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**CAUSATIVES IN SANTALI, KHARIA AND KURUX: A
PROBE INTO LANGUAGE CONTACT AND
CONVERGENCE**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY*

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This dissertation entitled "CAUSATIVES IN SANTALI, KHARIA AND KURUX: A PROBE INTO LANGUAGE CONTACT AND CONVERGENCE" submitted by SALONEE PRIYA, Centre of Linguistics & English, School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full for any other degree or diploma of any other University.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	Agent
A ₁	Causer Agent/Instigator Agent
A ₂	Performer Agent
abl	Ablative
acc	Accusative
ag	Agentive
AGR	Agreement
AH	Accessibility Hierarchy
aK	Anti Causative
ASP	Aspect
ben	Benefactive
Caus.	Causative
cl	Classifier
cont	Continuous
dat	Dative
def	Definite Particle
DO	Direct Object
du	Dual
E	Experiencer
ES	Embedded Subject
excl	Exclusive
fut	Future
gen	Genitive
IA	Indo Aryan
Imp	Imperfect
inf	Infinitive
int	Interrogative
intr	Intransitive
IO	Indirect Object
Kh	Kharia
Kur	Kurux
loc	Locative
msc	Masculine
N	Noun

neg	Negative
Nom	Nominative
NP	Noun Phrase
O	Object
obl	Oblique
OM	Object Marker
P	Person
p.e.	Pleonastic Element
perf	Perfective
perm	Permissive
pl	Plural
poss	Possessive
prog	Progressive
prs. tns	Present Tense
pst	Past
rec	Reciprocative
S	Sentence
Sg	Singular
SM	Subject Marker
Sn	Santhali
SUB	Subject
TAM	Tense Aspect Mood
tr	Transitive
V	Verb
V _i	Non causal verbal base
V _j	1 st Degree Causative
V _e	2 nd Degree Causative
V _i ⁱⁿ	Non-causal intransitive verb base
V _i ^{tr}	Non-Causal transitive verb base
VP	Verb Phrase

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 DEFINING CAUSATIVE

“Causative” is a universal category demanding expression in languages, among other places in verb phrases. Hence, all languages have causative verbs semantically (Kholodovich, 1969). A causative construction can be best described by way of the situation it expresses. This situation can be stated in terms of the relationship between two events. Two events can be said to constitute a causative situation if the relationship between these two is such that the causing event precedes the caused event and the causing event is responsible for the realization of the caused event. That is to say – had there been no causative event, there could be no caused event to follow. (Shibatani, 1976). A causative situation thus comprises of two events – one causing the other. This situation (a macrosituation) can be viewed in terms of two microsituations – a causing microsituation called the ‘antecedent’ and a caused microsituation called the ‘consequent’. (Nedjalkov & Silnitskii, 1969).

Syntactically, one of the main difference between non-causative and causative constructions is the increased valency (or potential valency) of

the latter (Comrie, 1985). There are three basic ways in which a causative situation relative to the non-causative situation, may be expressed –

(1) Syntactic (or Analytic): Regular syntactic devices of the language are used for forming complex sentences out of simplex sentences without fusing together the predicates of those simplex sentences. The idea of causation is overtly present in the sentence along with the verb, both being separate. Eg. (English).

I made him complete the work, or I caused him to complete the work

Here the idea of causation is expressed by the verbs *make* or *cause*.

(2) Morphological (or Synthetic): Morphological causative are derivationally related to their non-causative forms. They are formed by using affixes and they are phonologically similar to the non-causal form of the verb. There is no separately expressed predicate of causation. Eg. (Hindi).

kəṛ - na 'to do' and *kəṛ - wa - na* 'to make someone do'
do- inf do. Caus. inf.

or *pi - na* 'to drink' and *pi - la - na* 'to make someone drink'
drink - inf drink. Caus.inf.

(3) Lexical (or Suppletive): In this case there is no phonological similarity between the causative and non-causative forms of the verb. The 'cause' is not overtly present in the structure but it is there at the abstract

semantic level. For example the English verbs 'die' and 'kill' - 'kill' has no morphological resemblance to 'die'.

However, one should not be surprised to find borderline cases between syntactic and morphological or morphological and lexical causatives. In French, for instance, one causative construction uses the predicate *faire* 'to make' plus the infinitive of the basic verb, for example *faire courir* 'to make run', *faire manger* 'to make eat'. This appears to be an analytic construction, as with English *cause* or *make*, but for many purposes *faire* plus infinitive behaves like a single predicate i.e., like a morphological causative (Comrie, 1985). For instance, a single French predicate may not take two subjects or two direct objects, and this restriction applies equally to the *faire* construction:

paul fit manger les pommes à/par Pierre

Paul made to –eat the apples to/by Pierre

* *paul fit pierre manger les pommes.*

Paul made Pierre eat the apples.

paul lui/? le fit manger les pommes.*

Paul to him/him made to eat the apples

Syntactic causatives are surprisingly one of the rarest whereas morphologically marked causative stems, seem to be found in most of the

world's languages (Kholodovich, 1969). Indian languages typically have morphologically marked verb stems. (Masica, 1976).

1.2 Review of Literature

“Causative” was first addressed by Panini who has dealt with it in his sutra *gati-buddhi-pratyavasanarthā-śabdākarmā-ākarmākaṇam aṅikārta sathāu* [Karmā] (Pan 1.4.52).

‘the non-causative *kārtr* “agent” is defined as *karmān* “direct object” of verbs of motion, cognition, consuming, making sounds, intransitives’.

Guru (1952) has defined causative verbs in Hindi language in the book ‘Hindi Vyākārān’. In the sentence-

<i>malik</i>	<i>nāukār</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>gari</i>	<i>cāl - wa - ta</i>	<i>hai</i>
master	servant	by	car	drive-Caus-prs.tns.msc.	is

The master makes the servant drive the car.

The causative verb is ‘*cālwata*’, ‘*malik*’ is the causer and ‘*nāukār*’ is the causee. According to him from verbs like *come, go, be happen, like, get* other verbs are not derived. Rest of the verbs form two causative verbs each- the first form of which is generally in the sense of transitive and the second form is taken as causative. Every causative verb is transitive. For verbs like *drink, eat, see, understand, give, read, hear* etc. both the

causative forms are di-transitive or double transitive. When *-a* is added to the root verb First Causative is formed and by adding *-wa-* Second Causative is formed. Guru has given phonological rules for causative constructions in Hindi.

Morphologically marked causatives have been extensively discussed in areal linguistics for the implications they have on the notion of the Indian Linguistic Area. Emeneau (1971) examines the causative systems in some Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages and on the basis of their similarities suggests the possibility of convergence between the two systems. Krishnamurthi (1970) in his paper '*Causative Constructions in Indian Languages: Some Semantic and Syntactic Aspects*' presented as Presidential address to the first All-India Conference of Linguists, Poona, has tried to discuss the issues involved in the study of Transitive and Causative Constructions but has restricted it only to Telugu. According to Krishnamurthi,

- Intransitive, Transitive, and Causative verbs can be defined in terms of the arguments that each takes in the form of NPs which may be assigned deep structure role-types as O, A+O, A₁ +A₂+O respectively.
- Sentences having Transitive and Causative verbs can be treated as syntactically complex structures. The surface forms can be derived by a series of transformational rules (including rules of lexicalization).

- Transitives (of certain semantic classes) and Causatives have two semantic interpretations each.

Transitive = (i) Agent Orientation + Object Orientation

(ii) Agent Orientation

Causative = (i) Causer Agent (A_1) Orientation + Performer Agent (A_2) Orientation + Object Orientation.

(ii) $A_1 + A_2$ Orientation

These semantic facts are reflected both in the morphology and syntax of these constructions.

- Languages provide mechanisms for speakers to choose either or both of the readings defined above based on other syntactic and semantic phenomena like the modality features, quantifiers, tense, aspect, etc.
- The ‘modality features’ (which are considered by Fillmore as not essentially relevant to the predicate structure) seem to play an important role in influencing the deep structure role-types.

Balachandran, L. Bai (1973) has dealt in detail the case relations in the causative sentences of Hindi. She has also dealt with the passive sentences as it is clearly linked with causatives. Finally she has formulated rules required for generating simple sentences in Hindi in the framework of case grammar as proposed by Fillmore. A great attempt has been made by

her to formulate the Redundancy Rules required for handling the case structure of Hindi Non-Causative, Direct Causative and Indirect Causative sentences.

Causative constructions have also been the theme of a conference known as the USC Causative Festival that was held in May, 1974 at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles, California. The outgrowth of this conference was a volume on '*The grammar of Causative Constructions*' (Shibatani, M., 1976) which extensively deals with Causatives. The volume is divided into two parts. Part I contains papers dealing with basic semantic issues and theoretical devices involved in the analysis of Causative Construction. Part II is concerned with universal and language particular issues, as well as the diachronic developments of causative forms in several languages.

The most comprehensive treatment of the feature 'Causatives' is found in Masica (1976) where the causative systems of various languages are examined and some 'definite areal correlations' are identified. The information regarding the causative structure in Munda languages is inadequate. However, we do find a '*Comparative study of the verb in Munda languages*' by Pinnow (1966) which gives a general account on Causatives.

The whole question of Causative hangs on the argument structure. To avoid terminological confusion the definition of the Intransitive, Transitive and derived Causative is necessary and conforms largely to the definition offered by Krishnamurthi (1970), in the light of his study of Causative Constructions in the Indian languages. An intransitive or non-transitive verb is minimally a one place predicate; the NP representing the only argument occurs as the grammatical subject of the sentence. The semantic roles of such 'arguments' when they are associated with one place predicates can be that of Object (O) or Experiencer (E). A transitive verb is inherently (and minimally) a two place predicate, of which one should assume the role-type of Agent (A) and the other the role-type of Object (O). A causative verb is inherently (and minimally) a three place predicate, of which two assume the role of the Agent and one that of Object. Of the two Agent NPs, that which refers to the ultimate controller of the action, the Instigator Agent (say A_1) becomes the grammatical subject of the sentence, whereas the one referring to the Second Agent, the Performer Agent (A_2) (who acts under the control of A_1) occurs with the Instrumental morpheme 'by' or 'by hand of'.

Majority of Hindi verbs are traditionally interpreted as *Mul Dhatu* 'main root', *Prathamā Prerṇarthakā* 'First Causative', and *Dvitiyā Prerṇarthakā* 'Second Causative'. Some linguists (Balachandran, L. Bai,

1973) prefer to call the First Causative, the Direct Causative and the Second Causative, the Indirect Causative. A popular treatment, i.e. found in Phillott (1918), Harley (1944), Saighal (1958), and also in more serious descriptions such as Forbes (1855), Katenina (1957), Pořizka (1963), Elizarenkova (1962), Dimshtis (1966), Pray (1970), is to call the second term (with suffix *-a-* in three term sets starting with an intransitive base) simply transitive, giving the three fold scheme *Intransitive – Transitive – Causative* in which the causative is reserved for the third or *-wa* member – in other words, for indirect causation.

This reflects the traditional Indian, threefold scheme of *əkərmək – səkərmək – prernarthək*. But there is an additional point of confusion here as these writers often use the terms first and second causal/causative for the *-a* and *-wa* derivatives, respectively, of transitive bases.

Kellogg (1875, 1938), Greaves (1933), Bailey (1938), Kamtaprasad Guru (1952), Scholberg (1940), S.N. Sharma (1956), A. Sharma (1958), Fairbanks – Misra (1966), Kachru (1966), Bender (1967) call any derived transitive a “causative”. Therefore the *-a* term is called the first causative and the *-wa* term, the second causative. Some writers of this group (eg. K. Guru, A.Sharma, Fairbanks – Misra) resting exclusively on form, call all *-a* derivatives first causals regardless of whether they are derived from

intransitives and hence semantically distinct from *-wa* forms, or from transitives and hence in most cases semantically identical with *-wa* forms.

As it becomes confusing and cumbersome to talk about causatives in ordinary language, a set of symbols were developed: Kholodovich, 1969.

V_i = non causal verbal base (transitive or intransitive)

V_j = a derivative of V_i : “1st degree causative”

V_e = a derivative of V_j : “2nd degree causative”.

Superscripts may be added to V_i to indicate the intransitive or transitive character of the base: V_i^{in} , V_i^{tr} . V_j and V_e derivatives are of course all transitive. In terms of a scheme of verbal “valences” (the number of agent or patient entities implied by a verb) each derivational step adds one: if V_i is 1 or 2, V_j is 2 or 3 and V_e is 3 or 4. Semantically, therefore, causative derivatives are always more complex than the verbs they are derived from. The marking to reduce the verbal valence by 1 is given the name anti-causative and the symbolization aK (vs. K for causative). The anti causative is similar in many ways to the passive : in both constructions, typically the Direct Object of the basic verb appears as subject of the anti causative or passive. In some languages, the subject of the basic verb can appear as an agentive phrase in the passive, i.e., there is a valency-rearrangement, rather than valency decrease. Passive and anti-

causative do differ: as in the passive even when it has no agentive phrase, the existence of some person or thing bringing about the situation is implied, whereas the anti-causative is consistent with the situation coming about spontaneously.

The notion of causativity and transitivity are closely related. In traditional grammar verbs like *push*, *kick*, *open* and *melt* are all classified as transitive verbs. However, the terms Causative verb and Transitive verb do not coincide, since while the verbs *open* and *melt* are causative, *kick* and *push* are not (Shibatani, 1976). Whereas a causative verb by definition must be transitive, all transitive verbs are not essentially causatives. Various causative categories vary in degree of transitivity. It has been argued by Hopper and Thompson (1980) that these categories can be placed in continuum of transitivity and that transitivity can be viewed in terms of a scale. This scale is called 'the transitivity scale for causatives' (TSC). We can place the basic non-causative categories and their corresponding causative forms on this scale according to their transitivity values. The non-causative categories occur on the lowest part of the TSC and the causatives occur on the upper part. On this upper part the first causatives hold a lower position than the second causatives. On the basis of TSC many predictions regarding the syntactic-semantic structure of causatives can be made.

The case hierarchy was first established on the basis of the syntax of relative clauses (Keenan & Comrie) but was found to be valid for causative constructions also.

It is expected that a causative verb will have one more Noun Phrase argument than its corresponding non-causative verb because in addition to the already existing subject and objects of that verb there will be a Noun Phrase expressing the person or thing that causes. The underlying structure of a Causative sentence contains a Matrix and an Embedded Sentence. The surface exponency of the Embedded Subject depends on the syntactic arguments of the embedded verb. If it has no Direct Object, then the Embedded Subject appears as the Direct Object, if the Direct Object already exists then it appears as the Indirect Object and if both the Direct and Indirect Objects exist already, then the Embedded Subject appears as one of the other oblique cases. The case hierarchy then is.

AH: SUB > DO > IO > OBL Obj.

So, Comrie proposes that the grammatical relation the Embedded Subject takes in the surface of a sentence is governed by Accessibility Hierarchy. It is shifted from left to right and occupies the left most vacant position. Thus the subject is demoted to the next higher most vacant place.

Starosta (1978) rejects Comrie's analysis and explains the journey of the ES down the hierarchy in terms of 'one sent constraint' according to which the same case relation cannot occur again in a simple sentence.

Kimenyi (1980) argues that this should be analyzed in terms of redundancy rules such as strict subcategorisation stating the kind of subject and complement a verb can take.

The transitivity of a verb and the shifting of the ES are closely related. The ES of an intransitive clause takes the next vacant position to appear as a DO. The ES of an embedded transitive clause appears as an IO and the ES of an embedded ditransitive clause appears as Oblique Object. Comrie makes another point about this demotion. In some cases the ES is demoted further than is expected – it skips a vacant position on the AH and takes the next one. This is termed as Extended Demotion.

Another notion that Comrie proposes is that of Syntactic Doubling. The case hierarchy is not infallible, sometimes it does not hold. The ES in some languages may turn out to refuse to be demoted to a much lower position. Hence though the sentence may already contain a DO or IO, the ES also appears as one of these along with the already existing one. This is called Syntactic Doubling. There are instances of Syntactic Doubling on DO and IO from some languages.

Baker, Mark. C. (1988) gives strong evidence that the morphological causatives are actually syntactically derived from two independent verbs by movement. Thus, morphological causatives are instances of Verb Incorporation. The idea that morphological causatives are derived from a source containing two verbs and two clauses, has a long history in the generative tradition, showing up in different ways in different frameworks: “Verb Raising” in transformational terms (Aissen, 1974), “Predicate Raising” in generative semantics, “Clause Union in Relational Grammar”, or “Merger” in the theory of Marantz (1984), to name just a few. Baker gives a wide variety of evidence and arguments to support both the biclausal underlying structure and the (somehow) combined surface structure. He illustrates the process of Verb Incorporation by the following set of thematic paraphrases of causatives in Chichewa (Bantu). Morphological Causatives in Chichewa in fact have thematic paraphrases with a full biclausal structure:

- (a) *mtsikana a-na-chit-its-a kuti mtsuko u-gw-e*
 girl AGR - do - Caus ASP that waterpot AGR-fall-ASP
 The girl made the waterpot fall
- (b) *mtsikana a-na-gw-ets-a mtsuko*
 girl AGR- fall-Caus- ASP waterpot
 The girl made the waterpot fall.

The important thing to observe about (a) and (b) is not only that they are thematic paraphrases, but that they also contain *exactly the same*

Morphemes.¹ The key difference between the two sentences is that *-gw-* 'fall' and *-its* 'cause' appear as distinct words in (a), whereas *-gw-* morphologically combines with *-its* in (b) Thus, it is natural to relate these two sentences by assigning them parallel underlying syntactic structures and deriving (b) by moving the verb *-gw-* 'fall'.

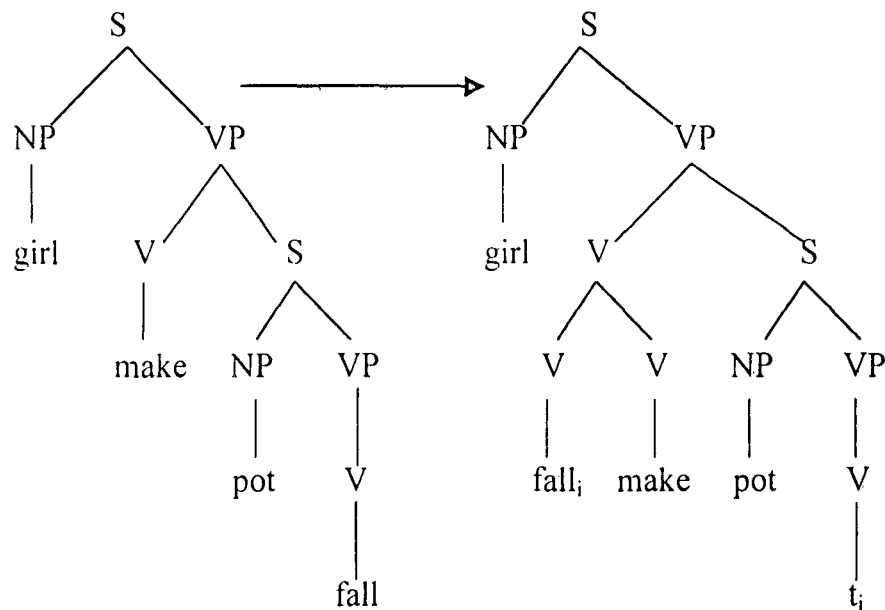


Fig.1

In this way, Baker motivates an incorporation analysis for the class of causative processes. In fact, this is identical to a traditional proposal in literature, that Causatives are derived by "Verb Raising" (eg. Aissen, 1974).

Another interesting aspect regarding Causatives is to see whether or not the action culminated i.e. in affirmative sentences, whether the

¹ The e/i alteration in the Causative morpheme is due to vowel harmony.

complements are implied to be true. In languages like Hindi where there is the three –tier set of *Intransitive–Transitive–Causative* or, $V_i V_j V_e$, let us see the following set of examples-

- a) *bācca so - ya*
 child sleep perf.
 The child slept.
- b) *mā ne bācce ko su - la - ya*
 mother ag. child dat. sleep-Caus-perf.
 The mother made the child sleep.
- c) *mā ne aya se bācce ko sul-wa-ya*
 mother ag. maid servant by child dat. sleep-Caus.perf.
 The mother made the maid servant make the child sleep.
- d) *ram ne sari batē sāmjh lī*
 Ram ag. everything understand perf.
 Ram understood everything.
- e) *us-ne ram ko sari batē sāmjh - a-yī*
 3P Sg-ag. Ram dat. everything understand – Caus-perf.
 He made Ram understand everything.
- f) *us-ne rita se ram ko sari batē sāmjh-wa-yī*
 3P Sg.ag. Rita by Ram dat. everything understand –Caus-perf.
 He made Ram understand everything through Rita.
- g) *vāh mār gay-a*
 3PSg.Msc Nom. die go-perf.
 He died.
- h) *mē-ne use m-a-ra*
 1PSg-ag 3PSg. Msc.acc. die-Caus.
 I made him die, or, I killed him.
- i) *mē-ne use gunḍō se mār-wa-ya*
 1PSg-ag 3PSg Msc.-acc criminals by die-Caus-perf.
 I made him die by/through the criminals or, I made the criminals kill him.

But, in the following sentences the causal in affirmative does not necessarily mean that the caused action or event is also in affirmative, i.e. even if the Initiator agent (A₁) initiates the Performer agent (A₂) to perform the action or the subject NP by itself performs the action, it does not imply that the action did take place. Here the two agent NPs do their role but it is the Object which ceases to comply.

- (j) *mā ne bācce ko sul-a-ya pər vəh nəhī so-y-a*
 mother ag. child-acc to sleep-Caus. but 3PSg not sleep perf.
 Mother made the child sleep but he did not sleep.
- (k) *mā ne bācc-e ko aya se sul-wa-ya*
 mother ag. child-acc to maid by sleep Caus. Perf.
pər vəh nəhi soya
 but 3PSg not sleep-perf.
 Mother made the maid make the child sleep but he did not sleep.
- (l) *us-ne ram ko sari batē səmjh-a-yī*
 3PSg-ag Ram to everything understand-Caus-perf.
pər ram ne nəhī səmjhī
 but Ram ag. not understand
 He made Ram understand everything but Ram did not understand.
- (m) *us-ne rita se ram ko sari batē səməjh – wa - yī*
 3PSg-ag Rita by Ram to everything understand-Caus-perf
pər ram ne nəhī səmjhī
 but Ram ag not understand
 He made Rita make Ram understand everything but Ram did not understand.
- (n) *mē – ne use m-a-ra pər vəh nəhī mēra*
 1PSg-ag 3pSg-acc die-Caus but 3 PSg not die
 I made him die but he did not die

(o) *mē-ne use gunḍō se mər-wa-ya*
 1PSg-ag 3PSg-acc criminals by die-Caus-perf.
pər vəh nəhĩ məra
 but he not die
 I made the criminals make him die but he did not die.

(j)-(o) are perfectly grammatical and possible sentences.

So,	<i>su-la-na</i> sleep-Caus-inf	does not imply	<i>so-na</i> sleep-inf.
	<i>su-lwa-na</i> sleep-Caus-inf	doesn't imply	<i>so-na</i> sleep-inf
	<i>səməjh-a-na</i> understand-Caus-inf	doesn't imply	<i>səməjh-na</i> understand-inf.
	<i>səməjh-wa-na</i> understand-Caus-inf	doesn't imply	<i>səməjh-na</i> understand-inf.
	<i>m-a-r-na</i> die-caus-inf	doesn't imply	<i>mər-na</i> die-inf
	<i>mər-wa-na</i> die-Caus-inf	doesn't imply	<i>mər-na</i> die-inf.
But,	<i>su-lwa-na</i> sleep-Caus-inf. (2)	means that	<i>su-la-na</i> took place sleep-Caus-inf (1)
	<i>səməjh-wa-na</i> understand-Caus-inf. (2)	means that	<i>səməjh-a-na</i> took place. understand-Caus-inf. (1)
And,	<i>mər-wa-na</i> die-Caus-inf (2)	implies	<i>m-a-r-na</i> die-Caus-inf (1)

Here, in the case of all three verbs *sona* 'to sleep', *səməjh na* 'to understand' and *mərna* 'to die' we see that the first and second causative if

in affirmative doesn't necessarily imply the base-verb of the embedded clause to hold true. These evidences question the "Control principle" as suggested in Givon (1974).

Here in these verbs we see that there was intent and not control on part of the initiator agent. However, there are many verbs like *likhana*, *pərhana*, *pilana*, *khilana*, *dilana*, *pighlana* etc. which imply both intent and control on the part of Initiator Agent. (A_1)

Kachru (1976) feels that while "control" is a useful notion, it is by no means clear who has how much control in Hindi-Urdu causative sentences. The degree to which an agent (subject of non-causal) is controlled by an Initiator Agent (A_1), (subject of the causative) is determined by the properties of the noncausal or basic verb.

1.3 South Asia and Convergence:

Inspite of the tendency for local speech differences to persist, the many centuries of language contact on the South Asian Continent have so affected South Asian languages that it is possible to speak of India as a linguistic area. The South Asian area has become established, particularly since Emeneau's 1956 article in '*Language*' ("India as a linguistic area") as a classic locus of convergence phenomena, that is, of the sharing of characteristics by genetically unrelated and geographically contiguous

languages. In this first elaborate formulation of the “linguistic area” hypothesis Emeneau speaks of several parallel phonological and morphological features between Dravidian on the one hand and Indo-Aryan (and also Munda) on the other. By convergence, primarily we refer to the distinctive characteristic of a “linguistic area” which Emeneau has defined as *“an area which includes languages belonging to more than one family but showing traits in common which are found not to belong to the other members of (at least) one of the families”* (Emeneau, 1956). In other words, we refer to resemblances between languages which are the result of contact rather than common origin. The languages of the Indian subcontinent belong to four different language families i.e. Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman. The Indian linguistic area is characterised by common linguistic traits such as retroflex sounds, absence of prepositions, SOV word order, use of gerundives and participle constructions, echo word formations, reduplicated structures, use of explicator compound verb formation, use of quantifiers, morphologically marked causative verb stems etc.

It is not necessary to have a bundle of isoglosses to define an area as a linguistic area. Areal linguists like Emeneau (1965, 1980), Ramanujan and Masica (1969), Winter (1973), Masica (1976), Abbi (1985), Abbi and Mishra (1987) have taken one particular linguistic trait as a diagnostic trait to identify a Linguistic Area. Thus, a single areal isogloss may be

considered the minimum defining feature. Emeneau (1965), explains the phenomenon of 'linguistic area' as a consequence of structural borrowing through extensive bilingualism. Areal features originate as 'interference' in languages in initial stages of bilingualism (Weinreich, U, 1970). The 'interference' phenomenon of the initial stages of bilingualism becomes established and habitualized in the language of the subsequent speakers who might or might not be bilinguals. The feature gets established as if it belonged to the language. Convergence can thus be both due to a brief initial period of language contact or due to continuing contact. The extensive bilingualism and in recent years processes such as industrialization and urbanization have been important in promoting convergence. Societal bilingualism is frequently mentioned as a prerequisite for language shift (Fasold, 1984). "*As long as ethnic separateness of home life is valued, and language remains associated with ethnic separateness, there is little reason to expect multilingualism to disappear*". (Gumperz & Wilson, 1971). And as long as multilingualism survives, the social factors leading to linguistic convergence will be present.

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The age-old multilingual mosaic of India has generated a unique kind of language contact situation. Minority languages, tribal languages and lesser known languages have been in contact with the so called 'major' languages leading to often generated ethnic and linguistic conflicts. Such



linguistic conflicts, however, do not last long and soon a compromise is achieved. As a result, these languages adopt some of the structures of the dominant languages, giving a new lease of life to the dominated languages. This kind of language contact situation helps in strengthening India as a linguistic area. (Abbi, 1997). Mahajan's (1982) research on the "Causative Constructions in the Indian Sub-Continent" gives a detailed discussion on causatives. In his four hundred pages of M.Phil dissertation he has handled many languages – Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Assamese, Bengali, Oriya, Nepali, Kashmiri, Telugu, Kannada, Tamil, Santhali, Khasi, Kabui, Kuki, Mizo. He has tried to cover Morphology, Syntax and Semantics of causatives. Phonology has been greatly ignored – it isn't even mentioned. In the process of handling too many languages he has given too much of attention to Indo-Aryan Language Family. North Dravidian language has not been taken up for study and the only Munda language which is dealt with i.e. 'Santhali' has not been given full justice. Hence, there is a compelling need to study the causatives in these languages and assess through them, the degree and direction of language change.

1.3.1 Jharkhand : A Microcosm

The beauty of the Indian linguistic scene is characterized by the presence of several languages and several language families in a particular region. One such region is Jharkhand.

Abbi (1997) in her book "*Languages of Tribal Indigenous peoples of India – the Ethnic Space*" has dealt with the contact and convergence issue emerging in the Jharkhand area in the article 'Languages in Contact in Jharkhand'. Jharkhand-an area that exists in reality but not in geopolitical maps of the government of India, a centre for cultural and linguistic convergence as it is interwoven by Austro-Asiatic (Munda), Dravidian and Indo Aryan Speech Communities is an appropriate region to study the phenomenon of convergence at close range. Jharkhand is the region of Central India, the epicentre of Indian civilization and culture that encompasses parts of present Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal. (Map _App. A) Various dialects of Hindi, Bangla and Oriya dominate the indigenous Munda languages and the North Dravidian languages such as Kurux and Malto. Jharkhand is represented by an intense language contact situation unparalleled anywhere else in the country.

Ram Dayal Munda, noted Jharkhand movement propagator and a linguist points out:

"Culturally this is the only area in the entire country where three major cultural streams – Aryan, Dravidian and Austro Asian, represented through various languages – have converged to create a cultural synthesis of its own kind". (1989).

The movement for an autonomous and separate state for Jharkhand (Vananchal) has been on since many years and it gained strong momentum in recent years. It also becomes one of the main election propaganda and in the recently concluded Bihar state Assembly Elections (Feb –2000) it was the major issue. The RJD government which is currently being supported by the Congress had to give up its stand, as the Congress was not ready to accept the RJD's view on not forming a separate Jharkhand state. Now, with the Congress having a say in the Bihar governance and the BJP in the central government, both championing the cause for a separate Jharkhand state, the stage seems to be prepared for the existence of Jharkhand state.

But, the proposed Jharkhand Bill which is slated to be presented in the parliament in the Monsoon Session 2000, is a watershed on the whole concept of forming a separate state. The new Jharkhand which is to come up is now to be culled out only from Bihar (Map. App.B). The linguistic cementing factor, giving rise to the distinct Jharkhandi identity has been ignored by the political pundits.

The dynamics of language contact in Jharkhand is such that the dominant languages are either the scheduled languages of the Indo-Aryan family or their dialects (non-scheduled) while the dominated ones are those of the Munda and Dravidian families (Abbi, 1997). The tribals interact among themselves and also with non-tribals. Thus, there is interaction

between various indigenous groups among themselves and with people speaking dominant languages as well. At their home, the tribals speak their own traditional language, while with the non-tribal people they communicate in the regional dominant languages.

“The resultant scene is of a unique nature where minority community is on higher level at the ‘scale of bilingual proficiency’ than its dominant majority community. The contact – induced changes in languages such as Kurux and Kharia have led to linguistic typological homogeneity on the one hand, and to a tendency to language attrition, on the other. In the tug of war between language maintenance (retention of MTs) and language proficiency in the contact language, the tribal languages have begun passing through a transition period of language change and language convergence postponing or avoiding the expected language obsolescence situation” (Abbi, 1997).

Bilingualism has become the rule rather than an exception. In Jharkhand fluent monolingual speakers are declining.

Table –1

Bilingualism among few selected Tribal speech communities of
Jharkhand – 1991

Non-scheduled Languages		No. of persons knowing 20% more languages	Percentage of col. 3 to col.2.
Name	Total Speakers		
1	2	3	4
Munda			
Santhali	5,216,325	2,087,805	40.02
Ho	949,216	302,176	31.83
Mundari	861,378	414,472	48.12
Munda	413,894	181,812	43.93
Kharia	225,556	128,054	56.77
Kisan	162,088	93,735	57.83
Korwa	27,485	13,819	50.28
Bhumij	45,302	22,485	49.63
Dravidian			
Kurux/Oraon	1,426,618	768,169	53.85
Parji	44,001	25,309	57.52

Census of India – 1991. Series 1 – India Part IV B (i) (b) – C Series. Table C-8.

The all India average for bilingualism was 19.44% in 1991 which clearly show the high intensity of bilingualism in the Jharkhand area which is more than its double.

Increase in the language identity consciousness and language loyalty as well as the integration of Indo Aryan morphological structures in the

tribal languages have saved the languages such as Kurux and Kharia from extinction. So, despite the fact that these languages tend to converge, they do serve as the identity markers of their respective speech community (Abbi, 1997).

The learning of non-tribal languages becomes an asset for the tribals to enter the new social order (Chumaceiro, 1983). Besides, growth of literacy, urbanization, industrialization and change in their traditional beliefs (Dalton, 1872) are some of the important factors to bring about a language change among the tribal communities in India. These factors, according to Moag (1987) may be classified into demographic, political, social and sociolinguistic. Since all these factors do not play their role uniformly at every place and in every tribal group, there exists variations in the degree of language change from place to place and from tribe to tribe.

1.4 The Languages under Study:

Kharia, Santali/Santhali² (i.e Munda languages of the Austro Asiatic language family) and Kurux (North Dravidian) have been taken up for this present study.

² Santali/Santhali, both forms are used. In the present study Santhali will be used henceforth.

Table – 2
Interstate Distribution of Selected Tribal Languages
in Jharkhand Area

Languages	Speakers	Percentage of Speakers in States/UT's
Munda:		
Santhali	5,216,325	Bihar-48.82 W.Bengal-35.62 Orissa – 12.69 Assam – 02.60 Mizoram – 00.07
Kharia	225,556	Bihar –49.52 Orissa – 39.61 Madhya Pr. –03.83 W. Bengal – 02.87 Assam – 02.64 Andaman & Nicobar Islands – 01.11
Dravidian Kurux	1,426,618	Bihar – 47.80 Madhya Pr. –27.60 W. Bengal – 13.52 Orissa – 05.98 Assam – 03.80

Census of India – 1991. Series 1 – India Part IV (B) (i) (b) – C series. Table C-8

Kharia belonging to South-Munda and Santhali from North Munda gives a representation to both South and North Munda languages.

Malhotra (1982) has pointed out at the possibility of a redundant complex morphological paradigm in Causatives in Kharia because of the Indo-Aryan loan. Ishtiaq (1997) says that the degree of language maintenance among the Santhals is more than 75 percent in the Jharkhand area. Mishra (1991) speaks about extensive Aryanisation of Kurux but fails to focus on the causative constructions. Thus, the present study is aimed at

causative constructions in these three languages. It will see whether or not the incorporation of Indo-Aryan verbs have brought along certain morphological features to be assimilated into these tribal languages and if they are causing any change in the paradigmatic morphological structure of these tribal languages.

The framework of Masica (1976) where he treats the non causal verbal base as V_i (transitive or intransitive) and V_j as derivative of V_i (1st degree causative) and V_e as a derivative of V_j (2nd degree causative, on the lines of Kholodovich (1969) is followed here.

1.4.1 Materials & Method:

The present descriptive study of causative constructions in Santhali, Kharia and Kurux is the result of the data collected from Ranchi and Dumka. An extensive questionnaire comprising of about 85 verbs was prepared and the data was elicited and recorded. However, unconscious and spontaneous speech were also recorded. The sources were several informants of different age groups and sex. None of the speaker was a monolingual though.

1.4.2 Organization of the Study:

Chapter I: gives a general introduction on Causatives and traces down its theory through the existing research. It speaks of South Asia and

Convergence and places Jharkhand in the contact and convergence situation. It gives an account of the languages under study, the framework and the methodology adopted for survey.

Chapter II: deals with the basic characteristic features of Santhali and gives an account of Causative Constructions in Santhali looking out for loans if they are any from other language.

Chapter III: points out the basic characteristic features of Kharia and moves out to examine it's Causative Constructions in detail. It gives some phonological rules and examines the redundant complex morphological paradigm of Causatives in Kharia.

Chapter IV: mentions some of the characteristic features of Kurux and proceeds to give a detailed account of Causative Constructions in Kurux.

Chapter V: gives the conclusion of the study pointing out the general contact and convergence situation.

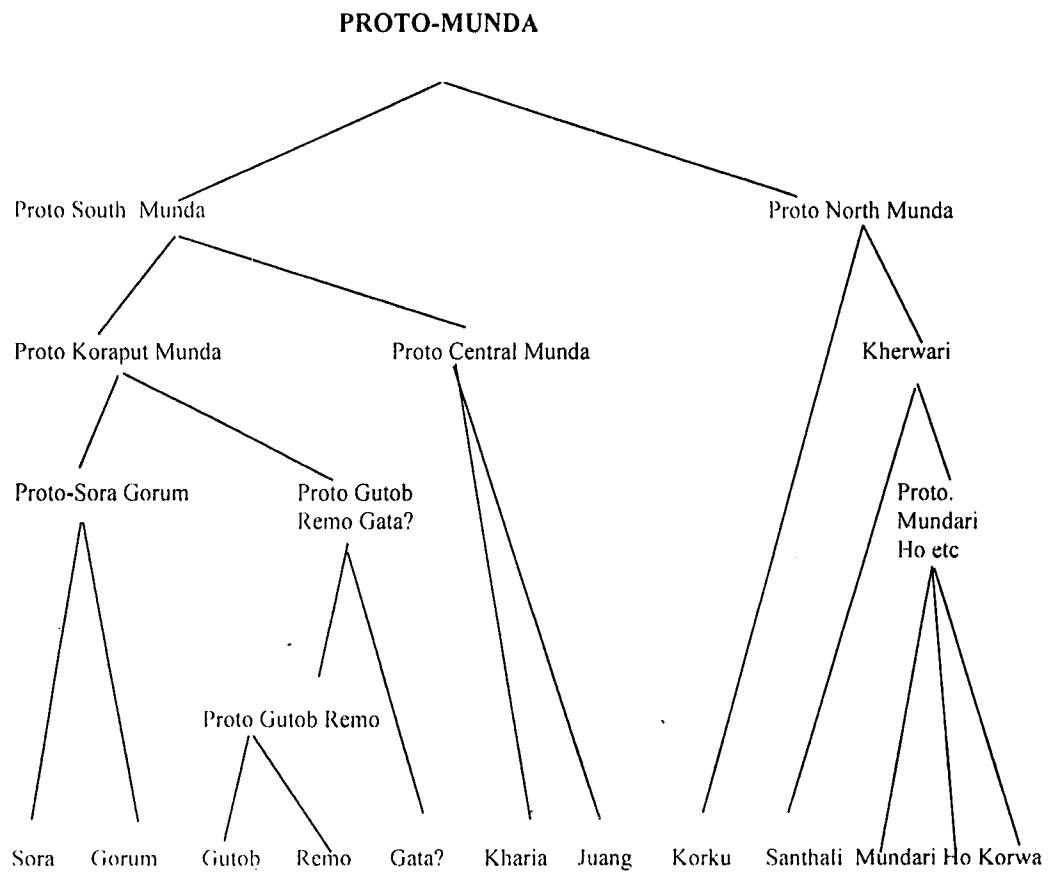
CHAPTER II

CAUSATIVES IN SANTHALI

2.1 BASIC CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF SANTHALI:

Santhali belongs to the Munda Branch of Austro-Asiatic Sub-family of the Austric family of languages.

2.1.1 The position of Santhali in the Munda Language Family :



(Stammbaum proposed by Norman H. Zide, 1969)

Fig.2.

2.1.2 Word –order

SOV order is predominant

a) *uni dɔ-e siri: ʃ - ida*
3Psg p.e. - S.M. sing + pr.cont.
'He is singing.'

b) *ra:ni dɔ dʒə? - e ʃu-a*
Rani p.e. water-SM drink-fut
'Rani will drink water.'

The normal word order in the sentence is as follows:

- Subject – first - Predicate last
- Qualifier precedes the qualified.
- Spatial and temporal modifiers may precede the subject.

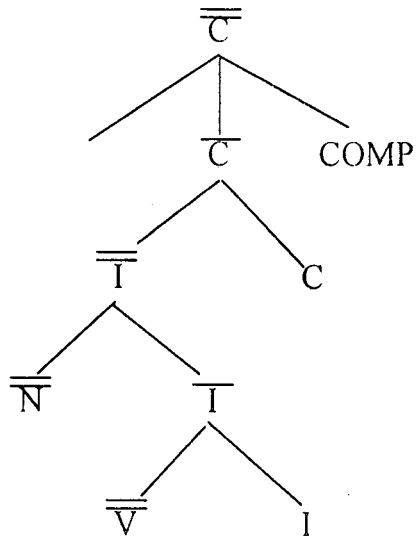
2.1.3 Language Typology & Tree Branching:

Munda languages are agglutinative in nature. Santhali also portrays elaborate agglutinative morphology.

dal - o?co - akan - taɬɛn - tae - tiʃ - a - e
hit Caus. pst.perf. - 2 P dual - 3Psg poss- 1Psg.gen -fut - 3Psg.

'He who belongs to you, who belongs to him, who belongs to me, will let himself be struck.'

Since there is SOV order, there is left branching.



2.1.4. Post-Positional Language:

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|---------------|
| a) | <i>da?-rε</i>
water in | in the water |
| b) | <i>kuri sɔngε</i>
girl with | with the girl |
| c) | <i>uni são</i>
him with | with him |
| d) | <i>dari khɔn</i>
tree from | from the tree |

2.1.5 Pro-Drop Phenomenon:

- a) *siri:ŋ - ida - i:ŋ*
sing - prs. cont. -S.M.
(1Psg)
'I am singing'.

2.1.6. Genitive /Possessive:

- a) *i:ŋ-a?* *ga:ri*
1Psg. poss car
'My car'
- b) *i:ŋ- rεn* *bəbba*
1P.sg.poss father
'My father'

- c) *mi:na-rɛn sitta*
 Mina-poss. dog
 'Mina's dog.'
- d) *daɾi -rɛn ceŋ-e*
 tree-poss bird-pl
 'Birds of the tree.'
- e) *gaɾi: rɛa? caka*
 car -poss wheel
 'Car's wheel'

When the possessed is inanimate (eg.car) the possessive marker is -*a?* but when the possessed is animate (eg. father, dog, birds) the possessive marker is -*rɛn*. When the possessor is inanimate (eg.car) and the possessed is also inanimate (eg. wheel) the possessive marker is -*rɛa?*

2.1.7 Pleonastic Element (dɔ):

This element does not occur on its own but in a sentence. Though optional, it lends the meaning of focus or emphasis.

- a) *i:ɲ dɔ siri:ɲ - ida*
 1Psg. p.e sing - prs. cont.
 'I am singing.'
- b) *i:ɲ dɔ pu thi:ɲ əgua-k- əda*
 1Psg p.e book+S.M. bring - pst -perf.
 'I have brought the book'
 (emphasis)
- or
- i:ɲ puthi də-i:ɲ əgua-kəda*
 1Psg book p.e+S.M. bring-pst perf
 'I have brought the **book**.'
 (emphasis)

2.1.8 Negation:

Santhali portrays pre-verbal negation along with two basic forms which carry pronominal markers. The two forms are 'baŋ' and 'alu'

- a) *uni dɔ i:ŋ-rɛn buiha kuri baŋ kəna*
3rd pSg p.e. 1pSg-poss younger sister neg. prs.cont
'She is not my younger sister.'
- b) *ce?t' baŋ-bu jɔm-a*
int. neg+S.M. eat+fut.
'Shall we not eat.'
- c) *una bəksa alu-m jɔtɛ-da*
that box neg-S.M. touch-prs.tense
'Don't touch that box.'

2.1.9 Nominative and Accusative:

There is no specific marker for either cases. These are known by the pronominal particle affixation with the verb agreeing in the person and number of the object and subject.

- a) *ŋyɛl -a -e*
see - fut S.M. (3Psg. Msc)
'He will see.'
- b) *ŋyɛl -et -ku kəna- a- i:ŋ*
see simple prs-O.M. (3Ppl.) prs.cont-def-S.M. (1Psg)
'I am seeing them.'

2.1.10 Definite particle:

The presence of the affix *-a* to the tensual marker of the verb indicates some kind of finiteness to the action. This kind of finiteness confirms the reality of the event at a given point of time and place.

- a) *dari* *bhindaṛ* - *ən-* *a*
tree fall - pst- def
'Tree fell.'
- b) *ra:m-e* *hɛc' – akan –* *a*
ram-S.M. come – pst.perf. - def
'Ram has come.'

2.2 INTRANSITIVES, TRANSITIVES & CAUSATIVES IN SANTHALI:

The base form in Santhali is overtly unmarked for intransitive – transitive distinction. The distinction between the intransitive and transitive forms can, however, be made on the basis of certain verbal affixes. Thus, the tertiary affix *-d* when added to the tense aspect affixes (secondary affixes) denotes transitivity. Similarly, the tertiary affix *-n* when added to the tense aspect affixes denotes intransitive/passive. Pinnow (1966). Thus, the affixes denoting tense, aspect and mood may indicate transitivity. Santhali verbal complexes are marked with the presence of pronominal affixes which may code relations such as S, DO and IO. These affixes called 'quarternary affixes' by Pinnow (1966) denote the point of origin or the goal of an action. These affixes can also be taken as markers of transitivity. These affixes coding DO and IO (either for person or number,

or for both) always precede the verb final affix *-a* (called categorical *-a* by Pinnow, 1966 and also verbal *-a* by Bodding 1929) which denotes absolutive etc. The Subject Pronominal affix can optionally follow the verbal *-a* and is always verb final, after which no affix can be added. The Causative affix in Santhali is *-o?co* (included in primary affixes by Pinnow, 1966) which is added directly to the base form before all other affixes. This affix may have a causative as well as a permissive meaning according to Konow (1906) and Bodding (1935). But, in Santhali the difference between Causative and Permissive is expressed clearly by the use of DO for the former and of IO for the latter. Sometimes the morpheme *-iri* serve to express the Permissive.

<i>cəva-iri</i>	<i>orok – iri</i>
defer-perm.	remove-perm

Perhaps, this is the influence of Mundari where the morphemes *-ici* and *-iri* serve to express the Permissive meaning.

2.2.1. CAUSATIVES IN SANTHALI:

As said earlier, Causatives are formed by the Causative suffix *-o?co* which is added directly to the base form

a) *dare* *pətu- kə -* *n- a*
 tree uproot-TAM (DO) pst.-intr-def.
 'The tree was uprooted.'

- b) *iŋ dare-ŋ pətu - kə - e - a*
 1Psg. tree-S.M. uproot. TAM(DO) pst-O.M. -def.
 'I uprooted the tree.'
- c) *iŋ gutti then khən dare - ŋ*
 1Psg servant by abl. tree-S.M.
pətu- o?co- kə - e - a
 uproot – Caus. – TAM (DO)pst O.M.-def.
 'I made the servant uproot the tree.'

then 'by/ through' and *hotete* 'by/through' occur in free variation.

To Mahajan (1982) *hotete* 'by/through' appears to be a borrowing from IA languages i.e. *hotete* literally means 'by the hands' (Hindi – *hathō*,

Kashmiri – *ath*, Assamese *hotur*). This post-position follows the Causee NP i.e. the performer agent A₂, which in turn is instigated by the Instigator (Subject) A₁, which is the Causer.

hotete 'by/through' & *then* 'by/through' perhaps point out the direct contact of the Causee NP i.e. the Performer Agent with the Object.

The Causative suffix *-o?co* is attached to all verb bases without bringing in any phonological or morphophonemic changes either in the verb stem or in the suffix. The verb base either with a closed syllable or open takes this suffix uniformly without undergoing any phonological or morphophonemic change.

<i>ŋu:r</i>	-	<i>o?co</i>
fall	-	Caus.
<i>rəŋgo</i>	-	<i>o?co</i>
burn	-	Caus.

<i>pətu</i>	-	<i>o?co</i>
uproot	-	Caus.
<i>sereŋ</i>	-	<i>o?co</i>
sing	-	Caus.

2.2.2 First and Second Degree Causatives:

The Causative suffix *-o?co* is added to the verb bases mostly when the Instigator agent (A_1) i.e. subject instigates the Performer agent (A_2) to perform the action on the object.

In the following sentences there is only one agent NP and an object (-animate)

a) *iŋ dare - ŋ pətu- kə - e- a*
 1Psg tree-S.M. uproot-TAM (DO) pst-O.M.-def.
 'I uprooted the tree.'

b) *iŋ uttu-iŋ rəŋgo- kə e- a*
 1Psg vegetable S.M. burn- TAM(DO) pst - O.M. -def
 'I burnt the vegetable.'

The Causative suffix *-o?co* is not used in the sentences given above, but when there is an increase in the argument structure, i.e. there are two agent NPs: an instigator Agent (A_1) and a performer Agent (A_2) the Causative marker is affixed to the verb. Thus:

c) *iŋ gutti then khən dare-ŋ*
 1Psg servant by abl tree-S.M.
pətu - o?co- kə e - a
 uproot Caus. TAM(DO)pst O.M. -def.
 'I made the servant uproot the tree.'

- d) *əm iŋ-a? uttu-ŋ rəŋgo-o?co- kə e- a*
 2Psg 1Psg-poss vegetable-S.M. burn-Caus. TAM(DO)pst. – O.M.def..
 'You have caused my vegetable to burn'

However, in case of the following verbs, there is an existence of both the First Degree Causative (V_j) and the Second Degree Causative (V_e) which take *o?co* in both the cases (V_j and V_e)

	V_i	V_j	V_e
walk	<i>taɾəʃm</i>	<i>taɾəʃm-o?co</i>	<i>taɾəʃm-o?co</i>
wake up	<i>beret</i>	<i>beret-o?co</i>	<i>beret-o?co</i>
fall	<i>ŋu:r</i>	<i>ŋu:r-o?co</i>	<i>ŋu:r -o?co</i>
write	<i>əul</i>	<i>əul-o?co</i>	<i>əul-o?co</i>
drink	<i>ŋu</i>	<i>ŋu-o?co</i>	<i>ŋu-o?co</i>
sit	<i>duruk</i>	<i>duruk-o?co</i>	<i>duruk-o?co</i>
sleep	<i>yəpit</i>	<i>yəpit-o?co</i>	<i>yəpit-o?co</i>
know	<i>bəɾay</i>	<i>bəɾay- o?co</i>	<i>bəɾay-o?co</i>
wear	<i>horo?</i>	<i>horo?-o?co</i>	<i>horo?-o?co</i>
study	<i>pərh</i>	<i>pərh-ay</i>	<i>pərh-a-o?co</i>

The suffix *-o?co* is attached to a verb of two or three predicate argument structure. Since, the root verb for 'study' in Santhali is *pərh*, an IA borrowing, therefore the Causative suffix for V_j here is *-ay* which is also an IA borrowing (further analysis in 2.2.3).

In the case of all the verbs mentioned above, the V_j and V_e forms with $-o?co$ suffixation occur only when the action is performed on an animate object.

For instance consider the sentence (e)

- e) *iŋ uni ʔhen khɔn-iŋ*
 1Psg. 3Psg. by abl.S.M.
ŋu:r- o?co kə - e- a
 fall Caus. TAM pst.(DO) O.M. def.
 'I made him fall.'

Here, the object is + animate, hence the verb takes $-o?co$.

But, when the object is –animate i.e. ‘vegetable’ or ‘book’ as in sentences (f) and (g) then the Causative suffix $-o?co$ is dispensed with,

- (f) *iŋ uttu-iŋ ŋu:r- kə- e- a*
 1Psg vegetable S.M. fall- TAM(DO) pst. O.M. def.
 'I made the vegetable fall.'

- (g) *iŋ bohi-ŋ ŋu:r- kə- e- a*
 1Psg book-S.M. fall-TAM pst. (DO) O.M. def.
 'I made the book fall.'

It points out that it is the \pm animacy of the object NP that decides the presence or absence of $-o?co$ in the First Degree Causative

Further, if the object is experiential in nature it lets the verb attach the overt Causative marker irrespective of the number of agent NPs the sentence has; but when the object is inexperiential in nature there is no overt causative marker in case of First Degree Causative as we saw in sentences (e), (f) & (g).

2.2.3 Indo-Aryan Borrowings in Santhali Causatives:

There are some verbs which are borrowed from IA along with their transitive –causative suffix –*ay*.

	V _j	V _e
wash	<i>səph-ay</i>	<i>səph-a-o?co</i>
escape	<i>bə̃c-ay</i>	<i>bə̃c-a-o?co</i>
make	<i>bən-ay</i>	<i>bən-a-o?co</i>
study	<i>pərh-ay</i>	<i>pərh-a-o?co</i>
hang something	<i>ləh-ay</i>	<i>ləh-a-o?co</i>
stitch	<i>sil-ay</i>	<i>sil-ay-o?co</i>

The Second Degree Causative V_e has both –*a/-ay* (IA) and –*o?co* (Santhali) Causative suffixes.

The Santhali verb *bərh-ay/bujh-ay* means ‘to understand’. Here the verb form *bujh-ay* is a borrowing from IA (Hindi). The First Degree Causative (V_j) in this case is *bujh-wa* directly taking the Hindi Causative marker –*wa* (though it is a second degree Causative marker in Hindi). The second degree Causative V_e in this case is

<i>bujh-</i>	<i>o?co-</i>	<i>wa</i>
Caus.	Caus.	
Santhali.		– IA

The Causal verbs show redundancy under contact situation.

The co-existence of IA Causative marker and Santhali Causative marker is seen only in those verbs which are borrowed from IA. The

occurrence of this kind of redundancy has not been reported earlier. May be it is a very recent phenomenon.

The Santhals, despite having a long period of contact with the neighbouring areas are the largest tribal group who have been tenaciously holding on to Santhali i.e. their traditional dialect as their mothertongue Kochar (1970). Sen (1984) observed that though they have given up their nomadic character, they retained their traditional language. Chotanagpur plateau and its adjacent areas are areas of very high maintenance of Santhali with low language shift. Ishtiaq (1997). In the study conducted by Ishtiaq to find out the variations in the degree of language shift and maintenance among the two major tribal communities, the Santhals and the Mundas of India, he has concluded that the Santhals have greater degree of language maintenance.

But the co-occurrence of IA and Santhali Causative markers in some verbs borrowed from IA show that despite having the strong hold on native language; Santhali is not away from linguistic interference from other languages it is co-existing with.

CHAPTER III
CASUATIVES IN KHARIA

3.1 BASIC CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF KHARIA:

Kharia belongs to the Munda branch of the Austro-Asiatic Sub-family which is the sub-branch of the Austric family.

3.1.1 The position of Kharia in the Munda language family:

fig 2 page (31)

3.1.2 Word Order:

Rigid SOV word order, with no alternative basic order

(a) *hokaṛ* *ḍam* - *ki*
he arrive - pst intr.
'He arrived'

(b) *magra* *golaṅ* *uḍ* - *e*
Magra ricebeer drink-Imp. prs.
'Magra drinks rice beer'.

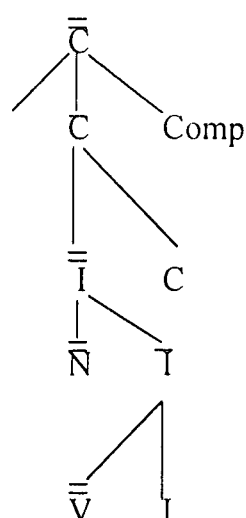
Sentences with intransitive and transitive verbs show the same word ordering. The verb is marked for aspect and /or tense, number, person (in that order). Sometimes number/person markers converge morphologically to one suffix and thus the language becomes highly inflectional. Accusative and dative object nouns are marked by *-te*. The accusative object (direct object) case marker is optionally deletable.

3.1.3 Language Typology & Tree Branching:

Munda languages are agglutinative in nature. Kharia also portrays elaborate agglutinative morphology.

- a) *kol -ob -ɲo? -ɖom -dhab - na - la?- ki - kiyar*
 rec – Caus.- eat – pass – quickly – inf.-prog – pst – du.
 ‘You both were bring fed by each other quickly’

Ordering features are indicative of the left – branching typology where the modifier precedes the modified.



3.1.4 Post Positional Language:

- (a) *u lutui.- ki guij - na - ghaɖ heke*
 this cloth pl. wash inf for is
 ‘These clothes are for washing’
- (b) *ho kopru konsel-ɖu-ga-thoŋ merom soŋ-kay-o?*
 that man woman-cl-obl-for sleep buy-ben-pst
 ‘That man bought sheep for the woman’
- (c) *tuɖa iŋ rāci-te au-na-iŋ*
 tomorrow I Ranchi-in be-fut –1Psg
 ‘I will be in Ranchi tomorrow’.

3.1.5 Pro-Drop Phenomenon:

Subject pronominal deletion is common (as the verb incorporates number – person marker) and renders the subject pronoun redundant, generating numerous V,OV structures.

- (a) *col - ki - le*
go pst 1Ppl.excl
'We went'
- (b) *pe? bor-na ϕ am-si-pe*
food ask-inf come-perf.-2Ppl
'You have come to beg for food'.

3.1.6 Ambivalent word classes:

The grammatical class ambivalence of the Kharia word is clearly exemplified in the operative derivational processes, as in the formation of verbs from nominal bases.

- (a) *duraj* 'song'
hoki kolo-wa? m \acute{a} hima duraj-ki-may
they priest-of greatness song-pst-3Ppl
'They sang of the greatness of the priest'

Adjectives can be nominalised by - *ϕ om*, - *ϕ u* suffixation

- (b) *maha* 'big'
maha - ϕ om
big cl
'The big one'
- (c) *konon* 'small'
konon - ϕ u
small cl
'The small one'

Adjectives can also act as verb-bases

- (d) *osel* 'white' *mogher* 'black'
tirib *osel-mogher-na* *mare-yo?*
cloud white-black –inf begin-pst-tr.
'The sky started darkening'.

Pinnow (1966) hypothesizes that the infinitive suffix *-na* used to denote verbs formally, is a borrowing from Hindi.

3.1.7 Possessive Constructions:

In possessive constructions, in accordance with the SOV ordering, the possessor possessed order is maintained in expressions denoting alienable possession, and the possessor noun is marked by the possessive suffix *-a?* or its morphophonemic variant *-wa?*.

- (a) *am-a?* *po?da*
you-poss village
'Your village'

- (b) *daru-wa?* *luku*
tree-poss fruit
'Fruit of the tree'.

However, in the expression of inalienable possession, the order is reversed i.e. it is possessed – possessor ordering.

- (c) *aba-ijn*
father – my
'My father'

- (d) *bokob-ɕom*
head-his
'His head'

- (e) *goejlo - nom*
 field – your
 ‘Your field’

In the expression of inalienable possession, where the possessor is denoted by a noun, there is double possessive marking, of both the possessor and the possessed noun.

- (f) *johan – a? beṭi-ḍom*
 Johan-poss daughter – poss.3Psg
 ‘Johan’s daughter’

Sometimes, there may be redundant possessive marking when the possessor is overtly denoted by an independent pronoun.

- (g) *iŋ-a? aba-iŋ*
 I –poss father-poss-1Psg.
 ‘My father’

- (h) *am - a? boṅtel-nom*
 You poss buffalo-poss.2Psg
 ‘Your buffalo’

The apparent redundancy (as a result of double possessive marking) may perhaps denote a transitional stage in the shift towards the ‘preferred’ possessor possessed ordering characteristic of the rigid SOV typology (Malhotra, 1982).

3.1.8 Negation:

The negative construction in Kharia exemplifies the universal tendency of negative attraction to the verb irrespective of the element to be negated. It portrays pre-verbal negation.

Lexical Negation-

The negative marker is *um*. *um*-prefixation is a very common morphological negating process

- (a) *lere?* *um-lere?* *neg – happy*
‘happy’ ‘unhappy’
- (b) *bes* *um-bes* *neg-good*
‘good’ ‘bad’

Question words are negated by *jou* lit ‘also’. It functions as the emphatic negative marker.

- (c) *i* ‘what’ *i-jou* ‘nothing’
- (d) *atu* ‘where’ *atu-jou* ‘nowwhere’
- (e) *ber* ‘who’ *ber-jou* ‘nobody’

Sentence Negation-

- (f) *iŋ pe? ŋo? – t-iŋ*
I rice eat-tr.prs-1Psg.
‘I eat rice’
- iŋ pe? um- iŋ- ŋo?- te*
I rice neg-1Psg eat-prs.tr.
‘I don’t eat rice’.

The negative particle is prefixed to the verb which is sentence final, the person pronominal termination advances from the verb suffix to the negative marker suffix position. Dual and plural forms are also suffixed to the negative marker.

However, in the second person singular form where morphological alternation is possible, there the contracted pronominal form is suffixed either to the negative marker or to the verb:

- (g) *am kisro lebu um-em heke*
 you rich man neg-2Psg is
 'You are not a rich man'
am kisro lebu um heke-m
 you rich man neg is-2Psg
 'You are not a rich man.'

In modal forms it is possible to inflect either the finite modal verb or the preceding negative marker for number/person marking:

- (h) *ij co-na pal-t-ij*
 I go-inf. can-tr.fut.1Psg
 'I can go'
ij co-na um-ij pal-e
 I go-inf. neg-1Psg can-tr.fut
 'I cannot go'
ij co-na um pal-t-ij
 I go-inf neg. can-tr.fut-1Psg
 'I cannot go'

Negatives are just like Kurux or any Dravidian language

Sentence Negation also occurs with *umbo*

- (i) *umbo beṭ-ij jigræ na lage aram-kunru heke*
 neg daughter-my porcupine not is son-in-law-child is
 'No my daughter, it is not a porcupine, he is the son-in-law'.

na-lage is also used in Sadari for negation.

umbo also occurs in alternative yes-no questions.

- (j) *kiro delta no umbo*
 tiger comes or not
 'Does the tiger come or not?'

umbo co-occurs with reduplicated monosyllabic verb bases to express the capability passive. This form is restricted to the expression of the first person singular.

(k) *umbo yo? yo?*
neg see see
'I could not see it'.

(l) *umbo no? no?*
neg eat eat
'I could not eat'

3.2 CAUSATIVES IN KHARIA:

In Kharia causatives are formed by the prefix *ob-~o* and the derivative infix *-b-*. These are phonologically conditioned (Phonological Rules 3.2.3). Malhotra (1982) notes that there is 'a distinct predilection ... in the use of *-b-* infix in the derivation of transitives from intransitives, and *ob-*, *o-* prefix in the derivation of causatives from transitives'. Zide (1985) says that there are phonological conditions which determine whether a verb is infix taking or not. According to him monosyllabic stems take the causative prefix *ob-~o-* as do bimorphemic stems and borrowed stems. However, in the absence of any etymological historical study on Kharia it is not possible to say which are the borrowed stems and which are the indigenous ones. Zide (1985) further points out that the remainder i.e. the disyllabic monomorphemic stems take the infix *-b-*. Whether, further conditions on the shape of the disyllable govern infix selection is however

not clear to him. He sees the correlation of *-b-* infix with intransitive *-to-* transitive derivation and *ob-~o-* prefix with transitive *-to-causative* derivation as indicating nothing more than a greater proportion of disyllabic monomorphemic stems in the intransitive stem inventory.

The non-causal verb base V_i can be transitive V_i^{tr} or intransitive V_i^{intr} .

3.2.1 Intransitive Verbs:

Intransitive verbs may be sub-categorized into object oriented adjectival states, object oriented processes, and agent oriented action verbs.

Adjectival State Verbs

<i>osel</i>	white	<i>o-b-sel</i>	whiten
<i>bhore</i>	full	<i>bho-b-re</i>	fill
<i>jhelob</i>	long	<i>jhe-b-lob</i>	lengthen
<i>baru</i>	good	<i>ba-b-ru</i>	make good

The one-place predicate adjectival states are expressed by the verb plus the perfective aspect marker *-si?*, which denotes an achieved already completed state. It may also be expressed with the stative copula.

(a) *kunḍa* *bhore-si?*
pitcher full-perf
'The pitcher is full'

(b) *kunḍa* *bhore* *aij*
pitcher full is
'The pitcher is full'

The inchoative (signifying the process of becoming, of change to a certain state) is expressed by intransitive verb termination.

- (c) *kunḍa* *bhore -ta*
pitcher full-prs.intr.
‘The pitcher is filling’/ ‘The pitcher is becoming full’.

The verb, basically object oriented has only one nominal argument. *-b-* infixation entails incorporation of the performer agent; this derivational step results in the increase of nominal arguments taken by the verb from one to two.

- (d) *am* *kunḍa-te* *bho-b-re*
You pitcher-acc full-Caus
‘You fill the pitcher’.

Process verbs:

<i>pi?na</i>	to break	<i>ob-pi?-na</i>	to cause to break
<i>goe?-na</i>	to die	<i>ob-goe?-na</i>	to cause to die
<i>lob-na</i>	to burn (of body parts)	<i>ob-lob-na</i>	to cause to burn (of body parts)
<i>oṛeb-na</i>	to get cold	<i>o-b-ṛeb-na</i>	to cause to get cold
<i>gur-na</i>	to fall	<i>ob-gur-na</i>	to cause to fall
<i>mu?-rel-na</i>	to rise (of moon)	<i>ob-mu?-rel-na</i>	to cause to rise (of moon)
<i>mu?-siṅ-na</i>	to rise (of sun)	<i>ob-mu?-siṅ-na</i>	to cause to rise (of sun)

*ob-*prefixation, *-b-*infixation to intransitive one place predicate, object oriented process verbs result in agent-object oriented action – process verbs. The extension of the predicate frame by one nominal argument results in the incorporation of a performer agent.

- (e) *daṛu* - *tay* *kayar* *gur-ki*
tree - from mango fall pst.intr.
‘The mango fell from the tree’.

- (f) *moʃ kolega iʃ-a? kuyu-te ob-gur-o?*
 one monkey I-poss pot-acc Caus.fall-pst.tr.
 ‘The monkey made my pot fall’.

Agent Oriented intransitive verbs:

<i>puɕ-na</i>	to jump	<i>ob-puɕ-na</i>	to cause to jump
<i>ɕiyar-na</i>	to enter	<i>ɕi-b-?ar-na</i>	to cause to enter
<i>yar-na</i>	to flee	<i>ob-yar-na</i>	to cause to flee
<i>ɕeb-na</i>	to climb	<i>o-ɕeb-na</i>	to cause to climb
<i>ɕo ko-na</i>	to sit	<i>ɕo-b-ko-na</i>	to cause to sit
<i>tomon-na</i>	to stand	<i>to-b-mon-na</i>	to cause to stand

The derivation of causative verb forms by *ob-~o-*prefix and *-b-*infix result in the extension of the predicate frame to include an instigator agent (A₁) who instigates the performer agent (A₂) to the activity denoted by the verb.

- (g) *lebu-ki ɕoko-yo-ki*
 man-pl sit-pst-intr.3pl.
 ‘The people were sitting’

- (h) *(am pe) ho lebu - ki - te ɕo-b-ko-ye-pe*
 2pl. those man - pl - acc. sit-Caus-imp.tr-2pl
 ‘Make those people sit down’

3.2.2 Transitive Verbs

<i>ʃo?-na</i>	to eat	<i>ob-ʃo?-na</i>	to cause to eat
<i>uɕ-na</i>	to drink	<i>ob-uɕ-na</i>	to cause to drink
<i>yo-na</i>	to see	<i>ob-yo-na</i>	to cause to see
<i>kui-na</i>	to find	<i>ob-kui-na</i>	to cause to find
<i>dho?-na</i>	to catch/hold	<i>ob-dho?-na</i>	to cause to catch/hold
<i>tardi-na</i>	to light	<i>ob-tardi-na</i>	to cause to light
<i>lam-na</i>	to search	<i>ob-lam-na</i>	to cause to search
<i>toʃ-na</i>	to drive	<i>ob-toʃ-na</i>	to cause to drive

The causativised verb takes a minimally three place predicate frame, incorporating the instigator agent (A₁), the performer agent (A₂) and the direct object (DO).

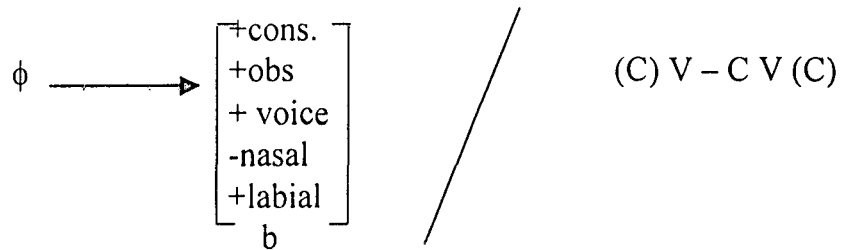
- (a) *konon beṭi col-ki ro dhangar -te ob-uḡ-o?*
 small girl go-pst and servant to Caus-drink-pst-tr.

‘The young girl went and gave water to drink to the servant’ or,

‘The young girl went and fed water to the servant’.

3.2.3 Phonological Rules:

Rule 1-b- Infixation



- (i) *lusu - na* ‘to snatch’
lu-b-su-na ‘to cause to snatch’
- (ii) *oṇoṇ-na* ‘to hear’
o-b-ṇoṇ-na ‘to cause to hear’
- (iii) *oṛ eb -na* ‘to get cold’
o-b-ṛeb-na ‘to casue to get cold’
- (iv) *al əm - na* ‘to sing’
a-b-ləṃ-na ‘to cause to sing’
- (v) *osel* ‘white’
o-b-sel ‘whiten’
- (vi) *jhelob* ‘long’
jhe-b-lob ‘lengthen’

- (vii) *iŋam-na* 'to weep'
i-b-ŋam-na 'to cause to weep'
- (viii) *laɕa-na* 'to laugh'
la-b-ɕa-na 'to cause to laugh'
- (ix) *bo toŋ-na* 'to fear'
bo-b-toŋ-na 'to cause to fear'
- (x) *tomon-na* 'to stand'
to-b-mon-na 'to cause to stand'
- (xi) *ɕoko-na* 'to sit'
ɕo-b-ko-na 'to cause to sit'
- (xii) *jore-na* 'to fix'
job-b-re-na 'to cause to fix'
- xiii) *ɕiyar-na* 'to enter'
**ɕi-b-yar-na* 'to cause to enter'

ɕi-b-?ar-na 'to cause to enter' because the underlying representation of the stem is *di?ar*

Certain disyllabic monomorphemic stems,

- sangoɕ-na* 'to walk'
aŋku-na 'to cover'
pabtar-na 'to light'

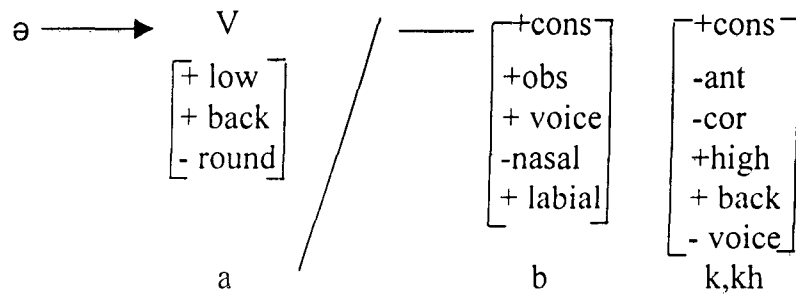
do not take *-b-* infix as these do not meet the structural description of the Rule 1.

Further the consonant cluster *-bŋg-*, *bŋk-*, *-bbt-* is not permissible.

When the disyllabic monomorphemic stems are unable to take *-b-* infix, they take *ob-* prefix. Thus,

<i>sango</i> ϕ- <i>na</i>	‘to walk’
<i>ob-sango</i> ϕ- <i>na</i>	‘to cause to walk’
<i>aŋku</i> - <i>na</i>	‘to cover’
<i>ob-aŋku</i> - <i>na</i>	‘to cause to cover’
<i>pabtar</i> - <i>na</i>	‘to light’
<i>ob-pabtar</i> - <i>na</i>	‘to cause to light’

Rule 2:



Rule 1 and Rule 2 are ordered

Rule 1 precedes Rule 2

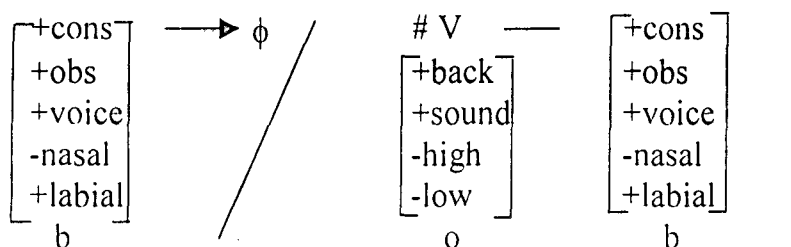
(a)

	<i>cəkhay-na</i>	‘to taste’
Rule 1	↓	
	<i>cəb-khay-na</i>	‘to cause to taste’
Rule 2	↓	
	<i>ca-b-khay-na</i>	‘to cause to taste’

(ii)

	<i>thəkay-na</i>	‘to get tired’
Rule 1	↓	
	<i>thəb-kay-na</i>	‘to cause to get tired’
Rule 2	↓	
	<i>tha-b-kay-na</i>	‘to cause to get tired’

Rule 3:



- | | | |
|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (i)
(by <i>ob</i> -prefixation)
Rule 3 | ↓
<i>bor-na</i>
↓
<i>ob-bornā</i>
↓
<i>o-bor-na</i> | 'to ask'

'to cause to ask'

'to cause to ask' |
| (ii)
(<i>ob</i> -prefix)
Rule 3 | ↓
<i>bu?jhi-na</i>
↓
<i>ob-bu?jhi-na</i>
↓
<i>o-bu?jhi-na</i> | 'to understand'

'to cause to understand'

'to cause to understand' |
| (iii)
(<i>ob</i> -prefix)
Rule 3 | ↓
<i>bēce-na</i>
↓
<i>ob-bēc-ay-na</i>
↓
<i>o-bēc-ay-na</i> | 'to escape'

'to cause to escape'

'to cause to escape' |
| (iv)
(<i>ob</i> -prefix)
Rule 3 | ↓
<i>biṛ-na</i>
↓
<i>ob-biṛ-na</i>
↓
<i>o-biṛ-na</i> | 'to sow'

'to cause to sow'

'to cause to sow' |

3.2.4 Second Degree Causative (Ve):

There are some verbs in Kharia (experiencer verbs and certain other verbs) where, after the causative infixation of *-b-* there is a repetitive application of the prefix *ob*-resulting in second degree causatives or indirect causatives. In the same structure (second degree casusative) both the infix *-b-* as well as the prefix *ob*-occur.

V_i	V_j	V_e
<i>lu su -na</i> to snatch	<i>lu-b-su-na</i>	<i>ob-lu-b-su-na</i>
<i>laḍa-na</i> to laugh	<i>la-b-ḍa-na</i>	<i>ob-la-b-ḍa-na</i>
<i>aləm-na</i> to sing	<i>a-b-ləm-na</i>	<i>ob-a-b-ləm-na</i>
<i>ḍi yar-na</i> to enter	<i>ḍi-b-?ar-na</i>	<i>ob-ḍi-b-?ar-na</i>
<i>thəkay-na</i> to get tired	<i>tha-b-kay-na</i>	<i>ob-tha-b-kay-na</i>
<i>cəkḥay-na</i> to taste	<i>ca-b-kḥay-na</i>	<i>ob-ca-b-kḥay-na</i>
<i>iḥam-na</i> to weep	<i>i-b-ḥam-na</i>	<i>ob-i-b-ḥam-na</i>
<i>bo toḥ-na</i> to fear	<i>bo-b-toḥ-na</i>	<i>o-bo-b-toḥ-na</i>
<i>ḍo ko-na</i> to sit	<i>ḍo-b-ko-na</i>	<i>ob-ḍob-ko-na</i>
<i>jore-na</i> to fix	<i>jo-b-re-na</i>	<i>ob-jo-b-re-na</i>
<i>sului-na</i> to luke warm	<i>su-b-lui-na</i>	<i>ob-su-b-lui-na</i>
<i>ului-na</i> to boil	<i>u-b-lui-na</i>	<i>ob-u-b-lui-na</i>

However, according to Malhotra (1982) and Zide (1985) morphological indirect causation is rare in Kharia.¹ These double causatives seem to have borrowed the strategy of forming double causatives from Hindi. This is the example of borrowing grammatical pattern without borrowing the lexicon – a case of intense and stable contact.

¹ Only in two verbs do *ko-na* 'to sit' and *ului-na* 'to boil' indirect causation of this kind reported.

Second degree causatives are also expressed syntactically by taking recourse to the verb ‘to say’. Here the instigator agent (A₁) asks the performer agent (A₂) to perform the action

- (a) *dhobi dhangar beṭa-te lutui ko-b-sor-na gam-o?*
 washerman servant boy-to cloth dry-Caus. inf. say-pst-tr.

‘The washerman made the servant boy dry the clothes’.

There are other double causatives where the Indo-Aryan and the Kharia derivational paradigms coexist. However, these are only with borrowed Indo Aryan verb stems

<i>V_i</i>	<i>V_j</i>	<i>V_e</i>
<i>likhe-na</i> to write	<i>likh-ay-na/likh-way-na</i>	<i>ob-likh-way-na</i>
<i>sudhər-na</i> to improve	<i>sudhr-ay-na</i>	<i>ob-sudhər-way-na</i>
<i>kəray-na</i> to do	<i>kər-way-na</i>	<i>ob-kər-way-na</i>
<i>pighle-na</i> to melt	<i>pighl-ay-na</i>	<i>ob-pighəl-way-na</i>
<i>khule-na</i> to open	<i>khol-ay-na</i>	<i>ob-khol-way-na</i>
<i>mən-ay-na</i> to cajole	<i>mən-way-na</i>	<i>ob-mən-way-na</i>
<i>ləday-na</i> to load	<i>ləd-way-na</i>	<i>ob-ləd-way-na</i>

Here, in the Second Degree Causative (indirect causative) the Indo-Aryan causative marker *-wa* co-exist with the Kharia causative marker.

However there are instances when the Indo-Aryan Second Degree Causative marker *-wa* is used by the borrowed Indo Aryan lexicon by itself, without the support of Kharia causative marker.

V_i	V_e
<i>jor̥e-na</i>	<i>jur̥-way-na</i>
to fix	
<i>ruk-na</i>	<i>ruk-way-na</i>
to stop	
<i>phael-na</i>	<i>phael-way-na</i>
to spread	
<i>th̥əhre-na</i>	<i>th̥əθ̥r-way-na</i>
to provide temporary lodging	
<i>sikhe-na</i>	<i>sikh-way-na</i>
to learn	

The Indo Aryan Causative marker *-a* (direct causation) often exist by itself as in:

V_i	V_j
<i>l̥ə̣ək-na</i>	<i>l̥ə̣tk-ay-na</i>
to hang	
<i>buli-na</i>	<i>bul-ay-na</i>
to go out for walk	
<i>jhule-na</i>	<i>jhul-ay-na</i>
to swing	
<i>phael-na</i>	<i>phael-ay-na</i>
to spread	
<i>sikhe-na</i>	<i>sikh-ay-na</i>
to learn	
<i>th̥əhre-na</i>	<i>th̥əθ̥r-ay-na</i>
to provide temporary lodging	
<i>likhe-na</i>	<i>likh-ay-na</i>
to write	
<i>ruk-na</i>	<i>rok-ay-na</i>
to stop	
<i>pighle-na</i>	<i>pighl-ay-na</i>
to melt	
<i>khule-na</i>	<i>khul-ay-na</i>
to open	

But in many instances even *-a*, the Indo-Aryan direct causative marker co-exist with the Kharia causative marker.

V_i	V_j
<i>pəṛhe-na</i>	<i>ob-pəṛh-ay-na</i>
to study	
<i>bṛ̃ce-na</i>	<i>o-bṛ̃c-ay-na</i>
to escape	

The Kharia morphological causative marker *ob-~o- ~-b-* on one hand and the Indo Aryan causative markers *-a* and *-wa-* on the other, do exist in free-variation, creating two parallel structures within the same grammar.

V_i	V_e
<i>joṛe-na</i>	<i>ob-jo-b-ṛe-na/jur-way-na</i>
to fix	

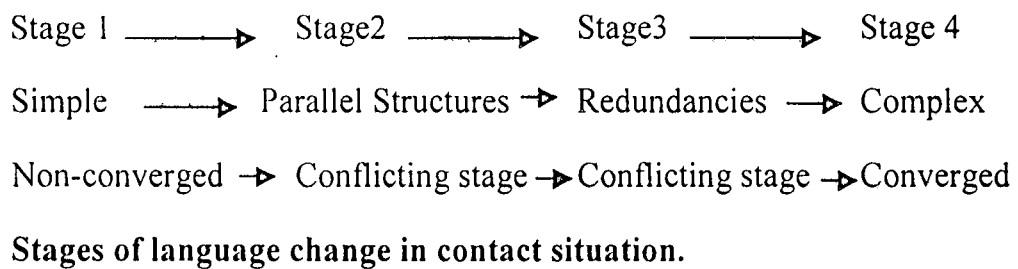
Abbi (1998) points out that this leads to redundancies in morphological and syntactic patterns.

V_e
<i>ob- likh- way- na</i>
Caus. write Caus. inf.
(Kh) (IA)
<i>ob- sudhəṛ- way- na</i>
Caus- improve- Caus inf
(Kh) (IA)
<i>ob- kəṛ- way- na</i>
Caus- do- Caus- inf.
(Kh) (IA)
<i>ob- khol- way- na</i>
Caus- open- Caus- inf.
(Kh) (IA)

ob- pighəl - way- na
 Caus- melt- Caus - inf.
 (Kh) (IA)

These are the result of redundancy under contact situation.

“From the journey of simple non-converged stage to the complex and converged one, languages pass through a stage of parallel structures which are in free variation (and thus create optionality of use) and then through a stage of redundancies where original structure of the recipient language co-exists with the structure of the donor languages concurrently. These two stages might be considered as conflicting stages which may not last several generations. These stages of language change can be summarized as:



The terms ‘simple’ and ‘complex’ are relative terms used in comparison to structures of the language before and after contact”. (Abbi, 1998).

Thus, in the stages mentioned by Abbi (1998) Kharia clearly falls in the conflicting stage as parallel structures and redundancies are commonly seen in the case of morphological causative markers of Kharia.

For the formation of Second Degree Causative in Kharia it employs – *b*- infixation followed by repetitive prefixation of *ob*-or by the co-existence of IA and Kharia causative marker or simply by the IA causative marker. The co-existence of IA causative marker along with Kharia causative marker or the independent existence of IA causative marker takes place only in those verb stems which are borrowed from IA. For those verb-stems which are indigenous to Kharia the technique followed is through –*b*- infixation and further prefixation of –*ob*-. But, as Rule 1 (3.2.3) states, monosyllabic verb stems do not take –*b*- infixation, so Second Degree Causative for the monosyllabic verb indigenous to Kharia cannot be formed through this technique.

There are some monosyllabic verb stems indigenous to Kharia, which form Second Degree Causatives as:

V_i	V_j	V_e
<i>deb-na</i> to climb	<i>o-deb-na</i>	<i>ob-deb-na</i>
<i>?eb-na</i> to burn	<i>o-?eb-na</i>	<i>ob-?eb-na</i>
<i>leŋ-na</i> to fly	<i>o-leŋ-na</i>	<i>ob-leŋ-na</i>

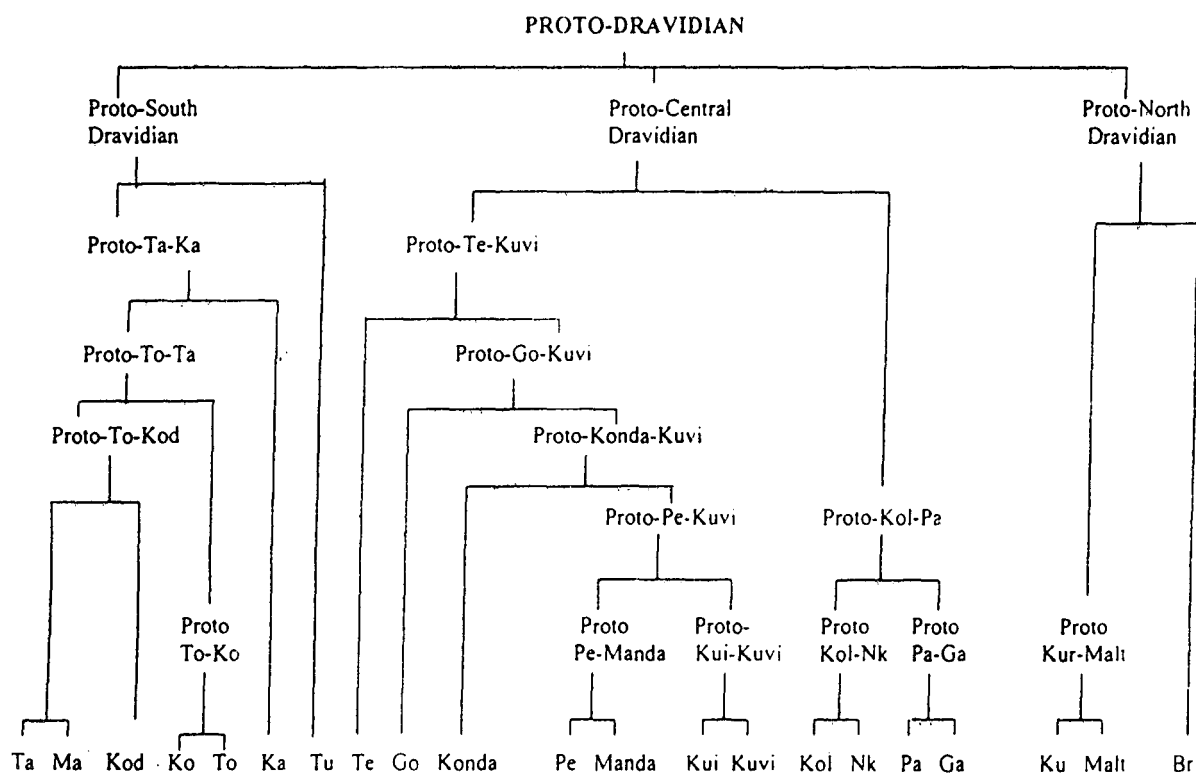
Majority of the monosyllabic verb stems indigenous to Kharia however do not form Second Degree Causatives. The above situation exhibits strong contact.

CHAPTER IV

CAUSATIVES IN KURUX

4.1 BASIC CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF KURUX:

4.1.1. The position of Kurux in the Dravidian Language Family:



ig.3 Stammbaum of the Dravidian Languages (from Subrahmanyam, 1971)

Ta-Tamil, Ma-Malayalam, Kod-Kodagu, Ko-Kota, To-Toda, Ka-Kannada, Tu-Tulu, Te-Telugu, Go-Gondi, Pe-Pengo, Kol-Kolami, Nk-Naiki, Pa-Parji, Ga-Gadba, Ku-Kurux, Malt-Malto, Br-Brahui

4.1.2 Aspiration:

Kurux has all the aspirated consonants (voiceless as well as voiced) whereas there are no voiced aspirates in Dravidian languages.

/bh/	<i>bhin-na</i> <i>rabh</i> <i>morbha</i> <i>bhengle</i> <i>bhokṛo</i>	to be absorbed alluvium aloe amiable hole, cavity
/dh/	<i>dhoreā</i> <i>dhirhi</i> <i>nəḍha</i> <i>madhri</i>	imaginary flower bud leather string kite
/ḍh/	<i>ḍhuku</i> <i>ḍhəpən</i> <i>ḍhodhro</i> <i>ḍhith</i>	to adjust concubine hollow (of a tree) impertinent
/gh/	<i>dəgha</i> <i>ghəskarna</i>	blot to abscond

4.1.3. Nasalized Vowels:

Kurux has nasalized vowels, common in Indo-Aryan languages but not found in Dravidian in general (though Telugu has some evidence of nasalization).

<i>kūrā</i>	large earthen pot
<i>cīxnā</i>	to cry
<i>ceṛā</i>	young

<i>kohā</i>	big
<i>beḍā</i>	wooden bolt for door

4.1.4 Unlike Dravidian languages Kurux has fricative (x) and glottal stop (?)

4.1.5 Word -Order:

SOV Word Order

- a) *erpa dhəṣəṛ-a ker-a*
house break-pst go (suddenly).pst
'The house was broken.'
- b) *en mənne-nū əṛə-kən*
1Psg.Nom tree-loc climb-pst
'I climbed on to the tree.'

It is a post-positional language.

The Kurux verb agrees in number, person and gender with the subject.

- c) *en bəṛ- d- ən*
1Psg.(M) come Tns (pres) - Agr (1Psg M)
'I come.'
- d) *en bəṛ-en*
1Psg (F) come-fused Tns-Agr node
Tense - ϕ (Pres.)
Agr - en(1Psg.F)
'I come.'

4.1.6. Number:

There are only two numbers in Kurux, singular and plural. But it is only realis entities which have number. Kurux shares this Dravidian feature

of human plural with Telugu, Malto and South Dravidian languages. All other irrealis entities are taken to be unquantifiable, and therefore not given 'number' as such. Rather classifier-like elements are added to these nouns to signify quantity.

The singular marker for masculine nouns is *-s*, *-əʃ*

- a) *al* *al-əʃ*
 (N stem) (sg Msc)
 Man
- b) *Kukko* *Kukko-s*
 (N Stem) (sg. Msc.)
 Young Boy.

There is no singular marker for feminine nouns

- c) *al-* *i*
 (sg.F)
 Wife
- d) *pell-* *o*
 (sg.F)
 Girl
- e) *lell-* *e*
 (Sg. F)
 Little Girl
- f) *mukk-* *ə*
 (Sg. F)
 Woman
- g) *xədd-* *a*
 (Sg. F)
 Child

The plural number is marked for both the genders by *-ər* or *-r*

For the irrealis nouns, plural formation is by means of adding *guthi* to the singular indefinite.

- h) *əddo-* 'ox'
 əddoguthi- 'oxen'
- i) *mənn -* 'tree'
 mənn^gguthi - 'trees'

guthi can also be used by realis nouns but only when these nouns themselves are in the plural ending.

- j) *mukk-ər* *guthi* 'women'
 **mukkə* *guthi*
- k) *alər* *guthi* 'men'
 **aləs* *guthi*

4.1.7 Classifiers:

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. Classifier *jhən* 'human' is used with 'human' referents and classifier *ṭhu/ṭho/gotaṅ/gota* is used with 'non human' referents.

- a) *duwē/irb* *jhən* *al-ə*
 two cl man -pl.
 'two classifier -men.'
- b) *cəir/nəib/nəx* *jhən* *pello-r*
 four cl young woman-pl
 'Four-classifier -young women.'
- c) *ē* *goṭa* *mənn*
 two cl tree
 'two-classifier-trees.'

4.1.8. Compounds:

- | | | | | |
|----|--------------------|-----------|---------------|--------------------|
| a) | <i>ujjna</i> | 'to live' | <i>okkna</i> | 'to sit' |
| | <i>ujjna okkna</i> | | | 'livelihood' |
| b) | <i>bhai</i> | 'brother' | <i>aləs</i> | 'man' |
| | <i>neota aləs</i> | | | 'invited
guest' |
| c) | <i>xənn</i> | 'eye' | <i>pənḍru</i> | 'white' |
| | <i>xənn pənḍru</i> | | | 'cataract' |

4.1.9. Possessive Pronouns:

Possessive pronouns are, in fact, the genitive forms of personal pronouns. They are formed by adding the suffix *-həi* to the oblique bases of the personal pronouns.

- a) *en* - *həi*
 1Psg - poss.
 'my'
- b) *em-* *həi*
 1P pl poss
 excl.
 'our'

c) *nin* - *həi*
 2Psg - poss
 'thy'

d) *nim* - *həi*
 2Ppl - poss
 'your'

4.1.10. Negation:

məl- is the negative particle

1) *məl-dən* - This is the indefinite form of the verb.

a) *en* *belən* *məldən*
 1Psg king not be
 'I am not a king'.

2) *məlyən* – This is the definite form of the verb, and is used in the
 qualitative sense

b) *en* *məll-yən*
 1Psg not am
 'I am not (what you suppose)'.

3) *məl-kən* – This is also the definite form of the verb but is used in the
 locative sense.

c) *en* ~~*məl*~~ *ən*
 1Psg not am (here)
 'I am not (here).'

The uninflected form of negation also exists – ‘mal’. This ‘mal’ combines with different auxiliaries to give the following meanings:

- d) *mal* *hike*
not be
- e) *mal* - *məno*
not will be

The meaning is better conveyed by the Hindi form *nəhī̄ hoga*, i.e. ‘will not be’

This produces the flavour of obligatoriness or impossibility.

- 4) *mal* - also combines with the adjective *dəo* (good) to form *maldəo*
(not good)

maldəo has a very flexible semantics – it can mean anything from ‘not good’ to ‘not beautiful’ to ‘not interesting’.

4.2 INTRANSITIVES, TRANSITIVES AND CAUSATIVES IN KURUX:

Intransitive/reflexive bases are formed by the addition of *-r/-ar* to the root.

<i>eṭ</i>	to tear (cloth)	<i>eṭr</i>	to be torn
<i>noṛ</i>	to wash	<i>noṛr</i>	to be washed
<i>pūji</i>	property	<i>pūjiyar</i>	to become rich
<i>kæer</i>	anger	<i>kæerar</i>	to be filled with anger

Transitives are formed by the addition of *-ə?a/-bə?a* to the root.

<i>ləja-bə?a</i>	to put one to shame
<i>əgdh-ə?a</i>	to overfeed
<i>ət̪k-ə?a</i>	to stop
<i>ʔəsk-ə?a</i>	to budge
<i>moxr-ə?a</i>	to blacken

Causatives are formed by attaching the Causative suffix *-tə?a* to the root.

<i>okk</i>	to sit	<i>okk-tə?a</i>	to seat
<i>khətr</i>	to fall	<i>khətr-tə?a</i>	to fell
<i>ba?</i>	to speak	<i>ba?-tə?a</i>	to call
<i>ōg</i>	to swim	<i>ōg-tə?a</i>	to make one swim
<i>xəndr</i>	to sleep	<i>xəndr-tə?a</i>	to put to sleep
<i>ejr</i>	to wake	<i>ejr-tə?a</i>	to awaken someone
<i>es?</i>	to break	<i>es?-tə?a</i>	to cause to break

There is an alternant form *-d*.

<i>ōn</i>	to eat / to drink	<i>ōn-d/ ōn-tə?a</i>	to feed /to give to drink
<i>men</i>	to hear	<i>men-d/men-tə?a</i>	to tell

However, in case of *ōn-d* and *ōn-tə?a*, *ōn-tə?a* is the more preferred form.

a)	<i>en</i>	<i>əm</i>	<i>ōn-</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ləg-d-</i>	<i>ən</i>
	1Psg	water	drink-	tr.	feel-pst-	1sg.msc
	'I am drinking water.'					

b) *en xədd-əs-in əm ðn-tə?a -ləg-d-ən*
 1Psg child-Sg-acc water drink-Caus. feel-pst-1sg.msc
 'I am making the child drink water.'

c) *en xədd-ə s-in aya-ti əm*
 1Psg child-Sg-acc maid-by water
ðn-tə?a-c-kən
 drink-Caus-pst.tense
 'I made the maid make the child drink water.'

4.2.1 Causatives in Kurux:

As mentioned earlier, *-tə?a* is the Causative suffix in Kurux.

However *-d* also occurs with the verbs ending in *-n*.

<i>likh</i>	write	<i>likh-tə?a</i>	to cause to write
<i>kəm</i>	build	<i>kəm-tə?a</i>	to cause to build
<i>pərh</i>	read/study	<i>pərh a-wa-tə?a</i>	to cause to read
<i>ðn</i>	drink/eat	<i>ðn -tə?a/on-d</i>	to casue to drink /eat
<i>ojj</i>	stitch	<i>ojj-tə?a</i>	to cause to stitch
<i>cāx</i>	sow	<i>cāxtə?a</i>	to cause to sow
<i>pighlər</i>	melt	<i>pighla-tə?a</i>	to cause to melt
<i>pit</i>	die	<i>pit-tə?a</i>	to cause to die
<i>nɔr</i>	wash	<i>nɔr-tə?a</i>	to cause to wash
<i>bithra</i>	spread	<i>bithra – tə?a</i>	to cause to spread
<i>dhər</i>	hold/catch	<i>dhər-tə?a</i>	to cause to hold/catch

- a) *en* *mənn-enu* *əɾə-kən*
 1Psg.Nom tree-loc climb-pst.tense
 I climbed the tree
- b) *en* *asin* *mənn-enu* *ərg-əʔa-c-kən*
 1Psg.ag 3psg tree-loc climb- tr-
 pst.tense
 'I made him climb the tree.'
- c) *en* *asin raməs-ti* *mənn-enu* *ərg-təʔa-c-kən*
 1Psg ag 3Psg Ram-by tree – loc climb-Caus-pst.tns
 'I made Ram make him climb the tree.'

Here in the above example, the Instigator agent (A₁), instigates the performer agent (A₂) which is post-positioned with the Instrumental case – by and the verb takes the Causative suffix *-təʔa*.

In the other North Dravidian languages, Malto and Brahui, the Causative suffixes are *-tr* and *-if ~ -f* respectively.

In Malto, as in Kurux the Causative suffix is *-d* after verbs ending in *-n*.

eg. **Malto**
on to drink *on-d* to cause to drink
pun- to put on *pun-d* to make to put on

(Source: Subrahmanyam, 1971).

In Malto, a Causative base with the suffix *-tr* can again take the Causative suffix *tit* converting the First Degree Causative into Second Degree Causative or double Causative.

	V _i		V _j		V _e
et	to come down	et-tr-	to take down	et-tr-tit	to cause to take down
baj	to strike	baj-tr	to cause to strike	baj-tr-tit	to cause (someone) to cause (another) to strike

(Source : Subrahmanyam, 1971)

In Brahui, the Causative suffix *-if* can be added to a Causative base that already has the Causative suffix *if~f* to convert it into double Causative.

	V _i		V _j		V _e
ka?	to die	kas-f	to kill	kas-f-if	to cause to be killed
xuli	to be afraid	xul ipf-	to frighten	xuli-f-if	to cause to be frightened

(Source: Subrahmanyam, 1971.)

But, in Kurux there is no such process of deriving a double Causative. However, Mishra (1991) does mention the Second Degree Causative suffix *-tə-tə?a* but this has not been supported by other studies (Subrahmanyam, 1971; Masica, 1976) and the present study too did not find the occurrence of the double Causative suffix *-tə-tə?a*.

4.2.2 Indo-Aryan Borrowings in Kurux Causatives

A large proportion of Indo-Aryan loan words have been incorporated and assimilated in the Kurux lexical inventory. There has been an extensive Aryanization of the Kurux vocabulary. There has been approx 3000 verbs borrowed from Indo Aryan into Kurux (Mishra, 1991). Eg. *likh-na* ‘to write’, *latax-na*, ‘to hang’, *borna*, to soak’, *bhokna* ‘to stab’, *chekna* ‘to stop’, *curuxna* to leak, *cipna* ‘to crush’, *bācna* ‘to read aloud’, *rətna* ‘to memorize’, *cunna* ‘to select’, *cabna*, ‘to chew’.

The incorporation of Indo-Aryan verbs has resulted in morphological and syntactic innovations, especially the verbal noun/infinitive suffix *-na*. The incorporation of passive markers with verbs is also indicative of loan phenomenon from Indo Aryan –

<i>kəppna</i>	to touch	<i>kəpp-r-na</i>	to be touched
<i>coxna</i>	to pluck	<i>cox-tar-na</i>	to be plucked
			(Mishra, 1991)

Morphologically marked passive voice is not a Dravidian phenomenon (Caldwell, 1956).

Hence, the incorporation of loan verbs is more than mere lexical expansion of the languages; it affects the paradigmatic –morphological structure of the language, and consequently its syntactic organisation. Mishra (1991). But, while dealing with Causatives, Mishra (1991) clearly

says that barring Causative formation and human plural, other processes indicate or very strong pull towards Aryanisation of the Kurux language.

However, one cannot solely agree that Causative constructions in Kurux do not show any IA influence.

- a) *en kitab pərha - ləg- d- ən*
 1Psg book study/read feel pst 1sg.msc
 'I am reading the book.'
- b) *en xədd-əs-in kitab pərha-wa- ləg- d- ən*
 1Psg child Sg-acc book read-Caus (IA) feel pst 1sg.msc
 'I am making the child study the book.'
- c) *en xədd-əs-in mastərəsti kitab*
 1Psg Child-Sg-acc master-by book
pərha- wa- tə?a- ləg- d- ən
 study- Caus. (IA) Caus.(Kur) feel pst 1sg.msc
 'I am making the master, make the child study the book,' or
 'I am making the child study the book through the master.'
- d) *en isən photo ləga-wa- c-kən*
 1Psg here photo put-Caus (IA) -pst.
 'I have put the photo here.'
- e) *en isən ram-əsti photo*
 1Psg here Ram - by photo
ləga-wa tə?a- c-kən
 put-Caus(IA) -Caus (Kur)-pst.
 'I made Ram put the photo here.'
- f) *en bəc-wan kera*
 1Psg escape go pst. 1Psg
 'I escaped'
- g) *en adin bəca- wa- c-kən*
 1Psg 3Psg-acc escape - Caus (IA) - pst
 'I saved him.'

- h) *en adin ram-əsti bəca -wa - tə?a- c-kən*
 1Psg 3Psg-acc Ram-by escape-Caus (IA)-Caus(Kur) -pst
cic-kən
 give.-pst
 'I made Ram save him.'
- i) *en hindi sikha ləgi*
 1Psg Hindi learn feel
 'I am learning Hindi.'
- j) *en adin kurux sikha-wa- ləg - en*
 1Psg 3Psg.acc Kurux learn-Caus(IA) feel 1Psg
 'I am making him learn Kurux'
- k) *en adin mastər-əsti kurux*
 1Psg 3Psg-acc master-by Kurux
sikha-wa- tə?a -ləg - en
 Learn-Caus(IA) Caus. (Kur) feel 1Psg
 'I am making the master to make him learn Kurux.'

In sentences (c), (e), (h) & (k) the verbs are all Second Degree Causatives.

pərha- wa- tə?a
 study – Caus.(IA) Caus(Kur)

ləga- wa - tə?a
 put - Caus. -(IA) Caus. (Kur)

bəca - wa - tə?a
 escape- Caus (IA) Caus(Kur)

sikha- wa- tə?a
 learn- Caus(IA) Caus. (Kur)

These Double Causatives have two Causative suffixes –*wa* (IA) and –*tə?a* (Kurux). These verbs are borrowed from IA and they clearly show redundancy under contact situation.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Santhali, Kharia and Kurux – all have morphologically marked causatives. Kharia attaches causative prefix whereas Santhali and Kurux attach causative suffix. In case of Causative Constructions of some verbs: *study, write, understand, escape, learn, hang, do, make*; Santhali, Kharia and Kurux demonstrate the occurrence of IA Causative marker. All the root morphemes here are IA loans (*pərh* ‘study’, *likh* ‘write’, *bujh* ‘understand’, *b̃əc/bəc* ‘escape’, *sikh* ‘learn’). Abbi (1998) while describing the stages through which the language changes in contact situation i.e, from simple to the complex one, discusses two conflicting stages. The first stage is that of parallel structures where there are two structures: one drawn from the indigenous language and another from IA. Here, the parallel structures are in free variation and thus create optionality of use. Kharia exhibits a few cases of parallel structure:

	V _i	V _e
Kharia:	<i>jọre – na</i> fix-inf.	<i>ob- jo- b - ɽe-na</i> Caus –fix Caus. inf. (Kh) (Kh)
		<i>jụɽ-way- na</i> fix-Caus.(IA) inf

However, this is not very commonly seen. Redundancies are abundant in Kharia.

Kharia

V_c

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| a) | <i>ob</i>
Caus.
(Kh) | <i>likh</i>
write
(IA) | <i>way-na</i>
Caus.inf |
| b) | <i>ob-</i>
Caus.
(Kh) | <i>sudhər</i>
improve | <i>way-na</i>
Caus. inf.
(IA) |
| c) | <i>ob</i>
Caus.
(Kh) | <i>pəṛh</i> -
study | <i>way - na</i>
Caus. inf.
(IA) |

V_j

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| d) | <i>ob</i>
Caus.
(Kh) | <i>pəṛh</i>
study | <i>-ay-na</i>
Caus.inf
(IA) |
| e) | <i>ob-</i>
Caus.
(Kh) | <i>bəc</i> -
escape | <i>ay-na</i>
Caus.inf
(IA) |

Here the original structure of Kharia co-exist with the structure of the dominant language i.e. Hindi. This redundant stage follows the stage of parallel structures according to Abbi (1998). Santhali and Kurux too exhibit some cases of redundancies though the number of such instances in Kharia is greater than that of Santhali or Kurux

Santhali:

		V _e	
a)	<i>b̃əc</i> – escape –	<i>a</i> – Caus. (IA)	<i>o?co</i> Caus. (Sn)
b)	<i>pərh</i> – study	<i>a</i> – Caus. (IA)	<i>o?co</i> Caus. (Sn)
c)	<i>bujh</i> – understand	<i>o?co</i> – Caus. (Sn)	<i>wa</i> Caus. (IA)

Kurux:

		V _e	
a)	<i>pərha</i> – study –	<i>wa</i> – Caus. (IA)	<i>tə?a</i> Caus. (Kur)
b)	<i>bujha</i> – understand	<i>wa</i> Caus. (IA)	<i>-tə?a</i> Caus. (Kur)
c)	<i>bəca</i> – escape –	<i>wa</i> Caus. (IA)	<i>-tə?a</i> Caus. (Kur)

The basic verb root borrowed from IA ('study' *pərh* 'escape' *b̃əc/bəc*, 'understand' *bujh* etc.) are borrowed along with their transitive – causative suffix *-a*, *-ay*.

The verbs where IA Causative markers do not occur, are all existential verbs related to essential daily activities: *sit*, *stand*, *eat*, *drink*, *wake*, *sleep* etc. Perhaps, with the advent of missionaries verbs like *likh*

'write' *pərh* 'study', *bujh* 'understand' seeped into the tribal community and along with these verb their causative markers too found way into these indigenous languages.

Linguists generally maintain that contact interference is a precursor to minority language contraction and language loss (Haugen, 1989). In view of high percentage of Hindi/Sadari and to a lesser extent Mundari loan words in the Kharia/Kurux vocabulary and the distinctly Aryan principles prevailing Kharia and Kurux syntax the early ethnographers (Cust, 1878 for Kharia; Grierson, 1921 for Kurux) predicted an early extinction of these languages.

The socio-political and socio-psychological factors, however, play their independent roles for such minority languages like Kharia and Kurux to maintain their original linguistic structures though the process of change is very evident in their linguistic structurations. The typological inconsistency in Kharia and Kurux is not an indication of language attrition or of gradual death or obsolescence but only of language continuity and language change (Abbi 1992).

The dominance of regional languages have forced them to expand and conflate their linguistic structures at the expense of simplistic indigenous morphological and syntactic structures. This, however, does not rule out the reverse process ie. gaining simplification and not complexity (Abbi, 1998).

Redundancies arise when motivating factors such as retention of indigenous structures and movement towards adoption of contact language structures exist side by side (Abbi 1998).

In the Jharkhand area, there is gratuitous borrowing of lexicon and linguistic structures at the expense of syntactic simplicity and grammatical economy. The striking feature is that these languages also expand in their linguistic structure. The dominated tribal languages, thus, both shrink and conflate at the same time. This oscillation between the two processes give them new lease of life and saves them from the dangers of extinction. (Abbi, 1997).

However, not all the three languages under study i.e., Santhali, Kharia and Kurux demonstrate an equal degree of use of IA Causative markers. Kharia demonstrates the greatest degree of use of IA Causative markers and Santhali the lowest. Though, Kurux exhibits strong Aryanization in grammar, in case of use of causative markers it does not exhibit such strong interference and the use of IA Causative markers is rather marginal. Though these three languages Santhali, Kharia and Kurux vary in degree of interferences all these languages are not strongly resistant to the changes in the area of Causatives.

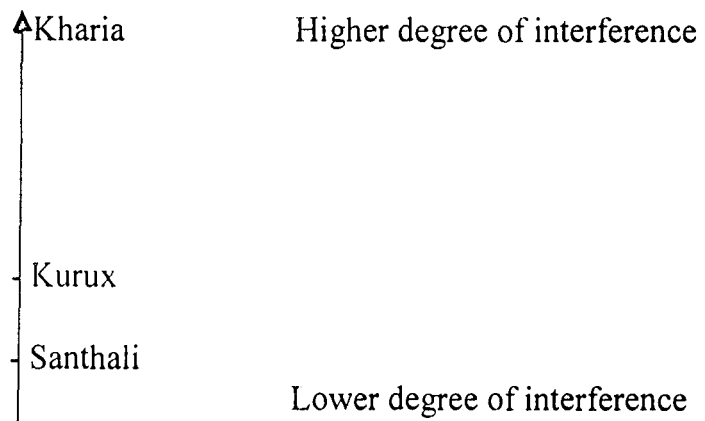


Fig.4

Cline of Indo Aryan interference in Causative Constructions.

Kharia which is rich in prefixation is highly converged. This is surprising as IA Causatives are always through suffixation process. This study quashes the myth that favourable structural conditions result in grammatical interference ie. closer the structure of two languages higher the degree of convergence.

The selection or resistance to interference depend basically on structural considerations as well as psychological reason. For (transfer of morphemes) grammatical interference, congruent systems act as a structural stimuli, whereas the loyalty to recipient language act as a non-structural resistance factor. (Weinreich, 1970).

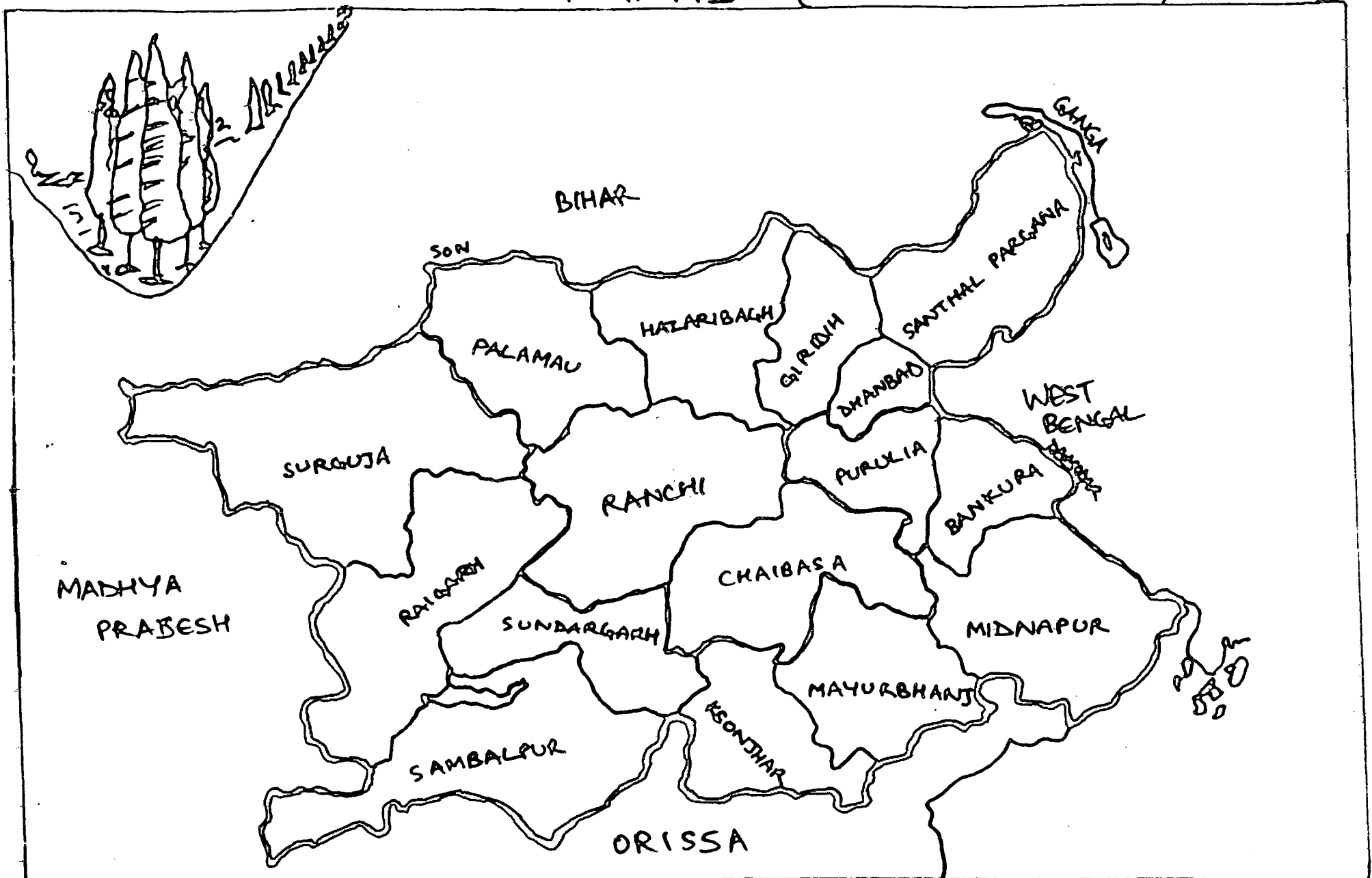
In case of Causative constructions in Santhali, Kharia and Kurux, it appears that attitude of the speakers which determines the acceptability

level of a dominant language is the key factor which decides the degree of interference and convergence.

Convergence of two languages at the formal level precedes the process of shift at the functional level (Fishman, 1972 (b); Haugen, 1956; Kay, 1977; Gumperz and Wilson, 1971).

However, none of the languages in the present study clearly points to language shift. These languages are still in the conflicting stage.

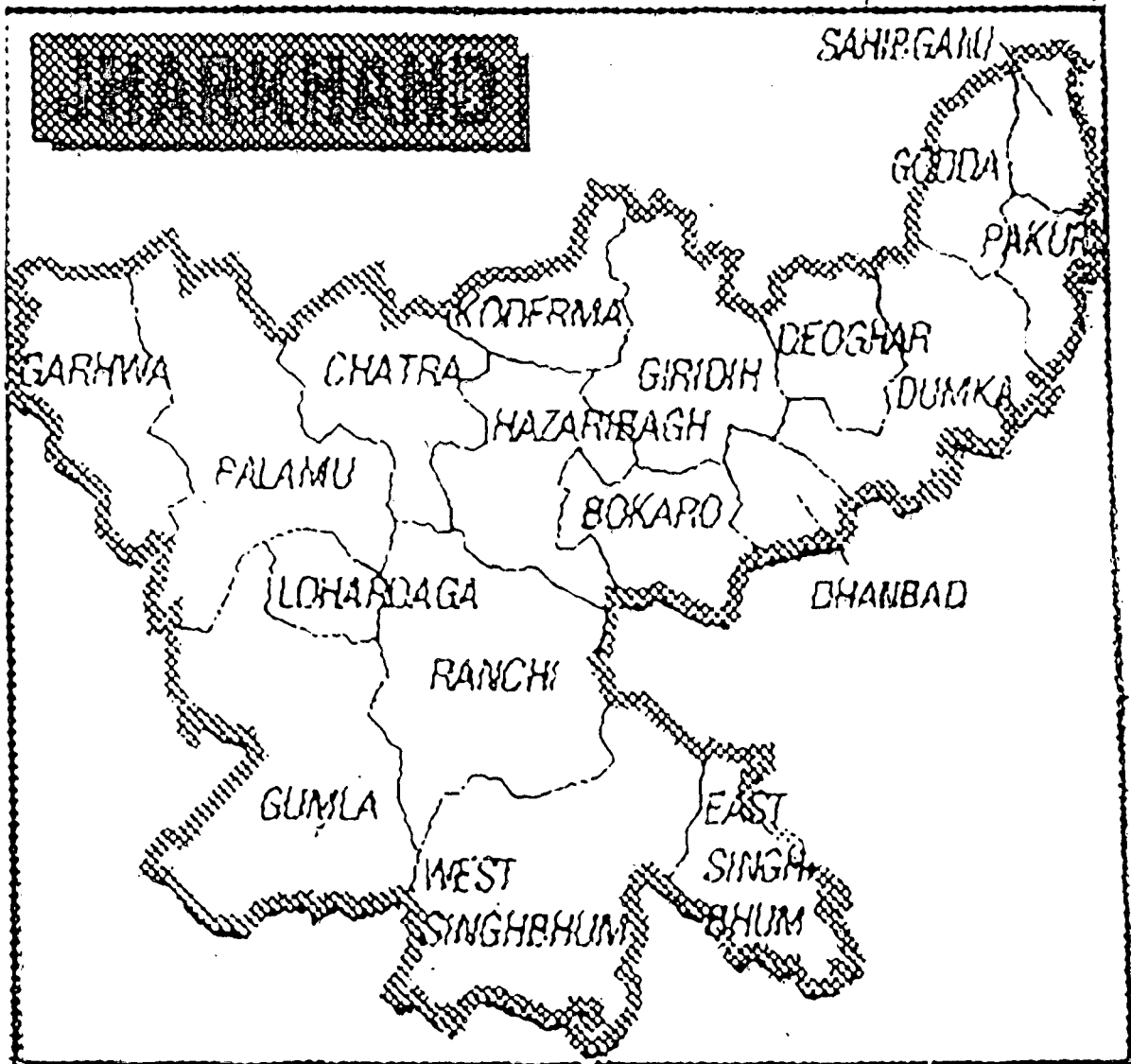
PROPOSED JHARKHAND (VANANCHAL)



SOURCE : Abbi, Anvita 1997. LANGUAGE OF TRIBAL AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF INDIA : THE ETHNIC CLASS DIFFERENTIAL

THE SHAPE OF STATE TO COME

Bill to carve out new state (to be introduced in parliament)



KBK

SOURCE : The Hindu, N. Delhi.
May 17, 2000

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