VII. LANGUAGE CHANGE IN KURUX

In the foregoing chapters, in an attempt to study the word-formation processes in Kurux and to formulate an integrated linguistic typology, an extensive loan component, dominantly Indo-Aryan, was identified. Although there is some Munda influence, the magnitude of linguistic interference from the Munda languages is nominal in comparison with the Aryan component incorporated. Hence, this chapter focuses on the identification and analysis of the Aryan loan component, and the operative processes of linguistic assimilation.

The extensive Aryanization of Kurux can be explained in terms of demographic variables which reveal the ethnolinguistic minority status of the Kurux language and its role as a recipient language. Apart from strictly formal linguistic change, the long period of interaction between the Kurux tribal population and the Hindi-Sadri speakers, and later with the Christian missionaries, has resulted in a radical change in the way in which the Kuruxs use words to express their world-concepts. This is also reflected in the changing structure of their folklore. Their mythical view of the universe which was formerly expressed in ritual activities has been, for the most part, superseded by modern values and conceptions.

The size of the Kurux tribal population relative to that of the neighboring Aryans is a significant factor. The demographic distribution of the Kurux tribe and the sociolin-
guistic status of Kurux, vis-a-vis neighboring regional languages, can be inferred from census and other available descriptive materials. The available data reveals that the tribals form a major segment of the population only in restricted areas (small subdivisions and development blocks of Ranchi). The symbiosis between the Kuruxs and the non-tribal (mainly Aryan) population which is numerically, economically and socially dominant, is a multilingual milieu where Kurux does not function as a dominant language.

Another factor determining the sociolinguistic status of the tribal languages in Chotanagpur is the ongoing urbanization and industrialization. There is an inverse correlation between levels of industrialization and urbanization, and the maintenance of the tribal language as mother tongue. The situation in Kharia language is similar (Malhotra, 1982). Urbanization and industrialization exposed the local tribal population to ethnically diverse non-regional people, which subsequently brought linguistic, social and economic changes. This social/urban mobility has had widespread effects on the linguistic affiliation among the tribals, creating new language loyalties, the change being socio-economically motivated.

The Sadri and Hindi languages are ever widening the social sphere of Kurux language. It is owing to their wider geographic area and the mixing with other people, that Kurux language, is quickly disappearing from most of the urbanized
areas of Ranchi district. This trend also indicates that the urban Oraons seldom consider it a privilege to speak their mother tongue. On the contrary, ignorance of the Kurux language is regarded as an enhancement of their status and prestige. By speaking Hindi, they feel superior in comparison with other fellow Oraons who cannot speak it.

The Kurux speaking Oraons are concentrated mainly in the north-west and south-west regions of the district which comprises the administrative sub-divisions of Ranchi Sadar, Gumla and Simdega. The whole of Khunti sub-division, except Karra and Torpa Blocks falls in the belt of Mundari language. In Simdega subdivision the population of the Oraon tribe is greater than that of Kharias but this notwithstanding the Oraons and Kharias when communicating with each other both speak Sadri. Sadri dialect is the lingua franca of the district. Hindu influences must have operated in the villages of the valleys of South Koel and Sankh rivers since a very long time, probably because these two valleys were in the past important trade routes to Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. Hence Sadri, their dialect, has become popular even among the Oraons. This situation is very much similar to the one which exists in and around the city of Ranchi.

A very low percentage of the Oraons are monolinguals. The ethnolinguistic minority status induces a negative sense of language loyalty, a gradual adoption of non-Kurux language as mother tongue, as well as extensive borrowing — mainly lexical and morphological — from Indo-Aryan. Convergently, these symptoms are
diagnostic of potential language death and language contraction.

Since official state languages, along with Sadri, the lingua franca of Chotanagpur, are functionally important, and a necessary prerequisite for educational advancement and occupational and social mobility, the Oraon tribal population has adopted these socially dominant languages in favor of Kurux in all communicative networks, even in the home domain. Of the dominant/regional languages spoken by the Oraons, Hindi and Sadri are the most important. Depending on the areal distribution, Kharia, Mundari and Bengali are also spoken.

Finally, at all levels of linguistic structure, mainly in the lexicon, but also in phonology, morphology and syntax, Kurux has been highly influenced by the co-existing dominant languages. The degree of linguistic interference varies spatially, from the rural to urban, and temporally, from the older generation to the younger. The older generation retain archaic, conservative speech forms, while the younger generation's speech is highly Aryanized. Sometimes the variety of Kurux spoken by the youth is indistinguishable from Sadri. For them, Kurux is, at best, their non-fluent first language. With respect to the Kurux language, tribute should be given to Oraon women, who still are keen to preserve the Kurux language. The number of Oraon females speaking Kurux as their mother tongue exceeds that of the Oraon males in a very large segment of the Ranchi district. In as many as 23 Blocks it is the principal language of
the female population (Alomani Kujur, 1989). It may be due to the fact that there is less contact with other castes and tribes and less formal education among females than among males. On the other hand, the marriage relations of the Oraon females in Basia, Khunti, and Tamar I Blocks extend to such villages where other tribes and caste have Sadri as their mother tongue. The long contact with such tribes and castes has negatively influenced the lingual attachment of the Oraons. They have forgotten their own language and are unable to teach it to their children. Thus the number of Oraons who give up Kurux is increasing day by day. On the other hand, in the core belt of the tribe, men generally choose wives from among the women belonging to these 23 Blocks to preserve the Kurux-speech.

As for the Oraon men, mobility is greater among them than among females. They are always moving from one place to another either as government servants, teachers, compounders, doctors or as domestic servants. As a consequence, they learn to speak other languages more quickly than the females.

This trend is very conspicuous in urban areas, as well as in those areas where Oraons are mixed with other castes and tribes. A noticeable cultural characteristic of Oraons is their proficiency with which they take to other language to the detriment of their own when in other villages. Thus Mundari-speaking Oraons are found in Ranchi city and its vicinity which was the heart of the Munda Country in the past. For example, most of the
Oraons living in and around the villages of Mesra, Garihotwar and Angara, have not only changed their original clan but also speak a Munda dialect called Kera Munda. This group has undergone such a cultural and linguistic transformation that it is quite difficult to say that they are Oraons and that their language was once Kurux. Their culture and way of life have become akin to those of the Munda tribe. This case exemplifies the situation in which culture and language of a minority group is overwhelmed by that of a dominant group, particularly if the minority group is small in size and is surrounded by settlements of a dominant group.

In view of the high percentage of Aryan (and to a lesser extent Mundari and Kharia) loans in the Kurux vocabulary, Hahn (1908) remarked, "The spread of Hindi in parts of the Ranchi District is ever on the increase, so that the rising generation of the aboriginal tribes begin to forget their mother tongues and to speak Chota Nagpuria Hindi only. This is specially true as regards the Kurukh of the Biru Pargana." He further adds, "......whose language Bhojpuri Hindi, greatly influenced the vocabulary of the Kurukh Katha and to some extent even its grammar".

1. It is so called because the ending of the past tense, which in Mundari is kedai, has been changed by them into kerai.
Rev. C. Bleses' (1956) dictionary shows a large proportion of Indo-Aryan lexical loans. There is a gradual displacement of the predominantly animistic traditional folklore and songs by Christianized and Hinduized substitutes, which is diagnostic of wider socio-cultural and linguistic changes in conformity with the heterogenous cultural milieu.

It is clear that there is an ongoing process of reduction in three salient features mentioned above: the number of the speaker population, the functions of Kurux in the prevailing communicative networks, and the archaic Kurux vocabulary. All these factors convergently indicate potential language death and language contraction.

7.1. Loan Words in Kurux Lexical Records:

The available lexical records indicate that a large proportion of Indo-Aryan and, to a lesser extent Mundari and Kharia loan words have been incorporated and assimilated in varying degrees in the Kurux lexical inventory.

The status of Indo-Aryan loanwords vary, ranging from the established loanwords in general usage which have displaced their Kurux counterparts, to loan transfers and marginal loans, which co-occur with their Kurux counterparts. The loanwords may be morphologically assimilated, affecting the morphophonemic organization of the language, or may remain unchanged. From the available lexical records it is evident that there is a high
percentage of partially assimilated loans, consisting of an Indo-Aryan word-base in co-occurrence with Kurux morphological terminations. Semantically, the loanwords have more or less identical referents in Kurux as in the donor Indo-Aryan languages, and are more 'conformist' than 'innovatory', usually enlarging the semantic domain of reference.

Not much attempt has been made in the past to identify or enlist Hindi/Sadri or Mundari and Kharia loanwords in the Kurux lexicon. Hahn (1908), in his grammar, does identify Hindi/Urdu loanwords. He also furnished a brief list of Mundari words commonly used by Oraons and a list of fifteen borrowed Bengali/Oriya words in Kurux.

The largest proportion of the loan vocabulary is from Indo-Aryan consisting mainly of material artifacts introduced to the Oraons in their interaction with Aryan culture (ja:t 'caste', sonat 'gold', baisat 'abode', be:di: 'altar', kama:ra: 'blanket'). Apart from material artifacts, much of the basic vocabulary from divergent semantic domains has also been incorporated, as, kinship terms (ka:ka: 'uncle', bhatia: 'nephew', mamu: 'mother's brother', bahin 'younger sister', sais 'mother-in-law'), animal names (bandra: 'monkey', gadaha: 'ass', hathi: 'elephant') and household terms (tong'e: 'axe', mora: 'bale(paddy)', puthi: 'book', chippat 'bowl', jab:va: 'small wooden box'), color terms (li:l 'blue', hariyar 'green'), which have completely displaced their Kurux counterparts. The incidence of Aryan verbs is high (ubasna: 'to fast', qat:rna: 'to decrease, to lessen', latxna: ...
"to hang", uska'ana: 'to instigate', gannat 'to count' etc.)
defying the assumption of the resilience of the vocabulary to
incorporate loan verbs.

A statistical analysis shows that 14.6% (about 2200 out of
about 15000 words) of the vocabulary is borrowed from Hindi
and Sadri, consisting mainly of unassimilated conformist loan-
words. Field observations show, however, that although a large
number of terms are borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages, native
Kurux terms are also in use, especially in the older generation
in rural areas.

Apart from the terms used to denote cultural and material
artifacts and kinship terms, other areas of loans include
mainly I-A terms pertaining to religion, e.g. du:tas 'angel',
dharm 'religion', dharmi: 'religious', dharmes 'God', deota:
'god', narak 'hell', pa:p 'sin', girja: 'church', etc.

This extensive Aryanization of Kurux vocabulary is also
evident in the narrative and song texts as well as in a part of
the Bible translated into Kurux. Note that the Kurux terminology
pertaining to the religious domain may be morphologically adapted
representations of the English terms (e.g. missa: 'mass', kru:is
'cross'), or borrowed from the corresponding Indo-Aryan terms,
a:tma: 'spirit', mukti: 'salvation', asna:n 'baptism',
or Kurux loan translations merxa: ratji: lit. sky-kingdom
'heaven', pabitar bolta: 'Holy Spirit', etc.
From the analysis of the Aryan component in the available lexical records, it is clearly evident that the largest proportion of lexical loans pertain to material artifacts and socio-cultural changes introduced in interaction with the non-tribal population. However, the infiltration of Aryan loanwords into the basic vocabulary is also indicative of language change in the most resistant areas of the vocabulary and emphasizes the magnitude of Aryanization.

7.2. Aryan Loanwords In Current Usage And The Motivation For Lexical Borrowing:

From the analysis of lexical records available, substantiated by a large corpus of field data, it is immediately evident that there has been an extensive Aryanization of the Kurux vocabulary. A statistical analysis of Aryan loanwords reveals that an overwhelming majority of loanwords are nouns, indicating that when two or more cultures come into contact some cultural items inevitably cross the boundary, and their lexical referents pass into the recipient culture, either untranslated in its original form, or integrated into the language with varying degrees of morphological assimilation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total no. of words analysed</th>
<th>Aryan loan</th>
<th>loan</th>
<th>loan</th>
<th>loan</th>
<th>loan</th>
<th>loan</th>
<th>loan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15000</td>
<td>2200</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>1750</td>
<td>79.5</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>11.36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
7.2.1. Indo-Aryan Loanwords In Kurux 'Basic' Vocabulary

In the analysis of the 218 basic word list of M. Swadesh (1955) and Gudschinsky (1956), representing high-frequency-use words often most resistant to linguistic interference or change, an infiltration of Aryan loanwords is evident. The degree of lexical interference varies on three major axes: the rural-urban distribution, age and sex. Lexical interference is highest in speakers of Kurux residing in multilingual urban areas, concentrated in and around Ranchi, with a much higher retention of native Kurux forms in speakers living in rural areas where interaction with Indo-Aryan languages is considerably less. The age is also a significant variable and the proportion of archaic Kurux forms retained is naturally higher in the older generation. The sex variable is also equally significant. The Kurux speaking women retain a higher proportion of archaic forms in comparison to men, and hence, function as preservers and carriers of the language.

The common Indo-Aryan loans identified in the basic vocabulary, with a considerably higher incidence of loans in the urbanised younger generation speakers are mainly in the domain of:

(a) **Numerals**: The data on numerals in the basic vocabulary indicates that, except for the numerals 'one', 'two' and 'three', which uniformly generated the Kurux forms, o:ind 'one', e:ir 'two', mu:ind 'three' from most informants, the higher numerals have been displaced by their Indo-Aryan counterparts.
(b) Kinship Terms: babas 'father', bhaiyas 'brother' and bahin 'sister' borrowed from Indo-Aryan.

(c) Body Part Nomenclature: This shows predominantly Kurux forms with marginal lexical interference from Indo-Aryan as in buka: 'heart', cutti:ke:s 'hair', dena: 'wing'.

(d) Natural Objects: Those natural objects geographically remote to the Kurux habitat, as, darya:/samundr 'sea', baraph 'ice'; some objects which are part of their natural habitat are also denoted by Indo-Aryan terms as qhāsi: 'grass', dhu:li: 'dust', bada:li: 'cloud', pū:p 'flower', kuhas/dhūdh 'fog', cando: 'moon', xa:r 'river', pakhna: 'stone', jāt 'animal'.

(e) The Temporal Organization: The nouns used to denote discrete time consist dominantly of Indo-Aryan forms, even in the basic vocabulary as mahina: 'month', bachar 'year', pakkhe: 'fortnight'.

(f) Adjectives: Most of the basic adjectives are native. There are some loan adjectives, but they have not displaced the corresponding Kurux forms completely, as, beis 'good', digha: (<di:rgh) 'long', dhe:r/kho:b 'many', sahi: 'right/correct', cikan 'smooth', kat:j:tani: 'some', mot 'thick', gairh 'thick' (of liquids), patlat 'thin', cakar 'wide', halle: 'wet'.
The color terminology of Kurux shows that apart from xe:so: 'red' (derived from xe:s ~ xe:so: 'blood'), others have been adopted from Indo-Aryan. pandru: 'white' (derived from Skt pandu 'yellow/white') has another Indo-Aryan counterpart rupa: (lit. silver in Hindi). hariyar 'green', hardiyar/piyar 'yellow' (hardiyar derived from Hindi haldi: 'turmeric') are borrowed from Indo-Aryan. In the extended vocabulary it is seen that some of the other color terms are Indo-Aryan loans while some seem to be native Kurux terms. lili: 'blue', gola: 'brown', dhusra:/khaira:/kasya: 'grey' are Indo-Aryan; dera:go: 'pink' (also name of a plant with white flowers) and salu: 'purple' are native Kurux terms. moxaro: 'black' has been adapted from Kharia(<mogher).

(g) Artifacts: In the basic vocabulary there are only very few words for objects of artefacts. sotta:/danda:/da:nq 'stick', pagha: 'rope' and balam/barcha: 'spear' are Indo-Aryan loans.

(h) Verbs: Lexical records indicate that a large number (about 250) loan verbs are incorporated in the Kurux lexicon; a number of Indo-Aryan verbs have been identified in the basic vocabulary, bhukna: 'to bark', habka'a:na: 'to bite', ganna:/lekhna: 'to count', khandna:/bhangna: 'to cut', larna: 'to fight', kathua:rna: 'to freeze', dhar:na: 'to hold', gamka:rna: / mahka:rna: 'to smell', tutrna: 'to split', bhokna: 'to stab', and socna: 'to think'.

(i) Adverbs, form words (conjunction, etc.) etc.: In the basic vocabulary, which includes very few 'form"
words or grammatical markers, only agar 'if', karnet 'because' and aur 'and' are Indo-Aryan loans. However, an analysis of the extended vocabulary reveals that several indeclinable words (adverbs, etc.) and grammatical markers have been incorporated, co-existent with native Kurux forms.

The lexical loan component that has been identified in the 'basic' vocabulary of Kurux represents, at a micro-level, the magnitude and the semantic domains of Indo-Aryan lexical loans. In the following sections an attempt will be made to isolate Indo-Aryan loans in specific semantic domains and to suggest a sociolinguistic rationale for this extensive lexical borrowing, and the degree of semantic convergence with coreferential terms already available in the Kurux lexicon.

7.2.2 Aryanization of the Kurux Numeral System

Menninger (1969) states that 'number words are among the words of a language that most strongly resist change'. The Kurux data, however, indicates an almost complete displacement of Kurux numerals by their Indo-Aryan counterparts, and represents a strong counter example to Menninger's claims. Field observations show that the average Kurux speaker has limited knowledge of Kurux numerals. When asked to generate and identify Kurux numeral forms there was considerable confusion regarding their phonetic and numerical value.

Both the numerals and the syntax of counting have been adopted from Indo-Aryan languages. The Indo-Aryan numerals that are incorporated are eik 'one', du: ~ du: 'two', ti:n 'three,
caːir 'four' (Kurux counterparts: naːb and naːk), paːnceːn
panjeː 'five', soyeː/chaːu 'six', satteː 'seven', attheː axeːː/ax 'eight', 'naːu naː e 'nine', doːy/dasseː 'ten', qaːra 'eleven', baːrheː/baːra 'twelve', teːrheː/teːra 'thirteen', caudaː/sattra/satrheː 'sixteen', satra/satrheː 'seventeen', athaːra / athaːrheː 'eighteen', unnais 'nineteen', bisoy/kuriː 'twenty', sai 'hundred'.

Kurux has the vigesimal number system; higher numbers are counted in twenties (with the base kuriː 'twenty') as in the Indo-Aryan lgs. of eastern India. Currently tiːs 'thirty', caːliːs 'forty', pacaːs 'fifty', saːth 'sixty', sattar 'seventy', asːit 'eight', nabbeː 'ninety' (all Indo-Aryan) are also used. The counterparts of these in twenties (with the base kuriː '20') are derh(1ː) kuriː/ oːnd kuriː dassel: 'thirty', kuriːː r 'forty', eːrkuriː das 'fifty', kuriːː muːnd 'sixty', muːnd kuriː das 'seventy', caːir kuriː 'eighty', and caːir kuriː das 'ninety'.

The borrowing of numerals is understandable in view of the extensive commercial transactions between the inter-tribal and with the non-tribal population, necessitating a common numeral system. The numeral classifier system in Kurux is also borrowed from Indo-Aryan (see sec. 4.3, ch. 4). jhan (IA jan ~ jon) is the numeral classifier co-occurring with human nouns paːnceː. jhan aːlar 'five men'. gotoː is the general numeral classifier in co-occurrence with Indo-Aryan numerals, eːr gotoː tāːlar 'two sickles', muːnd gotoː xalbar 'three thieves'.

2. For example, derh kuriː 'thirty', tiːn kuriː 'sixty', and so on.
In terms of standard weights and measures used there is a distinct shift from the traditional receptacle-oriented measures to the standard Indo-Aryan terms, *pailai*, *seir*, etc., and now, even the metric system has been adopted, reflecting once again a process of standardization.

7.2.3. Aryan Kinship Terms in Kurux:

Field observations reveal that Kurux retains a large proportion of native kinship terms, although Indo-Aryan terms have been incorporated notably in the address forms. Address terms, *baba* 'father', *bhaiyas* 'younger brother', *dadas* 'elder brother', *bahir* 'younger sister' have been borrowed from Indo-Aryan and extensively used. Native Kurux words do exist for 'younger brother', 'younger sister', but they are used only in compound constructions like 'my younger brother', 'your younger sister', etc. Thus, *inhris* 'my younger brother', *ninqris* 'your younger brother', *tanqris* 'his younger brother', *inhri* 'my younger sister', *ninqri* 'your younger sister', *tanqri* 'his younger sister'. Similarly, the general terms for 'son' and 'daughter' are Indo-Aryan *beitas* and *beiti* respectively; but in compound constructions it is *-das* and *-dat*, *enqdas* 'my son', *ninqdas* 'your son', *tanqdas* 'his son', *enqdat* 'my daughter', *ninqdai* 'your daughter', and so on.

There are no general kinship terms in Kurux as Kurux has words which only show relationship between two persons; hence general terms are borrowed. Kurux has words denoting the
relationship between two dyads. The consistent use of native vocabulary expresses their cultural stronghold. They are maintaining the words except for the general terms.

Terminology pertaining to father's and mother's relations are equally borrowed from Indo-Aryan. General terms pertaining to relatives from the father's side are kakas 'uncle', ajjos 'grandfather', baras 'father's elder brother', kaki: 'father's younger brother's wife', ajiit 'grandmother', and barii: 'father's elder brother's wife'. Indo-Aryan terms are also used to denote certain relatives from the mother's side, moisias 'mother's sister's husband', moisiit 'mother's sister', mamus 'mother's brother'. The general term pertaining to both 'son's wife's father' and 'daughter's husband's father' -samdhiit-is an Indo-Aryan borrowing. Other kinship terms borrowed from Indo-Aryan include bhatijat: 'nephew/brother's son', bhagina: 'nephew/sister's son', sairan: 'wife's brother', nattis 'grandson', saisras 'father-in-law', nattii: 'grand daughter', bhagri: 'sister's daughter', dairi: 'elder sister', bhatiji: 'brother's daughter', sai:ri: 'wife's sister', and sais/sais: 'mother-in-law'.

Apart from the incorporation of lexical loans, the infiltration of Aryan kinship terms into Kurux has brought about the morphological distinction of gender; the masculine marked by the terminations -at, -ut, -s (bhatijat: 'brother's son', mamu:/mamus 'mother's brother', nattis 'grandson'); feminine derivatives are obtained by replacing the final -at, -ut, -s by
-ii, the feminine suffix (mami: 'mother's brother's wife', bhatiji: 'brother's daughter', natti: 'grand daughter'). This is interesting as gender is not a salient grammatical category in Kurux, and the morphological distinction has already extended beyond the marking of kinship terms to profession and caste/community terms — lohra: 'black-smith (male), loha:rin/lohra:in 'black smith (female)', kûruxas 'an Oraon man', kûruxnit 'an Oraon woman', baidas 'doctor (male)', baidin 'doctor (female)', khri:sta:nas 'a Christian man', khri:sta:ni:t 'a Christian woman' — and may gradually prove more productive.

7.2.4. Aryan Loans for Cultural/Material Importations:

As noted earlier, the overwhelming majority of loanwords in Kurux are nouns, functioning as referents of material and cultural importations from societies in contact. The industrialization and urbanization of Chotanagpur, the advent of Christian missionaries and the introduction of formal education brought about radical changes in the social structure and mental development, and introduction of material artifacts not indigenous to the Kurux habitat, and the introduction of abstract nouns and words pertaining to reason. The magnitude of change can be inferred from the borrowed vocabulary functioning as referents for the new artefacts incorporated.

Common Indo-Aryan loans pertaining to the new material importations include: khati: 'bed', ukrî: 'mortar', tā:bi:j/tikli: 'amulet', pāēja:/pāēra: 'anklet', balai:


Borrowed animal and bird names include bandra: 'monkey', hāsa: 'gander', ghori:ro: 'horse', ghori:ri: 'mare', u:t 'camel', maena: 'myena', perōa:/kabutar 'pigeon', suga: 'parrot', minju:r 'peacock', gadaha: 'ass', khikhir 'fox', baikla: 'stork', kuhu: 'cuckoo', man:gar 'crocodile', ghūghi: 'snail', suis 'a water animal'. It must be noted that although a very high proportion of loans refer to animals, many Indo-Aryan loans also function as referents for names of animals already existing in Kurux, of which many have been substituted by Indo-Aryan ones, e.g. Ku. rar'e: 'elephant' by IA hāthi: , Ku. xaix:at 'crow' by kauwa:(IA), gunri:/oiy (Ku.) 'cow' by I A gati etc.

The advent of Christianity has had far-reaching effects on the tribals of Chotanagpur. An elaborate terminology pertain-
ing to Christian doctrines and institutions have been adopted, either directly from native Hindi words or English words morphologically integrated in the Hindi lexicon---


7.2.5. Aryan Loans for Nouns Pertaining to Mental Faculty:

The advent of Christianity and the introduction of formal education created a need for borrowing terms expressing reasons and actions of the mind or thoughts.

'confusion', jiya: 'conscience, consciousness', tadbi:j
'consideration--reflexion', ba:d-biba:d 'debate/controversy'
ubai:r 'deliverance', dodhandha: 'dilemma', akhtiya:r
'right', doha:i 'entreaty', a:se:/bharsa: 'expectation',
bida: 'farewell', parpanc 'fuss', ta:r-uta:r
'gradation(ascending or descending)', haraj/harja: 'harm/
objection', ro:kche:k/ro:kto:k 'interference' etc.

7.2.6. Aryan Loans for Body Parts:

It seems that initially the Oraons managed with the
terms for major organs/ parts of the body. But as they came into
contact with non-tribal culture they felt a need for having terms
for other organs/parts also. Thus many Indo-Aryan terms for body
parts infiltrated into Kurux. Thus, baih 'arm', khai kh
'armpit'(guti: already exists, borrowed from Kharia), kho:kh
'womb', Tarhathi: 'palm', hathkatta: 'wrist',
artii: 'throat'(native Kur. hot'o:, melkha:), panjra:
'rib', karma: 'waist', ai:rkai: 'testicles', iuju:
'penis'(native Kur. condo:, coclo:), papni: 'eyelash',
galle: 'cheek', galsundi: 'uvula', kapre: 'forehead',
angli: 'finger', etc. The phonetic changes have been incorporated
in the above examples.

7.2.7. Loan Adjectives:

Rev. Batsch (1866) mentioned that in Kurukh there are
no religious terms, no abstract ideas, no words for actions of
the mind or thoughts. Although he did not say that the Oraons
don't have adjectives pertaining to qualities of mind, thought or abstract ideas, the data show that all such adjectives are borrowed from Indo-Aryan. Batsch also observed that there are only a few adjectives. But at present, i.e. after extensive borrowing from Indo-Aryan, the situation is completely different. The loan adjectives include asthir 'abating --- less acute', nidar 'bold, brave', khanhan 'active', gotta: 'complete, intact', cala:k/husia: r 'clever', purniya: 'ancient', chattu: astute', dhi:th 'impudent(of men), begaitt 'clumsy', seva:n 'cunning', lobhit 'greedy', ganda/:ane:s 'bad', bahili: 'barren (woman)', phuhari: 'base', ba:si: 'stale', hubgar 'robust', bhothrat 'blunt', niman 'without blemish', korra: 'blank', kana: 'blind of one eye', andhra: 'blind', dhi:th 'lazy', budhyar 'intelligent', be:tha:h 'unfathomable', be:had/anhad 'boundless', jo:ge: 'capable', be:is 'good', khus 'delighted', asal 'genuine', jhibrat 'hairy(of animals)', partit 'uncultivated', candel/candi: 'brutal', ru:si: 'angry', nagad 'appreciable', dirhgar 'audacious', be:lu:ir 'blockhead', bisru: 'absent minded', etc. This is clearly a case for language expansion.

7.2.8. Loan Verbs:

In comparison with the large proportion of nouns borrowed from Indo-Aryan, less number of loan verbs have been identified. Even so, the number is still high. The incorporation of Indo-Aryan verbs has resulted in morphological and syntactic innovations, especially the verbal noun / infinitive suffix -na:.
Now no verb can be formed without this -nā suffix.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of loan verb incorporation is that of the copula. In synchronic Kurux the verb 'to be' is represented by the existential copula ra'nā: and tailnā: and the identity copula hike:. A comparative analysis with the other Dravidian languages shows that there are no cognates for these forms, and their lexical and derivational identity with Sadri forms indicate that they are loans.

The Indo-Aryan verb lagna: has been morphologically assimilated into Kurux -lagna: 'to feel', co-occurring with the nouns, adjectives or verbs denoting subjective experience, e.g. onka: lagna: 'to feel thirsty', paiya: lagna: 'to feel cold', etc. lagna: is also used to express aspect.

The conjunctive participle -ar (may be followed by ki:/dara:), denoting a sequential relationship between two verbs is taken from Indo-Aryan. It seems that the Kurux lost its original Dravidian CP and recently reacquired it under the influence of IA languages. Note that -ar is added to the root of a verb. Conjunctive participle may also be formed without -ar. In that case, ki: or dara: is added to the perfective form of a verb. Thus,

(1) a:s mann argar dandi: pa:rdas 'he sings after having climbed the tree'.

argar ki: 'having climbed' or, argar dara: " "
ārsar ki:/ārsar dara: 'having arrived'
ārsar ki:/ārsar/ārsar dara: 'having arrived'
It is very interesting to note that the language samples elicited from older people residing in rural areas show a negligible occurrence of conjunctive participles in their speech. Conjunctive participles are in extensive use among the urban younger generation speakers and this indicates that conjunctive participles are a recent phenomena in Kurux, although they have been used extensively in Dravidian.

The incorporation of passive markers with verbs is also indicative of loan phenomenon from Indo-Aryan — kappnaː 'to touch' —> kapp-r-naː 'to be touched', coixnaː 'to pluck' —> coix-taːr-naː 'to be plucked'. Morphologically marked passive voice is not a Dravidian phenomenon. "The Dravidian verb is entirely destitute of a passive voice, properly so called, nor is there any reason to suppose that it ever had a passive. None of the Dravidian dialects possesses any passive particle or suffix, or any means of expressing passivity by direct inflexional changes; the signification of the passive voice is, nevertheless, capable of being expressed in variety of ways [Caldwell, 1956(1913), p. 463]."

Hence, the incorporation of loan verbs is more than mere lexical expansion of the language; it affects the paradigmatic-morphological structure of the language, and consequently its syntactic organization.

The verbs (approx. 250) borrowed from Indo-Aryan include — banRNAː 'to be made', bahaːrRNAː 'to have sex (of

7.2.9. Loan Adverbs, Conjunctions, etc.:

Not very many adverbs, conjunctions and particles are borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages. The loan adverbs include khanem-khanem 'very often', turtem 'soon', qhari:-qhari: 'again and again', bhitri: 'inside', bahri: 'outside',

The loan indeclinable words (conjunctions, particles, etc.) include beqar/bigar 'without', bhair 'whole/full....', sañge: 'together', majhi: 'middle', mundai 'but', cañhe: 'or', magar 'but', hā: 'yes', je: 'if', etc.

7.3. Aryanization In Word Morphology:

In the foregoing chapters different word-formation processes in Kurux were discussed. Also, it was made clear that the typology of word-formation is Indo-Aryan.

Kurux has incorporated the markers for masculine and feminine genders for person nouns. Gender is not marked in other Dravidian languages. The feminine suffixes -i:, -in, -alim, -nit are directly borrowed from Indo-Aryan. The suffixes are mostly added to the borrowed nouns.

be:ṭa: 'son' ---> be:ṭi: 'daughter'
banga:li: 'a man from Bengal' ---> bang:lin 'a woman from Bengal'
hindu: 'a Hindu man' ---> hindua:in 'a Hindu woman'
sikkh 'a Sikhman' ---> sikkhni: 'a Sikh woman'
koṭa: alla:'dog' ---> koṭi: alla: 'bitch'(koṭi: 'bitch'<Hindi)

(koṭa: 'dog' < Hindi)

The case markers are, in fact, postpositions. The dative case marker (postposition) khatri: is a borrowing from Hindi-Urdu (kha:ṭir).
The use of nominal classifiers is a purely Indo-Aryan phenomenon. The classifiers jhan, tho:, thu:, o:ta: are directly borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages.

The suffixes khe:p and bhari: used to form enumerative/proportional numerals have been borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages (a:ind khe:p 'once'; pa:nce: bhari: 'five times').

The suffix -o: forming adjectival constructions from numerals is clearly an Indo-Aryan borrowing (tin-o: 'all the three', ca:iro: 'all the four').

-arl (sona: 'gold'---» sonar 'goldsmith'), -hr/-har
(kamna: 'to work' ---» kamhar 'tool'), -al(orqa- 'to imagine'
---» orqa-a: 'imagination'), -an(tutur- 'to attack'---»
tuturan 'attack'), -at(khela:r- 'to form a habit'---»
khela:rat 'habit'), -yai (muthi: 'fist/breadth of a
closed palm'---» muthya: 'wrist bangle'), -ar (phat- 'to

crack'---» phate:r 'crack'), -aura (kha:kh 'armpit'
---»khā:kaura: 'abscess in the armpit'), -arl(itki: 'Itki'
---» itkiya:r 'a person from Itki'), etc. are directly borrowed
from Indo-Aryan languages.

It is interesting to note that most of the loan noun-
forming suffixes are added to mostly borrowed nouns only. Some-
times when a noun is to be formed from another Kurux word, a
coreferential term is borrowed from Indo-Aryan; e.g. panna:
'iron'---» loha:r 'blacksmith' (loha: 'iron' is IA).

The adjectival suffixes -ka: (kitt- 'to rot'
---» kittka: 'rotten'), -ta: / -nta: (mai:ta: 'up'
---» maita: 'upper'), -le: (co:nha: 'love'---»
conha:le: 'amiable'), -abo: (ra:si: 'juice'---»
rasi:-abo: 'juicy') , -qahi: (mo:il 'price'---» molqahi:
'valuable') and -malka: (siyā: 'border'---» siyā:-malka:
'boundless') are native Kur. suffixes. These are not very produc-
tive. -malka: seems to be a loan-translation of IA suffix
-hi:n/-rahit 'devoid of, not having'.
The remaining adjectival suffixes are directly borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages. 

-\textit{u}: (\textit{pi:t} 'to kill' \rightarrow \textit{pitu}: 'fatal'), \textit{-ha}: (\textit{bhu:t} 'ghost' \rightarrow \textit{bhu:ta} 'haunted'),
-\textit{ya}: (\textit{ban} 'forest' \rightarrow \textit{banya} 'wild'), \textit{-al} (\textit{dub} 'to drown' \rightarrow \textit{dubal} 'drowned'), \textit{-gar} (\textit{gud} 'pulp/flesh (fruit)' \rightarrow \textit{gudgar} 'pulpy, fleshy'), \textit{-y} (\textit{hoi} 'sensibility' \rightarrow \textit{husi} 'clever, sensible'), \textit{-it} (\textit{k} 'quarrel' \rightarrow \textit{kal} 'quarrelsome'), \textit{-kur} (\textit{t} 'bitter' \rightarrow \textit{titkur} 'bitter'), \textit{-dar} (\textit{ak} 'talent' \rightarrow \textit{akildar} 'talented'), \textit{-ri} (\textit{gun} 'sin' \rightarrow \textit{gunhari} 'sinful'), \textit{-auti} (\textit{pur} 'ancestor' \rightarrow \textit{purha} 'ancestral'), \textit{-i:n} (\textit{sa} 'hobby/fondness' \rightarrow \textit{sa} 'fashionable, dandy') etc.

The adjectival suffixes \textit{-ui}, \textit{-hai}, \textit{-tai}, \textit{-va}, \textit{-lei}, \textit{-al}, \textit{-abo}, \textit{-malka}, and \textit{-qahi} extend both to the native words as well as to borrowed Indo-Aryan words. Suffixes \textit{-i:n}, \textit{-ai}, \textit{-end}, \textit{-auti}, \textit{-ri}, \textit{-ra}, \textit{-dar}, \textit{-gar}, \textit{-kur}, \textit{-it}, and \textit{-yar} are restricted to borrowed words.

As in the case of nouns, a noun is sometimes borrowed from IA to form an adjective, when another native Kurux word already exists, e.g. \textit{uturni} 'west' \rightarrow \textit{pachimaha} 'western' (\textit{pachim} 'west' is IA), \textit{toran} 'forest' \rightarrow \textit{banya} 'wild' (\textit{ban} 'forest' is IA) etc.

All the adjectival prefixes (save \textit{mal} 'not, no') are loans from Indo-Aryan languages. \textit{be}: 'not, without'
(be:lu:r 'fool'), an- 'without' (antha:h 'inscrutable'), nir- 'without' (nirmuchya: 'beardless'), begar 'without' (begar thaya:qahi: 'baseless, groundless;'), etc.

The adjectival prefix mal- 'negative formative' seems to be a loan-translation of IA prefixes a- and nai- 'devoid of, without having---'(Hindi anishcit 'uncertain'; naixush 'unhappy').

7.4. Language Shift and Language Maintenance:

Kurux has undergone contraction in number of speakers and domains of use. According to the 1961 census, mother tongue returns to Kurux is gradually decreasing. Out of 16,00,445 Oraons only 10,35,619 speak Kurux natively.

Table: Mother tongue Returns (Census 1961; Source: Ekka, 1980)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Total Kurux speaker</th>
<th>Mother tongue Returns</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>734625</td>
<td>Kurux 531780 72.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sadri 75712 10.3%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hindi 59144 8.1%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mundari 35704 4.9%</td>
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<td>Nagpuri 9159 1.2%</td>
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<td>Karmali 8570 1.2%</td>
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<td>Santhali 4903 0.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bhojpuri 2864 0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Maintained Kurux Lg.</td>
<td>Shifted to other lgs.</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Khortha</td>
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<td>Other lgs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Lgs</td>
<td>2987</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: % of Kuruxs maintaining their language and shifting to other languages (Source: Ekka, 1980).
The convergent validity afforded by the demographic variables, the restricted functional domains of Kurux, and the extensive Aryanization of the language, indicates the ethnolinguistic minority status of the Oraon tribe. The Kurux language has expanded by borrowing words and structures from neighboring languages. The borrowing is "gratuitous", i.e., the language borrowed those lexical items for which it already has stock. Gratuitous borrowing is considered to be a sign of language change and also of language death.

The ethnolinguistic minority (dominated) status of Kurux generates new language loyalties in favor of the dominant Aryan languages, motivated by educational, social and economic mobility and advancement, and the adoption of Sadri for optimal inter-tribe communication, as well as for a link language with the non-tribal population.

This language shift may be made manifest by total abandonment of the language and the adoption of one of the dominant languages (in Chotanagpur Hindi or Sadri) as first language, reflecting overtly a negative sense of language loyalty. The situation in Kharia is similar (Malhotra, 1982). The language shift may also take place without explicit transfer of language.
loyalty, not by abandoning the language totally, but by an excessive proliferation of phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic forms from Indo-Aryan languages, rendering the variety of Kurux spoken indistinguishable from Hindi/Sadri.

It is maintained that gratuitous borrowing, retention of indigenous forms by women speakers and loss of basic vocabulary items are strong indicators of language attrition. But Kurux has undergone a 'change' by the very process that is reserved for language loss and thus shows a pattern of continuity and convergence (a similar conclusion was drawn in the case of Kharia by Abbi, 1991). Kurux has changed in such a way that it has become more homogenized with the surrounding languages. From a typological heterogeneity situation it has moved to a typological homogeneity situation; because it was a Dravidian language while other languages of the vicinity were Indo-Aryan and still other languages were from Munda. So in the beginning there were three typological units with some type of a typological heterogeneity. But now over the period of language contact, this language has moved towards typological homogeneity. In other words, Kurux has borrowed features from Munda as well as IA languages specifically Hindi and Sadari and having done so it has incorporated features of both language families and thus has become more consistent with the typology of this region rather than with the typology of the family. The changes are LANGUAGE CONTACT induced changes. If these languages were not in contact these changes discussed earlier would not have arisen. It is the bi/multi lingualism of Kurux speakers which has motivated them to
incorporate features from other languages. As a result, Kurux is much more homogenized with the languages of the region than say Hindi spoken here. The language has developed differently: instead of loss, it has gained structures by way of both adoption and adaption.

Seeing the restricted domain of the functional use of Kurux one may think that there is language loss at all levels in Kurux. But this is not true. In fact, there is a situation of loss and continuity taking place side by side.

In the previous sections it was seen that a large proportion of Indo-Aryan, and to a lesser extent, Mundari and Kharia loan words, have been incorporated and assimilated in varying degrees in the Kurux lexical inventory. There is a large scale of 'gratuitous' borrowing. Many of the material artefacts, kinship terms, household terms, animal names, and body parts are undoubtedly Indo-Aryan borrowings. The assumption of verbs being resilient to change is defied in Kurux, where we find a large number (about 250) of loan verbs from Indo-Aryan.

Most of the suffixal elements as well as the words are also Indo-Aryan which is a sure case of language change. In the process of language change, Kurux has adopted many complex morphological and syntactic structures. This is a sign of expansion and development rather than of language loss, e.g., incorporation of several Indo-Aryan derivational suffixes, use of nomi-
nal classifiers, morphologically marked passive, etc. The language has changed in a drastic way in order to move towards typological homogeneity of the region. This type of pattern of continuity and development has been called "language conflation" by Abbi (1991). I would not say that the language is dying or contracting, rather it is expanding and adapting itself to new socio-cultural environment.

In view of the extensive Aryanization of Kurux and shifts in language loyalty some language loyalists are trying to retain the archaic forms and introduce new patterns. They are also trying to standardize the language. Attempts are being made to devise and popularize a standard orthography which could replace Devanagri, and to prepare pedagogic grammars, etc. This may stop the language from attrition, but the language maintenance among the Kurux speakers cannot be achieved by artificially imposed scholarly endeavors (a similar observation was made by Abbi, 1991). These scholars may help widen the functional domain of Kurux (for use within schools, colleges, Church, etc.) but they might not be able to make the younger generation use Kurux at home. Thus it may start dying from within in a few years from now.