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The Consequences of Language Contact on the Sociolinguistic Situation of Kurukh in Jharkhand: A Case Study of Mandar Region

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Abstract: India, as well-known to all, is the home of diversity; linguistic, cultural, religious, and social diversity. All these aspects are interwoven together making India a vibrant nation promoting the impeccable idea of "unity in diversity". As a multilingual nation, the study of language contact, where hundreds of different languages are in a constant negotiation, provides an appropriate zone for investigating the language interaction and the sociolinguistic consequences resulting from such process. This paper casts the light on the Kurukh's contact with Hindi and Sadri, being the languages spoken in the area under scrutiny, tracing the sociolinguistic consequences of this interaction through studying a sample of these tribes residing in Mandar area. It also seeks to find out the sociolinguistic status quo of Kurukh and its status among its speakers through considering the contexts and situations in which both Hindi and Kurukh are used. It has been reported that Hindi, Sadri, and Kurukh are used exchangeably in a complementary distribution. Kurukh is spoken in some certain domains; at home, talking with friends of the same speech community, and in-group occasions when they come together to celebrate their religious festivals or any other social occasions whereas Hindi and Sadri are used for conversing with people of other speech communities or when they are in the presence of out-group people. On the other hand, the children receive their education in Hindi-medium schools and some of them in that of English-medium. In the school context, the students of Kurukh background avoid using their mother tongue even when they talk to each other lest to be mocked at or stigmatized by their friends and classmates who do not understand their language. This linguistic behavior of the young generation puts the Kurukh language at stake and jeopardizes the linguistic identity of its speakers as the time goes by.

Keywords: Sociolinguistics; Tribes; Identity; Hindi; Kurukh; Language contact.

1. Introduction

Over the years, the study of the sociolinguistic phenomena has attracted the interest of many researchers over the world. The language contact is among these phenomena which have been at the center of many scholars' works and occupied a good space of their concern for decades. It goes without saying that language contact has a long story with all languages in the whole world in general and India in particular. Undoubtedly, India is the home of all forms of diversity; linguistic, cultural, religious, and social diversity. According to *Imtiaz Ali*, an Indian Filmmaker, every 20 kilometers, the language, dialect, music, food, clothes ... everything changes.¹ All these aspects have been interwoven making India a vibrant nation. For many linguists, the linguistic scene in India is considered as a staggeringly intricate due to the multilingual status of the country. With an enormous population of about 1.3 billion inhabitants, it is no surprise that there are hundreds of languages spoken in this vast area of the world. As far as language is concerned, the linguistic diversity in India, where a broad range of different languages are in a constant negotiation, has provided an appropriate zone for investigating the language interaction and the sociolinguistic consequences springing from such process. The four major language families, the Indo-Aryan, the Dravidian, the Tibeto-Burman, and the Austro-Asiatic constitute the fountain of the linguistic diversity prevailing India. Hindi, the official and predominant language in India, coexists with many other national and indigenous languages in complimentary distribution. Hindi is widely used in the official settings; schools, courts, official correspondence etc. it is also used as a lingua franca when Indians of different linguistic backgrounds come together to facilitate

¹ <http://www.rediff.com/news/slide-show/slide-show-1-india-independence-day-special-imtiaz-ali/20131217.htm>

communication between them. Kurukh is among these indigenous languages, which is in continuous contact with Hindi and some other languages.

Generally speaking, the present study focuses on the Kurukh's contact with the other languages spoken in Jharkhand area taking a closer look at the contact between Kurukh, Hindi, and Sadri as languages spoken in the area of the study (Mandar), tracing the sociolinguistic consequences of this interaction through studying a sample of these tribes residing in Mandar region. It also seeks to find out the sociolinguistic status quo of Kurukh and its status among its speakers, which may have gone unnoticed by some scholars, through considering the contexts and situations in which Hindi, Sadri, and Kurukh are used. In addition, the study attempts to consider the extent of the impact of this contact on the linguistic identity of the Kurukh speakers along with its future being classified as a vulnerable language.²

2. Language Contact

In order to know how languages influence one another, we need first to understand the concept of language contact prior to getting into the details of how it affects languages involved and produces new linguistic situations. It is by no means that language contact occurs when languages interact with each other producing certain sociolinguistic issues. It exists when different languages, accents, and dialects come into contact with one another. It is beyond shadow of doubt that the contact between languages varies in its outcomes since it sometimes causes one language, almost the one with less power, to be lost or assimilated. In this contribution, it is often assumed that the most powerful language influences that of less, meaning the linguistic features are borrowed from the language of high status. Many, if not most, languages have been influenced at some point in their history by contact with other languages (Wardhaugh and Janet, 2014). Language contact also at times creates a new sphere of linguistic stability and acceptance establishing a new bi-or multilingual community (Aschale, 2013). In their researches, the sociolinguists frequently assert that language contact has deleterious impacts on the languages.

On the other hand, the manifestations of language contact could be tirelessly noticed through the emergence of some other sociolinguistic phenomena among the speakers of the languages in question, such as code-switching, borrowings, language acquisition, language shift, language replacement, etc. Code-switching emerging from the contact of languages, however, does not occur in vain. People may switch back and forth between their mother tongue and their interlocutors' languages to fulfill certain communicative functions as well as filling certain linguistic gaps. In common parlance, language contact is the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time (Thomason, 2001). In addition, language contact most often involves face-to-face interactions among groups of speakers, at least some of whom speak more than one language in a particular geographical locality (Thomason, 2001). They are often neighbors sharing the same locality, school, hospital, market, and other social settings whose languages are different as is the case with the area selected for investigation. People of Mandar region are living in the same locality sharing the same social facilities but speak different languages among which Kurukh, which is in contact and negotiation with other languages spoken in the area, namely, Hindi and Sadri (Nagpur).³ People of each group of this diverse society go all out to maintain their language as a major part of their identity together with their nationality and religion. They strive to teach their children their mother tongue though the negative attitudes of the younger generation towards their mother tongue.

3. Language and Identity

Language definitely plays an instrumental role in a person's individuality since it is certainly a way of communicating one's identity (Wibowo *et al.*, 2011). Language has different elements that identify its speakers. To put it another way, many people could be identified through the language they speak; their dialects, accents, register, the words they use, etc. Thus, language is not only a means of communication, as widely known, but the fact of language goes beyond that to be considered as a tool that identifies people and gives some information about them; their social, regional, cultural, socio-economic, and educational backgrounds. People may speak the same language but in different accents, registers, dialects, etc. These linguistic elements tell much about the region, occupation, social class, and in some instances the religion of its users. Therefore, language is very important to the establishment, and maintenance of identity (Donohue, 2009). The relation between language and identity is intertwined that both are associated with one another in a number of ways; national, regional, social, cultural, professional identity and identity concerning age, sex, religion, caste and ethnic tribe, etc (Choudhury and Juri,

² According to the UNESCO reports, Kurukh is classified as a vulnerable language. UNESCO defines four levels of language endangerment between "safe" (not endangered) and "extinct"; vulnerable, definitely endangered, severely endangered, and critically endangered. In Vulnerable language, most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home). Definitely endangered - children no longer learn the language as a 'mother tongue' in the home. Severely endangered - language is spoken by only grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, but they do not speak it neither to children nor among themselves. Critically endangered - the youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently. Extinct - there are no speakers left.

³ Nagpuri is considered a variation of Sadri and has a good social status being taught in Ranchi University and other universities of Jharkhand. This language is written in Devanagiri script style. Sadri, on the other hand, has also many alternate names of dialects which include: Sadani, Sadana, Sadati, Sadari, Sadhan, Sadna, Sadrik, Santri, Siddri, Sradri, Sadhari, Sadan, Nagpuria, Nagpuri, Chota Nagpuri, Dikku Kaji, Gawari, Ganwari, Goari, Gauuari, and Jharkhandhi.

2014). For this reason, Thomas Davis relates language to national identity and maintains that people without a language of its own as only half a nation (qtd. in (Edwards, 1994)). As an attempt of preserving their identity, the Kurukh-speaking tribes try to deter what seems to be an irresistible invasion of the competing languages through using Kurukh in their daily conversations. They realize, however, that the most challenging threat lurks in the younger generation's orientation which heads towards the disuse of their mother tongue.

4. The Language Variation in Jharkhand

Jharkhand state is characterized with the most conservative tribes in India which have managed to maintain their cultural and linguistic heritage over the years though the ruthless creep of the other cultures and languages into their cultural and linguistic zones. Linguistically speaking, Jharkhand is also one of the most diverse regions of India and is home to languages from three families; Indo-Aryan (Indo-European), Munda (Austro-Asiatic) and Dravidian (Peterson, 2010). From among the different languages spoken in Jharkhand, this study focuses only on three languages; Hindi, Sadri, and Kurukh, that are used by the tribal people under investigation in their day-to-day communication. Due to the sociolinguistic nature of the study, the focus will be on the sociolinguistic consequences of Kurukh's contact with these languages i.e. Hindi and Sadri, besides highlighting the contexts in which these three languages are spoken.

4.1. Kurukh and the Kurukh People

Kurukh is among the languages spoken in Jharkhand which is originated from the Dravidian family with approximately two million speakers of Oraon and other tribal people who are scattered in different areas of Jharkhand and some adjacent states such as Odisha, Bihar, and West Bengal.⁴ On the other hand, the Kurukh people, also called Oraons, are tribal aborigines inhabiting various states across central and eastern India, Bangladesh, and Bhutan. The Kurukh people are said to have come from the south of India where there are many groups speaking Dravidian languages that are related to Kurukh (Ahmad *et al.*, 2011). Traditionally, Oraons depended on the forest and farms for their ritual and economic livelihood, but in the recent times, a few of them have become mainly settled agriculturists.⁵ Interestingly, most of the Kurukh people speak their native language fluently; particularly the adults and older people, as well as Hindi and Sadri. Though Sadri is not their native language, the Kurukh people speak in Sadri with each other in many parts of Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, North Bengal, Assam, Andaman and Nicobar, and in other parts of India where the Jharkhandi community resides.⁶

4.2. Sadri

Sadri is one of the Indo-Aryan languages spoken in the states of Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, and some parts of West Bengal. It has been reported that Sadri has developed itself as Lingua franca of Jharkhand region.⁷ According to Peterson (2010), Sadri along with other smaller languages to which they are closely related such as Kurmal and Panch Parganiya are spoken by 3,290,490 people. Unlike Kurukh, Sadri is considered rich in literature since several magazines and books are published in the Sadri language in a number of regions of India. Moreover the most famous magazine in Ranchi city, the capital of Jharkhand state, named 'Johar Sahiya' is published and issued in Sadri.⁸ As seen above, Nagpuri is one of Sadri's variations which is being learned in Ranchi University and the other nearby universities of Jharkhand. Along with Nagpuri, Sadri holds many other variations which exist in several districts of India. The people of Biru area in Simdega district of Jharkhand speak Sadri as the primary language of their daily conversation. The different dialects of Sadri are mutually intelligible to one another. There are three kinds of Sadri; Sadani (finer, respectful, & formal), Common Sadri (Nagpuri), and Lower Sadri (rough).⁹

4.3. Hindi

Hindi is a language which belongs to the Indo-Aryan language family. The constitution of India designates Hindi written in the Devanagari script as the official language of India along with English which is used in some official correspondence. Hindi is the variety widely spoken in most parts of India. It is spoken in the following states; Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, and Uttarakhand.¹⁰ Due to its official status, Hindi has a political and social prestige more than the other India languages spoken in the overwhelmingly vast India. The huge population of India makes Hindi the fourth-most natively spoken language in the world, after Mandarin, Spanish, and English. For many Indians, Hindi is the medium of communication and the lingua franc through which they can establish a certain degree of intelligibility. Through my best knowledge and the three-year stay in India, I notice that many Indians of

⁴ "Kurukh Language". *Wikipedia*. N.p., 2016. Web. 6 Aug. 2016. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurukh_language

⁵ "Kurukh People". *Wikipedia*. N.p., 2016. Web. 6 Aug. 2016. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurukh_people

⁶ "Sadri Language". *Wikipedia*. N.p., 2016. Web. 6 Aug. 2016. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sadri_language

⁷ "Jharkhand Sadri Language" <http://www.indiamapped.com/languages-in-india/jharkhand-sadri-language/>

⁸ "Languages in India | Languages In Jharkhand | Languages In Jharkhand Sadri Language". *Indiamapped.in*. N.p., 2016. Web. 6 Aug. 2016. <http://www.indiamapped.in/languages-in-india/jharkhand-sadri-language>

⁹ "Sadri". *Ethnologue*. N.p., 2016. Web. 7 Aug. 2016. <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/sck>

¹⁰ "Languages with Official Status in India". *Wikipedia*. N.p., 2016. Web. 7 Aug. 2016.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages_with_official_status_in_India

non-Hindi backgrounds can easily learn Hindi and speak it in a short course of time thanks to the Bollywood movies and the media Satellite channels in general which brought Hindi into all households across the country.

5. The Statement of the Problem

It stands to reason that language contact has different consequences on the languages involved and the degree of this influence differs from one situation to another in accordance with the scope of this contact as well as the social status of each of the languages being interacted. In Jharkhand, there are multiple languages which are in daily contact and negotiation most of which are considered indigenous languages due to the tribal nature of the state. Kurukh is one of these languages spoken by the Oraon tribes (sometimes called the Kurukh people) in Jharkhand and some other states discussed above. The Kurukh people do not only speak their mother tongue, Kurukh, but they can speak the languages of the people who share them the same neighborhood and their life activities in general; Hindi and Sadri are examples.

6. The Purpose of the Study

The study basically aims at gathering some information that may help in understanding the sociolinguistic status of Kurukh besides spotting the sociolinguistic consequences of Kurukh's contact with the other languages spoken in the area (Hindi and Sadri). As a result of the wide range of languages spoken in India, it is not perhaps a surprise to find people of the same area speaking different languages. However, one or two of these several languages serve as lingua franca to promote interpersonal communication. For this end, both Hindi and Sadri are introduced as lingua franca used by the people of Mandar region as it is the case with the people of the whole Jharkhand. The study also tries to measure the attitudes of the Kurukh's speakers towards their native language with a special emphasis on the attitudes of the younger generation as instrumental elements conducive to deciding the future of this vulnerable language according to the UNESCO reports.

7. The Research Questions

The study primarily tries to answer the following questions;

- 1) What are the social situations in which Kurukh is used most?
- 2) How does the Kurukh contact with Hindi and Sadri affect its social status among its own speakers?
- 3) What are the attitudes of the Kurukh people towards their own language?

8. The Importance of the Study

The researchers think that this study is of great significance for the following reasons;

- 4) It reveals the social status of Kurukh among its speakers.
- 5) It also determines the loci of the weakness that threatens this already vulnerable language (according to the UNESCO).
- 6) It provides information for the language planners particularly those who are interested in preserving and maintaining the indigenous languages.
- 7) The findings of this study could be taken as an alarming sign of the crucial and critical situation of this language.

9. The Method

This study is descriptive and survey-based in nature which aims at investigating a certain sociolinguistic phenomenon; the impact of Kurukh's contact with other languages, for the purpose of understanding its implications and consequences on Kurukh whether in the middle or long term. Such sociolinguistic study is mainly based on collecting adequate and accurate information about the subject matter under investigation through a defined period of time for obtaining practical results to be interpreted objectively. As a survey-based study, both quantitative and qualitative methods are adopted for the data analysis. For the data collection, a simple close-ended questionnaire composed of two parts was designed. The first part of the questionnaire addresses the question of what language the informants use in the different social settings such as home, market, friends, social occasions, official institutions, and school whereas the second part consists of seven items each of which touches the informants' attitudes towards their native language. The sample of the study is composed of seventy-five informants of different ages, sex, and educational backgrounds. As shown in [figure one](#), 41% of the respondents are males whereas the females constitute 59% of the sample size. The informants belong to different age categories; 59% of them are young, 25 % are adult whereas 16% are aged. Two villages were targeted for conducting the survey; *Brambe* and *Katchachu*, which are both geographically and administratively within Mandar area along with one school, *Karmel Private School*. For overcoming the problem of communicating with the informants during the process of collecting the data, the researchers were assisted by two translators; one translates from Kurukh or Sadri into Hindi and the other translates from Hindi into English since one of the researchers can speak neither.

Figure-1. The Gender Distribution of the Sample

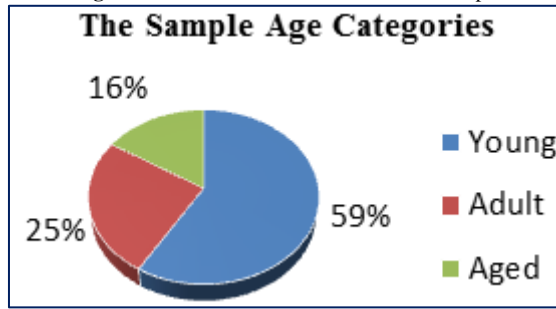
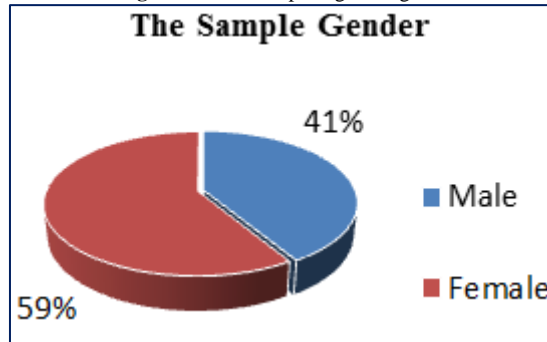


Figure-2. The Sample Age Categories



10. Data Analysis

10.1. The Language Use in the Social Contexts

As the questionnaire consists of two parts; one is concerned with the question of what language is used in the different social contexts of the people under scrutiny and the other one focuses on their attitudes towards their native language, the data analysis results reveal that the informants deliberately speak the three languages at home in different degrees of use for each one. For example, Hindi is spoken at home with 28%, Kurukh has a 40% space of use, while Sadri is spoken with 32%. Such a result shows that though Kurukh has the most percentage of the use compared to the other two competing languages; Hindi and Sadri, 40% of the usage space at home remains an unacceptable percentage since Kurukh is the mother tongue of the informants which is supposed to be the overwhelmingly predominant variety used for communication among the family members.

Table-1. The Language Use in the Social Contexts

No.	The Context	The Language					
		Hindi		Kurukh		Sadri	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Home	35	28%	50	40%	40	32%
2.	Market	63	59%	15	14%	29	27%
3.	Social Occasions	49	44%	42	38%	20	18%
4.	Friends	50	45%	37	33%	25	22%
5.	Outsiders	67	81%	1	1%	15	18%
6.	Official Institutions	70	92%	-	-	6	8%
7.	School	42	82%	6	12%	3	6%
Total		376	56%	151	23%	138	21%

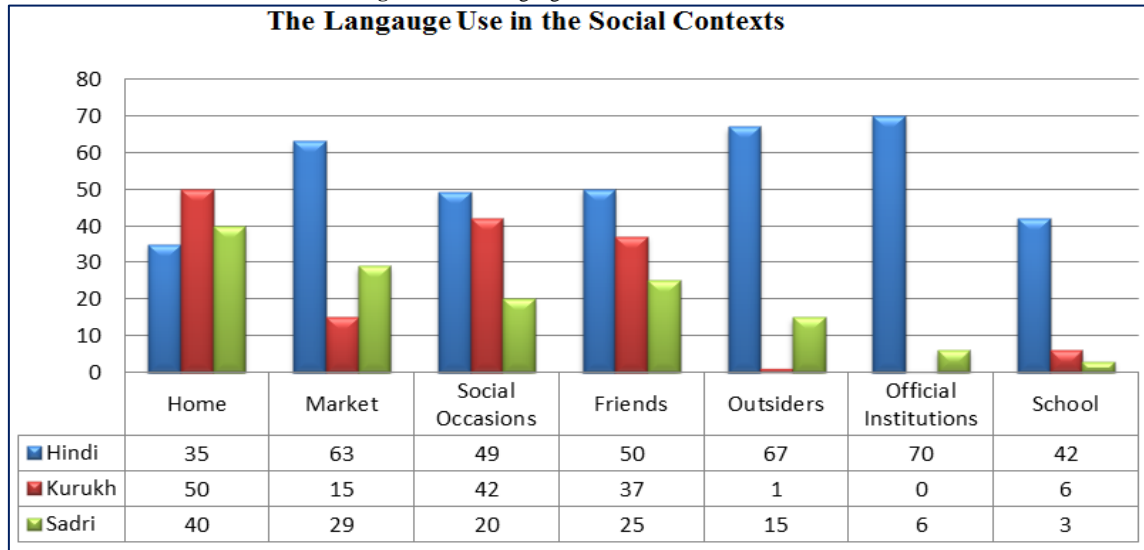
Using Fishman (1967) extended definition of diglossia to varieties of different language groups, it could be said that the relation between these three languages is triglossic where they together coexist and used side by side in a complementary distribution in the various social contexts among which the family conversation at home. Through asking the people (informants) about the reasons for their less use of Kurukh at home, some of them did not deny the fact that they prefer speaking in Hindi rather than in Kurukh, some others regretfully mentioned that their children can neither speak Kurukh nor understand it and as a result they have to use Hindi or Sadri for communication at home.

The data results also reveal that 17% of the informants cannot speak Kurukh, their mother tongue; expectedly 85% of them below twenty years old. There can be no doubt that their constant contact with Hindi and Sadri whether at home, school, or street has created this linguistic gap between them and their mother tongue. Table (1) also shows the much use of Hindi as well as the relative one of Sadri in the market. A closer look at the data shows that Hindi is spoken in the market with 59% as compared with Kurukh which is spoken less in this setting with just 14% due to the incomprehensibility of this language among the speakers of Hindi and Sadri backgrounds. Consequently, Hindi

is the widely used variety in contexts as such not only in Mandar region but in all Jharkhand, let alone the whole India.

As for the social occasions, the results shown in table (1) suggest that Kurukh has recorded a good percentage of use since the members of the same speech community come together and talk intimately using their mother tongue. Nevertheless, the big percentage remains for Hindi with 44% of use compared with Sadri which is spoken with only 18%. When talking to friends, 45% of the informants mentioned that they speak Hindi while 33% of them speak Kurukh, and only 22% reported their use of Sadri in this domain. The data gathered also indicates that there is unanimity among the informants in regard to the use of Hindi when communicating with outsiders (people of other linguistic backgrounds) since 81% of them stated that they use Hindi when they converse with people of the other speech communities. Sadri is also spoken in this social context with 22% beside the very rare use of Kurukh which is only 1%. As mentioned earlier, both Hindi and Sadri are widely used as lingua franca when Indian people of different linguistic backgrounds come together to establish a certain degree of mutual intelligibility.

Figure-3. The Language Use in the Social Contexts



It is clear from figure (3) the predominance of Hindi in the official institutions such as hospitals, police, court, etc. The official status of Hindi along with its wide-ranging prevalence necessitates using it in all official and institutional entities including schools and universities. Finally, the total percentage of the language use in the different social contexts gives weight to Hindi to the detriment of Kurukh as well as Sadri.

Figure-4. The Language Use in the Social Contexts

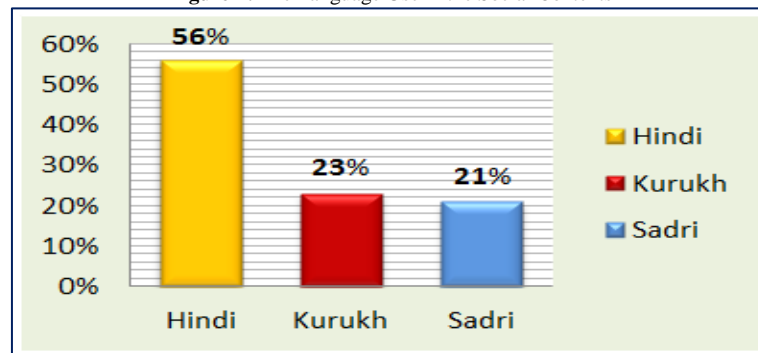


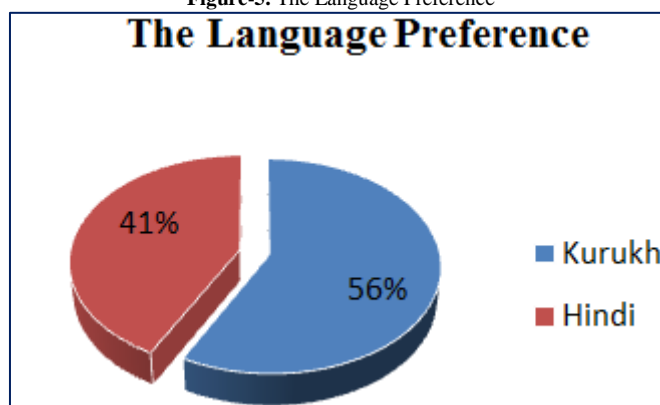
Figure (4) illustrates that Hindi is widely spoken by the Kurukh people in their different daily activities including home conversation. Hindi attained 56% of the use in the various contexts and activities of the Kurukh people whereas Kurukh is spoken with only 23%. This low percentage of Kurukh use by its native speakers decidedly jeopardizes this already vulnerable language and puts its future at stake.

10.2. The Kurukh People’s Attitudes towards Kurukh

The second part of the questionnaire includes seven items each of which underscores the Kurukh people’s attitudes towards their mother tongue. The data analysis results show similar responses and harmonious agreement among the Kurukh people in terms of their view and attitudes towards Kurukh. 77% of the informants reported that they like Kurukh whereas 23% mentioned the opposite. From among those who reported that they do not like Kurukh, 70% are from the young category, namely below twenty years old. This negative attitude could be regarded

as a serious indicator of this language future, especially with 17% of the informants' inability to speak or even understand Kurukh.

Figure-5. The Language Preference



Additionally, figure (5) indicates that 41% of the informants displayed their preference for Hindi over Kurukh. Definitely, there are some deciding factors underlying this linguistic preference or choice; some of them are individual-related factors such as their negative attitudes towards Kurukh as seen above and others are social as the children's deficiency in speaking Kurukh, the matter that makes them prefer using Hindi than Kurukh for establishing a degree of intelligibility among the family members as well as the surrounding environment which has radically altered their orientation towards the use of Hindi and Sadri, the vastly used languages in Jharkhand, rather than Kurukh. Interestingly enough, though the preference of some of the informants for Hindi and Sadri over Kurukh, 72% of the sample showed their desire to get people know that they are natively Kurukh speakers and this tendency obviously has much to do with their perception of their mother tongue as a part and parcel of their identity. But nevertheless, 37% of the informants confirmed that speaking in Kurukh in the presence of groups of other speech communities causes them embarrassment and gets them avoid speaking Kurukh. Furthermore, 25% of them preferred concealing their linguistic identity by showing their disassociation to Kurukh. Along similar lines, it has been reported that the feeling of linguistic inferiority may be found among speakers of the less socially-valued languages and for this reason; they tend to use the language of the socially dominant group (Shams, 2016).¹¹

Finally, the data analysis results appear to suggest that 56% of the sample subjects do not think that the Kurukh people's avoidance of their mother tongue is due to being considered an old language. However, 29% of them emphasized that their non-use of Kurukh, even within the same speech community, is due to its failure to keep up with the minimal requirements of the modern age. Accordingly, they think that the modern life necessitates learning a language of a global interest that may empower them to get jobs and catch the convoy of the modernity.

11. Findings

The aforementioned analysis gives us a general overview about the sociolinguistic status of Kurukh among the crowd of the multilingual situation of India in general and Jharkhand in particular. As seen above, the contact between Kurukh on the one hand and Hindi and Sadri on the other has thrown a big shadow on the status of Kurukh among its native speakers. The study revealed that the Kurukh people use Hindi and Sadri more than their use of their mother tongue whether at home or in their other daily communicative activities. Some children, on the other hand, have been found unable to either speak or understand their mother tongue. As a result some families have recourse to the use of Hindi and Sadri to fulfill their family communication at home. It is worth mentioning that Hindi and Sadri, as discussed above, are considered as lingua franca in Jharkhand in general not only in Mandar region where different languages coexist side by side within a limited area.

The study also found that the use of Kurukh is restricted on some certain domains; home, talking to friends of the same speech community, and in-group social occasions. However, this confined space of use remains below the average and takes this language to the route of the endangerment as time progresses. Moreover, some families have a tendency of teaching their children Hindi and English rather than Kurukh because they think that getting their children learn Kurukh is pointless and does not serve their future life. A tendency as such has affected the children's perception of their mother tongue and got some of them unwilling even to talk about it let alone learning or speaking it. The older people, on the other hand, have different perception since many of them regard preserving their native language as a question of identity which should be maintained over the generations. In addition, some parents showed their desire to get their children learn Kurukh but this desire is strongly confronted by the children's orientation to learn and speak other languages, namely Hindi and English. Their Hindi-medium education, and at times English, along with their daily contact with their Hindi-speaking friends has the biggest share in crystallizing this linguistic behavior that gives a preference for Hindi, Sadri, and English over their mother tongue. It goes with no doubt that such linguistic tendency poses a major threat to Kurukh and validates the UNESCO classification of

¹¹ Principle of Linguistic Inferiority. <http://languagevenue.com/linguistics/sociolinguistics/principle-of-linguistic-inferiority>

Kurukh as a vulnerable language where it is spoken only in certain domains. According to Hill (1978), at least half of the languages in the world have disappeared in the last 500 years, and Krauss (qtd. in Hill, *ibid*) estimates that only 10% of the present time languages are safe and therefore, away from the endangerment or extinction. Anyway, the study findings indicate that a new generation of non-Kurukh speakers is being progressed especially when 16% of the informants have reported their inability to speak Kurukh. The older Kurukh people usually speak either Hindi or Sadri when they are in the presence of others whether those others are outsiders or the younger Kurukh members who speak little or in some cases do not speak it at all. What draws one's attention is the inclusion of the young members of the Kurukh people within the term of "others" which indicates the uncharted destination to which Kurukh is heading. The "otherness" of the younger generation, along with their negative attitudes, implies the uncertain future of this language.

12. Conclusion

From the above discussion, it could be concluded that Kurukh is in continuous contact and negotiation with some other competing languages; Hindi and Sadri. It goes without saying that such contact has enormous and sociolinguistic effects on Kurukh. One of these sociolinguistic consequences caused by this constant contact is the progressive decline of the Kurukh's social status among its native speakers, the matter that could be clearly noted through their preference for Hindi and Sadri over their mother tongue. Kurukh and the other negotiating languages, on the other hand, are in complementary distribution; Kurukh is used at home, for talking to friends of the same speech community, and in the domains of in-group social occasions, with different degrees of use. Hindi and Sadri are widely used by the Kurukh people in the official institutions such as police, court, hospitals, etc., and generally for talking with the groups of the other speech communities who share them the same locality. Another significant issue is the negative attitudes of the younger generation along with their inability to speak Kurukh. These factors together pose a major threat on Kurukh and bring this already vulnerable language, according to UNESCO, to the center of the endangerment storm the linguists constantly warn from unless some serious measures are taken on the official and societal levels.

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Appendices

A Questionnaire on Hindi vs. Kurukh Contact

Age: _____ Gender: Male Female
 Education: Read & Write High School Univ. Ed.
 Languages you speak: 1- 2- 3- 4-

Part One: The Hindi vs. Kurukh Use

Please select the language you speak in the following contexts:

No.	The Context	The Language		
		Hindi	Kurukh	Sadri
1.	Home			
2.	Market			
3.	Social Occasions			
4.	Friends			
5.	Outsiders			
6.	Official Institutions (Police, Hospitals, ...)			
7.	School			

Part Two: The Kurukh's Speakers Attitudes toward Their Language

No.	The Item	The Opinion			Remarks
		Yes	No	I don't Know	
1.	I like Kurukh.				
2.	I like Kurukh more than Hindi.				
3.	I feel proud when I speak Kurukh.				
4.	I feel embarrassed when I speak Kurukh.				
5.	I want people to know that I speak Kurukh.				
6.	I don't use Kurukh because people laugh at me.				
7.	I don't use Kurukh because it's an old language.				

A Questionnaire on Hindi vs. Kurukh Contact

No.	The Context	The Language					
		Hindi		Kurukh		Sadri	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Home						
2.	Market						
3.	Social Occasions						
4.	Friends						
5.	Outsiders						
6.	Official Institutions (Police, Hospitals, ...)						
7.	School						
Total							

Part Two: The Kurukh's Speakers Attitudes toward their Language

No.	The Item	Opinion			
		Yes		No	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
1.	I like Kurukh.				
2.	I like Kurukh more than Hindi.				
3.	I feel proud when I speak Kurukh.				
4.	I feel embarrassed when I speak Kurukh.				
5.	I want people to know that I speak Kurukh.				
6.	I don't use Kurukh because people laugh at me.				
7.	I don't use Kurukh because it's an old language.				
Total					