

Pronominal Characteristics in the Speech Variety of Kurux Language

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Abstract

India is viewed as a mini-linguistic area in South Asia. It exhibits the mixture of both dominant and minor languages co-existing in the various regions where the changes in the linguistic elements appear in the minor languages when they usually are in contact with the dominant and/or other languages. As a result, there have been gradual emergence of many speech varieties of a language. Pronoun among all other grammatical categories of a language generally retains its linguistic form and function; however, there are instances of pronominal changes in Kisan which have impact on the agreement functions through the affixation of morphs. The older generation tend to retain the Dravidian forms of pronoun as compared to the younger generation who have started adopting Indo-Aryan forms.

Keywords: Agreement, Dravidian, Contact Situation, Indo-Aryan.

Introduction

Kisan, also widely known as Kunha, a speech variety of Kurux belongs to the North Dravidian language family spoken in the north-western districts of Odisha. It is regarded as one of twenty two major tribes of Odisha. As per Census 2011, Kisan with 1,94,716 and Kurukh/Oraon with 1,36,031 speakers take 5th and 7th positions respectively in Odisha. The number of population of Kisan in India is 2,06,100 with 1,02,398 male and 1,03,702 female speakers spread across 20 states. Odisha alone has the highest number of speakers with 94.47 percentages.

Review of Literature

In 1891, Rishley classified Kisan for the first time as a variety of Biahut sub-caste of Kalwars and Konow (1906) in the Linguistic Survey of India introduced it erroneously to be part of Austro-Asiatic language family. According to Roy (1915:10), the Oraons are known as *Kisans* 'cultivators', *Koṛās* 'diggers' or *Dhangar-koḍās* in the princely state of Orissa. However, Perumalsamy (2002:497-512) records Kisan as a distinct speech variety from Kurux/Oraon and a part of north Dravidian language family (Grierson 1919). He further states that there is no evidence in support of the existence of written literature and the script system of Kisan. Perumalsamy(2004:84)claims that Kurukh/Oraon and Kisan are linguistically interrelated but socially having different identities. Mitra (1961:397) separates the Kisan population from Kurukh/Oraon of the North Dravidian group in the Census 1961.

Pronouns are generally classified into (i) personal pronouns (1st and 2nd person) and (ii) the remaining pronouns on the basis of distinct functions they perform in language. On the basis of claim made by several linguists, 1st and 2nd person pronouns relate to participants of a speech act (Bhat 2004:13), whereas the referents of third person pronouns can be considered to have 'non-persons' position in the speech act (Lyons 1977:638). Borrowing a personal pronoun or a category dealing with the inclusive/exclusive category, is not very common. So, there are quite a few languages which exhibit such phenomena (Jacobsen 1980; Thomason and Everett 2001). Kabayashi & Tirkey (2017) states that pronouns in Kurux have mostly remained unaffected except some inclusion from the Indo-Aryan, for example relative pronoun /jer/; however, there are several loanwords found in the form of affixes marked to different pronouns in Kurux. This phenomenon has been extended to Kisan language.



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Objective of the Study

The present paper attempts to highlight the occurrence of pronominal changes which is rare in the linguistic contact situations between the languages of Dravidian and Indo-Aryan.

Research Methodology

The present study has been carried out on the primary and secondary data. The stratified sampling method is used by taking into account the homogeneous characteristics of the population. A total of 80 people under four age categories such as (a) more than 60, (b) 40-59, (c) 20-39 and (d) less than 20 year old. The data was collected in the natural setting by asking the informants using the word list and sentences. These were recorded in the digital devices for further validation.

Discussion and Findings

The age group of 60+ shows the retention of pronouns having Dravidian characteristics. As one moves to lower age groups, there is a gradual adoption of Indo-Aryan characteristics and so the age group belonging to less than 20 year has the highest number of Indo-Aryanised words in Kisan. The age group 40-59 indicate moderate use of Indo-Aryan characteristics; however, the age group 20-39 report the decline in the use of Dravidian characteristics which are slowly replaced with the Indo-Aryan characteristics. Secondly, frequency in the use of Indo-Aryan characteristics is explicitly on the rise in the age group of less than 20 year as compared to the age group of 60+. The different types of pronouns and their characteristics discussed in the paper depict the linguistic behaviour of all age groups.

Kurux and Kisan share the same personal pronouns. There are personal pronouns of the first and second person, reflexive pronouns inflecting like personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns: *s* {that.M} 'he', *a:d* {that.NM} 'she, it', and *a:r* {that.PL} 'they' (human) used as the third person pronouns, interrogative pronouns also used as relative pronouns, indefinite pronouns, and possessive pronouns. Pronouns with oblique forms take case suffixes partly different from those attached to noun and thereby show distinct morphological category. Grignard (1924a:38) provides exclusive and inclusive first person plural forms and when repeated, a personal pronoun denotes exclusiveness or mutualness.

Table 1. Personal Pronouns of Kurux Kisan (Kobayashi & Tirkey 2017:85)

	Nominative	Oblique
1 st person singular	<i>e:n</i>	<i>eng-*</i>
2 nd person singular	<i>ni:n</i>	<i>ning-</i>
1 st person plural exclusive	<i>e:m</i>	<i>em-</i>
1 st person plural inclusive	<i>na:m</i>	<i>nam-*</i>
2 nd person plural	<i>ni:m</i>	<i>nim-</i>
*Also <i>en-</i> and <i>nang-</i> .		

Krishnamurti (2003:244ff.) reconstructs

nominative and oblique forms of the personal pronouns **ya:n-/*yan-1SG*, **ni:n-/*nin-2SG*, **ya:m-/*yam-1PL.E*, **na:m-/nam-1PL.I*, and **ni:m-/*nim-2PL*, respectively, with development PDr. **ya: > PKM *e:*. The /g/ in the singular oblique forms originates in **-k*, a singleton variant of Proto-Dravidian dative suffix **-kk* by refuting the notion of /g/ being the plural suffix of **-k* (Andronov 2003:158f.), added to the original oblique forms **en-* and **nin-*. **en-k* and **nin-k* lost the original dative meaning and became oblique stems, to which another dative marker **-a:* and other case suffixes were added. The original oblique forms **en-* and **nin-* are found in kinship terms such as *em-bas* 'my father', *nim-bas* 'your father', with place assimilation of **n* to *m*. These forms with place assimilation are indistinguishable from *em-* 'our' and *nim-* 'your (PL)' (Kobayashi & Tirkey 2017:85-86).

Pronouns: Reflexives

Reflexive pronoun is a referent of a third-person subject from the context (*ta:n* without context would mean 'the master of the house' Grignard 1924a:39), e.g., myself, ourselves, yourself, himself, themselves etc. The third person singular reflexive pronoun *ta:n*, *tangg-OBL*, refers to animate referents of both gender and plural *ta:m*, *tam-OBL* indicates human plural referents. Repetition of *ta:n* and *ta:m* generates exclusive and restricts senses, e.g. *ni:nni:n* 'by yourself', *e:me:m* 'by ourselves or for ourselves'. The case suffix used for personal pronouns can be applied to reflexive pronouns as in (1a). The antecedent *a:d* 'she' of reflexive pronoun *tangg-an* 's/he-self' is the subject of the sentence.

1a.	<i>a:d</i>	<i>tangg-an</i>	<i>e:dra:</i>	<i>ge</i>	<i>bar-c-a(d)</i>
	she	s/he-self	show- <i>āl</i> NF	DAT	come-PST.3SG. NM
'She came to show herself.'					

(a) 1st and 2nd Person Reflexives

Exclusive reference, emphatic forms *Ksn.e:n-in* vs. *Krx. i:n-im* 'myself', *Ksn.ni:n-in* vs. *Krx. ni:n-im* 'you yourself', *Ksn.e:m-in* 'ourselves only', *e:m-im* 'ourselves also' vs. *Krx. i:m-im* 'ourselves (excl.)', *Ksn. na:m-in* 'ourselves only', *na:m-im* 'ourselves also' vs. *Krx. na:m-im* 'ourselves (incl.)' and *Ksn. ni:m-in* 'yourselves only', *ni:m-im* 'yourselves also' vs. *Krx. ni:m-im* 'yourselves (Pl.)'. So, Along with *-im* and [+high] umlaut in Kurux, *-in* is also added to reflexive pronouns (1b), and *-im* & *-in* 'self's howcase distinct meanings in Kisan.

1b.	<i>i:</i>	<i>nalk^hu-n</i>	<i>e:n-in</i>	<i>inna</i>	<i>nan-o:-n</i>
	this	work-ACC	i-self	today	do-FUT.1SG
'I will do this work myself.'					

(b) Reflexive in Bound Kinship Terms

-das 'father' is either combined with a personal pronoun or a reflexive pronoun *tangg-* SG or *tam-* PL/SG, *b^hai-(s) tangdas* {brother-M own.son} 'the brother's son' NP head is marked for possession.

(c) Reflexive Possessive Adjective

Reflexive pronouns are combined with possessive marks to function as adjectives, e.g. *ta-ŋg^ha*: {s/he-GEN} 'her/his own' <*ta:n*, *en-ŋg^ha*: {I-GEN} 'my own' <*e:n*, *nin-ŋg^ha*: {you-GEN} 'your own' as (1c) <*ni:n*, *em-hā*: {we(ex)-GEN} 'our own' <*e:m*.

1c.	<i>ni:n</i>	<i>ni-ŋg^ha</i> :	<i>haddu:-n</i>	<i>ni:n-in</i>	<i>pe:s-a</i> :
	you	your.own	child-ACC	yourself	ask-IMP
'You yourself ask your own child.'					

Pronouns: Possessives

Genitive form of pronoun or noun functions as the stem of a corresponding possessive pronoun which may be followed by case suffix and gender-number suffix.

2a.	<i>a:-bɾar</i>	<i>g^hi</i>	<i>aɾpa</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>isku:li-ar</i>	<i>barc-ka-n</i> -ar
	DIST-th ey	POSS	house	LOC	student-P L	come-PF V.PRS.3P L
'The students have come to their house.'						

The possessive pronouns usually occur in apposition with a noun in Kisan (2a) and the inflections are added such as Ksn. *eng^haed* (in 2b) vs. Krx. *eng^haid* 'mine', Ksn. *eng^hae-nvs*. Krx. *eng^hainACC*, Ksn. *eng^haege* vs. Krx. *eng^hayge DAT*, Ksn. *eng^haeti*: vs. Krs. *eng^hayti*: INS, Ksn. *eng^haesti:/nti*: vs. Krx. *eng^hainti*: ABL, Ksn. *eng^haeg^hi* vs. Krx. *eng^hayg^hi GEN*, Ksn. *eng^hae nu*: vs. Krx. *eng^hay nu*: LOC (Grignard 1924a:46).

2b.	<i>ning^haed</i>	<i>cero:</i>	<i>barc-ki-c-a:d</i>
	yours	yesterday	come-PFV-PST.3SG.N M
'Yours [goat] had come.'			

Pronouns: Demonstratives

Kisan shares similarity with Kuṛux with regard to three-way deixis system such as *i-* for proximal (*id* 'this.NM'), *hu-* for medial (*hud* 'that.NM') and *a-* for distal (*ad* 'that.NM (distance or remote)'). These can be traced to Proto-Dravidian contrast *i:, *u: and *a: (Krishnamurti 2003:253). The initial /h/ of the medial deictic is considered to be a deviation from normal phonological patterns in demonstratives (Emeneau 1980b, 1994:312). Krishnamurti (2003:256) explains the initial /h/ found also in *Kuvihu*: to

Proto-Dravidian laryngeal *H. In support of Krishnamurti's assumption, Kobayashi & Tirkey (2017:90) describe Southern Malto *ooha-* reconstructed from *uH: Kuṛux-Malto /o/ results from PDr. *u by lowering and so Malto /o/ sometimes correspondence to Kuṛux /u/, e.g. Krx. locative *nu*: vs. Mlt. *-no*, Krx. = *hū*: vs. Mlt. = *hō* 'too'. The Final *a*: is explained as an extension of the original *oh-<PDr. *uH- with distal *a:.

Demonstrative pronouns are used as adjective, plural adjective, masculine, non-masculine and human plural. The following tables 2a & 2b. are presented based on (Kobayashi & Tirkey 2017:89)

Table 2a. Demonstrative Pronouns of Kisan

	<i>i-</i>	<i>hu-</i>	<i>a-</i>
Adjective	<i>i:</i>	<i>hu:</i>	<i>a:</i>
Plural Adjective	<i>ibɾa:</i>	<i>hubɾa:</i>	<i>abɾa:</i>
Masculine	<i>i:s</i>	<i>hu:s</i>	<i>a:s</i>
Non-Masculine	<i>i:d</i>	<i>hu:d</i>	<i>a:d</i>
Human Plural	<i>i:r</i>	<i>hu:r</i>	<i>a:r</i>
	<i>ibɾar</i>	<i>hubɾar</i>	<i>abɾar</i>

Pronominal demonstrative for human plural can be derived from plural adjective by suffixing -r to them, e.g. *ibɾar* 'these', *hubɾar* 'those (medial)', *abɾar* 'those (distal)' in Kisan.

Table 2b. Demonstrative Adverbs of Kisan

	<i>i-</i> 'this'	<i>hu-</i> 'that (medial)'	<i>a-</i> 'that (distal)'
place	<i>isan</i>	<i>husan</i>	<i>asan</i>
side	<i>i:ya</i>	<i>hui:ya</i>	<i>ai:ya</i>
direction	<i>ijgo:</i>	<i>hujgo:</i>	<i>ajgo:, ha:ɾi</i>
origin	<i>isti:</i>	<i>husti:</i>	<i>asti:</i>
manner	<i>enne:</i>	<i>honne:</i>	<i>anne:</i>
time	<i>akkun</i>	<i>hu:-baken</i>	<i>a:-baken</i>
day	<i>i:-ulla</i>	<i>hu-ulla</i>	<i>a:-ulla</i>

Kuṛux adverbs using pronominal demonstrative for side such *asittra:*, *huttra:*, *attra:*, and for origin, such as *istek*, *istlek*, *hustek*, *hustlek*, *astek*, *astlekare* used no more in Kisan. Time referents, e.g. *hu:-biɾi:*, *a:-biɾi:* are often replaced by *hu:-baken*, *a:-baken* in Kisan.

Pronouns: Interrogative and Indefinites

Indefinites of Kuṛux and Kisan are related to interrogatives. The attachment of clitic Ksn. *hī-* *hi*:< Krx. *hū*:to interrogatives usually creates negative sense.

Table 3. Interrogatives and Indefinites of Kisan

	Interrogatives		'Some, any'		'(Not) any'	
	Krx	Ksn	Krx	Ksn	Krx	Ksn
what	<i>endra:</i>	<i>enden</i>	<i>endra?am</i>	<i>endri:n</i>	<i>endra?am hū:</i>	<i>enden hī:</i>
what a	<i>ender</i>	<i>ender</i>	<i>endra?am</i>	<i>endri:n</i>	<i>endra?am hū:</i>	<i>ender hī:</i>
which	<i>eka:</i>	<i>eka:</i>	<i>eka?am</i>	<i>eki:n</i>	<i>eka?am hū:</i>	<i>eki:n hī:</i>
who.M	<i>ekdas,</i>	<i>eka:s</i>	<i>ekda?am</i>	<i>eka:sin</i>	<i>ekda?am hū:</i>	<i>eka:sin hī:</i>
who.NM	<i>ekda:</i>	<i>eka:d</i>	<i>ekda?am</i>	<i>eka:bon</i>	<i>ekda?am hū:</i>	<i>eka:bon hī:</i>
who	<i>ne:</i>	<i>ne:d</i>	<i>ni:k?im</i>	<i>ne:kan (M)</i> <i>ne:kin (NM)</i>	<i>ni:k?im hū:</i> <i>ne: hū:</i>	<i>ne:kan hī: (M)</i> <i>ne:kin hī: (NM)</i> <i>ne:d hī:</i>

where	<i>eksan</i>	<i>ekasan</i>	<i>e(k)sʔanum, -im</i>	<i>eki:nsan</i>	<i>e(k)sʔanum hũ:</i>	<i>eki:nsan hĩ:</i>
which way	<i>eka:jgo:</i>	<i>eka:jgo:</i>	<i>ekaʔamajgo:</i>	<i>eki:njgo:</i> <i>eki:nhujgo:</i>	<i>ekaʔamajgo: hũ:</i>	<i>eki:njgo: hĩ:</i>
from where	<i>estek</i>	<i>eka:sti:</i>	<i>estʔe:kim</i>	<i>eki:stin</i>	<i>estʔe:kim hũ:</i>	<i>eki:stin hĩ:</i>
up to where	<i>este:-guʔ</i> <i>i:, estek-</i>	<i>esti:, esti:</i> <i>jakor</i>	<i>este:kim-gu:ʔi:</i>	<i>esti:n</i>	<i>este:kim-gu:ʔi:</i> <i>hũ:</i>	<i>esti:n hĩ:</i>
at whose place	<i>ne:kʰayg</i> <i>ustek</i>	<i>ne:kʰasan</i>	<i>ne:kʰaim-gustek</i>	<i>ne:kʰi:nsan</i>	<i>ne:kʰaim-gustek</i> <i>hũ:</i>	<i>ne:kʰi:nsan hĩ:</i>
when	<i>eka:</i> <i>bi:ri:</i>	<i>eka: baken</i>	<i>ekʔambi:ri:</i>	<i>eki:nbaken</i>	<i>ekʔambi:ri: hũ:</i>	<i>eki:nbaken hĩ:</i>
until when	<i>eũda:</i> <i>gu:ʔi:</i>	<i>eka:</i> <i>bakento:k</i>	<i>eũdaʔamgu:ʔi:</i>	<i>eki:nbakento:k</i>	<i>eũdaʔamgu:ʔi:</i> <i>hũ:</i>	<i>eki:nbakento:k</i> <i>hĩ:</i>
how	<i>eka:se,</i> <i>ekanne:</i>	<i>eske,</i> <i>ekka:ne</i>	<i>ekʔambese</i>	<i>eski:n</i>	<i>ekʔambese hũ:</i>	<i>eski:n hĩ:</i>
how much	<i>eũda:</i>	<i>ketko:</i>	<i>eũdʰaʔam</i>	<i>ketko:in</i>	<i>eũdʰaʔam hũ:</i>	<i>ketko:in hĩ:</i>
why	<i>enderge</i>	<i>enderge</i>	<i>endraʔagem</i>	<i>enderge:n</i>	<i>endraʔagem hũ:</i>	<i>enderge hĩ:</i>

Indefinite pronouns are formed by adding Ksn. *-n* or *-in*<Krx. *-m* or *-ʔm* and interrogative pronouns can also function like indefinite pronouns without taking these suffixes, e.g. *ghubʔar eka: eka: pabu: nuisanaʔs-yar* {they which which TOP way LOC here reach-PST.2PL} 'They reached here by some ways.' (Cf. Grignard 1924a: 200). The indefinite suffix Ksn. *-kum*<Krx. *-(ʔ)kem* is attached to adverbs of quantity to cause decline in the degree of quantity, e.g. *kafe:-kum* 'a little bit' from *kafe:* 'a little', *nahʔa:-kum* 'around four' from *nahʔa:* 'four', *onʔa:-kum* 'one or two' from *onʔa:* 'one'.

When *ne:d* 'who' becomes a subject of a sentence in Kisan (3), the predicate verb though it may refer to singular, takes plural marking but not singular non-masculine as in Kurux.

3.	<i>ne:d</i>	<i>barc-ka-n-a(e/r)</i>
	who	come-PFV-PRS.3PL
	'Who has come?'	

Pronouns: Cases of Personal and Reflexive Pronouns

Kobayashi & Turkey (2017:93) report that the oblique stems both singular forms such as *e:n* 'I' vs. *eng:* *ni:n* 'you' vs. *ning:* *ta:n* 'self' vs. *tang:* and plural forms like *e:m* vs. *e:m;* *na:m* vs. *nam* etc. are bound morpheme and occur in the following three contexts.

1. With bound kinship morphemes, i.e. *-bas* 'father', *-(i)yo:* 'mother', *-das* 'son', *-da:* 'daughter', *-ʔis* 'younger brother', *-ʔi:(d)* 'younger sister'.
2. With free kinship terms and terms denoting social relationship, e.g. *eng-bʰais* 'my brother', *ning-daid*

'your elder sister', *eng-nasko:* 'my elder sister-in-law', *tang- ja:da* 'her husband's elder/younger brother's wife' etc.

3. With case suffixes and postpositions, e.g. *engg-an* ACC 'me', Ksn. *engha-gane* vs. *eng-gane* 'with me', Ksn. *engha-calte:* vs. Krx. *eng-calte:* 'because of me'. *engha:* <*e:ng* 'me' when it is used as a head of PP in Kisan.

The oblique stems for singular *ren-*, *nin-*, *tan-* without addition of stem-final/g/ also exist in Kurux and Kisan where final /n/ gets assimilated to its adjacent sound, i.e. *nim- bas* < /nin-bas/ 'your father', *em-bas* < /en-bas/ 'my father' where plural form *sem-*, *nim-* and *tam-* used as *emhã-bas* < /em-bas/ 'our father', *nimhã-bas* < /nim-bas/ 'your father' *tamhã-bas* < /em-bas/ 'their father' with stem-final aspirated and /-a/ are the allomorphs of singular forms. *eng-iyoy* < /en-iyoy/ 'my mother', *ning-iyoy* < /nin-iyoy/ 'your mother', *tang-iyoy* < /tan-iyoy/ 'his/her mother' with stem-final /-g/.

It is difficult to draw a line between case suffixes and postpositions as in *ningʰa: sti:* 'from you' vs. *ningʰa: gane* 'with you'; *tangʰa: sti:* 'from him/her' vs. *tangʰa: gane* 'with him/her'. However, accusative, dative and genitive cases can clearly be attached to oblique stems, i.e. *engg-an* {i-ACC} 'to me', *ning-a:(ge)* {you-DAT} 'for you' and *tang-gʰa* {he/she-GEN} 'his/her'. The short form of Dative *-a:* is a pronominal dative suffix as in *engg-a:*, *ningg-a:* and the nominal dative marker *-geas* in *engg-a:ge*, *ningg-a:gecan* be seen attached to the oblique stems.

Table 4. Case forms of Kisan personal pronouns

	I	you	we.EX	we.I	you.PL
Nom.	<i>e:n</i>	<i>ni:n</i>	<i>e:m</i>	<i>na:m</i>	<i>ni:m</i>
Acc.	<i>engg-an</i>	<i>ningg-an</i>	<i>em-an</i>	<i>nam-an</i>	<i>nim-an</i>
Dat.	<i>engg-a:(ge)</i>	<i>ningg-a:(ge)</i>	<i>em-a:(ge)</i>	<i>nam-a:(ge)</i>	<i>nim-a:(ge)</i>
Ins.	<i>engʰaeti:</i>	<i>ningʰaeti:</i>	<i>emhaeti:</i>	<i>namhaeti:</i>	<i>nimhaeti:</i>
Abl.	<i>engʰaesti:*</i>	<i>ningʰaesti:</i>	<i>emhaesti:</i>	<i>namhaesti:</i>	<i>nimhaesti:</i>
Gen.	<i>eng-gʰae</i>	<i>ning-gʰae</i>	<i>em-hae</i>	<i>nam-hae</i>	<i>nim-hae</i>
Loc.	<i>engʰae nu:</i>	<i>ningʰae nu:</i>	<i>emhae nu:</i>	<i>namhae nu:</i>	<i>nimhae nu:</i>

* Also *-nti:*.

Case forms of Kisan pronouns are similar to that of Kurux as specified in (Kobayashi & Tirkey 2017:94); however, *eṅ-nu*: 'in me', *niṅ-nu*: 'in you', *em-nu*: 'in us.EX', *nam-nu*: 'in us.I' and *nim-nu*: 'in you.PL' for locative case in Kurux are lost in Kisan.

Genitive form -*hae* when attached to 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular induces resyllabification, e.g. *eṅ-g^hae* < /eṅ-hae/ 'my', *niṅ-g^hae* < /niṅ-hae/ 'your' and *taṅ-g^hae* < /eṅ-hae/ 'his/her'.

Table 5. Inflection of *ne*: *ne:kin* and *endri:n*

	'Who'	'Someone'	'Something'
Nom.	<i>ne:d</i>	<i>ne:kin</i>	<i>endri:n</i>
Acc.	<i>ne:k-an</i>	<i>ne:kin-in</i>	<i>endri:n-in</i>
Dat.	<i>ne:k-a:ge</i>	<i>ne:kinge</i>	<i>endri:nge</i>
Ins.	<i>ne:k^haeti:</i>	<i>ne:kinti:</i>	<i>endri:nti:</i>
Abl.	<i>ne:k^hasti:</i>	<i>ne:kinsti:</i>	<i>endri:nsti:</i>
Gen.	<i>ne:k^hae(d)</i>	<i>ne:king^hi</i>	<i>endri:ng^hi</i>
Loc.	<i>ne:k^hae nu:</i>	<i>ne:kin nu:</i>	<i>endri:n nu:</i>

The case forms for interrogative and indefinite pronouns in Kisan indicate subtle differences from that of Kurux with regard to examples relating to *ne:kin* 'someone' and *endri:n* 'something'.

Pronouns: Cases of Demonstratives and Interrogatives

Demonstrative pronouns such as (i) *a:s*, *hu:s* and *i:s* for masculine, (ii) *a:r*, *hu:r* and *i:r* for plural and (iii) *a:d*, *hu:d*, *i:d* for non-masculine take case suffixes as nouns in Kisan and Kurux.

Table 6. Case forms of Demonstrative pronouns

	Masculine			Non-Masculine			Plural		
Nom.	<i>a:s</i>	<i>hu:s</i>	<i>i:s</i>	<i>a:d</i>	<i>hu:d</i>	<i>i:d</i>	<i>a:r</i>	<i>hu:r</i>	<i>i:r</i>
Acc.	<i>as-in</i>	<i>hus-in</i>	<i>is-in</i>	<i>ad-in</i>	<i>hud-in</i>	<i>id-in</i>	<i>ar-in</i>	<i>hur-in</i>	<i>ir-in</i>
Dat.	<i>as-ge</i>	<i>hus-ge</i>	<i>is-ge</i>	<i>ad-ge</i>	<i>hud-ge</i>	<i>id-ge</i>	<i>ar-ge</i>	<i>hur-ge</i>	<i>ir-ge</i>
Ins.	<i>a:-ti:</i>	<i>hu:-ti:</i>	<i>i:-ti:</i>	<i>at:-ti:</i>	<i>hut:-ti:</i>	<i>it:-ti:</i>	<i>ar:-ti:</i>	<i>hur:-ti:</i>	<i>ir:-ti:</i>
Abl.	<i>a:-sti:</i>	<i>hu:-sti:</i>	<i>i:-sti:</i>	<i>at:-ti:</i>	<i>hut:-ti:</i>	<i>it:-ti:</i>	<i>ar:-sti:</i>	<i>hur:-sti:</i>	<i>ir:-sti:</i>
Gen.	<i>as-g^hi</i>	<i>hus-g^hi</i>	<i>is-g^hi</i>	<i>ad-g^hi</i>	<i>hud-g^hi</i>	<i>id-g^hi</i>	<i>ar-g^hi</i>	<i>hur-g^hi</i>	<i>ir-g^hi</i>
Loc.	<i>as-nu:</i>	<i>hus-nu:</i>	<i>is-nu:</i>	<i>ad-nu:</i>	<i>hud-nu:</i>	<i>id-nu:</i>	<i>ar-nu:</i>	<i>hur-nu:</i>	<i>ir-nu:</i>

There is an alternative instrumental case for demonstrative pronouns as in *at-tok*, *hut-tok* and *it-tok*.

Kobayashi & Tirkey (2017:94) present the original pronominal stems as **e:n* -*en*-, **ni:n* -*nin*-, **e:m* -*em*-, **na:m* -*nam*- and **ni:m* -*nim*-. The oblique stems with /g/ in Kurux and Malto reflect old dative form with PDr. *-k with subsequent voicing. The oblique stems were then extended with *-a: in Kurux and Malto (> North-western Malto -e). For these oblique markers, Krishnamurti (2003:226) gives the example from Tamil as *eṅ-a-kku DAT* 'for me, to me'. So, it is surprising to note that -*a:in* Tamil occurs after the oblique stems in Kurux and Kisan, e.g. *eṅgg-a:(ge)* 'for me', *niṅgg-a:(ge)* 'for you' etc. So, the origin of -*a:* could be from Proto-Dravidian accusative *-ay (Krishnamurti 2003:227). Following Pinnow (1964:50), in Kurux, Kobayashi & Tirkey (2017:96) consider the dative form -*a:* as the basis for the accusative forms as in *eṅgg-a-n*, and the genitive forms *eṅghay* (< pre-Kurux *eṅgg-a-hi), *niṅghay* (< *ninga-hi), *emghay* (< *ema-hi), *namghay* (< *nama-hi), and *nimghay* (< *nima-hi), where metathesis of **a* and **h* merged two syllables into one.

Suggestion and Conclusion

Despite Kisan having stable contact with dominant Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi and Odia, and other minor language of tribes like Munda,

Mundari, Kharja etc., the pronominal system remains unaffected. Thomason & Everett (2001) consider a tightly structured and a closed set of forms between lexicon and grammar to be the reason behind commonly mentioned hard-to-borrow lexical features for the category of personal pronouns. Any borrowing in the person pronouns would disrupt the working system as they are deeply embedded within a linguistic system. Zvelebil (1962) describes the reconstruction of personal pronouns in the following:

- 1st person 1singular - PDr. **ān*, Obl. **aṅ*, Old Tamil *yāṅ*, Obl. *eṅ*, Ka. *ān*, Obl. *eṅ*, Kur/Ksn. *e:n*
- 1st person plural (ex) - PDr. **ām*, Obl. **am*, Old Ta. *yām*, Obl. *em*, Ka. *ām*, Obl. *em*, Kur/Ksn. *em*
- 1st person 1plural (in) - PDr. *(*nām*), Obl. *(*nam*), Old Ta. *nām*, Obl. *nam*, Kur/Ksn. *nam*
- 2nd person singular - PDr. **īn*, Obl. **iṅ*, PT **nīn*, Obl. **niṅ*, Old Tamil *nī*, Obl. *niṅ*, Kur/Ksn. *ni:n*
- 2nd person plural - PDr. **īm*, Obl. **im*, PT **nīm*, Obl. **nim*, Old Tamil *nīm*, Ka. *nīm*, Kur/Ksn. *ni:m*
- 3rd person singular - PDr. **tān*, Obl. **taṅ*, Old Ta. *tān*, Obl. *taṅ*, Kur/Ksn. *ta:n*
- 3rd person plural - PDr. **tām*, Obl. **tam*, Old Ta. *tām*, Obl. *tam*, Kur/Ksn. *ta:m*

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