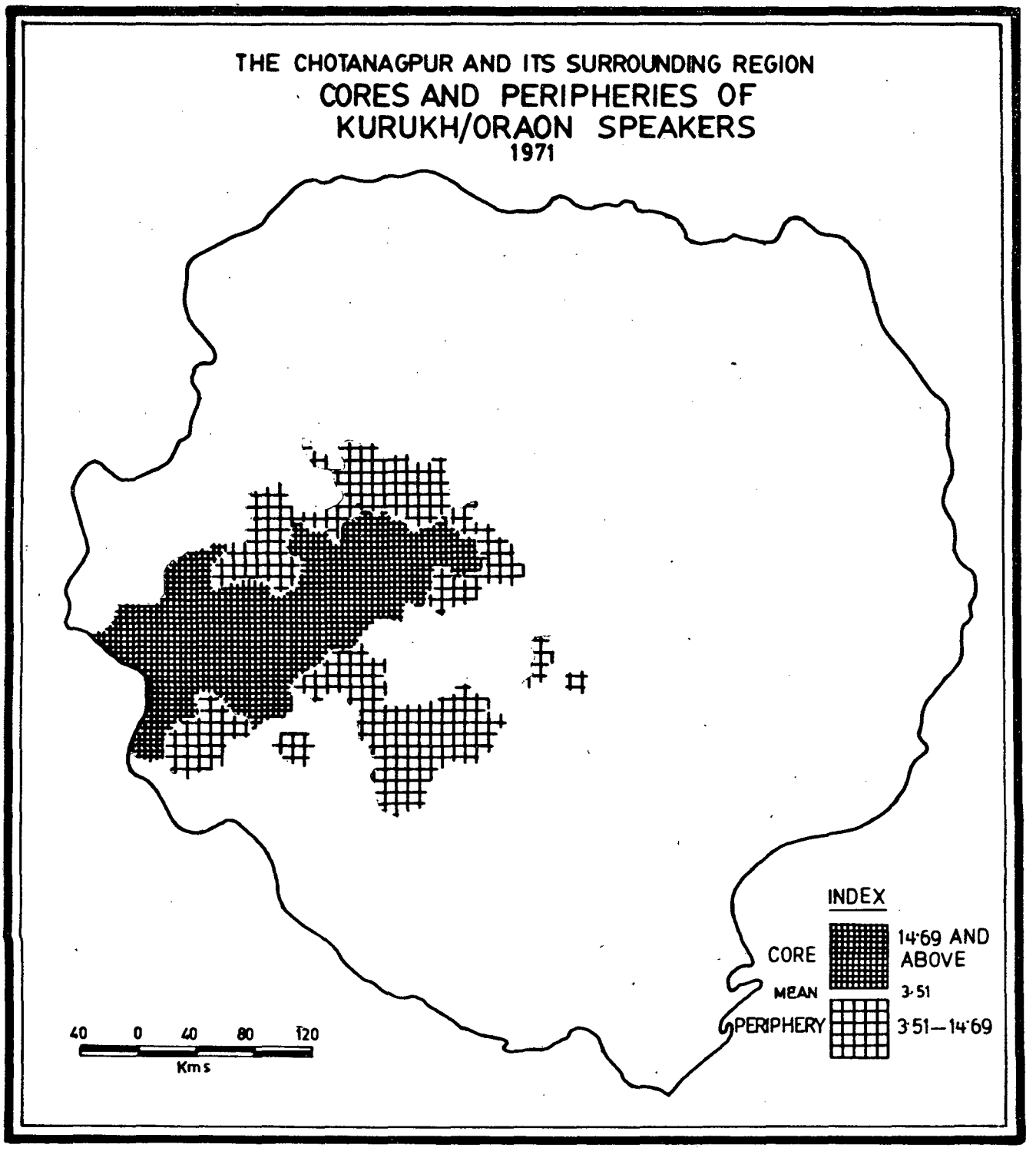

THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
CORES AND PERIPHERIES OF
KURUKH/ORAON SPEAKERS
1971
INDEX
CORE
14·69 AND ABOVE
MEAN
3·51
PERIPHERY
3·51—14·69
40 0 40 80 120
Kms

Fig. 28

significant proportion in all three variables taken for computation of the composite index.

Kurukh/Oraon periphery covers 29 blocks/police stations/taluks of the region. The periphery is distributed in 7 districts (9 in Sundargarh, 8 in Ranchi, 6 in Palamau, 3 in Singhbhum and 1 each in Hazaribagh, Sundargarh and Raigarh) of the region. Since the periphery is fragmented, it only partially surrounds the core of Kurukh/Oraon.

Table-15: KURUKH/ORAON CORE AND PERIPHERY, 1971

Sr. No.	Name of District	Total no. of taluks/ blocks/ p.s.	Name of taluks/blocks/police stations (Code Nos. in bracket)
		CORE	
Madhya Pradesh:			
1.	Surguja	1	Ambikapur (7)
2.	Raigarh	2	Udaipur (1) and Jashpur (2)
Bihar:			
3.	Palamau	1	Mahuadanr (13)
4.	Ranchi	17	Ratu (3), Bero (4), Bhandra (6), Lohardaga (7), Sehna (8), Kisko (9), Kuru (10), Chanho (11), Mandar (12), Gumla (33), Raidih (35), Chainpur (36), Dumri (37), Bishnupur (38), Ghaghra (39), Sisai (40) & Verno (41)
		PERIPHERY	
Madhya Pradesh:			
1.	Surguja	1	Samri (7)
2.	Raigarh	1	Gharghoda (3)

contd...

contd...

Bihar:			
3.	Palamau	6	Panki (9), Latehar (11), Garu (12), Manika (15), Balumath (16) and Chandwa (17)
4.	Ranchi	8	Kanke (1), Namkum (2), Lapung (5), Burmu (13), Karra (21), Simdega (26), Thethaitanagar (27) and Kurdeg (29)
5.	Singhbhum	1	Chaibasa (1)
Orissa:			
1.	Sundargarh	9	Sundargarh Sadar (1), Rajgangpur (6), Raghunathpalli (8), Raiboga (9), Birmitrapur (10), Birsa (11), Kelunga (12), Banki (14) and Gurundia (15)

Source: compiled by the author

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

The above discussion on the Patterns of Spatial Distribution of Languages and Dialects in the region may be concluded as follows:

i) The Indo-Aryan languages viz., Hindi, Bengali and Oriya are strongly concentrated in the blocks/ police stations of the alluvial plains of Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa respectively. The blocks/police stations possess more than 90 per cent speakers of these languages in the respective states.

ii) Urdu, a minority language of the Indo-Aryan family, is mainly concentrated in the northern part of the region, comprising blocks of Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Hazaribagh districts of Bihar.

iii) The Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian languages are largely confined to the Chotanagpur region, where most of the blocks/police stations show a dominant share of one or the other language of the group, e.g. Santali in Santal Parganas and Mayurbhanj, Mundari in eastern part of Ranchi, Kurukh/Oraon in western part of Ranchi, Ho in western part of Singhbhum and Kharia in southern part of Ranchi and northern part of Sundargarh districts of the region.

iv) Bengali speakers have expanded westward in the absence of any physical barrier. This is well reflected in its 30 to 90 per cent share of the total population in many blocks of Santal Parganas, Dhanbad and Singhbhum districts of Bihar. The Chotanagpur region, at least in the early days, restricted southward and eastward expansion of Hindi speakers and northward expansion of Oriya speakers. That is why, these two languages hardly constitute even 30 per cent of the population of block/police station in the Chotanagpur from their region.

v) The Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian languages, corresponding to the physiography of the region have acted as a 'buffer zone' between Hindi and Bengali in the north-eastern part and again between Hindi and Oriya in the south-central part of the region.

vi) Santali alone covers the whole of West Bengal where other languages of the Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian family are almost absent. Santali speakers' share is as high as 15 to 30 per cent in the total population of most of the police stations of the western part of West Bengal.

vii) Kurukh/Oraon, Mundari, Ho and Santhali, occupy separate areas from west to east in the central part of the region. The area occupied by them lies in the districts of Raigarh, Ranchi, Sundargarh, Keonjhar, Singhbhum and Mayurbhanj.

viii) Indices of concentration of Santali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia and Kurukh/Oraon show that Santali covered a wider area as compared to other groups of the region.

ix) The cores of Santali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia and Kurukh/Oraon are located in the areas where there is a high concentration of these languages as shown through their indices of concentration. The core of each of these languages exists side-by-side, excepting the major Santali core that lies in Santal Parganas district.

CHAPTER IV

PATTERNS OF LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

Linguistically, a spatial unit is called homogenous, if there are speakers of only one language. On the other hand, it is linguistically diversified, when speakers of more than one language are present there. If a larger population speaks just one language, the unit is much less diversified than the other one where persons speaking different languages are evenly distributed.

Language is the most effective means of communication. It is very susceptible to change and is affected, when movement of population, or interaction between populations, takes place. This is reflected in, "A linguistic distribution for an extended area which shows some region of great diversity and others of relative uniformity, while still others seem to be intermediate between these extremes."[1] An area of high linguistic diversity raises a number of issues, such as, level of communication potential among different linguistic groups, nature of bilingualism among them, degree and direction of language shift, etc.

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1. Greenberg, Joseph H. (1956), "The Measurement of Linguistic Diversity" Language, Bernard Bloch, Vol.32, No.1, p.109.

OBJECTIVES

The Chotanagpur plateau has provided shelter to a number of tribal linguistic groups for centuries. By and large, each of them had settled in separate areas, though in close proximity, barring a few areas, where some of them were residing together also. Thus, most of the regions were, linguistically, much less diversified. In last few decades, a massive in-migration of speakers of regionally dominant languages, viz., Hindi, Bengali and Oriya, have initiated process of linguistic diversification. Greenberg views that, "A quantitative measure of this diversity in order to render such impressions more objective, allow the comparing of disparate geographical areas, and eventually to correlate varying degrees of linguistic diversity with political, economic, geographic, historic, and other non-linguistic factors."[2]

The source of data is the Census of India, 1971 (see Chapter I). The main objectives of this exercise are:

i) to examine the nature of linguistic diversity with the help of index of linguistic diversity at the lowest administrative unit;

ii) to map 'mix of languages' in order to explain linguistic diversity;

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2. Greenberg, op. cit., p.109.

iii) to examine the relationship between linguistic diversity and the proportion of the speakers of the single largest language;

iv) to trace the possible zones of linguistic transition with the help of block/police station traverses and their cross-sections, and finally

v) to analyse the relationship between linguistic diversity and physiography of the region.

METHODOLOGY:

A sizable proportion of speakers of different languages/mother tongues to the total population makes an areal unit more diversified. Greenberg's 'mono-lingual non-weighted probability measure of linguistic diversity' has been used. It takes care of the above factor. This measure of linguistic diversity is based on the probability that two individuals of a given population chosen at random, speak the same language, can be considered a measure of linguistic diversity. If everyone speaks the same language, then the probability that the two such individuals speak the same language is obviously 1 (one) or certainty. But in the case of their speaking different languages, the probability is 0 (zero). According to Greenberg, "since we are measuring diversity rather than uniformity, the measure may be substracted from 1, so that the index will vary from 0, indicating the least diversity, to 1, indicating the greatest."[3]

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3. Ibid., p.110.

The probability of choosing two speakers of the same language is a sum of the probability of such an event for each individual language.

The linguistic diversity has been computed using the following formula:

$$D = 1 - \leq (x_1^2)$$

Where D is diversity index; and

x_1 is the proportion of the total population represented by those having a given language

INTERPRETATION:

A high linguistic diversity, caused by even distribution of languages among the given population, is evident from Fig.29 and Appendix VIII. A simple pattern of diversification of language is found in the Chotanagpur and its surrounding region. The Fig.29 in a glance gives two distinct areas of linguistic diversity, one,the area of very low linguistic diversity, and another, the area of high linguistic diversity.

The former occupies the fertile alluvial tract of the middle and lower Ganga plains, the coastal area and the fertile valley of the river Mahanadi. This category of linguistic diversity covers the largest area of the region, and presents a highly compact and contiguous region.

The area of 'high linguistic diversity' is concentrated in the area of high relief containing densely

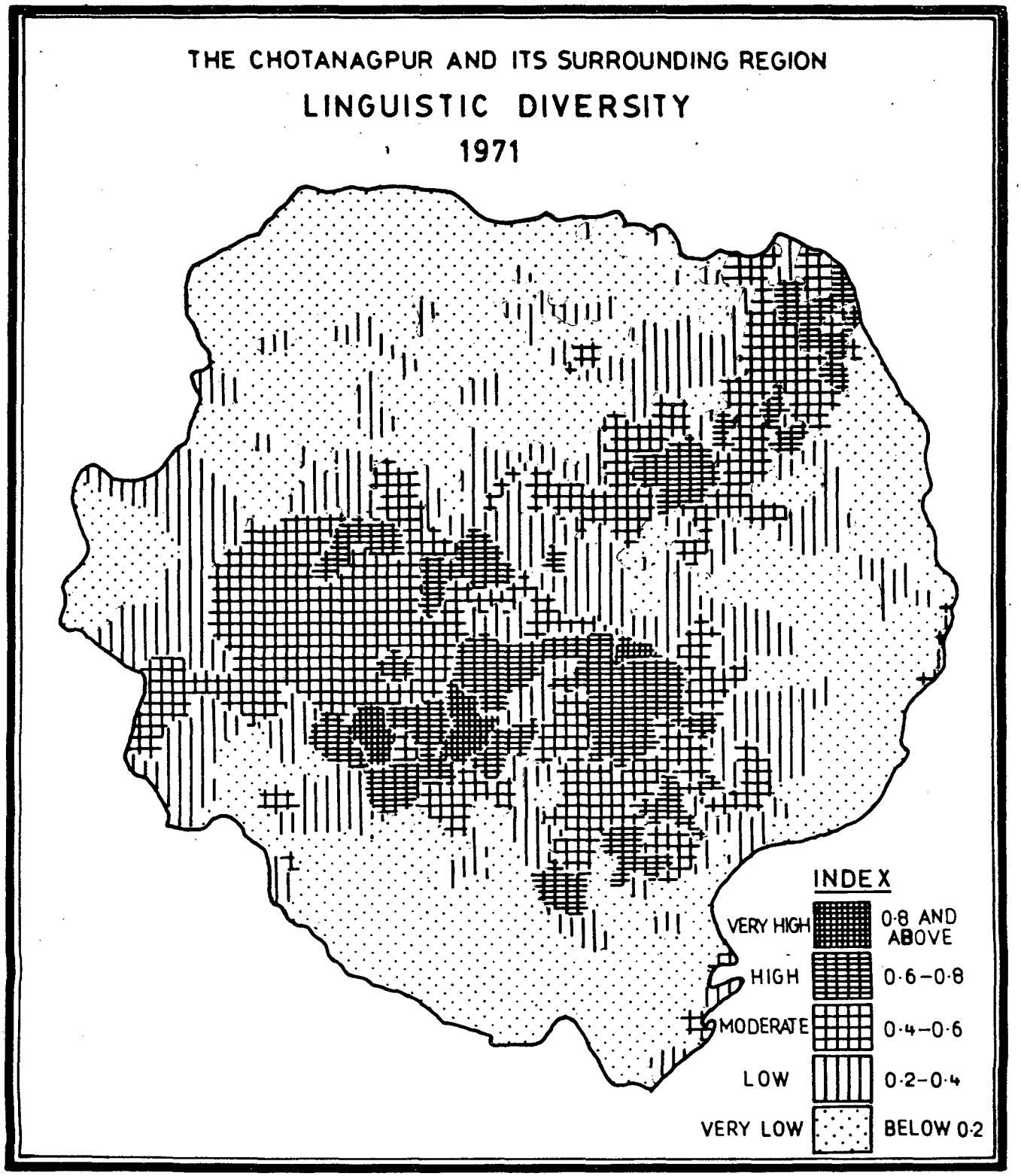
THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY
1971
INDEX
VERY HIGH
0·8 AND ABOVE
HIGH
0·6–0·8
MODERATE
0·4–0·6
LOW
0·2–0·4
VERY LOW
BELOW 0·2

Fig.29

forested hills and mountain ranges. It, therefore, clearly occupies the Chotanagpur plateau and extends to Orissa hills in the South-East. It also covers a wide area.

The area of very low linguistic diversity:

It is further sub-divided into three distinct zones clearly separated from each other, occupying an almost homogenous region. These are strongly dominated by speakers of a single language. In each case, the language belongs to the Eastern branch of Indo-Aryan family and is spoken by more than 90% people in each block. Some small patches of low linguistic diversity are found scattered at various places in the area of very low diversity. The index value of low linguistic diversity varies between 0 to 0.4.

Northern zone of 'very low Linguistic Diversity':

Hindi has been declared mother-tongue by more than 90per cent of the block population in the north and north-western parts of the region (Fig.30). This covers a large area, and includes districts of Shahabad (39), Patna (26), Gaya (36) and northern parts of Monghyr (25), Bhagalpur (11), Hazaribagh (16) and Palamau (14). 168 blocks out of 365 blocks of Bihar fall in this category of linguistic diversity.

This zone shows a few irregular and small patches of low linguistic diversity because of an increased share of Urdu speakers, thus reducing the percentage

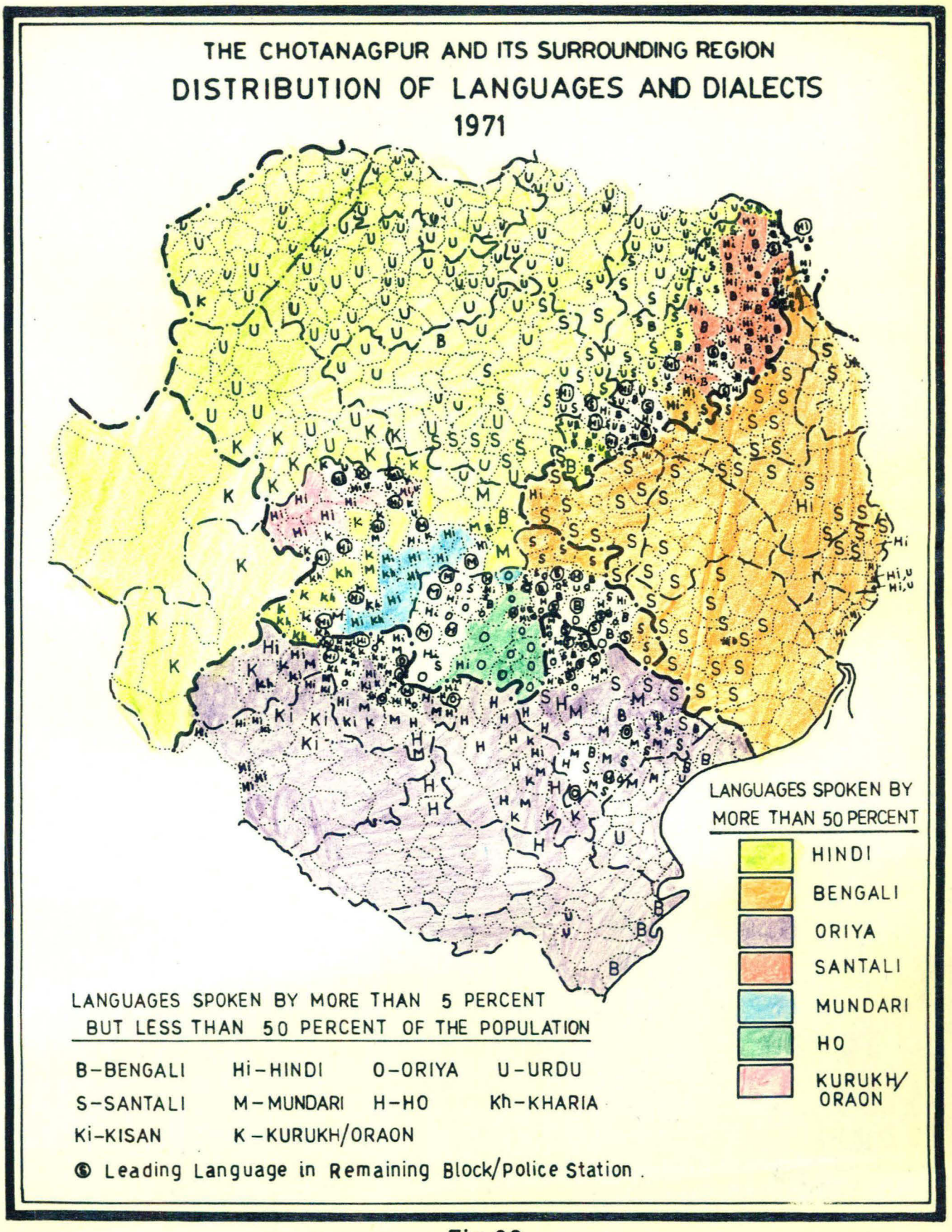
THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS
1971
LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY MORE THAN 50 PERCENT
HINDI
BENGALI
ORIYA
SANTALI
MUNDARI
HO
KURUKH/ ORAON
LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY MORE THAN 5 PERCENT BUT LESS THAN 50 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION
B-BENGALI
Hi-HINDI
O-ORIYA
U-URDU
S-SANTALI
M-MUNDARI
H-HO
Kh-KHARIA
Ki-KISAN
K-KURUKH/ORAON
Ⓢ Leading Language in Remaining Block/Police Station.

Fig.30

of Hindi speakers below 90. Except Urdu, no other language registers more than 5 per cent of the population of the block.

Eastern zone of 'very low Linguistic Diversity':

Bengali speakers dominate the eastern parts of the region. They have more than 90 per cent share of the population of police station, which is reflected in very low linguistic diversity. This zone consists of 91 police stations of West Bengal out of 159. The zone of very low linguistic diversity extends from north to south covering the major parts of the districts of Birbhum (9), Burdwan (9), Bankura (12), Murshidabad (14), Midnapore (21), Hooghly (13) and Howrah (10).

A few segments of this zone show 'low linguistic diversity', which is attributed to the presence of Santali speakers who reduce the share of the Bengali speakers to below 90 per cent (Fig.30). The area of low linguistic diversity forms a very small transition zone between 'the area of very low linguistic diversity' and 'area of moderate and high linguistic diversity'.

Southern zone of 'very low Linguistic Diversity':

The third zone of very low linguistic diversity spreads over the southern part of the region, where speakers of Oriya language constitute more than 90 per cent of the total population. 99 out of 172 Police

stations fall in this zone. It covers districts of Sambalpur (24), Dhenkanal (22), Cuttack (29) and Balasore (14), all in Orissa. A least diversified region extends towards the West along the Mahanadi valley. A distinct feature of this zone is the total absence of any other linguistic group, excepting the Hindi speakers who record slightly more than 5 per cent of the total population in the extreme north-west (Fig.30).

This zone is separated from the zone of 'very low diversity' of Bengali speakers in the coastal area by an area of low linguistic diversity. This is caused by the presence of Bengali speakers that reduces the share of Oriya speakers to below 90 per cent. But this zone of transition is narrow and exists in the border police stations of Balasore district.

The Areas of 'Moderate' and 'High' Linguistic Diversity:

The index value for 'moderate' and 'high' diversity ranges between 0.4-0.6 and 0.6-0.8 respectively. The areas of these two categories correspond to the physiography of the region. In other words, these areas spread over the main Chotanagpur region, and are located in the central part of the region. The Rajmahal hills in the north-eastern part and the Orissa hills in the south-eastern part of the region are also covered by the above categories of linguistic diversity. Thus,

the two separate zones of 'moderate' and 'high' linguistic diversity are found in the region (Fig.29).

The North-Eastern Zone of 'Moderate' and 'High' Linguistic Diversity:

This zone is located in the parts of Santhal Parganas, Dhanbad and Hazaribagh districts of Bihar and Burdwan and Purulia districts of West Bengal. Languages that cause 'moderate' and 'high' diversity in this zone are Hindi, Bengali and Santali.

There are 17 blocks in the category of high linguistic diversity with the index value ranging between 0.6 and 0.8, falling in this category are the 13 blocks of the Santal Parganas (Table-16). The remaining 4 blocks fall in Dhanbad district (Table-16). This category is further sub-divided into two clearly marked sub-zones. One covers north-eastern blocks of Rajmahal and Pakaur sub-division of Santal Parganas district, while the other extends over 2 blocks of Jamtura and one block of Deoghar sub-divisions of Santal Parganas and 4 blocks of Sadar sub-division of Dhanbad district. These sub-zones of high linguistic diversity are clearly separated by a zone of moderate linguistic diversity.

The area of 'moderate' diversity covers three-fourths blocks/police stations of this zone (moderate and high diversity). It, by and large, surrounds the 'high diversity area'. There are, however, a few patches

Table-16: DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH AND MODERATE LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY IN THE NORTH-EASTERN ZONE, 1971

District	Sub-division	Total no. of blocks	High (0.6-0.8)	Moderate (0.4-0.6)
S. Parganas		40	13	22
	Dumka	9	2	7
	Jamtara	4	2	2
	Pakaur	6	3	3
	Rajmahal	7	4	3
	Deoghar	7	1	2
	Godda	7	1	5
Dhanbad		10	4	6
	Sadar	6	4	2
	Baghmara	4	-	4
Hazaribagh		42	-	8
			-	4
			-	4
Bhagalpur			-	2
			-	2
Burdwan		27	-	9
			-	7
			-	2
Purulia		17	-	3
	Sadar	17		3
	Total		17	50

Source: compiled by the author.

where 'low' and 'very low' diversity areas displace the 'moderate' diversity area completely; thus causing a sharp change from 'high' to 'low' and 'very low' diversity in those patches.

The 'moderate diversity area' is spread over 50 blocks/police stations of this zone. Out of these 50, blocks 22 fall in Santal Parganas, 9 in Burdwan, 8 in Hazaribagh, 6 in Dhanbad, 3 in Purulia and 2 in Bhagalpur districts.

Mid-Central zone of 'Moderate' and 'High' Linguistic Diversity:

This zone of moderate and high linguistic diversity is larger than the north-eastern zone. It extends over the adjoining blocks/police stations/taluks of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. In this zone, there is significant presence of many linguistic groups, viz., Hindi, Oriya, Bengali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia, Santali, Bhumij and Kurukh/Oraon. This results in moderate, high and very high diversity. And "despite this high diversity of languages with their individual peculiarities and particularisms there are likely to be relatively few barriers in intelligibility and communication within the region."[4] This is because of constant contact among

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4. Nayar, B.R. (1969), National Communication and Language Policy in India, (New York: Frederic A. Praeger, INC.), pp.25-27.

them for day-to-day activities. Since in this case where language groups of Austric family, are in constant touch with the dominant language groups of Indo- Aryan family, "Lingua franca could survive at three levels - village or local level, sub-regional level covering a wider area of communication and intelligibility and a standard language above the second and first, which are adopted without any resistance."[5]

This zone diagonally extends from North-West to South-East. It is 200 kms in width, while its length is around 400 kms. It covers Samri taluk (Surguja) and Jashpur taluk (Raigarh) in Madhya Pradesh, Ranchi, Singhbhum and south-western part of Palamau districts of Bihar and Mayurbhanj, northern parts of Sundargarh and Keonjhar districts of Orissa. District and sub-division/taluk-wise distribution of moderate, high and very high linguistic diversity has been presented in Table-17.

This zone covers 116 blocks/police stations of 12 districts in four states. This zone consists of three categories of linguistic diversity, viz., moderate,

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5. Hemkhothang Lhungdim (1987), Patterns of Communication in a Multi-speech Area: A case study of Manipur Tribes, an unpublished M.Phil. dissertation, CSRD/SSS/JNU, New Delhi, p.

Table-17: DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH AND MODERATE LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY IN THE CENTRAL ZONE, 1971

District	Sub-division/ Taluk	Total no.of blocks/ police stations	High (0.6-0.8)	Moderate (0.4-0.6)	Very High 0.8
Ranchi		43	11	26	
	Sadar	16	8	5	
	Simdega	7	2	5	
	Gumla	11	1	10	
	Khunti	9	-	6	
Singhbhum		32	17	9	2
	Chaibasa	15	6	6	1
	Seraikela	8	5	1	-
	Dhalbhum	9	6	3	1
Mayurbhanj					
	Baripada	7	1	2	
	Betnoti	3	-	2	
	Rairangpur	6	6	-	
	Karanjia	4	1	3	
	Udala	3	2	1	
Keonjhar		15	2	3	
	Sadar	4	1	2	
	Barbil	3	1	1	
Sundargarh		19	7	4	2
	Rairangpur	2	1	-	1
	Panposh	5	3	1	1
	Bonai	7	3	3	-
Palamau		25	0	5	
	Sadar	10	-	2	
	Latesher	7	-	3	
Others:	Surguja (M.P.)		-	1	
	Raigarh (M.P.)		-	2	
	Midnapore (W.B.)		-	2	
	Bankura (W.B.)		-	1	
	Balasore (Orissa)		-	3	
	Sambalpur (Orissa)		1	-	
	Total		48	64	4 = 116

Source: compiled by the author.

high and very high. Table-18 gives a fair picture of this distribution.

Table-18: STATE-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF DIVERSITY INDEX, 1971

States	Moderate	High	Very High	Total
Bihar	40	28	2	70
Orissa	18	20	2	40
M.P.	3	-	-	3
W. Bengal	3	-	-	3
Total	64	48	4	116

Two blocks of Singhbhum (Manoharpur and Colmpuri-cum-Jugsalai) are 'very high diversity' areas, dominated by Hindi, Bengali and Oriya linguistic groups. These are surrounded by areas of 'high diversity' from three sides except north which is surrounded by the 'area of low diversity'. Similarly two Police stations of Sundargarh district (Rajgangpur and Riaboga) are also 'very high diversity' area. Here, Hindi is the leading language. The four other language groups found here are the tribal ones. These are well-surrounded by 'area of high diversity'.

High diversity belt of Singhbhum, Sundargarh and Keonjhar, though not forming a compact region, is almost contiguous. In northern part of Ranchi and eastern part of Mayurbhanj districts a small patch of high diversity is found. It includes the blocks falling in the western part of Ranchi and the southern part of

Palamau districts in Bihar, the taluks falling in the eastern parts of Surguja and Raigarh districts in Madhya Pradesh. A longitudinal belt of 'moderate' diversity is also formed by a few police stations of Mayurbhanj district in Orissa.

Relationship Between Linguistic Diversity and Percentage of the First Ranking Languages:

The nature of linguistic diversity is highly dependent upon the nature of distribution of population of several language groups. If a single language is dominant, the diversity would be least. But in case of sizable distribution of population into two or more language groups, the area will be highly diversified. Thus, there is inverse relationship between the two. To exhibit this relationship, the dependent variable (linguistic diversity) and independent variable (percentage of First Ranking languages) have been taken on vertical scale and horizontal scale respectively.

Fig.31.a shows this relationship for 352 blocks of Bihar and 8 taluks of two districts of Madhya Pradesh. This scattered distribution presents a true 'comet-like' picture, whose 'head' is going downward in the right corner. This is due to more than 95 per cent share of a single language that has reduced the diversity index below 0.1; Its 'tail' is scattered over the left-upper-

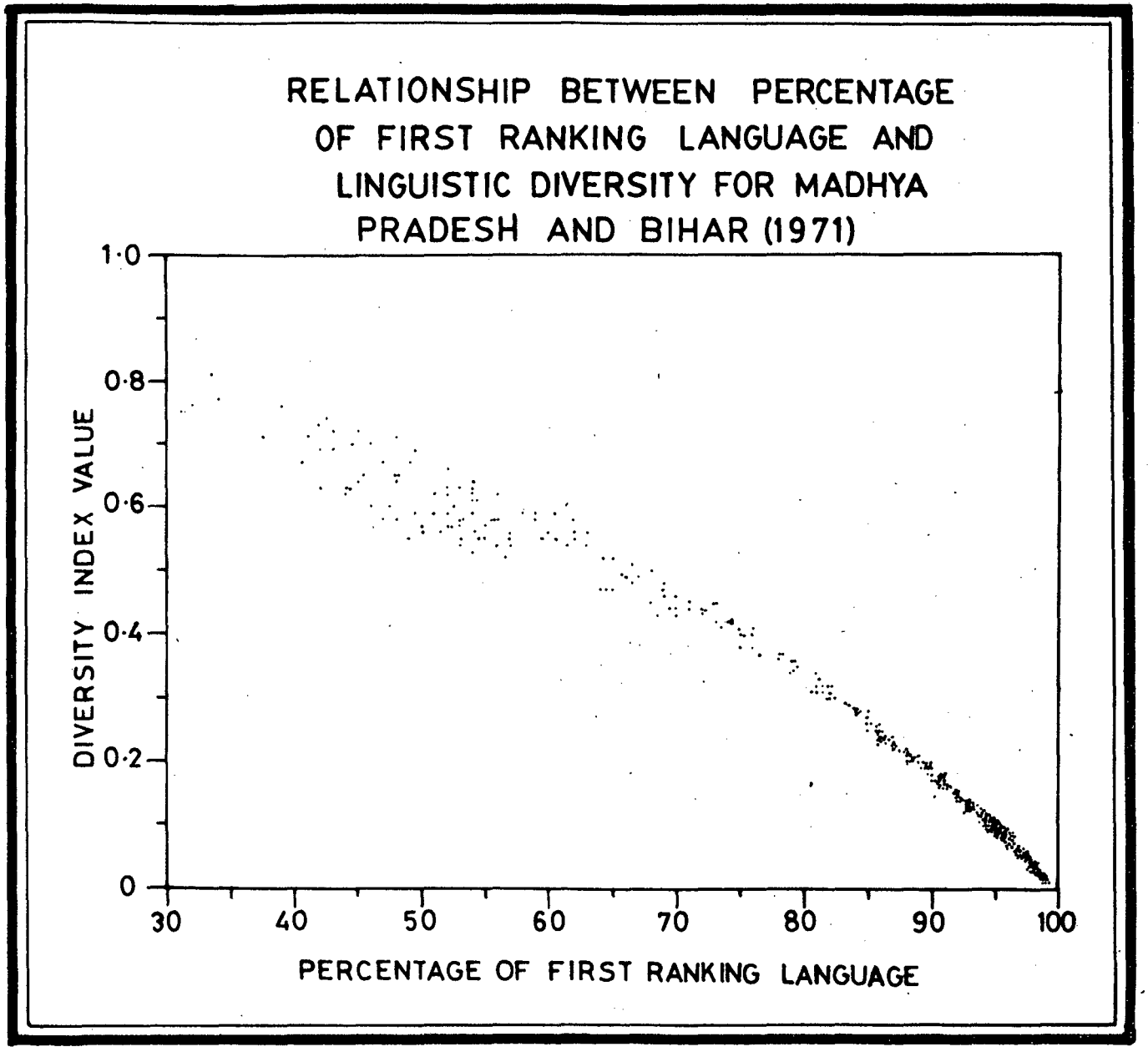
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCENTAGE OF FIRST RANKING LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY FOR MADHYA PRADESH AND BIHAR (1971)
DIVERSITY INDEX VALUE
1·0
0·8
0·6
0·4
0·2
0
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
PERCENTAGE OF FIRST RANKING LANGUAGE

Fig. 31a

middle parts of the figure. This is attributed to lower share of single largest language that has caused greater linguistic diversity. In this case, one finds the share of the First Ranking languages below 65 per cent and diversity index above 0.55. The maximum concentration, here, is between 42 and 57 per cent and between 0.55 and 0.7 diversity index. This scattered distribution presents a convex surface.

Fig.31.b also presents the similar relationship for 159 police stations of West Bengal. The head of this scattered diagram is highly developed and touches the right-lower-corner, while its tail is not fully developed. This is because of the share of Bengali language being more than 80 per cent of the total population in 135 out of 159 police stations (most of these show more than 90 per cent). This reduces the linguistic diversity well below 0.15. A 'comet-like' picture of this scattered distribution, again, is convex in nature.

Fig.31.c shows this relationship for 159 police stations of Orissa. The similar nature of relationship in the form of 'comet-like' distribution with a convex surface, exhibits a high degree of relationship between percentage of First Ranking languages and linguistic diversity index. But in this case, the tail is narrow and elongated, because of decreasing share of the First

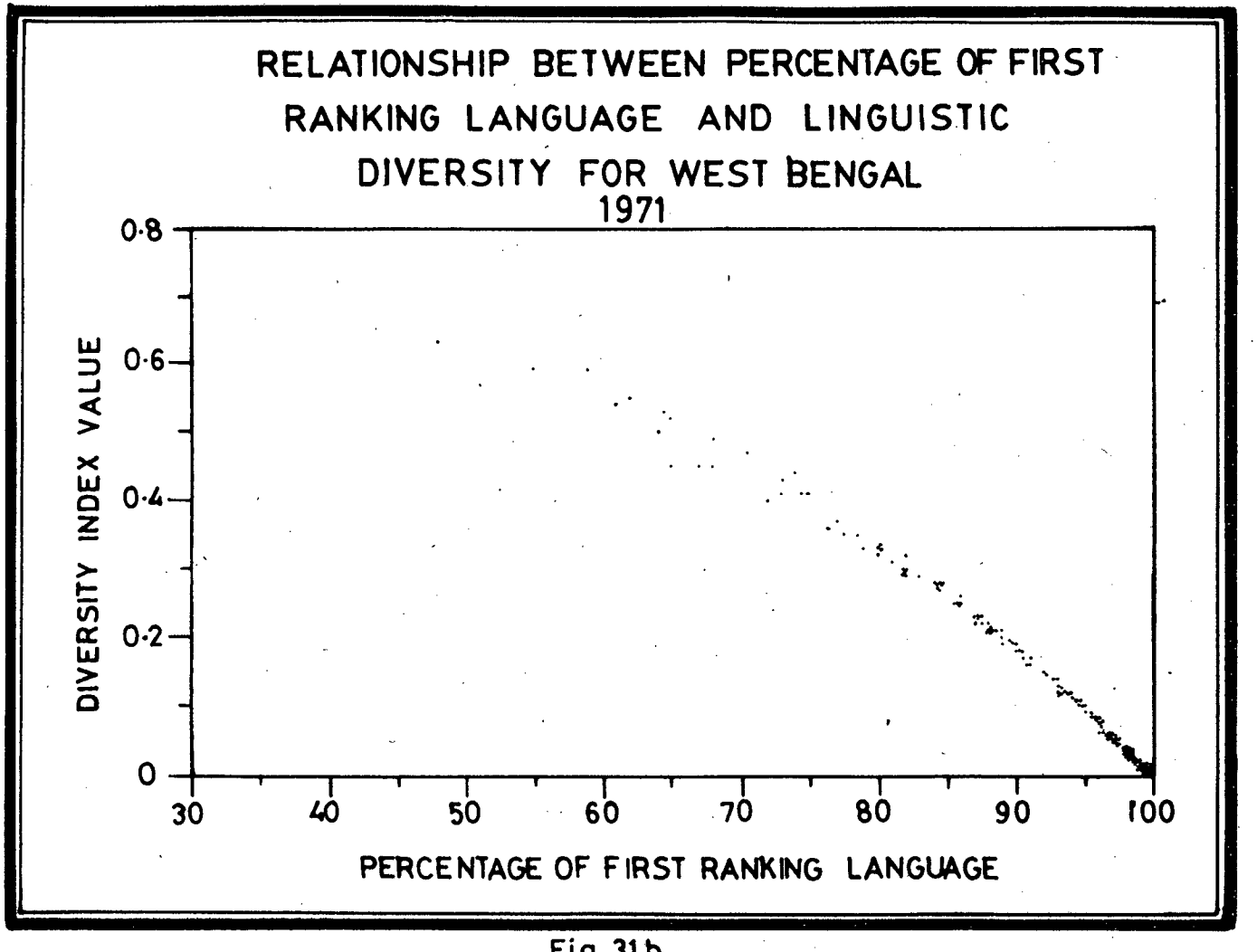
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCENTAGE OF FIRST RANKING LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY FOR WEST BENGAL
1971
DIVERSITY INDEX VALUE
0·8
0·6
0·4
0·2
0
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
PERCENTAGE OF FIRST RANKING LANGUAGE

Fig.31b

Ranking languages. Here 17 police stations record less than 50 per cent share of the single largest language and above 0.65 diversity index. The head in the right-lower-corner is dense as share of First Ranking languages is more than 97 per cent and the diversity index below 0.03.

This exercise, once again, indicates that the fertile alluvial plains are marked by absolute dominance of one or another regionally dominant language having a share of more than 90 per cent in most of the cases. Therefore, the resultant diversity index is significantly low. The case of the Chotanagpur plateaux is completely different. There is not a single tribal language, that shares more than 90 per cent of the population. Their percentage is well below that. Therefore, the diversity index is higher. It suddenly goes up at places where a sizable proportion of inmigration of other linguistic groups has taken place.

Block/Police station/Taluk Traverses:

The purpose of this exercise is to explain patterns of linguistic diversity with respect to distance, particularly taking care of area of high diversity (Fig.29) and 'mix of languages' (Fig.30). It, therefore, presents the nature of transition zone between core areas of least linguistic diversity. Different traverses have

been drawn for this purpose (Fig.32).

The method of drawing traverse is very simple. An approximate centroid of each block/police station is marked, and joined in sequence, in straight line. The values of diversity index have been given in Appendix VIII. Through hypothetical presumption this value is deemed to have been given near the centroid of the unit. Map distance is plotted on the horizontal scale, and diversity index on the vertical scale. The 'first ranking language/mother tongue of each block/police station traversed has been taken into account. Since the distance is measured at block centroids, it is, therefore, only a rough approximation. Five block/police station traverses have been drawn in various directions. Three of them are in the south-north direction and two in the west-east direction.

Cross-Section of Traverse-A:

Traverse-A has been drawn from South to North in western part of the region. The length of the traverse is about 400 kms. At both extremes, there are areas of the least linguistic diversity. In the North, Hindi dominates with more than 90 per cent of the population, while in the South, it is Oriya with identical percentage. In both the cases, the diversity index is well below the base line (0.2). In the middle portion of about

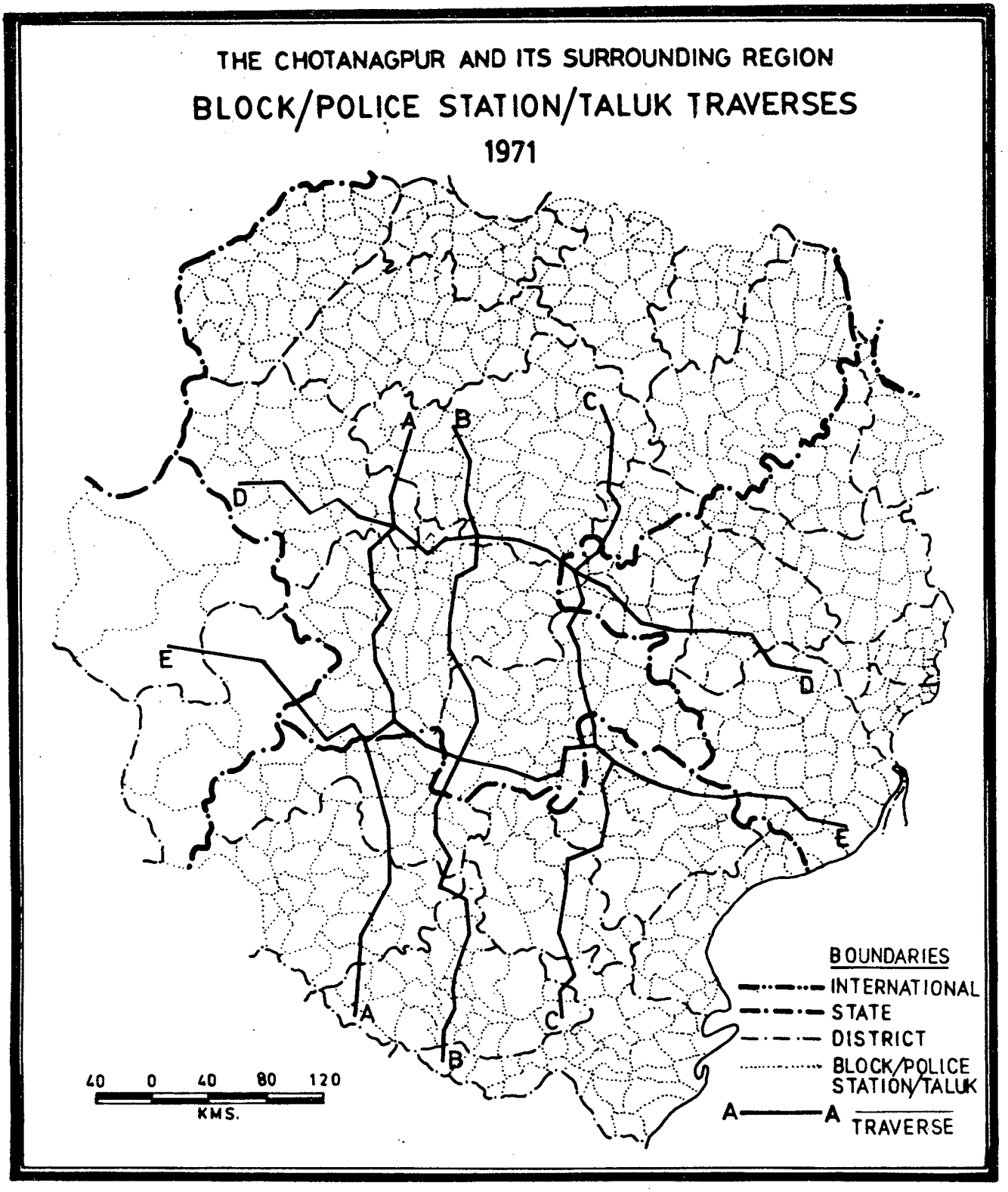
THE CHOTANAGPUR AND ITS SURROUNDING REGION
BLOCK/POLICE STATION/TALUK TRAVERSES
1971
A
B
C
D
E
A
B
C
D
E
40 0 40 80 120
KMS.
BOUNDARIES
INTERNATIONAL
STATE
DISTRICT
BLOCK/POLICE STATION/TALUK
A——A TRAVERSE

Fig.32

200 kms, much higher diversity is noted (more than 0.5), which acts as transition zone between the two least diversity areas (Fig.32.a). This clearly indicates that in the interior part of the Chotanagpur region there is a positive relationship between the linguistic diversity and the physiography.

The traverse passes through three leading languages, namely, Oriya, Hindi and Kurukh/Oraon. The distance covered by Hindi is approximately 230 kms, followed by Oriya 100 kms and Kurukh/Oraon 10 kms.

Cross-Section of Traverse-B:

Traverse-B has been drawn again from south to north, and is situated about 50 kms to the east of the former. Fig.32.b shows that area of high diversity exists in the middle of the two areas of least diversity i.e. Oriya in the south and Hindi in the north. Non-regional languages such as Mundari, Ho and Kurukh/Oraon are leading languages with less than 50 per cent of the population. This traverse passes through five leading languages.

Cross-Section of Traverse-C:

Traverse-C is about 50 kms east of the traverse-B. It again presents the similar pattern in the middle where Santali, Oriya and Bengali are the leading languages. This area covers about 110 kms and has high fluctuations

CROSS-SECTIONS

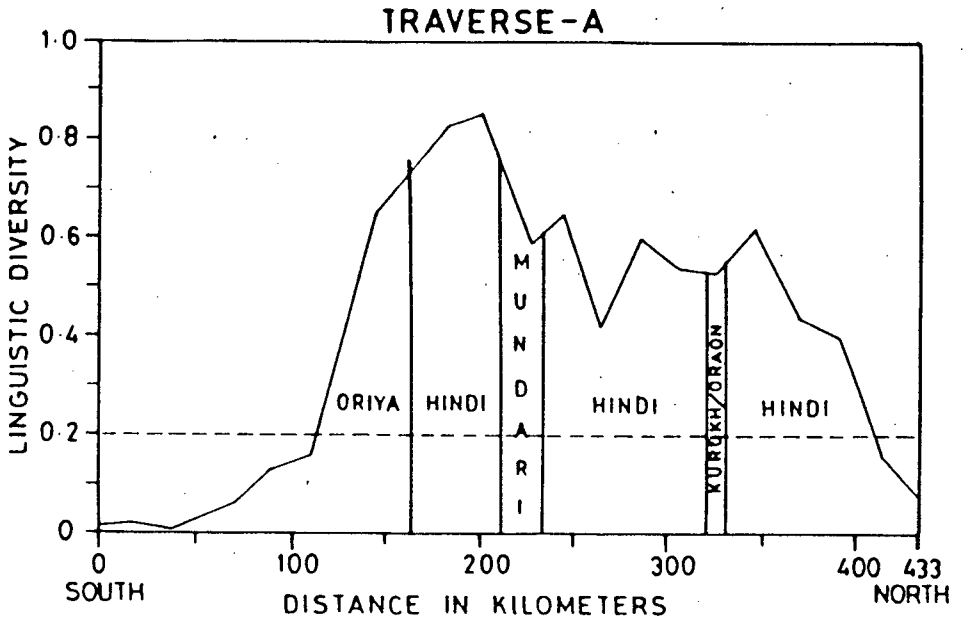

Fig. 32 a

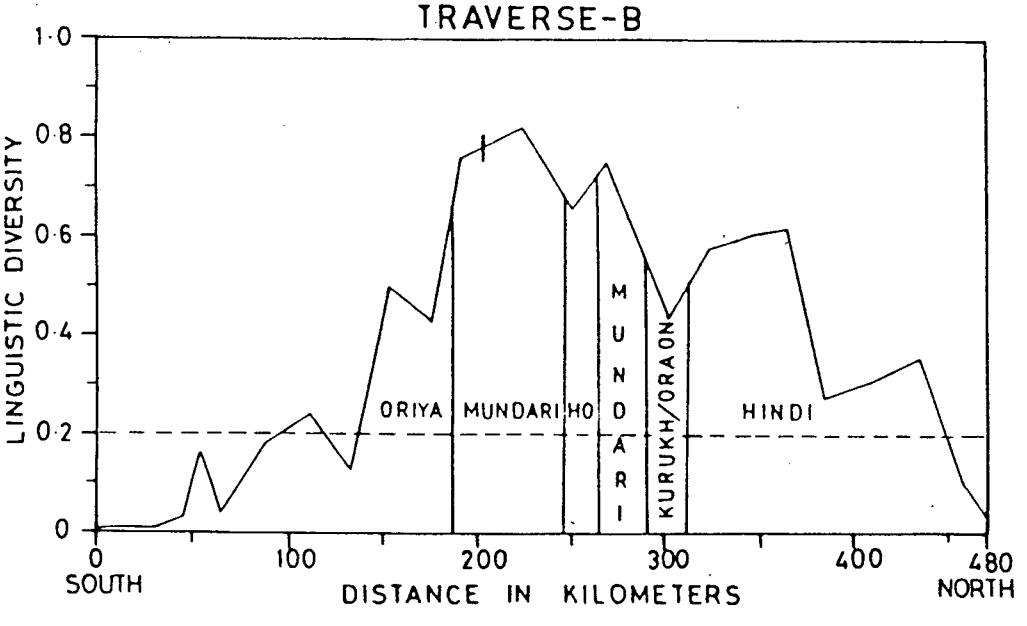

Fig. 32b

of diversity. The leading languages through which traverse passed are Oriya, Santali, Bengali and Hindi (Fig.32.c).

These three traverses A, B and C very clearly point out that high diversity in the adjoining districts of Bihar and Orissa extends over a large area. It corresponds with high relief.

Cross-Section of Traverse-D:

Traverse-D originates in western part of district Palamau (Bihar) and culminates in north-east part of Midnapore district (West Bengal). It traverses along the southern part of the Hazaribagh district. For the major part of the passage of traverse, the diversity is close to the base line (0.2). In about 50 kms in the eastern part, it, however, raises slightly (Fig.32.d). The smoothness of the curve shows that though Hindi and Bengali are the leading languages, they do not dominate completely. This also indicates the presence of other languages.

Cross-Section of Traverse-E:

'Traverse-E' has also been drawn from the West to East about 100 kms south of the traverse D. The purpose again is to study the nature of linguistic diversity in the middle portion of the region. The diversity is below 0.6 in the western part of the traverse. In the middle, the traverse notes very high diversity (more than 0.8).

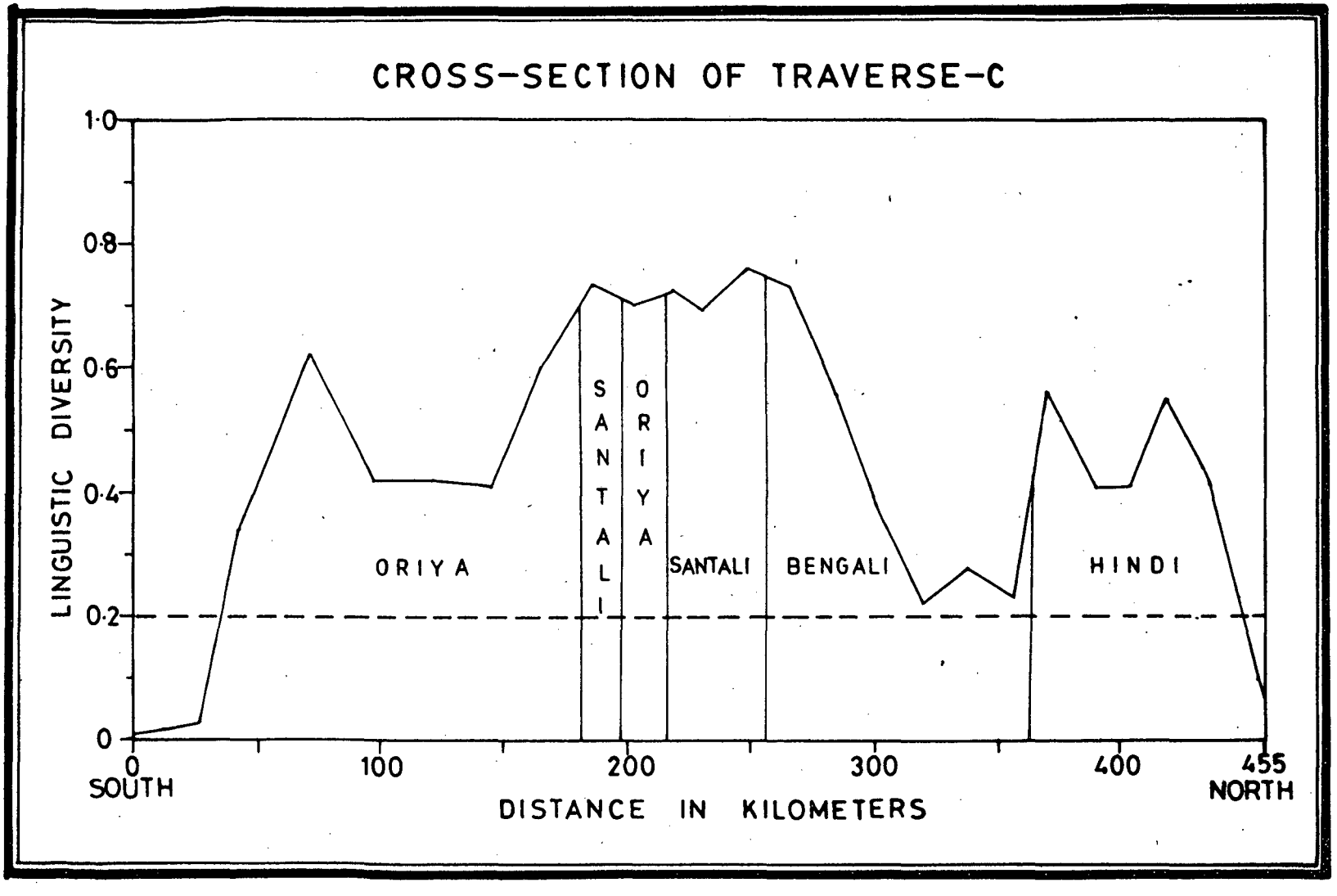
CROSS-SECTION OF TRAVERSE-C
LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY
1·0
0·8
0·6
0·4
0·2
0
ORIYA
SANTALI
ORIYA
SANTALI
BENGALI
HINDI
0
SOUTH
100
200
300
400
455
NORTH
DISTANCE IN KILOMETERS

Fig. 32c

CROSS-SECTIONS

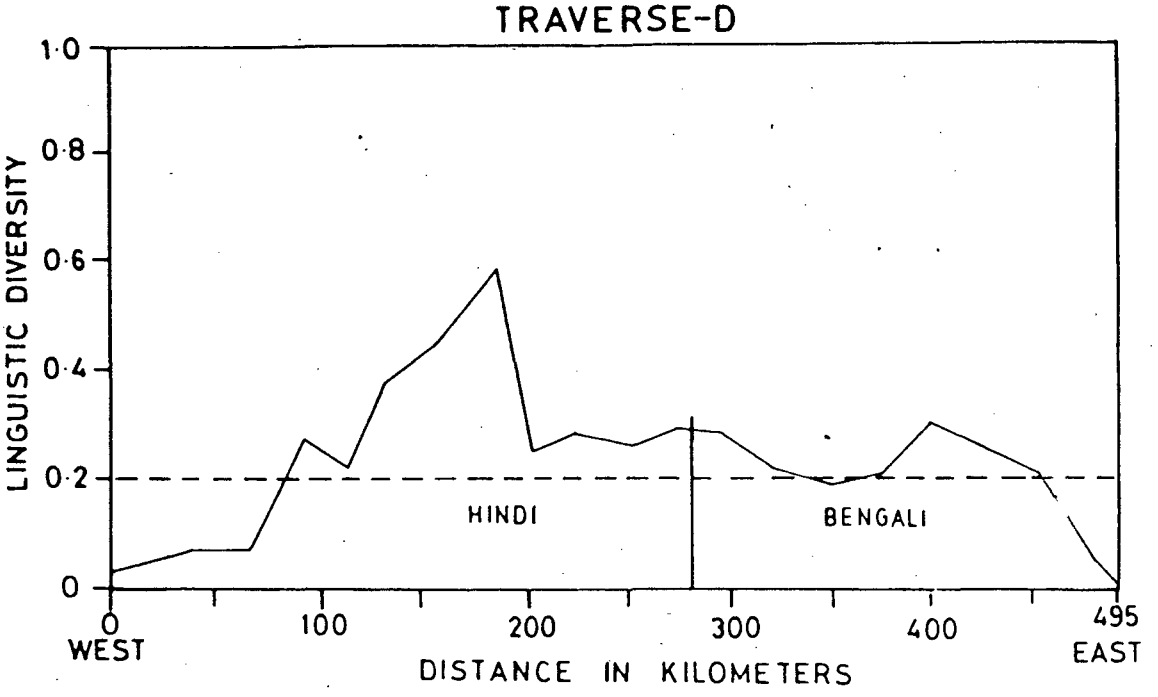

Fig. 32 d

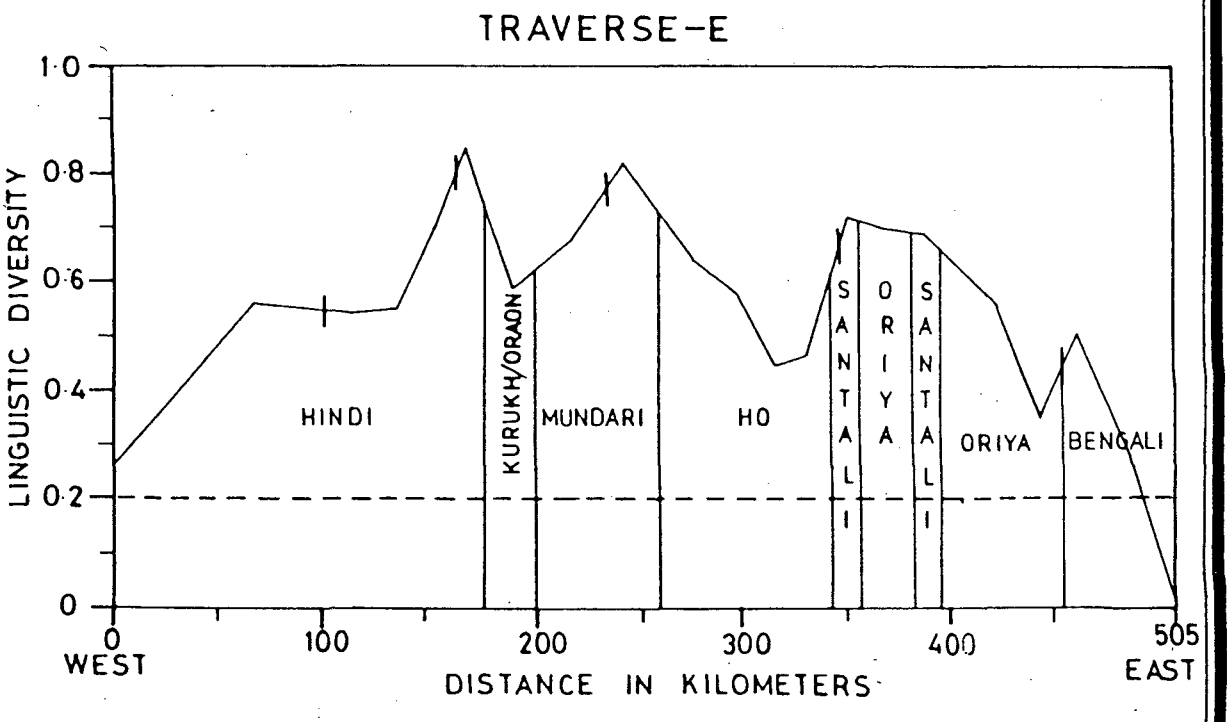

Fig. 32 e

It is more than 0.6 upto the north-western part of Mayurbhanj district (Orissa). In the eastern part, the traverse notes low and very low diversity (Fig.32.e).

'Moderate', 'high' and 'very high' diversity indicates the even distribution of the population among the various linguistic growth. The traverse passes through 7 leading languages, namely Hindi, Kurukh/Oraon, Mundari, Ho, Santali, Oriya and Bengali.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT :

The findings of this study may be summarised as below:

(i) A block/police station/taluk is linguistically least diversified, where a single language is returned as mother tongue by more than 90 per cent of the population. This situation prevails in the plains, surrounding the Chotanagpur region.

(ii) The districts of Santal Parganas, Dhanbad, Ranchi and Singhbhum of Bihar; Raigarh and parts of Surguja districts of Madhya Pradesh; and Sundargarh, Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj districts of Orissa in the Chotanagpur region display a high linguistic diversity.

(iii) The area of high diversity is attributed to the presence of more than two linguistic groups showing almost equal proportion in the total population. In

most of the blocks/police stations two or three regionally dominant language groups have been recorded.

(iv) There is a positive relationship between the linguistic diversity and the proportion of single largest language.

(v) In general, there is a positive correlation between physiography and diversity of the region, e.g., area of low relief (plains) shows least diversification, whereas area of high relief exhibits high diversification. This is also proved by block traverses.

CHAPTER V

A SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

The present study on the Chotanagpur and its surrounding region explores the pattern and nature of language distribution and diversification. Numerically dominant languages of the Indo-Aryan (e.g. Hindi, Bengali, Oriya and Urdu), Austro-Asiatic (e.g. Santali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia and Bhumij), and Dravidian (e.g. Kurukh/Oraon) families have been chosen for this study. A special emphasis has been laid on the languages of the two last mentioned families. These are languages/mother tongues of various tribal groups who have been living in the Chotanagpur region, an area of inhospitable terrain, for centuries. A brief history of origin and migration of all these groups may throw more light towards an explanation of their present distributional pattern. The present study is a sort of blend of history and geography.

The Chotanagpur and its surrounding region has acted as a 'melting pot' for various linguistic groups who came into the region one after another. The present distribution of the regionally dominant and powerful linguistic groups (Hindi, Bengali and Oriya) shows that they occupy the alluvial plains. The linguistic

groups belonging to the latter families are concentrated in the Chotanagpur region. This pattern thorws light on the process of peopling of India. The linguistic groups, now, inhabiting the plateau region, were, once, living in the surrounding plains. They were driven into the present situation. Thus, the processes of expansion and squeezing out, or, inmigration and outmigration, acted simultaneously in the diffusion, or, concentration of these distinct language families.

The regionally dominant languages are highly concentrated in the plains of three different areas, viz., Hindi in Bihar, Bengali in West Bengal and Oriya in Orissa. In the respective areas, they account for more than 90 per cent - somewhere 80 to 90 per cent - of the population of block/police station. One finds decreasing proportion of these languages, towards the Chotanagpur plateau. The rate of this decrease is affected by the presence, or, absence of hills, mountain ranges and undulating terrain. Bengali language is spoken by more than 75 per cent of population in the police stations in the western part of West Bengal. Even, it has a dominant share in many blocks of Santal Parganas and Singhbhum districts of Bihar. This westward extension got materialised in the absence of any such physical barriers.

On the other hand, the case of Hindi and Oriya is somewhat different. These languages are highly concentrated in the plains, where they are spoken by more than 90 per cent population of block/police station in their respective areas. A sharp decline is noticed in their share to total population due to the presence of physical barriers, e.g., the Rajmahal hills in Santal Parganas, Ranchi plateau in Ranchi and adjoining districts, and Gharjat mountain ranges in the northern part of Orissa. In these areas, speakers of Hindi and Oriya have a very low share in the total population of block/police station.

The Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian languages are highly concentrated in the Chotanagpur plateau and its adjoining hill ranges. Each of these languages are confined to separate area, but in close proximity. A separate 'core area' of each is indicative of its highest concentration in respect of its all-India speakers and also to the family it belongs to. This present distribution supports the past observations that they came in contact during their wandering habits. They shared their social and cultural traditions. They never proved a threat to the other groups. With passage of time, they gradually separated and settled in different areas.

Santali is the only language of these two families, which is widely distributed between the Ganga, in the north, and the Baitarani, in the south, encompassing a wide strip of lands of adjoining Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa states. Its speakers are found in large number, in whole of West Bengal, where they migrated as agricultural labourers. This wide distribution is reflected in its share to its all-India speakers, where only 11 blocks/police stations show 1 to 2 per cent higher share. While Mundari, Ho, Kharia and Kurukh/ Oraon dialects show more than 3 per cent to their respective all-India speakers, and point out that each one of them is highly confined to a definite area. Hardly, a few speakers of any one of these dialects is found in the plains.

The fertile alluvial plains are linguistically least diversified, where one of the regional languages has a dominant position with more than 90 per cent of the total population of block/police station. On the other hand, the plateau area, excluding most of the northern parts of Palamau and Hazaribagh and Purulia districts, displays a high and very high linguistic diversity. Thus, there seems a positive relationship between linguistic diversity and relief, i.e., in the plains, a single language is spoken by more than 90

per cent of the population; while in the plateau, more than one language is equally spoken by different groups (most of them belong to the Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian families) and, thus engender high linguistic diversity.

Finally, the present study gives a detailed distribution pattern of numerically important languages of the region, at micro level. This shows the concentration and dispersion separately, in various ways, association among them, and the pattern of linguistic diversification. A block/police station, linguistically highly diversified, would be an interesting area for further research, where along with the spatial distribution, various aspects of language uses for groups with different levels of education, occupation, social status, etc., may be investigated.

ANNEXURE-I: CODE NUMBER AND NAME OF BLOCK/POLICE STATION/ TALUK, 1971

State/District/ Sub-Division or Taluk	Code No. of Block	Name of Block			
A	B	C	A	B	C
BIHAR:					
Patna	1	Patna		44	Gobindpur
	2	Phulwari		45	Rajauli
	3	Punpun		46	Sirdala
	4	Dhanarua			
	5	Masauri	Shahabad	1	Arrah
	6	Danapur-c-khagol		2	Udwantnagar
	7	Naubatpur		3	Jagdishpur
	8	Paliganj		4	Behea
	9	Bikram		5	Shahpur
	10	Bihta		6	Berhara
	11	Maner		7	Koilwar
	12	Barh		8	Sandesh
	13	Harnaut		9	Sahar
	14	Fatwah		10	Charpokhri
	15	Bakhtiarpur		11	Piro
	16	Pandarak		12	Tarai
	17	Mokameh		13	Sasaram
	18	Sermera		14	Rohtas
	19	Bihar		15	Nawhatta
	20	Giriak		16	Chenari
	21	Rajgir		17	Sheosagar
	22	Islampur		18	Kargohar
	23	Ekangarsarai		19	Dinara
	24	Hilsa		20	Dawath
	25	Chandi		21	Bikramganj
	26	Noorsarai		22	Karakat
	27	Rahaui		23	Nasriganj
	28	Asthama		24	Dehri
				25	Nokha
Gaya	1	Gaya Town		26	Bhabua
	2	Bodh Gaya		27	Bhagwanpur
	3	Sherghati		28	Adhaura
	4	Amas		29	Chainpur
	5	Imamganj		30	Chand
	6	Dumaria		31	Durgawati
	7	Guraua		32	Ramgarh
	8	Paraiya		33	Mohania
	9	Konch		34	Kudra
	10	Tikari		35	Buxar
	11	Belaganj		36	Itarhi
	12	Khizirsarai		37	Rajpur
	13.	Atri		38	Simri
	14	Manpur		39	Berhampur
	15	Wazirganj		40	Dumraon
	16	Fatehpur		41	Nawannagar
	17	Mohanpur	Monghyr	1	Sadar
	18	Barachatti		2	Jamalpur
	19	Aurangabad		3	Tarapur
	20	Deo		4	Sangrampur
	21	Kutumba		8	Lakhisarai
	22	Nabinagar		9	Sheikpura
	23	Barun		10	Ariari
	24	Obra		11	Barbigha
	25	Daudnagar		12	Barahiya
	26	Haspura		13	Jamui
	27	Goh		14	Khaira
	28	Rafiganj		15	Sikandra
	29	Madanpur		16	Halsi
	30	Jehanabad		17	Lakshmipur
	31	Makhdumpur		18	Jhajha
	32	Kurtha		19	Chakai
	33	Karpi		20	Sono
	34	Arwal		21	Begusarai I
	35	Kako		22	Begusarai II
	36	Ghosi		23	Barauni
	37	Nawadah		5	Kharagpur
	38	Akbarpur		6	Dharhara
	39	Narhat		7	Surajgarh
	40	Hisua			
	41	Warsaliganj	Palamau	1	Daltonganj
	42	Pakri Baranwan		2	Chainpur
	43	Kawakole		3	Bishrampur

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B	C
4	Hussainabad
5	Hariharganj
6	Chhatarpur
7	Patan
8	Manatu
9	Panki
10	Lesliganj
11	Latehar
12	Garu
13	Mahuadanr
14	Barwadih
15	Manika
16	Balumath
17	Chandwe
18	Garhwa
19	Ranka
20	Bhandaria
21	Dhurki
22	Untari
23	Bhawanathpur
24	Majhiaon
25	Moral
Bhagalpur dist.	
1	Jagdishpur
2	Nathnagar
3	Shahkund
4	Sultanganj
5	Colong
9	Pirpainthi
10	Sonhuala
11	Sabour
12	Banka
13	Katoria
14	Chanan
15	Belhar
16	Sambhuganj
17	Amarpur
18	Rajeun
19	Dhuraiya
20	Barahat
21	Bausi
Santal Parganas dist.	
1	Dumka
2	Ranishwar
3	Masalia
4	Jama
5	Jarmundi
6	Saraiyahat
7	Ramgarh
8	Gopikandar
9	Kathiakund
10	Shikaripara
11	Jamtara
12	Narayanpur
13	Nala
14	Kundahit
15	Deoghar
16	Madhupur
17	Mohanpur
18	Sarwan
19	Palojori
20	Sarath
21	Karon
22	Godda
23	Poreyahat
24	Pathargama
25	Mahagama
26	Meherma
27	Boarijar
28	Sundar Pahari
29	Rajmahal
30	Barharwa
31	Pathna
32	Barhait
33	Borio
34	Sahibganj
35	Taljhari
36	Pakaur
37	Maheshpur
38	Pakauria
39	Amrapara
40	Litipara
41	Hiranpur

B	C
Dhanbad dist.	
1	Dhanbad-c-Kandauadih-c-Jagta
2	Jharia-c-Jorapokhari-c-Sindri
3	Gobindpur
4	Tundi
5	Nirsa-c-Chirkundi
6	Baliapur
7	Baghmara-c-Katras
8	Chandankiyari
9	Chas
10	Topchanchi
Hazaribagh dist.	
1	Hazaribagh
2	Churchu
3	Barkagaon
4	Keredari
5	Tandwa
6	Katkamsandi
7	Ichak
8	Barhi
9	Jainagar
10	Koderma
11	Markacho
12	Barakatha
13	Bagodar
14	Bishnugarh
15	Gumia
16	Peterbar
17	Jaridih
18	Kasmar
19	Gola
20	Ramgarh
21	Maundu
22	Patratu
23	Chatra
24	Simaria
25	Pratapur
26	Hunterganj
27	Chauparan
28	Itkhori
29	Giridih
30	Pirtanr
31	Dumri
32	Nawadih
33	Bermo
34	Birni
35	Dhanwar
36	Gawan
37	Satgawan
38	Tisri
39	Deori
40	Jamua
41	Bengabad
42	Gande
Ranchi dist.	
1	Kanke
2	Namkum
3	Ratu
4	Bero
5	Lapung
6	Bhandra
7	Lohardaga
8	Sehna
9	Kisko
10	Kuru
11	Chanho
12	Mandar
13	Burmu
14	Ormanjhi
15	Angara
16	Silli
17	Khunti
18	Murhu
19	Bania
20	Topra
21	Karra
22	Bundu
23	Sonahati
24	Tamar I
25	Tamar II
26	Simdega
27	Thethaitnagar

B	C
28	Bolba
29	Kurdeg
30	Kolebira
31	Bano
32	Jhaldega
33	Gumla
34	Palkot
35	Raidih
36	Chainpur
37	Dumri
38	Bishnupur
39	Ghaghar
40	Sisai
41	Verno
42	Basia
43	Kamdara
Singhbhum dist.	
1	Chaibasa
2	Tantnagar
3	Manjhari
4	Rumardungi
5	Majhgaon
6	Janannathpur
7	Jhinkpani
8	Tonto
9	Noamundi
10	Manoharpur
11	Goilkera
12	Sonua
13	Bangaon
14	Chakradharpur
15	Khuntpani
16	Seraikela
17	Gobindpur
18	Kharsawan
19	Kuchai
20	Chandil
21	Ichagarh
22	Nimdih
23	Adityapur
24	Golmuri-c-Jugsalai
25	Pokta
26	Patamba
27	Ghatsila
28	Dhalbhumgarh
29	Chakulia
30	Bahragora
31	Dumaria
32	Musabani
MADHYA PRADESH: Taluks	
Surguja dist.	
1	Surajpur
2	Pal
3	Ambikapur
4	Samri
Raigarh dist.	
1	Udaipur
2	Jashpur
3	Gharghoda
4	Raigarh
WEST BENGAL: Police Stations	
Purulia dist.	
1	Jhalda
2	Jaipur
3	Arsha
4	Baghmundi
5	Balarampur
6	Barabazar
7	Purulia Mufassil
8	Purulia Town
9	Para
10	Raghunathpur
11	Neturia
12	Santuri
13	Kashipur
14	Hura
15	Puncha
16	Manbazar
17	Banduan

B	C
Burdwan dist.	
1	Chittranjan
2	Salanpur
3	Kulti
4	Hirapur
5	Asansol
6	Barabani
7	Jamuria
8	Raniganj
9	Ondal
10	Faridpur
11	Durgapur
12	Kaksa
13	Bud-Bud
14	Ausgram
15	Galsi
16	Khandaghosh
17	Raina
18	Jamalpur
19	Memari
20	Burdwan
21	Bhatur
22	Mongalkote
23	Ketugram
24	Katwa
25	Monteswar
26	Purbasthali
27	Kalna
Bankura dist.	
1	Saltora
2	Mejhia
3	Borjura
4	Gangajalghati
5	Chhatna
6	Bankura
7	Onda
8	Indpur
9	Khatra
10	Ranibanda
11	Raipur
12	Simlapal
13	Taldangra
14	Bishnupur
15	Sonamukhi
16	Patrasair
17	Jaypur
18	Indas
19	Kotalpur
Birbhum dist.	
1	Muraroi
2	Nalhati
3	Rampurhat
4	Mayureshwar
5	Muhammadbazar
6	Rajnagar
7	Khoyrasole
8	Dubrajpur
9	Suri
10	Illambazar
11	Sainthia
12	Bolpur
13	Labhpur
14	Nanour
Murshidabad dist.	
1	Farrakka
2	Shamsherganj
3	Suti
4	Raghunathganj
5	Sagardighi
6	Murshidabad
7	Jiaganj
8	Nabagram
9	Khargram
10	Burwan
11	Kandi
12	Bharatpur
13	Berhampur
14	Beldanga
Midnapore dist.	
1	Binpur
2	Jamboni
3	Jhargram
4	Gopiballabhpur
5	Sankrail

B	C
6	Nayagram
7	Mohanpur
8	Dantam
9	Keshiari
10	Narayangarh
11	Sebang
12	Pingla
13	Kharagpur
14	Kharagpur city
15	Debra
16	Midnapore
17	Keshpur
18	Salbani
19	Garhbeta
20	Chandrakona
21	Ghatal
22	Dashpur
23	Panskura
24	Moyna
25	Tamluk
26	Mahisadal
27	Sutahata
28	Nandigram
29	Bhagwanpur
30	Patashpur
31	Egra
32	Ramnagar
33	Dighi
34	Contai
35	Khejri
Hooghly dist.	
1	Goghat
2	Arambagh
3	Khanakul
4	Pursurah
5	Dhaniakhali
6	Panduah
7	Balagarh
8	Mogra
9	Chinsurah
10	Pohla
11	Dadpur
12	Tarakeswar
13	Haripal
14	Singur
15	Bhadreswar
16	Chandernagore
17	Jangipara
18	Chanditala
19	Serampore
20	Uttarpara
Howrah dist.	
1	Bally
2	Liluah
3-8	Howrah city
9	Domejut
10	Sanikrall
11	Panchla
12	Jagatballavpur
13	Udaynarayanpur
14	Amta
15	Bagnan
16	Uluberia
17	Bauria
18	Shampur
ORISSA: Police station	
Sambalpur dist.	
1	Sambalpur
2	Hirakud
3	Burla
4	Dhama
5	Jujomura
6	Katarbaga
7	Sason
8	Jharsuguda
9	Rengali
10	Lakhanpur
11	Brajrajnagar
12	Laikera

contd...

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B	C
26	Kuchinda
27	Gobindpur
28	Mahlpal
29	Jamankira
30	Deogarh
31	Barkote
32	Naikul
33	Riamal
34	Rairakhol
35	Naktident
36	Charmal

Sundargarh dist.

1	Sundargarh
2	Talsara
3	Bhasiua
4	Hemgir
5	Lephripara
6	Rajgangpur
7	Bargaon
8	Raghunathpalli
9	Raiboga
10	Birmitrapur
11	Birsa
12	Kelunga
13	Bonaigarh
14	Banki
15	Gurntia
16	Tikyatpali
17	Mahualpada
18	Koira
19	Kamerposh-Bulang

Keonjhar dist.

1	Keonjhar
2	Patna
3	Ghatgaon
4	Harichandarpur
5	Kanjipani
6	Pandapara
7	Telkoi
8	Anandpur
9	Ramchandrapur
10	Soso
11	Champua (portion)
12	Baria
13	Barbil
14	Joda
15	Champua(portion)

Mayurbhanj dist.

1	Baripada
2	Betnati (portion)
3	Muruda(portion)
4	Badasahi
5	Kuliana
6	Suliapada
7	Bangriposhi
8	Betnoti(portion)
9	Baisinga
10	Muruda(portion)
11	Rairangpur
12	Badampahar
13	Bahalda
14	Bisoi
15	Gorumahipani
16	Tiring
17	Karanjia
18	Jashipur
19	Raoman
20	Thakunmunda
21	Udala
22	Sarat
23	Khunta

Balasore dist.

1	Balasore
2	Remuna
3	Sergada
4	Jaleshwar
5	Raibania
6	Bhograi
7	Basta
8	Singla
9	Baliapal
10	Sora

B	C
11	Khaira
12	Simulia
13	Bhadrak
14	Bonth
15	Basudebpur
16	Tihiri(portion)
17	Chaudbali (portion)
18	Bansala
19	Tihiri (portion)
20	Dhamnagar
21	Bhandraipokhari
22	Nilgiri
23	Berhampur

Dhenkanal dist.

1	Dhenkanal
2	Gondia
3	Motanga
4	Kamakhyanagar
5	Parjang
6	Bhuban
7	Talcher
8	Kaniha
9	Colliery
10	Pallahara
11	Khamar
12	Angul
13	Chhendipada
14	Jarapda
15	Purunakote
16	Bantala
17	Hindol
18	Rasol
19	Balimi
20	Athmallik
21	Kishorenagar
22	Handapa
23	Thakurgarh

Cuttack dist.

1	Cuttack
2	Chowdwar
3	Tangi (portion)
4	Salepur
5	Tangi (portion)
6	Kissanagar
7	Mahanga
8	Gobindpur
9	Jagatsinghpur
10	Balikuda
11	Tirtol
12	Ersama
13	Athgarh
14	Gumdijhatia
15	Tigiria
16	Baramba
17	Narsingpur
18	Kanpur
19	Banki
20	Baideswar
21	Kendrapara
22	Patamundai
23	Patkura
24	Mahakalpara
25	Aul (portion)
26	Rajnagar
27	Aul (portion)
28	Jaipur
29	Binjharpur
30	Sukinda
31	Korai
32	Dharmasala
33	Barchana

Appendix-I: AREA COVERED BY PLATEAU AND ALLUVIAL PLAINS

	(in sq. kms.)
i) Area covered by plateau	
Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Singhbhum, Palamau and Dhanbad (Bihar)	65509.0
Sambalpur, Sundargarh, Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj (Orissa)	40015.9
Surguja and Raigarh (Madhya Pradesh)	19031.4
Purulia (West Bengal)	6259.0
	130815.3
ii) Area covered by alluvial plains	
Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Monghyr, Bhagalpur (Bihar)	34610.3
Birbhum, Bankura, Burdwan, Midnapore Howrah, Hooghly, and Murshidabad (West Bengal)	40321.0
Balasore and Cuttack (Orissa)	17605.0
	92536.3
iii) Area covered by both plateau and alluvial plains	
S. Parganas (Bihar)	14129
Dhenkanal (Orissa)	10826
	24955
iv) Total area of the region	248306.6

Appendix-II: DISTRICT-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF BLOCKS/POLICESTATIONS/TALUKS, 1971

State	District	Total No.
A) BIHAR:		Blocks
	1. Patna	28
	2. Gaya	46
	3. Shahabad	41
	4. Monghyr	23
	5. Bhagalpur	21
	6. Santal Parganas	41
	7. Palamau	25
	8. Hazaribagh	42
	9. Ranchi	43
	10. Dhanbad	10
	11. Singhbhum	32
		352
B) ORISSA:		Police stations
	1. Sambalpur	23
	2. Sundargarh	19
	3. Keonjhar	14
	4. Mayurbhanj	23
	5. Balasore	23
	6. Cuttack	33
	7. Dhenkanal	23
		158
C) WEST BENGAL:		
	1. Birbhum	14
	2. Bankura	19
	3. Burdwan	27
	4. Midnapore	35
	5. Purulia	17
	6. Hooghly	20
	7. Howrah	18
	8. Murshidabad	14
		159
D) MADHYA PRADESH:		Taluks
	1. Surguja	4
	2. Raigarh	4
		8
Grand Total	Districts=28	677

Appendix-III: LANGUAGES ATTESTED IN THE LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

A) Austro-Asiatic Family of Languages

Munda Branch

1. Agaria
2. Asuri
3. Birhori
4. Bhumij
5. Binjhia/Birjhia/Brijia
6. Gadaba
7. Ho
8. Juang
9. Kharia
10. Kherwari
11. Koda/Kora
12. Korku
13. Kurwa
14. Mundari
15. Munda-unspecified
16. Savara
17. Santali
18. Turi

B) Dravidian Family of Languages

i) Northern Group

1. Kurukh/Oraon
2. Malto

ii) Central Group

1. Gondi
2. Khond/Kondh
3. Kui
4. Koya
5. Parji
6. Konda
9. Kolami

Appendix-IV: TOTAL SPEAKERS OF IMPORTANT LANGUAGES/ DIALECTS IN REGION, 1971

Country/ State	Bengali	Hindi	Oriya	Urdu
INDIA	44792312	208514005	19683198	286620899
Bihar	1955009 (4.36)	44953764 (21.56)	344368 (1.75)	4993284 (17.45)
West Bengal	37805905 (84.4)	2715384 (1.3)	152010 (0.77)	950363 (3.32)
Madhya Pradesh	234354 (0.52)	34698020 (16.64)	483558 (2.46)	1001064 (3.52)
Orissa	331237 (0.74)	341474 (0.16)	18466796 (93.82)	286541 (1.00)
Total	403265005 (90.03)	82711642 (39.67)	194446732 (98.8)	7231252 (25.27)
REGION	21667490 (48.37)	24950169 (11.97)	9983655 (50.72)	2451186 (8.56)
Bihar	1669151 (3.73)	22177980 (10.64)	337648 (1.72)	1910787 (6.68)
West Bengal	19665850 (43.9)	894992 (0.43)	70339 (0.36)	298356 (1.04)
Madhya Pradesh	92955 (0.21)	1637439 (0.79)	89253 (0.45)	10880 (0.04)
Orissa	239534 (0.53)	239758 (0.44)	9486415 (38.2)	231163 (0.81)
REGION	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Bihar	7.7	88.89	3.38	77.96
West Bengal	90.76	3.59	0.71	12.17
Madhya Pradesh	0.43	6.56	0.89	0.44
Orissa	1.11	0.96	95.02	9.43

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Country/ State	Ho	Kharia	Kurukh/ Oraon	Mundari	Santali
INDIA	751389	191421	1235665	771253	3786899
Bihar	536784 (71.44)	102689 (53.65)	624105 (50.51)	639842 (82.96)	1907613 (50.37)
West Bengal	569 (0.06)	15207 (7.94)	206121 (16.68)	9589 (1.24)	1408362 (37.19)
Madhya Pradesh	-	14962 (7.82)	306093 (24.77)	871 (0.11)	-
Orissa	213871 (28.46)	49915 (26.08)	59179 (4.79)	117802 (15.27)	378130 (9.99)
Total	751232 (99.98)	184293 (96.28)	1202633 (97.33)	769141 (99.73)	3694749 (97.57)
REGION	750686 (99.91)	165387 (86.4)	955915 (77.36)	764301 (99.1)	3245028 (85.69)
Bihar	536719 (71.43)	102688 (53.05)	591242 (47.85)	638742 (82.82)	1800975 (47.56)
West Bengal	115 (0.02)	568 (0.03)	8246 (0.67)	7315 (0.95)	1067656 (28.19)
Madhya Pradesh	-	12677 (6.62)	297370 (24.07)	705 (0.09)	7 (0.00)
Orissa	213852 (28.46)	49454 (25.84)	59057 (4.78)	117539 (15.24)	376390 (9.94)
REGION	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Bihar	71.5	62.09	61.85	83.57	55.5
West Bengal	0.02	0.34	0.86	0.96	32.9
Madhya Pradesh	-	7.67	31.11	0.09	0.00
Orissa	28.48	29.9	6.18	15.38	11.6

Appendix-VA: PERCENTAGE OF SANTALI SPEAKERS TO THE TOTAL POPULATION AND TO ITS ALL INDIA SPEAKERS, 1971

Code No.	Percentage to Total Popn.	Its all-India speakers
A	B	C
BIHAR: Blocks		
Patna dist.		
1	0.06	0
2	0.02	0
6	0.09	0
10	0.01	0
11	0	0
12	0	0
13	0	0
14	0.01	0
19	0	0
26	0.08	0
27	0	0
Gaya Dist.		
1	0.02	0
10	0	0
12	0	0
13	0	0
19	0	0
27	0.04	0
28	0	0
29	0.01	0
43	0.3	0.01
44	0.07	0
45	0.08	0
Shahabad dist.		
1	0.03	0
4	0.02	0
5	0	0
13	0.01	0
14	0	0
16	0.01	0
20	0	0
22	0	0
24	0.01	0
25	0	0
35	0.01	0
40	0	0
Monghyr dist.		
1	0	0
2	0.34	0.01
4	0.93	0.02
5	4.25	0.13
6	1.47	0.02
7	0.46	0.02
8	0	0
12	0	0
13	0.02	0
14	1.61	0.04
15	0.02	0
16	0	0
17	4.43	0.13
18	5.47	0.16
19	19.31	0.49
20	3.15	0.07
21	0	0
Palamau dist.		
1	0.02	0
6	0	0
11	0.01	0
12	0.01	0
13	0.09	0
14	0.01	0
16	0.27	0.01
17	0.02	0
18	0.01	0
22	0	0
Bhagalpur dist.		
1	0.13	0.01
2	0.01	0
4	0	0
8	0.81	0.03
9	3.85	0.13
10	3.22	0.06
11	0	0
12	3.29	0.08
13	15.14	0.33
14	10.17	0.17
15	6.68	0.15
16	0.02	0
17	0.8	0.02
18	0.01	0
19	0.83	0.02
20	0.06	0
21	14.91	0.32
Santal Parganas dist.		
1	40.69	1.08
2	42.24	0.073
3	61.67	1.24
4	53.04	1.09
5	26.56	0.63
6	19.17	0.35
7	51.97	1.24
8	70.43	0.5
9	62.5	0.71
10	62.3	1.24
11	37.6	1.17
12	30.2	0.63
13	37.99	1.03
14	34.63	0.72
15	4.02	0.14
16	13.13	0.37
17	8.81	0.18
18	6.77	0.12
19	34.43	0.63
20	14.53	0.27
21	17.44	0.28
22	16.12	0.5
23	37.67	0.98
24	14.02	0.35
25	9.04	0.18
26	10.1	0.28
27	54.49	1.00
28	55.79	0.59
29	7.26	0.25
30	10.89	0.2
31	57.87	0.64
32	53.4	0.93
33	59.0	1.45
34	0.42	0.01
35	49.67	0.54
36	22.49	0.59
37	52.65	1.47
38	66.49	1.07
39	67.00	0.65
40	52.01	0.83
41	40.9	0.44
Hazaribagh dist.		
1	0.19	0.01
2	17.49	0.25
3	5.89	0.08
4	0.15	0
5	0.03	0
6	0.55	0.01
7	1.67	0.03
8	1.25	0.02
10	0.51	0.02
11	1.22	0.02
12	5.33	0.19
13	1.57	0.05
14	10.3	0.2
15	16.47	0.43
16	28.1	0.48
17	33.52	0.38
18	12.69	0.15
19	9.93	0.19
20	0.57	0.02
21	9.47	0.2
22	1.27	0.03
23	0.5	0
24	0.5	0
25	0.9	0
26	0	0
27	0.02	0
28	0.22	0
29	7.46	0.28
30	45.36	0.59
31	10.52	0.26
32	11.99	0.26
33	3.97	0.11
34	1.26	0.02
35	0.59	0.01
36	4.46	0.06
37	0.07	0
38	22.58	0.26
39	12.79	0.23
40	0.74	0.02
41	19.72	0.31
42	28.03	0.49
Ranchi dist.		
1	0.04	0
2	0.05	0
3	0.01	0
4	0.46	0.01
5	0.01	0
8	0.01	0
9	0.01	0
10	0.02	0
11	0.01	0
12	0.03	0
13	1.35	0.02
15	0.57	0.01
16	43.85	0.85
17	0.110	0
18	0.01	0
19	0.01	0
20	0	0
22	0.05	0
23	4.24	0.08
24	6.24	0.13
25	0	0
26	0	0
27	0.01	0
29	0	0
30	0	0
31	0	0
33	0.01	0
34	0.01	0
36	0.01	0
38	0.02	0
41	0	0
43	0.01	0
Dhanbad dist.		
1	1.63	0.1
2	2.23	0.16
3	16.84	0.43
4	45.07	0.84
5	14.75	0.76
6	13.7	0.19
7	3.95	0.19
8	5.13	0.15
9	8.76	0.5
10	5.38	0.1
Singhbum dist.		
1	0.58	0.01
2	2.22	0.02
3	4.66	0.05
4	0.14	0
5	0.01	0
6	0.04	0
7	0.08	0
8	0.03	0
9	0.55	0.01
10	6.1	0.16
11	2.1	0.03
12	4.27	0.08
13	5.01	0.05
14	6.17	0.19
15	0.67	0.01
16	8.63	0.13
17	32.26	0.68
18	11.23	0.15
19	4.61	0.05
20	6.32	0.4
21	11.08	0.19
22	10.62	0.18
23	22.28	0.37
24	3.75	0.47
25	23.59	0.73
26	18.23	0.42
27	30.13	0.54
28	34.25	0.57
29	36.05	0.73
30	21.39	0.56
31	44.89	0.44
32	34.32	0.51
WEST BENGAL: Police stations		
Birbhum dist.		
1	2.97	0.14
2	3.19	0.14
3	6.84	0.39
4	5.64	0.24
5	18.21	0.39
6	14.04	0.18
7	1.14	0.03
8	4.49	0.14
9	6.51	0.23
10	10.77	0.24
11	9.15	0.31
12	14.6	0.53
13	3.77	0.11
14	1.58	0.05
Bankura dist.		
1	17.67	0.39
2	1.95	0.02
3	0.93	0.03
4	2.63	0.07
5	20.77	0.66
6	2.08	0.12
7	4.35	0.15
8	4.93	0.12
9	17.7	0.55
10	34.74	0.71
11	23.46	0.01
12	11.96	0.24
13	11.84	0.26
14	4.82	0.15
15	2.18	0.07
16	2.1	0.06
17	1.39	0.03
18	1.58	0.04
19	1.9	0.05
Purulia dist.		
1	3.73	0.16
2	3.73	0.15
3	12.19	0.25
4	9.9	0.18
5	18.65	0.36
6	9.85	0.25
7	1.78	0.07
8	0.09	0
9	4.29	0.11
10	6.67	0.24
11	22.28	0.35
12	31.47	0.38
13	22.23	0.37
14	17.34	0.38
15	13.8	0.34
16	21.91	0.83
17	30.69	0.46
Burdwan dist.		
1	0.89	0.01
2	13.99	0.18
3	3.54	0.12
4	3.91	0.11
5	2.58	0.14
6	10.38	0.18
7	6.66	0.25
8	4.58	0.15
9	2.8	0.09
10	5.48	0.12
11	0.63	0.04
12	8.92	0.18
13	4.68	0.07
14	11.5	0.46
15	4.97	0.4
16	1.71	0.05
17	3.65	0.19
18	10.38	0.38
19	12.68	0.73
20	3.45	0.27
21	6.64	0.27
22	2.0	0.08
23	0.13	0.01
24	0.23	0.01
25	1.1	0.04
26	1.42	0.07
27	9.85	0.54
Howrah dist.		
1	0.42	0
2	0.07	0
3-8	0.06	0.01
9	0.01	0
10	0.09	0
12	0.37	0.01
13	0.04	0
14	0.04	0
17	0.14	0
Midnapore dist.		
1	27.37	1.4
2	24.74	0.45
3	10.52	0.33
4	14.32	0.48
5	12.13	0.22
6	29.28	0.64
7	2.75	0.04
8	8.92	0.40
9	16.26	0.33
10	8.24	0.34
11	4.17	0.15
12	2.99	0.08
13	9.38	0.42
14	0.74	0.03
15	9.92	0.39
16	7.77	0.33
17	2.93	0.12
18	10.12	0.26
19	11.85	0.81
20	2.61	0.11
21	1.2	0.05
22	0.57	0.04
23	1.19	0.1
24	0	0
25	0.13	0.01
26	0.01	0
27	9.08	0
28	0.02	0
29	0	0
30	0.25	0.01
31	0.33	0.02
32	0.09	0
33	0.03	0
34	0.02	0
35	0	0

A	B	C
Hooghly dist.		
1	3.52	0.16
2	0.86	0.04
3	0.09	0.01
4	0.27	0.01
5	7.28	0.33
6	13.52	0.57
7	5.55	0.17
8	2.87	0.01
9	0.22	0.01
10	0.82	0.1
11	6.3	0.11
12	2.25	0.07
13	3.09	0.12
14	0.22	0.01
15	0.12	0
16	0	0
17	2.51	0.08
18.	0.01	0
19	0,02	0
20	0.20	0.01
Murshidabad dist.		
1	1.15	0.03
2	0	0
3	0.1	0
4	0.36	0.02
5	7.47	0.25
6	1.31	0.03
7	2.41	0.03
8	7.29	0.2
9	0.49	0.02
10	0.21	0.02
11	1.14	0.03
12	0	0
13	0.89	0.06
14	0.02	0.01
ORISSA: Police stations		
Sambalpur dist.		
1	0	0
8	0	0
Sundargarh dist.		
1	0.02	0
5	0.01	0
6	0.01	0
8	3.43	0.03
10	0.02	0
11	0.12	0
12	0.02	0
17	0.02	0
Keonjhar dist.		
1	3.37	0.12
2	5.21	0.15
3	5.52	0.08
4	10.46	0.15
5	0.02	0
6	0.51	0.01
7	0.68	0.01
8	3.5	0.13
9	6.18	0.13
10	.5.46	0.06
11	1.75	0.02
12	0.03	0
13	0.03	0
14	1.1	0.02
Mayurbhanj dist.		
1	18.81	0.42
2	77.94	0
3	15.53	0.01
4	9.25	0.2
5	25.32	0.46
6	17.93	0.28
7	20.06	0.16
8	24.14	0.28
9	11.15	0.22
10	36.64	0.81
11	38.54	0.8
12	36.27	0.41
13	38.38	0.69
14	43.81	0.67
15	32.22	0.21
16	44.99	0.72
17	5.96	0.11
18	7.58	0.15
19	0.29	0.01
20	12.06	0.16
21	5.69	0.16
22	15.87	0.13
23	29.51	0.62
Balasore dist.		
1	3.34	0.14
2	0.41	0.01
3	2.44	0.02
4	3.87	0.07
5	8.13	0.1
6	0.35	0.01
7	0.38	0.07
8	2.59	0.04
9	2.5	0.05
10	0.97	0.04
11	0.23	0
12	1.12	0.02
13	0.23	0.31
14	0.3	0.01
15	0.02	0
17	0.43	0.02
18	0.01	0
19	0.04	0
20	0.03	0
21	0.12	0
22	1.58	0.04
23	14.07	0.1
Cuttack dist.		
1	0.17	0.01
2	0.17	0
8	0.01	0
11	0.01	0
12	0.15	0
14	0.18	0
17	0	0
21	0	0
24	1.58	0.03
26	0.01	0
28	0.08	0
30	1.07	0.03
31	0.2	0.01
32	0.01	0
33	0.02	0
Dhenkanal dist.		
3	0	0
4	0.8	0.03
5	0.15	0.04
6	0.05	0
7	0.01	0
MADHYA PRADESH: Taluks		
Surguja dist.		
3	0	0
4	0	0
Raigarh dist.		
1	0	0

Appendix-VB: PERCENTAGE OF MUNDARI SPEAKERS TO TOTAL POPULATION AND TO ITS ALL INDIA SPEAKER, 1971

A	B	C
BIHAR: Blocks		
Patna dist.		
1	0.01	0
6	0.07	0.01
19	0	0
21	0	0
Gaya dist.		
1	0.03	0
3	0	0
16	0	0
19	0.07	0.01
23	0	0
43	0.19	0.02
Shahabad dist.		
1	0.01	0
7	0	0
8	0	0
13	0	0
14	0.01	0
24	0	0
25	0	0
27	0	0
35	0.03	0
40	0	0
Monghyr dist.		
16	0	0
21	0	0
Palamau dist.		
1	0.07	0.01
2	1.34	0.14
3	0	0
4	0	0
7	0.01	0
9	0.02	0
11	0.74	0.06
12	0.28	0.01
13	0.57	0.07
14	2.21	0.25
15	0.05	0
16	0.35	0.03
17	2.00	0.12
18	0.04	0
19	0.7	0.05
20	1.1	0.04
23	0.01	0
25	0	0
Bhagalpur dist.		
1	0.01	0
12	0.01	0
Santal Parganas dist.		
1	0.03	0
2	0	0
3	0.02	0
4	0	0
5	0.05	0.01
11	0.01	0
13	0	0
14	0.06	0.01
15	0.01	0
29	0	0
31	0	0
32	0	0
33	0.53	0.06
35	0	0
36	0	0
38	0.02	0
39	0.07	0
41	0	0
Hazaribagh dist.		
1	0.58	0.08
2	0.81	0.06
3	0.42	0.03
4	0.85	0.05
5	0.14	0.01
6	3.47	0.03
8	0.01	0
9	0.01	0
10	0.08	0.01
13	0.04	0.01
14	0.03	0
15	0.21	0.03
16	0.14	0.01
17	0.1	0.01
18	0	0
19	0.19	0.02
20	0.16	0.02
21	0.92	0.1
22	0.87	0.11
23	0.61	0.06
24	2.97	0.23
25	0.16	0.01
26	0.01	0
27	0.03	0
28	0.17	0.02
29	0.01	0
30	0.02	0
31	0	0
32	0	0
33	1.16	0.16
39	0	0
41	0.02	0
42	0.02	0
Ranchi dist.		
1	6.83	2.61
2	25.0	5.27
3	4.96	0.48
4	2.24	0.2
5	29.94	1.46
6	0.32	0.01
7	0.4	0.03
8	0.16	0.01
9	3.31	0.16
10	0.8	0.05
11	0.76	0.04
12	0.13	0.01
13	1.07	0.09
14	0.34	0.02
15	12.38	1.02
16	2.34	0.22
17	66.58	5.54
18	81.56	5.31
19	68.57	2.5
20	70.13	4.64
21	47.36	3.84
22	36.64	2.34
23	4.68	0.41
24	33.81	3.53
25	80.83	5.61
26	4.64	0.51
27	19.42	4.45
28	2.76	0.07
29	1.1	0.08
30	32.5	1.78
31	56.68	4.17
32	51.2	3.96
33	1.02	0.13
34	1.42	0.09
35	0.45	0.03
36	2.42	0.11
37	0.19	0.01
38	4.45	0.19
39	2.22	0.17
40	0.4	0.03
41	6.2	0.31
42	8.86	0.55
43	57.37	3.15
Dhanbad dist.		
1	0.15	0.04
2	0.2	0.07
3	0.01	0
4	0.01	0
5	0.55	0.14

contd....

contd...

A	B	C
6	0.12	0.01
7	0.11	0.03
8	0.02	0
9	1.32	0.37
10	0.06	0.01
Singhbhum dist.		
1	1.5	0.15
2	0.42	0.02
3	0.41	0.03
4	0.3	0.03
5	0.31	0.01
6	0.12	0.01
7	0.35	0.02
8	0.21	0.01
9	2.84	0.25
10	25.08	2.42
11	27.41	1.86
12	31.31	2.88
13	43.4	2.2
14	1.52	0.23
15	0.72	0.05
16	0.28	0.03
17	1.00	0.1
18	2.17	0.14
19	56.17	2.95
20	6.82	0.51
21	3.35	0.28
22	0.21	0.02
23	1.63	0.13
24	1.2	0.74
25	3.38	0.51
26	0.14	0.02
27	0.28	0.18
28	7.2	0.45
29	3.33	0.33
30	9.4	1.21
31	1.27	0.06
32	1.11	0.08

MADHYA PRADESH: Taluks

Surguja dist.		
3	0	0
6	0	0
7	0.01	0
Raigarh dist.		
1	0.07	0.02
2	0.14	0.07
4	0	0

ORISSA: Police stations

Sambalpur dist.		
1	0.14	0.02
5	0.65	0.03
6	0.08	0.01
7	0.78	0.05
8	0.2	0.02
10	1.5	0.08
11	0.01	0
12	0.59	0.06
26	0.3	0.02
27	6.49	0.3
28	0.22	0.01
29	0.03	0
30	0.66	0.04
31	0.32	0.02
33	0.2	0.01
35	0.33	0.01
Sundargarh dist.		
1	0.2	0.02
2	0.59	0.05
4	0.04	0
6	0.92	0.11
7	5.22	0.42
8	0.76	0.15
9	2.87	0.1
10	4.03	0.3
11	6.45	0.76
12	1.22	0.05
13	0.05	0.01
14	1.38	0.02
15	0.71	0.02
17	6.5	0.09
18	6.11	0.15
19	1.43	0.04

A	B	C
Keonjhar dist.		
2	0.63	0.01
3	0	0
4	4.07	0.28
10	0.04	0
13	5.39	0.05
14	2.96	0.03
Mayurbhanj dist.		
1	12.75	1.4
4	5.71	0.61
5	7.0	0.62
6	0.5	0.04
7	1.26	0.2
8	3.74	0.23
9	0.92	0.09
10	0.31	0.03
11	0.67	0.07
12	0.78	0.04
13	1.89	0.17
14	4.77	0.36
15	12.5	0.39
16	2.03	0.16
17	2.69	0.24
18	0.76	0.06
19	0.01	0
20	0.05	0
21	29.47	4.1
22	5.45	0.23
23	17.17	6.77
Balasore dist.		
1	0.24	0.04
3	0.1	0
4	0.11	0.01
7	0.17	0.02
12	0.13	0.01
13	0.06	0.01
20	0.02	0
21	0.64	0.05
22	3.19	0.39
23	6.97	0.25
Cuttack dist.		
1	0.04	0.01
2	0.02	0
3	0.11	0.01
4	0	0
21	0	0
22	0.01	0
28	0	0
32	0	0
33	0.75	0.16
Dhenkanal dist.		
7	0.01	0
9	0.02	0
10	0.55	0.02

WEST BENGAL: Police stations

Burdwan dist.		
18	0.02	0
Midnapore dist.		
1	0	0
3	0.18	0.03
4	2.26	0.37
5	3.85	0.34
6	0.8	0.09
10	0.05	0.01
12	0.01	0
13	0.07	0.02
14	0.02	0
15	0.01	0.02
27	0.31	0
Purulia dist.		
1	0	0
4	0	0
8	0	0
15	0.11	0.01
16	0.08	0.03
17	0.55	0.04
Howrah dist.		
3-8	0	0
9	0	0
Murshidabad dist.		
7	0	0

Appeddix VC : PERCENTAGE OF HO SPEAKERS TO TOTAL POPULATION AND TO ITS ALL INDIA SPEAKERS, 1971

A	B	C
BIHAR: Blocks		
Patna dist.		
1	0	0
6	0.01	0
Shahabad dist.		
1	0	0
40	0.05	0
Palamau dist.		
1	0	0
13	0.01	0
14	0.01	0
15	0	0
18	0.01	0
20	0.03	0
22	0	0
Bhagalpur dist.		
1	0	0
17	0.01	0
Santal Parganas dist.		
1	0.03	0.01
2	0.02	0
3	0.01	0
4	0.05	0.01
5	0	0
7	0.09	0.01
8	0.12	0
9	0.03	0
10	0.01	0
12	0.03	0
14	0.07	0.01
21	0.01	0
25	0.11	0.01
27	0.04	0
28	0.02	0
33	0.03	0
34	0.01	0
35	0.02	0
36	0.07	0.01
37	0.01	0
38	0.02	0
39	0.09	0.01
41	0.03	0
Hazaribagh dist.		
1	0.02	0
10	0.01	0
13	0.19	0
15	0	0
16	0.09	0
20	0.04	0
22	0.01	0
29	0.01	0
31	0.03	0
Ranchi dist.		
1	0.02	0
2	0.01	0
3	0.02	0
4	0	0
5	0.01	0
10	0.03	0
14	0.01	0
16	0.01	0
17	0.09	0.01
18	0	0
21	0	0
22	0	0
23	0	0
25	0	0
30	0.03	0
31	0.01	0
32	0.05	0
33	0.03	0
34	0.01	0
36	0.05	0
42	0	0
Dhanbad dist.		
1	0	0
2	0.01	0
3	0	0
5	0.02	0
7	0	0
8	0	0
9	0.07	0.01
Singhbhum dist.		
1	47.82	4.95
2	69.3	3.37

A	B	C
3	69.11	3.95
4	69.64	4.75
5	68.39	4.02
6	55.69	4.57
7	65.9	4.62
8	84.27	4.48
9	54.14	4.19
10	24.35	1.08
11	49.15	3.43
12	30.66	2.89
13	30.74	1.6
14	38.97	6.18
15	82.33	5.32
16	15.05	1.52
17	14.19	1.51
18	27.69	1.85
19	22.73	1.33
20	0.18	0.01
21	0.01	0
22	0	0
23	3.47	0.29
24	3.37	2.13
25	0.81	0.13
26	0.04	0.01
27	0.73	0.07
28	0.71	0.05
29	0.42	0.04
30	0.03	0
31	11.98	0.59
32	5.3	0.4
ORISSA: Police stations		
Sambalpur dist.		
1	0.01	0
6	0.01	0
8	0.02	0
30	0.09	0.01
31	2.53	0.14
32	0.05	0
33	0.02	0
Sundargarh dist.		
4	0.82	0
8	1.91	0.08
10	0.04	0
11	0.01	0
13	5.17	0.52
14	3.95	0.07
15	0.23	0.01
16	4.1	0.07
17	8.24	0.12
18	6.66	0.17
19	22.38	0.62
Keonjhar dist.		
1	6.9	1.14
2	6.77	1.01
3	10.71	0.77
4	6.63	0.47
5	2.95	0.13
6	1.34	0.06
7	3.93	0.26
8	5.53	1.04
9	2.27	0.24
10	3.98	0.17
11	11.1	0.96
12	6.15	0.39
13	28.31	2.03
14	16.34	1.36
16	4.5	0.08
Mayurbhanj dist.		
1	0.03	0
4	0.04	0.01
5	0	0
6	0.94	0.08
8	0	0
11	6.2	0.65
12	24.22	1.37
13	12.22	1.1
14	8.91	0.68
15	4.14	0.13
16	12.71	1.02
17	8.16	0.74
18	16.54	1.69
19	25.02	2.3
20	25.71	1.73

A	B	C
22	41.23	1.75
23	0.43	0.05
Balasore dist.		
1	0	0
10	0.04	0.01
11	0.05	0.01
12	0.04	0
13	0.1	0.02
14	0.05	0
20	0.01	0
21	0.28	0.02
22	0.34	0.040
23	2.29	0.09
Cuttack dist.		
1	0.01	0
2	0.13	0.01
3	0.03	0
4	0.01	0
8	0	0
14	2.43	0.12
17	0	0
28	0.02	0.01
30	10.29	1.66
31	0.07	0.09
32	0.02	0.01
33	0.05	0.01
Dhenkanal dist.		
2	0.32	0.04
4	0.26	0.04
5	0.1	0.01
6	0.46	0.04
7	0	0
10	11.33	0.57
11	9.36	0.37
16	0.06	0
WEST BENGAL: Police stations		
Burdwan dist.		
11	0	0
27	0	0
Purulia dist.		
9	0	0
13	0	0
Murshidabad dist.		
2	0	0
4	0	0

Appendix VD : PERCENTAGE OF KHARIA SPEAKERS TO TOTAL POPULATION AND TO ITS ALL INDIA SPEAKERS, 1971

A	B	C
ORISSA: Police stations		
Sambalpur dist.		
1	0.15	0.08
2	2.73	0.27
3	0.33	0.06
4	0.11	0.02
5	0.17	0.03
6	1.23	0.04
7	0.83	0.23
8	1.26	0.45
9	1.23	0.24
10	0.06	0.01
11	1.61	0.5
12	1.1	0.45
26	0.44	0.11
27	4.88	0.89
28	2.16	0.51
29	0.24	0.04
30	0.35	0.09
31	0.04	0.01
33	0.13	0.03
34	0.06	0.01
35	0.01	0.01
Sundargarh dist.		
1	5.03	1.81
2	5.67	2.11
3	0.14	0.04
4	0.11	0.03
5	2.05	0.5
6	9.24	4.62
7	14.08	4.44
8	1.46	0.24
9	25.92	3.75
10	4.89	1.46
11	2.35	1.12
12	0.78	0.13
13	0.08	0.03
14	0.31	0.02
15	4.26	0.58
16	0.02	0
17	0.03	0
18	0.02	0.01
19	0.17	0.02
Keonjhar dist.		
13	0.07	0.02
14	0.03	0.01
Mayurbhanj dist.		
1	0.09	0.04
4	0.05	0.02
9	0.05	0.02
13	0.21	0.03
Balasore dist.		
1	0	0
4	0.07	0.03
BIHAR: BLOCKS		
Bhagalpur dist.		
1	0	0
Palamau dist.		
1	0.01	0
14	0.01	0
Santal Parganas dist.		
1	0	0
Hazaribagh dist.		
1	0.04	0.02
4	0.04	0.01
10	0.01	0
15	0.02	0.01
20	0	0
21	0.02	0.01
22	0.05	0.02
35	0.05	0
42	0.02	0.04
Singbhum dist.		
1	0.08	0.03
2	0.01	0
9	0.07	0.02
10	0.85	0.13
13	0.12	0.02
14	0.02	0.01
15	0.26	0.06
16	1.47	0.58
21	0.01	0
24	0.04	0.09
25	0.08	0.05
26	0.56	0.25
27	0.02	0.01
28	0.4	0.1
29	0.16	0.06
31	3.04	0.58
32	0.12	0.04
Ranchi dist.		
1	0.31	0.48
2	0.07	0.06
3	0.08	0.03
4	0.01	0
5	0.01	0
7	0.08	0.02
9	0	0
10	0	0
11	0.01	0
12	0.01	0
13	0.05	0.02
14	0.02	0.01
15	0.14	0.04
16	0.04	0.01
17	0.07	0.02
20	0.01	0
21	0.01	0
24	0	0
25	0	0
26	23.12	10.03
27	29.16	8.64
28	36.03	3.87
29	13.35	3.98
30	19.53	4.24
31	2.47	0.72
32	7.29	2.24
33	4.92	2.4
34	21.3	5.53
35	7.41	1.75
36	0.21	0.04
37	0	0
38	0.05	0.01
39	1.47	0.45
40	1.83	0.53
41	0.88	0.17
42	18.67	4.58
43	6.7	1.46
Dhanbad dist.		
1	0	0
2	0	0
6	0	0
7	0	0
9	0	0
MADHYA PRADESH: Taluks		
Surguja dist.		
3	0	0
6	0	0
Raigarh dist.		
1	0.25	0.28
2	1.6	3.24
3	1.39	1.26
4	1.02	1.48
WEST BENGAL: Police stations		
Purulia dist.		
16	0.11	0.09
17	0.09	0.03
Hooghly dist.		
1	0	0
Midnapore dist.		
4	0.19	0.07
6	0.08	0.03
8	0.03	0.01
9	0.01	0
Burdwan dist.		
1	0.04	0.02

Appendix VE : PERCENTAGE OF KURUKH/ORAON SPEAKERS TO TOTAL POPULATION AND TO ITS ALL INDIA SPEAKERS

A	B	C
BIHAR: Blocks		
Patna dist.		
1	0.03	0.01
2	0	0
6	0.08	0.01
11	0.01	0
12	0.01	0
14	0.14	0.02
15	0.03	0
17	0	0
23	0	0
Gaya dist.		
1	0	0
19	0	0
Shahabad dist.		
1	0.02	0
2	0.04	0
5	0.05	0
7	0.13	0.01
13	0.01	0
14	0.38	0.13
15	4.31	0.16
20	0.01	0
21	0	0
24	0.01	0
28	5.31	0.09
35	0.04	0
40	0	0
41	0	0
Monghyr dist.		
15	0	0
18	0.01	0
21	0	0
23	0	0
32	0	0
Bhagalpur dist.		
1	0.03	0
8	0.54	0
9	0.07	0.01
10	0.07	0
12	0	0
21	0	0
Santal Parganas dist.		
1	0.02	0
11	0	0
14	0.09	0.01
15	0	0
30	0.02	0
34	0.01	0
36	0	0
Palamau dist.		
1	3.63	0.23
2	1.62	0.01
3	0.36	0.06
4	0.02	0
6	1.53	0.09
7	2.11	0.13
8	2.37	0.09
9	4.89	0.25
10	1.58	0.07
11	13.49	0.64
12	36.29	0.44
13	43.3	1.42
14	3.43	0.11
15	8.74	0.27
16	18.18	1.01
17	21.8	0.8
18	2.83	0.17
19	1.34	0.06
20	5.38	0.12
21	0.42	0.01
22	0.65	0.21
23	2.2	0.12
24	0.39	0.02
25	0.7	0.04
Hazaribagh dist.		
1	0.48	0.04
2	0.99	0.04
3	1.17	0.05
4	2.37	0.08
5	9.46	0.3
6	0.21	0.01
8	0.02	0
9	0	0
10	0.05	0.01
12	0.01	0
13	0	0
16	0.02	0
17	0.01	0
18	0.01	0
19	0.01	0
20	0.12	0.01
21	0.97	0.06
22	0.98	0.08
23	0.33	0.02
24	3.24	0.16
25	0.02	0
26	0.01	0
28	0	0
29	0	0
30	0.05	0
31	0	0
32	0.01	0
33	0.16	0.01
34	0	0
36	0.01	0
38	0.04	0
40	0	0
42	0.02	0
Ranchi dist.		
1	8.08	1.93
2	3.72	0.49
3	30.89	1.88
4	43.12	3.37
5	16.45	0.5
6	52.73	0.9
7	43.97	1.77
8	53.7	2.12
9	40.16	1.18
10	42.04	1.55
11	41.7	1.34
12	51.72	2.04
13	5.92	0.3
14	0.03	0
15	2.03	0.11
16	0.21	0.01
17	1.27	0.07
18	0.06	0
19	0.04	0
20	2.72	3.11
21	9.96	0.48
22	0.4	0.02
23	0.04	0
24	0.13	0.01
25	0.03	0
26	6.74	0.46
27	8.17	0.47
28	3.74	0.06
29	22.02	1.80
30	0.62	0.02
31	0.41	0.02
32	2.2	0.11
33	51.15	3.16
34	2.78	0.11
35	31.67	1.55
36	65.37	1.93
37	64.25	2.74
38	50.78	1.37
39	54.63	3.64
40	38.33	1.74
41	41.83	1.82
42	2.08	0.08
43	0.26	0.01
Dhanbad dist.		
1	0.15	0.03
2	0.13	0.03
3	0.02	0
4	0.01	0
5	0.02	0
6	0.02	0
7	0.33	0.05
8	0.04	0
9	0.19	0.03
10	0.07	0
Singhbhum dist.		
1	4.49	0.28
2	0.46	0.01
3	1.67	0.06
4	0.01	0
5	0.13	0.01
6	0.21	0.01
7	0.85	0.04
9	0.79	0.04
10	7.92	0.48
11	1.31	0.06
12	0.06	0
13	0.04	0
14	2.81	0.27
15	0.04	0
16	0.27	0.02
17	0.32	0.02
18	0.45	0.02
19	0.93	0.03
20	0.85	0.05
21	0.55	0.28
22	0.01	0
23	0.08	0
24	0.72	0.28
25	2.28	0.22
26	0.26	0.02
27	0.1	0.01
28	0	0
29	0.05	0
30	0.02	0
32	0.06	0
MADHYA PRADESH: Taluks		
Surguja dist.		
1	1.75	0.48
2	1.64	0.21
3	12.5	4.4
4	21.34	1.71
Raigarh dist.		
1	19.57	3.5
2	38.2	11.99
3	7.75	1.09
4	1.19	0.27
WEST BENGAL: Police stations		
Birbhum dist.		
2	0.03	0.01
3	0.47	0.15
5	0.68	0.21
6	0.01	0
8	0.08	0.01
9	0.26	0.05
11	0.18	0.02
12	0.19	0.03
13	0.19	0.01
Purulia dist.		
10	0	0
13	0	0
Howrah dist.		
3-8	0.01	0.01
9	0.01	0
Murshidabad dist.		
1	0.14	0.01
2	0.01	0
5	0.07	0.01
8	0.08	0.01
9	0.11	0.01
10	0.21	0.02
13	0.05	0.01
Hooghly dist.		
2	0	0
7	0.01	0
8	0.12	0
9	0.14	0
10	2.78	0.17
12	0.01	0
14	0.02	0
17	0	0
18	0.03	0.01
19	0	0
Midnapore dist.		
2	0.01	0
13	0	0
15	0.18	0.01
16	0.01	0

contd...

A	B	C
Burdwan dist.		
1	0.03	0
3	0.1	0
4	0.05	0
5	0.05	0
6	0.05	0
7	0.36	0.04
8	0.07	0.01
9	0.19	0.02
10	0.32	0.02
11	0.01	0
12	0.02	0
13	0.02	0
16	0.05	0
17	0.03	0
18	0.01	0
19	0.04	0.01
20	0.01	0
21	0	0
22	0.02	0
24	0.01	0
27	0.19	0.03
ORISSA:Police stations		
Sambalpur dist.		
1	0.15	0.01
2	0.53	0.01
3	0.05	0
5	0.55	0.01
6	1.39	0.07
7	0.48	0.03
8	2.31	0.13
11	0.08	0
12	0.06	0
26	0.44	0.04
27	1.87	0.05
28	0.71	0.03
29	0.39	0.01
30	0.18	0.01
31	0.6	0.02
32	0.32	0
33	0.16	0.01
34	0.04	0
35	0.06	0

A	B	C
Sundargarh dist.		
1	6.09	0.34
2	1.41	0.84
4	0	0
5	0.09	0.03
6	12.53	0.97
7	2.79	0.14
8	19.38	0.49
9	6.53	0.15
10	11.56	0.53
11	5.71	0.42
12	12.14	0.33
13	1.47	0.09
14	22.69	0.23
15	7.19	0.15
17	0.01	0
18	0.04	0
19	2.21	0.04
Keonjhar dist.		
1	0.01	0
4	0.03	0
8	0.02	0
13	0.46	0.02
14	0.17	0.01
Mayurbhanj dist.		
6	0	0
9	2.25	0.13
10	0.55	0.04
11	0.02	0
12	0.01	0
15	0.01	0
16	0.01	0
17	0.01	0
19	0	0
Balasore dist.		
1	0	0
7	0.56	0.04
9	0	0
13	0	0
Cuttack dist.		
2	0	0
Dhenkanal dist.		
1	0	0
10	0	0

Appendix VI : PERCENTAGE OF MUNDA LANGUAGES TO TOTAL POPULATION, 1971

Code No.	%age to total Popn.	A	B
A	B		
BIHAR: Blocks			
Patna dist.			
1	0		
2	0		
6	0		
10	0		
11	0		
12	0		
13	0		
14	0		
19	0		
21	0		
26	0		
27	0		
Gaya dist.			
1	0		
3	0		
10	0		
12	0		
13	0		
16	0		
19	0		
23	0		
27	0		
28	0		
29	0		
43	0.49		
44	0.07		
45	0.08		
Shahabad dist.			
1	0.04		
4	0.02		
5	0		
7	0		
8	0		
13	0		
14	0		
15	0		
16	0		
20	0		
22	0		
24	0		
25	0		
27	0		
35	0.18		
40	0		
Monghyr dist.			
1	0		
2	0.34		
4	0.93		
5	4.38		
6	1.47		
7	0.46		
8	0		
12	0		
13	0.02		
14	1.16		
15	0.02		
16	0		
17	4.43		
18	5.47		
19	19.31		
20	3.15		
21	0		
23	0		
Bhagalpur dist.			
1	0.14		
2	0		
4	0		
8	0.81		
9	3.85		
10	3.22		
11	0		
12	3.29		
13	15.21		
14	10.17		
15	6.68		
16	0		
17	0.81		
18	0		
19	0.83		
20	0.06		
21	14.91		
Palamau dist.			
1	0.09		
2	1.46		
3	0		
4	0		
6	0		
7	0		
9	0		
11	0.75		
12	0.91		
13	0.66		
14	2.28		
15	0.05		
16	0.61		
17	2.09		
18	0.03		
19	1.57		
20	1.89		
21	3.65		
22	0		
23	0		
25	0.17		
Santal Parganas dist.			
1	41.05		
2	42.31		
3	52.68		
4	53.4		
5	26.64		
6	19.25		
7	52.3		
8	70.89		
9	62.95		
10	62.21		
11	37.87		
12	30.24		
13	38.25		
14	35.4		
15	4.07		
16	13.37		
17	8.89		
18	7.07		
19	35.05		
20	13.81		
21	17.54		
22	15.12		
23	37.67		
24	14.02		
25	9.15		
26	10.1		
27	54.53		
28	56.03		
29	7.39		
30	10.98		
31	57.87		
32	53.4		
33	59.54		
34	0.43		
35	49.59		
36	22.57		
37	53.26		
38	66.56		
39	67.23		
40	52.05		
41	40.95		
Hazaribagh dist.			
1	0.81		
2	18.3		
3	6.31		
4	1.03		
5	0.2		
6	4.02		
7	1.87		
8	1.47		
9	0.01		
10	0.61		
11	1.72		
12	5.33		
13	1.64		
14	10.33		
15	16.69		
16	28.26		
17	23.62		
18	12.69		
19	10.12		
20	0.74		
21	10.41		
22	2.19		
23	0.66		
24	3.01		
25	0.25		
26	0.09		
27	0.03		
28	0.39		
29	7.66		
30	45.46		
31	10.53		
32	11.99		
33	5.61		
34	1.26		
35	0.59		
36	4.46		
37	0.03		
38	22.56		
39	12.79		
40	0.74		
41	19.74		
42	28.15		
Ranchi dist.			
1	7.2		
2	25.16		
3	5.07		
4	2.71		
5	29.95		
6	0.32		
7	0.49		
8	0.16		
9	3.33		
10	0.85		
11	0.77		
12	1.56		
13	2.48		
14	0.35		
15	12.97		
16	42.35		
17	66.82		
18	81.56		
19	68.58		
20	70.2		
21	47.37		
22	36.68		
23	8.92		
24	40.08		
25	80.83		
26	27.82		
27	48.6		
28	38.79		
29	14.45		
29	14.45		
30	52.07		
31	59.16		
32	58.54		
33	6.01		
34	22.74		
35	7.86		
36	2.69		
37	0.19		
38	4.52		
39	3.69		
40	2.24		
41	7.08		
42	27.54		
43	64.07		
Dhanbad dist.			
1	1.79		
2	2.55		
3	16.86		
4	45.11		
5	15.33		
6	13.82		
7	4.07		
8	5.15		
9	10.16		
10	5.44		
Singhbhum dist.			
1	50.35		
2	72.5		
3	74.7		
4	72.2		
5	68.61		
6	56.73		
7	65.99		
8	84.51		
9	57.61		
10	44.46		
11	78.8		
12	66.24		
13	79.27		
14	46.69		
15	83.97		
16	26.24		
17	50.15		
18	41.3		
19	83.52		
20	33.35		
21	14.45		
22	10.99		
23	27.43		
24	8.63		
25	42.09		
26	19.09		
27	32.97		
28	52.91		
29	39.97		
30	30.81		
31	64.44		
32	41.3		
MADHYA PRADESH: Taluks			
Surguja dist.			
1	0.93		
2	5.81		
3	0.84		
4	4.74		
Raigarh dist.			
1	0.59		
2	2.79		
3	1.52		
4	1.02		
WEST BENGAL: Pol.Stn.			
Birbhum dist.			
1	3.03		
2	3.26		
3	6.87		
4	9.9		
5	18.99		
6	9.85		
7	1.78		
8	0.09		
9	6.65		
10	10.88		
11	9.26		
12	14.74		
13	3.81		
14	1.58		
Bankura dist.			
1	17.86		
2	1.4		
3	0.93		
4	2.63		
5	20.86		
6	2.08		
7	4.35		
8	4.93		
9	12.93		
10	37.74		
11	23.46		
12	11.96		
13	12.84		
14	4.82		
15	2.18		
16	2.12		
17	1.39		
18	1.58		
19	1.9		
Midnapore dist.			
1	27.66		
2	24.74		
3	11.02		
4	17.91		
5	16.49		
6	30.71		
7	2.75		
8	10.25		
9	17.46		
10	10.87		
11	4.2		
12	3.36		
13	10.3		
14	0.77		
15	10.31		
16	8.35		
17	2.98		
18	10.12		
19	11.85		
20	2.61		
21	1.2		
22	0.58		
23	1.19		
24	0		
25	0.13		
26	0		
27	0.11		
28	0		
29	0		
30	0.05		
31	0.33		
32	0.09		
33	0.03		
34	0.02		
Burdwan dist.			
1	0.9		
2	14.27		
3	3.56		
4	4.24		
5	2.62		
6	11.05		
7	7.3		
8	4.92		
9	3.14		
10	5.85		
11	0.63		
12	8.95		
13	4.03		
14	11.84		
15	5.15		
16	1.71		
17	3.68		
18	10.93		
19	12.98		
20	3.66		
21	6.7		
22	2.12		
23	0.13		
24	0.23		
25	1.1		
26	1.49		
27	10.08		
Purulia dist.			
1	3.76		
2	8.73		
3	12.19		
4	9.91		
5	18.65		
6	9.85		
7	2.04		
8	0.1		
9	4.3		
10	6.67		
11	22.28		
12	31.47		
13	22.24		
14	17.34		
15	14.02		
16	23.19		
17	31.6		
Howrah dist.			
1	0.42		
2	0.07		
3-8	0.07		
9	0		
10	0.09		
11	0		
12	0.39		
13	0.91		
14	0.04		
16	0		
17	0.14		
Hooghly dist.			
1	3.52		
2	0.89		
3	0.1		
4	0.4		
5	7.28		
6	13.56		
7	5.62		
8	2.88		
9	0.23		
10	4.82		
11	6.3		
12	12.25		
13	3.09		
14	0.22		
15	0.13		
16	0		
17	2.52		
18	0		
19	0.02		
20	0.3		
Murshidabad dist.			
1	1.16		
2	0		
3	0.1		
4	0.36		
5	7.51		
6	1.66		
7	2.51		
8	7.29		
9	0.49		
10	0.21		
11	1.14		
12	0		
13	0.89		
14	0.02		
ORISSA: Pol.stn.			
Sambalpur dist.			
1	0.3		
2	2.73		
3	0.33		
4	0.33		
5	1.64		
6	1.32		
7	2.35		
8	1.49		
9	1.24		
10	1.57		
11	1.02		
12	1.7		
26	0.74		
27	11.37		
28	2.38		
29	1.84		
30	3.72		
31	3.61		
32	0.24		
33	2.39		
34	0.47		
35	0.69		
Sundargarh dist.			
1	7.39		
2	6.33		
3	0.56		
4	0.41		
5	2.99		
6	15.64		
7	23.87		
8	17.53		
9	39.61		
10	17.01		
11	17.64		
12	4.93		
13	13.88		
14	27.24		
15	16.81		
16	6.9		
17	32.34		
18	28.31		
19	57.56		
Keonjhar dist.			
1	13.0		
2	13.47		
3	21.61		
4	28.87		
5	6.83		
6	4.89		
7	5.21		
8	9.91		
9	8.57		
10	12.23		
11	13.22		
12	6.64		
13	34.0		
14	21.58		
15	4.5		
Mayurbhanj dist.			
1	34.55		
2	77.94		
3	15.63		
4	16.9		
5	35.68		
6	20.04		
7	26.87		
8	32.38		
9	15.69		
10	38.27		
11	50.02		
12	65.39		
13	60.77		
14	65.48		
15	55.87		
16	65.42		
17	18.88		
18	37.5		
19	28.58		
20	45.3		
21	35.93		
22	64.89		
23	49.31		
Balasore dist.			
1	5.88		
2	3.33		
3	4.01		
4	4.47		
5	8.88		
6	0.36		
7	3.94		
8	2.59		
9	2.51		
10	1.7		
11	0.98		
12	2.17		
13	0.65		
14	0.62		
15	0.04		
17	0.69		
18	0		
19	0.05		
20	0.06		
21	0.56		
22	16.09		
23	38.18		
Cuttack dist.			
1	0.23		
2	0.57		
3	0.14		
4	0		
8	0		
10	0		
11	0.03		
12	0.15		
14	3.71		
17	0		
21	0		
23	0		
24	1.96		
26	0		
28	0.08		
30	14.05		
31	1.5		
32	0.08		
33	0.82		
Dhenkanal dist.			
2	0.85		
3	0		
4	1.18		
5	0.76		
6	0.62		
7	0.13		
9	0.02		
10	12.45		
11	9.91		
12	0.02		
15	0.23		
16	0.06		
18	0.02		
21	0.01		

Appendix VII : LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY INDEX, 1971

Code No.	Diversity Index
A	B
BIHAR: Blocks	
Patna dist.	
1	0.45
2	0.16
3	0.04
4	0.04
5	0.11
6	0.17
7	0.08
8	0.13
9	0.08
10	0.11
11	0.07
12	0.06
13	0.01
14	0.04
15	0.05
16	0.03
17	0.06
18	0.01
19	0.31
20	0.04
21	0.12
22	0.14
23	0.03
24	0.06
25	0.05
26	0.05
27	0.04
28	0.16
Gaya dist.	
1	0.31
2	0.1
3	0.21
4	0.16
5	0.23
6	0.19
7	0.22
8	0.09
9	0.11
10	0.09
11	0.24
12	0.07
13	0.15
14	0.14
15	0.07
16	0.02
17	0.12
18	0.15
19	0.22
20	0.06
21	0.12
22	0.06
23	0.06
24.0	0.11
25	0.1
26	0.13
27	0.08
28	0.22
29	0.08
30	0.17
31	0.11
32	0.15
33	0.06
34	0.11
35	0.2
36	0.02
37	0.2
38	0.15
39	0.14
40	0.1
41	0.09
42	0.21
43	0.18
44	0.24
45	0.12
46	0.08

A	B
Shahabad dist.	
1	0.2
2	0.04
3	0.04
4	0.01
5	0.02
6	0.04
7	0.1
8	0.05
9	0.09
10	0.07
11	0.08
12	0.04
13	0.2
14	0.28
15	0.13
16	0.1
17	0.03
18	0.04
19	0.03
20	0.13
21	0.1
22	0.06
23	0.19
24	0.11
25	0.06
26	0.11
27	0.04
28	0.16
29	0.2
30	0.09
31	0.12
32	0.04
33	0.09
34	0.07
35	0.1
36	0.01
37	0.05
38	0.02
39	0.09
40	0.08
41	0.03
Monghyr	
1	0.24
2	0.15
3	0.2
4	0.03
5	0.14
6	0.06
7	0.08
8	0.1
9	0.15
10	0.17
11	0.14
12	0.02
13	0.25
14	0.17
15	0.21
16	0.09
17	0.11
18	0.24
19	0.37
20	0.11
21	0.19
22	0.08
23	0.29
Bhagalpur	
1	0.43
2	0.17
3	0.23
4	0.16
5	0.14
9	0.26
10	0.47
11	0.3
12	0.17
13	0.31
14	0.24
15	0.16

A	B
15	0.16
16	0.07
17	0.19
18	0.07
19	0.38
20	0.23
21	0.37
Palamau	
1	0.28
2	0.17
3	0.08
4	0.18
5	0.04
6	0.1
7	0.1
8	0.18
9	0.25
10	0.12
11	0.37
12	0.59
13	0.52
14	0.27
15	0.22
16	0.4
17	0.44
18	0.25
19	0.17
20	0.17
21	0.13
22	0.24
23	0.26
24	0.16
25	0.2
26	0.11
27	0.24
28	0.1
29	0.42
30	0.55
31	0.3
32	0.28
33	0.45
34	0.08
35	0.11
36	0.26
37	0.12
38	0.41
39	0.24
40	0.1
41	0.38
42	0.55
Santal Parganas	
1	0.61
2	0.63
3	0.55
4	0.55
5	0.49
6	0.34
7	0.57
8	0.46
9	0.55
10	0.56
11	0.71
12	0.65
13	0.57
14	0.57
15	0.21
16	0.52
17	0.32
18	0.19
19	0.64
20	0.4
21	0.58
22	0.44
23	0.55
24	0.52
25	0.56
26	0.35
27	0.62
28	0.58
29	0.69
30	0.63
31	0.59
32	0.63
33	0.59
34	0.42
35	0.69
36	0.52
37	0.6
38	0.51
39	0.49
40	0.62
41	0.71
Hazaribagh	
1	0.36
2	0.4
3	0.31

A	B
4	0.13
5	0.25
6	0.36
7	0.08
8	0.12
9	0.06
10	0.2
11	0.11
12	0.14
13	0.08
14	0.26
15	0.42
16	0.48
17	0.58
18	0.36
19	0.29
20	0.26
21	0.34
22	0.28
23	0.2
24	0.16
25	0.2
26	0.11
27	0.24
28	0.1
29	0.42
30	0.55
31	0.3
32	0.28
33	0.45
34	0.08
35	0.11
36	0.26
37	0.12
38	0.41
39	0.24
40	0.1
41	0.38
42	0.55
Ranchi	
1	0.62
2	0.66
3	0.61
4	0.61
5	0.61
6	0.54
7	0.62
8	0.53
9	0.62
10	0.56
11	0.58
12	0.57
13	0.25
14	0.27
15	0.34
16	0.63
17	0.47
18	0.31
19	0.43
20	0.44
21	0.58
22	0.58
23	0.28
24	0.59
25	0.32
26	0.54
27	0.7
28	0.55
29	0.54
30	0.65
31	0.52
32	0.59
33	0.61
34	0.42
35	0.57
36	0.47
38	0.48
38	0.62
39	0.55
40.	0.54

A	B
41	0.59
42	0.48
43	0.54
Bhanbad	
1	0.5
2	0.59
3	0.61
4	0.64
5	0.67
6	0.65
7	0.41
8	0.56
9	0.56
10	0.41
Singhbhum	
1	0.71
2	0.46
3	0.47
4	0.44
5	0.45
6	0.58
7	0.49
8	0.27
9	0.64
10	0.82
11	0.68
12	0.75
13	0.69
14	0.77
15	0.3
16	0.73
17	0.76
18	0.72
19	0.62
20	0.56
21	0.37
22	0.21
23	0.7
24	0.81
25	0.74
26	0.34
27	0.61
28	0.63
29	0.58
30	0.63
31	0.72
32	0.77
MADHYA PRADESH: Taluks	
Surguja	
1	0.09
2	0.21
3	0.28
4	0.43
Raigarh	
1	0.44
2	0.56
3	0.32
4	0.33
WEST BENGAL: Police stations	
Birbhum	
1	0.11
2	0.1
3	0.18
4	0.13
5	0.35
6	0.3
7	0.08
8	0.14
9	0.16
10	0.21
11	0.23
12	0.33
13	0.01
14	0.03

A	B
Bankura	
1	0.31
2	0.06
3	0.02
4	0.05
5	0.33
6	0.08
7	0.08
8	0.09
9	0.3
10	0.45
11	0.36
12	0.21
13	0.22
14	0.1
15	0.06
16	0.04
17	0.04
18	0.03
19	0.03
Midnapore	
1	0.4
2	0.41
3	0.23
4	0.33
5	0.34
6	0.5
7	0.12
8	0.28
9	0.3
10	0.25
11	0.12
12	0.12
13	0.27
14	0.81
15	0.25
16	0.25
17	0.06
18	0.19
19	0.21
20.	0.05
21	0.03
22	0.01
23	0.12
24	0.04
25	0.04
26	0.00
27	0.04
28	0.01
29	0.03
30	0.05
31	0.02
32	0.07
33	0.11
34	0.06
35	0.01
Burdwan	
1	0.54
2	0.43
3	0.65
4	0.62
5	0.43
6	0.43
7	0.55
8	0.59
9	0.55
10	0.44
11	0.29
12	0.28
13	0.21
14	0.25
15	0.12
16	0.06
17	0.08
18	0.21
19	0.27
20	0.2

A	B
21	0.14
22	0.05
23	0.01
24	0.03
25	0.03
26	0.04
27	0.21
Purulia	
1	0.28
2	0.23
3	0.22
4	0.22
5	0.37
6	0.19
7	0.06
8	0.32
9	0.17
10	0.21
11	0.52
12	0.45
13	0.49
14	0.29
15	0.25
16	0.35
17	0.45
Murshidabad	
1	0.18
2	0.19
3	0.09
4	0.03
5	0.15
6	0.12
7	0.17
8	0.16
9	0.01
10	0.02
11	0.02
12	0.01
13	0.06
14	0.01
Howrah	
1	0.32
2	0.04
3-8	0.53
9	0.03
10	0.18
11	0
12	0.02
13	0.01
14	0.01
15	0.01
16	0.06
17	0.41
18	0
Hooghly	
1	0.07
2	0.04
3	0
4	0.02
5	0.15
6	0.29
7	0.12
8	0.47
9	0.23
10	0.19
11	0.13
12	0.1
13	0.1
14	0.03
15	0.63
16	0.28
17	0.05
18	0.02
19	0.43
20	0.28

A	B
ORISSA: P.S.	
Sambalpur	
1	0.42
2	0.29
3	0.23
4	0.08
5	0.17
6	0.21
7	0.18
8	0.58
9	0.17
10	0.07
11	0.47
12	0.21
26	0.23
27	0.62
28	0.33
29	0.12
30	0.16
31	0.13
32	0.02
33	0.13
34	0.04
35	0.05
36	0
Sundargarh	
1	0.36
2	0.27
3	0.02
4	0.07
5	0.15
6	0.83
7	0.69
8	0.72
9	0.85
10	0.77
11	0.68
12	0.59
13	0.43
14	0.79
15	0.65
16	0.17
17	0.5
18	0.54
19	0.76
Keonjhar	
1	0.32
2	0.42
3	0.42
4	0.62
5	0.2
6	0.25
7	0.17
8	0.2
9	0.18
10	0.24
11	0.32
12	0.18
13	0.72
14	0.47
15	0.13
Mayurbhanj	
1	0.65
2	0.34
3	0.27
4	0.36
5	0.56
6	0.35
7	0.45
8	0.56
9	0.39
10	0.53
11	0.7
12	0.73
13	0.72
14	0.59
15	0.7

contd..

A	B
16	0.69
17	0.41
18	0.6
19	0.44
20	0.67
21	0.51
22	0.66
23	0.64
Balasore	
1	0.38
2	0.18
3	0.19
4	0.22
5	0.54
6	0.14
7	0.21
8	0.27
9	0.13
10	0.1
11	0.05
12	0.11
13	0.33
14	0.08
15	0.17
16	0.06
17	0.1
18	0.42
19	0.01
20	0.11
21	0.06
22	0.31
23	0.52
Cuttack	
1	0.08
2	0.18
3	0.08
4	0.16
5	0.04
6	0.14
7	0.09
8	0.04
9	0.11
10	0.04
11	0.11
12	0.25
13	0.02
14	0.09
15	0.01
16	0.01
17	0.01
18	0.0
19	0.01
20	0.01
21	0.01
22	0.05
23	0.03
24	0.45
25	0.05
26	0.31
27	0.04
28	0.09
29	0.06
30	0.34
31	0.16
32	0.1
33	0.13
Dhenkanal	
1	0.04
2	0.02
3	0.01
4	0.05
5	0.02
6	0.03
7	0.04
8	0
9	0.18
10	0.24
11	0.18
12	0.03
13	0.01
14	0.01
15	0.01
16	0.01
17	0.01
18	0.04
19	0.0
20	0.02
21	0.0
22	0.0
23	0.02

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