VI. WORD FORMATION IN KURUX:

A TYPOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

This chapter briefly addresses some aspects of Kurux phonology, morphology and word formation, and indicates its agglutinative typology and shared Indo-Aryan and areal features.

6.1. Aspiration:

Kurux has all the aspirated consonants (voiceless as well as voiced) found in Indo-Aryan languages, viz. ph, th, ṭh, bh, dh, ḍh, ch, jh, kh, gh, ḍh. The aspirated phonemes are found in loan-words as well as native Kurux words. Consider:

/kh/
khota: nest (of birds)
melkha: throat
khe:r agitation/bustle
nalakh work

/ph/
napha: gain
sa:ph clean
phurca'a:na: to articulate
rāph ray
pho:phar blowpipe, hollow
dhoromphosom clumsily

/ch/
nichak abject
chalko: vain
chakka: age, period
geccha: far
ghormachi: horsefly
chachem hush
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jhongh</th>
<th>Abyss</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Me:ahrna:</td>
<td>To adorn</td>
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<td>Rijhwa:r</td>
<td>Vain</td>
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<td>Majhi:nu:</td>
<td>Among, amidst</td>
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<td>Bhinna:</td>
<td>To be absorbed</td>
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<td>Ra:bh</td>
<td>Alluvium</td>
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<td>Morbha:</td>
<td>Aloe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bheŋgle:</td>
<td>Amiable</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhokro:</td>
<td>Hole, cavity</td>
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<td>Puthi:</td>
<td>Book</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ottha</td>
<td>Heavy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kaltha:rka:</td>
<td>Stout</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sortha:</td>
<td>Blunt (of speech)</td>
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<td>Nistha:</td>
<td>Actual</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thekta:na:</td>
<td>To adjust</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dhukan</td>
<td>Concubine</td>
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<td>Dhapan</td>
<td>Half open, ajar</td>
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<td>Dho:hrə:</td>
<td>Hollow (of tree)</td>
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<td>Dhi:th</td>
<td>Impertinent</td>
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<td>Dagha:</td>
<td>Blot</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gha:ksara:</td>
<td>To abscond (v.i.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Norhra:</td>
<td>To take one's ablution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe:rhə</td>
<td>Flute</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dho:rea:</td>
<td>Imaginary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhrhi</td>
<td>Flower bud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadha:</td>
<td>Leather string</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ma:dhri:</td>
<td>Kite</td>
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</table>
6.2. Nasalized Vowels:

Kurux has nasalized vowels, common in Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman and other families but not found in Dravidian in general.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short</td>
<td>Long</td>
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<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iː</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lower High</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Iː</td>
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<tr>
<td>Higher Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>eː</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mean Mid</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Mid</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>aː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example,

koḥaː ‘big’
kuṟaː ‘large earthen pot’
ćiːxnaː ‘to cry’
čeɾaː ‘young’
bēḷaː ‘wooden bolt for door’

6.3. Initial Alveolar and Retroflex Consonants:

Alveolar and retroflex consonants do not occur initially in Dravidian (Zvelebil, 1970). But in Kurux alveolar consonants r and l, and retroflex consonant ḍ can occur initially. This is presumably a recent phenomenon.

reo ‘alluvial’
rekːeː=pekeː ‘anxious’
rakrakrkːaː ‘parched’
lundaː ‘brush(from date tree)’
lindiː=–cuppiː ‘anus’
lelles ‘baby boy’
tatːaː ‘mango’
ṭoranː ‘forest’
tokːeː ‘ankle’
6.4. Classifiers:

Numeral classifiers are found in a number of Indo-Aryan languages like Bengali, Bhojpuri, Oriya and Maithili, as well as throughout South-East Asia, in languages of all genetic affiliations - Thai, Mon Khmer, Tibeto-Burman, Chinese, etc. (Emeneau, 1956, p.647 ff; Burling, 1965, p. 244).

In Kurux, numeral classifiers are predominantly of monosyllabic or disyllabic structure. The classifiers which occur exclusively in a noun phrase also occur as natural responses to the questions e: bāqge: 'how many?' and ēwda: 'how much?' (satte gotaḥ iñjo: 'seven fish', pānce jhanar aṭlar 'five men', etc.). The Kurux numeral classifiers are obligatory in numeral phrases. Numeral classifiers do not seem to be the characteristic of the major Dravidian languages of India (north-Dravidian languages are exceptions). Kurux shares this feature with some of the Indo-Aryan languages.

jhan 'human' is used with 'human' referents and thu: / tho: / gotaḥ / gota: is used with 'non-human' referents.

du:/ēr/irb jhan aḷlar 'two-classifier-men'
ca:ir/naib/naːx jhan pellor 'four-classifier-young women'
ḍeːrh kuːriː:/mūːd dɔːy thuː allːaː 'thirty-classifier-dogs'
ēːr gotaː ḍaːn 'two-classifier-trees'
6.5. Grammatical Gender:

Grammatical gender in Kurux is a feature taken from Indo-Aryan languages of the region. There are adjectives which agree with nouns, etc. for gender. In the case of irrational beings, special words borrowed from IA languages indicating the sex are used.

| Andra: lakra: | 'male tiger' |
| Burhi: lakra: | 'tigress' |
| Kar: | 'male young calf (of buffalo)' |
| Kari: | 'female young calf (of buffalo)' |
| Karru:/Kaâru: | general term for calf (of buffalo) |
| Kanda: a:las | 'blind (of one eye) man' |
| Kandi: a:li: | 'blind (of one eye) woman' |
| Cadra: xall | 'bare (without vegetation) field' |
| Cadri: Mukka: | 'bald woman' |
| Cadra: me:t | 'bald man' |
| Banjha: Mann | 'a tree which does not produce fruit' |
| Banjhi: o:y | 'barren cow' |
| Bahila: a:las | 'impotent man' |
| Bahili: a:li: | 'barren woman' |
| Bacha: | 'male calf (of cow)' |
| Bachi: | 'female calf (of cow)' |
| Bachru: | general term for calf (of cow) |
6.6. Reduplication:

Kurux shares the South-Asian areal feature (as explicated by Abbi, 1987) of reduplication. It has all three types of reduplication - (i) expressive, (ii) word-reduplication and (iii) echo-formation.

(i) Expressives: Kurux makes extensive use of expressives to expand its lexicon. Like many other South Asian languages, Kurux uses expressives to emote the five senses of perception, i.e., smell, sight, touch, hearing and taste. Apart from the perceptual sensory words, the expressives are used to express feelings, situations, attributes and manner or state of action. Based on Abbi's (1987) classification expressives are of the following types.

(A) Acoustic Noises

(a) Animal Noises
   hau hau dog barking
   gur gur growl of tiger, etc.

(b) Noises of Natural Phenomena
   dhur dhur / gur gur thuddering sounds of cloud
   sar sar rustling sounds

(c) Noises made by Humans
   aṅgal aṅgal boisterous laugh
   khit khit to giggle/titter

(d) Noises by various Inanimate Objects
   chamar chamar / chun chun jingling of anklets, etc.

(B) Sense of Sight
(C) **Sense of Touch**

- *laṭh* to be sticky
- *las* slimy

(D) **Sense of Smell**

- *gar* to emit a pungent smell
- *mah* to exhale a fragrance

(E) **Sense of Taste**

- *phan* to turn sour
- *katar* crunchy

(F) **Feelings, Attributes, Manner or State of Action, etc**

- *chen* to speak or behave crossly
- *kal* babble
- *gir* to make haste
- *rapha* quickly
- *liṭ* tired
- *ṭas* crowded

(ii) **Word Reduplication**

Like many other South-Asian languages, Kurux makes use of word reduplication to form new words. The unit of reduplication may be a syllable or a larger constituent of a word or of the whole word, and word reduplication can be complete or partial (Abbi, 1991). Class maintaining word reduplication is also found.
nimat (Adj.) ‘quiet’ --> nimat nimat (Adv.) ‘quietly’
ghari: (N) ‘moment’ --> ghari: ghari: (Adv.) ‘every now and then’
puna: ‘new’ --> puna: puna: ‘brand new’
mui muiRNA: ‘to make a face’
pali: pali: ‘alternately’[pali: ‘turn’]
gocco: ‘beard’ --> gocco: ‘long bushy beard’
koh: ‘big’ --> koh: koh: ‘big-big’

(iii) Echo Formation

The phenomenon of echo word formation is a widespread phenomenon in most of the languages of South Asia. Kurux also shares this feature. But this seems to be a recent phenomenon in Kurux for the replacer sound -u is a loan from neighboring Indo-Aryan languages.

pi:th/pe:th u:th ‘market, etc.’
na:d u:d ‘ghost, etc.’
khasra: khusru: ‘itch/infectious disease, etc.’
nalna: ulna: ‘to dance, etc.’
beram uram ‘sick, etc.’

6.7. Compounds:

In Kurux, compounding is a very productive process of word formation. Two types of compounds are formed: (a) compound of two semantically identical words, and (b) compound of two semantically related words. These compounds may be nominal, verbal, adjectival or adverbial.

jiya: ‘creature’ + jaút ‘animal’--> jiya: jaút ‘animals’
bha:i 'brother' + phu:ṭ 'rift' ---> bha:i phu:ṭ 'strife'
ne:ṭa: 'invitation' + a:las 'man' ---> ne:ṭa: a:las 'invited guest'
xann 'eye' + pāndru: 'white' ---> xann pāndru: 'cataract'

6.8. Conjunct Verbs:

Conjunct verbs are freely formed by adding verbs meaning 'to do', 'to be', etc. to nouns and adjectives. This is also an areal feature which is shared by Kurux too. Consider:

andhe:r nanna: 'to extort'
injustice to do
a:se: nanna: 'to expect'
hope to do
ba:si: uina: 'to put off'
stale
najar ebsna: 'to be bewildered'
eye to lose
bunda: ci'ina: 'to mark'
mark give
beka:r laggna: 'to ail'
sick to feel
bagge: manna: 'to be plentiful'
many/much to be

6.9. Prefixation:

There is an absence of prefixes in Dravidian and Aryan, excluding borrowed Skt. and Pers. words (Masica, 1976b: 188). Kurux also does not make use of prefixes to form words. It has borrowed many words with prefixes directly from IA, which are
themselves borrowings from Sanskrit and Persian.

an-ṭheka:n  'untold'
be-lu:ras  'blockhead'
an-bhanya:  'enormous'
na:-pasind  'displeasure'
ni-sāugya:  'delicate'
ni-sabad  'lonely'
dur-beha:r  'outcast'
be-siya:  'immense'
ku-bera:  'late'
nir-muchya:  'unmanly'

6.10. Explicator Compound Verbs:

Like other Indian languages of the Dravidian, Munda, Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan families, Kurux also has explicator verbs. But the explicator verbs in Kurux differ from other languages in that they can carry tense, number, person and gender markers.

(1) aːs barcas keras  'he came'
   he come-past- go-past-  (suddenly)
   3 sg. mas. 3 sg. mas.

(2) eːn mandiː onḍkan ci'cckan  'I ate the rice up'
   I rice/food eat-past give-past-
   1 sg. mas. 1 sg. mas.

For detail see Abbi and Gopalakrishnan, 1990 and Arun Sahu, 1991.

6.11. Morphological Causative:
Kurux shares the feature of morphological causative with other Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages. Like many IA languages, Kurux has second causative as well, though this particular feature does not seem to be a borrowing from IA languages.

Subba Rao (n.d.) argues that most of the similarities between the NIA and Dr. causative systems are typological (rather than areal), and the influence of one system on the other system cannot be definitely established. He further says, "... the presence of first causatives as well as second causative in NIA languages cannot be attributed to areal pressures, i.e. the influence of Dravidian languages on the NIA languages. Causatives in both the language families have independent origin and similarities and differences between the languages of the two families are typological rather than areal."

(3) ca:x-ta'-a: 'make x sow!'
(4) ca:x-tata'-a: 'have someone make x sow!'
(5) kha:t-ta'-a: 'make x cook rice!'
(6) kha:t-tata'-a: 'have someone make x cook rice!'

I agree with Subba Rao on the status of the causatives in Dravidian and IA languages.

Barring causative formation, other processes describe in this chapter indicate a very strong pull towards Aryanization of the language.

Thus, Kurux has gained many phonological, morphological and syntactic features in the context of areal pressure.