The cluster patterns found in this dialect are presented below.

Initial clusters: Consonant – r – (hetero-organic)

Final clusters: a) Consonant – t, d, dh, T, D.

b) n – consonant

b) Hetero-organic-
1) p – consonants (t, T, D, r, l, s, n)
2) b – consonants (j, r, l)
3) t – consonants (k, r, l, n)
4) th – consonants (r, l)
5) d – consonants (r, l, m)
6) t – consonants (k, n)
7) D – consonants (k, r)
8) K – consonants (t, d, D, s, r, l)
9) kh – consonants (r, n)
10) g – consonants (b, d, c)
11) c – consonants (k, r, l, n)
12) j – consonants (k, g, r, l, n)
13) s – consonants (t, th, T, Th, k, c, r, l, m, n)
14) r – consonants (p, b, ph, bh, t, th, d, dh, D, k, kh,
g, c, ch, g, h, l, m, n)
15) l – consonants (p, t, d, T, Th, k, g, c, j, h, n)
16) m – consonants (p, ph, b, d, dh, T, Th, D, h, p, l, n)
17) n – consonants (p, ph, t, d, dh, D, Dh, k, kh, g, gh,
ch, j, lh, s, h, r, l, y)

Tri-member consonant clusters: These are as follows.

/n/ with /dr, Dr, Dl, gT, gTh, gr, gr, gl, jr/.

Syllable
A Sambalpuri word may have both open and close syllables and thus, can end either in vowel or in consonant. In this dialect these are the possible syllabic patterns - V, VC, VCC, CV,
CVC, CVCC and CCV

79
Length

The length of vowel is not phonemic. But phonetically, length is predictable in the following cases.

1. Close syllables are essentially long in the mono-syllabic words and in the final position of the di-syllabic words. Such words are imperatives. Example [u:Th] 'get up' [kO:r] 'do' [bu:l] 'turn around and are [aka:s] 'sky', [hOTha:t] 'suddenly' [bOdma:s] 'wicked'.

2. Words ending in vowels are long in the open syllable as in imperatives –example [nEs:] 'take' [ga:] 'sing' [ja:] 'go' [pi:] 'drink' [utha:] 'raise' in onomatopoeics [Dho:] 'loud noise' [bho:bho] 'barking' and in certain pronominals and nominals [tu:] 'you' [se:] 'he/she' [gã:] 'village' [nã] 'name' etc.

The length fluctuates with the rhythm of utterances and as such are non-contrastive.

Length of vowels contrasts with the non-lengthened one in the situation- when identical vowels meet with syllables forming morpheme boundary. Example


Stress

Stress in Sambalpuri does not appear to be phonemic. Word when uttered in isolation is generally stressed and the initial syllable of each breath group bears stress. Example

/mor bOhigurakO iNe OcHeI/ 'my books are here'
/mor pomana iskule jaichOnI/ 'my sons have gone to school'
/lame sOmundOrku jhuri marijisã/ 'we go to the sea to catch fish'

The breath group may contain either one or more than one word.

Juncture

Junctures are syllabic or external. In syllabic juncture operates in between syllables (-) while in external juncture operates in between words. Syllable Juncture =

/kuk - ra/ 'chicken' /kuk - ra # jhol/ 'chicken soup'
/mak - ra / 'spider' /mak-ra # jər/ 'spider web'
/gu - a / 'nut' /gu - a # ka-ti/ 'nut-cracker'
/sukh - a / 'dry' /sukh - a # mirca/ 'black pepper'

Intonation

Intonation is marked in sentential utterances. The intonation types are three as described below.

a) Intonation in statement sentence. In it the rise and fall of the pitch is at equal level (→)
/mor guTe bhOes thila/ 'I had one she buffalo'
/pOToRgurakO satwa ay/ 'the leaves are green'

b) Intonation in question sentence and command sentence. In it, the sentence is marked by the rising pitch. (↑)
/tor na kãana ay ?/ 'what is your name ?'
/tuIti kãene rOhesu ? / 'where do you stay?'
c) Intonation in exclamatory sentences. In it, the sentence is marked by the rise (↗) and fall (↘) in the pitch.

/bagh/ ↘  ‘tiger’  /sāp/ ↘!  ‘snake’!

Morphology

Words in ‘Sambalpuri dialect’ are categorised as nouns, verbs and indeclinables. Of these, while indeclinables are the free morphemes, nouns and verbs undergo morphological process also forming the constituent structure as subjects + predicates of the simple sentences.

Noun morphology

Nouns

The nouns as ‘form class’ receive definiteness markers, number, case, postposition and numeral classifiers.

Gender

The genders are essentially lexical although in some cases of human and non-human, gender distinction is realised by the markers -φ, -a (masculine) and -i (feminine)

In the nominals

A)  - φ (masculine) :  - i (feminine)

Non-human

/monjūrφ/  ‘peacock’ :  /monjuri/  ‘pea-hen’
B)  - a (masculine) :  - i (feminine)

Human

/mousa/  ‘mother’s sister’s husband’ :  /mousi/  ‘mother’s sister’
/buDhā/  ‘oldman’ :  /buDhi/  ‘old woman’

Non-human

/bachā/  ‘calf’ :  /bachī/  ‘she-calf’
/ghūsra/  ‘pig’ :  /ghūsri/  ‘female-pig’

In the adjectival

A)  - a (masculine) :  - i (feminine)
/Dengā/  ‘tall’ :  /Dengi/  ‘tall’
/bangra/  ‘short’ :  /bangri/  ‘short’

Herein, gender distinction of the nominals is determined on the basis of use of markers to the attached adjectival bases.

Phrasal formation indicating femininity of the non-human nominals mai- ‘being’ prefixed to the masculine bases.
c) Intonation in exclamatory sentences. In it, the sentence is marked by the rise (↗) and fall (↘) in the pitch.

/bagh/ ↘ 'tiger' /sāp/ ↗ 'snake'!

Morphology

Words in ‘Sambalpuri dialect’ are categorised as nouns, verbs and indeclinables. Of these, while indeclinables are the free morphemes, nouns and verbs undergo morphological process also forming the constituent structure as subjects + predicates of the simple sentences.

Noun morphology

Nouns

The nouns as ‘form class’ receive definiteness markers, number, case, postposition and numeral classifiers.

Gender

The genders are essentially lexical although in some cases of human and non-human, gender distinction is realised by the markers -φ, -a (masculine) and -i (feminine)

In the nominals

A) - φ (masculine) : -i (feminine)

Non-human

/monjurφ/ 'peacock' : /monjuri/ 'pea-hen'

B) - a (masculine) : - i (feminine)

Human

/mousal/ 'mother’s sister’s husband : /mousi/ 'mother’s sister'
/buDha/ 'oldman' : /buDhi/ 'old woman'

Non-human

/bachal/ 'calf' : /bachi/ 'she-calf'
/ghūsrāl/ 'pig' : /ghūsrīl/ 'female-pig'

In the adjectivals

A) - a (masculine) : - i (feminine)

/Dengal/ 'tall' : /Dengi/ 'tall'
/bangra/ 'short' : /bangri/ 'short'

Herein, gender distinction of the nominals is determined on the basis of use of markers to the attached adjectival bases.

Phrasal formation indicating femininity of the non-human nominals mai- ‘being’ prefixed to the masculine bases.

81
/hathi/  ‘elephant’ : /mai hathi/ ‘she-elephant’
/ghuDa/  ‘horse’ : /mai ghuDa/ ‘mare’
/kukur/  ‘dog’ : /mai kukur/ ‘bitch’

Sex- and kin- based gender distinctions are available mainly in the humans and the least to the non-humans and are indicated by the use of two different words:

**Humans**

/ba, bual/  ‘father’ : /mal/ ‘mother’
/lok/  ‘man’ : /mai jhi/ ‘woman’
/bOri/  ‘husband’ : /kOnia/ ‘wife’

**Number**

The two term numbers - singular and plural are realised by -ø (zero) and -gura [with pleonastic kO by the Brahmins] for the non-humans and body - parts and -ø (zero) and -mane for the humans.

**A. Non-humans**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ø (zero)</td>
<td>-gurak (Br) -gura (NBr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ghOr/  ‘house’</td>
<td>/ghOrgurakO(Br) ghOrgura(NBr)/ ‘houses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pOtr/  ‘leaf’</td>
<td>/pOtrOrgurakO (Br) pOtrOrgura(NBr) ‘leaves’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B. Humans**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-mane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lok (Br) luk (NBr)/  ‘man, person’</td>
<td>/lokmane (Br) lukmane (NBr)/ ‘men, persons’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/chua/  ‘child, son’</td>
<td>/chuanamane/ ‘sons, children’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also, pluralisation is indicated by the use of -e in case of humans

/pila/  ‘student’ : /pile/ ‘students’ (in address)
/llok/luk/  ‘person’ : /loke/luke/ ‘persons’

Further, -e in respect indicate pluralisation

/masTrO/  ‘teacher’ : /masTre/ ‘teachers’

**Definitive uses -Ta and -Te**

The definitive marker -Ta and -Te are used with the nominals and adjectivals respectively in the singular:

**Nominals**

/kukurTa/  ‘the dog’ (particular). /DungriTa/ ‘the hill’ (particular),
/kothniTa/  ‘the story’ (particular) /rupOTa/ ‘the pigeon’ (particular)
/phOITa/  ‘the fruit’ (particular)
Adjectives

*/Dengate/  'the tall one' (masculine)  */DengiTe/  'the tall one' (feminine)
*/pattlaTe/  'the thin one' (masculine)  */pattiTe/  'the thin one' (feminine)

Also -Te is used with some non-human nouns in sympathy.

*/takute/  'the stone' (particular)  */ghOre/  'the house' (particular)
*/noliate/  'the canal' (particular)  */kathiTe/  'the wall' (particular)

The definitive markers -Ta, -Te are not used in the plural number. Instead, in the non-human nouns -ko is used by Brahmins to indicate definiteness in sympathy while indefiniteness in non-sympathy is indicated by the use of -e with the plural. Example

*/ghoRe/  'house' :  */ghOrgurakO/  (definite)
*/ghOrgurae/  'houses'  */ghOrgurake/  (indefinite)

Classifiers

A noun when enumerated receives classifier.

*/ghOney luk/  'one men'  */duhiJeOn luk/  'two men'
*/ghOney mayhi/maikina/  'one woman'
*/duhijiOn mejhi/maikina/  'two women'
*/boStae caur/  'sack full of rice'
*/duhi boSta caur/  'two sacks full of rice'

The examples reflect the structure as

Numeral + Classifier + Noun → Numeral + Classifier + Noun.

Classifiers used with the nominals are either qualifiers or quantifiers of which the former is used with the count nouns while the latter with the mass nouns:

In the count nouns

*/guTe luk/  'one man’ (guTe having allomorph -Te)
*/lukTe/  'the man' (particular)
*/guTe ghOre/  'one house'  */ghOre/  'the house' (particular)

In the mass nouns

*/gilase paen/  'one glass of water' (with -e meaning ‘one’)
*/duhi gilase paen/  'two glasses of water' (quantifier duhi helps in counting the mass noun).

Cases

Structure of case forms is as follows:
Nominal base + pl. marker -mame [Hu] gura (kO) [NHu] + case markers/post positions.

Nominal bases for the nouns are single term that is direct, whereas for the pronominals they are either direct or oblique. Equally, the direct human pluraliser -mame > -man when used in oblique cases either in the nouns or in the pronouns. The non-human pluraliser -gura (kO) remains unchanged both in direct and oblique cases of the nouns or pronouns.

Cases

The cases are five and these have the markers as:

Accusative/Dative: -ku (Br.) –ke (NBr)
/gOchku (Br.) gOchke (NBr)/ ‘to the free’
/desku (Br.) deske (NBr)/ ‘to the country’

Instrumental.  -thi
/kOlOmthi lekhO/ ‘write by pen’
/cäti buppra bODhithi uhOligOla/ ‘the ant also flown away by flood’
/-re hatre/ ‘by hand’ /baDire/ ‘by the stick’

Ablative.  -nu
/gOchnu/ ‘from the tree’
/raeijnu/ ‘from the state/kingdom’
--ū /ghOrū/ ‘from the house’

Genitive  -r ~ Or ~ -kOr
 -r used with the open syllabic base
 -Or used with the close syllabic base
 -kOr used only with oblique plural base  -man-
/dehOr bal/ ‘hair of the body’ /rOjar ghOr/ ‘palace of the king’

Locative  -thi [-thi used with the open syllabic base]
/DOnga khOtithi bÖdha heichel/ ‘the boat is tied with the anchor’
/bOsgura Odharatithi kam bOnd kOle/ ‘the buses stopped in the midnight’
 ~ -ne [used with the close syllabic base]
/muā sOmolpurne gHorTe bOneithi/ ‘I built the house in Sambalpur’
 ~ -e/ -kU/ -ke [used with the close –syllabic base]
/ghOre/ghOrku/ghOrke/ ‘in the house’
/i gOche aumufi neirOhē/ ‘I won’t live in this tree any more’
 ~ kO [used with the open-syllabic base]
/masOko tirisi dinO/ ‘there are thirty days in a month’

Postpositions

The postpositions which are nominal and participial in nature are simple and compound types. The simple-type postpositions are:

/upre/ ‘above’ /ghurOn upre Dei jO/ ‘jump over the fence’
/pasiū/ ‘from, near’ /mOr ghOr pasiū asO/ ‘come from near my house’
/pakhe/ ‘near’ /ghOrTa nOdi pakhe Oche/ ‘the house is by the river’
/bele/ ‘during’ /dinbele mai-kukra cOlahula kOrsi/ ‘the hen moves during the day time’
/bhitre/bhitOrke/ ‘inside’ /ghOr bhitre/bhitOrke jO/ ‘go inside the house’
/Thanu/ ‘till/upto’ /Odra raet Thamu u ufajOr rohelai/ ‘he remained awake till mid-night’
/bhitru/ ‘among’ /jugua bhitre jOnepOche kudale/ ‘one among the guards ran after it’
/bhOr/ ‘full, altogether’ /mue dinbhOr suithi/ ‘I slept the whole day’
/dei/ ‘by, through, with the help of’ /surendrO saike OuncOr dei DOkei pOthale/ ‘they invited Surendra sai through a secret messenger’

Tenses

It is a four member class --- present, past, future and conditional.

Present tense  {-is-} has two allomorphs.
{-is-} ➔ [-s-] /occurs after simple and extended present/
[-is-] /occurs with auxiliary -th- in the present perfect
with auxiliary -tha- in the habitual present,
perfect and imperfect in the first person singular/

Past tense

{-il-} has two allomorphs.
{-il-} [-l-] /occurs with the roots and subsidiaries as -hO, ja,
kOr, mOr, de and ne/
[-il-] /occurs elsewhere/

Future tense

{-ib-} has four allomorphs.
{-ib-} [-im-] /occurs with the roots -kha, so, pi, pODh, in the
person/
[-m-] /occurs with the roots and subsidiaries -hO, de, ne
and as in the first person/
[-ib-] /occurs elsewhere (second and third person) with the
roots and subsidiaries -hO, de, ne /
[-ib-] /occurs elsewhere (second and third person) with the
roots -kha, pi, so and pOdh/

Conditional tense

{-it-} has two allomorphs.
{-it-} [-t-] /occurs in the conditional present/
[-it-] /occurs elsewhere with auxiliary -th- in the perfect
and imperfect conditional/

The Aspects

The aspects are two --- perfective and imperfective.

Perfective

{-i-}
realised before [Aux -ch-] /in the present definite tense/
[Aux -th-] /in the present non-definite past and future conditional tense/
[Aux -tha-] /in the habitual present tense/

Imperfective

{-u-}
realised before [Aux -ch-] /in the present tense/
[Aux -th-] /in the present non-definite conditional past and
future tense/
[Aux -tha-] /in the habitual present tense/

Mood

There are two types of moods – imperative and optative. Imperative mood is used in the
second person and is having the 3-term comparison while the optative mood is realised in the III
person with 2-term comparison. Example

Imperative mood:

[-f] /Unmarked (inferior)/
[-O] /Familiar/
[-m] /Honorific in open syllable ending in -a/

85
[-On] /Honorific in close syllable and in the open
syllable ending in any vowel except –a/

Example
/ja/ ‘go’ (Inferior – unmarked) /kOr/ ‘do’
/ja-O/ ‘you go (Familiar)’ /kOrO/ ‘you do’
/ja- n/ ‘you (Honorific) go’ /kOrOn/ ‘you (Honorific) do’

Optative mood
[-u ] /Non-Honorific – III person/
[-n ] /Honorific III person in open syllable ending in –a/
[-Om] /Honorific III person in open syllable ending in any
vowel except nd in the close syllable/

Example
/jau/ ‘let him go’ /koru/ ‘let him do’
/se/semane jən/ ‘let him/them go’
/se/semane kOrOn/ ‘let him/them do’
/se/semane jaithan/ ‘let him/them be going’
/se/semane kOruθan/ ‘let him/them be doing’

Structure of finite verb

1.1 Simple tense-
1.2 Aspectual
   Root + Aspect + Tense + Person
2.1 Simple mood
   Root + Mood + Person
2.2 Aspectual
   Root + Aspect + Auxiliary + Mood + Person
1.1 Simple tense -
   Root + Tense + Person.

Present
kOr - sī ‘I do’ (singular)
kOr - su ‘you do’ (singular)
kOr - si ‘he/she does’ (singular)
kOr - sū ‘we do’ (plural)
kOr - sO ‘you do’ (plural)
kOr - sOn ‘they do’ (plural)

Past
kO - l - ī ‘I did’ (singular)
kO - l - u ‘you did’ (singular)
kO - l - a ‘he/she did’ (singular)
kO - l - ī ‘we did’ (plural)
kO - l - O ‘you did’ (plural)
kO - l - e ‘they did’ (plural)

Future
kOr - m - i ‘I will do’ (singular)
kOr - b - u ‘you will do’ (singular)
kOr - b - a ‘he/she will do’ (singular)
kOr - m - u ‘we will do’ (exclusive) (plural)
kOr - m - a ‘we will do’ (inclusive) (plural)
kOr - b - O ‘you will do’ (plural)
kOr - b - e ‘they will do’ (plural)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conditional</th>
<th>kOr - t - i</th>
<th>‘I would do’ (singular)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kOr - t - u</td>
<td>‘you would do’ (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kOr - t - a</td>
<td>‘he/she would do’ (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kOr - t - ū</td>
<td>‘we would do’ (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kOr - t - O</td>
<td>‘you would do’ (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kOr - t - e</td>
<td>‘they would do’ (plural)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**1.2 Aspectual**

- Root + Aspect + Auxiliary + Person

**Present imperfect**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kOr - u - ch - ē</th>
<th>‘I am doing’ (singular)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kOr - u - ch - u</td>
<td>‘you are doing’ (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr - u - ch - e</td>
<td>‘he/she is doing’ (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr - u - ch - ū</td>
<td>‘we are doing’ (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr - u - ch - O</td>
<td>‘you are doing’ (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr - u - ch - On</td>
<td>‘they are doing’ (plural)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Present perfect**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kOr - i - ch - ē</th>
<th>‘I have done’ (singular)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kOr - i - ch - u</td>
<td>‘you have done’ (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr - i - ch - e</td>
<td>‘he/she has done’ (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr - i - ch - ū</td>
<td>‘we have done’ (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr - i - ch - O</td>
<td>‘you have done’ (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr - i - ch - On</td>
<td>‘they have done’ (plural)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Present indefinite imperfect**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kOr - u - tha - e</th>
<th>‘I used to doing’ (singular)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kOr - u - tha - u</td>
<td>‘you used to doing’ (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr - u - tha - e</td>
<td>‘he/she used to doing’ (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr - u - tha - ū</td>
<td>‘we used to doing’ (plural) (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr - u - tha - O</td>
<td>‘you used to doing’ (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr - u - tha - e</td>
<td>‘they used to doing’ (plural)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Present indefinite perfect**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kOr - i - tha - e</th>
<th>‘I used to have done’ (singular)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kOr - i - tha - u</td>
<td>‘you used to have done’ (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr - i - tha - e</td>
<td>‘he/she used to have done’ (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr - i - tha - ū</td>
<td>‘we used to have done’ (plural) (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr - i - tha - O</td>
<td>‘you used to have done’ (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr - i - tha - e</td>
<td>‘they used to have done’ (plural)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Past imperfect**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kOr-u-th-il-i</th>
<th>‘I was doing’ (singular)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kOr-u-th-il-u</td>
<td>‘you were doing’ (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr-u-th-il-a</td>
<td>‘he/she were doing’ (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr-u-th-il-u</td>
<td>‘we were doing’ (plural) (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr-u-th-il-e</td>
<td>‘we were doing’ (plural) (inclusive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

87
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past perfect</th>
<th>Future imperfect</th>
<th>Future perfect</th>
<th>Conditional imperfect</th>
<th>Conditional perfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kOr-us-th-il-O</td>
<td>kOr-us-th-im-i</td>
<td>kOr-i-th-im-i</td>
<td>kOr-us-th-it-i</td>
<td>'you were doing' (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kOr-us-th-il-e</td>
<td>kOr-us-th-ib-u</td>
<td>kOr-i-th-ib-u</td>
<td>kOr-us-th-it-i</td>
<td>'they were doing' (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kOr-us-th-il-a</td>
<td>kOr-i-th-ib-a</td>
<td>kOr-us-th-it-a</td>
<td>'I had done' (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kOr-us-th-il-u</td>
<td>kOr-i-th-ib-u</td>
<td>kOr-us-th-it-u</td>
<td>'you had done' (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kOr-us-th-il-e</td>
<td>kOr-i-th-ib-u</td>
<td>kOr-us-th-it-a</td>
<td>'he/she had done' (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kOr-i-th-ib-O</td>
<td>kOr-us-th-it-i</td>
<td>'we had done' (plural) (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kOr-i-th-ib-e</td>
<td></td>
<td>'we had done' (plural) (inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kOr-i-th-it-i</td>
<td>'you had done' (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kOr-i-th-it-e</td>
<td>'they had done' (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'I will be doing' (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'you will be doing' (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'he/she will be doing' (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'we will be doing' (plural) (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'we will be doing' (plural) (inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'you will be doing' (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'they will be doing' (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'I will have done' (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'you will have done' (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'he/she will have done' (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'we will have done' (plural) (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'we will have done' (plural) (inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'you will have done' (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'they will have done' (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'I would be doing' (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'you would be doing' (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'he/she would be doing' (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'we would be doing' (plural) (Exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'we would be doing' (plural) (Inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'you would be doing' (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'they would be doing' (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'I would have done' (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'you would have done' (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'he/she would have done' (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'we would have done' (plural) (Exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'we would have done' (plural) (Inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'you would have done' (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'they would have done' (plural)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Negatives
The negatives can be categorised into three. These are: 1. negative copula, 2. negative auxiliary and 3. negative verb formation verb + negation
The negative copula *neiO* substitutes the copula verb *ay* ‘is’ and occurs in the sentence-final position [Herein, use of *-nOi* indicates double negation] Example

/se kensi neiOi/ ‘he is nowhere’
/eTa khaebar bagir neiOi/ ‘this is not eatable’
/mor kObar kOrbar neiOi/ ‘I do not have to work’

The negative auxiliary *-n* replaces *-ch* and occurs in the present definite tense.

Example

/kha-w/-i-ch-ë/ I am eating/I have eaten’
/kha -w/-i-n-i ‘I am/have not eating/eaten’

The negative morpheme is realised as *-ni* after the main verb and as *-nOi* in between the main verb and the auxiliary.

/mui jae /gOli /jimi ni/ ‘I do not/did not/will not go’

/mui ja-w/-i-n- th-il/-im-il/ ‘I was not going, I will not be going, I had not gone and I will not have gone’

/mui ja-w/-i-nO -tha-e/ ‘let me not keep on going/let me not have gone’

Emphatic *-nOi*
The negative marker *-nOi* is used for emphasis in the present and past tenses. Example

/se kensi nainOi/neiOi/ ‘I became old indeed!’

Non-finite verb-type
The non-finite verb-types include Infinitives verbal nouns gerund and participles.

Infinitives
The Infinitive markers are *-ba* – *-ke* in place of standard Oriya *-ba* or *-iba*. Further, in Sambalpuri dialect examples of infinitive formation are available also with *-i*.

Infinitive with *-ba* – *-ke*
/gai cOrbake jouche/ ‘(he) is going to graze the cow’
/se kOrbake cahouche/ ‘he wants to do’

Infinitive with *-i*
/lame sOmuPo ke juhri mari jisâl/ ‘we go to the sea to catch fish’
/mui tumOr sOnge kObar kOrijimîl/ ‘I will go with you to work’

Verbal noun
The Verbal nouns are formed with *-bar*
/lo ner kObar kOrbar kOtha/ ‘one should go to find a job’
/bOxut-mujria bhOrti hebar Oche/ ‘many workers are to be employed’
Gerundial formation

The gerundial marker is -i that precedes the subsidiary verb hO.

/eTa kOrihesi/ ‘it is possible to do’ /eTa kOrihel/ ‘it is possible to do’
/eTa kOriheba/ ‘it will be possible to do’

Passive formation

Passive formation is attested through stem alteration being followed by the subsidiary hO in the construction. Example

/pilake khua hOuche/ ‘the boy is being fed’
/tumOr kurta Tipa hOuche/ ‘your shirt is stitched’.
/kObarTa kOra hela/ ‘the work was done’

Compound verbs

The compound verbs are formed of V₁ − V₁ and V₁ − V₂. In V₁ − V₁ the first V₁ is either an independent morpheme or is having -a marker while in V₁ − V₂ the first V₁ is marked by -i or -ei. Example

I − V₁

/mar khaibOl/ ‘you will get beating’ (II plural)
/ThaD hOl/ ‘stand’ (II singular)
/de diOl/ ‘give away’ (II plural)
/dhua hela/ ‘was washed’

V₁ − V₂

/uhOli gOla/ ‘got overwhelmed’
/kOhi delal/ ‘said’
/kOhi pOkala/ ‘blurred out’
/kOhi uthila/ ‘exclaimed’

Noun – subsidiary

/naT kOrbar/ ‘act’ /juhar kOrbar/ ‘fold (arms)’
/phOnda kOrbar/ ‘set a trap, /dhar kOrbar/ ‘sharpen’

Adjective – subsidiary

/Thikna kOrbar/ ‘arrange’ /patla kOrbar/ ‘dilute’
/khali kOrbar/ ‘empty’ /mela kOrbar/ ‘open’

Onomatopoetic – subsidiary

/ThOk thOk kOrbar/ ‘knock’ /phirphir kOrbar/ ‘alight’
/phOr phOr kOrbar/ ‘flatter’ /phO phO kOrbar/ ‘hiss’

Denominative verbs

/dhOmkabar/ ‘threaten/frighten’
/dhukbar/ ‘fan’ /aThebar/ ‘kneel’
/rOngabar/ ‘dye’ /phOlar/ ‘bear’ (fruit)
Derivative verbs

/hOseibar/ ‘amuse/to cause to amuse’
/kudheibar ‘embrace’
/dekheibar/ ‘show’ /gOleibar/ ‘sift (flower)’

Syntax
Order of words and phrases in a simple sentence

The constituent structure of a simple sentence is subject + predicate (S + P). The subject may consist of nominals (noun/pronoun) or NP presenting the head of the construction while the predicate may have finite verb. VP, nominals, NP, adjective, AP and pronominal adverb following the head of the construction.

Examples of word-orders and phrases of a simple sentence:

A. Subject (N) + predicate (V) [N+V]
Example
kukur
bhuksi ‘the dog barks’
cureimane
uDsOn ‘the birds fly’
gaymane
cOruchOn ‘the cows are grazing’

B. Subject (N/Pr) + predicate (N+V) [N/Pr + N+V]
Example
/kukurTa bileike bhukche/ ‘the dog barks at the cat’
/se amke dekhuche/ ‘he is looking at me/he looks at me’
/se ghOre Oche/ ‘he is in the house’
/semene take dekhuchOn/ ‘they are looking at him’

Description on types of sentences

a) Interrogative sentence

Some of the structures of interrogative sentences are given below:

1. Interrogative(s) + V
Example
/ke jane/ ‘who knows’

2. S + interrogative + V
Example
/se kagnu asiche/ ‘why has he come?’

3. S ( + adverb) + interrogative (adjective/adverb) + V
Example
/itume kaeje jauchOl/ ‘why are you going’
/mui kaeje jimil/ ‘why shall I go?’

4. S + interrogative (O) + O + V
Example
/itui kai kObar kOrsii/ ‘what do you do?’

5. S + adverb + V + interrogative
Example
/se senke jiba kay/ ‘will he go there?’
6. S + C (O) + O + V + interrogative
Example
/se tumOr b0hen ay kay/
‘is she your sister?’

7. S + adverb + V + interrogative
Example
/semane ghOre OchON kay/
‘are they in the house?’

8. S + O + interrogative (O) + V
Example
/tume iTa ketethi doBo/
‘how much will you pay for it?’

b) Imperative sentence
V
/bOsO/
‘sit down’
/uThO/
‘rise’

Cv
/thaD hO/
‘stand up’
/bOsi jO/
‘sit down’

O + V
/iTa niO/
‘take it’
/iTa dHorO/
‘hold it’

O + CV
/paenTike an/
‘bring a little water’

O + adverb + V:
/iTa iOle rokoO/
‘keep it below’
/iTa upOrke rokoO/
‘keep it above’

O + adverb + CV:
/iOkta upre ThaD hO/
‘stand up on the table’
/iOkta upre bOsi jO/
‘sit on the table’

O + C(O) + V:
/kOtha guTe kOho/
‘speak a word’

O + adverb + O + V /pOthOr upre pad rokoO/ ‘keep your feet up on the stone’

O + PP + indirect + interrogative (adjective) + CV:
/iTar sOnge au kaeta deido/ ‘give some more alongwith it’

O + PP + Negative + V: /jue paske nejO/ ‘do not go near fire’

C(O) + O + PCPL + V: /iake na dhOrikiri DakO/ ‘call him by name’

C) Negative sentence

Negative in sentence – final position
S + adverb + negative + V
/se kensi neiNo/ ‘he is (seen) nowhere’
C(O) + O + VN + negative + V /mor au buta kOrbar nain/ ‘I do not have to work’
O + negative + V + O + V: /heTa nuhe iTaay/ ‘that is not (but) this one’

O + adjective + negative + V + O + V:
/iTa bhO/ neiO seTa diO/ ‘this is not good give that one’

Negative in sentence – medial position
S + negative + V:
/muñ nei kOre kOrbar/ ‘I shall not work’

S + adverb + negative + V:
/muñ aei nei ase/ ‘I shall not go’

S + O + adverb + negative + V
/muñ iTake kensi neI paili/ ‘I shall not come to-day’

S + interrogative + M (adverb) + adverb + negative + V
/rui kæeje Thik belahi nei ailo/ ‘I found it nowhere’

S + O + negative + V
/muIbuta nei kerë/ ‘I shall not work’

‘why did you not come in time’

‘I found it nowhere’

‘I shall not work’

‘I shall not work’
d) Causative sentence
S+indirect O+direct O + VN+PP+V
/muǐ take bOhi debar lagi kOlude/kOheba/
S+indirect O + direct O + V
/muǐ take git guOluché/
‘I told him to give book’
‘I make her sing the song’

e) Medio-passive sentence
Indirect O + CV /pilake khua hOuche/
O + CV /git gua hesi /
‘the boy is being fed’
‘the song is being sing’

f) Relative construction
1. S+relative verb → la [ c(O) ] + O + V
/se poDhla phOlghurak gOdalal/
‘he collected the fallen fruits’
2. Alternate → gen - r [ c(O) ] + C(O) [ relative verb ] definite art. - Ta + C(O) + O definite art. -
Te + V:
/mor rOhesinTa bODe ghOrTel/
‘the house I live is big one’

Complex sentence
1. S+V+sub-ordinate (reason-specific)+CV(N+V):
/se aela je bhOl helal/
‘it was good that he came’
2. S+indirect O → adjective - ki + V + S+indirect O adjective - ki + V:
/tume jetki debo muoi setki nemil/
‘as much as you give I shall take’
3. S+V(N-F) + O + V:
/se poDhtihile pas kOrithita/
/se khOTle bhOl kOrba/
‘if he had read he would have passed’
‘if he works hard he will do well’
4. S+V(N-F)+S+V:
/gaDi uchurOhele ame paema/
‘we shall get the train if it is late’

Compound sentence
Two sentence either independently occurring or are conjoined with the help of a co-
ordinator. Examples of some of the compound sentences are presented below.
1. S+adverb+V → S+V
/tume inke rOhe O muoi jimi/
‘you stay here I shall go’
2. S+adverb+O+V+co-ordinator+adverb + N
/muǐ saDhe doS baje gaDi cODhli au saDhe_egaO baje Ophiske aelil/
‘I got into the train at 10.30 O’clock and reached office at 11.30 O’clock’
3. S+adverb+co-ordinator
/se kael aela au poLeigOla/
‘he came yesterday and went away’
DESIA (PROJA)
S.P. Datta

Location

The Desia (Proja) dialect is spoken mainly in the district of Koraput of Orissa state.

Speakers' Strength:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROJA (MOTHER TONGUE)</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>INDIA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>118,726</td>
<td>58,156</td>
<td>60,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>113,805</td>
<td>55,815</td>
<td>57,990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>4,921</td>
<td>2,341</td>
<td>2,580</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ORISSA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>114,289</td>
<td>55,903</td>
<td>58,386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>109,368</td>
<td>53,562</td>
<td>55,806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>4,921</td>
<td>2,341</td>
<td>2,580</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Segments

Vowels

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{i} & \text{e} & \text{o} \\
\text{u} & \text{a} & \text{O} \\
\end{array}
\]

Phonemic contrast

\[
\begin{align*}
/i & \sim /i\text{la}/ & \text{‘sickle’} & \sim & /\text{ela}/ & \text{‘happened’} \\
/k & \sim /k\text{i}/ & \text{‘what’} & \sim & /k\text{e}/ & \text{‘who’} \\
/e & \sim /e\text{k}/ & \text{‘one’} & \sim & /a\text{k}/ & \text{‘all’} \\
/s & \sim /s\text{e}/ & \text{‘he’} & \sim & /sa/ & \text{‘companion’} \\
/O & \sim /O\text{k}/ & \text{‘tonsil’} & \sim & /\text{aki}/ & \text{‘eye’} \\
/k\text{oi}/ & \text{‘said’} & \sim & /k\text{ai}/ & \text{‘ate’} \\
/O & \sim /O\text{ja}/ & \text{‘habit’} & \sim & /uj\text{a}/ & \text{‘right’} \\
/p\text{Or}/ & \text{‘other’} & \sim & /pu\text{r}/ & \text{‘flood’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Nasalization of vowels

\[
\begin{align*}
/i & \sim /i\text{\textbar}/ & \text{‘grind’} & \sim & /i\text{\textbar\textbar}/ & \text{‘brick oven’} \\
/e & \sim /e\text{\textbar}/ & \text{‘pick up’} & \sim & /e\text{\textbar\textbar}/ & \text{‘hunting’} \\
/a & \sim /a\text{\textbar}/ & \text{‘eight’} & \sim & /a\text{\textbar\textbar}/ & \text{‘tight’} \\
/u & \sim /u\text{\textbar}/ & \text{‘pound’} & \sim & /u\text{\textbar\textbar}/ & \text{‘pillar’} \\
/O & \sim /O\text{\textbar}/ & \text{‘bitter’} & \sim & /O\text{\textbar\textbar}/ & \text{‘bell-metal’} \\
\end{align*}
\]