Major allophonic distribution

Oriya vowels do not have specific or significant allophones.

Consonantal allophones

In case of consonantal allophones some questions may arise with the status of the velar nasal /M/ and the flapped retroflex /R/. The phone /M/ occurs in the language with the following contexts.

(i) Conditionally before a homorganic stop, that is
/OMkO/ ‘mathematics’ /beMgO/ ‘frog’ etc

(ii) It occurs somewhat unstably in word-final or syllable final positions. For example
/ebOM/ ‘and’ /bOrOM/ ‘rather’ etc.

These rare words have no fixed norms rather no consistencies in pronunciation. They vary as

/ebOû ~ ebOM ~ ebOm/ ‘or’;
/bOrOû ~ bOrOM ~ bOrOm/ ‘rather’ etc.

A nasal occurring before the velar consonant is less frequent than a nasal occurring before dental consonant. In other words, velar nasal is less frequent in Oriya than the dental nasal and velar nasal is treated as a conditional variant of dental nasal.

The [R] flapped retroflex on the other hand is treated as an allophone of /D/ and is a very frequent phone in the language. [R] occurs intervocally whereas /D/ occurs elsewhere. However, [R] is increasingly distributed elsewhere by the introduction of a number of loan words where /D/ also occurs intervocally. For example
/reDiO/ ‘radio’ /reDi/ ‘ready’ etc. But the distribution is not pervasive enough to destroy the native speakers’ intuition of grouping these two sounds. One may hear frequently that /kORA/ ‘strong’ is pronounced /kODa/ or /kODDa/; /maDO/ or /maDDO/ for /maRO/ ‘beating’; /baDDeibi/ for /baReibi/ ‘I will beat you’ etc. in specific cases.

In addition to the above allophonic variations, Bhattacharya (1993) specifically mentions about /h/ and its allophonic distribution in Oriya as
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phone</th>
<th>Allophone</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>[ h ]</td>
<td>/hOM gama/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘riot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/hOjeiba/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to lose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/baha/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘marriage’ etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/D/</td>
<td>[ D ]</td>
<td>/DeRI/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘late’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/DaLO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘branch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/uDrO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘historical name of Orissa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/mONDO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘grell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/muNDO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/bORO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/jORO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘storm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/baRO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘fence’ etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/Dhul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘wave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/DhaLiba/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to pour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/bORhi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘flood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/muRhi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘fried rice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/ORhei/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘two and half’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>[ n ]</td>
<td>/sanO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘small’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/nDli/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/snanO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘bath’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/sniDli/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘pleasant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/iOToO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘care’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/rOtliO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘jewel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/daNTO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘teeth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/santil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘peace’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/fivEM/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/kOMca/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘raw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/pAMc0O/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to insert’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/cOMc0LO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘quickly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Diphthongs**

There are two diphthongs /Oi/ and /Ou/ available in Oriya. Below are the examples;

/ Oi / \SOinikO/ ‘Soldier’ /OirabOtO/ ‘name of elephant’
/ OitihasikO/ ‘historical’
/ Ou / \jOUbOnO/ ‘youth’ / OuSOdliO/ ‘medicine’

**Consonant clusters**

The consonant clusters are two-member, three-member and four-member types. The two-member consonant clusters are initially and medially occurring while the three and four member consonant clusters occur only medially. Example

**Two-member clusters initially occurring**

/kr/ as in /krOMO/ ‘serial’
/khr/ as in /khrisTabdO/ ‘year’
/gr/ as in /grOHONO/ ‘accept’
/tr/ as in /truptil/ ‘satisfaction’
/dr/ as in /driObYO/ ‘material’
/Tr/ as in /Tren/ ‘train’
/Dr/ as in /DrOM/ ‘drum’
/dhr/ as in /dhruBo/ ‘name of a star’
/pr/ as in /praOMaNO/ ‘proof’
/phr/ as in /phrem/ ‘frame’

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\[\begin{array}{ccc}
/\text{br}/ & \text{as in} & /\text{brukhyO}/ \\
/\text{bhr}/ & \text{as in} & /\text{bhrO}m\text{ONO}/ \\
/\text{nr}/ & \text{as in} & /\text{nrutyO}/ \\
/\text{mr}/ & \text{as in} & /\text{mrutyu}/ \\
/\text{sr}/ & \text{as in} & /\text{srabONO}/ \\
/\text{hr}/ & \text{as in} & /\text{hrO}dO/ \\
\end{array}\]

Other initial clusters are:

\[\begin{array}{ccc}
/\text{kl}/ & \text{with} & /\text{klO}b/ \\
/\text{gL}/ & \text{with} & /\text{gLas}/ \\
\end{array}\]

-\text{L clusters with}

\[\begin{array}{ccc}
/\text{kl}/ & /\text{kl}\text{anti}/ & \text{tiredness}' \\
/\text{gL}/ & /\text{gL}\text{ani}/ & \text{sadness}' \\
/\text{pL}/ & /\text{pL}\text{en}/ & \text{plane}' \\
/\text{mL}/ & /\text{mL}\text{anO}/ & \text{pale}' \\
/\text{sL}/ & /\text{sL}\text{esO}/ & \text{cough}' \\
\end{array}\]

-\text{w clusters with}

\[\begin{array}{ccc}
/\text{kw}/ & /\text{kw}\text{Oci}t/ & \text{seldom}' \\
/\text{tw}/ & /\text{tw}\text{Ocal}/ & \text{skin}' \\
/\text{dw}/ & /\text{dw}\text{On\text{do}/} & \text{dilemma}' \\
/\text{sw}/ & /\text{sw}\text{adh\text{inO}/} & \text{independence}' \\
\end{array}\]

-\text{y clusters with}

\[\begin{array}{ccc}
/\text{khy}/ & /\text{khy}\text{Oma}/ & \text{excuse}' \\
/\text{gy}/ & /\text{gy}\text{ani}/ & \text{wise}' \\
/\text{iy}/ & /\text{iy}\text{oti}/ & \text{brightness}' \\
/\text{ty}/ & /\text{ty}\text{agO}/ & \text{sacrifice}' \\
/\text{ny}/ & /\text{ny}\text{ayO}/ & \text{justice}' \\
/\text{by}/ & /\text{by}\text{ObO}\text{sayO}/ & \text{business}' \\
/\text{sy}/ & /\text{sy}\text{amO}L\text{O}/ & \text{green}' \\
\end{array}\]

Two member-clusters medially occurring:

\[\begin{array}{ccc}
/\text{pt}/ & /\text{rOptani}/ & \text{export}' \\
/\text{ps}/ & /\text{OpxOra}/ & \text{angle}' \\
/\text{pL}/ & /\text{bipLObO}/ & \text{revolution}' \\
/\text{pr}/ & /\text{biprO}/ & \text{brahmin}' \\
/\text{py}/ & /\text{prapyO}/ & \text{share}' \\
/\text{bd}/ & /\text{xObdO}/ & \text{sound}' \\
/\text{bdh}/ & /\text{prO}lubdhO'/ & \text{greedy}' \\
/\text{tp}/ & /\text{utpado}nO/ & \text{yield}' \\
/\text{tm}/ & /\text{utma}/ & \text{soul}' \\
/\text{tn}/ & /\text{rO}mO/ & \text{jewel}' \\
/\text{thy}/ & /\text{On\text{ho}/} & \text{evidence}' \\
/\text{ddh}/ & /\text{fudhO}/ & \text{war}' \\
\end{array}\]

33
SIONO/  
‘warming’
/spl/  
/pOrOspOrO/  
‘each other’
/sphl/  
/nispHolo/  
‘fruitless’
/hlm/  
/OhmOl/  
‘moon’
/hwl/  
/gOhwOrO/  
‘deep hole’
/hyl/  
/babyo/  
‘external’
/impl/  
/kompOl/  
‘shivering’
/imphl/  
/DemphO/  
‘branch’
/mb/  
/ambO/  
‘mango’
/mbh/  
/dOmbho/  
‘strong’
/mm/  
/sommOtil/  
‘approval’
/mn/  
/nimon/  
‘lower’
/mnr/  
/nOmrO/  
‘polite’
/myl/  
/rOmyO/  
‘criticism’
/ntl/  
/OnO /  
‘end’
/nthl/  
/kanthO/  
‘wall’
/ndl/  
/mOndO/  
‘bad’
/ndhl/  
/Ondho/  
‘blind’
/nm/  
/jOnmO/  
‘birth’ etc.

Three member medial clusters

/itw/  
/tOttwo/  
‘science’
/tmjl/  
/mahatmyO/  
‘greatness’
/tshl/  
/jyotsna/  
‘moonlight’
/khm/  
/sukhmO/  
‘thin’
/sTrl/  
/rasTrO/  
‘nation’
/ntr/  
/jOtrO/  
‘machine’
/ndhr/  
/rOndhrO/  
‘whole’
/ntw/  
/santwona/  
‘consolation’
/ndhl/  
/sandhO/  
‘evening’

Four consonantal clusters

/ntry/  
/swatOntryO/  
‘independence’
Geminated consonants

The following are the examples of geminated consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/TT-/</td>
<td>/pOTa/ ‘wooden plate’</td>
<td>/pOTTa/</td>
<td>‘the documents of land’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mm-/</td>
<td>/sOmanO/ ‘equal’</td>
<td>/sOmanO/</td>
<td>‘respect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cc-/</td>
<td>/kOca/ ‘washed’</td>
<td>/kOcca/</td>
<td>‘not brick built’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tt-/</td>
<td>/bhiti/ ‘fear’</td>
<td>/bhitti/</td>
<td>‘base, foundation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kk-/</td>
<td>/pOka/ ‘drop’</td>
<td>/pOkka/</td>
<td>‘plastered brick built’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ll-/</td>
<td>/mOli/ ‘died’</td>
<td>/mOlli/</td>
<td>‘jasmine’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syllables

Oriya syllable contains a vowel as nucleus followed or preceded by peripheral consonants. Mahapatra (1995) claims that the possible syllable structures can be derived from the formula C0-3 V C0-2. The subscript figures here indicate the possibilities in terms of number of elements for that place of syllable structure. Thus C0-3 means that maximum three consonant elements can occur in place of one syllable. This is the structure of the syllable occurring in a word. Normal syllabic patterns of words occur in isolation are as given below:

V - /a/ ‘come’
VC - /as/ ‘come’
VCC - /aMk/ ‘draw’
CV - /ja/ ‘go’
CCCV - /stri/ ‘wife’
CVC - /bOs/ ‘sit’
CCVC - /STil/ ‘steel’
CVCC - /bOTn/ ‘button’
CCVCC - /TrOMk/ ‘box’
CCVCCV - /spOSTO/ ‘clear’

Words having more than five syllables are rare in Oriya. Commonly, words have two or three syllables.

Morphophonems

Morphophonemic rules are classified into two types: general and specific. The specific rules are applicable to specific category of words, in specified morphological environments, viz., nouns before the plural or case suffixes, verb roots before tense suffixes, etc. The general rules for alternations are given below:

1. Alternations phonologically conditioned
   (i) /e~i/ before /O/, /e/ is replaced by /i/. For example
       /de – O/ /diO/ ‘give’
       /ne – Onti/ /niOnti/ ‘taking’
   (ii) /e~u/ before /O/, /e/ is replaced by /u/. Example
       /he – O/ /huO/ ‘be happen /to be’
       /he – Onti/ /huOnti/ ‘happening (plural)’
   (iii) /o~u/ before /a/ and /O/, /o/ is replaced by /u/. For example
/dho – a/  
/so – a/  
(iv) /O – a/ after /a/, /O/ is replaced by /a/. For example  
/kha – Onti/  
/khaanti/  
‘washed’ (used as modifier or attribute)  
‘sleeping’  
‘eat (plural)’  

2. Alternations morphologically and phonologically conditioned in roots ending with a consonant  

a) if the final consonant is other than /h/, then  
/α/ followed by /a/ alternates with /O/. For example  
/αN/ - /α/  
/ONa/  
‘to bring’  
mag/ - /a/  
/mOgal/  
‘to ask’  

b) if the final consonant is /h/  
/O/ and /o/ alternate with /u/ when followed by /e/ /o/ or /a/. For example  
/koh/ - /o/  
/kuhe/  
‘say’  

3. /α/ followed by /i/ alternates with /e/. For example  
/oLe/ - /i/  
/oLei/  
‘to sweep’

Morphology

Morphologically Oriya words fall into seven categories, that is, noun, pronoun, adjective, adverb, indeclinable, finite verb and non-finite verb. On the basis of the inflections and the affix systems, the words could be categorised into these seven grammatical categories. Except indeclinables, all the categories do take inflections either nominal or verbal. Hence, noun, pronoun and adjective could be treated as nominal classes and finite verb, non-finite verb and adverb as verbal classes.

Noun morphology

Noun

Nouns are those which are inflected for either number or gender or case markers.

Number

There are two numbers in Oriya, singular and plural. Singular denotes one and only one person or thing and the noun may be followed or preceded by singular specifiers or singular number markers. Plural is formed by the addition of plural suffixes to the nouns which usually occur as singular. Plural number denotes more than one person or thing.

The singular number markers occur as:
With suffix- (-Ti, -Ta, -Tie)
/pimpuRi -Ti/  
/ant/  
pila -Tie/  
‘child’  
/jhiO -Ta/  
‘daughter’  
The plural number suffixes that occur with nominal forms as-
(1) with suffix -φ, For example  
/cini-φ/  
‘sugar’  
/bali-φ/  
‘sand’ etc.
(2) /-mane/, /-guDie/, /-guDa/, /-sObu/, /-sreNii/ etc. For example  
/lokOmane/  
‘people’  
/bhatOguDa/  
‘rice’  
/phulOguDie/  
‘flowers’  
/gaśObu/  
‘villages’
mountains’

Example

"too much of talk’ ‘too much of scold’

‘children’ ‘people’

(4) /-guDi/ /-guDa/ with definite /-kO/ (specifier) suffix. For example

‘rivers’ ‘rice’

(5) with /-tOkO/ and /-jakO/ (specifier) definite suffix. Example

‘rice’ ‘the whole house’

Case inflections

Traditionally case inflection is referred to as case markers, postpositions and vibhakti markers by many grammarians. It is both syntactical and morphological rather than only a morphological phenomena. The function of case is to indicate the grammatical/semantic relationships between nouns and also between noun and verb in a larger syntactic structure.

The case markers used in standard Oriya are five. Below are presented the case markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Nominative</td>
<td>/φ/ /-Ti/ /-Ta/</td>
<td>/-mane/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Accusative</td>
<td>/-ku/ /-te/</td>
<td>/-Mku/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Ablative</td>
<td>/-ru/ /-Tharu/</td>
<td>/-MkOru/ /-MkOTHaru/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Genitive</td>
<td>/-O/</td>
<td>/-MkOrO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Locative</td>
<td>/-re/</td>
<td>/-MkOre/ /-MkOTHare/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The case suffixes can be added in the following manner-

(1) Noun – case suffix

(2) Noun – number – case suffix

(3) Noun – case suffix – postposition

The case suffixes are bound by the semantic and syntactic properties of both the nominal and verbal inflections. Indeed, case holds the syntactic and semantic relationship between the word-structures.

Hence, in a sentence all the nouns receive case even if they do not carry case endings. For example

(1) /mū ghOrOku jauchii/ I home[to] going “I am going to home”

/Μfū/ ‘I’ receives nominative case and /ghOrO/ ‘house’ receives accusative case.

However,

(2) /mū minuku bOhi deli/ I Minu[to] book gave ‘I gave the book to Minu’
Here, in (2) /mũ/ ‘I’ receives nominative and Minu receives accusative while /bOhi/ ‘book’ has no overt case marker but receives case. The case is assigned to /bOhi/ ‘book’ by the verb.

**Gender**

There is no grammatical gender in Oriya, instead gender is lexical. Though gender plays no major role in grammatical agreement between subject and predicate in Oriya, it is accounted under nominal inflections. In Oriya, we find two genders that is masculine and feminine.

Gender inflection never change the word-class of nominal group. Hence, the markers change the gender in Oriya as follows:

1. **Isolated words or different words to differentiate gender**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/bapal/</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bhai/</td>
<td>‘brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/swami/</td>
<td>‘husband’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/raja/</td>
<td>‘king’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sONDho/</td>
<td>‘bull’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. With prefix /ONDira/ ‘male’

| /ONDira gOdho/     | ‘male donkey’     | /mai gOdho/        | ‘female donkey’   |
| /ONDira cheLi/     | ‘male goat’       | /mai cheLi/        | ‘female goat’     |

3. With /-a/ suffix

| /sObhyo/           | ‘member’          | /sObhya/           | ‘female member’   |
| /dusTO/            | ‘naughty\(^b\)’   | /dusTa/            | ‘(in female sense)naughty’ |

4. /with /-i/ suffix

| /kumara/           | ‘young boy’       | /kumari/           | ‘young girl’      |
| /sundOra/          | ‘handsome boy’    | /sundOri/          | ‘beautiful lady’  |

5. With /-i/ suffix (with the morphophonemic changes from /a/ to /i/)

| /Tokal/            | ‘young boy’       | /Toki/             | ‘young girl’      |
| /choTa/            | ‘lame man’        | /choTi/            | ‘lame lady’       |
| /peTa/             | ‘pot-bellied man’ | /peTi/             | ‘pot-bellied woman’ |

6. With /-i/ suffix (the morphophonemic change takes place from /O/ to /a/)

| /kONA/             | ‘blind man’       | /kaNi/             | ‘blind woman’     |
| /sOLA/             | ‘brother-in-law’  | /saLi/             | ‘sister-in-law’   |

7. With /ri/ suffix (the morphophonemic change takes place from /a/ to /ri/)

| /netra/            | ‘male leader’     | /netri/            | ‘female leader’   |
| /rOcOita/          | ‘author’          | /rOcOitrI/         | ‘authoress’       |

8. /-aNi/ (suffix the morphophonemic change takes place /O/ to /aNi/)

| /masTorO/          | ‘male teacher’    | /masTraNi/         | ‘female teacher’  |
| /Thakuro/          | ‘god’             | /ThakuraNi/        | ‘goddess’         |
| /tOnti/            | ‘male weaver’     | /tOntiaNi/         | ‘female weaver’   |

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In Oriya pronouns can be classified both notionally and morphologically. There are several types of pronouns. In Oriya, the personal pronouns are represented in two ways, direct and oblique. For example

/mū/ 'I' and /tw/tume/ 'you' are direct and are used in nominative case and they never take any overt case inflection, whereas /mo/ 'my', /to/tumO/ 'your', /ta/ 'his/her' and /amO/ 'ours' are used in oblique category for using case inflections. The accusative case marker /-tE/ is used specifically with /mo/ and /to/, while in other cases the rest of the case markers are assigned as usual. From sociolinguistic point of view the second person pronouns are further classified into familiar, polite and honorific pronouns both notionally and also on the basis of person-number marker of the finite verb constructions. For example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Second person singular</th>
<th>Second person plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Familiar</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>tume mane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polite</td>
<td>tume</td>
<td>tume mane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honorific</td>
<td>apONO</td>
<td>apONO mane</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/tume/ 'you' is used in the case of non-honorific, affectionate relation and while addressing youngsters. /tume/ 'you' is used with colleagues, class mates and distant relations and /apONO/ 'you'(honorific plural) is used in case of honorific context. Elderly persons and respected persons are classified notionally as remote, proximate, relative and interrogative. /se/sie/ 'he/she' are the remote, /se/sie/ 'he/she' are the proximate, /je/jie/jol/ 'who' are the relative and /kie/ 'who' is the interrogative personal pronoun.

The demonstratives can be defined with reference to the notion of proximity in both time and space scale. The reflexive pronouns also have two forms /nije/ and /nijO/ 'self'. /nije/ is used in direct case and /nijO/ in oblique case. Hence, /nijOrO/, /nijOku/, /nijoTharu/ etc. occur with different case suffixes.
Relative pronouns found in Oriya are /jiel/, /je/, /jOu/, jeû ‘who’ (direct base) and /jaha/ (oblique base). The case inflections are very much restricted to the relative pronouns. /jaha/ takes all the singular case inflections, whereas /jOu/ and /jeû/ are used in adjectival sense. For example /jeû loka/ ‘which/that person’ /jOu pilal/ ‘which/that boy’
where as /jiel/ is used in direct case and does not take any case inflections.
The interrogative pronouns used in Oriya are:

/kie/  ‘who’
/kO: NO/  ‘what’
/kOu/  ‘which’
/kaha/  ‘who’

In nominative use they do not take any case inflections. /kOu/ and /kaha/ take all the singular case inflections.
The indefinite pronouns are-
/ketekO/  ‘some’
/kiekie/  ‘some people’
/OnekO/  ‘many’

They take case inflections very rarely.
Demonstrative pronouns are:
/ehil/  ‘this’
/sehil/  ‘that’
/eil/  ‘this’
/seil/  ‘that’

Case markers are directly added with the above forms.

In Oriya, pronouns have allomorphic oblique bases, whenever a case inflectional suffix is present in the constructions.

Pronoun with direct and oblique forms-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/mû/</td>
<td>‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mO/-, before case inflectional suffix /-te/ and /mo/ receive case markers as /-rO/, /-paĩ/, /-dwar/, /-Thar/, /-Thare/.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ame/</td>
<td>‘we’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/amO/- with all case suffixes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tume/</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tumO/- with all case inflections.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/se/</td>
<td>‘he/she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ta/- with all case inflections.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/taMkO/- (in honorific) with all case inflections.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/el/</td>
<td>‘he/she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ya/- and /eha/- with all case inflections</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/je/</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ja/- and /jaha/- with all case inflections.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kie/</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ka-and /kaha/- with all case inflections.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/apONO/‘you’ (honorific)</td>
<td>/apONOMkO/- with all case inflections.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among these pronouns the number marker /-mane/ is not added to both /mû/ and /tû/. Other pronouns make a separate class to which this number inflection is added. The suffix /-MkO/- is also not added to both /mû/ and /tû/ among the pronoun. Further, first person plural /ame/ ‘we’ and second person plural /tume/ ‘you’ make a separate group or class because the inflectional suffix /-MkO/- is added to both /ame/ and /tume/ only when the number inflectional suffix /-mane/ is present in the construction. However, this /-MkO/- is also added to other pronouns that is /apONO/, /ta/- and /taha/- (the oblique base of /se/ ‘she/he’) and /ya/- and /eha/- (the oblique base of /el/ ‘this’) even, when the number inflectional suffix is absent in the construction.
Postpositions

The postpositions which occur with nominal forms and function as both morphological and syntactic markers are:

/upOre/ ‘up’ /pOri/ ‘like’
/mOdhyOre/ ‘between’ /bhOli/ ‘like’
/bhiOre/ ‘in’ /prOti/ ‘per head’
/tOle/ ‘under’ /jOgu/ ‘because of’
/pakhOre/ ‘near’ /hetu/ ‘because of’
/bOdOLOre/ ‘in stead of’ /nei/ ‘by’
/nikOTOre/ ‘near’ /dei/ ‘by’
/Thrul/ ‘from’ /dwaral/ ‘by’
/sOkusel/ ‘for’ /paI/ ‘for’
/nimOntel/ ‘for’ /Thare/ ‘at’
/pOribOre/ ‘in stead of’ /rupe/ ‘like’

The postpositions are added to the nominal stems formed by noun – genitive case marker also.

Classifier

When a noun is enumerated in Oriya, it takes a group of morphemes called ‘classifier’. When the number indicates only ‘one’ then the structure of the numeral phrase is: (classifier – numeral) – noun

When the numeral is more than one it is numeral – classifier – noun. For example

/jON – e pila/ ‘one child’ /dui jONO pila/ ‘two children’

The classifiers fall into two groups, that is, qualifiers and quantifiers. The nouns which occur with /goTa/ or with its variant /-Ta/ are count nouns and which do not are mass nouns. A mass noun, however, can also be counted with the help of ‘quantifiers’ like /menca/ ‘a lump of’, /puLa/ ‘a lump’ etc. Example

/menca -e kaduOl/ ‘one lump of mud’
/gilas -e paNi/ ‘one glass of water’

The class of qualifiers to noun is dominated by the classifier /gOTa/gOTi/ and its allomorph /-Ta/-Ti/ when the number is more than one. For example

/goTi/ pila/ ‘one child’
/goTi/ ghOrO/ ‘one house’
/duiTi/ pila/ ‘two children’
/duiTi/ ghOrO/ ‘two houses’

The domain of count noun is further divided into human and non-human depending upon whether the noun can also occur with the human classifier /jONO/ or not. For example

/jONE/ pila/ ‘one child’(human)
/khONDe luga/ ‘one saree’(non-human)
All the nouns, however, irrespective of their status, can be enumerated along a number of dimensions which show the status along with the classifiers. The list of such classifiers is very large and they signify different status like-

/khONDe kaThO/ ‘one piece of wood’
/gochae kaThO/ ‘one large bundle of wood’
/biDae kaThO/ ‘one small bundle of wood’
/phaLe kaThO/ ‘one half piece of wood’
/sOgODE kaThO/ ‘one cart full of wood’
/bojhe kaThO/ ‘one head load of wood’
/gOdae kaThO/ ‘one heap of wood’
/muNDae kaThO/ ‘one hunk of wood’
/kile kaThO/ ‘one kilogram of wood’
/phuTe kaThO/ ‘one foot long wood’
/bOstae kaThO/ ‘one sack full of wood’ etc.

Adjective
The adjectives are formed and used in the following manner in Oriya.

Adjective – noun
/bhOIO pila/ ‘good boy’ /dustO puO/ ‘naughty boy’
/nali phulO/ ‘red flower’

Adjective(numeral) – specifier (-Ti/Ta/jono – noun)
/dOSOTi phulO/ ‘ten flower’
/paOTa gā/ ‘five villages’
/jone chairO/ ‘one student’
/dOso jono siksOokO/ ‘ten teachers’

Adjective(numeral) – quantity/measure – noun
/paOkiO poRibA/ ‘five kilograms of vegetables’
/dOso liTOrO telO/ ‘ten litres of oil’
/dOso miTOrO kona/ ‘ten metres of clothes’
/saThie phuTO jOmi/ ‘sixty feet of land’

Adjective – adjective – noun
/Oti bOdo ghOrO/ ‘very big house’
/bhari sundOrO pila/ ‘very nice boy’

Adverb – adjective – noun
/dhiro miTha kotha/ ‘soft sweet talk’

Compound adverb – noun
/kandO kandO mūhO/ ‘crying face’
/hOsO hOsO bhabO/ ‘smiling appearance’
Adjective – verbal noun

/dhirO cali/  ‘slow walk’
/cOcOLO khial/  ‘fast eating’

Besides these, the example of derived adjectives are given below:

(1) In addition of suffix

(i) noun - /-a/ suffix - noun

/rogO – a = roga/ in /roga lokO/  ‘ill person’
/dOkhiN0 – a = dOkhiNa/ in /dOkhiNa pObOnO/  ‘south wind’

(ii) verb – /-a/ suffix - noun

/suN – a = suNa/ in /suNa kOthal/  ‘heard matter’
/jaN – a = jONa/ in /jONa khObOrO/  ‘known news’

(iii) noun – verb – /-a/ suffix – noun

/cauLO – dhO – a = cauLO dhua/ in /cauLO dhua paN/  ‘rice-rinsed water’
/luga – kac – a = luga kOca/ in /luga kOca sabun/  ‘cloth washing soap’

(iv) noun – /-i/ suffix – noun

/guN – i = guNi/ in /guNi lokO/  ‘good person’
/dam – i = dami/ in /dami jinis/  ‘costly things’

(v) verb – /-ai/-el/ suffix – noun

/bOndha – ai/ = bOndhei/ in /bOndhei phoTO/  ‘framed photograph’

(vi) noun – /oi/ suffix – noun

/ghOrO – oi = ghOroi/ in /ghOroi jhiO/  ‘homely girl’

(vii) noun – /-ia/ suffix – noun

/sOOhOria – ia = sOOhoria/ in /sOOhoria babu/  ‘person living in town’
/kOLA – ia = kALia/ in /kALia bOLOdO/  ‘black bull’

(viii) verb – /-iba/ suffix – noun

/pi – iba = piiba/ in /piiba pAN/  ‘drinking water’
/jaN – iba = jaNiba/ in /jaNiba kOtha/  ‘general knowledge’

(ix) verb – /-i/ suffix – noun

/gOrjila = gOrjila/ in /gOrjila meghO/  ‘thunder cloud’
/khaila = khaila/ in /khaila pilal/  ‘eating child’

(x) noun – /-ua/ suffix – noun

/ghOrO – ua = ghOrua/ in ghOrua lokO/  ‘homely man’

(xi) /-el/ suffix – noun

/sOhe – e = sOhe/ in /sOhe lokO/  ‘hundred people’
/gilas – e = gilase/ in /gilase pAN/  ‘a glass of water’
(2) **Prefix – noun /verb**

/O – dhua = Odhua/ in /Odhua basOnO/ ‘uncleaned utensils’
/O – dekha = Odekha/ in /Odekha jaga/ ‘unseen place’

**ONO – prefix – noun – noun**

/ONO – osarO = ONO osaria in /ONOosaria rasta/ ‘narrow road’

**ni – prefix – noun – noun**

/ni – DorO = niDORO in /niDORO mONisO/ ‘fearless person’
/ni – khuNO = nikhuNO in /nikhuNO kamO/ ‘smooth work’

**sO – prefix – noun – noun**

/sO – kshOmO = sOkshOmO in /sOkshOmO purusO/ ‘capable person’
/sO – pOribarO = sOpOribarO in /sOpOribarO (bOrgO)/ ‘with all family members’

**sa – prefix – noun – noun**

/sa – baLOkO = sabaLOkO in /sabaLOkO pila/ ‘not minor child’

/Odha/Odho = prefix – noun – noun

/Odha/Odho – peTO = /Odho peTO in /Odho peTO khia/ ‘half eaten’.

(3) **Prefix and suffix (circumfix)**

/bOd- prefix – i /a/ ia/ suffix

/bOd – nam – ia = /bOd namaia in /bOd namaia kamO/ ‘unpopular work’

**Numeral**

Numerals are of two types, namely, (i) Cardinals and (ii) Ordinals.

**Cardinals**

Used for mathematical counting in Oriya. They are like

/ekO/ ‘one’ /dui/ ‘two’
/tini/ ‘three’ /caril/ ‘four’
/pâcO/ ‘five’ /chO/ ‘six’
/satO/ ‘seven’ /aTHO/ ‘eight’
/no/ ‘nine’ /dOsO/ ‘ten’
/koRiel/ ‘twenty’ /tirisil/ ‘thirty’
/caLis/ ‘fourty’ /pOcasO/ ‘fifty’
/saTHiEL/ ‘sixty’ /soTuril/ ‘seventy’
/Osieu/ ‘eighty’ /noBeil/ ‘ninety’
/sOHiO/sOhe/ ‘hundred’ /hoJariO/hOjare/ ‘thousand’
/lOkhiO/lOkhye/ ‘lakh’ etc. are used as cardinals.

The combined numbers such as

(ekOdOso – cari) = /cOudO/ ‘fourteen’
/egarO/ ‘eleven’ /OTHOrO/ ‘eighteen’
/barO/ ‘twelve’ /pOcisI/ ‘twenty-five’
/bOyaLis/ ‘forty two’ etc. are also used as cardinals in Oriya.

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Besides these number representing cardinals, /joDa/ ‘pair’, /hOLO/ ‘pair’, /DojOn/ ‘dozen’ etc. are also used as cardinals. For example

/dOsO jJoDa jOta/ ‘ten pairs of shoes’
/pacO hOLO dhoti/ ‘five pairs of dhoti’
/cari DojOn kOdOl/ ‘four dozens of bananas’

Similarly /gocha/ ‘bundle’ /biRa/ ‘bundle’
/pOLO/ ‘herd of’ /mèca/ ‘bunch of’
/dOLO/ ‘herd of’ /goThO/ ‘herd of’ etc. are also used as cardinal numerals in standard Oriya.

Fractionals

In Oriya the fractionals are expressed as adjectives in the following way:

/Odha – Odha bOyOso/ ‘middle aged’
/Odha – Odha gLasO/ ‘half glass’
[sarhe – sarhe duiTa] ‘two and half’
/pae – pae Dali/ ‘quarter of one kilogram pulse’
/cOuThe – cOuThe ambo/ ‘quarter of one mango’
/tinipa – tinipa caulO/ ‘three quarter of one kilogram rice’
[deRhO – deRhO kali Ota] ‘one and half kilogram flour’
[ORhei – ORhei kali aLu] ‘two and half kilo potatoes’

Ordinals

Used for giving rank to the cardinals. In Oriya the ordinals are
/prOthOmo – prOthOmo sreNi/ ‘class I’
/prOthOma – prOthOma OSoMmi/ ‘a type of ritual day’
[dwittiO – dwittiO dhari] ‘second line’
/dwittiya – dwittiya JOnhO/ ‘second day crescent moon’
/trutiO – trutiO dinO/ ‘third day’
/trutiya – trutiya tithi/ ‘third day (auspicious)’
/cOturtO – cOturtO thOro/ ‘fourth time’
/cOturti – cOturti bibhOkti/ ‘fourth case’ etc.

Verb morphology

Verb

Finite verb

In Oriya, verb formation could be possible as finite and non-finite in construction. Hence, there are two kinds of verbal inflections in Oriya, (1) Finite verb inflection and (2) non-finite verb inflection.

According to Mahapatra (1995)-
Structurally, the finite verbs fall into three types
(1) Simple Base – Tense – Person –number marker, that is
/bOso – il – t/ ‘I sat’
(2) Aspectual – Base – Aspects – Auxiliary – Tense – Person-number marker, that is
/bo$s – u – th – il – i /
‘I was sitting’

(3) Periphrastic – Base – Stem formatives – Tense – Person-number marker, that is
/bo$s – i – pO$R – il – i /
‘I sat’ (unexpectedly)
The verb base is divided into two types, copula and non-copula.
Copula bases are six in number. They are /OT-/, /Och-/, /tha-/, /ho$-/, /la$-/, /n$u$h-/ and /n$u$h-/. These copula verbs do not take aspect and mood markers except /hO-/ and /la$-/
The remaining bases are non-copula. Non-copular bases are of three types, namely, simple, compound and complex.
A simple verb base can be a root or an extended root that is, /root -a/. Hence the construction is:
/mu$ bo$se/ ‘I sit’ /mu$ bo$se/ ‘I make him/her to sit’
The compound base consists of a verb base – thematic i/a – subsidiary. The opposition between ‘root’ and ‘extended root’ is neutralised before the thematic -a/ morpheme. A thematic vowel must necessarily take a subsidiary verb. For example
/mu$ ko$R – i pO$ka – il – i / ‘I have done’
eha ko$R – a go$l – a / ‘this was done’
The complex type consists of (i) nominal – subsidiary, (ii) infinitive – subsidiary. For example
/biswas ko$R – il – i / ‘I believed’
/ja – i par – il – a / ‘he was able to go’

Simple base
The roots have three functions as intransitive verb, transitive verb and ditransitive verb.
The intransitive verbs are:
/l$iba/ ‘go’ /so$ba/ ‘sleep’
u$Thiba/ ‘get up’ /bo$se/ ‘sit’
kandiba/ ‘cry’ /caliba/ ‘walk’
kasia/ ‘cough’ /dh$iba/ ‘run’
phu$Tiba/ ‘bloom’ /bo$iba/ ‘flow’
bhokia/ ‘barking’ etc.

Transitive verbs are:
/dekhiba/ ‘see’ [pORhiba] ‘read’
/maria/ ‘beat’ /randa$ba/ ‘cook’
dhO$ria/ ‘catch’ /aMkiba/ ‘draw’
dhokia/ ‘wash’ [kaRhiba] ‘take out’
go$Taiba/ ‘pick up’ /phiMgiba/ ‘throw’
/o$a$ka ko$ria/ ‘wash’ /bo$O$pa$iba/ ‘love’

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