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FOREWORD

The state survey by the Language Division of the Office of the Registrar General, India is an ongoing programme. People expect to learn about their state of the art, about languages of India, their structure, function, use and application. The growing inquisitiveness and expectations of the people result in frustration when they do not find the answers to all their queries. I do not think our institutions and even universities are geared up to answer questions in the context of the growing immigration and endangerment of languages. It is a great challenge to make ourselves up to date and integrate contemporary knowledge with indigenous knowledge.

The first issue is identification of languages. So far Linguistic surveys have been conducted on the basis of language names given by Pandits. Confrontations take place when languages named by people come into conflict with languages named by Pandits. Thus, Maithili comes into conflict with Hindi and Konkani with Marathi.

I feel immensely gratified in presenting the LSI-West Bengal Volume, the sixth presentation, of the post Griersonian Linguistic Survey of India. The organization of the present volume is somewhat different. Bengali has two mother tongues; Bengali and Rajbangsi. Bengali has three dialectal varieties, Radhi, Barendri and Jharkhandi. This raises questions about mother tongues and dialects.

The following are other languages in West Bengal covered in the volume: Nepali, Mundari, Koda/ Kora, Lodha, Bodo, Bhotia and Toto. A cursory look at this list would be enough to show that many of these languages are spoken in three or four states. Taking the descriptions of one state variety and copying it in the rest of the states would be a distortion of reality. It must be recognized that change is constant. Therefore, it must be our effort to capture the change in different regional varieties. Then only we can make statements about the boundaries of languages. It goes without saying that in a multilingual situation language boundaries are spongy. That is why there is no break in communication in neighbouring languages.

Mother Tongue is a language which a child learns without tuition, within the protective care of parents, peers and other care givers till the age of four. This extends the currently accepted definition that mother tongue is a language spoken by the mother to the child. In a family where a Bengali boy is married to a Tamil girl, both speaking English at home, serving in a small town in Karnataka where everybody speaks Kannada, the children with a Hindusthani ayah, then the child has five or six mother tongues. They are different from regional or social varieties of a language which have their dialects. Therefore while writing the descriptions of the language one need to capture these relations.

Similar are the cases of Santali, Mundari, Bhotia which are spoken in more than one state. Santali is spoken in Orissa, West Bengal, Assam, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh. Mundari is spoken in Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Assam. It is expected that these varieties would differ structurally and functionally from one another. These differences need to be studied in order to find a language area, linguistic area and culture area.

One of the greatest omissions of this volume is Santali. The West Bengal volume cannot be said to be completed without Santali. I hope a West Bengal volume II would be planned with Bengali,

Santali and Mundari in different parts of the country. Regional Bengali would be a significant contribution to the study of Bengali and other languages in the country.

This volume has been under the planning stage during the past decade. In spite of all the limitations, this volume is expected to go a long way in acquainting people about the state language and the indigenous languages of the state.

I must place on record the efforts of the team more particularly that of Dr. Kakali Mukherjee, Assistant Registrar General (Language) and Dr. P. Perumalsamy, Research Officer (Language). Dr. C. Chandramouli the former Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India and Shri Sailesh, the present Additional Secretary & Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India took special interest to bring this volume to a publishable form. I hope that the volume would find favour with linguists and social scientists.

1st August, 2016

Prof. Debi Prasanna Pattanayak

PREFACE

With the objective to present updated linguistic scenario, taking account of the changes in our society and territorial boundary as well as in our language resources, the “Linguistic Survey of India” project of the Office of the Registrar General, India, Language Division is under operation state by state since the end of the last century. The present Project is, in all respect, a supplementation and complementation of the ‘*Linguistic Survey of India*’ by Sir George Abraham Grierson in the pre-Independence India as well as in the first half of the twentieth century when the Indian Sub- continent comprised Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Burma which are no more part of present India.

The changed geopolitical boundaries of Indian sub-continent, scanty coverage of the greater part of Deccan and Madras Presidency of pre-Independence India, have made it imperative on the part of linguists to see the changes taken place in Indian languages after Grierson’s study in *Linguistic Survey India*.

After publication of Survey under *Linguistic Survey of India Project* in LSI-Orissa, LSI-Dadra & Nagar Haveli, LSI-Sikkim (Part-I & II), LSI-Rajasthan (Part-I), the survey result of the present Volume LSI-West Bengal (Part-I) has been produced based on the Survey conducted in present Indian state of West Bengal during the period from 1994 to 2003. The Volume is the Sixth presentation of the post-Griersonian *Linguistic Survey of India Project* series of the Office of the Registrar General, India.

The present Volume of West Bengal, prepared and presented as Part-I, does not include the description of Santali – the third populous language as well as one of the Official languages of West Bengal. It has been planned to give a detailed description of Santali, spoken in West Bengal, along with comprehensive and comparative study of Santali surveyed in other parts of India – Odisha (survey result published), Bihar & Jharkhand (under process of publication).

The result of Survey under ‘Linguistic Survey of India – West Bengal (Part-I)’ has been presented under following chapters:

1. Introduction has covered
 - a) West Bengal as a state with its history, geography and administrative Division.
 - b) Linguistic history of West Bengal.
 - c) Linguistic composition of West Bengal and distribution of Surveyed Languages/Mother Tongues and Bilingualism/ Trilingualism.
 - d) Brief note on the Surveyed languages and their treatment in Grierson’s *Linguistic Survey of India*.
 - e) Brief Sociolinguistic information of all the Languages/Mother Tongues surveyed under the Volume.

- f) The approach of the present Volume as well as the follow up of the present Volume.
 - g) Exhibiting the profile of West Bengal State by specific 10 (ten) maps developed for the Volume.
2. Bengali, being one of the Scheduled Languages of India and the superposed variety for all the linguistic communities of West Bengal as well as the official language of the state and the medium of instruction, has been presented as the first description in the series under Indo-Aryan language family followed by Nepali, which is also one of the Scheduled Languages as well as one of the official languages in Darjeeling district of the state.
 3. The description of the languages under Austro-Asiatic language family includes the presentation on Mundari, Koda/ Kora and Lodha.
 4. The state- specific languages under Tibeto-Burman family, namely Bodo, Bhotia, Toto have been presented in the last part of the Volume out of which Bodo is also one of the Scheduled Languages of India.

The information on bibliographical references has been presented separately at the end of each section so there has been no general Bibliography for the Volume.

The population data in respect of Toto and Lodha languages, included in the present Survey, has been presented as per the last appearance of Census data on language / mother tongues i.e. 1961. Beyond 1961 Census both the languages could not qualify to appear in Census publications following the criteria of publication by 10,000 and above population of mother tongues at all India level.

The sociolinguistic descriptions of the languages in general under Introduction Chapter and in specific under respective Reports give a glimpse of the dynamics of the sociolinguistic situation as found in West Bengal.

Regarding the distribution of languages / mother tongues two sets of data have been presented, where required, one for 'language' and other for 'mother tongue'. 'Language' and 'mother tongue' are co-terminus in Census as the mother tongue data indicates the exclusive data and the language data includes the variants / mother tongues grouped under it. The Bilingualism and Trilingualism table based on 2001 Census returns, presented for the relevant languages/mother tongues, throws light on the attitude towards language use of the linguistic communities inhabiting West Bengal.

For the field surveys one common questionnaire containing the exhaustive word list, sentence list and story, specifically developed by Language Division, Office of the Registrar General, India for the post-Independence Linguistic Survey of India, was canvassed in West Bengal. At the end of the grammatical description of all languages / mother tongues Language family wise 500 comparative lexicons have been appended considering the limitation of the pages of the Volume. Of course, the

story as well as text has been presented at the end of the grammatical description of each language/mother tongue.

The Survey under Linguistic Survey of India, West Bengal was initiated by Dr. B.P. Mahapatra, Ex-Deputy Registrar General, (Language) in the year 1994. The field-surveys in respect of all the languages / mother tongues under this Volume had been completed by 2001 under the supervision of Shri S.S. Bhattacharya, Ex-Senior Research Officer (Language). Following his superannuation in January, 2004, Dr. S.P. Datta, Ex- Senior Research Officer (Language) supervised the submission and preliminary scrutiny of Reports. In the event of his superannuation in February, 2005, the finalization of the Volume(s) under Linguistic Survey of India scheme was entrusted to Dr. Kakali Mukherjee, Senior Research Officer (Language) who carried out the finalization of the present Volume being coordinated by Dr. P. Perumalsamy, Research Officer (Language) and Dr. Sibasis Mukherjee, Investigator (Language) along with the cooperation of the contributors, namely, Dr. S. Ganesh Baskaran, Research Officer (Language), Shri P. Edward Vedamanickam, Investigator (Language) and being assisted by Dr. R. Nakkeerar, Research Officer (Language) and Dr. N. Gopalakrishnan, Investigator (Language) in the planning for Maps of the Volume and collection of the materials for Introduction of the volume respectively. The inspiration rendered by Shri S.P.Ahirwal, Senior Research Officer (Language) is also valuable for the present Volume.

The Field Surveys under the Volume have been completed under the directions of Shri J.K. Banthia, Ex-Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India.

The survey results as well as reports of the Volume have been finalized with the constant directions, monitoring and supervision of Shri D.K. Sikri, Secretary, the Registrar General and Census Commissioner India. He has been the regular source of inspiration in completion of the present Volume.

The efforts of Dr. C. Chandramouli, the Additional Secretary & the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India deserves special mention in introducing the system of evaluation and editing of the Volume by one Consultant of high esteem. The present Volume has been evaluated by Prof. D.P. Pattanayak. Dr. C. Chandramouli has been the constant source of encouragement for the evaluation.

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The Volume could not achieve its present shape and form without the coordination and liaisoning of Shri Anand Kumar, Joint Director of Census Operations.

The contributions made by Shri Manoj Kumar, Deputy Registrar General and Shri Kandhai Singh, Research Officer (Map) and others of Map Division of the Office of the Registrar General, India in drawing the maps of the Volume are sincerely acknowledged.

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Collection of data on the languages / mother tongues surveyed in West Bengal under Linguistic Survey of India – West Bengal would not have been possible without kind cooperation and help of the Directorate of Census Operations, West Bengal and the various District Magistrates as well as other officials of the State of West Bengal.

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1st August, 2016

New Delhi

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations: General

AA	Austro-Asiatic
ASI	Anthropological Survey of India
CRI	Cultural Research Institute
DCO	Directorate of Census Operations
e.	Elder
F	Female
i.e.	That is
IA	Indo-Aryan
L/Lg	Language
LSI	Linguistic Survey of India
MT	Mother Tongue
M	Male
ORGI	Office of Registrar General of India
P	Person
R	Rural
Std.B.	Standard Bengali
T	Total
U	Urban
UTs	Union Territories
vol	Volume
y	Young

Abbreviations: Grammatical Descriptions

abl.	Ablative	masc.	Masculine
acc.	Accusative	neg.	Negative
adj.	Adjective	nom.	Nominative
adj. cl.	Adjective clause	non-ft.	Non-finite
adv.	Adverb	non-hum.	Non-human
agr.	Agreement	n.	Noun
AL.	Alveolar	NP	Noun phrase
anim.	Animate	num.	Number
asp.	Aspect	neu.	Neuter
Asp.	Aspirated	obj.	Object
aux.	Auxiliary	obl.	Oblique
Ben.	Bengali	p. cl.	Principal clause
BL.	Bilabial	pre.	Present
C	Consonant	prep.	Preposition
card.	Cardinal	pred.	Predicate
caus.	Causative	pt.	Past
cl.	Clause	prcpl.	Participle
condl.	Conditional	pass.	Passive
cont.	Continuous	per.	Person
dat.	Dative	perf.	Perfect
dem.	Demonstrative	PNG	Person-Number-Gender
dir.	Direct	Poss.	Possesive
DL.	Dental	PL.	Palatal
dl.	Dual	pl.	Plural
excl.	Exclusive	reflex.	Reflexive
fem.	Feminine	relat.	Relative
frac.	Fractional	RT.	Retroflex
ft.	Finite	sg.	Singular
fut.	Future	subst.	Substantive
gen.	Genitive	soc.	Sociative
GL.	Glottal	SOV	Subject – Object – Verb
hon.	Honorific	sub.	Subject
hum.	Human	ten.	Tense
imp.	Imperative	tran.	Transitive
imperf.	Imperfect	Unasp.	Unaspirated
incl.	Inclusive	V	Vowel
indef.	Indefinite	vb.	Verb
inf.	Infinitive	VL.	Velar
instr.	Instrumental	voc.	Vocative
inter.	Interrogative	VP	Verb phrase
intran.	Intransitive	vr.	Variable Rule
loc.	Locative	I	First Person
LD	Labio-Dental	II	Second Person
m.	Marker	III	Third person

Symbols Used

i	Front close vowel	j	Palatal voiced stop
E	Open mid front unrounded Vowel / Lower-mid front vowel	c	Palatal voiceless stop
E'	Lower front open mid vowel	c ^h /ch	Palatal voiceless aspirated stop
ɥ	Vowel glide	jh	Palatal voiced aspirated stop
O	Mid open back rounded vowel / Low-mid back vowel	k	Velar voiceless stop
A	Mid central unrounded vowel	g	Velar voiced stop
e	Mid front unrounded vowel	k ^h /kh	Velar voiceless aspirated stop
	Low front rounded vowel	g ^h /g ^h	Velar voiced aspirated stop
a	Low back Rounded Vowel	m	Bilabial voiced nasal
o	Mid close back rounded vowel	mh	Bilabial voiced aspirated nasal
u	High back rounded vowel	n/ŋ	Alveolar/dental voiced nasal
p	Bilabial voiceless stop	nh	Alveolar voiced aspirated nasal
p ^h / ph	Bilabial voiceless aspirated stop	b	Bilabial voiced stop
b ^h / bh	Bilabial voiced aspirated stop	y	Palatal voiced Approximant/Semi vowel
T	Retroflex voiceless stop	s	Voiceless dental fricative / Voiceless alveolar fricative
Th	Retroflex voiceless aspirated stop	l	Alveolar/dental voiced lateral
D	Retroflex voiced stop	r	Alveolar voiced trill
Dh	Retroflex voiced aspirated stop	z	Voiced alveolar fricative
t ^h / th	Dental voiceless aspirated stop	S'	Voiceless palatal fricative
d ^h /dh	Dental voiced aspirated stop	C	Voiceless alveolar affricate
t	Alveolar voiceless stop	J	Voiced alveolar affricate
d	Alveolar voiced stop	N	Retroflex Nasal
th	Alveolar voiceless aspirated stop	f	Voiceless labial dental fricative
dh	Alveolar voiced aspirated stop	ˊ	Rising tone
M	Velar nasal	ˋ	Falling tone
M'	Palatal nasal	>	indicates "Becomes"
R	Voiced retroflex flap	<	indicates "Comes from"
x	Voiceless velar fricative	/ /	Phonemic representation
C'	Checked consonants	[]	Phonetic representation
h	Voiceless glottal fricative	Φ	Zero morpheme
ɦ	Glottal voiced fricative	~	Alternation
w	Bilabial voiced Approximant/Semi vowel	˜ v	Nasalised vowel
ʌ	Lower mid back unrounded vowel		

?/ʔ	Glottal stop
{ }	Conditions on variables
()	Parenthesis
=	Equal to
+	Plus
:	Length

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